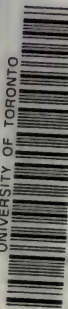
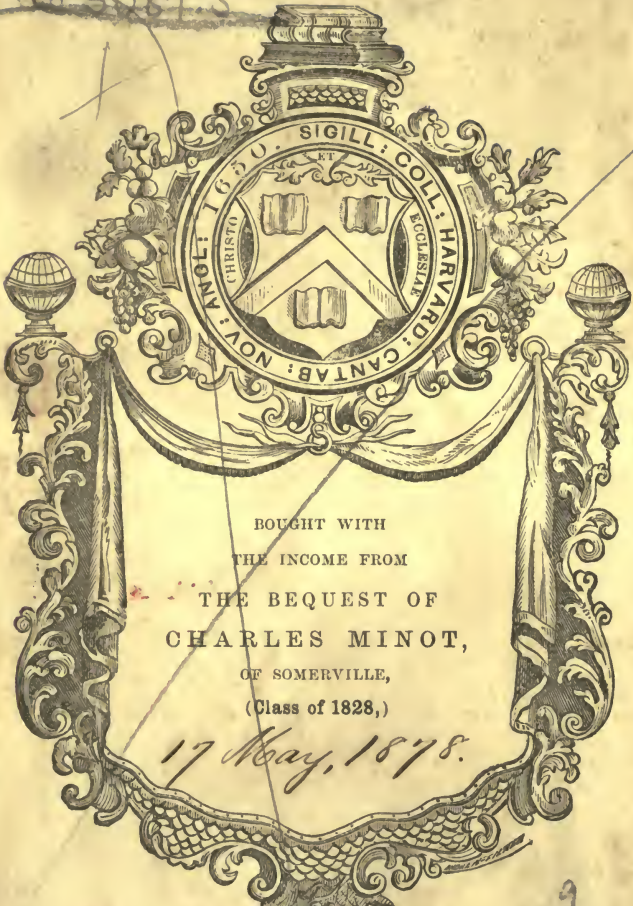


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*EXTRA SERIES.*

VOLUME III.

PRINTED BY BALLANTYNE, HANSON AND CO.  
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AN ACCOUNT  
OF  
THE POLYNESIAN RACE  
ITS ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS  
AND THE  
*ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE  
TO THE TIMES OF KAMEHAMEHA I.*

BY  
ABRAHAM FORNANDER,  
CIRCUIT JUDGE OF THE ISLAND OF MAUI, H. I.

VOL. I.

LONDON:  
TRÜBNER & CO., LUDGATE HILL.  
1878.

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“As made up of legendary accounts of places and personages, it (mythology) is history; as relating to the genesis of the gods, the nature and adventures of divinities, it is religion.”—*Native Itaces of the Pacific States*, H. H. Bancroft, vol. iii. p. 14.

“It is now a recognised principle of philosophy, that no religious belief, however crude, nor any historical tradition, however absurd, can be held by the majority of a people for any considerable time as true, without having in the beginning some foundation in fact.” . . . “We may be sure that there never was a myth without a meaning; that mythology is not a bundle of ridiculous fancies invented for vulgar amusement; that there is not one of those stories, no matter how silly or absurd, which was not founded in fact, which did not once hold a significance.”—*Ibid.*, vol. iii. pp. 16, 17.

“The fact of an immigration, and the quarter from which it came, are handed down from father to son, and can scarcely be corrupted or forgotten, unless in the case where the people sink into absolute barbarism.”—Essay ii. book vii. of *Herodotus*, edited by G. Rawlinson.

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TO MY DAUGHTER  
CATHERINE KAONOHUULAOKALANI FORNANDER,

**This Work**

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED,  
AS A REMINDER OF HER MOTHER'S ANCESTORS

AND AS

A TOKEN OF HER FATHER'S LOVE.

ABR. FORNANDER.



## P R E F A C E.

---

WHEN a gentleman, whose genius and talents have secured for himself one of the curule chairs in the republic of letters, introduces a blushing aspirant, his name becomes a voucher for the respectability of the latter, and his "*favete linguis*" ensures an attentive hearing until the close of the performance. But we are not all born with a silver spoon, and many an author, like myself, has had to bear the double burden of introducing himself as well as his subject. But when a writer presents himself with new discoveries, and new ideas based upon them, the reader has a right to inquire who the writer is, and if his discoveries are genuine, before he exercises his judgment upon the ideas submitted for his acceptance. It is meet and proper, therefore, on entering upon ground so little travelled as that of Polynesian Archæology, on presenting myths and legends to the inspection of the literary world some of which have never darkened a sheet of paper before, that I should state my right to present them, how I came by them, and also the lights which guided and the aids which assisted me on the journey.

Thirty-four years' residence in the Hawaiian group; nineteen years' position in various offices under the Government; a thorough local and personal knowledge of every section of the group, acquired during numerous journeys; my knowledge of the language, and the fact—though with all due modesty I state it—that I am well known, personally or by reputation, to every man within the group, from the King on the throne to the poorest fisherman in the remotest hamlet;—all these considerations give me a right to speak on behalf of the Polynesian people, to unveil the past of their national life, to unravel the snarled threads of their existence, and to pick up the missing links that bind them to the foremost races of the world,—the Arian and the Cushite.

Thus much, though reluctantly, I have felt bound to say in vindication of my right to be the spokesman of a people whom no one knew till a hundred years ago, and whom no one even now recognises as a chip of the same block from which the Hindu, the Iranian, and the Indo-European families were fashioned.

When first I entertained the idea of preparing myself for a work on Polynesian Archæology, I employed two, sometimes three, intelligent and educated Hawaiians to travel over the entire group and collect and transcribe, from the lips of the old natives, all the legends, chants, prayers, &c., bearing upon the ancient history, culte, and customs of the people, that they possibly could get hold of. This continued for nearly three years. Sometimes

their journeys were fortunate, sometimes rather barren of results; for the old natives who knew these things were becoming fewer and fewer every year, and even they—as is well known to every one that has had any experience in the matter—maintain the greatest reserve on such subjects, even to their own countrymen; and to a foreigner, unless most intimately and favourably known, any such revelation is almost impossible. The labours of my employees, however, were crowned with results exceeding my expectations, and I am now in possession of probably the greatest collection of Hawaiian lore in or out of the Pacific. It took me a long time, during leisure moments from official duties, to peruse, collate, and arrange these materials, and, though they are filled with much that was worthless for my purpose, yet I found very many pearls of invaluable price to the antiquarian and historian.

To this *exposé* of my own pursuits, I would only add that, during my many journeys from one end of the group to the other, I never omitted an opportunity in my intercourse with the old and intelligent natives to remove a doubt or verify a fact bearing upon the work I had in hand.

Among Hawaiian authors and antiquarian literati, to whom I gratefully acknowledge my obligations, are, in the first place, his Majesty King KALAKAUA, to whose personal courtesy and extensive erudition in Hawaiian antiquities I am indebted for much valuable information; the late Hon. LORRIN ANDREWS; and the late DAVID MALO, whose

manuscript collections were kindly placed at my disposal by the Honourable Board of Education ; the late Dr. JOHN RAE of Hana, Maui, who, in a series of articles published in the "Polynesian" (Honolulu, 1862), first called attention to the extreme antiquity of the Polynesian language ; the late Hon. S. M. KAMAKAU, with whom I have conferred both often and lengthily ; the late Rev. Mr. DIBBLE, whose "History of the Sandwich Islands" (1843) contains many gems of antiquarian value ; the late Hon. NAIHE of Kohala, Hawaii, and the late S. N. HAKUOLE. Mr. J. KEPELINO has furnished some valuable chants, and the groundwork of the "Kumuhonua" legends, most of which was confirmed by the late Mr. Kamakau above referred to. The current communications, from time to time, in the Hawaiian journals on antiquarian subjects, by different authors, have been carefully culled, and are thankfully remembered. Mr. JULES REMY is personally and kindly remembered since his *sejour* on the Hawaiian islands, and his Introduction to and edition of the "Moolelo Hawaii" (Paris and Leipzig, 1862), as well as his "Recits d'un vieux Sauvage, pour servir a l'Histoire ancienne de Hawaii" (1859), have been carefully considered and found of great value.

From the Marquesas group, the author is under obligation to Professor W. D. ALEXANDER for access to a collection of ancient legends and chants as told to and written down by the late Mr. T. C. LAWSON, for many years a resident of Hivaoa (St. Dominica).

From the Society group, and several others of the South-

Pacific Islands, Rev. Mr. ELLIS's "Polynesian Researches" is replete with much and valuable legendary lore. Mr. MOERENHOUT's "Voyage aux Isles du Grand Ocean" has been carefully referred to; and in Lieutenant DE BOVIS's "Etat de la Societ  Taitienne a l'arriv e des Europ ens," was found a cautious, critical, and reliable author, though on some points we must necessarily differ.

From the Tonga group, "Mariner's Voyage" has furnished the greatest amount of information.

From New Zealand, DIEFFENBACH's "Travels," and SIR GEORGE GREY's "Polynesian Mythology" and "Proverbial and Popular Sayings of the Ancestors of the New Zealand Race," not only bring up the common property of the Polynesian race in its legendary lore, but throw an unexpected light on some very ancient passages of Hawaiian history.

From the Samoan (Navigators') group, I regret to say that I have but scant information, collected piecemeal from various sources. What I have, however, coincides strongly with the leading features of the legendary lore of the other groups.

From the Fiji group, the "Fiji and the Fijians," by THOMAS WILLIAMS and JAMES CALVERT, has been found to be good and reliable authority.

Various other utterances from Polynesian folklore have been collected and utilised from the best accounts obtainable of voyages undertaken at public expense or prompted by private enterprise; and among the former, I

consider the highest praise is due to the Ethnological and Philological section of the United States' Exploring Expedition under Commodore Wilkes, prepared by Mr. HORATIO HALE; and among the latter, I have found Mr. M. G. L. DOMENY DE RIENZI'S work "Océanie" (Paris, 1836), which is a *resumé* of his own and other voyages in Malaysia and Polynesia, still stand unrivalled for fulness and accuracy.

Touching the philological questions arising from a consideration of the Polynesian language and its relation to others, I have consulted the great work of WILLIAM V. HUMBOLDT, "Über die Kawi Sprache;" that of FRANCIS BOPP, "Über die Verwandtschaft der Malayisch-Polynesischen Sprachen mit den Indo-Europäischen;" J. CRAWFURD'S "Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language;" ADOLPH PICTET'S "Origines Indo-Européennes;" Professor MAX MÜLLER'S "Lectures on the Science of Language," and his "Chips from a German Workshop," and such dictionaries as I could procure.

Mr. GEORGE SMITH'S "Assyrian Discoveries," and his "Chaldean Account of Genesis;" Colonel HENRY YULE'S edition of, and notes to, "The Travels of Marco Polo;" Mr. G. RAWLINSON'S edition of "Herodotus," and his "Five Great Monarchies;" and Sir STAMFORD RAFFLES'S various essays and writings, have furnished me many valuable points of contact and much light, where otherwise I must have groped my way in darkness.

But, while such are my right to speak, and the lights



which aided me in compiling this work, yet the work itself might possibly never have been published, had not the Hon. H. A. WIDEMANN, an acquaintance and friend of thirty years' residence in the Hawaiian group, kindly exerted himself in my behalf to procure the means to defray the cost of publication. And to him and to those who so promptly came forward to aid the enterprise my grateful acknowledgments are herewith tendered.

Painfully conscious that my long seclusion from literary labours has cramped my hand, even though the spirit be unflagging as ever, yet with the treasures of legendary lore around me, with my affection for the people with whom I have associated my lot in life for so many years, and with the certainty that each year is fearfully diminishing the chances of ever again procuring an equal collection of the Polynesian folklore, I submit this work without hesitation to the favourable regard of the Hawaiians and the Polynesians, whose past I have endeavoured to rescue from the isolation and oblivion which were fast closing over it, and whose echoes were growing fainter and fainter in the busy hum of a new era and a new civilisation, derided by some, disputed by others, unheeded by all.

To the literati of foreign lands I address myself with that respectful diffidence and cautious reserve which become a pioneer in an almost untrodden field. With the data before me, drawn from Polynesian sources, my conclusions could not well be other than what they are. If

at times I have erred in comparative philology, mythology, or history, it will be kindly borne in mind that over forty years of an adventurous and busy life have crept between me and the Alma Mater on the Fyris, where the classics flourished, and where GEYER taught history; that my own library is very small; and that there is no public institution worthy of the name within two thousand miles of the Hawaiian group. In attempting to solve the ethnic riddle of the Polynesian race, I may have stumbled in the path; but that path alone, I feel convinced, can lead to a solution.

ABR. FORNANDER.

LAHAINA, HAWAIIAN ISLANDS,  
*March 30, 1877.*

## ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS

OF

# THE POLYNESIAN RACE.

BEFORE I offer my contribution to Hawaiian history proper, I think it justice to the reader and to the cause of truth to state my view of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Family, of which the Hawaiian is only one, though at present the foremost and best known branch.

The singular spectacle of a people so widely scattered, yet so homogeneous in its physical characteristics, in its language and customs, has not failed to exercise the minds of many learned and worthy men, both of past and present time, who have written much and differed widely about the origin of the Polynesian family. North and South Americans, Malays, Papuans, Chinese, and Japanese, and even the lost tribes of Israel, have all, at different times, and by different writers, been charged with the paternity of this family, and made responsible for its origin and appearance in the Pacific Ocean. These writers formed their opinions, undoubtedly, according to the data that were before them; but those data were too few, often too incorrect and too unconnected as a whole, to warrant the conclusions at which they arrived. A more intimate acquaintance with the Polynesian family itself, with its copious folk-lore, and its reminiscences of the past still

floating about with dimmer or brighter outlines through its songs and sagas; a better insight and a truer appreciation of the affinities of its language; and, lastly, a small amount of renunciation of national vanity on the part of those different writers, might have removed many of the errors and misconceptions in regard to this interesting family of mankind.

It would be presumption in me to pretend that I have fully solved so great a problem as the origin and descent of the Polynesian family. Yet I trust that the sequel will show that my conclusions are not only plausible, but extremely probable, and that, only by following the guide which the data now offered afford, can we account in a satisfactory manner for the ethnic, linguistic, and social phenomena connected with that family, for their appearance in the Pacific and their distribution within it—from New Zealand to Hawaii, from Easter Island to Rotuma.

That the reader may know at a glance the result to which my investigations in the Polynesian folk-lore, as well as its comparison with that of other peoples, have led me, it may be proper here at the outset to say that I believe that I can show that the Polynesian family can be traced directly as having occupied the Asiatic Archipelago, from Sumatra to Timor, Gilolo, and the Philippines, previous to the occupation of that archipel by the present Malay family; that traces, though faint and few, lead up through Deccan to the north-west part of India and the shores of the Persian Gulf; that, when other traces here fail, yet the language points farther north, to the Aryan stock in its earlier days, long before the Vedic irruption in India; and that for long ages the Polynesian family was the recipient of a Cushite civilisation, and to such an extent as almost entirely to obscure its own consciousness of parentage and kindred to the Aryan stock.

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Were every other trace of a people's descent obliterated by time, by neglect, by absorption in some other tribe, race, or tongue, the identity of the nomenclature of its places of abode with that of some other people would still remain an *à priori* evidence of the former habitats of the absorbed or forgotten people. Were every other record and tradition of the descent of the present ruling races in America, North and South, obliterated, the names which they have given to the headlands, rivers, cities, villages, and divisions of land in the country they inhabit, would primarily, and almost always infallibly, indicate their European descent—English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, &c., &c. The practice of naming new abodes in memory of old homes is a deep-rooted trait of human nature, and displays itself alike in the barbarous as in the civilised condition of a people. We find it in the wake of all great migrations, from the most ancient to the most recent. History is full of illustrations to this effect, to prove the presence of the mother race, through its migrations, in foreign lands where every other vestige, except this one, has been trodden out by time or by succeeding migrations of other peoples and races.

Following the clue which this evidence affords, I hope to be able to show that the Polynesian family formerly occupied, as their places of residence, the Asiatic Archipelago, and were at one time in the world's history closely connected by kindred, commerce, or by *conquest* with lands beyond, in Hindustan, the shores of the Persian Gulf, and even in Southern Arabia.

From what I have been able to glean of the old Javanese annals, and of their ancient language, the Kawi, I am led to believe that of the two words, which in the present Malay tongue signify an island—"Nusa" and "Pulo"—the former is by far the older, and obtained exclusively before the latter was introduced by the comparatively modern Malays. In those old annals may be found such names for Jawa, or different portions of it, as "Nusa-Kin-

dang," "Nusa-Hara-Hara,"<sup>1</sup> and "Nusa-Jawa;" "Nusa-Kautchana" for Borneo; "Nusa-Antara" for Madura; "Nusa-Kambargan" for Bali, &c., and in several of the eastern parts of the archipelago, such as Ceram, Bulu, Amboyna, the ancient word "Nusa" still prevails over the modern "Pulo."

This word "Nusa," the old ante-Malay designation of an island, reappears under a Polynesian form in various quarters of the Pacific. We have "Nuka-tea," one of Wallis' group; also "Nuka-tapu," "Nuka-lofa," the principal town on Tonga-tabu; "Nuka-Hiwa" (in some dialects contracted to "Nuuhiwa"), one of the Marquesas group; "Nuku-nono"<sup>2</sup> of the Union group; "Nuku-fetau" of the De-Peyster's group; "Nuku-ta-wake" and "Nuku-te-pipi" of the Paumotu Archipel; and some others in the Eastern portion of the Viti group, which has received so large a portion of its vocables from Polynesian sources. But in none of the Polynesian dialects does the Malay word for island, "Pulo," obtain, nor has it left any marks of ever having been adopted.

In regard to this word "Nusa," as signifying an island, among the old ante-Malay inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, and having been brought by them into various parts of the Pacific, it may be interesting to remark that we meet with the same word, signifying the same thing, in the Mediterranean, at a time anterior to the Hellenic predominancy, as far back as the Phœnician supremacy over that sea, and probably older. We thus find that "Ich-nusa" was one of the oldest names of Sardinia; "Oe-nusæ," some islands in the Ægean Sea, off Messene; "Sire-nusæ," islands off Cape Surrentum, Campania, Italy; "Argi-nusa," below Lesbos, off the Æolian coast, and others. Of this word I have found no etymon in the Greek lan-

<sup>1</sup> "Hara," or "Hara-Hara," was one of the many names of Siwa.

<sup>2</sup> This may derive from *Nuku* or *Nuu*, elevated, raised; but in the

present case it may be as much a corruption of "Nuka-nono" as "Nuuhiwa" is a corruption of "Nuka-hiwa."

guage, and it is no kin to Nasos or Næsos, the Doric and Ionian names for island. It is justifiable, therefore, to trace it back to the Cushite Arabs, who traded, colonised, and conquered up to and beyond the pillars of Hercules in the West, as well as to the confines of the Pacific in the East.<sup>1</sup>

I will now give the names of a number of places within the Polynesian area, which I think may be identified with others situated in the Indian Archipelago and beyond. Were my acquaintance with the older pre-Malay names of the latter greater than it is, I have no doubt the number could have been greatly increased.<sup>2</sup>

1. The first island whose name I will thus trace back will be the island of *Hawaii*, the principal one of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands.

That name in the principal Polynesian dialects is thus pronounced:—

<sup>1</sup> In *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*, by G. Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 112, the author says: "We can scarcely doubt but that, in some way or other, there was a communication of beliefs, a passage in very early times, from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the lands washed by the Mediterranean, of mythological notions and ideas." If so, why not of names of places, capes, islands, &c., also?

In Col. Yule's edition of "*Marco Polo*," London, 1875, vol. ii. p. 406, it is said that the people of St. Mary's Isle, off the east coast of Madagascar, in lat. 17°, as a sign of their Arab descent, "call themselves the children of Ibrahim, and the island *Nusi Ibrahim*."

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Crawford's *Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language*, vol. i. p. 282, says: "With the exception of a few places in the Philippines and Madagascar, no Malay or

Javanese names of places are to be found beyond the limits of the Archipelago. We look for them in vain in the islands of the Pacific." As Mr. Crawford properly distinguishes the Malay and Javanese languages from the pre-Malay and pre-Javanese languages of the Archipelago, he is probably correct; but the names which I am going to refer to, came without doubt with the earliest Polynesian settlers from the Indian Archipel, and their not being Malay or Javanese is another proof that the Polynesians had departed from the Archipel before the Malays and Javanese had been so long domiciled there as to introduce their own nomenclature of islands and places. The number of old names of places retained and adopted by these invaders must have been very great, though perhaps now impossible to define.

In Hawaiian, . . . . .	<i>Hawa-ii.</i>
„ Society group, . . . . .	<i>Ditto.</i> <sup>1</sup>
„ Somoan (Navigator's), . . . . .	<i>Sawa-ii.</i>
„ South Marquesan and New Zealand,	<i>Hawa-iki.</i>
„ Rarotonga, . . . . .	<i>Awa-iki.</i>
„ Tonga (Friendly Island), . . . . .	<i>Habai.</i>

This word is manifestly a compound word: *Hawa* and *ii* or *iki*. Whether the *ii* or *iki* is accepted as meaning “small, little,” the apparent sense of the New Zealand, Rarotongan, and South Marquesan form of the word, or “raging, furious with heat,” the sense of the word in the North Marquesan, and which has its analogy in the Tahitian and Hawaiian, it is evidently an epithet, a distinguishing mark of that particular “Hawa” from any other. I am led to prefer the North Marquesan sense of the word, in as much as in a chant of that people, referring to the wanderings of their forefathers, and giving a description of that special Hawaii on which they once dwelt, it is mentioned as:

*Tai mamao, uta oa tu te Ii*; “a distant sea (or far off region), away inland stands the volcano” (the furious, the raging).

This “Hawa,” referred to by the Polynesians of all the principal groups as an ancient place of residence, corresponds to *Jawa*, the second of the Sunda islands, which name, however, seems to have been applied principally to the eastern part of that island, the western portion being known from ancient times as “Sonda.”

In the second century A.D., Ptolomy called the Sunda Isles by the general name of *Jaba-dios insulæ*, or *Jaba-din*.

In the ninth century A.D., two Muslim travellers, reported by Renandot, spoke of the island and its grandeur as the empire of *Zaba-ya* or *Zapa-ge*, evidently an Arabic pronunciation of *Jaba* or *Jawa*.

<sup>1</sup> An ancient name of the sacred place “Opoa,” in the island of Raiatea, Society group, was “Hawa-ii.”



In the fourteenth century A.D., Marco Polo mentions the island under the name of *Ciawa*, and refers to both Sumatra and Java under that name.<sup>1</sup>

Javanese historians indicate that the name of "Java" was given to the island by emigrants from Kling, Kalinga, or Telinga, on the north-east coast of Deccan, who in the first century A.D. invaded and settled on the island, under one Aji Saka, or Tritestra; but it is understood that *Java*,

<sup>1</sup> On this subject, Colonel Yule in his edition of "Marco Polo," 1875, vol. ii. p. 266, remarks: "Polo by no means stands alone in giving the name of Java to the island now called Sumatra. The terms *Jawa*, *Jawi*, were applied by the Arabs to the islands and productions of the Archipelago generally, but also specifically to Sumatra. Thus Sumatra is the *Jawah* both of Abulfeda and of Ibn-Baluta, the latter of whom spent some time on the island. *Javaku* again is the name applied in the Singhalese chronicles to the Malays in general. *Jau* and *Dawa* are the names still applied by the Battaks and the people of Nias respectively to the Malays, showing probably that these were looked on as Javanese by those tribes who did not partake of the civilisation diffused from Java. De Barras says that all the people of Sumatra called themselves by the common name of *Jauijs*. There is some reason to believe that the application of the name Java to Sumatra is of very old date. It is by no means impossible that the *Jabadin* or *Yavadvipa* of Ptolomy may be Sumatra rather than Java." In a note to page 359, same work, Colonel Yule says, "Sônagar or Jônagar is a Tamil corruption of *Yavanar*, the *Yavanas*, the name by which the Arabs were known, and is the name most commonly used in the Tamil country to designate the mixed race descended from Arab colonists."

As names of places and peoples are

older than the chronicles which record them, it is well to bear in mind that the Singhalese and the Tamil speaking peoples of Southern India recognised a *Jawa* to the east of them, the land of the "Javaku," and a *Jawa* to the west of them, the land of the *Yavanar* or *Jônagar*. But the Singhalese chronicles were written after the Malays had occupied the Sunda Isles, became the leading people there, and appropriated the name of the country to themselves; while the Tamil appellation of the Arabs must have been infinitely older than the commercial revival during the early Mohammedan times, seeing that Arab intercourse with India was frequent and continuous as far back as the times when the Cushite race ruled supreme in Arabia, and their *Zaba* was yet an emporium of commerce and a cradle of colonisation. The inference, therefore, seems to me almost irresistible that the people, known to the Tamils as "*Yavanar*," extended their operations to the Sunda Isles, and called that country after their own home, a name which in after ages was borne back to Ceylon by Malay cruisers and invaders. The Tamil expression "*Java-ku*," is thoroughly Polynesian. In Hawaiian legends (for the words are obsolete in modern parlance), the suffixes *ku* and *moe* to names of places indicate east and west. Thus *Kahiki-ku* and *Kahiki-moe*, *Holani-ku*, *Holani-moe*, signifying "Eastern Kahiki, Western Kahiki," &c., &c.

which in Sanskrit means *barley*, does not grow on the island. Evidently those emigrants found the name already existing, and with national vanity found a meaning for it in their own language, and in process of time believed the fiction. The name occurs, however, in other parts of the Archipelago, as

*Djawa*, a river on the east coast of Borneo, near Coti;  
as

*Sawa-it*, a place in south-west Borneo; as

*Sawa-i*, a place on the north coast of Ceram; and as

*Awaiya*, a village on the south coast of Ceram.

For the origin of the name, and its expansion in the Asiatic Archipelago, and thence into Polynesia, we must look beyond the Kalinga invasion, beyond India, to that nation and race whose colonies and commerce pervaded the ancient world in pre-historic times—the Cushite Arabians; and among them we find as a proto-nom the celebrated *Saba*, or *Zaba*, in Southern Arabia, a seat of Cushite empire and commercial emporium “from the earliest times,” according to Diodorus Siculus and Agatharcides. We shall see in the sequel how Polynesian legends confirm the opinion of an early intercourse between the Polynesians and the Cushites, and the close adoption by the former of the culture, and many of the beliefs and legends, of the latter. That the influence of this Cushite “*Saba*,” as a name-giver, extended to the nations of the West as well as in the East, may be inferred from the epithet of Dionysius “*Sabazius*,” and probably also from the names of the town “*Saba-te*,” in Etruria, and of the “*Sabini*,” one of the most ancient indigenous peoples of Italy, and of their god “*Sabus*,” from whom Cato derived their name.

2. The next case of identity will be found in the name of the island of *Oahu*, one of the Hawaiian group, which evidently refers to

*Ouahou*, a tract of country in Central and South-east Borneo, occupied by Dyak tribes; and to

*Ouadju*,<sup>1</sup> a State or territory in Central Celebes, occupied by a Buguis population. We shall see further on that both the Dyaks and the Buguis, as well as other tribes in that Archipelago, are pre-Malay inhabitants, and kindred to the Pacific Polynesians.

3. We now come to *Molokai*, another island of the Hawaiian group; in the ancient songs and sagas called *Molokai-a-Hina*. This island finds a striking confirmation of the derivation of both the names in

*Morotay*, *Moroty*, *Morty* (according to different orthographies), one of the Moluccas, north-east of Gilolo. The Moluccas were called by ancient geographers the *Sindas*,<sup>2</sup> and this name is referred to by Spanish navigators in the sixteenth century, as having obtained before the islands were called collectively the Moluccas. The "*Molokai-a-Hina*," therefore, or "*Molokai-a-Sina*," as it would be called in the Samoan dialect of the Polynesian, points with remarkable directness to the derivation of the name, and to the people who named it; and, allowing for phonetic variation, we find the same name in

*Borotai*, a place or village among the Sadong hill-Dyaks inland from Sarawak, Borneo.

4. *Lehua*, *Lefuka*, and *Levuka*, of the Hawaiian, Tonga, and Fiji groups respectively, and *Lefu*, one of the Loyalty Islands, refer themselves to

*Labouk*, a province on the north side of Borneo.

5. *Niihau*, one of the Hawaiian group, corresponds to *Lifao*, a place on the island of Timor.

<sup>1</sup> By other writers called and written *Wajo*. See Asiatic Journal, August 1825. Mr. Crawford, in his Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language, vol. i. p. 85, says: that the Bugis call themselves *Wugiss*. As we shall observe more than one reference to Celebes in this work, it is not improbable that the Hawaiian appellation of *Wohi*, as a title for a certain rank of chiefs, princi-

pally on the island of Oahu, may refer to some half-forgotten remembrance of a former national appellation of *Wugi*.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Histoire de la Conquete des Isles Moluques*, par d'Argensola, Amsterdam, 1706, vol. iii., it is said that the Moluccas were formerly called "*Sindas*" by Ptolomy, especially Amboyna, Celebes, and Gilolo.

6. *Morea*, or Eimeo, one of the Society group, west of Tahiti, corresponds to

*Morea*, name of a mountain range in the east of Jawa, and east of Mount Ardjouna.

7. *Bora-Bora*, one of the Society group, and *Pola-pola*, name of lands in Ewa, Oahu, in Koolau, Molokai, and in Lahaina, Maui, of the Hawaiian group, refer to

*Pulo-Pora*, an island off the coast of Menangkabau, in Sumatra.

8. *Huahine*, one of the Society group, refers to

*Oujein* or *Ujein*, a town in Malva, on the Nerbudda river, India; in Sanskrit called *Ujjayini*, also called "Visala." *Oujein* was also called "Avanti." This town boasted of a most remote antiquity. It is mentioned in the Puranas, also in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, and Ptolomy mentions it under the name of "Ozene."<sup>1</sup>

9. *Vavao* or *Wawao*, one of the Habai group in the Friendly Islands, in other dialects pronounced "Wewau" or "Vevau;" and *Mature-Wawao*, or Acteon Island of the Paumotu group, correspond to

*Babao*, an ancient name of the Bay of Coupang, Isle of Timor; also of a village and district there, and probably the name of the whole island before the Malays *conquered* it, settled, and named it Timor.

10. *Namuka*, one of the Tonga islands (Friendly Island), also one of the Fiji group, refers to

*Namusa*, one of the Menguis group in the Moluccas.

11. *Kauai*, one of the Hawaiian group, refers to

<sup>1</sup> In the Asiatic Journal, February 1821, p. 118, B. Tytler, speaking of Vikramaditya, says: "Although he is called king of *Oujein*, this does not by any means prove him to have been monarch of any portion of Hindostan; because *Oujein* is uniformly made use of by the natives of the upper provinces in the sense of 'the west.' Consequently 'King of

*Oujein*' means in part nothing more than sovereign of some undefined country situated in the west, or to the westward of India." Its other name "*Avanti*," being an equivalent of *Oujein* as meaning west, confirms the above reasoning. "*Avanti*," from Sanskrit *Ava*, away, off, down; *Avanati*, setting of the sun.

*Tawai*, one of the Batchian islands, west of Gilolo, in the Moluccas; *Kawai*, in south-west of Sumatra.

12. *Pangai-motu*, one of the Tonga islands; *Pango-pango*, or *Pago-pago*, harbour and village on the island of Tutuila, Samoan group, and *Pao-pao*, a land in Kohala, Hawaii, Hawaiian group. *Paopao*, or Cook's Harbour, on the island of Eimeo, Society Islands, correspond to

*Pampanga* or *Papango*, a district in Luzon, Philippine Islands, and to *Pagai* or *Poggi*, two islands off the west coast of Sumatra.

13. *Puna*, name of districts on the islands of Hawaii and Kauai, Hawaiian group; and *Puna-avia*, a district in Tahiti, Society group, and *Puna-he*, district on Hiwaoa, Marquesas group, refer themselves to

*Puna*, the name of a mountain tribe in the interior of Borneo, and to

*Puna*, a district in Deccan, India, south of Bombay, as well as to a river of that name in Northern India, supposed by Remusat to be the Jamuna or Jumna. It recalls, moreover, the old Egyptian name of *Pun* for Yemen, in South Arabia; a name older than the twelfth dynasty.

14. *Kohala*, a district on the island of Hawaii, Hawaiian group; also name of a land in Kumuele, Molokai, Hawaiian group; also *Ta-hara*, the south-west point of Matawai Bay in Tahiti; also *Haraike*, one of the Paumotu Islands, correspond to

*Koshala* or *Kosala*, the ancient name of the kingdom of Oude, in India. I mentioned above that Ujjayini or Oujein, in Malva, India, was also formerly called "Vi-sala;" and Arrian mentions an island off the coast of Mekran, the present Beluchistan, called "No-sala," whence the Ichthyophagi were said to derive

*Sohár*, or Soer as Marco Polo calls it, the former capital of Oman, Arabia, shows another singular family likeness to the constituent part of the above names, Hara, Hala, with different prefixes.

15. *Ka-papala*, name of a land in Kau, Hawaii, Hawaiian

group; also a district called *Papara* in Tahiti, Society group, find their reference to

*Papal*, name of a district in Borneo, inhabited by Dyaks.

16. *Anahola*, a land in the district of Koolau, Kauai, Hawaiian group, refers to

*Ankola*, one of the six districts of the Batta country, Sumatra.

17. *Laie*, a land in Koolauloa, Oahu, Hawaiian group, and a land in Kula, Maui, Hawaiian group, recalls

*Laye*, a place in the country of the Reyangs, in Sumatra.

18. *Mana*, a district of Kauai, Hawaiian group, points to *Mana*, a district near Bencoolen, Sumatra.<sup>1</sup>

19. *Ninole*, name of lands in Kau and in Hilo, Hawaii, also on Molokai, Hawaiian group, refers to

*Ninore*, a place in the Rajpootana, north-west India, in the Bheel country.

20. *Kipu*, name of lands on Molokai and at Keei, Kona, Hawaii, Hawaiian group, correspond to

*Tibuu*, the south-west point of the Island of Buru, in the Moluccas.

21. *Hana*; name of numerous districts and lands in the Hawaiian, Marquesas, and Tahitian groups, either singly or in compounds, as "Hana," "Hana-vi," "Hana-manu," "Hana-pepe," "Mala-e-ka Hana," "Olo-hana," and others, refer themselves ultimately, doubtless, to

*Sana*, one of the ancient Cushite emporiums in Southern Arabia. I am not aware of any place in the intermediate Indian Archipelago that has preserved the single form of this name, but there are several places with the compound name, such as *Rata-han* on the north-east prong of Celebes, *Asa-han* in the north of Sumatra.

22. *Taioa*; name of place and bay in Nukahiwa, Marquesas group; and *Kaioa*, a land in Koolau, Oahu, Hawaiian group; refer plainly to

*Kaioa*, one of the Molucca Islands, west of Gilolo.

<sup>1</sup> Also to *Mana-toa*, a place in northern part of Timor.

23. *Lawai*, a land on Kauai, Hawaiian group, corresponds to

*Lawai*, a river in Borneo, province of Succadow, near the centre, inhabited by Dyaks.

Besides these references—and their number could be greatly increased were my means of knowing names of localities in the Asiatic Archipel, their present and more ancient names, greater—there are numerous places on all the principal Polynesian groups which preserve the name of water, *wai*, under various combinations, in their names, such as “Wai-kapu,” “Wai-luku,” “Wai-aka,” “Wai-ehu,” “Wai-pa,” “Wai-pipiha,” “Wai-tiarea,” “Wai-rao,” &c., while the same combination still obtains in many of the islands of the Asiatic Archipelago, as “Wai-gama” in Mysol, “Wai-puti” and “Wai-apo” in Buru, “Wai-kiu” in Timor, &c. The formation of names of places in Polynesia with the final compound of *hai*, as “Ka-wai-hai” on Hawaii, “Tai-o-hai” on Nukahiva, &c., has its counterpart in such names as “Wa-hai” in Ceram, and “Ama-hai” in Celebes, all showing the ethnic current of the people who named them.

I now have to refer to some names which occur several times in the ancient Hawaiian chants, legends, and prayers, as the names of places or islands inhabited and visited by the remote ancestors of those who composed said chants or legends, but whose location is very vaguely defined, and of which, with one exception, I have not been able to find a name-sake among the present Polynesians, though, possibly, many such existed in former times: I note, first—

24. *O-lolo-i-mehani*, in some legends said to have been the residence of Wakea. The word is composed of the vocative *O*, the name proper *Lolo*, and the epithet *Mehani*. The latter, so far as I know, has no kindred now existing in the Polynesian dialects; but it remains entire in the Amblaw dialect, where “Mehani” means “Red;” and in the Ceram, Ahtiago dialect, “La-hanin” means also “Red.” This name refers itself to the island of

*Gi-lolo* or *Ji-lolo*, the principal of the Moluccas.

In other Hawaiian legends (that of "Keanini"), reference is made to a group or country called the *O-pae-Lolo*, literally, "the Lolo group," thus indicating that *Lolo* is the proper, original name, and "Mehani" but a subsequent and descriptive appellation. This reference of "O-lolo-i-mehani" to "Ji-lolo," receives a farther confirmation from another legendary name of Wakea's residence, which in other legends is said to have been in

25. *O-lalo-waia*, and which finds its counterpart and original in

*Lalo-da*, a village or district on that same island of "Ir-lolo," on the west coast, opposite Galela. I know not the meaning of the Jilolo suffix-*da*; the Hawaiian *waia* means "strong smelling, filthy, dirty."

26. *Fatu-hiwa*, one of the Marquesas group, refers itself to

*Batou*, a place on the south side of Timor; and to *Batou-bhara* in the north of Sumatra.

27. *Halawa*; name of several lands in the Hawaiian group, refers to

*Salaway*, the north-east cape of the island of Jilolo, of the Moluccas; also to two districts in Beluchistan, mentioned in Lieutenant Pottinger's travels under the names of *Jhalawan* and *Sarawan*. One of the ancient names of the island of Sawaii, Samoan group, was *Salafa-ii*, which, as well as the Hawaiian "Halawa," indicates its connection with the Jilolo nomenclature of places.

28. In the western part of the Fiji group occur the names of such places as *Oto-wawa* and *Ka-wawa*, and in Hawaiian legends reference is made to places named *Wiwa* and *Wawa*. The comparison "Wawa" probably refers to

*Baba*, an island south of the Banda group, Indian Archipelago.

29. *Kepa*, a land on Kauai, Hawaiian group, refers itself to



*Tepa*, a village on the above mentioned island of Baba.

30. *Manoa*, a valley on Oahu, Hawaiian group, points to *Manoa*, islands off the south-east prong of Celebes.

31. *Holani-ku* and *Holani-moe*, corresponding to East and West Holani, also occurring in the chants as *Helani*; refers to the island of Ceram, which, according to Crawford and others, was formerly called *Sirang*, and is still so called by the natives. Another ancient Indonesian name might also stand sponsor to the Polynesian appellation, viz., *Siren-dwip*, the ancient name for Ceylon. For the etymology of Ceylon, see "Travels of Marco Polo," edited by Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., vol. ii. p. 296.

Under this head of evidence—properly, perhaps, called the geographical evidence—of the previous residence of the Polynesian family in the Asiatic Archipelago, and, probably, lands beyond, the following observations may be worthy of consideration.

While the present names for the north and south points of the compass may, or may not, have been adopted by the Polynesians since their irruption and dispersion in the Pacific; yet, in the ancient Hawaiian chants and legends, with which I am best acquainted, there occur names for north and south which indicate a residence on islands or lands whose configuration and physical surroundings were different from those which they now inhabit. Thus for the north we find such names as *Ulu-nui*, *Uli-uli*, *Hakalauai*, *Mele-mele*; but these are known and handed down by tradition as having been names of lands as well, situated to the north of some former habitat of the people, of which all knowledge and remembrance were lost, save this that they were so situated to the north of them, and were visited at one time by that famous voyager, "Kaulu-a-Kalana," whose exploits survive in song and saga. Of *Ulu-nui* and *Mele-mele*, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Of *Hakalauai* I find no further mention in Polynesian legends and manuscripts; but the Dyaks in

the province of Succadow, Borneo, on the river Lawai, have a tradition that, having been driven out by war from a country which they called *Lawai*, they embarked in canoes or praus, and arriving at Borneo, settled there and named the river after their former home.<sup>1</sup> The geographical relation of Borneo to Jawa, or the Sunda Isles generally, gives point and application to the Hawaiian legends, that *Lawai* or some particular portion of it, distinguished as *Hakalawai*, was situated to the north of some of their former habitats, and in course of time became synonymous with north.

The other Hawaiian legendary name for the north, just referred to, was *Uli-uli*. This word throughout the Polynesian dialects means "a dark colour, black, blue, dark-green, dusky, sombre," and its application to the northern point of the heavens recalls the observation of M. de Rienzi, when, speaking of the most ancient Javanese division of time into weeks of five days, he says:<sup>2</sup> "Les denominations de noir et de Nord demontrent d'une manière incontestable que cette subdivision a pris naissance dans l'Hindustan, où le soleil n'est jamais boreal comme à Java et dans les contrées équinoxiales."<sup>3</sup> May not the Hawaiian denomination of the north suggest the same inference?

<sup>1</sup> Asiatic Journal, August 1821, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Oceanic, vol. i. p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> The five days of the Ancient Javanese week were called respectively—(1.) *Laggi*, (2.) *Pahing*, (3.) *Pon*, (4.) *Wagi*, and (5.) *Kliwon*; and representing, 1st, the blue and the east; 2d, the red and the south; 3d, the yellow and the west; 4th, the black and the north; and 5th, a mixed colour and the hearth or centre. This division of the week is said to have obtained before the Hindus introduced the Brahminical week of seven days. This division and those names, then, belong to the people that inhabited Jawa before the Hin-

dus invaded and obtained supremacy in the island; and the etymology of those names plainly indicate their Polynesian affinity. Thus the *Laggi*, blue, is the Polynesian *Langi*, *Lani* (Fiji), *Lagi*, the sky, the blue expanse; *Pahing*, red, doubtless refers to the same root as the Polynesian *Hina* or *Sina*, white, bright, in Fiji, *Siga*, the sun, *Siga-Sigau*, white, while in Ceram (Wahai), *Mo-sina* is red; *Pon*, yellow, finds its relation in the Polynesian; Hawaiian, *Poni*, a mixture of colours, purple, the early dawn of the morning; *Waggi*, black, refers to the Polynesian *Wake* and *Wake-wake*, the black liquid of the squid.

Among the Hawaiian names for the south occur those ancient ones of *Lisso*,<sup>1</sup> and *Lepo*. The former signifies "blue, black, or dark," and hence "the deep water in the ocean; the latter is synonymous with 'Moana,' the deep, open ocean." But there is no land to the north of the present Hawaiian islands, within reach or ken, that could have suggested those other names as epithets or synonyms for the north only: the "Moana-lipo," the dark fathomless ocean, approaches them, not on the south only, but on every side. Nor were these names acquired or adopted while the Hawaiians yet lived in some of the southern groups of the Pacific, for the situation and surroundings of none of these would justify such designations for either north or south. Those names, therefore, refer to a period when the Polynesians occupied the Asiatic Archipelago, and probably lands further west, with the Indian Ocean as their "Moana-lipo," their "dark, unbounded sea," their southern quarter of the heavens, *Kuana-lipo*, their south; and with lands of various names all along their northern horizon.

The expressions *Tonga*, *Kona*, *Toa* (Sam., Haw., Tah.), to indicate the quarter of an island or of the wind, between the south and west, and *Tokelau*, *Toerau*, *Koolau* (Sam., Tah., Haw.), to indicate the opposite directions from north to east—expressions universal throughout Polynesia, and but little modified by subsequent local circumstances—point strongly to a former habitat in lands where the regular monsoons prevailed. Etymologically "Tonga," "Kona," contracted from "To-anga" or "Ko-ana," signifies "the setting," seil. of the sun. "Toke-lau," of which the other forms are merely dialectical variations, signifies "the cold, chilly sea." Mr. Hale, in the Ethnological portion of the United States Exploring Expedition under Commodore Wilkes, considers the application of *Tonga* to the south-western quarter as subsequent to the dispersion

<sup>1</sup> One of the Greek names for the south-west wind was Lips, *g. Libos* ( $\Delta\iota\psi$ ,  $\lambda\iota\beta\omicron\varsigma$ ).

of the Polynesians in the Pacific (*vid.* p. 180). But Mr. Hale, in the very same article, has very lucidly shown that "Tonga" was a term applied to the very first settlement of the Polynesians in the Pacific, on Viti-lewu, signifying "the Western," seil. people, in contradistinction from the Viti proper, or "Eastern" people. Hence it is reasonable to infer that the Polynesians brought the term with them as an already existing appellation of the western quarter, as much so as they did the other term of "Toke-lau," to designate the eastern quarter.

In the Tonga Islands, *Hahagi* means the northern and eastern side of an island, and *Hihifo* means the southern and western side. The first is derived from the preposition *Hagi*, "up, upward;" the latter from the preposition *Hifo*, "down, downward." In many of the other Polynesian groups the expressions "up" and "down" (Haw., *iluna* or *manae* and *ilalo*) are used with reference to the prevailing trade-winds. One is said to "go up" when travelling against the wind, and to "go down" when sailing before it. But the relative situation of the Tonga Islands reverses this order of things, and thus precludes the idea of its application being original there. These terms, then, are older than the residence of the Polynesians in the Tonga Islands, and indicate, in connection with other considerations, that they originated in some continental abode, or on the southern side of one of the larger Asiatic islands, where, from time immemorial and from constant use, they had hardened into synonyms with the cardinal points, and where to go to the northward was equivalent to "going up," to ascending an upland or mountain, and where the south became identified with the idea of descent, of "going down," towards the sea, from the interior highlands.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Malay *Utara* means north, evidently derived from the ancient and universal Polynesian word *Uta*, *Uka*, meaning "inland" from the sea-shore, up the mountain side.

In New Zealand the north was con-

ventionally called *Raro*, "down," and the south *Runga*, or "up." Leaving the Samoan islands, when bound to New Zealand, they were going to the south, or "up" against the south-east trades; when going back to the north-

Among the many traditions and legends which obtained currency among the Polynesian groups, it is not always easy to distinguish which are of an earlier and which of a later date. Almost every group of any note—that does not confessedly derive its inhabitants from some other group, like New Zealand, the Hervey Islands, Rotuma, and some others—has more than one tradition upon the creation of the world and of man, &c. Many of these traditions are not exempt from the vanity of sister nations in the Old World, and make the first inhabitants autochthones of their respective groups. But even those who thus begin their national history almost invariably derive their gods and demi-gods from some far off western country. The Tonga islanders say that they were created, or rather descended on their group, from their gods, but that the gods themselves dwelt on an island far to the north-west, called *Pulutu*. This name strikingly points to the island of “Buru,” near Ceram, of the Banda group in the Asiatic Archipelago.

In the Fiji group, where so much of early Polynesian tradition as well as language was engrafted on the Papuan stock, the abode of departed spirits is called *Mbulu*, and the Fijian Elysium is called *Mbulotu*, thus bringing the Tonga tradition back to the time of the Polynesian sejour on the Fiji group. And the tenacity of the tradition, as well as the universality of a western original home of gods or ancestors, is evidenced by the fact that in all the prin-

ward, they were going before the wind, or “down.”

According to Dieffenbach, Travels in New Zealand, the natives also call the south by the name of *Tonga*. But as none but the Samoans and Tahitians call the south by that name, it indicates the source whence the New Zealanders came, and thus confirms their own traditions.

In the Hawaiian group, the western portion or side of an island was called

“the front,” *ke alo*, of the land, and the eastern side was called “the back,” *ke kua*. The reason of such designations must be sought in the fact of the arrival of the inhabitants from the west. Compare with this the practice of the Aru Islanders in the south-east of Malaysia, who also call the eastern parts of their group “the back of the islands.” See Voyages of the Dutch brig of war “Dourga,” by D. H. Kolff, jun., p. 175. London: 1840.

cipal groups, on the western or north-western side, there are certain places, set off from time immemorial, as the points of departure from which the spirits of the dead plunged in the unknown hereafter to join the society of the gods or to be food for them.

The Marquesans are the only people who own to a distinctive national name, and retain a tradition of the road they travelled from their original habitat, until they arrived at the Marquesas Islands. They call themselves *te Take*, "the Take nation." They say that they were created in a country far far to the west, *iao-oa*, called *Take-hee-hee*; and of two different traditions reporting the same fact, one mentions thirteen places of stoppage and sejour during their migration eastward, *iuna*, ere they arrived at the Marquesas, and the other mentions seventeen places.

In one of their legends<sup>1</sup> or religious chants, that of the creation of the world, *te Pena-pena*, by the god Atea, the then known world extended from Vavau to Hawa-ii, "*me Vevau i Hawa-ii*," and after the earth was made, or rather, brought to light, the order was given—

*"Pu te metani me Vevau  
A anu te tai o Hawa-ii;  
Pu atu te metani me Hawa-ii  
A anu te ao o Vevau."*

(Blow winds from Vavau and cool the sea of Hawaii; blow back winds from Hawaii, and cool the air or region of Vavau.) And the burden of each stanza or act of creation is—

*"O Vevau me Hawa-ii."*

Again, in the Marquesan chant of the Deluge, *Tai-Toko*, it is said that after the flood the ribs of the earth and the mountain ridges of "Hawa-ii" and of "Matahou"<sup>2</sup> rose up, and extended far and near over the sea of Hawaii—

<sup>1</sup> Collected by T. C. Lawson, Esq. of Punahou College, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands, in MS. kindly furnished the author by Professor W. D. Alexander, formerly

<sup>2</sup> New Zealand legends and proverbs also refer to a country called

“*Una te tai o Hawa-ii.*”

I know not the age of these chants; but from the absence of any mention or allusion in them to the present Marquesas Islands, or the “*Ao-Maama*” as they are called in other chants, specially that of the Migrations, where they are brought in as the closing scene, so to say, of the epic period of this remarkable branch of the Polynesian family—I infer that they were composed in some other habitat, under physical and geographical conditions entirely different from any that the Polynesian groups afford for the solution of the question which were the Vevau and Hawa-ii to which the chants refer. To seek for them in the Vavau of the Tonga group, and the Sawa-ii or Hawa-ii of the Samoan and Hawaiian groups, would be an arbitrary distortion of the obvious sense of the legend, and incorrect as to the relative position of those islands among themselves and in regard to the prevailing winds. We must therefore seek the scene of these chants beyond the Pacific, where the winds alternate regularly—in fact, where the monsoons blow; and by so doing we not only conform to the sense of the chants, but we also find that the relative position of these two points was east and west, and not north and south.

I have already stated that the large bay of Coupang, on the island of Timor, was formerly called Babao. This bay and surrounding country were, at the time of the first European settlements there, an independent kingdom or state, and it is highly probable that in ancient times, before the Malay element preponderated in the Asiatic archipelago, it had given its name to the whole island. But *Babao* is and would be *Vavao* or *Vevau* in any of the Polynesian dialects, and as such is preserved in the names of several places within the Polynesian area of the Pacific. It thus becomes intelligible why Vavao or Timor should have been

“Mataaho,” destroyed by a flood, Ancestors of the New Zealand Race,  
 “*te hurianga i Mataaho.*” Vide by Sir George Gray, p. 85.  
 Proverbs and Popular Sayings of the

quoted in the chant as the one terminus of the known world to the people then occupying the Asiatic Archipelago from there to Jawa or Sumatra. To those people, at that time, it was the eastermost land then known, and when subsequently the Malays became dominant, they called it *Timor* or "the East," plainly indicating thereby that it was also by them at that time considered, as the extreme east. They merely translated the old name, or the idea associated with it, into their own language.

I have before stated that I consider the Polynesian word *Hawa-ii* or *Sawa-ii* as corresponding to *Jawa*, whether applied to Jawa proper or to Sumatra, or both, and the frequent allusion made in the chant referred to the "sea of *Hawa-ii*," *te tai o Hawa-ii*—the Jawa sea points with sufficient accuracy to those islands as the western terminus of the world as known to those who composed that chant, unless future investigations may enable us to extend that boundary so as to include the Arabian *Saba*.

In this way the expression used, regarding the winds, receives a force and application which, under no other construction, it could have received; and it then applies to the regular monsoons which blow over that part of the world: "Blow winds from *Vevao* (from the east) and cool the sea of *Hawa*; blow back winds from *Hawa* (from the west), and cool the region or air of *Vevao*."

The Hawaiian traditions which bear upon the origin of the islands and the derivation of the inhabitants are many and diversified, both in substance and colouring. National or dynastic vanity and priestly speculations have apparently at different periods re-cast and re-arranged some old primordial tradition, whose features either retreated to the back-ground of by-gone ages, or were overlaid or altered to suit local necessities, or the pressure of newer ideas. Enough, however, remains of that old primal tradition, the groundwork of nearly all the others, to show that the earliest reminiscences of the Hawaiian branch of the Polynesian family refer to a far western habitat on some very



large island or islands, or perhaps continent, as the birth-place of their ancestors. This land was known under many names, but the most frequently occurring is "*Kapaka-ua-a-Kane*." It is also called "*Hawaii-kua-uli-kai-oo*" (Hawaii with the green back, banks or upland, and the dotted sea). It is said to have been situated in *Kahiki-ku*, or the large continent to the east of *Kalana-i-Hau-ola*, or the place where the first of mankind were created, while *Kahiki-moe* was the name of the large land or continent to the west of this same "*Kalana-i-Hau-ola*." According to the tradition, there lived many generations after the flood (*ke kai-a-Kahinalii*), on the east coast of a country situated in or belonging to "*Kapakapa-ua-a-Kane*," and called *Ka Aina Kai Melemele-a-Kane*,<sup>1</sup> "the land or coast of the yellow or handsome sea," a chief of high renown and purest descent called *Hawa-ii-loa*, or, also, *Ke Kowa-i-Hawaii*. This chief was a noted fisherman and great navigator, and on one of his maritime cruises, by sailing in the direction of the star *Iao* (Jupiter when morning star) and of the Pleiades, he discovered land, arrived at the easternmost of these islands which he called after his own name, and the other islands he called after his children. Delighted with the country, he returned to his native land after his wife and family, and having performed the same eastern voyage, in the direction of the

<sup>1</sup> "Among the various traditions regarding the manner in which Jawa and the eastern islands were originally peopled, and the source whence the population proceeded, it has been related that the first inhabitants came in vessels from the Red Sea (*Laut Mira*), and that in their passage they coasted along the shores of Hindostan, that peninsula then forming an unbroken continent with the land in the Indian Archipelago, from which it is now so widely separated, and which, according to the tradition, has since been divided into so many distinct islands by some convulsions of nature or re-

volution of the elements." History of Jawa, by Thomas S. Raffles, chap. x., *vide Asiatic Journal*, December 1817, p. 586. The mention of the "*Laut Mira*" or *Merah* by the Javanese tradition as the direction whence their ancestors came, gives a singular confirmation and importance to the "*Kai Melemele*" of the Hawaiian legend; but whether it should refer to the Red Sea or the Erythrean may be a question which, under the bearing of the Hawaiian legend, I should be inclined to answer in favour of the latter.

morning star and the Pleiades, crossing the ocean which is called by the diverse names of *Kai-holo-o-ka-ia*, "the sea where fish do run," *Ka Moana-kai-Maokioki-a-Kane*, "the spotted, many-coloured ocean," and also *Moana-kai-Popolo*, "the blue or dark-green ocean,"—he arrived the second time to the Hawaiian Islands, and he and his family and followers were their first human inhabitants. So runs the legend.

That this legend embodies the oldest remembered knowledge of the Hawaiian people regarding the origin of the world, the creation of mankind, the deluge and some principal events in the national life of that branch of the human family which we now call "the Polynesian," there will, in my opinion, be little room for doubting. The principal facts, and some of the episodes connected with them, are repeated or alluded to, *mutatis mutandis*, yet in a recognisable shape—and thus corroborated as an heirloom of the entire Polynesian family, previous to its dispersion in the Pacific—in the traditions and legends of the principal groups. The universality of the tradition proves its antiquity.

This is not, perhaps, the proper place to critically consider the historical merits of the Hawaiian legend of *Kumuhonua*, of which the story of *Hawaii-loa* is but an episode; but, admitting the antiquity of the legend, it shows that, according to the earliest recollections of the Hawaiian people, as handed down by tradition, they sprang from a country lying far to the westward of their present abode, and that, whether the Hawaii to which the legend refers be the Hawaii of the North Pacific, the Sawaii of the Samoan group, or the Jawa of the Asiatic Archipel, they did not come there from the east, north, or south, but from lands and seas in the far distant west. The Hawaiians considered themselves as emigrants, not as autochthones, of the Hawaii of which the legend speaks.

But there are three of the Polynesian groups, the

Hawaiian, the Samoan, and the Tongan, having each an island whose name, with a slight dialectical difference, is precisely the same—Hawa-ii—and each one claiming for itself the honour of having been the first peopled and first named in the Pacific. Yet all concur, however, in pointing to the far west as the birthplace of their ancestors, or the abode of their gods.<sup>1</sup> In the far west, therefore, beyond the Pacific, we must look for the original “Hawa” or “Hawa-ii,” after which they named their new abodes in the various quarters of the Pacific. And here the legend, to which I have already referred, gives another landmark which, in a peculiar manner, points out the direction in which to look for the special and primary “Hawa” which the Polynesians so fondly remembered. The name of that wandering chief, who is said to have discovered the Hawaiian islands and first settled upon them, is not only *Hawaii-loa*, “the great burning Hawa,” but his name is also repeatedly given as *ke Kowa o Hawa-ii*, “the straits of the great burning Hawa.” If, as I think, there is sufficient ground for identifying the Polynesian Hawa-ii with Jawa in the Asiatic Archipel, then this “Kowa-o-Hawa-ii” can be no other than the Straits of Sunda, or a personified remembrance of them.

The Polynesian mind had also another mode of expressing this vague remembrance of a far off home. In many, if not most of the groups, the *Moku-Huna* or *Aina-Huna-a-Kanè*, “the hidden, concealed land of Kane,” was as much a reality as the existence of Kane himself. This land of plenty and bliss would occasionally loom up in the far off western horizon to the sight of the gifted and faithful. In the Hawaiian traditions its situation was vaguely indicated to be in a north-westerly direction from the group or the particular island of the beholder, and though firmly believed in, yet the belief seldom stimulated

<sup>1</sup> According to M. de Bovig, “Etat de la Société Taitienne à l’arrivée des Européens,” the Tahitian traditions expressly state that the cradle of the human race was where the sun sets.

to action. But in the Marquesas group numerous expeditions have from time to time, up till quite lately, been started in search of this traditional land of mystery and bliss, and their course was invariably to the westward.<sup>1</sup>

This looking to the west, this longing after the home of their forefathers, was doubtless brought by the Polynesians from their earlier Asiatic homes. From India to the Arran Isles, off the coast of Ireland, the belief in some "happy island of the west" was a conspicuous trait of the Indo-European family; and whether the Polynesians derived it from Aryan or Cushite sources, or whether it developed itself on each particular group as a common expression of regret and desire after that happier land where they had formerly dwelt, its existence as a fact is none the less pertinent to the argument for their western origin.

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The physical resemblance, and the uniformity of usages, customs, modes of thought, not to mention language, of which I shall speak more fully hereafter, between the Polynesians and the Dayahs, Battas, Buguis, and other tribes still living in the Malay Archipelago, and whom I look upon as pre-Malay remnants of the Polynesian family, are too many and too striking not to indicate a close relationship, a common origin, and a lengthened period of residence in the same place, to give time for their development and spread. In the "L'Univers" sec-

<sup>1</sup> As late as the commencement of this century the Nukahivans were every now and then fitting out exploring expeditions in their great canoes in search of a traditional land called *Utupu*, supposed to be situated

to the westward of their archipelago, from which the god Tao first introduced the cocoa-nut tree, *vide* L'Univers Pittor., Oceanie, by D. de Rienzi, vol. ii. p. 230.

tion "Océanie," by Mr. G. L. Dominis de Rienzi, this subject is fully and well-treated. The Javanese and Malays themselves, who arrived in the archipelago at a later date than the above tribes—conquering, extirpating, driving them out, or driving them into the mountain fastnesses of the different islands—also acknowledge their priority by calling them the *Orang-Benoa*, "the aborigines of the country."

Speaking of the different races which now inhabit Malaysia, M. de Rienzi says, "Océanie," vol. i. p. 18 :

"La seconde race est celle des Polynésiens. Nous croyons avoir trouvé dans la race des Dayas et autres peuples de Borneo, le berceau des peuple Malaisiens, Mélanésiens et Polynésiens. Leur teint blanc-jaunâtre plus ou moins foncé, l'angle facial aussi ouvert que celui des Européens, la haute stature, la physionomie régulière, le nez et le front élevés, les cheveux longs et noirs, la beauté, la grace, les manières souples et lascives de leurs femmes, et surtout des danseuses, les rapports quoique altérés de leurs langues, l'habitude de l'agriculture, de la chasse et de la pêche, l'habilité à construire leurs pirogues et à fabriquer leurs ustensiles, leurs immenses cases, leurs croyances religieuses, les sacrifices humains, leurs coutumes et une sorte particulière de consécration ou *tapou*, tout indique la plus grande ressemblance entre les Dayas et les Polynésiens. La comparaison serait même plus exacte entre ceux-ci et les Touradjas et les Bouguis de Célèbes ; mais les Touradjas et les Bouguis, chez lesquels les propriétés des grands et des prêtres sont réputées sacrées, ainsi que dans la Polynésie et parmi les Dayas, nous paraissent, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit, appartenir à la race Daya, de même que les Balinais, les peuples des îles Nias, Nassau ou Poggy, les Ternatis, les Guiloliens et ceux d'une partie des Moluques, de l'archipel de Holo, des îles Philippines et des îles Palaos. Ces trois derniers surtout paraissent être originaires de Célèbes et de Borneo ; mais la ressemblance des Taïtiens, des Nouveaux-Zélandais et surtout des

Battas avec les Dayas est frappante, selon le récit des voyageurs les plus dignes de foi."

This striking resemblance, physical and social, between the pre-Malay inhabitants of Malaysia—those remnants of an anterior population, found more or less pure—and the Polynesian family, I have found corroborated by nearly every competent traveller. It is a *prima facie* evidence of consanguinity which every inquiry only tends to strengthen, and greatly leads to the conclusion that during some previous epoch these *disjecta membra* constituted one great family, occupying the Asiatic Archipel from Sumatra to Ceram, from Luzon to Timor. From Javanese and Malay chronicles or records it may be gathered that there was a time when the Malay and the Hindu had no permanent foothold in the present Malaysia; that about the commencement of the present era, and possibly earlier, they arrived from the country of Kling or Talinga, on the east coast of Hindustan, and established themselves by force on Java and Sumatra; that they found there a people whom they called Rakshasas or demons—a Hindu complimentary term for those of non-Brahminical belief—and whom they exterminated, subdued, or expelled. That this people, thus stigmatised by the conquering Hindus and Brahminical historians, were the ancestors of the Polynesian family there seems to me now to be little room for doubting, and I hope subsequent pages will make it still clearer.

Great as the similarity is in other respects between the Polynesian in the East Pacific—from Hawaii to New Zealand—and his unmistakable blood-relations in Malaysia, the Battas, Reyangs, Nias, Dayahs, Buguis, Tagals, Molucans (in places), Saouans and others, the linguistic conformity is equally remarkable, and it gives us, moreover, a clue to the high antiquity of that branch of the family now found in the Pacific, and enables us to decide its priority in time, irrespective of other proofs, over the Malay and Hindu intruders in the Asiatic Archipelago.

I must not, however, ignore the fact that not a few writers, and some of great reputation even, have classed the Polynesians as an offshoot, as descendants, of the Malay stock; and that at least one naturalist of high and well-deserved renown, in writing on the "Malay Archipelago," has come to the conclusion that the Polynesian race is "a modification of the Papuan, superinduced by an admixture of Malay or some light-coloured Mongol element." Reserving my remarks on both these classes of writers to another division of this work, and merely referring to the physical resemblance of some of the pre-Malay, or rather non-Malay, tribes in the Asiatic Archipelago, to the Polynesians of the north and south Pacific, I find that in the work above quoted, Mr. R. A. Wallace, speaking of the Galela men of Gilolo,<sup>1</sup> one of the Moluccas, says that they are of light complexion, with Papuan features, resembling the drawings of Tahitians and Hawaiians more than any that he has seen. Again, on page 323, the same author finds that the people of northern Gilolo, or Alfuras, as he calls them, are "radically distinct from all the Malay races," and thinks that they "unmistakably proclaim a Papuan type," and considers them as a comparatively recent immigration, and that they had come from the north or east, perhaps from some of the islands of the Pacific. Again, on page 269, speaking of the people of the plateau of Tondano, Celebes, Mr. Wallace says, "the plateau of Tondano is chiefly inhabited by people nearly as white as the Chinese, and with very pleasing semi-European features. The people of Siam and Sanguir much resemble these, and I believe them to be perhaps immigrants from some of the islands of north Polynesia." Again, on page 249, Mr. Wallace describes the people of Minchasa and Menado, of north-east Celebes, as differing "from any other people in the archipelago. They are of a light brown or yellow tint, often approaching the fairness of the European; rather short stature, stout and well made, open

<sup>1</sup> Page 331.

and pleasing countenance, more or less disfigured as age increases by projecting cheek-bones, with the usual long straight jet-back hair of the Malay races." On page 203, speaking of the inhabitants of Timor, Mr. Wallace calls the mountaineers "a people of Papuan type, slender forms, bushy frizzled hair, and skin of a dusky brown colour. Long nose with overhanging apex, so characteristic of the Papuan, and so absolutely unknown among races of Malayan origin." Finally, on page 195, Mr. Wallace considers the people of Savu, south-west from Timor, as probably of Hindu descent; at least they were different from either Malay or Papuan; had well-formed features, straight, thin noses, and clear brown complexion.<sup>1</sup>

Though Mr. Wallace, in two or three places of the work referred to, intimates a belief that the Polynesians emigrated from the Pacific, and settled in the Malay Archipelago, at least in the eastern portions of it, instead of deriving their origin from that direction, yet it is sufficient for my present purpose that he admits the resemblance and consanguinity of the Polynesians to tribes still existing in the said archipelago.

<sup>1</sup> Lieutenant Kolff, in *Voyages of the Dutch brig of war "Dourga," 1825-26*, speaking of the heathen inhabitants of Lette, an island near Kissa, in the southern Moluccas, says, "They are tall and well formed, with light brown complexions; their noses are pointed, and their foreheads high, while their hair, naturally black, is rendered yellow by rubbing in a composition of lime. It is confined by means of a bamboo comb. The men wear no other dress than a piece of cloth, made from the bark of a tree, wrapped round the waist. The women, in addition to this article of clothing, sometimes wear a sort of Kabya, or short gown, open in front," p. 60.

Speaking of the inhabitants of the Tenimber group in the same sea, Mr. Kolff says, "They are usually well formed, and possess a fairer complexion than most of their neighbours, while their features display few of the characteristics of the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago, generally being more in accordance with those of Europeans, to whom they would bear much resemblance were it not for the dark colour of their complexion," p. 239.

In *Voyage au Pale Sud*, vol. ii. p. 280, &c., Captain d'Urville describes the Harfouras of Celebes (Menado) as identical, physically, with the Polynesians.



I believe that it is now established by the best philologists, that all languages, in their development, proceed from the simple to the complex, from monosyllables to polysyllables, from agglutinative to inflectional. Thus considered, the Polynesian language, through its various dialects, as found in the Pacific, is one of the oldest living on the face of the earth.<sup>1</sup> Its identity with the pre-Malay dialects still existing in Malaysia is now fully established; and not only so, but it is especially and manifestly the older surviving form of a once common tongue. Thanks to its isolation for long un-numbered ages, it has preserved the ancient simplicity of its structure, and suffered less phonetic corruption than its congeners and pre-Malay cousins, the Dayahs, Battas, Buguis, &c., subject as these latter have been, for 1800 years at least, to a constant and harassing intrusion from, and intercourse with, Arab, Kawi, Malay, and Chinese. The absence in the Pacifico-Polynesian branch of those abbreviations of syllables, elisions of vowel-sounds, and the abundance of terminal consonants which characterise the Asiatic branch, besides the rudimentary simplicity of its alphabet, attest the early age at which it separated from its kindred in the Asiatic Archipelago.

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Having shown by various facts that the Polynesian family in the Pacific—from Easter Island to Rotuma, from the Hawaiian group to New Zealand—can be traced directly to the Asiatic Archipelago, and that in a majority of cases they themselves refer not only the residence of their gods, but also the homes of their immediate ancestors, to those islands and lands in the far off west which they so

<sup>1</sup> “The Polynesian language is, in its whole formation and construction, by far more primitive than the Malayan and the rest of the Javano-Tagalo languages. It belongs to a primitive state of society.” Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, p. 299.

fondly remembered in naming their new habitats in the Pacific, and the glamour of which still haunts the popular mind in song and saga, there is still an objection which at first sight appeared to me, and may appear to others, as an incomprehensible fact, if not a fatal demurrer to the conclusion above set forth. It is this—and the question may pertinently be asked—how came the Polynesians in their migrations, whether forcible or voluntary, from any part of the present Malay Archipelago, to push past the entire space of Papuasias—from New Guinea to the Viti group—some thousands of miles into the Pacific, before they established themselves in their new homes? That question involves a consideration of the origin and habitats of the Papuan race which I do not feel thoroughly competent to engage in. This much, however, I think may be safely asserted, and will in part be borne out by facts, that at some remote period the Papuans inhabited the islands of the Asiatic Archipelago as far west at least as Borneo, and probably extending up on the mainland on the side of Siam, the Malacca peninsula, and perhaps as far as Burmah; that they held those islands at a time previous to the arrival and occupation of them by the ante-Malay family, whom I designate as the Polynesian race: that as this race advanced to the eastward through the archipelago, the Papuans were driven before them, either out of the islands altogether, or into the interior of the larger ones, where remnants of them still are found; and that, thus expelled or conquered, they found an asylum and a home in the Papuan Archipelago; unless we assume that they had already spread so far east before they came in hostile contact with the Polynesians in the west. And when, in the course of time, these latter were in their turn crowded out by the encroachments of Malay and Hindu immigrations, and left from various points, entering the Pacific in quest of new abodes, they found their ancient foes in superior force along their route, and, unable to effect permanent settlements on the Papuan islands, they were obliged to push on eastward

until the Eastern Pacific islands, at that time probably uninhabited,<sup>1</sup> afforded them that shelter and rest which in vain they had sought on Papuan coasts.

When the Polynesians entered the Pacific there were two routes open to them, and they probably followed both—according to the different points of departure within the Asiatic Archipelago—Torres Straits and the Gilolo Passage. On either route they have left mementoes of their passage in the Polynesian names of various places, and in outlying remnants of their own race on scattered points of the Papuan Archipel. The islands of Lefu and Uea of the Loyalty group, Nuumea on New Caledonia, and other names, recall their Polynesian origin; while the inhabitants of St. David's or Freewill Island, of Stewart Islands or Sikyana and How's group, along the northern extent of Papuasias, are unquestionably of Polynesian descent, both in appearance and language.<sup>2</sup>

If not the first, at least the last and best confirmed attempt of the Polynesian wanderers at permanent settlements on Papuan soil, was at the Viti or Fiji Islands. The number of Polynesian names by which these islands and places in them are called, even now, by their Papuan inhabitants, argues a permanence of residence that cannot well be disputed. The large infusion of Polynesian vocables in the Fijian language, and the mixture of the two races, especially in the south-eastern part of the group, indicate a

<sup>1</sup> The indications that the various Pacific groups were inhabited at the time that the Polynesians occupied them, are very faint indeed; and yet the import of some of their traditions cannot be otherwise construed. That the majority of the groups were uninhabited at the time referred to seems to me quite clear; but I think it equally clear also that the people which left their architectural remains on the Ladrone islands, and their colossal statues on Easter Island, had swept the Pacific Ocean before that

time, and possibly may have left some remnants of themselves to which the traditions refer, but which were absorbed or expelled by the new-comers.

<sup>2</sup> Late discoveries on the south-east coast of New Guinea have brought to light several tribes of undoubted Polynesian affinity, both in physique and language.—*Vide* Journal of Rev. Mr. Lawes in the Missionary Steamer "Ellengowan," from Port Moresby to China Straits, published in "Town and Country Journal," Sydney, June 3, 1876.

protracted sejour, and an intercourse of peace as well as of war.<sup>1</sup> But after some time—how long cannot now be expressed in generations or in centuries—the Papuans succeeded in driving the Polynesians out of their group, and then, if they had not before, they occupied the island groups still farther eastward, simultaneously or successively.

Of that intercourse, contest and hostility between the Papuan and Polynesian races, on the south-west fringe of the Pacific, there are several traditionary reminiscences among the Polynesian tribes, embodied in their mythology, or retained as historical facts, pointing to past collision and stimulating to future reprisals. The Tonga Islands have a tradition, recorded by Mariner,<sup>2</sup> that *Tanga-loa*, one of their principal gods, had two sons, of which the elder was called *Tu-po*, the younger was called *Vaka-ako-uli*. The first was indolent and shiftless, the other industrious and prosperous. Jealousy induced the former to kill the latter. Then “*Tanga-loa*” called the older brother and the family of the younger before him, and thus addressed the latter: “Your bodies shall be fair as the spirit of your father was good and pure; take your canoes and travel to the eastward, and all good things attend you.” And to the older brother the offended god thus spoke: “Thy body

<sup>1</sup> We now know from New Caledonian traditions, as reported by Dr. V. de Roehas (“*La Nouvelle Calédonie*,” &c., Paris, 1862), that in olden times joint and singular expeditions of Fijians and Tongans frequently invaded New Caledonia and conquered tracts of land for themselves, and that the higher aristocracy and subordinate nobles of to-day claim descent from the chiefs of those predatory parties; that, owing to this influx, the language presents a great variety of idioms; that the main stock, however, of the population is of the original Papuan; and, as circumcision is also practised among them, it may, for want of more precise knowledge

of its origin and introduction there, with great plausibility be ascribed to that same Tonga-Vitian element.

In further confirmation of the settlement and protracted stay of Polynesian tribes on the Fiji group, the reader is referred to United States Exploring Expedition, *Ethnography and Philology*, by Horatio Hale, p. 174, &c.; a writer whom I have found as valuable, trustworthy, and cautious as any who has attempted to write upon the Polynesian family in the Pacific.

<sup>2</sup> Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, vol. ii. pp. 123 and 402. London, 1817.

shall be black as thy soul is wicked and unclean: I will raise the east wind between you and your brother's family, so that you cannot go to them, yet from time to time I will permit them to come to you for the purposes of trade."

Whether this legend was of purely Tongan and limited origin,<sup>1</sup> or merely a chip from the old Cushite storehouse of primitive legends, yet, when we consider that from the earliest times the Tonga islanders have kept up a more or less continuous intercourse with the Viti group, either warlike or commercial, it is not difficult to apply the tradition, or to point the moral.

That the hostilities in the early days of Polynesian settlements in the Pacific was remembered by other tribes as well as the Tonga, and looked upon as a national vendetta, may be inferred from a remark made by Quiros in his account of the expedition of Mendana (1595), while at the island of Santa Christina (*Tahuata*), one of the Marquesas group. He says:—I quote from "Voyage de Marchand," vol. i. p. 227—that the natives, having observed a negro on board of the Admiral's ship among the Spaniards, said that to the south of their island there was land inhabited by black men; that these were their enemies; that they used the bow and arrow; and that the big war-canoes then lying in the bay of Madre de Dios were destined and being fitted to make war upon them. Quiros, not then knowing the existence of the Viti group, dis-

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to believe this legend to be older than the expulsion of the Tongans from Viti, because I have found references, though more or less distorted, to similar early fratricide in both New Zealand and Hawaiian traditions, and I therefore look upon it as a common heirloom of the Polynesian family before its dispersion in the Pacific. The Hawaiian legend states that the oldest son of *Kumuhonua*, the first man, was called *Laka*, and that the next son was called *Ahu*; that *Laka* was a bad man, and killed his brother *Ahu*.

The New Zealand legend states that the New Zealanders descended from two brothers, *Mau-i-mua* and *Mau-i-potiki*; that the former, being the elder, killed the younger brother and ate him, whence the custom of cannibalism among them.—*Oceanic*, par G. L. D. de Rienzi, vol. iii. p. 161.

The old legends of the Island of Madura, north of Jawa, mention a King called *Rawson Dawa*, who had two children, one white and called *Kakra Sana*, the other black, and called *Krisna*.—"Monde Maritime," par G. A. Walkenaer.

credited their story of the black men. The specialty, however, of these using the bow and arrow, points them out as of the Papuan race, to whom that weapon was and is familiar, while by the Polynesians generally it is never, or very seldom, used for purposes of war.

Whether the Marquesans of Quiros' time actually carried on so distant a warfare, as between their group and the Viti or any other Papuan island, may fairly be called in doubt, and is, in my opinion, quite improbable. But the fact that they were acquainted with the existence of the Papuan race in the Pacific as distinct from their own, and with the peculiar weapon of war of the former, and that that acquaintance was one of ancient and intense hostility, cannot be doubted. That acquaintance probably dated back to the time when they were dwelling in the Samoan group to the north-east of the Viti; or perhaps older still, when coasting along the shores of the Papuan Archipel, before their arrival at Viti.

How long the Polynesian family had dwelt in the Asiatic Archipelago ere it debouched in the Pacific there are now small means of knowing, hardly of forming even a conjecture. Its reminiscences of that period are not many, and are confused with memories of older date and of other habitats. There are many allusions in their sagas and songs to events and persons previous to their arrival in the Pacific, and which they evidently brought with them from that far western home. But whether these allusions were born there, so to say, or acquired there by intercourse with other peoples still farther west, or brought with them as reminiscences of a previous national life in some other land, before they explored and spread over the Asiatic Archipelago, are points extremely difficult to decide, and enveloped in great obscurity. Glimpses of Cushite Zabaism; religious symbols of the Siwa worship; Hindu myths, but of Vedic simplicity and Iranian colouring, or rather fraternity; legends derived from both Cushite and Iranian sources; customs largely bespeaking the same

mixed origin; but, above all, a language fundamentally Arian,<sup>1</sup> but Arian of a pre-Vedic and pre-Iranian era—all these cumulative yet many-sided evidences of a foreign extraction, beyond the Asiatic Archipelago, meet us at every step in Polynesian folk-lore and Polynesian archæology. Let us collect these scattered lights; let us endeavour to read the riddle they present, and lift a corner of the curtain that shrouds the cradle of the Polynesian race. These lights are dim, and they are few; but though they may not illumine the landscape, yet I think they are sufficient to show the path.

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Of the peculiar extension, development, and influence of the ancient Arabic civilisation in pre-historic times, it is not my object, nor wholly within my ability, to treat. That it was a power in the world, and felt as such, from beyond the pillars of Hercules to the furthest East, modern researches are making more and more evident. This remarkable race of people—whom the earlier Greek writers mentioned as Ethiopians, whom Iranian traditions designated as inhabiting “Cusha-Dwipa,” and who claimed for themselves a descent from the twelve sons of Chan—had overrun the then known world with their conquests, their colonies and commerce, long before the Arian and Semitic stocks had issued from the barbarism of ethnic infancy.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Professor Max Müller (*Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2d Series, p. 192. London, 1864), “the original elements of the Arian language consisted of open syllables of one consonant followed by one vowel, or of a single vowel.” As the Arian was then, so is the Polynesian to this day.

<sup>2</sup> “Recent linguistic discovery tends to show that a Cushite or Ethiopian race did in the earliest times extend itself along the shores of the Southern

Ocean, from Abyssinia to India. The whole peninsula of India was peopled by a race of this character before the influx of the Arians. It extended from the Indus along the sea-coast through the modern Beloochistan and Kerman, which was the proper country of the Asiatic Ethiopians; the cities on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf are shown by the brick inscriptions found among their ruins to have belonged to this race; it was dominant in Susiana and Baby-

They were the first to navigate and explore the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean as well as of the Indian seas. They called many of those places by names drawn from their own tongue, and which have come down to our own time as vestiges of their presence, as fossilised specimens cropping out through successive strata of overlying nationalities and languages, awaiting some philological Cuvier to collect and classify them. Wheresoever they went they inoculated the barbarous tribes with whom they came in contact with their religious notions, their social customs, their arts, their knowledge. Time, the natural disintegration of overgrown empires, and the irruption over the same area of other systems—religious and political—of other progressive and self-sustained races, have effaced much and absorbed more of this early civilisation, whose shreds and patches may still be found hanging on many an ethnic bush, and thus attesting the influence and intellectual activity of this wonderful race.<sup>1</sup>

My object in thus specially referring to this Cushite-Hamitic-Arabian race and its wide-spread influence in pre-historic times, is to call an increased attention of eminent Orientalists to the elucidation of the past of this singular race, because I have found in the traditions, religious notions, and modes of expression, social customs of the Polynesian family, not a few indications and startling co-

lonia until overpowered in the one country by Arian, in the other by Semitic intrusion; it can be traced, both by dialect and tradition, throughout the whole south coast of the Arabian peninsula, and it still exists in Abyssinia, where the language of the principal tribe (the *Galla*) furnishes, it is thought, a clue to the cuneiform inscriptions of Susiana and Elymais, which date from a period probably a thousand years before our era.—Herodotus, by George Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 529, n. 8.

<sup>1</sup> In speaking of ancient Arabian commerce with India, Mr. Lenor-

mant, in the *Manual of Ancient History*, vol. ii. p. 301, says: "It dates from so remote an antiquity that it is impossible to determine its origin. Both countries, the shores of the Indian Ocean as well as those of the Persian Gulf, were even anterior to the Arian migrations and the establishment of the Ioktanite Arabs in Yemen, inhabited by populations of the same race, Cushites and Canaanites, those people to whom all historical traditions agree in attributing the first development of commerce and navigation."



incidences tending to show that at some time in its early trans-Pacific life, in Deccan or beyond the Vindhya mountains, this family had been subject to Cushite influence, and received more or less of Cushite blood into its veins.

With the dim and intermittent light which present knowledge throws upon that Cushite empire, it is difficult, nay impossible, to arrange these indications and coincidences properly as to locality of origin or sequence of time. And the same remark will apply to whatever in Polynesian folk-lore may be found corresponding or akin to modes of thought or social usages, whether of early Arian growth or of later Hindu development. I simply present them, therefore, in bulk, so to say, as the stock in hand yet remaining among the Polynesian tribes from its former connection with the Cushite and Arian races.

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According to the old Arab, pre-Semitic tradition, the Cushite race consisted originally of twelve tribes.<sup>1</sup> Their names were Ad, Thamud, Tasm, Djadis, Amlik, Oumayim, Abil, Djourhoum, Wabar, Jasm, Autem, Hashen. Another tradition mentions Ad as the son of Chan; and as a general expression, "old as Ad," conveyed a sense of the highest antiquity to the Arab mind. When the Semitic or Semitised Arabs, at a later epoch, had obtained the predominancy in Arabia and Syria, they moulded their genealogical descent on the Cushite pattern. We find that the Semitic Arabs claimed descent from Jaktan, through his twelve sons; that the Ishmaelites claimed through the twelve sons of Ishmael; that the Edomites claimed through the twelve dukes of Edom, sons and grandsons of Esau; that the Hebrews claimed through the twelve sons of Jacob; the Babylonians of historic time had twelve gods besides Ra or Il, their tutelary deity or supreme god; the Etruscans

<sup>1</sup> "Pre-historic Nations," by John D. Baldwin, A.M., sect. iii., *passim*.

had twelve great gods; and we find this mystic number twelve obtaining in the myths and theogonies of several branches of the Arian race; the Du "Majores" or Consentes of the Romans and Greeks,<sup>1</sup> and the Asa family of gods among the Scandinavians. Now, whether that idea of twelviship in human descent or divine economy was merely a development and after application of the primary Zabaism, of which those old-world Cushite Arabians were among the earliest, if not the original professors, I leave others to determine. It is sufficient for my present purpose that that idea, of evidently Cushite origin, and so widely diffused and so variously applied by both the Semitic and Arian races, is also found among the Polynesian tribes, and found too in the peculiar form used by the Arabian Cushites and neighbouring Semites, to indicate their human descent from some noted progenitor.

In the Hawaiian legend of *Kumuhonua* and his descendants, we find that the Hawaiian people claim descent from the youngest of the twelve sons of *Kini-lau-a-Mano*.

In the Marquesan legends the people claim their descent from *Atea* and *Tani*, the two eldest of *Toho's* twelve sons, whose descendants, after long periods of alternate migrations and rest in far western lands, finally arrived at the Marquesas Islands.

In the famous legend of *Aukele-nui-a-Iku*, known in some form or other on several of the Polynesian groups, the hero's father *Iku* or *Aiku*, and his mother *Ka Papai-akea*, king and queen of a country called *Kua-i-helani*, had twelve children, of which "Aukele" was the youngest son.

But the legend of "Aukele-nui-a-Iku," so ancient and so popular among the Polynesians, presents more indications and coincidences of Cushite extraction than the application of the number twelve as a family or genealogical

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Rawlinson, in Essay x. App. Book i. of G. Rawlinson's "Herodotus," considers that much of the Greek and Roman mythology, beside what is of purely Arian ele-

ment, may be traceable to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, and was brought to Europe from there by what he calls "Scythic or Scytho-Arian" emigrants.

division. We know from Indian lore that far off in pre-historic times a famous king ruled over Arabia and Upper Egypt, whose name was *It* or *Ait*, and whose fame and exploits were introduced and retained upon the early Greek traditions, where he is called *Aetus*.<sup>1</sup>

The recollection of that Cushite King "Ait" or "Aitu," of whom the Greeks in the west, and the Iranians in the east, had heard so much as to retain his name upon their ancient traditions—survives, also, not only in this Polynesian legend, but even in the nomenclature of several places north and south in Polynesia, which bear his name, simply or composite. We thus find *Aitu-take*, one of the Hervey group; *A-fare-a-Aitu*, a bay and village on Huahine, of the Society group; *Aiku*, name of a tract of land between Hamakua and S. Kohala, on Hawaii, Hawaiian group; *Fare-a-Aitu* was the name of the house of worship in heathen times on Rakahanga, one of the Manahiki group; in the Samoan and Rotuma dialects *Aitu* signifies a spirit, and so does *Maitu* in the Paumotu group.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of royalty or sovereignty attached to this word "Iku" or "Aiku," as of Cushite origin, is, moreover, observed in the old Hawaiian tradition, according to which the chiefs were divided into two classes or pedigrees: the class *Iku-pau* and the class *Iku-nuu*. The former appear to have been considered as descendants in direct line from

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin's Pre-historic Nations, p. 280.

As the etymology of the word Aethiopians or *Aithiopes* is not yet satisfactorily determined by philologists, I may be permitted to suggest its derivation from this same King Ait, It, or Aitu, and the early Hellenic, or, perhaps, pre-Hellenic term *Opes*, signifying peoples, tribes, assemblages; the word Aethiopes thus being of analogous formation to Pelopes, Dol-opes, Cere-opes, &c., and equivalent to "the people of Ait or Aitu."

In Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol.

ii. p. 35, n. 8, I read: "Αιδιουψ was evidently a corruption of the Egyptian name for Southern Ethiopia or Nubia, 'Ethaush' or 'Ethosh,' the ps being substituted for sh, a sound the Greeks could neither write nor pronounce. The Greeks (like the Arabs) often adopted a word having some signification in their own language, if it resembled a foreign one, and the Greek derivation of Αιδιουψ is on a par with that of Isis, from *επισ*, 'knowledge,' and many others."

<sup>2</sup> In Tahitian *Taepei-a-itu* is the name of a bird sacred to the god *Tane*.

"Kane," the god, or "Kumuhonua," the first man, and possessed both spiritual and temporal power; the latter appear to have corresponded to collateral or cadet branches of the royal families, and possessed only temporal power.

As regards the country in which this renowned King "Ait" or "Aitu" is said to have lived, the cumulative evidence of a Cushite connection induces me to collate the first component part of *Kua-i-helani* with "Cusha" in the Vedic and later Sanskrit *Cusha-Dwipa*, the division of the earth between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. If this be correct, there can be little difficulty in collating the second component of the name with *Hiran* or *Iran*, the ancient name of parts of Persia, and the whole name would then correctly express the extent of country over which King "Ait" ruled according to the Puranas.<sup>1</sup>

I will refer again to this legend of "Aukele-nui-a-Iku" when treating of the so-called Hebrew affinities of the Polynesian race.

Of ancient Zabaism, or rather solar worship, traces may be found in the legends and in expressions of the language. In the Hawaiian legend of "Kumuhonua," it is said "that when, after the flood ('Kai a Kahinalii'), *Nuu* left his vessel in the evening of the day, he took with him a pig, cocoa-nuts, and awa (piper methyst) as an offering to his god *Kane*. As he looked up he saw the moon in the sky, and he thought that that was the god, saying to himself: 'You are *Kane*, no doubt, though you have transformed yourself to my sight.' So he worshipped the moon, and offered his offerings. Then *Kane* descended on the rainbow and spoke reprovingly to *Nuu*, but on account of the mistake *Nuu* escaped punishment, having asked pardon of *Kane*. Then *Kane* ascended to heaven and left the rainbow as a token of his forgiveness."

In ancient Hawaiian poems (*meles*) and prayers the East is called *he ala nui hele a Kane*, "the great highway

<sup>1</sup> Baldwin's "Pre-historic Nations," *loc. cit.*

of Kane," and the West or the setting sun is designated as *he ala nui o ka make*, "the great road of death or the dying." In other chants the East is called *Ke ala-ula a Kane*, "the bright road of Kane, the dawning, the morning light;" and the West is called *Ke ala nui maarweula a Kanaloa*, "the much travelled highway of Kanaloa," he being, according to the elder Hawaiian mythology, considered as the god of death and the ruler of the deep.

Other names of the West, only occurring in the older chants and prayers, and referring to the same symbolism and identification of Kane with the sun, are found in *Kaulana a Kane*, "the resting-place of Kane," and in *Kane nee-nee*, "the moving, the departing sun."

I have found no trace in Polynesian folk-lore that the moon was ever regarded as an object of adoration, nor, though the planetary stars were well known and named, that these latter ever received religious consideration. In the mythology of the Marquesas Islands, the god which corresponds to "Kane" in the Hawaiian group is called *Atea*, a personification of light, as the word itself indicates.

How old creeds will linger in popular customs, long after they have been superseded in the popular mind, will find another illustration in the fact that in olden times, on the Hawaiian group, the front door of the dwelling-houses was facing the east and the rising sun, as a special sign of the "Kane" worship; and another door or opening was facing the west, in remembrance of their arrival from that direction.

Traces of serpent-worship, another peculiarly Cushite outgrowth of religious ideas, occur in Polynesian legends, when reference is frequently made to *Moko* or *Moo*, enormous, powerful reptiles or serpents, evil beings generally, to be propitiated by sacrifices and offerings. In the Fiji group, where much of ancient Polynesian lore, now forgotten elsewhere, is still retained, the god "Ndengei," according to some traditions, is represented with the head

and part of the body of a serpent, the rest of his form being stone.<sup>1</sup>

But to whatever extent either solar or serpent worship may have formerly obtained among the Polynesians in pre-Pacific habitats, it is tolerably certain that at the time, and after their entrance in the Pacific, it had faded from the national mind, and only remained in the form of some cherished customs, or some hateful, dreaded recollections.

If the ideas of solar worship, embodied in the Polynesian "Kane"—as the sun, the sun-god, the shining one, and thus synonymous with the Marquesan "Atea," the bright one, the light—were of Cushite origin, yet the name itself is of Arian kindred, and refers itself to some primary root expressed in the Sanskrit *Kan*, to shine, *Chand*, to light up, shine, to the Latin *Canus*, bright, clear, white, to the Greek, *Eavθos*, golden yellow, to the Welsh *Can* or *Cain*, bright, fair, white; and, I doubt not, recurs again with the same Cushite association of ideas in the Greek *Eav*, *Eavω*, and the Latin, primarily Etrurian, *Janus* and *Jana*, are terms for the solar and lunar deities. Though *La* and *Ra* are Polynesian terms, designating the sun and the day, as well as in Egyptian and old Babylonian, yet there are few traces in Polynesian lore that he ever was associated with religious ideas, or deified, so to say, as he was both in Egypt and ancient Chaldea.<sup>2</sup> The inference, therefore, is that the Polynesians at some early period of their life accepted the solar culte from the Cushites, but clothed it in terms of their own language; and that, having once raised the term of "Kane" to the power of a deity, it

<sup>1</sup> Fiji and the Fijians, by Thomas Williams, p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> The only place in Polynesia where I found that the sun was worshipped under the name of *La* or *Raa*, is on the small island of Tupai, the westernmost of the Society group, where a Marae was dedicated to him. A Tahitian legend, according to M. de Bovis, says that *Hiro*, the first king of Raiatea, was the son of *Hachi*, who

was son of *Uruumatamata*, who was the son of *Raa*, the sun. And the same author remarks that on the island of Borabora (Society group) the god *Raa* was a secondary deity, and adds: "Mais il parait avoir été déchu d'une splendeur antérieure." The Society islanders seem at all times to have been prone to depose their gods, or to subordinate them to other deities.

never again reverted to the primary, secular sense which it retained among kindred Arian tribes; and when the culte died out the original sense was forgotten, and in subsequent cultes the term was retained as an expression of deity, of godship.

In the Polynesian Pantheon there are not many gods whose names can be directly traced to a Cushite origin. I find, however, *Oro, Olo, or Koro*, as differently pronounced. He was a grand and important deity among the Southern Polynesians. He was the war-god of the Society group, the terrible, exacting human sacrifices. He is said by some to have been the brother of "Tane" or "Kane," whose worship in that group he seems to have in a great measure superseded;<sup>1</sup> by others he is said to be not one of the gods who sprang from night (*mai ka Po mai*), or existed during the primal chaos or darkness, but was the son of the mighty and wondrous *Taaroa* or *Tangaloa*, the Demiurgas of some of the southern groups.<sup>2</sup> His name is probably of Cushite origin. We have the Egyptian *Hor*, the son of Osiris and Isis, the conqueror of Typhon and the "God of Victory." By a strange coincidence of name and attributes, the war-god of the Rajpoots in north-west India is also called *Hor*.

On all the Polynesian groups, from New Zealand to Hawaii, their legends refer to a god or demi-god called *Maui*, whose exploits and adventures were numerous and wonderful. Though the narrative differs in detail on almost every group, yet all agree in ascribing to him the arresting the progress of the sun and regulating its course, and the introduction of fire among mankind.<sup>3</sup> The universality of

<sup>1</sup> Does *Oro-tal*, whom Herodotus, iii. 8, calls one of the two gods of Arabia in his time, and whom he likens to Bacchus, bear any relation to the Egyptian *Hor*? Was it an old Cushite appellation handed down from time immemorial to their Semitic successors who held Arabia when Herodotus wrote?

<sup>2</sup> Other legends say he was the son of the god *Taiatu*.

<sup>3</sup> M. Moerenhout, in his *Voyage aux Iles du Gr. Ocean*, vol. i. p. 446, gives the Tahitian version of the *Maui* or *Mahui* legend; how "he brought the earth up from the depths of the ocean; and, when mankind suffered from the prolonged absence

the legend, and the fact that each group has endeavoured to localise the god and his exploits on its own domain, proves to me that the legend was one of many which the Polynesians brought with them to the Pacific before their dispersion there, and that its origin and the name of the hero must be looked for in their former habitats in the West. What Cushite or Hindu legend may have formed the basis of the Polynesian I am unable to say; but I find that one of the twelve gods of the second order in Egypt was called *Mowi*, "apparently the same as *Gom* or Hercules, the splendour and light of the sun, and therefore called a 'son of Re.'"<sup>1</sup>

In a recent work, called "Pre-historic Nations," by Mr. J. D. Baldwin, the author establishes with much learning and research that the Hindu deity Siwa, and his worship and symbols, were not of Vedic origin, but peculiar to the ante-Arian population, whose civilisation he assigns to Cushite sources. He shows, moreover, that in early Vedic times, before the Arians had crossed the Ganges, they looked with horror and disgust on the Siwa worshippers and the impure rites of the Lingam or Phallus; but that after they had crossed the Ganges, extended to the Vindhya mountains and entered Deccan, an amalgamation with the conquered peoples had begun to take effect, and then Siwa was adopted in the Brahminical theogony as a compromise and conciliation with his ancient worshippers; yet that for long ages afterwards the original repugnance was still so great that no true officiating Brahmin would serve at the altars or before the idols of Siwa.

How far any distinct remembrance of the Siwa worship may be traced in Polynesian traditions and customs is not easy to determine precisely. The blood-thirsty wife of

of the sun and lived mournfully in deep obscurity, and when fruits would not ripen, how he stopped the sun and regulated its course, so as to make day and night equal." Does not that legend indicate that the Polynesians

formerly lived in a zone where the inequality of day and night was greater than in the tropics?

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 243.



Siwa still survives in name and attributes in the Tongan God of War, "*Kali-ai-tu-po*." The name itself of Siwa recurs in the Polynesian word *Hiwa*, primarily "dark-coloured, black or blue;" secondarily, "sacred," as a sacrificial offering. In different dialects the word occurs as *Siwa*, *Hiwa*, or *Heiwa*, and is applied as an adjective with derivative meanings, but in all the idea of sacredness underlies and characterises its application. Thus *Nuka-Hiwa*, one of the Marquesas, undoubtedly meant originally the "dark or sacred island;" *Fatu-Hiwa* or *Patu-Hiwa*, another of the same group, meant the "sacred rock or stone;" *Hiwaoa*, still another of the same group, meant the "very sacred or holy." In Hawaiian *Puaa-Hiwa* means the "black or sacred hog," offered in sacrifices. *Hiwa-hiwa* was an epithet applied to gods and high chiefs. The name of the Siwaite *Lingam* has unquestionably its root and derivation from the same source as the Tongan *Linga*, the Hawaiian *Lina*, occurring in such words as *Ta-ringa*, "the ear," *Papa-lina* "the cheek," et al.

What the Hawaiians called *Pohaku-a-Kane*, upright stones of from one to six and eight feet in height, the smaller size portable and the larger fixed in the ground, and which formerly served as altars or places of offering at what may be called family worship, probably referred to the *Lingam* symbolism of the Siwa culte in India,<sup>1</sup> where similar stone pillars, considered as sacred, still abound.<sup>2</sup> But Siwa, as before observed, was not a Vedic

<sup>1</sup> Dieffenbach, in his *Travels in New Zealand*, p. 64, says that Phallic sculptures are common there on tombs, symbolic of the vis generatrix of male and female originals.

In the Fiji group, also, rude stones resembling milestones are consecrated to this or that god, at which the natives deposit offerings, and before which they worship.—Fiji and the Fijians, by Thomas Williams, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> In the "*Asiatic Journal*," February 1828, I find that in Deccan and in the collectorship of Puna, the

Koonbees, living to the eastward of the western Ghats, worship their principal gods in the form of "particular unshapen stones." A black stone is the emblem of Vishnu; a grey one of Siwa or Maha-deo. So, also, stones are consecrated to or emblematical of Mussooba, the god of revenge; of Vital, the god of demons; of Bal-Bheirou or Bharoo, the beneficent god; Khun-dooba, the principal household god of the whole Deccan, is represented at Jejourg by a *Lingam*.

god, and his rites were held in abomination by the earlier Vedic Arians. These stone symbols refer, therefore, to a period of pre-Arian occupation of India, and to the Cushite civilisation or race. In the Hawaiian group these stone pillars were sprinkled with water or anointed with cocoa-nut oil, and the upper part frequently covered with a black native tapa or cloth, the colour of garment which priests wore on special occasions, and which was also the cloth in which the dead were wrapped. Singularly enough, the Greeks called Priapus the "black-cloaked," and the Phallus was covered with a black cloth, signifying the nutritive power of night. The veil of Latona, the mother of Apollo and Diana (Sun and Moon), was black. The Hindus of north-west India still worship "Suria," the sun, under the emblem of a black stone.

The colour of the Egyptian bulls Apis and Mnevis was black, and in the hieroglyphic representations of acts of consecration or anointing, the officiating priest is painted black, and the recipient of the ceremony is painted red; this more especially in upper Egypt. Hence the black colour would seem to indicate superior sacredness. It is possible that from these or similar considerations of superiority or sacredness arose the Polynesian proverb (in Hawaiian), "*he weo ke kanaka, he pano ke alii*," red is the common man, dark is the chief.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In "Polynesian Researches" the Rev. Mr. Ellis explains a similar expression in Tahiti, from the fact that a dark and bronzed complexion was looked upon, among the chiefs, as a sign of manliness, hardihood, and exposure to fatigue and danger, and a pale complexion was considered a sign of effeminacy. The probable reason and explanation of the proverb may be found in the greater amount of tattooing with which the bodies of the chiefs were adorned. As late as the time of Kamehameha I. of Hawaii, his rival Kahekili, King of Maui, had one half of his body entirely blackened by tattooing.

The connection of the black colour with Siwa's symbols may be found in the Hindu legend, according to which, at the churning of the sea of milk for the production of Amutham (the Ambrosia of immortality) Siwa, the supreme, was appealed to by the other gods to remove the poison vomited in the Ambrosia by the serpent Vasuke. He complied with their request by drinking up the poison, but from that time he was known by the name of "the azure-necked one," because the colour of the poison remained on his neck as a sign of what he had done.—See Oriental Illustrations, by J. Roberts, p. 6.

That these sacrificial stones were closely connected with the Phœnician *Bœtylia*, dedicated to the same purposes, and indicative of a similarity in creeds and symbols, may be shown from the name itself. "Bœtylia," or *Βαιτυλία*, is evidently a composite word, but may not, as some lexicographers indicate, be of Semitic-Hebrew extraction. The thing and its name must be older than the adoption of a Semitic dialect by the Phœnicians. But, as often happens in transition periods, the term "Bœtylia" may be a compromise between the older Cushite and later Semitic languages spoken by the Phœnicians. I consider, therefore, the word as composed of *Batu* and *Il*, *Illu* or *El*. The latter term is evidently Semitic, and, through all its dialects, signifies God, the God. The former, however, I take to be a Cushite word. It certainly has no Arian connections. But in nearly all the Polynesian congeners we find this word retaining both its primary and derivative sense, both "Stone" and "God" or Lord. In the ancient Madura dialect "Batu" means a stone. At Pulo Nias "Batu" is used as a name for the deity who has charge of the earth, and is called *Batu-da-Donau*. The expression *Battala*, used by the pre-Malay Battas in Sumatra, and *Bitara* of the Bali Islanders, for their deities, may reasonably be referred to the same origin. In the Polynesian dialects proper, we find *Patu* and *Pata-patu*, "stone," in New Zealand; *Fatu* in Tahiti and Marquesas signifying "Lord," "Master," also "Stone;" *Haku* in the Hawaiian means "Lord," "Master," while with the intensive prefix *Po* it becomes *Pohaku*, "a stone."

But these stones of religious import, and symbolic of an indwelling God, were common in Arabia, Syria, and Greece. In the "Manual of Ancient History of the East," by Lenormant, vol. ii. p. 325, speaking of the religion of Yemen, the author says; that the ancient Arabs in some of their temples or high places, or on top of pyramids like those in Chaldea, worshipped the stars of heaven in preference to idols, though these were also used; and then

adds: "They also in some temples adored, as natural images of the gods, or more accurately as objects in which resided the divine essence—in the same way as in Syro-Phœnician religions—certain stones believed to have fallen from heaven, and similar to the *Boetylia* of Phœnicia."

Common to the Syrian as well as the Phœnician Baal worship, was the setting up of the *Astera* "on every high hill and under every green tree," as we are told in 1 Kings xiv. 23, was the reprobated practice in Judah.

In Harwood's "Grecian Antiquities," p. 139, I find that in ancient Greece the idol of the temples was but a rude stock or stone cut square, of a black colour, and called *Zanis* as well as *Bactylia*; and that *Dœdalus* is said to have been the first who made two feet to these stone idols.

The emblem of *Siwa*, in Hindu mythology, is the double trident. On a hill called *Kaulana-hoa*, back of *Kalae*, island of *Molokai*, of the Hawaiian group, are a number of large, irregularly-shaped volcanic stones, standing on the brow of the hill. One is shaped like a high-backed chair, and, judging from analogy to others like it in other parts of the group, may have served as a seat for the chief, or his priest, from which to look out over the ocean, or to watch the stars. On the east side of this, and near to, stands another large stone, marked with a double trident (卍) in two places. Who marked this stone, and what the import of the mark? Tradition is silent; and in the absence of other marks of similar character, or of corroborative nature, I forbear to offer a conjecture.

But if the name, attributes, and symbols of *Siwa* at one time were known to and obtained currency among the Polynesians, through their connection with the Cushite race during their residence in India or before, that fact is further strengthened by the Polynesian legend from *Raiatea*, Society group, which states that the Deluge was

occasioned by the wrath of *Rua-Haku* (*Rua*, the Lord), the great Ocean God of that group. To those acquainted with the phonetic peculiarity—a peculiarity especially archaic—of the Polynesian dialects in the Pacific, and their aversion to double and terminal consonants, it is not difficult, nor will it be considered as an etymological crotchet, to connect *Rua*, in his character of an ocean god, with *Rudra*, one of the many names of the Hindu pre-Arian *Siwa*, whose permanent emblem, the trident, indicates his maritime character, and that at some time, perhaps the earliest period of his culte, he was looked upon as lord of the sea. Whether this name, *Rudra*, *Rua*, is of Arian or Cushite origin, I know not. If of Arian, it must be of highest antiquity, for in the Celtic-Irish mythology I find that *Ruad* was the name of the deity presiding over the waters. If of Cushite, it proves the immense extent of the influence of that race, from the borders of the Atlantic to the heart of the Pacific.

There is another Hindu god of pre-Vedic origin, and presumably of Cushite extraction, called *Yama*, or *Dhermarajah*, the Hindu Pluto, lord of the infernal regions ("Patala"), who finds his counterpart in attributes and emblems, if not in name, in Polynesia. In India he is represented with a snare in one hand, and a club in the other, looking out for the souls of the dying; and one of his epithets is "the catcher of the souls of men." In the Hervey group, South Polynesia, *Tangarooa*, one of the principal gods in that place, is represented with a net in one hand, wherewith to catch the souls of the dying, and a spear in the other, wherewith to kill them.

The Hawaiian tradition of *Pele*, the dreaded goddess of volcanic fires, analogous to the Samoan *Fée*, is probably a local adaptation in aftertimes of an older myth, half forgotten and much distorted. The contest, related in the legend, between "Pele" and *Kama-puaa*, the eight-eyed monster demi-god, indicates, however, a confused knowledge of some ancient strife between religious sects, of

which the former represented the worshippers of fire, and the latter those with whom water was the principal element worthy of adoration. Though the contest, according to the legend, ended in a compromise, and both sides claimed the victory, yet the worship of "Pele" held its ground to the latest times, while that of "Kama-puaa" disappeared, and the monster-god himself is said to have left for foreign lands. In the invocations by the respective parties, addressed to their gods, superior and associate, the symbolism of the legend is clearly brought out. These two prayers, replete with archaic expressions, appeal directly to the gods of fire and of water for assistance in the contest. In that of "Kama-puaa" reference is made to "the storm-clouds of Iku," *ka punohu nui a Iku*; in that of "Pele" reference is made to "the bright gods of night in Wawao, the gods clustering thick round Pele,"

*"Liolio i Wawao na 'Kua o ka po,  
Ae-ae na 'Kua no Pele."*

The name itself, *Pele*, deserves some attention when considering the probable connection of the myth to the modes of thought, of speech, and of creed of those peoples in India or in Chaldea, from whom this myth was derived, along with so much other heterogeneous and unacknowledged lore among the Polynesians.

In the Hawaiian, *Pele* is a personification of the forces of volcanic fires; the fire goddess who dwells in the volcanoes. In Samoan, *Fée* is a personage with nearly similar functions. In Tahitian, *Pere* is simply a volcano, the myth seemingly being unknown or forgotten there. But the Hawaiian, Samoan, Tahitian, "Pele," "Fée," "Pere," I consider, etymologically, as nearly allied to the general Polynesian word *Wera*, *Wela*, which in different dialects signifies "fire, conflagration; to be hot, as from fire or the sun; to be on fire, to burn," &c.; and this relation is made more evident from the pre-Malay dialects of the Indian Archipelago, where the Mysol *Pelah* signifies "hot," the

Sunda *Belem* "to burn," the Ceram (Gah) *Woleh* "the sun."

But this word has evidently travelled further than from Java to Tahiti. It meets us again in the far West, in the Celtic *Bel* or *Belen*, "the sun-god;" in the old Spartan *Bela* (*Βελα*), "the sun;" in the old Cretan *A-belios* (*Αβελιος*), "the sun;" and in the Phœnician and Syrian *Bel*, itself an offshoot and adaptation of the Babylonian *Bel*, the planet Jupiter, and the principal deity worshipped by the later Babylonians.

I am not aware that the Polynesian word, or its cognates, with radical or derivative sense, occur in the Sanskrit or Indo-European languages. It is true that the Hindus call the morning star *Velle*, and a legend in the *Scanda Punâna* describes him as the leader of the *Asuras* in their war upon the *Devas* or gods.<sup>1</sup> But that very circumstance induces me to consider his name as a foreign one, and the legend as having reference to the contention and separation of the Vedic and Zend speaking branches of the Arian race, incident to the reformation of Zoroaster. The Hindu and the Polynesian legends, however, if referring to the same event, seem to be as much distorted the one as the other, with this difference, that the former relates the defeat of "*Velle*," the latter relates the victory of "*Pele*," thus showing the different streams on which the legend descended from the battle-field.

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National appellations are not common among the Polynesian tribes. They generally distinguish each other by the name of the island or group to which they belong. *Kai Viti*, *Kai Tonga*, "Fiji people," "Tonga people," &c., or they designate themselves as *Maori*, "indigenous, native," in contradistinction from foreigners, *Papalangi*, or *Haole*, or *Papaa*. The Marquesans and the Hawaiians,

<sup>1</sup> Oriental Illustrations, by James Roberts, p. 411. London, 1835.

however, form two exceptions. The former have preserved in their legends, and still retain for themselves, a national appellation which is *te Take*, "the Take." According to the legend they claim "Tane," one of the twelve sons of "Toho," or the original "Take," as their immediate progenitor, and the country of *Take-hee-hee* or *Ahee-take* as their ancient home, the birth-place of their race. It is possible that at one time this national name was common to other tribes as well as the Marquesan, for in the Hervey group, which was confessedly settled by emigrants from the Samoan and Society groups, we find an island bearing the name of *Aitu-Take*, and a place on the same island called *Oni-Take*.<sup>1</sup>

Marquesan legends offer no explanation of whence this name was derived, or how it came to be adopted as a national designation, beyond the fact that "Take" apparently was a soubriquet of "Toho," the father of the famous twelve. With other Polynesian tribes the word has become obsolete and meaningless.

This name, as well as the legend of "Toho," the first "Take," like so many other Polynesian legends, was probably of Cushite extraction, infiltrated by prolonged contact into the Polynesian mind, adopted and believed in, and retained as a national distinction long after its origin had been forgotten. I am not aware that this word "Take," under any dialectical variation, is or has been current among the Polynesian congeners in the Asiatic Archipelago, unless the Tagal *Taga*, "native, indigenous," be a relation or an adaptation of it. But among the

<sup>1</sup> Dieffenbach, in his "Travels in New Zealand," mentions that a title or appellation of the chiefs there was "*Taki o te wenua*," and explains it to mean "the root of the land." As the New Zealanders also came from the Samoan group, it seems as if what once was a national appellation, in course of time became the title of a chief. If Dieffenbach's interpreta-

tion of the title is correct, it corresponds to the Hawaiian *Kumu-honua*, the name of the first man. The same author also mentions, p. 67, a place where chiefs go after death, and says it is called *Taki-wana*. If the name does not refer to the old national appellation of the Polynesians, or a portion of them, I do not see that it has any meaning at all.



Cushite peoples or tribes, of pure or mixed descent, who inhabited the Mesopotamian basin, and constituted the confederation of the *Rot-u-nu* in the time of Thotmes III. of Egypt, circa 1430 B.C., mention is made of the *Takæ*, a people living in the neighbourhood of "Is," on the Euphrates.<sup>1</sup> Such a people or tribe has disappeared from history, and would probably never have been heard of but for the inscriptions on the great tablet of Karnak. Was it a namesake or an ancestor of the "Take," after whom the Polynesians called themselves? At what period of their existence did they receive it; and where were they dwelling at the time? History and tradition are silent. But the fact is almost certain that the Polynesians brought the name with them into the Pacific from their former habitats in the Asiatic Archipel, or beyond.

In the Hawaiian legend of "Kumuhonua" and his descendants, the Polynesians are distinguished by the appellation of *ka poe Menehune*, "the Menehune people," said to be descended from "Menehune," son of "Lua Nuu," and grandfather of the twelve sons of "Kinilau-amano," and thus in a measure, though with altered names, it conforms to the Marquesan legend. But this name, as a national appellation, was apparently dropped at a very early period. In Tahiti it became a distinctive name for the third class into which the people were divided, the labouring class, the commoners, the *Manahune*, and as such remains to this day. In Hawaii it disappeared as a national name so long ago, that subsequent legends have converted it into a term of reproach, representing the Menehune people sometimes as a separate race, sometimes as a race of dwarfs, skilful labourers, but artful and cunning.

I am inclined to consider the "Menehune" of the legend as a personification of "the people of Mene," for such is the literal signification of the word; and then *Mene* alone becomes in reality the national appellation which still

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 302.

lingers in Hawaiian legends and Tahitian usage. Our knowledge of the legendary lore of the pre-Malay Polynesian relations in the Asiatic Archipel, is too limited to enable us to say if any trace or remembrance there exists of either "Take" or "Mene" as national appellations; but as the latter, like the former, was evidently an older appellation than Polynesian residence in the Pacific, we must look to the west for some former habitat or connection, which may account for the adoption of the name.

Though the Hawaiian legend makes the name-giver of the race the grandfather of the famous twelve, and the Marquesan legend makes him the father; yet the similarity of origin of both legends cannot well be doubted; and that origin, as we shall see plainer as we proceed, was Cushite—Chaldean or Arabian. There, then, we must look for the name as well as the legend.

Diodorus Sic. and Agatharcides relate<sup>1</sup> that in southern Arabia there lived a people called *Minæi*, whose capital or chief place was named *Karana*. When it is borne in mind that in the time of these writers the Himjarites, descendants of the Cushite Arabs, still ruled in that part of Arabia, the similarity, not only of the name of the people, but also of their chief place—which gives a clue to the name of the Hawaiian paradise, *Kalana-i-Hawola*—becomes of no small importance in ethnic inquiries.

In the "Transactions of the Ethnological Society," London, vol. ii. p. 262, article "Ethnology of Egypt," by R. S. Poole, it is stated that the paintings of the tombs of the kings give four races, of which the first or Egyptian proper is called *Men*; the second *Aamu*, representing Asiatics generally but specially Arabs; the third is called *Nahsee*, representing negroes; and the fourth *Temhu*, or the Libyans of north and north-west Africa.

It appears, then, that this word *Mene*, *Minæi*, and *Men*, is an old-world national appellation, claimed by Polynesians, Arabians, and Egyptians. It may not prove the

<sup>1</sup> Vide Anthon's "Classical Dictionary," *sub voce*.

ethnic descent of the former from either of the latter; but it forcibly indicates a once common possession of legends, traditions, and national existence, that could only have been obtained through an intimate and protracted intercourse, or from the political ascendancy of one over the other.

As another coincidence of national appellations, it may be noted that the ancient Chaldean and Assyrian inscriptions call Arabia and upper Egypt by the name, as variously read, of *Mirukh*, *Miruki*, and *Milu-ka*, as well as "Kusu" or Cush. In Hawaiian mythology, according to some traditions, *Milu* was a god who dwelt beneath the sea and ruled over the regions where departed spirits were said to dwell; and the direction in which this realm of "Milu" was situated was in the west. The spirits of those who died on the eastern shore of an island never started for "Milu's" abode in that direction, but invariably crossed over to some one of the points of departure on the western shore.<sup>1</sup> In the far west, then, we must look for the origin or analogy of the myth. But it is a long way from Hawaii to the land of Cush. Let us see if any traces of the myth can be found on the road.

The people of Pulo Nias, an island off Sumatra, like the Battas and Dyaks, a pre-Malay remnant of the Polynesian race, called the sky or heaven by the name of *Holi-Yawa*, and peopled it with an order of beings whom they

<sup>1</sup> A similar legend seems to have existed in Tahiti. According to Rev. Mr. Ellis, *Tour around Hawaii*, p. 205, I find that "the spirits of the Areois and priests of certain idols were not eaten by the gods after the death of their bodies, but went to *Miru*, where they lived much in the same way as the departed kings and heroes of Hawaii were supposed to do, or, joining hands, they formed a circle with those that had gone before, and danced in one eternal round."

Zealand, it is related, p. 67, that when a chief dies he goes first to *Taki-wana*, where his left eye remains and becomes a star. Then he goes to *Reinga* and further. Spirits sometimes leave the nether world and come back on earth and communicate with the living. For Hawaiian legends to same effect, see p. 83, note 1 of present work. *Reinga* was a place near the North Cape, New Zealand, where the spirits of the dead collected previous to their final departure.

In Dieffenbach's *Travels in New*

called *Baruki*, superior to mortals, gifted with wings, and invisible at their pleasure. And they relate that in olden time a king of these "Baruki," called *Luo-mehu-hana*, arrived from that "Holi-Yawa, and was the first who taught them arts and civilisation, and also how to speak.<sup>1</sup>

This legend, doubtless, refers to their former intercourse with the early Cushite Arabians, who are said to have dwelt in, and to have come from, the sky, *i.e.*, from beyond the visible horizon, and the name of whose abode they called "Holi-Yawa." Here again the word "Yawa" points to its Cushite source, "Zaba" or "Saba;" and the name of the king, whose benefits the legend records, forcibly recalls the name of *Nuu-(Lolo-i)-Mehani* who, according to the Hawaiian legend, was the person that escaped from the Flood and re-peopled the earth.

What kindred or connection, if any, except in name, there may be between the "Baruki" of the Pulo Nias legend and the *Beloochees* on the Persian Gulf, I am not able to determine. Lieutenant Pottinger, in his "Travels," states that the *Beloochees* claim descent from Arabia, although they were not like the Arabs, and their language bore affinity to the Persian. Canon Rawlinson, in his Appendix, Book VII. of "Herodotus," vol. iv. p. 181, considers the *Beloochees* as consisting of two ethnic divisions: The "Beloochees" proper, inhabiting the interior and of Arian descent, and the "Brahuis" of the Cushite race, inhabiting the coast-land; that the latter formerly penetrated much further inland, but were driven out and confined to the sea-board by the former. The same author, in his "Five Great Monarchies," vol. i. p. 50, connects the name of the *Beloochees* with that of "Belus" or Bel, the great Cushite-Chaldean Divinity. However that may be, there is no misconstruing the import of the Pulo Nias "Yawa." That points unmistakably to the west and the Cushite race as the source of their knowledge and culture.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Sir Stamford Raffles, vol. ii. chap. 17.

The various readings of the cuneiform inscriptions, *Milu-ka*, *Miru-ki*, *Mirukh*, would seem to indicate that the word originally was a composite, and, judging from analogy, akin to the Egyptian *kah*, signifying "land," as in *Cham-kah*, "the land of Cham" (Egypt), *San-cha* in "San-cha-dwipa," "the land of San," and others. In Cushite parlance "Miruki" or "Miluka" would thus signify "the land of Milu," by which the Chaldeans understood Arabia and Upper Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Of this "Milu" with his realm of deep shadows<sup>2</sup> beneath the sea, in the west, the Polynesians retained the recollection in their folk-lore, and the Hawaiians converted him into a god of departed spirits; while more rationalistic legends assert that he was a very wicked king who was thrust down into *Po*, the original chaos, for his many misdeeds on earth.

Among the Dyaks on the north-west coast of Borneo, the future world, to which the dead are journeying, and where they hope to arrive, is called *Sabayan*; and with remarkable fidelity to Chaldean imagery, this heaven of theirs is said to be "seven-storied." Here also the recollection of the ancient "Saba," "Sabai," "Sabagi," has survived amid the wreck and debasement of subsequent ages.

#### CREATION.

The symbolism of "Kane" and his compeers in the Hawaiian group, of "Atea" in the Marquesas group, and of "Tane" and "Hina" in the Society group, plainly indicate a former religious development among the Polynesian family, when Zabaism, planet-worship and the adoration of the forces of nature, was yet in its simplest form.

<sup>1</sup> In Rawlinson's Herodotus, Essay i., Appendix, Book I., p. 518, note 3, I find that in analysing one of the ancient names of Babylon, "the old Hamitic name, or, at any rate, one of the old Hamitic names of the city of Babylon, must have been read *Din Tir ki*, *din*, 'a city,' and the

final *ki* being the mere affix of locality." It thus appears that *ki* is but a variant of *ka*, and that I am correct in construing *Miruki* as "the land or place of Miru."

<sup>2</sup> In Hawaiian *Milu*, "shaded, grand, solemn."

Numerous prayers, invocations, and "meles" (religious poems), interspersed in the legends and handed down by tradition among the Hawaiians, with whom I am best acquainted, abundantly prove this. Throughout the grosser idolatry and the cruel practices springing from it in subsequent ages, these shreds of a purer culte were still preserved, soiled in appearance and obscured in sense by the contact, it may be, yet standing on the traditional records as heirlooms of the past, as witnesses of a better creed,<sup>1</sup> and as specimens of the archaic simplicity of the language, hardly intelligible to the present Hawaiians.

This "Kane" creed, such as it has been preserved in Hawaiian traditions, obscured by time and defaced by interpolations, is still a most valuable relic of the mental status, religious notions, and historical recollections of the earlier Polynesians. No other group in Polynesia has preserved it so fully, so far as my inquiries have been able to ascertain; yet I have met with parts of it on nearly all the groups, though more or less distorted, and in that case I hold that the universality of a legend among so widely scattered tribes proves its antiquity. This "Kane" legend, or rather series of legends, treating of *Kane* and the creation of *Kumuhonua* or the first man, of *Nuu* or *Kahinalii* in the time of the deluge, of *Lua Nuu* or *Kanehoalani* and his descendants, from whom the Hawaiians and Tahitians are said to have sprung; this legend, with accompanying prayers, invocations, genealogies, and half-forgotten "meles," has been partially and at different times reduced to writing in the Hawaiian language by David Malo, S. M. Kamakau, Kepelino, and other Hawaiian scholars, who obtained their information from the ancient chiefs and priests who flourished before the introduction of

<sup>1</sup> "It could be shown that even among the South-Sea Islanders, and other tribes who have been driven farthest from the original settlements of man, there were many religious customs of which those who practised them did not know the origin or the meaning, and which clearly indicated their derivation from an older, a more intelligible, but a forgotten faith."—*Primeval Man*, by the Duke of Argyle, p. 196.

Christianity, some fifty years ago. Among the Hawaiian missionaries who endeavoured to preserve the ancient traditions from oblivion, the greatest credit is due to Rev. Messrs. S. Dibble and Lorin Andrews; and my own collection of Hawaiian folk-lore, gathered from the lips of the old people, is both large and varied.

Collating the different narratives thus preserved, I learn that the ancient Hawaiians at one time believed in and worshipped one god, comprising three beings, and respectively called *Kane*, *Ku*,<sup>1</sup> and *Lono*,<sup>2</sup> equal in nature, but distinct in attributes; the first, however, being considered as the superior of the other two, a *primus inter pares*; that they formed a triad commonly referred to as *Ku-kau-akahi*, lit. "Ku stands alone," or "the one established," and were worshipped jointly under the grand and mysterious name

<sup>1</sup> Surnamed *Ka-Pao*, "the builder," "the architect."

<sup>2</sup> Surnamed *Noho i ka wai*, "dwelling on the water." Traces of the worship of these three deities are found throughout the Southern groups, though in later times it had fallen in abeyance in many places, or been entirely superseded by the worship of other gods.

The following remnant of what may be called the ancient Hawaiian Liturgy, recited by the priest and the congregation at the time of the great festivals, has been preserved. It runs:—

"*The Priest*.—O Kane me Ku-Ka-Pao, e oia nei?

*The Congregation*.—Hooia, e oia.

*The Priest*.—O Lono-nui-noho-i-ka-wai, e oia nei?

*The Congregation*.—Hooia, e oia.

*The Priest*.—Ho-eu, kukupu, inana, ku iluna o ka moku, e oia nei?

*The Congregation*.—Hooia, e oia, Hooia, e oia, Hooia, e oia, ke Akua oia.

*All together*.—Kane-Po-Lani, O Lani-makua, me Ku-Ka-Pao i Kiki-lani, me Lono-nui-maka-oaka, he

Akua, ke Akua i huila, malamalama paa ka Lani, Ku i ka honua, i ka honua a Kane-kumu-honua, he Akua. Hooia, e oia, Hooia, e oia; Oia ke Akua oia."

It may be translated thus:—

"*The Priest*.—O Kane and Ku, the builder, is it true?

*The Congregation*.—It is true, it is so.

*The Priest*.—O great Lono, dwelling on the water, is it true?

*The Congregation*.—It is true, it is so.

*The Priest*.—Quickened, increasing, moving. Raised up is the continent (island, division). Is it true?

*The Congregation*.—It is true, it is so; it is true, it is so; it is true, it is so; the true god.

*All together*.—Kane-Po-Lani, O heavenly father, with Ku the builder in the blazing heaven, with great Lono of the flashing eyes, a god, the god of lightning, the fixed light of heaven, standing on the earth, on the earth of Kane-kumu-honua, he is god. It is true, it is so; it is true, it is so; he is the true god."

of *Hika po loa*, while another ancient name was *Ōi-e*, signifying "most excellent, supreme," sometimes used adjectively as *Kane-oi-e*. These gods existed from eternity, from and before chaos, or, as the Hawaiian term expresses it, "*mai ka Po mai*"—from the time of night, darkness, chaos. By an act of their will these gods dissipated or broke into pieces the existing, surrounding, all-containing *Po*, night or chaos, by which act light entered into space. They then created the heavens—three in number—as a place for themselves to dwell in, and the earth to be their footstool, *he keehina honua-a-Kane*. Next they created the sun, moon, stars, and a host of angels or spirits—*i kini akua*—to minister to them. Last of all they created man on the model or in the likeness of "Kane." The body of the first man was made of red earth—*lepo ula* or *ala-ea*—and the spittle of the gods—*wai-nao*—and his head was made of a whitish clay—*palolo*—which was brought from the four ends of the world by "Lono." When the earth-image of "Kane" was ready, the three gods breathed into its nose and called on it to rise, and it became a living being. Afterwards the first woman was created from one of the ribs—*lalo puhaka*—of the man while asleep, and these two were the progenitors of all mankind. They are called in the chants and in various legends by a large number of different names, but the most common for the man was *Kumu-honua*, and for the woman *Ke Ola ku honua*. Such is the general import of the Kumuhonua legend.

Another legend of the series, that of *Wela-ahi-lani*, states that after "Kane" had destroyed the world by fire,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Of the Egyptian theory of creation some notion may perhaps be obtained from the account given in Ovid (*Met.* i. and xxv.), borrowed from the Pythagoreans; as of their belief in the destruction of the earth by fire, adopted by the Stoics. (*Ovid. Met.* i. 256; *Seneca, Nat. Quæst.* iii. 13 and 28; *Plut. de Placit. Phil.* iv. 7). They even thought it had been subject to several catastrophes, 'not to one deluge only, but to many;' and believed in a variety of destructions 'that have been, and again will be, the greatest of these arising from fire and water.'" (*Plat. Tim.* pp. 466, 467). "The idea that the world had successive creations and destructions is also expressly stated in the Indian *Manu*."—*Hero-*



on account of the wickedness of the people then living, he organised it as it now is, and created the first man and the first woman, with the assistance of "Ku" and "Lono," nearly in the same manner as above narrated. In that legend the man is called *Wela-ahi-lani*, and the woman is called *Owe*.<sup>1</sup>

The Marquesas islanders have a legend called *Te Vanana na Tanaoa* (the prophecy or record of Tanaoa), which relates that in the beginning there was no life, light, or sound in the world, that a boundless night, *Po*, enveloped everything, over which *Tanaoa*, which means "darkness," and *Mutu-hei*, which means "silence," ruled supreme. In course of time the god *Atea*, which means "light," evolved himself, sprang from or separated himself from "Tanaoa," made war on him, drove him away and confined him within limits. Light—*Atea*—having thus been evolved from darkness—*Tanaoa*—the god *Ono* or "sound" was evolved from "Atea," and he destroyed or broke up "Mutuhei." But from the foregoing struggle between "Tanaoa" and "Atea," "Ono" and "Mutuhei," arose *Atanua* or the dawn. "Atea" then took "Atanua" for wife, and from them sprang their first-born *Tu-mea*. After that "Atea" created the host of inferior deities, fixed or created the heavens and earth, animals, man, &c. Another legend mentions "Atea" and his wife *Owa* as the progenitors of the Marquesans.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Society islanders, like most of the South Polynesian tribes, held that the earth was fished up out of the ocean by *Taaroa*—Tangaloa—who with them was the source of all things, the father of gods and men,<sup>3</sup> yet the remnant of a legend, collected by M. de Bovis,<sup>4</sup> for many years a resident on that group, bespeaks an older creed

dotus, by G. Rawlinson, vol. ii. p. 250, New York, 1875. Of the future destruction of the world by fire, the Scandinavian descendants of the Arian stock preserved a vivid impression in their mythical poem, the "Volu-spa."

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix, No. I.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, No. II.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix, No. III.

<sup>4</sup> "Etat de la Société Taitienne à l'arrivée des Européens," par M. de Bovis, Lieutenant de vaisseau, "Revue Coloniale," année 1855.

and a clearer conception, and harmonises more with the Hawaiian, Marquesan, and Samoan cosmogonies of more ancient date. The extract of the legend, preserved by M. de Bovis, reads thus: "In the beginning there was nothing but the god *Ihoiho*; afterwards there was an expanse of waters which covered the abyss, and the god *Tino Taata* floated on the surface." It is to be regretted that no more of that interesting legend has been preserved. It has the ring of the true antique, ere the primal myth was shattered into fragments. M. de Bovis translates *Ihoiho* with "le vide," the empty space, as a better rendering of sense than "image de soi meme." I know not if the Tahitian word *Ihoiho* has also the sense of "le vide"—a void, empty space—but it certainly has the meaning of the "manes, ghosts or remains of the dead," and in the legend was probably a trope expressive of a dead and perished world, the wreck of which was covered by water; and the god *Tino Taata*, which I think M. de Bovis correctly renders by "the divine type or source of mankind," floated on the waters.

It is with some hesitation that I thus correct a writer whose article shows him to have been well-informed, exact, and cautious. But the expression, "le vide," seems to me misleading. Through all the Polynesian cosmogonies, even the wildest and most fanciful, there is a constant underlying sense of a chaos, wreck, *Po*, containing all things, and existing previous to the first creative organisation; the chaos and wreck of a previous world, destroyed by fire according to the Hawaiian legend, destroyed by water according to the Samoan legend; a chaos, ruin or night, *Po*, in which the gods themselves had been involved, and, only in virtue of their divine nature, after continued struggle, extricated themselves and re-organised the world on its present pattern.

The generally current tradition on the Society group is, that man was a descendant of *Taaroa*, through sundry demi-gods; but others, more in accordance with the

Hawaiian legends, make him a direct creation of *Taaroa*, who made him out of red clay—*araea*—and made the first woman from one of his bones, and hence she was called *Iwi*, lit. “the bone.”

In the Páumotu group, or, as the natives themselves call their group, the Tuamotu, the ancient tradition relates that “the earth was composed of three separate parts or strata, super-imposed one above the other. Each stratum had its particular heaven. The upper stratum was destined for fortunate souls or spirits; the middle was inhabited by the living; and the third was the place where spirits wandered in pain. Many restless spirits, however, sometimes escaped by hiding in the bodies of birds.”<sup>1</sup> As the Paumotu or Tuamotu group was doubtless originally peopled from the Society group, and also by occasional arrivals from the Marquesas, it is fair to infer that the same or a similar legend obtained in either of those groups in olden time, though forgotten in later ages. The allusion to the three heavens connects it with the Hawaiian legend, *vide supra*, p. 61.

Of Samoan legends bearing on the creation but little has been published. One legend,<sup>2</sup> however, states that in the beginning the earth was covered with water, and the heaven alone was inhabited. *Tangaloa*, the great God, sent his daughter in the form of a bird called the *Kuri*, “the snipe,” to look for dry land. She found a spot, and, as it was extending, she visited it frequently. At one time she brought down some earth and a creeping plant. The plant grew, decomposed and turned into worms, and the worms turned into men and women. Another legend states that man was formed from the vine of “*Kuri*” by a god called *Ngai*.<sup>3</sup> In the Samoas and in Rotumah, the name of the first woman is given as *Iwa*, thus connecting

<sup>1</sup> *Annuaire des Etablissements Français de l'Océanie*, Papeete, 1863, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> “Nineteen Years in Polynesia,” by Rev. Mr. Turner.

<sup>3</sup> “United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnology,” by Hor. Hall.

itself with the Tahitian "Iwi," the Marquesan "Owa," the Hawaiian "Owe."

Some of the New Zealand legends<sup>1</sup> ascribe the origin of all things to *Rangi* and *Papa*, "heaven and earth," but admit that *Po*, "night chaos," enveloped everything, heaven and earth included. Still, under such unfavourable conditions, with "Rangi" and "Papa" packed close together, these latter generated six children. The first was *Tu-mata-uenga*,<sup>2</sup> or the progenitor of man; next, *Tane-mahuta*, the father of forests, &c.; next, *Ta-whiri-ma-tea*, the father of winds; next, *Rongo-ma-tane*, the father of cultivated food; next, *Tanga-roa*, the father of fishes and reptiles; and last, *Haumia-tikitiki*, the father of wild-grown food. The close position of heaven and earth to each other, without interval or separation, greatly annoyed and inconvenienced their offspring, and after several ineffectual attempts, "Tane-mahuta," exerting his strength, succeeded in rending "Rangi" and "Papa" asunder, and, pushing the former up into space, let in light on the earth. "Ta-whiri-ma-tea" disapproved of the separation of his parents, and followed his father "Rangi" up in the sky, but the other brethren remained with their mother, "Papa," and multiplied and developed indefinitely. War, however, soon arose between

<sup>1</sup> "Polynesian Mythology," by Sir George Gray.

<sup>2</sup> That the name of this god, and his character as the forefather of the human family, are older than the arrival of the Polynesians in the Pacific, is plainly shown in the fact that among some of the pre-Malay dialects of the Indian Archipelago, as in Saparua, Ceram, Salibabo, and Celebes, we find the words *Tu-mata*, *To-mata*, *Tau-mata*, and *Tau*, as expressing the sense of "man" especially, and in a general way "man-kind."

Professor Fr. Bopp, in his "Ueber die Verwandtschaft der Mal.-Polynes. Sprachen mit den Ind.-Europ.," refers this *Tau* or, contracted, *Tu* to

the Sanskrit *Dhava*, man, a word which, in its compound form of *Vidava*—without man, a widow—has survived in the principal Indo-European families of speech. Adolphe Pichet, in *Origines Ind-Europ.*, vol. ii. p. 342, refers this *dhava* to the root *Dhā*, agitare, "aux rapports sexuels des époux," and calls in confirmation the other derivative *Dhātā*, "la femme comme agitata, nempé, in concubitu." I believe, however, that the Polynesian *Tu*, as the name of one of their most powerful gods, and the progenitor of mankind, if it has any affinity to the Sanskrit, refers itself rather to the Vedic *Tu*, "to be powerful," than to *Dhava* or any corrupted form of the same.

the brothers, and finally "Tu-mata-uenga"<sup>1</sup> subdued them all to his will and use, except "Ta-whiri-ma-tea."

Another New Zealand legend, according to Nicholas,<sup>2</sup> records three primitive gods, *Mauwi-Rana-Rangi*, the foremost god, the New Zealand Jupiter; *Tipoko*, god of anger and of death; and *Towaki* or *Tauraki*, lord of the elements and god of tempests. The same work intimates that these three created the first man, and afterwards the first woman from one of the man's ribs.

According to the foregoing versions of the creation of the world and of man, it is evident that the original Polynesian myth contemplated a pre-existing chaos, night, *Po*, containing within itself, according to the Hawaiian and Tahitian legends, the wreck and débris of a previously perished universe; and that out of this chaos the first great gods evolved themselves, and then set about organising and creating the world and man as now existing. The Samoan legend relates that in the beginning the world was covered with water; and the Tahitian legend, preserved by M. de Bovis, states in addition that "the god 'Tino Taata' floated on the surface."

This chaos idea among the Polynesian tribes bears a striking relationship to the old Babylonian and Hebrew accounts of the Genesis of the world. Every reader knows

<sup>1</sup> This *Tu-mata-uenga*, "Tu with the red face." This god, or demi-god, according to the legend, after having subdued his brothers, became known to his posterity by several other names, amongst which was *Tu-mata-wha-iti*, "Tu with the four small faces." In Hawaiian mythology, *Kama-puaa*, the demi-god opponent of the goddess Pele, is described as having eight eyes and eight feet; and in the chants and legends *Maka-walu*, "eight-eyed," is a frequent epithet of gods and chiefs. This speciality of four faces or heads, and of corresponding limbs, is peculiar to some of the principal Indian deities. Brahma

is represented with four faces, Dourga with eight arms, &c. I have no means of knowing whether this four-fold representation of divine faces or limbs was of Arian or Cushite conception. It does not appear, I believe, in Egyptian mythology, nor generally among the Indo-European descendants of the Arian stock. The only analogy I can now remember, is that of Odin's horse "Sleipner," said to have had eight feet. I note the coincidence, however, as bearing upon the derivation of Polynesian myths and legends.

<sup>2</sup> L'Univers-Océanie, par G. L. D. de Rienzi, vol. x. p. 161.

the second verse of "Genesis:" "And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." The Tahitian "*Tino Taata* who floated on the surface" may be the original or the copy of the Hebrew legend. The Babylonian legend, according to Berosus, states that "there was a time in which there existed nothing but darkness and an abyss of waters;" and according to the cuneiform inscriptions collected and translated by Mr. George Smith,<sup>1</sup> "*Tiamat*," the spirit of the sea and of chaos, "was self-existent and eternal, older even than the gods, for the birth or separation of the deities out of this chaos was the first step in the creation of the world." The Chaldean legend refers to a time

"When above were not raised the heavens,  
 And below on the earth a plant had not grown up;  
 The abyss also had not broken open their boundaries;  
 The chaos (or water) *Tiamat* (the sea) was the producing mother  
 of the whole of them.

When the gods had not sprung up, any one of them;  
 A plant had not grown, and order did not exist."

The Hebrew legend infers that the gods, *Elohim*, existed contemporaneously with and apart from the chaos. The Marquesan legend makes the great god of all, *Atea*, the light, evolve himself from out of darkness, *Tanaoa*, the ruler of chaos, and from "*Atea*" sprung the next great god, *Ono*, or sound. The Hawaiian legend makes the three great gods, *Kane*, *Ku*, and *Lono*, light, stability, and sound, evolve themselves out of chaos, *Po*. The Babylonian legend makes the two gods *Lahmu* and *Lahamu*, the "male and female personifications of motion and production, issue from chaos, followed by the gods *Sar* and *Kisar*," representing the upper and lower expanse;" which four deities, however, appear to be mere abstractions, and were followed by the first actual, personal gods, *Anu*, *Elu*

<sup>1</sup> The Chaldean Account of Genesis, by George Smith, chap. v.

or *Bel*, and *Hea*, representing heaven, earth, and the sea, the Babylonian triad, corresponding to the Hawaiian triad, as the first real creators and organisers of the universe.

The New Zealand legend, above referred to, of heaven and earth ("Rangi" and "Papa") being shut up together, as it were, and enveloped in darkness, "Po;" of their final separation, and the admission of light upon earth by one of their sons, who pushed the heavens (his father) far upward and away from the earth. This legend, though apparently forgotten or neglected in most of the groups, was still at one time common to the Polynesian family, and, as such, an heirloom brought with them from the West. Traces of it remain in the Samoan, where the legend tells us<sup>1</sup> that "of old the heavens fell down, and people had to crawl about. The plants grew, and pushed the heavens up a little from the earth. One day a man came along and offered to push the heavens up still higher for a drink of water from a woman's gourd. He did so, and they are now as he left them. The man's name was *Tiitii*."<sup>2</sup> In the Hawaiian group little remains of this legend but the old saying that at the hill of Kauwiki, not far from the eastern point of the island of Maui, the heaven was nearer to the earth than elsewhere; in fact, so close that it could be reached by a good strong cast of a spear; and the *lani haahaa*, "the low-lying heavens," is a soubriquet of the place to the present time. The Dyaks of Borneo—of whom the Bishop of Labuan says,<sup>3</sup> that "like many other uncivilised nations, they have legends of a better and loftier origin, something like the story of Cœlus and Terra"—still retain a legend that, up to the time of the birth of Tana-compta's daughter, the sky had been so

<sup>1</sup> "Nineteen Years in Polynesia," by Rev. Mr. Turner.

<sup>2</sup> *Tiitii* or *Tiki-Tiki* or *Kii* is a common expression throughout Polynesia, signifying spiritual beings, departed and deified ancestors, protectors of boundaries, and in compara-

tively modern times, the idols or images of the gods.

<sup>3</sup> Transactions of Ethnological Society, vol. ii., London. "Wild Tribes of Borneo," by the Bishop of Labuan.

near the earth that one could touch it with the hand; but she now raised it up and put it permanently on props. The legend further states that "in the beginning there was Solitude and *Soutan*, who could hear, see, speak, but had no limbs or body. This deity is supposed to have lived on a ball, and after some ages to have made the two great birds called *Bullar* and *Erar*, who flew round and round, and made the earth, sky; and rivers. Finding the earth greater than the sky, they collected the soil with their feet, and piled it up into mountains. Having tried to make man out of trees and out of rocks, and not succeeding, they took earth and mixed it with water, and so modelled a man of red clay. When they called to him, he answered; when they cut him, red blood came from his veins. This first man was *Tana-compta*, who afterwards brought to life a female child, who gave birth to offspring. Then the succession of day and night began, and her progeny became numerous, sailing up and down the river."

The juxtaposition of heaven and earth is not expressly stated in the Chaldean and Hebrew legends, though it doubtless is inferred, as both emerged from the primal chaos; but in some of the hymns of the Rig-Veda the idea is plainly held forth that at one time heaven and earth were close together, and the separating them is variously attributed to Varuna, to Vishnu, to Indra, and Soma, who "propped up the sky with supports, and spread out the earth, the mother."

The Polynesian legend of the creation of man shows too remarkable an accord with the Hebrew account to be lightly passed over. The former says that "Kane," "Ku," and "Lono," formed man out of the red earth, and breathed into his nose, and he became a living being; *vide supra*. The latter says, "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul" (Gen. ii. 7). The Polynesian account offers details—the mixing of the



earth with the spittle of the gods, and the forming the head of man out of white clay, which do not appear in the Hebrew.

According to Mr. G. Smith, the Babylonian inscriptions, so far as yet discovered, are defective in that portion which treats of the creation of man; but it appears that the race of human beings spoken of in line "18," p. 82, chap. v. of "Chaldean Account of Genesis," is "the *zalmatqaquadi*, or dark race, and in various other fragments of these legends they here are called Admi or Adami, which is exactly the name given to the first man in Genesis." And the author further says, that "it has already been pointed out by Sir Henry Rawlinson that the Babylonians recognised two principal races: the Adamu, or dark race, and the Sarku, or light race, probably in the same manner that two races are mentioned in Genesis, the sons of Adam and the sons of God.<sup>1</sup> It appears incidentally from the fragments of inscriptions that it was the race of Adam, or the dark race, which was believed to have fallen; but there is at present no clue to the position of the other race in their system." The Hebrew word *Adam* signifies "Red," and may thus help us to connect the Polynesian first man, made of "red earth," with the Babylonian "dark race;" but the Polynesian reference to the head of man being made of "white clay," although a myth, may yet have a historical substratum, and indicate a lingering reminiscence of a mixed origin, in which the white element occupied a superior position. In regard to the creation of the first woman, the Polynesian and the Hebrew narratives coincide perfectly, even to the very name.

Of the ancient Hawaiian chants, referring to the Creation, and which were at once the rythmical, sacerdotal expression of the ancient creed and the crystallised form of the primal tradition—two only, so far as I know, have been preserved and reduced to writing. With the prac-

<sup>1</sup> How other writers have handled this curious passage in Genesis vi. 2, see *Primeval Man*, by the Duke of Argyle (New York, 1874), p. 104, &c.

tice and observance of the ancient culte, vanished also in great measure the ancient metrical formulas, though the prosaic tradition lingers still in the minds of some of the old people where the hymns have been forgotten. Of these two, which from intrinsic evidence I should judge to be older than the influx into the Hawaiian group of South Pacific emigrants about 800 years ago, I offer the following translations. They are but portions of longer chants, and would probably in a few years more have been entirely forgotten; but, *ex pede Herculem*, and they are extremely interesting.

The first reads:—

“ O Kane, O Ku-ka-Pao<sup>1</sup>  
 And the great Lono, dwelling on the water,  
 Brought forth are Heaven and Earth,  
 Quickened, increasing, moving,  
 Raised up into Continents,<sup>2</sup>  
     The great Ocean of Kane,  
     The Ocean with dotted seas,<sup>3</sup>  
     The Ocean with the large fishes,  
     And the small fishes,  
     Sharks and Niuhi,<sup>4</sup>  
     Whales,  
     And the large Hihimanu<sup>5</sup> of Kane.

<sup>1</sup> *Ka-Pao* is an epithet of “Ku,” the second deity, and is probably best rendered as “the architect, the constructor, the builder.” *Pao*, v. signifies “to peck, as birds with the bill; to dig out, as from a rock or other substance; to dig down in the ground, as in making a pit.” *Pao*, s. signifies “the arch of a bridge; the bridge itself; a prop; also a shallow pit, a place dug out.” The original conception of the epithet *ka Pao* corresponds to the leading idea of the Marquesan legend of Creation, *te Pepeua*, formerly referred to, where the great God “Atea” sets the inferior deities to work to pick out or dig out the earth from the surrounding chaos.

<sup>2</sup> *Moku*, primarily “a division, something cut off; a land separated from other land by water; an island; a district.”

<sup>3</sup> *Kai oo*, “dotted, variegated sea,” scél. with islands or with coral patches. *Kai* is used in speaking of local seas, in contradistinction from *Moana*, the great circumambient ocean.

<sup>4</sup> *Niuhi*, a species of shark of the largest kind.

<sup>5</sup> *Hihimanu*, a large, broad, soft creature of the sea, one and a half or two feet in diameter. Both this and the foregoing “Niuhi” were forbidden, under the Kapu system, to be eaten by women, under penalty of death.

The rows of stars of Kane,  
 The stars in the firmament,  
 The stars that have been fastened up,  
 Fast, fast, on the surface of the heaven of Kane,  
 And the wandering stars,<sup>1</sup>  
 The tabued stars of Kane,  
 The moving stars of Kane ;  
 Innumerable<sup>2</sup> are the stars ;  
 The large stars,  
 The little stars,  
 The red stars of Kane. O infinite space !  
     The great Moon of Kane,  
     The great Sun of Kane,  
     Moving, floating,  
     Set moving about in the great space of Kane.  
 The great Earth of Kane,  
 The Earth Kapakapaua<sup>3</sup> of Kane,  
 The Earth that Kane set in motion,  
 Moving are the stars, moving is the moon,  
 Moving is the great Earth of Kane."

Subjoined is the Hawaiian text :—

*O Kane, O Ku-ka-Pao  
 Me Lono-nui noho i ka wai,  
 Loaa ka Lani, Honua,  
 Ho-ou, kukupu, inana,  
 Ku iluna o ka moku.  
     O ka Moana nui a Kane,  
     O ka Moana i kai oo,*

<sup>1</sup> *Kahakahakea*, lit., "that have been hewn off, chipped off;" hence "set adrift, wandering." In Marquesan *Taha* is "to go, march." In Tahitian *Tahataha* is "to be declining as the sun in the afternoon, to be wondering as the eye on account of some evil intended."

<sup>2</sup> I have rendered by "innumerable," what in the text is expressed by *kini, ka lau, ka mano*, which literally means "40,000, 400, 4000."

<sup>3</sup> *Kapakapaua*, in Hawaiian legends designates in a general way the first land or country inhabited by man. If the word, however, is taken in its

literal sense, one of the meanings of *kapa* in Hawaiian is "to gather up in the hands and squeeze, as awadregs," the line may be read "the earth squeezed or strained dry by Kane," and in so far convey an ancient conception of the mode of creation analogous to the notion of the early Babylonians, who "evidently considered that the world was drawn together out of the waters, and rested or reposed upon a vast abyss of chaotic ocean which filled the space below the world."—Chaldean account of Genesis, G. Smith, p. 74.

O ka Moana i ka ia nui  
 I ka ia iki,  
 I ka mano, i ka niuhi,  
 I ke Kohola,  
 I ka ia nui hihimanu a Kane,  
 O na lalani hoku a Kane,  
 O na hoku i ka nuu paa,  
 O na hoku i kakia ia,  
 I paa, i paa i ka ili lani a Kane,  
 O na hoku i kahakahakea,  
 O na hoku kapu a Kane  
 O na hoku lewa a Kane,  
 O kini, o ka lau, o ka mano o ka hoku.  
 O ka hoku nui,  
 O ka hoku iki,  
 O na hoku ula a Kane. He lewa!  
     O ka Mahina nui a Kane,  
     O ka La nui a Kane,  
     A hoolewa, a lewa,  
     I hoolewa ia i ka lewa nui a Kane.  
 O ka Honua nui a Kane  
 O ka Honua i Kapakapaua<sup>1</sup> a Kane,  
 O ka Honua a Kane i hoolewa.  
 O lewa ka hoku, o lewa ka malama,  
 O lewa ka Honua nui a Kane."

The second chant reads as follows:—

" Kane of the great Night,  
 Ku and Lono of the great Night,  
 Hika-po-loa the King.  
     The tabued Night that is set apart,  
     The poisonous Night,  
     The barren, desolate Night,  
     The continual darkness of Midnight,  
     The Night; the reviler.<sup>2</sup>  
 O Kane, O Ku-ka-Pao,  
 And great Lono dwelling on the water,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note 3, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> *Hai-amu*, synon. with *Ku-amu-amu*, "to revile sacred things, curse the gods, blaspheme."

<sup>3</sup> "Dwelling on the waters," *noho i ka wai*, as a characteristic or epithet

of the third great god of the Hawaiians, forcibly recalls to mind the Tahitian legend referred to on p. 64, according to which "the god *Tino-Taata* floated on the surface of the waters."

Brought forth are Heaven (and) Earth,  
 Quickened, increased, moving,  
 Raised up into Continents.

Kane, Lord of Night, Lord the father,  
 Ku-ka-Pao, in the hot heavens,  
 Great Lono with the flashing eyes,  
 Lightning-like lights has the Lord  
 Established in truth, O Kane, master-worker ;

The Lord Creator of mankind :  
 Start, work, bring forth the Chief Ku-Honua.<sup>1</sup>  
 And Ola-Ku-Honua<sup>2</sup> the woman ;  
 Dwelling together are they two,  
 Dwelling in marriage (is she) with the husband, the brother."

The Hawaiian text reads :—

*" Kane i ka Po-loa,  
 Ku a me Lono i ka Po-loa,  
 O Hika-Po-loa ke Lii.  
 Ka Po-kapu i hoano e,  
 O ai-au ka Po,  
 O kekaha ka Po anoano,  
 O mau kulu ka Po-eleele,  
 Ka Po ke ha'amau.  
 O Kane, O Ku-ka-Pao,  
 Me Lono-nui noho i ka wai,  
 Loaa ka Lani, Honua,  
 Ho-eu, Kukupu, inana,  
 Ku iluna o ka Moku.  
 Kane-Po-Lani, O Lani Makisia,  
 O Ku, O ka Pao i kikilani,  
 O Lono-nui maka-oaka,  
 Huila, malamalama, loaa ka Lani,  
 Hooia i oia, O Kane kumu-hana.  
 O ka Lani hookanaka,  
 Hoi, hana, loaa ke Lii Ku-Honua,  
 O ke Ola-ku-Honua ka wahine,  
 Nonoho iho no laua,  
 I hoi noho i ke Kane kaikunane."*

It will thus be seen that the order of creation, according to Hawaiian folk-lore, was that after heaven and earth had been separated, and the ocean had been stocked with its

<sup>1</sup> One of the many names of the first man.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding name of the first woman.

animals, the stars were created, then the moon, then the sun. In this order the Marquesan legend agrees with the Hawaiian, and both agree exactly with the Babylonian legend of the cuneiform inscriptions. Mr. G. Smith, l. c. p. 75, says: "The Babylonian account of the creation gives the creation of the moon before that of the sun, in reverse order to that in Genesis; and evidently the Babylonians considered the moon the principal body, while the book of Genesis makes the sun the greater light. Here it is evident that Genesis is truer to nature than the Chaldean text." Granted that it be truer; but may not that very fact indicate also that the Hebrew text is a later emendation of an older but once common tradition?

On the creation of animals these chants are silent; but from the prose tradition it may be inferred that the earth, at the time of its creation or emergence from the watery chaos, was stocked with vegetable and animal life. The animals specially mentioned in the tradition as having been created by Kane were hogs, *Puaa*; dogs, *Ilio*; lizards or reptiles, *Moo*. *Puakā* (in South Polynesian dialects *Puaka*) seems at one time to have been a general name for beasts and animals, but after the isolation of the Polynesians in the Pacific to have been limited to the hog species. *Ilio* was a general name for dog and his kindred, obsolete in the southern groups.<sup>1</sup> Besides the common domesticated dog, *Ilio holo*, the tradition speaks of *Ilio nui niho oi*, "the large dog with sharp teeth," and *Ilio 'i'i a Kane*, "the royal dog of Kane." The *Moo* or *Moko* mentioned in tradition, reptiles and lizards, were of several kinds: the *Moo* with large, sharp, glistening teeth; the talking *Moo*, *moo-olelo*; the creeping *Moo*, *moo kolo*; the roving, wandering *Moo*, *moo-pelo*; <sup>2</sup> the watchful *Moo*, *moo-*

<sup>1</sup> The Hawaiian is the only group that has preserved the name *Ilio* for dog. In the southern groups the word *Kuri* is generally used, in the Marquesan *Nuhe*.

<sup>2</sup> The word *Pelo* is obsolete in the Hawaiian. It occurs, however, in the Tahitian *Pero-pero*, "to roam about, to wander."

*kaala* ;<sup>1</sup> the prophesying Moo, *moo-kaula* ; the deadly moo, *moo make a kane*. The Hawaiian legends frequently speak of moo of extraordinary size living in caverns, amphibious in their nature, and being the terror of the inhabitants. Now, when it is taken into consideration that throughout the Polynesian groups no reptiles are found much bigger than the common house lizard, it is evident that these tales of monster reptiles must have been an heirloom from the time when the people lived in other habitats where such large reptiles abounded.

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The Hawaiian traditions are eloquent upon the beauty and excellence of the particular land or place of residence of the two first created human beings. It had a number of names of various imports, though the most generally occurring, and said to be the oldest, was *Kalana i Hau-ola*, "Kalana with the living or life-giving dew." It was situated in a large country or continent, variously called in the legends by the names of *Kahiki-honua-kele*, *Kahiki ku*, *Kapakapaua-a-Kane*, and *Mololani*. Among the many other names for this primary homestead or paradise, retained in the chants and traditions, are *Pali-uli*, "the blue mountain;" *Aina i ka Kaupo o Kane*, "the land in or of the heart of Kane;" *Aina wai Akua a Kane*, "the land of the divine water of Kane." The tradition says of "Pali-uli" that it was "a sacred, tabued land; that a man must be righteous to attain it; that he must prepare himself exceedingly holy who wishes to attain it; if faulty or sinful, he will not get there: if he looks behind, he will not get there, if he prefers his family, he will not enter in Paliuli." Part of an ancient chant thus describes it:—

<sup>1</sup> This word in the present combination is not found in the Hawaiian. Its root is evidently *Ala*, "to wake, be watchful."

“O Pali-uli, hidden land of Kane,  
 Land in Kalana i Hau-ola,  
 In Kahiki-ku, in Kapakapa-ua a Kane,  
 Land with springs of water, fat and moist,  
 Land greatly enjoyed by the god.”

“O Pali-uli, aina huna a Kane,  
 O ka aina i Kalana i Hau-ola,  
 I Kahikiku, I Kapakapa-ua a Kane,  
 O ka aina i kumu, i lali,  
 O ka aina ai nui a ke Akua.”

The prohibition referred to above, not to look back when starting on a sacred journey, under penalty of failure, curiously enough recalls to mind the Hebrew legend of Lot, *vide* Gen. xix. 17, &c., and the Greek legend of Orpheus and Eurydice. None of the three legends was in all probability derived from or moulded by either of the others, yet the family likeness between them seems to bespeak a common origin in times anterior to the departure of Abraham from “Ur of the Chaldees,” and among a people where superstition had already hardened into maxims and precepts.

The *Aina wai Akua a Kane*, or, as it is more generally called in the legends, *Aina wai-ola a Kane*, “the living water of Kane,” is frequently referred to in the Hawaiian folk-lore. According to traditions this spring of life, or living water, was a running stream or overflowing spring, attached to or enclosed in a pond. “It was beautifully transparent and clear. Its banks were splendid. It had three outlets; one for Ku, one for Kane, and one for Lono and through these outlets the fish entered in the pond. If the fish of the pond were thrown on the ground or on the fire, they did not die; and if a man had been killed and was afterwards sprinkled over with this water, he did soon come to life again.” In the famous legend of “Aukele-nui-a-Iku” the hero visits “Kalana i Hau-ola” and, by the aid of his patron god, obtains water from this fountain of life, wherewith he resuscitated his brothers who had been killed a long time before.



The notion of a fountain of life is very old; and its origin and its *raison d'être* are lost in the gloom of pre-historic times. The earliest allusion to it now known is found in the Izdubar legends of Chaldea,<sup>1</sup> where Ninkigal, the goddess of the regions of the dead, tells her attendant Simtar to pour "the water of life" over Ishtar and restore her to life and health and the company of the gods.

I have not the means of ascertaining if the conception of a fountain of life or life-giving waters was common to the Arian family. The Indus and, specially, the Ganges, were sacred rivers with the Hindus, but in how far the sacredness attributed to the latter was local, and posterior to the Arian invasion of India, or older than Vedic times, and transferred from some equally sacred river, lake, or spring in more ancient habitats, I am unable to say, nor am I positive that "Mimer's well" in Scandinavian mythology, where Odin sought wisdom, and pawned his eye to get it, or the "well of Vurdh," where the Nornas sat and watered the tree Ygdrasyl,—though somewhat analogous, are of kindred origin with the Chaldeo-Polynesian fountain of life or water of life.

The Chaldeans placed their waters of life in the realm of the dead; the Polynesians placed theirs in paradise. Which is the older form of the conception?

Among other adornments of the Polynesian paradise, the "Kalana i Hau-ola," there grew the *Ulu kapu a Kane*, "the tabued bread-fruit tree," and the *Ohia Hemolele*, "the sacred apple-tree." The priests of the olden time are said to have held that the tabued fruit of these trees were in some manner connected with the trouble and death of Kumu-honua and Lalo-honua, the first man and woman, and hence in the ancient chants the former was called "Kane Laa-uli, Kumu-uli, Kulu-ipo," the fallen chief, he who fell from, by, or on account of the tree, the mourner, &c., or names of similar import.

I have only been able to obtain a portion of a Hawaiian

<sup>1</sup> Chaldean Account of Genesis, by G. Smith, pp. 234, 245.

chant which bears upon the subject of those trees and the fall of man, as connected with the eating of their fruit; and I am inclined to think it far more ancient than the comments of the priests on the occurrence therein referred to. It may be rendered in English, viz. :—

“ O Kane-Laa-'uli, uli, uli,  
 Dead by the feast, feast, feast,  
 Dead by the oath, by the law, law, law,  
 Truly, thus indeed, dead, dead, dead.  
 O ! vanish the stars !  
 O ! vanish the light !  
 In company with  
 The moon, moon, moon,  
 And cursed be my hand,  
 Cut off be my course !  
 E Kane-Laa-'uli, uli, uli,  
 E Kane-Laa-huli, huli, huli,  
 E Kane-Laa-make, make, make,  
 Dead are you, you, you,  
 By Kane thy god, god, god,  
 Dead by the law, law, law,  
 Truly, thus indeed, dead, dead, dead,  
 O Kane-Laa-'uli, uli, uli,  
 O Kane disobeying the gods, gods, gods,  
 O Kane (returned) to dust, dust, dust.”

The text reads :—

*O Kane Laa-'uli, uli, uli,  
 I make i ahaina, 'ina, 'ina,  
 I make i hooiki, i kanawai, wai, wai,  
 Oia nae, no ka make, make, make.  
 O hele ka hoku,  
 O hele ka malama,  
 Ka kakai pu ae no,  
 Me ka Mahina, 'hina, 'hina !  
 A Laa kuu lima la !  
 Kaapahu kuu hele e !  
 E Kane-Laa-'uli, uli, uli,  
 E Kane-Laa-huli, huli, huli,  
 E Kane-Laa-make, make, make,  
 O make oe, oe, oe,  
 Ia Kane Kou Akua, 'kua, 'kua,*

*I make kanawai, 'wai, 'wai,  
 Oia nae no ke make, make, make,  
 O Kane-Laa-'uli, 'uli, 'uli.  
 O Kane aaria, ia, ia,  
 O Kane i ka wai-lepo-leoo, lepo."*<sup>1</sup>

The tradition of the creation above referred to, and the enumeration of various animals of the reptile kind, speaks of the *Moopelo* as an astute and lying animal, and that he was also known in the ancient chants by the name of *Ilioha*. In the very chant quoted on pp. 74, 75, after relating the creation of the first man and woman, and giving some eight different names or appellatives whereby they were known, and all referring to their happy and powerful state before the fall, occurs the following allusion to some catastrophe in which the said reptile or "Moo" was concerned, and after which the previous names of the first human pair, expressive of joy and power, were changed to names expressive of misfortune and remorse or grief. The lines of the chant referred to read :

*"Ka Ilioha kupu-ino ku iluna oka moku,  
 Loaa na Lii Ku-Honua,  
 O Polo-Haina ka wahine la e,  
 He mau Alii kapu a Kane.  
     O Polo-Haina, ka wahine  
     O Ulia-wale, ke kane,  
     O Laa'i ka wahine,  
     O Laa'-hee-wale ke kane,  
     O Laa'-make ka wahine,  
     O Laa'-uli, ke kane,  
     O Kanikau, ka wahine  
     O Kani-kuo, ke kane,  
     O Noho-u, ka wahine,  
     O Noho-mihi, ke kane,  
     O Huki-ku, ka wahine,*

<sup>1</sup> This is one of the expressions used to designate the moist earth, from which man was made. Hence *Ua hele i ka wai lepo-lepo* became one of the many poetical or sacerdotal phrases to designate that a person

had died—"he has gone to the moist earth, or to the muddy water," soil: from which he was made; or, as we say, returned to dust, from which he sprang.

*O Piliwale, ke kane la e,  
Piliwale laua la e."*

Which may be rendered in English :—

"The Ilioha, mischief-maker, stands on the land ;  
He has caught the chief Ku-Honua,  
And Polo-Haina, the woman,  
The Tabu chiefs of Kane," &c., &c.

Here follow the new names of "Fallen," "Tree-eater," "Tree-upset," "Mourner," "Lamentation," "Repenting," &c.; and it is, moreover, curious to observe that, whereas in enumerating the names of the first pair before their misfortune, the chant places the husband's name before that of the wife, in the list of names after the fall the names of the wife precede those of the husband, who becomes, as it were, an intensified echo of the former. The tradition adds, that the first pair lived in "Kalana i Hauola," until they were driven out from there by *Ka-aaia-nukea-nui a Kane*, "the large white bird of Kane."

This is all that Hawaiian folk-lore, so far as I have been able to collect it, tells us of the forbidden fruit in Paradise, and of the disobedience and fall of the first of mankind. It is but little, but is remarkable for its agreement with the Hebrew legend of the same event, and with the Chaldean allusions thereto, as collected by Mr. George Smith.

I know not how far any reference of similar import may have been preserved among the traditions and chants of the south-westerly groups of Polynesia; but in one of the sacrificial hymns of the Marquesas, when human victims were offered, frequent allusions were made to "the red apples eaten in Vavau," *Keika kua kaikai ia i Vevau*, and to "the tabued apples of Atea," *te keika tapu no Atea*, as the cause of death, wars, pestilence, famine, and other calamities, only to be averted or atoned for by the sacrifice of human victims. The close connection between the Hawaiian and Marquesan legends indicates a common

origin, and that that origin can be no other than that from which the Chaldean and Hebrew legends of sacred trees, disobedience, and fall also sprang.

There are still two other Hawaiian legends that also bear upon the subject of the fall of man and the introduction of death in the world: the legend of "Wela-ahi-lani," and that of "Kumu-honua." According to those legends, using one to supplement the other, at the time when the gods created the stars, they also created a multitude of angels or spirits, *i Kini Akua*, who were not created like man, but were made from the spittle of the gods, *i kuha ia*, to be their servants or messengers. These spirits, or a number of them, disobeyed and revolted because they were denied the Awa, which means that they were not permitted to be worshipped; Awa being a sacrificial offering and sign of worship. These evil spirits did not prevail, however, but were conquered by Kane and thrust down into uttermost darkness, *ilalo-loa i ka Po*; and the chief of these spirits was called by some *Kanaloa*, by others, *Milu*, the ruler of "Po," *Akua ino, kupu ino*, the evil spirit.<sup>1</sup> The legend further tells that when Kane, Ku, and Lono were creating the first man from the earth, Kanaloa also was present, and, in imitation of Kane, attempted to make another man out of the earth. When his clay model was ready, he

<sup>1</sup> Other legends, however, state that the veritable and primordial lord of the Hawaiian Inferno was called *Manua*. The Inferno itself bore a number of names, such as *Po-pau-ole, Po-'kua-kini, Po-kini-kini, Po-papa-ia-owa, Po-ia-Milu*. "Milu," according to the legends, was but a chief of superior wickedness on earth who was thrust down into "Po," but who was really both inferior and posterior to "Manua." This Inferno, this "Po" with many names, one of which, remarkably enough, was *he Po-lua-ahi*, "the pit of fire," was not an entirely dark place. There was light of some kind, and there

was fire. Like the classical Tartarus, it could be visited by gifted mortals, and the spirits of the dead could be brought away from there to the light and life of the upper world. Hawaiian legends relate several instances of such descents and returns to and from "Po." *Mokulehua* brought his wife *Pueo* back from there by the help of his god "Kanikaniaula." *Maluæ* brought his son *Kaalii* from there with the help of "Kane" and "Kanaloa." *Hiku* or *Iku* brought up the spirit of the woman *Kawelu* and restored her to life; and several other instances.

called to it to become alive, but no life came to it. Then Kanaloa became very angry, and said to Kane, "I will take your man, and he shall die;" and so it happened; and hence the first man got another name, *Kumu-uli*, which means "a fallen chief," *he Lii kahuli*.

That the Marquesan *Tanaoa* and the Hawaiian *Kanaloa* embody the same original conception of evil, I consider pretty evident. With the Marquesans the idea is treated in the abstract. With them "Tanaoa" is the primary condition of darkness, chaos, confusion, elevated into a divinity battling with Atea, the god of light and order. With the Hawaiians "Kanaloa" is the same idea in the concrete, a personified spirit of evil, the origin of death, the prince of "Po," the Hawaiian chaos, and yet a revolted, disobedient spirit, who was conquered and punished by Kane.<sup>1</sup> In most of the southern groups of Polynesia, though nearly defaced and greatly distorted, the original idea still shines out in the fact that they consider *Tangaloa*, or, contracted, *Taaroa*, as the demiurgos of the world, and the father of gods and men, and is there worshipped as the supreme God, taking precedence of *Tane*, *Tu*, *Oro*, *Roo*, or *Lono*, and others.<sup>2</sup>

That this perversion of the original idea among the southern groups was subsequent in time to the separation of the Hawaiians and Marquesans from the rest of the Polynesian family in the Pacific, I infer from the fact that the introduction and worship of "Kanaloa," as one of the great gods in the Hawaiian group, can only be traced back to the time of the immigration from the southern groups

<sup>1</sup> In "Voyage aux Isles du Grand Ocean," par M. Moerenhout, vol. i. p. 568, he says, "On ne trouve, nulle part, de vestiges des deux principes, ni de ces combats entre les ténèbres et la lumière, la vie et la mort." If lost among Tahitian legends, the Marquesan and Hawaiian have plainly retained those "vestiges."

<sup>2</sup> Some idea may be formed of the

supreme consideration in which this god was held on Tahiti from the fact, as M. de Bovis relates, that no worship was offered to him, and, with the single exception of the small island of Tapuenanu, there was not in all the group a single morae erected in his honour. Having created gods and demigods, he was above the consideration of the concerns of mortals.

some eight hundred years ago, and that in the more ancient chants he is never mentioned in conjunction with "Kane," "Ku," and "Lono," and that, even in later Hawaiian worship and mythology, he never took precedence of "Kane."

This Hawaiian myth of "Kanaloa" as a fallen angel antagonistic to the great gods, and the spirit of evil and death in the world, bears a wonderful relation to the Chaldean myth of the seven spirits which rebelled against Anu, and spread consternation in heaven and destruction on earth, but were finally conquered by Bel, the son of Hea. See "Chaldean Account of Genesis," by G. Smith, p. 107.

The Hebrew legends are more vague and indefinite as to the existence of an evil principle. The serpent of Genesis, the Satan of Job, the Hillel of Isaiah, the dragon of the Revelations—all point, however, to the same underlying idea, that the first cause of sin, death, evil, and calamities was to be found in disobedience and revolt from God. They appear as disconnected scenes of a once grand drama, that in olden times riveted the attention of mankind, and of which, strange to say, the clearest synopsis and the most coherent recollection are, so far, to be found in Polynesian traditions. It is probably in vain to inquire with whom the legend of an evil spirit and his operations in heaven and on earth had its origin. Notwithstanding the apparent unity of design and remarkable coincidences in many points, yet the differences in detail, colouring, and presentation are too great to suppose the legend borrowed by one from either of the others. It probably descended to the Chaldeans, Polynesians, and Hebrews alike from some source or people anterior to themselves, of whom history now is silent.

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On the events in the world and the generations of mankind, from the creation of the first man to the time of the

Flood, Polynesian legends are almost as barren as those of the Chaldees or Hebrews. The latter counted ten generations or dynasties from the first man to, and inclusive of, Noah or Xisuthrus, and in this corresponded with the ten Egyptian reigns of the dynasty of gods, from Ptha to Hor II. The Hebrew account mentions three sons of Adam, of which the first killed the second, and mankind was propagated from the first and third up to the time of the Flood; but while the line of Seth, from Adam to Noah, counts ten generations, the line of Cain stops short at the eighth generation.

The Polynesian legends, as we have seen, both in the Tongas and New Zealand, make reference to the killing of the younger by the older of the sons of the first man. The Hawaiian legend is fuller, and, while referring to the same fratricide, gives a complete genealogy of both the older and youngest branches from the first man to the time of the Flood.

I have three different Hawaiian genealogies, going back, with more or less agreement among themselves, to the first created man. One is the genealogy of *Kumuhonua*, connected with the legend frequently referred to. This gives thirteen generations from "Kumuhonua," the first man, to "Nuu" or "Kahinalii," both inclusive, on the line of *Laka*, the oldest son of "Kumuhonua." It also gives thirteen generations, during the same period, on the line of *Ka Pili*, the youngest and third son of "Kumuhonua." The second genealogy is called that of *Kumu-uli*, and was of greatest authority among the highest chiefs down to the latest times, and it was tabu to teach it to common people. This genealogy counts fourteen generations from *Hulihonua*, the first man, to "Nuu" or "Nana Nuu," both inclusive, on the line of "Laka," the son of the first man. The third genealogy, which, properly speaking, is that of *Paa'o*, the high-priest who came with *Pili* from Tahiti about twenty-five generations ago, and was a reformer of the Hawaiian priesthood, and among whose descendants it has



been preserved, counts only twelve generations from "Kumuhonua" to "Nuu," on the line of "Ka-Pili," the youngest son.

These three genealogies were from ancient times considered as of equal authority and independent of each other, the "Kumuhonua" and "Paa" genealogies obtaining principally among the priests and chiefs on Hawaii, and the "Kumuuli" genealogy being specially claimed by the chiefs of Kauai and Oahu as their authority; yet during this early period, from the first man to the Flood, the names of the different generations on the "Kumuhonua" and "Kumuuli" in the line of "Laka" are identical, except where the latter exceeds the former by one; and the names on the "Kumuhonua" and "Paa" in the line of "Ka-Pili" are also identical, except where the former exceeds the latter by one. It is fair to infer, therefore, that there was some common bond of union, some sacred deposit from primeval times, which kept the record of these names intact from the interpolations, changes, and variations which in subsequent times more or less affected the number and order of names of generations in post-diluvian periods.

But though the Polynesian differ from the Chaldeo-Hebraico-Egyptian account of the number of antediluvian gods, kings, and patriarchs, it coincides with the Hebrew in the number of sons of the first man; in the murder of the second son by the first; in the enormous length of days attributed to each generation; in the translation to heaven of not only one, as the Hebrew text gives it, but of two worthy individuals, whose pious lives had merited such favour; and, finally, in the very name of the hero of the Flood and that of his wife—*Nuu* and *Lili-Noc*—which evidently point to the Hebrew and Arabic *Nuh* or *Noah*.

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In many of the Polynesian groups, there still exist legends of a flood in which the majority of mankind perished, while only a few escaped. Many of these legends are apparently only later editions and corrupted versions of a once common theme, or attempts to localise the catastrophe and its incidents on this or that group.

In the Fiji group, where so much of Polynesian ancient lore was deposited during their sejour on that group, several versions of an ancient tradition of the Flood have been collected by the Rev. Thomas Williams, of which he gives the following synopsis in his work called "Fiji and the Fijians," p. 196. He says of the Fijians—

"They speak of a deluge which, according to some of their accounts, was partial, but in others is stated to have been universal. The cause of this great flood was the killing of Turukawa—a favourite bird belonging to Ndengei—by two mischievous lads, the grandsons of the god. These, instead of apologising for their offence, added insolent language to the outrage, and fortifying, with the assistance of their friends, the town in which they lived, defied Ndengei to do his worst. It is said that although the angry god took three months to collect his forces, he was unable to subdue the rebels, and, disbanding his army, resolved on more efficient revenge. At his command the dark clouds gathered and burst, pouring streams on the devoted earth. Towns, hills, mountains were successively submerged; but the rebels, secure in the superior height of their own dwelling-place, looked on without concern. But when, at last, the terrible surges invaded their fortress, they cried for direction to a god who, according to one account, instructed them to form a float of the fruit of the shaddock; according to another, sent two canoes for their use; or, says a third, taught them how to build a canoe, and thus secure their own safety. All agree that the highest places were covered, and the remnant of the human race saved in some kind of vessel, which was at last left by the subsiding waters on Mbenga; hence the Mbengans

draw their claim to stand first in Fijian rank. The number saved—eight—exactly accords with the “few” of the Scripture record. By this flood it is said that two tribes of the human family became extinct. One consisted entirely of women, and the other were distinguished by the appendage of a tail like that of a dog. The highest point of the island of Koro is associated with the history of the Flood. Its name is *Ngginggi-tangithi-Koro*, which conveys the idea of a little bird sitting there and lamenting the drowned island. In this bird the Christians recognise Noah’s dove on its second flight from the ark. I have heard a native, after listening to the incident as given by Moses, chant “*Na qiqi sa tagici Koro ni yali*,”—“The Qiqui laments over Koro, because it is lost.”

At Raiatea, Society group, the legend runs that one day *Rua-Haku*, the Lord Rua, the Ocean God, was asleep at the bottom of the sea, when a fisherman came along that way with his hook and line. The hook got entangled in the hair of the god, and the fisherman, thinking he had caught a fine fish on his hook, pulled up so vigorously as to bring the god to the surface. Enraged at being thus disturbed in his sleep, the god threatened instant destruction to the unlucky fisherman; but the latter, having implored the god’s pardon, was told to repair to a coral bank or islet called *Toa-marama* for shelter, while the god vented his displeasure on the rest of the world. The fisherman did as he was told, and took a friend, a hog, a dog, and a couple of hens with him to the islet. After that the ocean commenced rising, and continued rising until all the land was covered with water and all the people had perished. Then the waters retired, and the fisherman returned to his former home. Other versions of the event exist at Tahiti, but equally distorted.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. Moerenhout, in his “Voyage aux Isles de Grand Ocean,” vol. i. p. 571, says that the Polynesian legends represent the ocean as overflowing its bed, and rising up to the highest

mountains, “sans que, nulle part, il soit question des eaux pluviales.” M. Moerenhout apparently did not know the Marquesan and Hawaiian legends, to which I will refer directly.

Of the Marquesan legends bearing on this subject, I have only had access to the "Chant of the Deluge," *te-tai-toko*, in Mr. Lawson's collection.<sup>1</sup> It takes higher ground than the half-remembered and corrupted versions current among the southern groups, and is a remarkable specimen of native poetry, as well as of strict fidelity to the original narrative, so far as that may be ascertained from the Chaldean and Hebrew accounts. Mr. Lawson has given an English translation, but it is so very literal and rugged, that I prefer to give a prose synopsis of the chant in order to convey its contents to the reader.

The chant opens by saying that the Lord Ocean, *Fatu-Moana*, was going to overflow and pass over the dry earth, but that a respite of seven days was granted. It then speaks of the animals who were to be reserved from the Flood. Then speaks of a house to be built high above the waters; a house with stories, with chambers, with openings for light, stored with provisions for the preservation of the various animals. The animals then are fastened with ropes, tied up in couples, and, with one man before and one behind, marched off to this big, deep house of wood. Then the family enter, consisting of four women and four men. The men's names are given "*Fetu-moana*," apparently the father and master of the family, *Fetu-tau-ani*, *Fetu-amo-amo*, and *Ia-fetu-tini*. A turtle is then sacrificed; the family retires to rest amidst the din, confusion, and crowding of the confined animals. Then the storm bursts over them; the rain is pouring fearfully, and gloom prevails; all on earth is displaced and mixed up by the waters.

The second part opens with a description of the waters retreating, and mountain summits and ridges reappearing, the grounding of the house, and the command of the Lord Ocean for the dry land to appear. The head of the family, encouraged by the sight, promises to sacrifice to the Lord Ocean seven holy and precious things and seven sucklings. Then a bird, called *te teetina o Tanaoa*—from

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. IV.

its name apparently of a dark colour—is sent out over the sea of Hawaii, but after a while returns to the vessel. The wind sets in from the north. On a second attempt the same bird alights on the sand of the shore, but is recalled to the vessel. Then another bird, called *te Teetina o Moepo*, is sent out over the sea of Hawaii. It lands on the dry land, and returns with young shoots or branches it had gathered. The land is now dry, and the great ridges of *Hawaii* and of *Matahou* are fit to dwell on. In the third part reference is made to the debarkation of men and animals.

In the Hawaiian group there are several versions of the Flood. Some indicate the decay and corruption of the original legend in a similar manner to the Fiji and Raiatea legends above referred to; but one legend approaches nearly to the Marquesan, though greatly shortened in details as I obtained it. It relates that in the time of *Nuu* or *Nana*<sup>1</sup>-*Nuu*, as he is also called, the Flood—*Kai-a-Kahinalii*—came upon the earth and destroyed all living beings; that “Nuu,” by command of his god, built a large vessel with a house on top of it, which was called and is referred to in the chants as *He Waa-Halau-Alii o ka Moku*, “the royal vessel,” in which he and his family, consisting of his wife *Lili-Nae*, his three sons, and their wives, were saved. When the Flood subsided, “Kane,” “Ku,” and “Lono” entered the “Waa-Halau” of “Nuu,” and told him to go out. He did so, and found himself on the top of Mauna-kea (the highest mountain on the island of Hawaii), and he called a cave there after the name of his wife, and the cave remains there to this day, as the legend says, in testimony of the fact. Other versions of the legend say that “Nuu” landed and dwelt in *Kahiki-honua-kele*, a large and extensive country. I have already given the remainder of the legend on page 44, telling how “Nuu,” by mistake, after debarking, offered his

<sup>1</sup> Also pronounced *Lana*, *l* and *n* being interchangeable. It means “floating.”

offerings to the moon instead of to "Kane," and the consequences. From "Nuu," the legend says, the world was again re-peopled.

I have only been able to obtain one Hawaiian chant, or rather portion of a chant, bearing on the subject of the Flood. Its idiom, language, and allusions indicate it to be of great antiquity. It is, properly speaking, only the introduction to the ancient chant of the Flood, and seems to represent the dismay and consternation of the descendants of "Laka," the eldest son of the first man, at the coming of the Flood, with an appeal to "Lono" to save them. The Hawaiian text reads:—

*Ei ka ai,<sup>1</sup> e ke Akua,  
E Kahuli,<sup>2</sup>  
E Kahela,<sup>3</sup>  
E ka wahine moe iluna ka alo,  
O Moe-a-Hanuna,<sup>3</sup>  
O Milikaa,<sup>3</sup>  
O ka Lepo-Ahulu,<sup>4</sup>  
O Pahu-Kini,  
O Pahu-lau,  
O Kulana-a-Pahu,  
O Ola-ka-hua-nui,  
O Ka papai-a-Laka,  
O Manuu ke eu,  
O ka pæpæ nui, ala i ka moku la, e.  
E ala !  
E ala ! e ka ua !  
E ka la,  
E ka ohu-kolo i uka,  
E ka ohu-kolo i kai !  
Kai nuu—kai ee,  
Kai pipili<sup>5</sup> a Iku ;*

<sup>1</sup> *Ai*, "food," when addressed to a god, means the sacrifice, the offering, the gods being supposed to consume what was offered them and delight in it.

<sup>2</sup> *Kahuli*, one of the many names of the first created man.

<sup>3</sup> I am unable at present to refer these names to any known antedilu-

vian personages. Conjecture in that case might mislead.

<sup>4</sup> *Lepo-Ahulu*, also one of the many names of the first man.

<sup>5</sup> *Pipili*, properly means "topsy-turvy," "helter-skelter." I have rendered it "boisterous," as applicable to the sea or ocean.

*La ! e ua Puni !*  
*O huahua kai,*  
*O ka ale i, o ka ale moe,*  
*O ka ale hakoikoi,*  
*I kahiki,*  
*A hiki a ola,*  
*No nei make ia oe la e Lono.*

*E kaukau nou e Lono,*  
*E Lono i-ka-Po,<sup>1</sup>*  
*E Lono i-ka-Hekili,*  
*E Lono i-ka-Uwila,*  
*E' Lono i-ka-Ua-loko,*  
*E Lono i-ka-Oili maka akua nei la,*  
*E Lono, e Lono, maka-hia-lele ;*  
*A lele oe i ke kai uli,<sup>2</sup>*  
*A lele oe i ke kai kona,*  
*I kai koolau,*  
*I One-uli, i One-kea,*  
*I mahina, uli, i mahina-kea.*  
*O Pipipi, O Unauna,*  
*O Alealea ;<sup>3</sup> o hee ;*  
*O Naka, Kualakai,<sup>4</sup>*  
*O Kama, O Opihi-kau-pali,*  
*O Kulele poo,*  
*O helelei ke oho.<sup>5</sup>*  
*O Waa-Halau-Alii o ka moku,*  
*Kahi i waiho ai na hua olelo a Pii,<sup>6</sup>*  
*O Kama a Poepoe ka wahine i ka ipu-wai.<sup>7</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> *I-ka-Po*, "from the time of universal night, chaos," one of the ancient titles of the three great gods, "Kane," "Ku," and "Lono." The following lines give the various epithets of Lono, and plainly enough indicate that in the ancient Hawaiian creed he was the god of the atmosphere and its phenomena.

<sup>2</sup> *Kai-uli*. I have rendered it "the Northern Sea," because the following antithesis of "the Southern Sea" and "the Eastern Sea" required it so; and also in view of the designation of the North mentioned on page 16.

<sup>3</sup> These three names designate different species of shell-fish.

<sup>4</sup> Two other kinds of fishes.

<sup>5</sup> A poetical expression. *Oho* means the hair of the head, and also the leaves of the cocoa-nut tree. The phrase "*O hina ke oho*," or "*O helelei ke oho*," conveys the sense of a severe storm which tears the leaves from the cocoa-nut trees.

<sup>6</sup> I am unable, from any legend, chant, or tradition that has come to my knowledge, to explain what this line refers to beyond what the words themselves convey. It would seem, however, from this and the next line, that some account of the antediluvian world was supposed to have been deposited in the Ark, or the *Waa-Halau*, at the time of the Flood.

<sup>7</sup> Probably contracted, or an ancient form of *Ipu-wai-au-au*, "an epithet

The above text may be rendered in English as follows :

“ Here is the food, O God,  
 O Kahuli,  
 O Kahela,  
 O the woman sleeping face upward,  
 O Mae-a-Hanuna,  
 O Milikaa.

O ka Lepo-Ahulu,  
 O Pahu-kini,  
 O Pahu-lau,  
 O Kulana-a-Pahu,  
 O Ola-ka-hua-nui,  
 O Kapapai a Laka,<sup>1</sup>

O Manuu, the mischievous,  
 O the great supporter, awaken the world.  
 O wake up.

O wake up, here is the rain,  
 Here is daylight,  
 Here the mists driving inland,  
 Here the mists driving seaward,  
 The swelling sea, the rising sea,  
 The boisterous sea of Iku.  
 It has enclosed (us).  
 O the foaming sea,  
 O the rising billows, O the falling billows,  
 O the overwhelming billows,  
 In Kahiki.  
 Salvation comes  
 From this death by you, O Lono.

An altar for you, O Lono.  
 O Lono of the night,  
 O Lono of the thunder,  
 O Lono of the lightning,  
 O Lono of the heavy rain,  
 O Lono of the terrible, divine face,  
 O Lono, O Lono with the restless eyes,  
 Ah, fly to the northern sea,  
 Ah, fly to the southern sea,

applied to those who kept the genealogies of the chiefs, because they managed to wash the characters of the chiefs so far as their pedigree was concerned.”—*Vide* “Andrews’s Hawaiian Dictionary,” *sub voce*.

<sup>1</sup> *Laka* was the oldest son of Kumuhonua, the first man, and the phrase “*Ka papai a Laka*” is a poetical expression equivalent to “the descendants, the family of Laka.”



To the eastern sea,  
 To the dark shore, to the white shore,  
 To the dark moon, to the bright moon.  
     O Pipipi, O Unauna,  
     O Alealea ; O glide away ;  
     O Naka, Kualakai,  
     O Kama, O Opihi, sticking to the rocks,  
     O fly beneath the sand,  
     The leaves are falling.  
 O the Waa-Halau-Alii o ka Moku  
 Where were deposited the words of Pii,  
 O Kama-a-Poepoe, the woman of the water-bowl.”

. . . . .

Were the original legend of the Flood to be reconstructed from Polynesian sources alone, it will be seen at a glance how striking its conformity would be to the Hebrew version of said legend, as well as to the Chaldean in parts. Beside the general correspondence in outline, however, there are minor touches of conformity, such as the truce or respite of seven days before the Flood should come; the fastening of the animals in couples, to be stowed away in the ark; the sending forth the raven, or dark-coloured bird at the first, instead of the dove, as in the Chaldee account; the setting in of the north wind to assist in drying up the earth, not mentioned in the Chaldee; the reference to “the words of Pii,” corresponding to the writings of Xisythrus in the Chaldee account of Berasus, deposited in the city of Sippara, but not referred to in Genesis; sacrifice offered before entering the ark or vessel, not referred to in Scripture, but probably indicated in the Chaldee account and the Izdubar legends,<sup>1</sup> which make it extremely improbable that the Polynesian legend was borrowed or copied from either the one or the other. And thus, though closely akin, I think it may justly be ranked as another independent version of that great cataclysm which at some remote period spread desolation over the present Mesopotamian basin.

<sup>1</sup>The Chaldee Account of Genesis, by George Smith, p. 266, &c.

We know that the story of the Flood spread from "Ur of the Chaldees" to the shores of the Mediterranean, and doubtless different versions of it obtained among the intervening nations of Aramians and Hittites, though their accounts of it are now lost to us. It is, therefore, extremely probable that similar versions, variously coloured, found their way southward to Arabia, and eastward to Persia and the early homes of the Arian nations; the more so, as from the earliest times the ancient Chaldea was designated as the *Kiprat-Arbat*, "the four nations," or *Arba-lisun*, "the four tongues," which Mr. G. Rawlinson, in his "Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World," vol. i. p. 55, intimates to have consisted of the Cushite, Turanian, Semitic, and Arian elements, among whom the Cushites preponderated in influence. I have just shown that the Polynesian version of the Flood was probably not derived from either Chaldee or Hebrew originals, at least such as we now have them; nor, viewing the state of the Arian legends relating to the Flood, is there the slightest likelihood that it was derived from that quarter. Unfortunately, we have no well-preserved account of the Flood from the Cushite-Arabian quarter; but I am inclined to consider the Polynesian version as originally representing the early traditions on this subject among the Cushite-pre-Joklanite Arabs, whose sway and whose culture extended over India and the Archipelago, and in so far concurrent in time, equal in authenticity, and equally deserving of consideration, with the Chaldee and Hebrew accounts.

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Of the Hebrew legend of the Tower of Babel I have found no trace among the traditions of the Polynesian tribes, properly so called, in the East Pacific; but in the Fiji group, where so many shreds of Polynesian folk-lore

have been stowed away that have been forgotten elsewhere, there is a legend that—

“Near Na-Savu, Veuaa Levu, the natives point out the site where, in former ages, men built a vast tower, being eager for astronomic information, and especially anxious to decide the difficult question as to whether the moon was inhabited. To effect their purpose they cast up a high mound, and erected thereon a great building of timber. The tower had already risen far skyward, and the ambitious hopes of its industrious builders seemed near fulfilment, when the lower fastenings suddenly broke asunder, and scattered the workmen over every part of Fiji.”<sup>1</sup>

Except the genealogical record, Hawaiian traditions give but a small account of the worthies who flourished immediately after the Flood. We are told that Nuu's three sons were *Nalu-Akea*, *Nalu-Hoohua*, and *Nalu-Manamana*, and that in the tenth generation from Nuu arose one *Lua-Nuu*, or “the second Nuu,” known also in the legends as *Kanehoalani*, *Ku-Pule*, and other names. The legend adds that by command of his God he was the first to introduce circumcision to be practised among all his descendants. He left his native home, and moved a long way off until he reached a land called *Honua-ilalo*, “the southern country,” and hence he got the name *Lalo-Kona*, and his wife was called *Honua-Po-ilalo*. He was the father of *Ku-Nawao* by his slave-woman *Ahu*, and of *Kalani Menehune* by his wife *Mee-Hiwa*. Another legend says that the God “Kane” ordered Lua-Nuu to go up on a mountain and perform a sacrifice there. Lua-Nuu looked among the mountains of *Kahiki-ku*, but none of them appeared suitable for the purpose. Then Lua-Nuu inquired of God where he might find a proper place, and God replied to him: “Go travel to the eastward, and where you find a sharp, peaked hill projecting precipitously into the ocean, that is the hill for the sacrifice.” Then Lua-

<sup>1</sup> Fiji and the Fijians, by Rev. Mr. Williams, p. 199.

Nuu and his son, *Kupulu-pulu-a-Nuu*, and his servant, *Pili-Lua-Nuu*, started off in their boat to the eastward; and in remembrance of this event the Hawaiians called the mountain back of Kualoa, Koolau, Oahu, after one of Lua-Nuu's names—"Kanehoalani"—and the smaller hills in front of it were named after "Kupulu-pulu" and "Pili-Lua-Nuu." By a strange coincidence, Lua-Nuu is the tenth descendant from "Nuu," by both the oldest and youngest of Nuu's sons, "Nalu-Akea" and "Nalu-Manamana," of whom the former is represented to have been the progenitor of the *Kouaka maoli*, the people living on the mainland of Kane—*Aina Kumu-paa a Kane*—and the latter to have been the progenitor of the white people—*he poe keoko maoli*. Here again the national consciousness of a mixed origin of race reveals itself in a legendary, half-mythical form, similar to the creation legend, where the body of the first man was made of red earth and the head of white clay.

This tenth descendant from the hero of the Flood, this "Lua-Nuu" or "Kane-hoa-lani," does again forcibly recall the Hebrew legend of the tenth from Noah—the Abram who travelled into Egypt; the Abraham of the promise, the originator, by Divine command, of the practice of circumcision; the father of the slave-woman's child Ishmael, as well as of the legitimate Isaac—the man who in blind obedience would have sacrificed his own child. To make the correspondence more complete, this *Lua-Nuu*, through his grandson *Kini-lau-a-mano*, became the ancestor of the twelve children of the latter, and the original founder of the *Mene-hune* people, from whom this legend makes the Polynesian family descend.

Here again the Marquesan legends come to the support of the Hawaiian traditions. They tell us that *Toho the Take*, the first of that national name, was the grandson of *Apana*, to whom the introduction of circumcision is ascribed; that "Toho" was the younger of the twins born to *I-aaka*, the son of "Apana;" and the Marquesan account

of the children of "Toho" is even more conformable to the Hebrew legend than the Hawaiian account of the children of "Kini-lau-a-mano," inasmuch as the latter enumerates only the twelve sons, whereas the former mentions not only the twelve sons, but also the thirteenth child, the daughter.

After this period of "Kini-lau-a-mano's" or "Toho's" twelve sons, the similarity between Polynesian and Hebrew-Chaldean legends becomes very scarce and not well defined. There are references to *Kana-loa* and *Kane-Apua*, his brother, a pair of prophets or high-priests, who overthrew the power of King *Waha-nui*, and who walked about the world causing water to flow from rocks, and similar wonderful exploits, which, in the light of the foregoing resemblances, may bear reference to Moses and Aaron.<sup>1</sup> In the

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Kamakau, the Hawaiian archæologist, to whom we are indebted for the preservation of so many of the ancient legends, relates the following as part of an ancient legend:—"Kealii-Wahanui, king of the country called *Honua-i-lalo*, oppressed the *Lahui-Menehune* (the Menehune people). Their God, *Kane*, sent *Kane-Apua* and *Kanaloa*, the elder brother, to bring the people away, and take them to the land which *Kane* had given them, and which was called *Ka aina Momona-a-Kane*, or, with another name, *Ka One Lauena a Kane*, and also *Ka Aina i Ka Hauupo a Kane*. The people were then told to observe the four *Ku* days in the beginning of the month as *Kapu Houno* (sacred or holy days), in remembrance of this event, because they thus 'arose'—*Ku*—to depart from that land. Their offerings on the occasion were swine and goats. The narrator of the legend explains that formerly there were goats without horns, called *Malailua*, on the slopes of the *Maunaloa* mountain in Hawaii, and that they were found there up to the time of Kamehameha I. The legend further relates that, after leaving the

land of *Honua-i-lalo*, the people came to the *Kai-ula-a-Kane* (the Red Sea of Kane); that they were pursued by *Ke Alii Wahanui*; that *Kane-Apua* and *Kanaloa* prayed to *Lono*, and that they then waded across the sea, travelled through desert lands, and finally reached the *Aina-Lauena-a-Kane*."

On first receiving this legend, I was inclined to doubt its genuineness, and to consider it as a paraphrase or adaptation of the Biblical account by some semi-civilised or semi-Christianised Hawaiian, after the discovery of this group by Captain Cook. But a larger and better acquaintance with Hawaiian folklore has shown me that, though the details of the legend, as narrated by the Christian and civilised Kamakau, may possibly in some degree, and unconsciously to him, perhaps, have received a Biblical colouring, yet the main facts of the legend, with the identical names of places and persons, are referred to more or less distinctly in other legends of undoubted antiquity. I am compelled, therefore, to class the legend among the other Chaldæo-Arabico-Hebraic mementoes which the Poly-

famous Hawaiian legend of *Hiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele*, it is said that when "Hiaka" went to the island of Kauai to recover and restore to life the body of *Lohiau*, the lover of her sister "Pele," she arrived at the foot of the Kalalau mountain shortly before sunset, and being told by her friends at Haena that there would not be daylight sufficient to climb the *Pali* (mountain) and get the body out of the cave in which it was hidden, she prayed to her gods to keep the sun stationary, *i ka muli o Hea*, "over the brook, pool, or estuary of Hea," until she had accomplished her object. The prayer was heard, the sun stood still, the mountain was climbed, the guardians of the cave vanquished, and the body recovered. What previous legend, if any, had been culled and applied to furnish this episode of the Hiaka legend, I cannot say. If the Hebrew legend of Joshua, or a Cushite version, gave rise to it, it only brings down the community of legends a little later in time. And so would the allusion in the legend of *Naula-a-Maihea*, the Oahu prophet who left Oahu for Kauai, was upset in his canoe, was swallowed by a whale, and thrown up alive on the beach of Wailua, Kanai, unless the legend of Jonah, with which it corresponds in a measure, as well as the previous legend of Joshua and the sun, were Hebrew anachronisms, compiled and adapted in later times from long antecedent materials, of which the Polynesian references are but broken and distorted echoes, bits of legendary mosaic, displaced from their original surroundings, and made to fit with later associations.

In the legend of "Aukele-nui-a-Iku," previously referred to, especially in the opening parts of it—being the youngest but one of twelve children; being the pet and

nesians brought with them from their ancient homesteads in the West. And it is possible that the legend was preserved in after times by the priesthood, as offering a rational explanation of the institution of the Kapu-days of *Ku*. Another feature attests the genuine antiquity of the legend,

viz., that no other gods are referred to than to those primordial ones of Hawaiian theogony—*Kane*, *Ku*, and *Lono*, the latter of whom is clearly recognised as the god of the atmosphere, of air and of water, the *Lononoho-i-ka-wai* of the Creative chants.

favourite of his father, and consequently bitterly hated by his brothers; being thrown into a pit by them, and left to die; being delivered from the pit by his next eldest brother; his adventures and successes in foreign lands; and, finally, his journey to the place where "the water of life," *Ka wai ola-loa a Kane*, was kept; his obtaining it, and therewith resuscitating his brothers, who had been killed and drowned some years before—there is a most striking resemblance to the Hebrew legend of Joseph and his brethren. In the beginning of the Hawaiian legend the scene is laid in that ancient, well-remembered, and often-quoted home of the Polynesians, the *Kua-i-helani* of song and saga, situated in *Kahiki-ku*, and bordering on the ocean.

This is about all that I have been able to collect of the most striking coincidences and similarity between Polynesian and Hebrew-Chaldean legends. The correspondence seems almost too great to be ascribed to the accidental development of the same train of ideas in the minds of people apparently so widely separated in time and distance as the Hawaiians and the Israelites. Two hypotheses may with some plausibility be suggested to account for this remarkable resemblance of folklore. One is, that during the time of the Spanish galleon trade, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.C., between the Spanish main and Manilla, some shipwrecked people (Spaniards or Portuguese)—of whose arrival at these Hawaiian islands there can now be no doubt—had obtained sufficient influence to introduce these scraps of Bible history into the legendary lore of this people. The other hypothesis is, that at some remote period a body of the scattered Israelites had arrived either at these islands direct, or in Malaysia, before the exodus of the Polynesian family, and thus imparted a knowledge of their doctrines, of the early life of their ancestors, and of some of their peculiar customs, and that, having been absorbed by the people among whom they found a refuge, this is all that remains to at-

test their presence—intellectual tombstones over a lost and forgotten race, yet sufficient, after twenty-six centuries of silence, to solve in some measure the ethnic puzzle of “the lost tribes of Israel.”

On the first hypothesis I would remark, that if the shipwrecked foreigners were educated men, or only possessed of such scriptural knowledge as was then imparted to the commonalty of laymen, it is morally impossible to conceive that a Spaniard of the sixteenth century should confine his instruction to some of the leading events of the Old Testament, and be totally silent upon the Christian dispensation, and the cruciolatry, mariolatry, and hagiolatry of that day. And it is equally impossible to conceive that the Hawaiian listeners, chiefs, priests, or commoners, should have retained and incorporated so much of the former in their own folklore, and yet have utterly rejected or forgotten every item bearing upon the latter. Besides, even were this possible, it fails to account for the fact that so many of these legends, wholly or in part, more or less distorted, are to be met with among the southern groups of Polynesia, where the Spaniards never went, with the exception of Mendana’s voyage, when, however, no men were left at the Marquesas to propagate bits of Bible history from either Old or New Testament.

In regard to the other hypothesis, the Israelitish impact on Polynesian folklore, it is certainly more plausible, and cannot be so curtly disposed of as the Spanish theory. The assertors may not be able to prove that any portion of the “lost tribes of Israel” ever arrived at the Hawaiian group, or at the Asiatic Archipelago, during the occupation and before the exodus of the Polynesian family; but they may boldly stand on the established facts, and logically infer the cause from the results, and thus throw the onus upon us to show that the results do not warrant the inference, and to account in some other way for their appearance.

I have already shown, in the foregoing pages, in what the Polynesian and Hebrew and Chaldean legends differ



from and agree with each other, and have ventured my opinion that, so far from being copies the one from the other, they are, in fact, independent and original versions of a once common legend, or series of legends, held alike by Cushite, Semite, Turanian, and Arian, up to a certain time, when the divergences of national life and other causes brought other subjects, peculiar to each, prominently in the foreground; and that as these divergences hardened into system and creed, that grand old heirloom of a common past became overlaid and coloured by the particular social and religious atmosphere through which it has passed up to the surface of the present time.

But beside this general reason for refusing to adopt the Israelitish theory, that the Polynesian legends were introduced by fugitive or emigrant Hebrews from the subverted kingdoms of Israel or Judah, there is the more special reason to be added, that on those grand episodes of Hebrew national life—the Egyptian bondage, the exodus,<sup>1</sup> the law on Sinai, the conquest of Canaan, the organisation and splendour of Solomon's empire, his temple and his wisdom, become proverbial among the nations of the East subsequent to his time, and the dismemberment and fall of that empire—that on all these, to a Hebrew momentous and never-to-be-forgotten subjects, the Polynesian legends are absolutely silent. Had the former legends, whose correspondence I have noted, been derived from Hebrew sources, it is perfectly inconceivable that the latter legends should not also have been imparted, and some traces of them remained in the Polynesian folklore.

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Among the customs, usages, rites of worship, modes of thought, prevalent among the Polynesians, much may be found that still further indicates their connection, ethnic and social, with the races who met and mingled at the early dawn of history in the Mesopotamian basin.

<sup>1</sup> See note to p. 99, touching the legend of *Kane-Apua* and his brother *Kanaloa*.

*Circumcision.*

The custom of circumcising every male child was an almost universal custom among the Polynesian tribes. It was generally performed by the priests, and was accompanied with religious ceremonies. In some places, however, as in New Zealand and the Southern Marquesas, the practice had become obsolete, or, for reasons now unknown and forgotten, prohibited. In the Hawaiian group its origin was ascribed to "Lua Nuu," the tenth in descent from the period of the Flood (*vide* p. 128), thus not only indicating its extreme antiquity, but also its correlation to the Hebrew legend of Abraham. Another Hawaiian legend ascribes its introduction to *Paumakua*, a famous navigator, and noted ancestor of Hawaiian chiefs, who flourished about twenty-eight generations ago, or in the early part of the eleventh century of our era. But "Paumakua" belonged to the period of the South Polynesian incursions in the Hawaiian group, and probably only renewed or enforced the ancient practice.

In tracing back the custom of circumcision, we find it practised by the Tagals and other pre-Malay tribes in the Asiatic Archipelago. It was the custom in Egypt<sup>1</sup> from the earliest times; also of Cushite-Arabia,<sup>2</sup> and Phœnicia, or rather Palestine.<sup>3</sup> It does not appear to have obtained

<sup>1</sup> In Sir Gardner Wilkinson's notes to Mr. Rawlinson's Herodotus, book ii. chap. 37, I read that "its (circumcision) institution in Egypt reaches to the most remote antiquity; we find it existing at the earliest period of which any monuments remain, more than 2400 years before our era, and there is no reason to doubt that it dated still earlier. . . . It was a distinctive mark between the Egyptians and their enemies; and in later times, when Egypt contained many foreign settlers, it was looked upon as a distinctive sign between the orthodox Egyptian and the stranger."

<sup>2</sup> "Circumcision established in Ye-

men from remotest antiquity."—"Manual of Ancient History of the East," by Lenormant and Chevallier, vol. ii. p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> Herodotus, book ii. chap. 104, says: "Phœnicians and the Syrians of Palestine;" but in the notes to Mr. Rawlinson's edition signed "G. W.," it is shown that "circumcision was not practised by the Philistines . . . nor by the generality of the Phœnicians." In Egypt the custom was common, "at least as early as the fourth dynasty, and probably earlier." It was also observed in Ethiopia and Abyssinia.

among the Chaldeans, the Arian nations, or the Hebrew congeners of the Semitic stock. In the transmission of customs, however, from one people to another, whose origin and purposes are lost and forgotten through the lapse of ages, the observance of circumcision among the Kaffirs of South Africa may supply a link to establish the extension of Cushite-Arabian influence, through commerce and colonisation, in that direction.

Sir G. Wilkinson, in his notes to Rawlinson's edition of Herodotus, *loc. cit.*, argues that the Hebrews did not borrow circumcision from Egypt after the exodus, because its institution with them dated back to Abraham, and, having fallen into desuetude, was merely renewed or reinforced by Moses. But the remarkable parallelism of the Hawaiian legend of Lua-Nuu with the Hebrew legend of Abraham, and the institution of circumcision connected with each, doubtless indicate a common origin for both legends—a Cushite-Arabian origin, in a land where circumcision was practised "from remotest antiquity," as well as in Egypt. Considering, moreover, that Abraham did not adopt circumcision until after his visit to, and return from, Egypt, on the occasion of the birth of his son Ishmael by the Egyptian woman Hagar, there is certainly some ground for holding that a custom—unknown to the Semitic tribes of whose lineage Abraham claimed to be, unknown or not practised by the Chaldean branch of the Cushite family where he and his father before him were born and bred—was borrowed or adopted by him from the Arabian or Egyptian Cushites, with whom he came in contact after leaving the uncircumcised Chaldeans of Ur and the uncircumcised Semites of Haran. Taken together with the numerous other instances of correlation of Polynesian and Cushite folklore, this custom and accompanying legend is but another argument for the long and intimate connection between the Cushite Arabs and the Polynesian ancestors, while the latter were still living on the shores of the Erythrean, or, somewhat later, occupying the Sunda

isles, the *Saba-ii*, *Sava-ii*, "the volcanic Saba" of Polynesian cosmogony.

### *Manner of Burial.*

Two modes of burial, if so they may be called, obtained among the Polynesians. In the Marquesan and Tahiti groups, deceased people of consequence were exposed on raised platforms until natural decomposition and the action of the air had reduced the corpse to a skeleton. This custom was also practised by some of the Dyakh tribes in Borneo, and at the island of Pulo Nias, and may at some time have obtained greater prevalence in the Asiatic Archipelago, but I have found no traces of it in Hindostan or beyond. In the Hawaiian group this mode of burial was not practised. There the older and more general manner of disposing of the dead was to embalm the body, or rather cover it with a glutinous wash made from the Ti-root,<sup>1</sup> which effectually sealed up the pores of the skin and excluded the air. The body was then deposited in a sitting posture in a cave on the mountain-side, or on some natural shelf or niche on the side of a precipice. These burial-caves seem to have been either private family property, or the property of the commune living on the land where they were situated. Offerings were frequently carried there, and prayers performed by the relatives of the deceased. Tradition says that the first man, Kumuhonua, was buried on the top of a high mountain, and his descendants were all buried around him until the place was filled.

In analogy with the above custom we find that the burial-places in the Hedjaz, in Southern Syria, in Egypt, and Nubia were generally on or near the summit of mountains, and in natural caves on their sides; and among the various races which crowded each other on the plains of ancient Chaldea, where mountain-sides or natural caves were not available, the preservation of the dead by interment in artificial tombs was equally practised. In no

<sup>1</sup> *Dracæna terminalis*.

part of Polynesia, so far as I can learn, is there any indication that cremation was ever practised. Interment, no doubt, was the earliest custom. It preceded cremation in Greece and in Europe generally,<sup>1</sup> and the Hindoo custom of burning the corpses did probably not spread either west or east until after the Polynesians had left the mainland of Asia, nor did it obtain in the Indian Archi-

<sup>1</sup> According to the researches of J. Grimm ("Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen"), all the Arian peoples, with one exception, practised incremation at their funerals from time immemorial, in place of interment. The Indians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, ancient Germans, Lithuanians, and Slavs, during heathen times, burned their dead with ceremonies which present evident traces of resemblance, notwithstanding their diversity. The Iranians alone at an early time abandoned this ancient custom on account of the radical difference which arose in their religious creed. The Hebrews and Arabs never practised incremation. (*Vide* A. Pictet, "Orig. Ind. Europ.," vol. ii. p. 504.) Is it fully established that the schism of the Iranians was subsequent to the separation and migrations of the Greeks, Romans, Gauls, &c., &c., from the Arian stock? M. Pictet adds, on p. 505, *loc. cit.*: "Cette coutume, comme l'observe Grimm, a dû prendre naissance aux temps primitifs de la vie pastorale, avant l'établissement de demeures fixes, parce qu'elle permettait d'emporter avec soi la cendre vénérée des morts." If so, why did it not obtain among the Turanian peoples, than whom none were more pastoral or nomadic? But on page 529, vol. ii., of the work just quoted, M. Pictet says: "D'après tous les développements qui précèdent, il semble évident que l'usage de brûler les morts doit avoir existé déjà chez les Aryas primitifs; mais il est à présumer que la coutume plus simple de l'inhumation a tenu chez eux une certaine place, comme chez la plupart

de leurs descendants. On la voit même prescrite, dans quelques cas, par les lois de plusieurs peuples. Ainsi, d'après Manu (v. 68) un enfant au-dessous de deux ans doit être inhumé, et il en était de même chez les Romains (Juven. Sat. 15, v. 139), suivant Pline (7, 16), avant la dentition. Au temps de Cécrops, l'incinération était peu pratiquée, et l'inhumation paraît avoir prédominé chez les Romains les plus anciens (Cicér. Leg. 22, 26; Plin. 7, 54). Numa défendit de brûler son corps, ce qui indique la simultanéité des deux usages, confirmée 300 ans plus tard par la loi des Douze tables. Dans toute l'Europe du Nord, on trouve l'inhumation comme la coutume la plus ancienne, celle qui appartenait à ce qu'on appelle l'âge de la pierre, et ce n'est qu'à l'âge du bronze que les urnes cinéraires font leur apparition dans les tombeaux. On en conclut, non sans vraisemblance, qu'elles sont l'indice de l'arrivée en Europe des premières immigrations ariennes, se mêtant à une race antérieure que nous ne connaissons plus que par les restes de l'âge de la pierre. Ce que l'on peut conjecturer, déjà pour les anciens Aryas, c'est que l'incinération, qui exigeait toujours un certain appareil, était réservée pour les chefs et les hommes considérables, tandis que l'inhumation était le lot de la multitude." This but confirms what I said above, that interment was of older practice than cremation, even among the Arians, and may have descended to the Polynesians from them as well as from the Cushites.

pelago while the Polynesians yet were the masters there. It is practised to some extent among the Dyaks, but only exceptionally, whereas interment is the most prevalent mode.

In connection with the funeral rites of the Polynesians, it may be observed that the practice of immolating one or more of the wives of a deceased chief, which obtained in Tonga and the Fiji islands, was not adhered to in the Hawaiian group, nor generally among the other groups; but it was *de rigueur* that more or less of the friends of the deceased should accompany him or her in death, in manifestation of their love and attachment. Those who thus died were called *Moe-pu*, "companions in sleep." The act, however, was purely voluntary, and generally performed by starving, sometimes by strangling. In Hawaii, when a chief died, according to rank and circumstances, from one to forty human victims were in later times sacrificed at the Heiau (temple) in honour to the deceased. In some places, as in New Zealand, slaves were killed to accompany and attend on their masters. A somewhat similar custom obtains also among the Dyaks and Battas, where slaves are slain on the graves of the deceased.

I have no means at hand to ascertain if this custom of immolating wives, friends, and slaves in honour of the dead was ever practised among the Cushite peoples, and transmitted by them to the forefathers of the Battas, Dyaks, and their Polynesian cousins; but it certainly obtained among the Arian branches before their dispersion.<sup>1</sup> It prevailed among the Gauls, Scandinavians, Lithuanians, and Slavs. With some the sacrifice of the wife was voluntary and optional, but with all the sacrifice of clients and slaves was compulsory. Among the Vedic Hindoos the immolation of the wife was not compulsory, though she was expected to make a semblance of accompanying her husband on the funeral pyre.<sup>2</sup> Thus, if the

<sup>1</sup> "Origines Ind. Europ.," par A. Pictet, vol. ii. p. 527.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 526.

custom did not come to the Polynesians from their Cushite teachers and civilisers, it was one of those early national traits of Arian descent which no subsequent Cushite training could efface.

### *Of Castes.*

It is undeniable that a system of caste, a peculiar and exclusive division of society, obtained throughout Polynesia at the time when its groups were first visited by Europeans. Though the arrangement of these classes of society differed somewhat in different groups, yet a threefold division may be considered as the most ancient—chiefs, commoners or freemen, and slaves, or, as expressed in Hawaiian, *na Lii*, *na Makaainana*, and *na Kauwa*. In Tahiti, *Arii*, *Raatira*, *Manahune*. In Tonga, *Eiki*, *Matabule*, *Mua*, and *Tua*. In Samoa, *Alii*, *Tulafale*, *Songa*. In Rarotonga, *Ariki*, *Rangatira*, *Unga*. In New Zealand there were but two classes, the *Rangatira*, the freemen, and the *Taurekareka*, or slaves. In Marquesas, *Hakaiki*, *Tuapoi*. The priesthood does not seem originally to have been a separate class or caste among the Polynesians, but to have been a prerogative, right, or duty of the chiefs and heads of families. In course of time it became hereditary in certain families, as in Hawaii. In New Zealand, where the peculiarly distinctive title and functions of chieftainship had become extinct, yet the priests were styled *Ariki*, indicating the former connection between the chiefship and the priesthood. In Tahiti the priests were generally relations of the chief families, but socially never more than the delegates of the presiding chief for religious purposes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See "Etat de la Société Taitienne a l'arrivée des Européens," par M. de Bovis, in "Revue Coloniale," 1855. In this, in many regards, thoughtful and well-written essay, M. de Bovis considers that the Tahitian group was peopled by at least three different

swarms of immigrants; that the Manahune, being the first, was conquered by the Raatira, who, in their turn were subdued by the Arii. He does not think that the Arii and Raatira arrived together at the group, and that the distance between the

That this division of society was older than the arrival of the Polynesians in the Pacific, and was brought with them from their former habitats in the west, may safely be inferred from the universality of the custom among all the principal groups; and on each the institution is as old as the people, and goes back to the earliest times of their remembrance.

In the west, then, among the Polynesian congeners in the Asiatic Archipelago, and beyond, let us look for the origin of this political organisation of society,

Throughout the Indian Archipelago, whatever modifications may have supervened from conquest, change of religion, and other causes, the essential groundwork of pre-Malay society was a division into chiefs, landholders, subjects by tenure, but free in persons, and slaves, whom war or other social causes reduced to that condition. With the introduction of Brahmanism in the Archipelago, its elaborate system of caste does not seem to have fallen in congenial soil or to have materially modified the ancient division of society. That division is then older than the Hindoo or Malay supremacy in that Archipelago. It is one of the remnants of the old Cushite, Chaldeo-Arabian training and civilisation, which, twenty to thirty centuries after its power had vanished elsewhere and its very name been forgotten, has so strangely been preserved in Polynesian folklore and in Polynesian customs. At first sight it may appear so, to judge from the condition of society in the latter centuries of Polynesian life, when ages of oppression and deepening barbarism had succeeded in sharply defining and cruelly

two castes was too great for them to have had a common origin (pp. 240, &c.)

It is very probable that the Tahitian group was peopled at different times by the arrival of Polynesian emigrants. But whether those emigrants came from Fiji *via* Samoa, or from Fiji direct, on the expulsion of the Polynesians from that group, they cer-

tainly brought with them the same orders of society which prevailed in their former homes.

M. de Bovis further intimates that the crisp, frizzled hair, and lean, lank bodies, found in some of the Polynesian tribes, as well as the number of Malay words, derive from a later immigration of Malays into Polynesia.



enforcing the lines of separation between different classes of society. In this way, on some of the groups, as on Hawaii, the priestly order obtained exclusive privileges, and became a tabued caste, whose dicta even the highest chiefs only disregarded at their peril. But behind this later corruption and degradation the national legends give us glimpses of the earlier condition of society, when, as above stated, it exhibited a less artificial and more primitive form. We look in vain to the older Cushite-Sabæan or Cushite-Chaldean systems of caste; we look in vain to the later Brahminical system for a prototype of the original Polynesian classification of men.<sup>1</sup> It is certainly older than the latter, and, if not older than the former, it is different in principle and origin, though somewhat modified perhaps by contact with it. Failing in these directions to find an analogy or an original of Polynesian classification, I find it in the early Arian condition of society, previous to the irruption in India, previous to the migrations of the Indo-European branches, when, having already become aggressive, the nation or its various tribes naturally enough were divided into the warrior class, subsequently the nobles, those who fought the battles of the tribe or nation, and the cultivators, herdsman, artisans, and general mass of the people who provided for the wants of the former.<sup>2</sup> To these two primary classes became in time added the slave class, whom the fortune of war or social laws had reduced to slavery. And that such was the early Arian condition of society may be inferred also from the classification obtaining among the Scandinavian branch of the Arian stock at its first appearance in historic light,<sup>3</sup> which was that of chiefs,

<sup>1</sup> "The basis of the social organisation of the Sabæan kingdom was the system of caste, unknown to the Shemites, an essentially Cushite institution, which, wherever it is found, is easily proved to have originated with that race. We have seen it flourishing at Babylon. The Arians of India, who adopted it, borrowed it from the Cushite populations who

preceded them in the basins of the Indus and Ganges, and whom they conquered, namely, the Sudras and Kausikas."—Manual of the Ancient History of the East, by Lenormant and Chevallier, vol. ii. p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Max Müller's Essay on "Caste" in "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> About 400 B.C.

freemen, and slaves; the chiefs performing the functions of priesthood down to Christian times,<sup>1</sup> and the freemen consisting of the husbandmen and the body of the people generally, who were free to follow this or that chief, and whose consent was necessary to all public enterprises. This branch, moreover, taking a northern route in its migration through the wilds of Scythia and Russia, was less, if at all, affected by contact with the Cushite civilisation, which so deeply tinged the Indo-European branches who took a more southerly route.

As the Arian organisation was then, before the dispersion of the race, north, west, and south, so the Polynesian has remained with slight modifications until comparatively modern times. Like interment of the dead, it was an Arian heirloom from a pristine, pre-vedic age, which Cushite culture and contact did not eradicate. If the seeds of stringent exclusiveness and priestly supremacy were sown by Cushite intercourse, they took long ages to develop, and in most of the tribes never bore fruit at all.

It is true that a Hawaiian legend relates that *Kahiko*, an ancestor of the people, had three sons, *Wakea*, *Lihau-ula*, and *Makuu*; that the chiefs, *Alii*, sprang from the first; the priests, *Kahuna*, from the second; and the husbandmen, *Makaainana*, from the last, thus indicating a possible origin of the classification of the people. But this legend, besides being contradicted by other legends of probably older date, which mention only two sons of "Kahiko," and that "Lihau-ula" was older brother of "Wakea," and was not a priest, but a warrior chief whom "Wakea" conquered in battle, is evidently a composition of later date, when the priesthood had become a tabued institution and caste, and sought a sanction for itself, and a *raison d'être* in the ancient folklore.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The early kings of the various Grecian states, like those of Rome, were uniformly priests likewise."—G. Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. iii. 16r, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> In later Hawaiian times the priesthood, *Oiharnu Kahuna*, consisted of ten branches or colleges. He who was master of or proficient in all was called a high priest, *Kahuna*

*The Tabu.*

Throughout Polynesia the *Tapu* or *Kapu* system of promulgating and enforcing religious or political laws, was equally known, equally developed, and equally practised. It was a body of negative commandments—"Thou shalt not" do this, that, or the other thing under penalty, binding on the consciences of the people. The meaning of the word is "sacred, prohibited, set apart," whether referring to religious or civil matters. The religious tabus relating to rites, observances, public worship, and the maintenance of the gods and their priests, were well known, comparatively fixed in their character, and the people brought up from childhood in the knowledge and observance of them. But the civil tabus were as uncertain and capricious as the mind of the chief, priest, or individual who imposed them on others, or on himself and his family.

However much the *Kapu* system may in after ages have been abused, it no doubt was originally a common law of the entire Polynesian family for the protection of

*Nui*. The names of these branches of learning or colleges were—1st, *Anaana*; 2d, *Hoopiopio*; 3d, *Hoounauna*; these three were connected with the practice of sorcery, by prayer and signs, &c., for the death or injury of another; 4th, *Hookomokomo*; 5th, *Poi-Uhane*; connected with divination by causing spirits of the dead to enter the body of a person and possess it; 6th, *Lapaumaoli*, medicine and surgery generally; 7th, *Kuhikuhipuuone*, pertaining to the building of temples, dwellings, &c., their location, propriety of time, and favourable or unfavourable conditions, materials, &c.; 8th, *Oneone-i-honua*; 9th, *Kilo-kilo*; 10th, *Nana-uli*, different degrees and classes of soothsayers, diviners, and prophets. Each one of these ten was again subdivided in classes and occupations of detail connected with the religious rites and sacrifices.

The priesthood was governed by rules and regulations of its own stringent oaths were exacted before admission, and severe penalties upon infraction. A number of gods were invoked by the different classes and subdivisions of the priesthood; but the principal god, who seems to have been the presiding and tutelar deity of the entire body of priests, was called *Uli*. As I have found no god in the archaic Hawaiian theogonies, nor those of the other Polynesian groups, bearing the name of *Uli*, I am inclined to believe that it was at first a sacerdotal epithet, degenerating into a soubriquet, and finally becoming a distinct personification; its first sense being equivalent to that of *Hiwa*, "sacred, dark-coloured, blue or black," and as such applied to one of the great principal gods.

persons and things, an appeal to the gods for punishment of offenders, where human vigilance failed to detect them, or human power fell short of reaching them.

The universality of the "Kapu" within the Polynesian area, without referring to the positive declarations of particular legends, makes it beyond a doubt that the Polynesians brought it with them from their former abodes in the west, and there traces are yet found of it. In Timor a system of interdict, called *Pomali*,<sup>1</sup> was practised, which by competent travellers is said to very strongly resemble the Polynesian "Kapu;" and among the Dyaks of Borneo a similar custom of interdict is said to have obtained, and was there called *Pamali*.<sup>1</sup> Among the Cingalese and southern Hindoos, the word *Kapu*, which is the name of the scarlet string worn round the arm or wrist, to indicate that the wearer is engaged in a sacred cause, and should not be interrupted,<sup>2</sup>—singularly enough, though with somewhat altered sense, recalls the name and purpose of the Polynesian interdict. When we consider that the Ceylonese never adopted Brahmanism, and that their earliest civilisation and religious notions were moulded, if not created, by the Cushite Arabs, whose intercourse with, and hold over, the Dravidian and other peoples in southern India and the islands, was long and intimate, it is reasonable, in conjunction with other facts, to seek a common origin for the Polynesian and the Cingalese word in some Cushite term of religious import, now forgotten and as yet undiscovered.

### *Tattooing.*

This custom has been so widely diffused among the various nations of antiquity as to afford no reliable guide in ethnic inquiries; yet now and then certain traits connected with it challenge attention by their striking similarity to those of other peoples, and their apparent conformity to a

<sup>1</sup> Malay Archipelago, by R. A. Wallace, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> Oriental Illustrations, by Joseph Roberts, p. 133.

once common rule. It is well known to be universally practised among the Polynesian tribes, varying only in style, in pattern, and fulness; and variations occur even among different subdivisions of the same tribe. This also was a custom brought with them from the west. According to M. Domeny de Rienzi, it is practised on the Island of Savu, south-east of Timor, and among the Dyaks of Borneo and other tribes in the Asiatic Archipel.<sup>1</sup> In Leitch Ritchie's "History of the Indian Empire," vol. ii. p. 428, Art. "New Zealand," occurs the following paragraph:—"Tattooing is fast going out of fashion with cannibalism; but it appears to have been but little practised at any time by the females, who have merely three short lines drawn from the under-lip. This is precisely the case with the Coptic women."

### *Holy Waters.*

Among the many Polynesian customs which they brought with them on entering the Pacific, and which serve as links long lost or overlooked in the ethnic chain that binds them to the Cushite and Arian races, may be mentioned the preparation and use of sacred or holy waters. From New Zealand to Hawaii the custom prevailed, and its efficacy was believed in. The origin and explanation of the custom is thus given in the Hawaiian "Kumuhonua" legend:—"The Ocean, *ka moana nui a Kane*, which surrounds the earth, was made salt by *Kane*, so that its waters should not stink, and to keep it thus in a healthy and uninfected state is the special occupation of *Kane*. In imitation of *Kane*, therefore, the priests prepared waters of purification, prayer, and sanctification, *Wai-hui-kala*, *Wai-lupa-lupa*, and *ke kai-olena*, for the public ceremonials, for private consolation, and to drive away demons and diseases. Such holy waters were called by the general name of *ka wai kapu a Kane*."<sup>2</sup> From the sprinkling of a new-born child to the

<sup>1</sup> Océanie, par M. M. G. L. Domeny de Rienzi, vol. i. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> In some ancient prayers in my possession, these waters are also called

washing of the dying, its application was constant and multifarious. The baptismal ceremony—*E Riri*—of the New Zealanders, related by Dieffenbach,<sup>1</sup> with the accompanying prayers invoking the gods *Tu* and *Rongo* (the Hawaiian *Ku* and *Lono*), is a valuable and remarkable remnant of the ancient culte.<sup>2</sup> The use of these holy waters was of the highest antiquity, and universal throughout Polynesia. It was a necessary adjunct in private and public worship, a *vade mecum* in life, a *viaticum* in death; and even now, fifty years after the introduction of Christianity in these Hawaiian islands, there are few of the older people who would forego its use to alleviate pain and remove disease.

A custom so universal, so deeprooted, must have existed previous to the arrival of the Polynesians in the Pacific. I have not the means of knowing to what extent, if at all, its use has been retained among the Polynesian cousins in the Malay Archipelago, but it certainly had its origin farther west.

That holy water—the water of the Ganges, and, perhaps, previously of the Indus—was employed by the Hindoos for almost the same purposes as by the Polynesians is well known, and would at first sight seem to claim priority of consideration when looking for prototypes or analogues of the Polynesian custom. But there is a radical difference between the two, which makes it little likely that the latter owed its origin to the former. The holy water of the Hindoos—the Ganges water—is holy *per se*, and requires no mixture, preparation, or prayers to make it so. The holy water of the Polynesians was expressly prepared and consecrated with prayers in order to obtain that particular efficiency for religious and medical purposes which it was believed to possess. The Polynesian holy water

*Wai-oha*. The word *Oha* in this sense is obsolete in the Hawaiian, but is still retained in the Marquesan dialect, where it means “sacred, adorable.”

<sup>1</sup> Travels in New Zealand, by Dieffenbach, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix, No. V

represented the great world-ocean and its purifying processes; the Ganges water represented nothing but itself.

Looking beyond the Indus and the Chaldean Empire, of whose customs in this respect I have seen no detailed information, I find in Ancient Greece a striking correspondence with the Polynesian custom. Holy water, and sprinkling and washing with it, was an indispensable element of the old Greek ritual. In the preparation of the Greek holy water, as well as in the Hawaiian, salt was a necessary ingredient. With the former, sea-water was preferred, when attainable, on account of its saltness; otherwise salt was invariably mixed with the fresh water, and sometimes brimstone added. At the entrance of the Greek temples stood the "Perirrantæon" or vessel containing the holy water, and no person was permitted to pass beyond or assist at the sacrifices who had not previously washed his hands in it, or been sprinkled with the water it contained. The Greek custom of lustral waters was probably of Arian origin,<sup>1</sup> but the peculiar manner of its preparation, unknown to, or, so far as I can learn, not practised by, their Arian congeners, may possibly be a modification brought about by their connection with the Cushite civilisation, of which the early Phœnicians were such remarkable propagandists; or, perhaps earlier still,

<sup>1</sup> In *Les Origines Indo-Européennes*, par Ad. Pichet, vol. ii. p. 681, I read:

"Les traits essentiels d'une culte, élémentaire des eaux se retrouvent encore presque inaltérés chez les principaux peuples de race Arienne. Dans le Rigvéda, comme dans l'Avesta, elles sont encore invoquées sous leur nom propre, *âpas*, au pluriel et collectivement. On les appelle les mères, les divines; on dit d'elles qu'elles renferment l'*amrta*, l'ambrosie, et tous les remèdes salutaires; on leur demande, non-seulement la sauté du corps, mais la purification de l'âme de tout péché. Pour les Iran-

iens, les eaux créés par Ormuzd étaient aussi le principal moyen de purification, surtout après avoir été consacrées par la cérémonie du *Zaothra*, ce qui rappelle singulièrement l'eau bénite du catholicisme (*Spiegel, Avesta*, ii., xcii.) L'emploi des eaux lustrales dans l'antiquité classique est suffisamment connu. Les Scandinaves considéraient les eaux du ciel comme sacrées; l'Edda les appelle *heilög vötn*, et *heilavác* du moyen âge germanique, c'est à dire l'eau de source puisée à minuit, ou avant le lever du soleil, devenait un remède puissant, et acquerrait de propriétés magiques (*Grimm, Deut. Myth.* 327).

while skirting the upper borders of Chaldea on their migration through Asia Minor. At any rate, this similarity in a matter of detail of preparation cannot well be considered as a coincidence under pressure of similar circumstances, but was more likely an engraftment in different directions from a common source and a once common religious idea.

The idea of holy water as a co-efficient in religious ceremonies was common to the Oriental nations. The Jews only borrowed their Laver from others. And the metaphysical explanation of the Hawaiians is perhaps as ancient a conception of the action of the sun on the ocean as any on record.

#### *Cities of Refuge.*

Some stress has been laid on the peculiar institution called "cities of refuge," Hawaiian, *Puu-honua*, which was found to have obtained among the Polynesians, especially the Hawaiians, and which has been quoted as another instance of Hebraic influence upon the customs and culture of the Hawaiians. Cities of refuge, however, were not an institution peculiar to the Hebrews, and originating with them. They existed in the time of ancient Greece. We read of the temple of Ceres at Hermione, in Argolis, which was a similar institution; and there were numerous others, both there and elsewhere, where Cushite influence had modified the customs and moulded the culte of the people on its own pattern.

#### *The Division of the Year, &c.*

The Polynesians divided the year into seasons, months, and days. The seasons—*Tau* or *Kau*—of the year were generally two, the rainy or winter season, and the dry or summer season, varying according to the particular situation of the group, either north or south of the equator. The commencement of the seasons, however, were regulated by the rising of the *Makariri* stars, the Pleiades, at the time of the setting of the sun. Thus, in the Society



group, the year was divided in *Makarî-i-nia*, Pleiades above the horizon, and *Makarî-i-raro*, Pleiades below—the first from November to May, the latter from May to November. In the Hawaiian group the year was also divided in two seasons—*Hooilo*, the rainy season, from about 20th November to 20th May; and *Kau*, the dry season, from 20th May to 20th November.<sup>1</sup> In the Samoan, *Tau* or *Tau-sanga* meant originally a period of six months, and afterwards was employed to express the full year, or twelvemonth, as in the Tonga group. There are traces also on the Society group of the year having been divided in three seasons, as at one time was done by the ancient Egyptians, Arabs, and Greeks, though the arrangement of the months within each season seems to me to have been arbitrary, and probably local.

In regard to the division of the year by months, the Polynesians counted by twelve and by thirteen months, the former obtaining in the Tonga, Samoan, and Hawaiian groups, the latter in the Marquesas and Society groups. Each month consisted of thirty days. It is known that the Hawaiians, who counted twelve months of thirty days each, intercalated five days at the end of the month *Welehu*, about the 20th December, which were tabu-days, dedicated to the festival of the god *Lono*; after which the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. G. Haliburton, of Halifax, N.S., has shown that the primitive year of the Pleiades was a pre-historical tradition, spread amongst almost all races of mankind in both the new and old hemispheres, and alike in the north and south. The leading characteristics of that year being that it began on the 19th day of *Athyr*, or November, when the Pleiades, or their containing constellation, the Bull—the great *Tau* of the Egyptians, the *Taurus* of the Latins, the *Thor* of the Scandinavians, and the *Atlyr* or *Arthur* of the ancient Britons—was on the meridian at midnight. *Vide* Life and Work at the Great

Pyramid, 1865, by C. Piazzzi Smyth, vol. i. chap. xiii. p. 330.

In the Hawaiian group the red star in the constellation is called *Kao*—the star *Autares*, in the horns of the Bull—was also called *Makalii*. That the ancient Hawaiians should have called the constellation of the Bull—*Taurus*—by the very name which was one of the earliest appellations for that animal, while the Arian stock was yet unsusundered, is one of those quiet but surprising witnesses to the Western origin and Arian connection of the Polynesian family, which rise in judgment against modern theorists of Papuan, Malay, Mexican, or other proclivities.

New Year began with the first day of the month *Makalii* which day, being the first of the year, was called *Makahiiki* (equivalent to "commencement-day"), and afterwards became the conventional term for a year in the Hawaiian, Marquesas, and Society groups.<sup>1</sup> There is evidence that the Marquesans at one time counted the year by ten lunar months, and called it a *Puni*—a circle, a round, a revolution—but how they managed either this or the year of thirteen months to correspond with the division by seasons, or with the sidereal year, I am not informed. It is probable that in Tahiti the month *Te-eri* was occasionally, perhaps alternately, dropped from the calendar.<sup>2</sup>

That a computation by lunar months preceded the other is evident from the very names given to different days in the month, but both computations were certainly far older than the arrival of the Polynesians in the Pacific. They brought those names and those computations with them.

The absolute Hawaiian expression of *Ana-hulu* indicates a primary but subsequently disused division of the month

<sup>1</sup> Rev. S. Dibble, in his *History of the Sandwich Islands, Lahainaluna, 1843*, p. 108, says: "Those who took the most care in measuring time measured it by means both of the moon and the fixed stars. They divided the year into twelve months, and each month into thirty days. They had a distinct name for each of the days of the month, as has been shown on a former page, and commenced their numbering on the first day that the new moon appeared in the west. This course made it necessary to drop a day about once in two months, and thus reduce their year into twelve lunations instead of three hundred and sixty days. This being about eleven days less than the sidereal year, they discovered the discrepancy, and corrected their reckoning by the stars. In practice, therefore, the year varied, being sometimes twelve, sometimes thirteen lunar months. So also they sometimes

numbered twenty-nine, and sometimes thirty days in a month." Mr. Dibble omits to mention that the "correction" of their reckoning "by the stars" was made by the intercalation I have referred to. It thus appears that the Hawaiians employed two modes of reckoning—by lunar cycles, whereby the monthly feasts, or Kapu-days, were regulated; and the sidereal cycle, by which the close of the year, and the annual feast of Lono, was regulated.

<sup>2</sup> The alternation of twenty-nine and thirty days in the Hawaiian months, referred to by Mr. Dibble in the above note, though certainly not in general usage among the Hawaiians, yet, as one of the several modes of computing time which they brought with them from their primitive abodes, forcibly reminds one of the Hebrew and Assyrian division in months of alternate twenty-nine and thirty days.

into periods of ten days, corresponding to the increase, the full, and the decline of the moon, analogous to the Greek *Dechæmera* and the Egyptian *Se-su*; and the institution of the Hawaiian *Kapu* or sacred-days at intervals of ten days seems to favour such a conclusion, for I look upon the fourth monthly *Kapu*-day,—that of *Kane* on the 27th of the month,—as of subsequent introduction, following so closely, as it does, upon the *Kapu*-day of *Kaloa-ku-kahi*, the 24th.<sup>1</sup> Though obsolete now in common parlance, the term *Ana-hulu* is of frequent occurrence in the ancient legends and songs as a measure of time comprising ten days.

The Hawaiian day was divided in three general parts, like that of the early Greeks and Latins,<sup>2</sup>—morning, noon, and afternoon—*Kakahi-aka*, breaking the shadows, *scil.* of night; *Awakea*, for *Ao-akea*, the plain, full day; and *Awina-la*, the decline of the day. The lapse of the night, however, was noted by five stations, if I may say so, and four intervals of time, *viz.*: (1.) *Kihi*, at 6 P.M., or about sunset; (2.) *Pili*, between sunset and midnight; (3.) *Kau*, indicating midnight; (4.) *Pilipuka*, between midnight and

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Kamakau, in one of his articles on ancient Hawaiian beliefs, refers to an old legend, according to which “the creation commenced on the 26th (27th?) of the month, on the day called *Kane*, and was continued during the days called *Lono*, *Mauli*, *Muku*, *Hilo*, and *Hoaka*. In six days the creation was done. The seventh day, the day called *Ku*, became the first *Kapu*-day—*La-Kapu*. The first and the last of these seven days in every month have been kept *Kapu* ever since by all generations of Hawaiians.” The seven days of creation and rest (*Kapu*) may be a dim recollection of the Hebrew-Chaldean version of the creation; but the application of the first day as a *Kapu*-day to *Kane* is evidently a priestly commentary, and of later origin. Practically the Hawaiians, and none of

the other Polynesians, so far as I know, never had a week of seven days. On comparing the Tahitian and Hawaiian calendars, and finding the *Kanaloa* (*Taaroa* and *Kaloa*) days in the same position on both, I am strongly inclined to believe that when in after ages the South Polynesian element obtained ascendancy in Hawaii, its principal god *Taaroa*, *Tangaroa*, and the days dedicated to him, were interpolated on the Hawaiian calendar, and the *Kane*-day and its festival or *Kapu* was made to follow after that of *Taaroa*, a being whom the Hawaiians did not recognise as a divinity in their earlier creed, nor until after that invasion of South Polynesians, of which I shall have more to say hereafter.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἠώς*, *Μεσον-Ἡμέρας*, and *Δεῖλη*; *Mane*, *Meridies*, *Suprema*.

sunrise, or about 3 A.M.; (5.) *Kihipuka*, corresponding to sunrise, or about 6 A.M. According to M. D. de Rienzi a similar division of day and night seems to have been current of old in Jawa.

To this may be added that the Polynesians also counted time by the nights—*Po*. “To-morrow” was *A-po-po*, lit. the night’s night. “Yesterday” was *Po-i-nehe-nei*, the past night. *Po-akahi*, *Po-alua*, the first, the second day. *Po* was the collective term for the twenty-four hours, and *Ao* or daylight was but the complement of the full *Po*. This method of reckoning by nights ascends to the hoariest antiquity. The unbroken Arians counted by nights, and the custom prevailed late into historic times among the Hindoos, the Iranians, the Gauls, the Cymri, the Saxons, and Scandinavians.<sup>1</sup> The Hebrews commenced time with the evening of the first day: whether the idea came to them from Chaldea or from Egypt, I cannot say. The Babylonians believed that the world had been created at the autumnal equinox.<sup>2</sup>

There has been so little light thrown upon the ancient computations of time among the pre-Malay inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago—those blood-relations of the Polynesians—that I am again unable to refer to them as a connecting link between the latter and their more western congeners; but the lunar computations of both Arians and Cushites; the division of seasons by both; the method of determining the sidereal year by the Pleiades; the method of intercalating the twelve months of thirty days with five days, which obtained in Egypt and in Persia and among the Vedic Arians, though the latter intercalated an entire month of thirty days after every quinquennial cycle;<sup>3</sup> the division of the month in thirds of ten days each, as in Egypt and ancient Greece,

<sup>1</sup> *Origines Ind.-Europ.*, par A. East, by Lenormant and Chevallier, vol. i. p. 451.

<sup>2</sup> *Manual of Ancient History of the*

<sup>3</sup> *Origines Ind.-Europ.*, par A. Pictet, vol. ii. p. 608.

and which possibly was the basis of the ancient Javanese subdivision of the week into five days, before Brahmanism introduced the week of seven days;<sup>1</sup> the division of the day into three portions and the night into four; the counting the length of time by nights and not by days; all these cumulative parallelisms, I think, will go far to confirm the western origin of the Polynesians, and their intimate connection in pre-historic times with the Arian and Cushite peoples. They cannot all be fortuitous coincidences, and must, therefore, justly be considered as remnants of a once common civilisation, which the isolation of two thousand years or more has not been able entirely to efface, though partially obscured.<sup>2</sup>

I think it proper in connection with this subject to refer to an article in the "Ethnological Society's (London) Transactions," vol. ii. p. 173, "On the Antiquity of Man from the Evidence of Language," by J. Crawford, a gentleman whose researches and knowledge regarding the Indian Archipelago and its various peoples were undoubtedly great and valuable. He says that "the terms employed in

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of the rural calendar of Jawa, which was in vogue before the introduction of Brahmanism, M. D. de Rienzi, in *Océanie*, vol. i. p. 167, says: "Le calendrier rural est de 360 jours. Il se divise en douze mois ou douze saisons, d'une longueur inégale, et est terminé par des jours intercalaires."

<sup>2</sup> It appears that there was considerable diversity between the different sections of the Hawaiian group in counting the months and the days. In several respects the Kauai and Oahu calendar differed from that which was generally followed on Hawaii and Maui. I obtained my information from Hon. S. M. Kamakau, an intelligent and educated Hawaiian, born and brought up while the heathen regime still prevailed. On the other hand David Malo, an equally intelligent and educated Ha-

waiian, who, some twenty-five years ago, composed a work on "Hawaiian Antiquities," mentions that the ancient year closed with the month of *Ikuwa*, about 20th of November, whereas Kamakau gives it as ending with the month of *Welehu*, or about 20th December, and the new year commencing with the month *Makalii*. Both of these authorities agree, however, that the public sacrifices and Kapu-days were only observed during eight months of the year, and discontinued during the months of *Ikuwa*, *Welehu*, *Makalii*, and *Kaelo*, when, in the month of *Kaulua*, they recommenced again.

It is probable that D. Malo refers to the sidereal year regulated by the Pleiades, and according to which the seasons were divided, and that Kamakau refers to the solar year regulated by the winter or December solstice.

the computation of time, according to their poverty or maturity, afford material evidence of the antiquity of man." He quotes Australians who have no terms for solar day, month, or year. He refers to the same poverty in the ruder languages of Africa and America, and then says: "The principal nations of the Phillipine Islands had made considerable progress when first seen by Europeans; yet their languages have no native name for solar day, month, or year, for these have been taken from the more advanced Malayan nations. The language of Madagascar has no names for month or for year, and has taken both from the Malay; and it is remarkable that the Malayan term for year has even reached the rude inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific."

"Interdum dormitat Homerus;" it will be seen from the foregoing pages that, as regards the "rude inhabitants of the islands of the Pacific," Mr. Crawford's remarks are not borne out by actual facts, nor yet by philological evidence. The principal Polynesian groups, as above shown, had not only names for year, month, and seasons, but had also distinct names for every month and every day in a month. Nor are these names of Malay origin. The Malay word for year is *Taun* or *Tahun*. In all the Polynesian dialects the primary and original meaning of *Tau* is "a season," "a period of time." In the Tonga group it has the further sense of "the produce of a season," and, derivatively, "a year." In the Samoan group, beside the primary sense of "season," it has the definite meaning of "a period of six months," and conventionally that of "a year." In the Society group it simply means "a season." In the Hawaiian group, when not applied to the summer season, it retains the original sense of an indefinite "period of time," "a lifetime," "an age," and is never applied to a year; its duration may be more or less than a year, according to circumstances and the context. Thus in all the Polynesian dialects it retains the primary abstract sense, whereas in the Malay it has only the derivative concrete meaning.

The Polynesian also retains what I consider the original form of the word, while the suffix *n* in the Malay betrays a later corruption. Had the Polynesians received the word from the Malays, its form, by the invariable rules of the former language, would have been *Tauna* or *Kahuna*. The Polynesian names for month are *Masina* or *Mahina*, *Malama*, and *Avae*, and there are certainly no trace of Malay in them; they are identical with the current names of the moon, and indicate the early computation by lunar months.

In proof that the Polynesians were not beholden to the Malays for the names of year, season, month, or days, but had a nomenclature particularly their own, the following tables may suffice:—

## NAMES OF MONTHS.

Hawaiian.	Samoaan.	Tonga.	Society Islands, Huahine.	Marquesas, Fatuhiwa.
1 Makalii	Utuwa-mua	Liha-mua	Avarehu	Kuhua
2 Kaelo	Utuwa-muli	Liha-mui	Faaahu	Katuna
3 Kaulua	Faaafu	Wai-mua	Pipiri	Ehuo
4 Nana	Lo	Wai-mui	Taaoa	Nanaua
5 Welo	Aunuau	Hilinga-gele-gele	Aununu	Oaumanu
6 Ikiiki	Oloamanu	Tanu-manga	Apaapa	Awea
7 Kaaona	Palolo-mua	Uluenga	Paroro-mua	Ehua
8 Hinaieleele	Palolo-muli	Hilinga-mea	Paroro-muri	Weo
9 Hilinehu <sup>1</sup>	Mulifa	Fuca-afu-mate	Muriaha	Uaoa
10 Hilinama <sup>1</sup>	Lotuanga	Fuca-afu-moui	Hiaia	Uahaameau
11 Ikuwa	Taumafanua	Uluagi-mate	Tema	Pohe
12 Welehu	Toe-tauafa		Te-eri	Napea
13			Te-tae	Makau

<sup>1</sup> Also called "Mahoe-mua" and "Mahoe-hope."

## NAMES OF THE DAYS IN THE MONTH.

Hawaiian.	Society Islands.	Marquesan.
1 Hilo	Hiro-hiti	Ku-nui
2 Hoaka	Hoata	Ku-hawa
3 Kukahi	Hami-ami-mua	Hoaka
4 Ku-lua	Hami-ami-roto	Maheamakahi
5 Ku-kolu	Hami-ami-muri	Maheamawaena
6 Ku-pau	Ore-ore-mua	Koekoe-kahi
7 Ole-ku-kahi	Ole-ore-muri	Koekoe-waena
8 Ole-ku-lua	Tamatea	Poipoi-haapao
9 Ole-ku-kolu	Huna	Huna
10 Ole-ku-pau	Ari	A'i
11 Huna	Maharu	Huka
12 Mohalu	Hua	Meha'u
13 Hua	Maitu	Hua
14 Akua	Hotu	Akua
15 Hoku	Mara'i	Huku-nui
16 Mahealani	Turu-tea	Huku-manae
17 Kulu	Raau-mua	Ku'u
18 Laau-ku-kahi	Raau-roto	Aniwa
19 Laau-ku-lua	Raau-muri	Makahi
20 Laau-pau	Ore-ore-mua	Kaau
21 Ole-ku-kahi	Ore-ore-roto	Kaekae-kahi
22 Ole-ku-lua	Ore-ore-muri	Waena
23 Ole-pau	Taaroa-mua	Haapao
24 Kaloa-ku-kahi	Taaroa-roto	Hanaokahi
25 Kaloa-ku-lua	Taaroa-muri	Wawena
26 Kaloa-pau	Tane	Haapaa
27 Kane	Ro'o-nui	Puhiwa
28 Lono	Ro'o-maori	Kane
29 Maui	Mutu	Ona-nui
30 Muku	Teriere	Onamate



The names of the Tahitian and Hawaiian seasons have been mentioned. The solstices were observed and named in Tahiti. The December solstice was called *Rua-maoro* or *Rua-roa*; the June solstice, *Rua-poto*. The Hawaiians called the northern limit of the sun in the ecliptic *ke Ala-nui polohiwa a Kane*, "the black shining road of Kane;" and the southern limit was called *ke Ala-nui polohiwa a Kanaloa*, "the black shining road of Kanaloa;" and the equator was named *ke Ala-ula a ke kuukuu*, "the bright road of the spider;" and also *ke Ala i ka piko o Wakea*, "the road to the navel of Wakea," equivalent to "the centre of the world."<sup>1</sup>

Whatever the origin of these names, and the knowledge which underlies them, they certainly owe nothing to Malay instruction.

#### *Superstition.*

As a matter of course, and not otherwise to be expected, the Polynesian folklore abounds with superstitious notions and usages. Their belief in, and reverent and affectionate regard for, their deceased ancestors,<sup>2</sup> the *Au-makua* of Hawaii, the benevolent ones who protected their descendants, the *Oro-matua* of Tahiti, the malevolent ones who were to be propitiated by prayer and offerings.<sup>3</sup> Their

<sup>1</sup> The ancient Hawaiians knew and named the five earliest known planets, which were called collectively *na Hoku aea*, "the wandering stars," in contradistinction to the "fixed stars," *na Hoku paa*. Their names were according to Hoapili—

Mercury, *Kaawela*, also *Hoku-ula*.

Mars, *Holoholopinau*.

Venus, *Naholoholo*.

Jupiter, *Hoomanatonalo*, also *Iao* and *Ikaika*.

Saturn, *Makulu*.

Mr. Dibble (History of Sandwich Islands, p. 107) says that "Hoapili was so much in the habit of observing these that he could at any moment tell the position of each; and that he had heard from others that there was

one more travelling star, but he had never recognised it, and was acquainted with only these five. The more distinguished fixed stars and clusters had their distinct names, and the people were in the habit of observing them so much, that they judged of the hour of the night about as accurately as of the hour of the day."

<sup>2</sup> The ancient inhabitants of Yemen, Arabia, canonised and worshipped their ancestors.—Manual of the Ancient History of the East, by Lenormant and Chevallier, vol. ii.

<sup>3</sup> In Wajou, the principal territory of the Buguis in Celebes, the president or head of the chiefs is styled the *Arumatua*.

belief in ghosts and apparitions, whether benignant or malicious; their implicit faith in all manner of witchcraft, enchantments, sortilege, signs, and omens;<sup>1</sup> their practices of incantation, objurgation, and divination—all these various modes of superstition, more or less current among every race of people, appear to have been a very early inheritance of the Polynesians; but the difficulty is to trace them to their proper sources, either Cushite or Arian, for so many of them seem to have been shared by both alike. Some of them, however, can philologically be referred to an Arian root, and among them I would mention—

Haw. *Lapu*, “ghost, apparition, spectre.” They were good or bad according to the known personal character of the deceased, whom they were supposed to represent. *Lapu-ia*, “to be possessed of a spirit, to be haunted.” I have only found this word with this application in the Hawaiian. Etymologically it refers to the verb *Lapu-lapu* (Haw.), “to collect together in little heaps, to pick up, as small sticks for fuel;” to *Rapu* (N. Zeal.), “to search for;” to *Rapu* (Tahit.), “to scratch, squeeze, pinch, stir up, be in confusion;” *Napu*, “to be confused, nonplussed;” to *Ravu* (Fiji), “to smite, smash, kill.” This *Lapu* and its cognate verbs refer themselves without much difficulty to the *Rbhū* or *Rabhu* of Vedic mythology, spirits or inferior deities of a benevolent character, and to the Sanskrit root, verb *Rabh*, “to seize, to take,” with its Indo-European congeners, such as *Rabies* (Lat.), “rage, madness;” *Rharib* (Welsh), “fascination;” *Rheibes*, “sorcerer,” *et al.*<sup>1</sup>

Another word of the same class is the Hawaiian *Mana*, “supernatural power, an attribute of the gods, glory, might, intelligence, worship;” *Hoomana*, “to worship, adore;” *Hoo-mana-mana*, “to bewitch, enchant.” Samoan, *Mana*, “supernatural power;” *Tuu-mana*, “to curse, to rejoice in another’s misfortunes.” Tahitian, *Mana*, “strength, power,

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. VI.

Pritet, vol. ii. p. 637, and Burfey’s

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Orig. Ind.-Europ., par A. Sanskrit Dictionary, *sub voce*.

influence." Tonga, *mana*, "thunder, omen, sign." Fiji, *mana*, "an omen, wonder, miracle," a word used at the closing of a prayer or address to the gods, equivalent to "Amen, so be it." The word connects itself etymologically with the Sanskrit *mantra*, "prayer, magic formula, incantation, charm;" the Zend *manthra*, "incantation against diseases;" the Greek *μαντις*, "a prophet, soothsayer;" the Latin *moneo*, "to remind, instruct, predict;" *monstrum*, "whatever is strange and unnatural, a prodigy, a marvel;" the Irish *manadh*, "incantation, divination, omen;" *manai*, "sorceries, juggling," all which primarily refer themselves to the old Arian root *man*, "to think, to wish, to mind, to know," and also indicate the early and common application of the word to designate what was marvellous or supernatural, an application dating back to the Arian unity."<sup>1</sup>

### *Human Sacrifices.*

The custom of sacrificing human victims goes back to so old a date among the Polynesian family, that it is almost in vain to attempt to define a time for its introduction. However accustomed and callous the Polynesian may have become to human sacrifices, as a means to avert public danger, to appease the gods, or to satisfy the caprices of priests and rulers, yet there may be found in the ancient legends palpable indications that there was a time before that, when human sacrifices were not only not of common occurrence, and an established rule, but were absolutely prohibited. *Kapu ke kanaka na Kane*, "sacred is the man to Kane,"—for whom and by whom he was made—was the oldest Polynesian doctrine handed down by tradition, however much it may have been disregarded in after times. The universality of the custom among the leading Polynesian tribes would seem to indicate that it was one of many evil practices brought with them from the Indian Archipelago. But wherever the custom came from, the

<sup>1</sup> Vide Orig. Ind.-Europ., par A. Pictet, *loc. cit.*

maxim above referred to remained in the national folklore as a standing, though ineffectual, protest against it, showing plainly that at one time, in the far indistinct past, the cruel practice was contrary to the national creed and national mode of thought. With this maxim, then, pointing to a condition of purer creed and simpler manners, how far must we ascend in the past ages and past connections of Polynesian life ere we reach that state of society in which human sacrifices were prohibited, abhorred, and unusual? We do not find it among the Cushite instructors of the Polynesian ancestors, at least not at the period when the latter may be considered as the pupils of the former. We must then ascend the Arian line of connection to find the source whence the maxim originated. Speaking on the subject of sacrifices among the Arian people before their separation, M. A. Pictet says: "La comparaison des termes qui se rapportent aux sacrifices semble montrer qu'ils consistaient surtout en libations, mais que l'on immolait aussi certains animaux. Rien n'indique, par contre, que l'effroyable coutume des sacrifices humains, pratiquée plus tard aux temps de barbarie, ait attristé le culte des ancêtres de notre race."<sup>1</sup> In ancient Greece sacrifices were of the fruits of the earth, and it was originally forbidden to immolate victims, under pains of death. Afterwards animals were sacrificed. Human sacrifice was accounted so barbarous an act by the ancient Greeks, that Lycaon was feigned by the poets to have been turned into a wolf for offering such a sacrifice to Jupiter. In latter times this custom became more common.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Cannibalism.*

Though the custom of cannibalism among some of the Polynesian tribes, as well as among the Battas of Sumatra and the eastern Dyaks of Borneo, would seem to justify

<sup>1</sup> *Origines Ind.-Europ.*, vol. ii. p. 702.

<sup>2</sup> *Harwood's Grecian Antiquities*, pp. 146-51.

the inference of a community of origin; yet I am strongly inclined to believe that it was not a common national trait at the time of the unity of the Polynesian race in the Indian Archipelago, and as such brought with the wandering Polynesians into the Pacific, but rather of comparatively later date, originating during their sejour among and contact with the man eating Fijians, on their first arrival in the Pacific. It is true that among the Marquesans and New Zealanders the custom prevailed extensively, and they claimed a fabulous antiquity for its origin; but among the Tongans the practice was exceptional with some of their warriors in war-time, and then as a matter of bravado, and avowedly in imitation of their Fijian neighbours; and among the Society Islanders and the Hawaiians the custom never obtained. With these two branches of the Polynesian family, though the practice of cannibalism was not unknown, yet it was looked upon with horror as an exceptional depravity of a few wicked and outlawed persons, who in the ancient legends were loaded with infamy and exterminated as monsters.<sup>1</sup> There is no reference in the legends of either the Hawaiian or the Society group to a time when cannibalism was a national practice that was afterwards discontinued. The very fact that on occasions of human sacrifices, both on Hawaii and at Tahiti, the left eye of the victim was offered to the presiding chief, who made a semblance to eat it, *but did not*, was a virtual protest against the custom as being neither original nor universal with the Polynesian family, and was merely a seeming concession to a horrid fashion that had

<sup>1</sup> Rev. Mr. Dibble, in his History of the Sandwich Islands, 1843, p. 133, &c., refers to the tradition of the cannibal chief Kalo-aikanaka at Halemanu, Oahu, Hawaiian group. The tradition was well known in Dibble's time, and is also referred to by Messrs. Tyerman and Bennett, agents of the London Mission Society. But Dibble expressly states that "the practice was not common, and it is

due to the Hawaiians to say that those few instances that did exist were looked upon by most of the people with horror and detestation." The extermination of the Halemanu chief and his accomplices, and the infamy to which his memory was consigned in the national traditions, ought to be sufficient refutation of the accusation brought against the Hawaiians.

been adopted by other tribes of the family during their contact and combats with the Fijians.

As regards cannibalism among the Battas and Dyaks, the practice among the two peoples differs so widely in occasion, mode of procedure, and other matters, as to preclude the idea of a community of origin, and therefore probably arose separately in each of them from local causes and circumstances now unknown; the more so, as it is not known to have been practised by the other pre-Malay tribes of kindred blood, either on the same islands or in more isolated places.

I think it fair, therefore, to conclude that this horrible practice was not an original heirloom brought with the Polynesians from their primitive homes in the Far West, but was adopted subsequently by a few of their tribes under conditions and circumstances now unknown; and the non-observance and indignant reprobation of the same by two such leading members of the Polynesian family, as the Tahitian and Hawaiian, and, I would fain believe, the Samoan, ought in justice and equity redeem the race from the stigma so lavishly thrown upon it as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

On a previous page I have referred to a Hawaiian legend which narrates that a certain chief, called *Hawa-iiloa* or *Kekowa-o-Hawa-ii*, was the first who discovered and settled on the island of Hawaii of the Hawaiian group, and that he called it after his own name. The legend further adds that at that time this group consisted of only the two larger islands, Hawaii and Maui, the other islands having as yet not emerged from the ocean. I referred to the legend to show, by the traditional evidence of the Polynesians, that they came into the Pacific from the Far West, and that by whatever route they came they claimed some continent or large islands in the West as their birth-place.

But though the legend unequivocally confirms the proposition of the Western origin of the Polynesians, it is by

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Appendix, No. VII.

no means conclusive that either Hawaii, Sawaii, or Habai in the Pacific was the terminus of that celebrated voyage of discovery; and for reasons to be found in the legend itself, I am induced to believe that the departure of that voyage was from some part of the coast of the Erythræan Sea, in Southern Arabia, and that its terminus was at Jawa in the Sunda group.

First, the legend expressly makes *Hawaii-loa* the seventeenth generation after the Flood, and the fourth only after that mythical and legendary Twelveship with which the traditional life of so many Eastern peoples begins. He is said to have been born and lived on the eastern coast of *Kapa-kapa-ua-a-Kane*, "the land where his forefathers dwelt before him," which land was also called *ka Aina-kai-Mele-mele-a-Kane*, or "the land of the yellow, or handsome sea." But this land bore also the name *Hawa-ii-kua-uli-kai-oo*, or "Hawaii with the verdant hills and the dotted sea." Under previous considerations, does not the latter epithet coincide with the Erythræan Sea, called by the older Greeks "the sacred wave," and "the coralled bed?" From analogy and the general idiomacy of the Polynesian language, it becomes highly probable that *Kapa-kapa-ua* is an old intensitive, duplicated form of the Cushite *Zaba*, and this derivation would harmonise the old Arabian traditions, which place Paradise in the south-west part of Arabia, with the Hawaiian tradition, which states that after the expulsion from *Kalana-i-Hau-ola*, the descendants of the first man went eastward and occupied the coasts of *Kapa-kapa-ua*. Now, from numerous other parts of this and other legends, we learn that *Kapa-kapa-ua* was a subdivision of the large continent generally called *Kahiki-ku*, or Eastern Kahiki, and from other references we infer that it was situated in the western part of that continent, and that to the south of it was a large land or continent called *Ku-i-lalo* or *Honua-ku-i-lalo*, "the southern land," renowned for its warlike and savage people, while to the west was another large land or continent called *Kahiki-moe*, "the

Western Kahiki." If we now refer to some of the ancient and obsolete Hawaiian names for the North, we find two that arrest our attention in connection with this inquiry. The reader may remember that among the Hawaiian names for the North were *Ulu-nui* and *Mele-mele*, and that originally they were names of lands situated to the northward of some former habitat of the Polynesian family, or of those from whom they received their culture, their myths, and a goodly portion of their legends. Now the land of *Mele-mele* forcibly connects itself with "the Sea of Mele-mele" above referred to, and indicates another land or country or kingdom situated on the shores of the same sea, but to the north of the birthplace of Hawaii-loa. Viewed under that light, and assuming the south-eastern coast of Arabia to be the *Kapa-kapa-ua* of the legend, the name of the other northern land, *Ulu-nui*, cannot possibly have any other explanation than that of *Ur*, the city and kingdom of *Uruch* in ancient Chaldea, at the head of the Persian Gulf.

From this coast Hawaii-loa set sail, and steered to the eastward, crossing the ocean called *Moana-kai-maokioki*, or "the spotted, many-coloured sea," and also called *Moana-kai-popolo*, "the blue or dark-green sea." Considering his point of departure, that ocean must have been the Indian Ocean, and the two large islands which he discovered can be no other than Sumatra and Java. He called the one after his own name, *Hawa-ii*, and the other after that of his son *Mau-i*. But I have previously shown that the Polynesian *Hawa-ii*, *Sawa-ii*, *Habai*, and the Malaysian *Jawa*, *Djawa*, *Ciawa* and *Zapa-ge* are all referable for their protonom to the Arabian *Zaba*, the centre and pride of the Cushite Empire, whose commerce, colonies, and conquests extended from Madagascar to the Moluccas. With these premises it is difficult to conceive that these two islands could have been any of the Polynesian groups, or that whatever might have been the western site of that original *Kapa-kapa-ua*, the navigator of those days could



have crossed the Pacific Ocean in an easterly direction within the belt of the trade-winds, and not have encountered any of its numerous islands and Atoll groups before reaching either of the three groups bearing the name of Hawaii. And if this, by some singular combination of fortuitous circumstances, could have been done once, it is hardly credible that it could have been repeated often. Yet the legend makes no mention of any such landfall, and Hawaii-loa is represented as having made several voyages afterwards between *Kapa-kapa-ua* and *Hawa-ii*, as well as other voyages to "the extreme south," *i ka mole o ka honua*, and to some other Western land, not *Kapa-kapa-ua*, where dwelt a "people with turned-up eyes," *Lahui maka-lilio*, and travelling over this land to the northward and westward, he came to the country called *Kua-hewa-hewa*; a very large country or continent. Returning from this country, he is said to have brought with him two white men, *poe keokeo kane*, whom he married on his return home to Hawaiian women.

It would be interesting to know who these people with turned-up eyes or drawn-up eyes, living on a continent to the west of the Sunda Isles, may have been. They certainly were not Chinese, Japanese, or any of the Mongol families of men. At first view the legend would seem to give strength to the opinion that Hawaii-loa actually had discovered and settled on the Hawaiian group; for, knowing no other oblique-eyed people than the Chinese and their varieties, they could not have been reached by a westerly voyage unless the point of departure had been somewhere in the Pacific. But it is fair to question whether the Chinese and their varieties were the only oblique-eyed people in the world. With the Sunda Isles as a point of departure, and a westerly course, the coast of Africa is the natural landfall. What people inhabited that coast in times so far back as those of Hawaii-loa? Denon, in his "Voyage en Egypte," describing from the ancient paintings in the temples and tombs of Egypt,

says: "The female forms resembled figures of beautiful women of the present day; round and voluptuous; a small nose, the eyes long, half-shut, and *turned up at the outer angle*,<sup>1</sup> like those of all persons whose sight is habitually fatigued by the burning heat of the sun, or the dazzling whiteness of snow; the cheeks round and rather thick, lips full, mouth large, but cheerful and smiling." With the exception of the "turned-up eyes," a Polynesian beauty might have sat for the picture.

In some of Dr. Livingstone's letters, published in the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, November 8, 1869, speaking of the people of Rua, on the west side of Lake Tanganyika, he says that they are said to live in rock-excavations, that "the people are very dark, well made, and *outer angle of eyes slanting upwards*."

Here, then, we have the testimony of the ancient Egyptians themselves, that "turned-up eyes" was not an individual specialty or deformity, but so common a characteristic of their people—the women at least—as to be preserved and faithfully copied on their pictorial records. As the women of ancient Egypt enjoyed a degree of social and political consideration, of which their modern Oriental sisters are sadly deprived, it is improbable that any painter of that time would have dared to thus caricature his countrywomen. The trait, then, was a national one, and it is so designated in the Hawaiian legend.

As regards the other people "with outer angle of eyes slanting upward," though now living in the centre of Africa, no man acquainted with the migrations of peoples and the changes of empire would venture, without positive proof in confirmation, to assert that at some period in the past unrecorded history of Africa they did not occupy the eastern coast from Abyssinia southward, and thus have been the people of whom the legend speaks. *Lahui makalilio*, "people with eyes turned up or drawn up," were, then, anciently found on the African coast, and could be

<sup>1</sup> The exact Hawaiian expression, *Maka-lilio*.

reached by a westerly voyage from the Sunda Isles: and thus the Hawaiian legend becomes consistent with itself, and with historical facts independent of it.

Historically considered, I am inclined to think that the legend of Hawaii-loa represents the adventures and achievements of several persons, partly pure Cushites, partly Cushite-Polynesians, which, as ages elapsed, and the individuality of the actor retreated in the background, while the echo of his deeds was caught up by successive generations, were finally ascribed to some central figure who thus became the traditional hero not only of his own time, but also of times anterior as well as posterior to his actual existence. While the one set of legends shows the voyages and intercourse of the early Cushites with the countries and archipels about the Indian Ocean, the other set of legends shows the intercourse and voyages of the earlier Polynesians between the groups of the Pacific. But to find the former set of legends in the possession of the latter race of people argues a connection, political and social, if not ethnic, and to some extent probably both, so intimate, yet so far antecedent, that the latter had really come to identify themselves with the former, and appropriate to their own proper heroes the legends brought them by the others. In much later times the same process was repeated, when the Hawaiian group was overrun by princely adventurers from the South Polynesian groups, who incorporated their own legends and their own version of common legends on the Hawaiian folklore, and interpolated their own heroes on the Hawaiian genealogies. ✓

While, therefore, the presence of the Cushite element in the Polynesian race, in its legends, culture, and creeds, and to no inconsiderable extent in its blood, and at all times an element of supremacy, cannot be ignored in estimating the origin of this race; yet the Arian, mostly pre-Vedic, affinities of the language, with certain Zend proclivities in the phonetic values of some letters in the majority of the Polynesian dialects, are a stubborn fact, pointing either to an absolute ethnic relationship, or to a period of subjection

sufficiently prolonged to completely change or materially modify the older tongue of the Polynesian progenitors, whatever that may have been. But still a third element bespeaks its presence with potent and incontrovertible force—the dark colour and the black eyes—and points to an intimate connection, or rather complete fusion with the brown or Dravidian race; whether in or out of India history and tradition are equally silent.

The order in which these elements contributed to the formation of the Polynesian race is not so patent, nor yet at this distance of time, hardly possible to define. Neither history nor tradition records any invasion or immigration into India by the Arian race before the Vedic-Arians crossed the Sarasvati and came in immediate and permanent contact with the brown Dravidian race. And yet the occupation of Hapta-Hindu was an invasion of India, and must have been effected by an entire displacement of the pre-existing Dravidians between the Sutlej and the Indus. The echoes of that event had long died out before the Vedic hymns were composed or the laws of Menu compiled. May not then some other hordes of the Arian family, and more akin to the Iranian division, have passed into India along its western coast from Beluchistan, through Cutch and Guzerat, and mingling earlier with the Dravidian tribes on the way, and with less religious venom, have changed their colour while they retained their language, as their Vedic brethren did after they commenced settling on the banks of the Ganges? How long they remained in these new habitats, when or by whom displaced, how or by what route arrived at the Indian Archipelago, their struggles with, their conquest and expulsion of the Papuans, are all blank leaves in their history. A few local names, common to the west of India and some parts of Polynesia, would seem to indicate that the stream of migration had set southward through Western Deccan. To what extent, if any, they had come in contact with Cushite culture, commerce, and colonies, before they arrived in the Sunda Isles, no traces are left to indicate with any reliable precision.

But here, if not before, they became subject to the direct enterprise and influence of the Arabian Cushites, who here as elsewhere established their supremacy, introduced their institutions, customs, and creed, and mixing freely with the subject race, identified themselves so thoroughly with it as to substitute their own cosmogony, genealogies, and legends for whatever memories and whatever notions may have previously been entertained. In some such way alone, it seems to me, can we explain the composite character of the Polynesian race. We find the remains of Cushite culture, and creed; we find the Cushite-Arabian type abundantly cropping out;<sup>1</sup> we find the dark colour of the Dravidian race, varying from lightest olive to darkest brown; we find the language fundamentally Arian, but of a form far older than the oldest written remains. These phenomena must have a natural solution, based upon historical sequences, and, under correction from those of greater knowledge, I have presented mine.

I will now refer to the opinion entertained by many authors, that the Polynesian language is an offshoot from and a corrupted dialect of the now widespread Malay, and that the Polynesian tribes are simply colonists from the Malay stock. The first explorers in this direction of ethnic inquiry, finding that a large number of Polynesian words bore a family likeness to the Malay language, naturally enough concluded that the former was a descendant or an importation from the latter; and the marked contrast in which the Papuan race stood to both Malay and Polynesian probably strengthened the illusion of an ethnic connection between the two latter peoples. When, afterwards, such philologists as Fr. Bopp discovered and established the connection between what he called "the Malayo-

<sup>1</sup> The Asiatic Ethiopians or Cushites were, according to Herodotus (vii. 70), of a dark complexion, but with straight hair, not curly like the African Ethiopians. Rawlinson compares them in tint—dark red, brown, or copper colour—to the modern

Gallas and Abyssinians, as well as the Cha'b and Montefik Arabs and the Belooches.—The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World, G. Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 52. London, 1871.

Polynesian and the Indo-European" tongues, the conclusion seemed unanswerable that the Malays had received their Sanskrit words from the Hindus, and the Polynesians from the Malays. In Bopp's time the knowledge of the Polynesian was too imperfect to venture a demurrer, and none was made. All honour to Bopp, however, for establishing the kindred of the Polynesian, as well as the Malay, with the Indo-European family of speech; but the degree of kindred of the two former to the latter, and their relationship between themselves, as intimated by Bopp, may well be called in question at this day. I think that few people who are competent to form an opinion on the subject, and have seen and observed the Malays and Polynesians—not by individual exceptions, but by masses, and at their homes—will now maintain that they are ethnically descended from the same race. They have both, doubtless, passed through the Dravidian crucible, but the Polynesian entered it from the north-west, and the Malay, I think it will yet be found, entered it from the north-east. The Polynesians brought some primordial form of the Arian language with them when they came to India, as their mother-tongue; the Malays, whatever may have been their aboriginal tongue, acquired their connection with, and knowledge of, the Arian in its Sanskrit or Sanskritoid form, during their sojourn in India, before they followed the Polynesians into the Indian Archipelago. Thus, while a large number of words are common to both, yet the form of these words in the Polynesian is by far the most archaic, the most conformable to what we may conceive to have been the earlier form of the Arian language, ere it acquired the Vedic-Sanskrit or Zend developments.<sup>1</sup>

Malay and Javanese historians and traditions give themselves no higher origin in the Sunda Isles than the first century of the present era. One account represents them as coming from India, under the leadership of a son

<sup>1</sup> The original elements of the Arian language consisted of open syllables of one consonant, followed by one vowel, or of a single vowel. — Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2d series, p. 192. London, 1864.

of the Rajah Souren, the founder of Bisnagour, and establishing their empire at Palembang, Sumatra.<sup>1</sup> Another account says that they came from the Telinga country, in north-east Deccan, with one Tritestra, or Aji-Saka, and established their empire in Jawa, at the foot of Mount Semiru. He introduced Brahmin culture, customs, and creed. He found the country inhabited by Rakshasas, which in a Brahmin mouth meant the infidel, non-Brahmin, Cushitised inhabitants of India and the islands. With these people several and bitter wars were had before the new settlers established themselves. That these Rakshasas were the Polynesians, who at some previous period had displaced the Papuans, and were now displaced in their turn by the rising Malay power, I think there can be little doubt. It is manifestly wrong, therefore, to class the Polynesians as colonists, or their language as a dialect, of the Malay. There is nothing in the Polynesian language to show that they are later than the Vedic development of the Arian race, probably much older; there is nothing in the Malay to show that they are older than the Sanskrit development of that same race. The one is the genuine stock, the other an engraftment upon it.

In connection with this subject of relation, ethnic or otherwise, between the Malay and Polynesian peoples, I ought not to pass over in silence an essay by Rev. S. J. Whitmee, an English missionary of many years' residence in the Samoan group, and published in the "Contemporary Review," February 1873, pp. 389-407. In this essay Mr. Whitmee, with much justice and correctness, refutes the assertion of so eminent a naturalist and traveller as Mr. A. R. Wallace, who in his "Malay Archipelago," chap. xl., declares that the Polynesian race is merely "a modification of the Papuan race, superinduced by an admixture of Malay or some light-coloured Mongol element, the Papuan, however, largely predominating physically, mentally, and

<sup>1</sup> "Monde Maritime," par G. A. extended their conquests to the pen-  
Walkenaer. About 1159-60 A.C. the insula of Malacca, thus called Oud-  
Palembang chiefs invaded Jawa, and jong-tanah.—*Ibid.*

morally ; but that such admixture probably occurred at such a remote period as, through the lapse of ages, to have become a permanent type." But in avoiding the Scylla of Mr. Wallace and the Papuan theory, Mr. Whitmee has fallen upon the Charybdis of Bopp and the Malay theorists. Mr. Whitmee refuses credence to Mr. Wallace's classification of the Polynesians, but he believes him explicitly in his classification of the Malays. Mr. Wallace sweeps the almost entire population of the Indian Archipelago into one ethnic net, and calls his catch the Malay race. The Malays proper, the Javanese, the Battas, the Dyaks, the Buguis, the Suluans, the Moluccans and Buruans, the coast inhabitants and the mountaineers, are all Malays in his generalisation, and their different languages are but different dialects of the Malay. Such generalisation is hasty, and cannot but be misleading. As well class the Magyar and the Slave, the Finn and the Swede, in the same ethnic compartments as to crowd the Batta and the Dyak, the Pulo-Nias man, the Bugui, the Buruan, Saouan, and numerous other original tribes still surviving in the Archipelago, into the comparatively modern Malay box. The Malays themselves, with instinctive national consciousness, and, I am tempted to say, conscientiousness, consider the above tribes as ethnically different from themselves, and express that sentiment or consciousness by calling the others *Orang-Benua*, "men of the country," *i.e.*, "aborigines." Mr. Wallace makes no distinction, except that of degree of civilisation, between these latter, whom the Polynesians resemble ethnically, and the Malays, whom, if they (the Polynesians) resemble them at all, it is by accident, as a Jew might resemble a Roman. Misled by Mr. Wallace's generalisation, Mr. Whitmee fails also in making a distinction between the Malays proper and the pre-Malay inhabitants of the Archipel. Hence the summary of Malay words, quoted by Mr. Whitmee as having "Polynesian equivalents very closely resembling them," is not a correct showing in the sense that Mr. Whitmee intends it. Leaving out the numerals, of the thirty-six remaining words in the list of



Mr. Whitmee, only eleven are Malay words proper, while twenty-five belong to the language of those very pre-Malay tribes, with which and of which the Polynesians formed an integral part before the intrusion of the Malays; and of those other eleven Malay words with "Polynesian equivalents," nine are such equivalents for the very reason that they are Arian words adopted by the Malay.

Mr. Wallace, in the work above quoted, asserts that the Polynesian has a greater physical, mental, and moral resemblance to the Papuan than to the Malay. Mr. Whitmee, in the essay referred to, asserts the greater physical, mental, and moral resemblance of the Polynesian to the Malay. Each one argues a kindred of race according to his views. Both cannot possibly be right; and, from my reading of Polynesian characteristics and Polynesian folklore, they are both wrong. Great similarity of character may be found in peoples of widely different origin, and great dissimilarity of appearance in peoples of known community of race. What can be more similar in character than the Papuan, as described by Mr. Wallace, and the Marquesan of to-day? And yet the latter is probably a fairer and nearer approach to the primitive Arian type among its descendants in the East than the Celt among its descendants in the West. What can be more dissimilar in appearance than the light-haired, blue-eyed, high-statured Scandinavian, and the black-haired, dark-eyed, low-statured Bas-Breton? And yet their community of race is now undisputed. There is, then, something deeper, older, more expressive as a criterion of the consanguinity of peoples than the character, which may be the result of social conditions during long previous ages—tyranny, oppression, debasement, or the reverse; or of appearance, which may be the result of physical and local conditions and surroundings, operating for ages in a given direction, inland or maritime, alpine or lowland, forest or prairie, fertile or desert, sunny or cold, border people subject to outside influences and mixtures, or people in the interior

or in isolated situations. This something, this criterion, I hold to be the language of a people.

It is true that languages perish and languages decay ; but the decay and the extinction are always *pari passu* with the decay and extinction of the particular people to whom such or such language was the aboriginal mother-tongue. The Gauls, whom Brennus led and whom Cæsar conquered, perished with their language during the five centuries of Roman occupation. The Cushite race and the Cushite language disappeared together from Arabia and the Mesopotamian basin, and Semites filled their places. But the languages preserved of both these peoples prove that the former were of kindred race with the Romans, and that the latter were of alien race to the Semites.

And so, when the English language shall have superseded the Polynesian in the Pacific groups, the pure Polynesian, as an ethnic branch of the Arian tree, will have vanished from the scene, whether civilised or savage, and be succeeded by an Anglo-Polynesian people, drawing largely at first from the vanishing stock, but gradually becoming quite distinct in character and appearance. And yet the Polynesian language, preserved in books and more or less interspersed in the vernacular of the new people, will attest the originally ethnic kindred of the old stock to the new, and tell the future inquirer how the Polynesian, after various Dravidian and Cushite detours, returned to the primitive Arian type through a fusion with one or more of its Indo-European descendants.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The Numeral System.*

In further confirmation of the Polynesian relation to the Arian stock, at a very early period, the numeral systems of both will furnish rather decisive testimony. It is now pretty well established that the more ancient and rude a people is or was, the more limited is or was its

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, No. VIII.

numeral system. The Australian aborigines to this day do not count beyond three or four. The Dravidian languages exhibit signs, by the composition of their higher numbers, that at one time the range of their numerals was equally limited. The Polynesian language gives undoubted evidence that at one time the people who spoke it did not count beyond four, and that its ideas of higher numbers were expressed by multiples of four. Judging from the Hawaiian dialect, which has preserved so much of the archaic idiomacy of the language, the Polynesians and their pre-Malay congeners in the Indian Archipel evidently counted "one, two, three, four," and that amount called *kau-na*<sup>1</sup> was their tally, when the process was repeated again.

That the same quaternary system obtained in the Arian family, in early times, is evident not only from the marked relationship between the four first Arian and Polynesian numbers, but the method of counting by fours as a tally still obtains among some of the Arian descendants in Europe. To the personal knowledge of the writer, on the Baltic coast of Sweden small fish, specially herring, are counted by fours, each four being called a *kast*.

The following table will show the relation I am seeking to establish. It is selected from Arian and Polynesian branches; but there is this to be observed, that while the latter in all probability exhibit the archaic form of the language, the former exhibit a comparatively later and more or less modified form of the same.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Fr. Bopp, in his excellent work, "Ueber die Verwandtschaft der Malayisch-Polynesischen Sprachen mit den Indisch-Europäischen" (Berlin, 1841), proposes that the Hawaiian *kau-na* is derived from, or abbreviation of, the Javanese Basa-Krima form *sa-kavan* or simply *kavan*, meaning "four," and suggests it to be a corruption (Verstümmelung) of the Sanskrit *catvar*, "four." The Polynesian *kau-na*, however, is a contraction of *kau-ana*, the participial ending *ana* rendering

it a substantive; and the root-word *kau* remains in the Tonga dialect as a collective noun, indicating "a collection," "a gathering together," "a body of somethings," and in that sense is also used as a plural article and a prefix. It is more likely, therefore, that this Polynesian *kau* and *kau-na* is the root of, or closely related to, another Javanese word *kavan*, meaning "a herd, a flock," than that it is a descendant from the Sanskrit *cat-var*, through the Javanese *kavan*, four.



<i>Gilolo-Galela</i> .....	Moi.	Sinuto.	Sangi.	Iha.	Matoha.	Butanga.	Tumidingi.	Itupangi.	Sio.	Megi6.
" <i>Gani</i> .....	Lep-lu.	Lep-tol.	Lep-foht.	Lep-lim.	Lep-wonan.	Lep-wol.	Lep-fit.	Lep-siu.	Lep-siu.	Yaginso.
<i>Buru</i> 9.....	Rua.	Tello.	Pa.	Lima.	Né.	Eirua.	Pito.	Eshia.	Polo.	Polo.
<i>Ambayna</i> .....	Rua.	Tero.	Hani.	Rima.	Nena.	Waru.	Itu.	Sia.	Husa.	Husa.
<i>Ceram-Ahtio</i> 10.....	Ehua.	Entol.	Ehata.	Enlima.	Ennoi.	Euwol.	Enhit.	Ensiwa.	Fotusa.	Fotusa.
" <i>Wahai</i> .....	Lua.	Tolu.	Ati.	Nima.	Onam.	Alu.	Fitu.	Sia.	Husa.	Husa.
<i>Savu</i> .....	Rue.	Tolu.	Apa.	Lumi.	Una.	Aru.	Pitu.	Saio.	Singauru.	Singauru.
<i>Mosses Island</i> .....	Rua.	Tolu.	Wall.	Rima.	Eno.	Jalu.	Vitu.	Siwa.	Singapulu.	Singapulu.
<i>Tagal</i> .....	Dalua.	Tatle.	Ampat.	Lima.	Anim.	Walo.	Pito.	Siam.	Polo.	Polo.
<i>Papango</i> .....	Adua.	A-tlo.	Apat.	Lima.	Anam.	Valo.	Pitu.	Siam.	Apolo.	Apolo.
<i>Mindanao</i> .....	Dava.	Tulu.	Apat.	Lima.	Anam.	Valu.	Pitu.	Siam.	Sampulu.	Sampulu.
<i>Malgasse</i> .....	Rua.	Tolu.	Efa. <sup>12</sup>	Limam. <sup>13</sup>	One. <sup>14</sup>	Valu.	Hitu.	Siwa.	Fulu.	Fulu.
<i>Malay</i> .....	Dua.	Tiga.	Ampat.	Lima.	Anam.	Delapan.	Tujo.	Siwa.	Sambilan.	Sapuluh.
<i>Sanskrit</i> .....	Dvi.	Tri.	Catvar.	Panch.	Shash.	Agh.	Sapt.	Nava.	Das.	Das.
<i>Persian</i> .....	Du.	Sih.	Kehar.	Peng.	Ses.	Hest.	Heft.	Nuh.	Deh.	Deh.
<i>Hindustanee</i> .....	Duy.	Tir.	Tzar.	Penge.	Tzo.	Aatza.	Tatu.	Nouy.	Dass.	Dass.
<i>Zingara</i> .....	Due.	Trin.	Stor.	Peng.	Sho.	Oitru.	Afia.	Enneah.	Desh.	Desh.
<i>Slavonian</i> .....	Dova.	Tri.	Chetoiryc.	Pamie.	Seste.	Osme.	Sedme.	Devamte.	Desamte.	Desamte.
<i>Latin</i> .....	Duo.	Tres.	Quatuor.	Quinque.	Sex.	Octo.	Septem.	Novem.	Decem.	Decem.
<i>Greek</i> .....	Dyo.	Treis.	Tettara. <sup>15</sup>	Pente.	Ex.	Októ.	Septem.	Ennea.	Deka.	Deka.
<i>Welsh</i> .....	Dau.	Tri.	Pedwar.	Pump.	Chwech.	Wyth.	Septem.	Naw.	Deg.	Deg.
<i>Anglo-Saxon</i> .....	Twa.	Thri.	Feover.	Fif.	Six.	Eatha.	Seofon.	Nigon.	Tyn.	Tyn.
<i>Gothic</i> .....	Tvai.		Fidvar.	Fimf.		Athan.	Sibun.	Niun.	Tig. <sup>16</sup>	Tig. <sup>16</sup>

1 Or Sefulu. 2 Or Piti. 3 Or Pae. 4 Or Fene, Hene. 5 Or Angafulu. 6 Or Ringa. 7 Or Ano. 8 In Ternati, Yagi. 9 Waiapo. 10 In Crawford's Dissertation, vol. i. p. 226, of "Grammar and Dictionary of Malay Language," he gives the following a Ceramese ("Sirang") numbers, but does not give the locality whence obtained:—1 Takura, 2 Dua, 3 Tolo, 4 Pat, 5 Lim, 6 Onan, 7 Titura, 8 Dakapanete, 9 Sambilante, 10 Putusa. He also gives the following numbers for Tambora on the island of Sumbawa:—1 Seene, 2 Kalae, 3 Nih, 4 Kude-in, 5 Kutel-in, 6 Baka-in, 7 Kumba, 8 Koneho, 9 Lali, 10 Sarone.

11 Or Rek, also Trai. 12 Or Efatra. 13 Or Dimy. 14 Or Enina and Hene. 15 Or Ool. Pessyres. 16 Or Tiguas.

Believing, with Professor Bopp, that the origin as well as the cause of resemblance, or of difference, in the first numeral of the different branches of a kindred tongue, must be sought for in those oldest remnants of a once common speech, the definite and indefinite articles and pronouns; and recognising that within the Arian family at least, with which I have some acquaintance, the primary expressions "the," "this," "that," "a," "an," either simply or combined, were the original equivalents of "one," as a number, the early connection between the Indo-European and Polynesian is not very difficult to establish.

1. The Polynesian *ka*, *ke*, *ta*, *te*, *ha*, *he*, refer immediately to a common origin with the Sanskrit *ka* and *sa*, the Greek  $\tau\omicron$ ,  $\tau\eta$ ,  $\acute{o}s$ ,  $\acute{\eta}$ , the Gothic *tha*, the Latin *hi-c*, *hæ-c*, *ho-c*, and evince the same dialectical tendencies. Bopp considers the Sanskrit *eka* as composed of *e*, a demonstrative pronoun, and *ka*, an interrogative. But this *eka*, "one," has a near relation, and one applied to the same uses in the Tagal *ica*, *ca*, *caca*, meaning "the," "this," "that," and also "one." The Tagal and Malgasse *isa*, "one," refers itself to the Sanskrit *esa*, "this;" and even in Sanskrit the single *sa* remains as a demonstrative article, and the numeral "one" in compound words, as in *sa-kart*, "ein-mal," "once." To this *sa* refers itself, without doubt, the second constituent of the Polynesian *taha*, "one," and is evidently akin to the Gothic obsolete form of *ha* in compound words, such as *ha-ihs*, "one-eyed," *ha-nfs*, "one-handed," *et al.*

That *sa* was in Archaic times a numeral designating "one," and common to the various branches of the Arian stock, is further illustrated by the Javanese *siji*, "one," contracted from ancient *sa-vigi*, which itself is an Arian compound of *sa*, "one," and *viga* (Sanskrit), "a kernel, a seed;" also by the Malay *sa-tu*, contracted from *sa-batu*, "one stone," and of which the North Celebes (Bolanghitan) dialect *so-boto* is a better preserved form. The Basa-Krime points to the same archaism in its *sa-kavan*, "four," lit., "one-

four" or "one-kau," and in *sa-dhasa*, "ten," lit., "one-ten." The softening of the broad *a* in *sa* to *i* in *si* of the Polynesian *ta-si*, is perhaps as old as any of the branches of the Arian tongue. It is found in Buru (Cajeli) *si-lei*, "one," Buru (Waiapo) *um-si-un*, "one," in the South Celebes (Salayer) *se-dri*, "one," in the Salibabo *se-mbao*, "one," in the Sula Islands *hi-a*, "one." Instead, therefore, of considering with Professor Bopp that the Hawaiian *ka-hi* and Samoan *ta-si* are attenuated derivations of the Tonga *ta-ha* or an older *ta-sa*, "one," I look upon them as coeval varieties of a once common expression for the numeral "one."

It is possible that the Brahui (Beluchistan) numeral *asit*, "one," in which the *t* is either a Cushite or Dravidian postfix, concreted afterwards, may have a linguistic affinity to the Polynesian *tasi*. If so, the initial *t* must have been dropped; and I have no means of knowing the ancient form of the Brahui word. But this same Brahui *asit* singularly enough recalls to mind the ancient Latin *as*, the generic name for a unit, and the Greek *ές*, *αις*, "one."

2. The relation of the Polynesian number two to the Indo-European branches is self-evident by a glance at the foregoing table. The same dialectical tendency to change *d* into *l* or *r* is manifest in the Polynesian branch as in the Indo-European.

3. The correspondence between the Indo-European *tri* and the Polynesian *toru*, *tolu*, is not so palpable on the face of it, though the radicals of both are identical. The absence of this form in the Persian, and its substitution by *sih*, would lead to infer that other synonyms may have existed also in the other branches in early times, but are now lost. The Latin form of *ter* in *ternus* indicates clearly the ancient connection.

4. The numeral four, however, corresponds remarkably well in all the varieties of both the Indo-European and Polynesian branches. The *chat*, *quat*, *chit*, *tet*, *pet*, and *fid* forms of the former family bespeak unmistakable relation with the *pat*, *fat*, *pa*, *fa*, and *ha* forms of the latter family.

Professor Bopp, in the work above referred to, seems to consider the Sanskrit form of the numeral four as the original, archaic form, from which all the others, whether in the Indo-European or Polynesian family, have descended or deteriorated. And not only this number, but also all the preceding ones, and most of the subsequent ones. Not content with establishing their family relation, he exalts the Sanskrit to the position of a parent and an archetype, by which the others are to be measured. He says that the Malayan dialects are less corrupted or mutilated (*verstümmelt*) from this archetype, this mother-form, than the Polynesian. He may be right in one sense; for whatever there is in common between the Malay and the Arian, the Malay probably derived from the Sanskrit or the Sanskritoid dialects of upper India; whereas the Polynesian owes nothing to the Sanskrit, properly so called, having left the homestead of the Arian race long ages before the Sanskrit, Zend, or other European sisters had assumed to so large extent those trappings of inflections and those habits of elision, by which these younger branches of the ancient stock now mutually recognise each other, however far apart their lot in after-life was thrown.

But to return to the numeral under consideration. Is it at all credible, simply on philological grounds, that the first conception of the number four by the ancient Arians should have found expression in so long and complicated a word as *chatvar*? Disclaiming any profound knowledge of the Sanskrit, yet I make bold to say that *chatvar* or *chatvaras* is a compound word, and hence comparatively modern, when treating of archaic forms of speech. I take it to be composed of *chat*, or its dialectical variations in *quat*, *pet*, *pat*, *tet*, *fid*, original expressions of the conception four, and *var*, expressing a revolution, a cycle, a total, a tally. With that *chat*, and *pat*, the Polynesian *pa*, *fa*, and *ha*, stand in intimate relation; but inasmuch as the latter never shared in the final consonant which distinguishes



the articulation of the word by all the other branches, it is reasonable to infer that the Polynesians had separated from the mother stock before consonantal endings, implying a subsequent compound, had been introduced to give greater variety of meaning and definiteness of expression to words from the same primitive root.<sup>1</sup>

Up to this number four it is thus evident, I think, that the Indo-European and the Polynesian numerals were derived from the same mother-tongue, and that the Polynesian manner of expressing them was the more ancient; but it is also evident that, before the Arian stock had passed beyond the quaternary system of counting, one branch—the Polynesian—had also passed beyond the influences, associations, and conditions under which the remaining branches built up, and gave expression to, the higher numerals from four upwards.

Under what conditions of civilisation, or from what ethnic relations or neighbourhoods, the Polynesian family adopted the higher numerals from four to ten, is a question I have not had sufficient means within my reach—if the means exist at all—satisfactorily and positively to solve. There are several reasons which incline me to believe that they were adopted after the family had left the Arian stock, and while in course of amalgamation with the Dravidian in Upper India, or on the Iranian sea-

<sup>1</sup> That the final *t* in *chat*, *tet*, *quat*, &c., was not an original radical in the Arian expression for four may, I think, be inferred from its absence in the Anglo-Saxon and Armorican dialects of the Indo-European family; the former having *fe-o-ver*, the latter *pe-var*. That two cognate branches of the same lineage, coming down abreast from the hoariest antiquity, should have differed, and continued to differ, in the pronunciation of the number four, shows to me—especially in view of the entire Polynesian usage, and of the Malgasse, Pulo-Nias, Lampong, Bugui, Tidore, Gi-

lolo, Buru, and Savu forms of the pre-Malay dialects—that this final *t* or *d* was not an essential, integral part of the word. I believe it is now generally understood that the Indo-European varieties did not derive one from the other, or all from the Sanskrit; but that they were, so far back as knowledge can trace them, contemporary provincialisms, so to say, of a common tongue, of whose antique, if not original forms of speech, some were preserved with greater fidelity in one dialect, others in others.

board, along the Persian Gulf. With all due deference for so industrious and capable workers in philological mines as Bopp and Logan, it is far from obvious that these higher numerals are either reduplications or combinations of the lower numerals existing in the Polynesian family proper, or among its Arian cousins. The universality of their adoption, from Easter Island to Madagascar, and the incredibly small difference in pronunciation, all things considered, amount almost to proof positive that they were introduced into the language, such as they now are, by a people of higher civilisation than the Arians possessed when the Polynesians left them, and while the latter were yet a compact body with small dialectical tendencies, and those of no well defined development. And that people, whether in India, Beluchistan, or further on, was doubtless an early variety of the Dravidian stock, already civilised, or in course of civilisation, by the all-pervading Cushites of the ancient Arabian or Chaldean times.

5. The numeral five, *lima*, *rima*, *nima*, is a purely indigenous Polynesian word, though not without Arian connections and analogies. As soon as the family passed beyond the quaternary system of counting, the hand—*lima*—became the natural signification and expression for the totality of the five fingers or of a tally. That this word appears exclusively in the Polynesian family as a numeral for five, and not in any of the Indo-European languages, is to me another proof that the former separated from the latter before the quinary system was adopted.

The higher Polynesian numerals, six, seven, eight, nine, point strongly to a Dravidian formation grafted on to the Polynesian language, but by what branch of the Dravidian stock the distinctive initial words of those numerals were employed, I am unable to point out, if they are at all derived from any Dravidian source. It would seem as if the Polynesians, after having perfected the quinary system from their own vocabulary, had adopted the terms of a

foreign vocabulary, already made to hand and more or less corrupted, for the higher numbers.

6. The Polynesian terms for "six," *ono*, *hono*, *ene*, *hene*, *unu*, and *una*, appear to connect themselves with the South Dravidian forms of the term for "one," such as *on-ru*, *on-du*, *un-di*, though they possibly may refer to one of the early Arian synonyms for "one," which the Latins in the West preserved in *unus*, and the Dyak-Idaans of the East retained in *uni* as expressions for "one." By the time the Polynesians adopted the quinary system, they were already beyond the influence and associations of their Arian congeners; and having employed their own, the Arian, language in counting one set of fives, the contents of one hand, they employed a foreign language—that of the Dravidians, with whom at that time they probably were in process of amalgamation—to count the next set of numbers, or at least to contribute greatly to their formation. The Gilolo (Galela) and Tidore *moi* and *remoi*, "one," strongly point to the North Dravidian (kol) formation of *moi*, "one." Whether the Polynesian *mua*, "the first," and *muli*, "the last," refer themselves, as Bopp is inclined to prefer, to the Sanskrit *mula*, "root, beginning," or to the Dravidian numeral formation in *mo*, *mu*, I will not presume to decide. That the Greek has preserved the root of this word in *mounos*, *monos*, "one," "only," "alone," would seem to strengthen the Arian view of the question. But the Sanskrit *mula* has a well-defined affinity in the Polynesian (Hawaiian) *mole*, "root, foundation, bottom," as well as in the Latin *moles*. Professor Bopp, in the work often referred to, thinks the Polynesian forms of *hene*, *fene*, *ene*, for "six," and the Indo-Nesian forms in *anam*, *nenem*, &c., are corrupted derivations from the Sanskrit (gen.) *sannam*, a modification of *sah-nam* from an original *sas*, "six." This conclusion is etymologically possible, and the analogy of the Latin *seni* (distrib. num.) "six," would be even stronger and more direct to the Polynesian *hene*, *fene*, *ene*, could it be proven that the Polynesian is only a corrupted form of

Malay, and the Malay a corrupted form of Sanskrit. But so far all data, historical, traditional, and linguistic, lead in a contrary direction, and thus render Bopp's theory and reasoning untenable, though at the time he wrote those data were not collected.

7. The Polynesian number "seven," *fitu*, *hiku*, &c., the Indo-Nesian *pitu*, &c., is really more difficult to class than the number six. Professor Bopp, according to his theory, considers the Polynesian forms as a corruption ("Verstümmelung und Schwächung") of the Sanskrit *sapta*, that the first syllable *sa* has been lost, that the last vowel *a* has been softened to *u* or *o*, and that to accommodate the Polynesian idiom a light vowel as *i* has been inserted between the original *p* and *t* in the last syllable *pta*. This is also etymologically possible, but is it historically so? Professor Buschmann, according to Bopp, *loc. cit.*, considers the terms *pitu*, *fitu*, *hiku*, as of purely Polynesian origin, and home-made, so to say. He refers the first syllable to a weakening of the Polynesian *pa*, *fa*, *ha*, "four," and the second syllable to a contraction of the Polynesian *tolu*, "three," thus assuming that the whole word originally was *fa-tolu*,  $4 + 3 = 7$ . This reference is ingenious and plausible; the more so as it starts from a quaternary basis, and 'builds up the higher numbers on that. But, unfortunately for this hypothesis, there is no instance within the whole range of the Polynesian language, from Madagascar to Easter Island, of any dialectical forms in *fa-tu*, *fe-tu*, *fa-tolu*, *fe-tolu*, or *fi-tolu*, or the same forms commencing with *p* or *h*, or with the initial *h* dropped, as often is the case among the Polynesian dialects. Had the *pitu*, *fitu*, been of Polynesian origin, some signs of its gradual corruption from an original *fa-tolu* to the present *pitu*, *fitu*, *hiku*, *itu*, could not fail to be found in some one of so many widely scattered and long isolated dialects. Were the word of Polynesian formation, it must have been adopted as the numeral "seven," and the corruption from *fa-tolu* to *fitu* taken place, while the Poly-

nesians yet were a unit, a comparatively compact body, and before their dispersion East and West over the Indian Ocean. I have attempted to show, however, in previous pages, that, at that period of their existence, the Polynesians lived with and among the Dravidian race of India; that, when they separated from their Arian connections, their system of counting was quaternary; that the number "five" was only adopted after such separation, in some intermediate stage, inasmuch as their name for "five," though an Arian word, was not the word adopted to express that number by the remaining unbroken tribes of the Arian family; and that they commenced their numeration of the higher numerals with a decidedly Dravidian word, and in all probability continued the scale upward to "ten" from the same linguistic formation, though I am unable to state the particular Dravidian dialect from which the word in question was borrowed. It has a Dravidian postfix, but whether the radical *pi* is Dravidian or Cushite, I am unable to say; it is not Polynesian.

8. The Polynesian *walu*, *varu*, *aru*, "eight," is doubtless a foreign word and incorporated as such in the language. It has no Arian affinities, and cannot well, as Professor Bopp endeavours to do, be decomposed into the same elements as the Malay *delapan*. It has its own *raison d'être* and connects itself either as an amplification of an ancient Dravidian binary term in *bar*, *var*, or, which I am more inclined to think, it is identical with the third person plural of the Dravidian pronoun, *aru*, *avaru varu*, "they." The Dravidian connection with the Polynesians when these higher numerals were introduced in the language is further evidenced by the very exceptions to the general term. Thus the Gilolo (Galela) *itu-pangi*, the Buru (Waiapo) *et-rua*, "eight," refer plainly to the Dravidian (Tamil) *ettu*, *yettu*, "eight," while the *ru* and *tu* postfixes in all are distinctively Dravidian family marks that should not be hastily set aside in determining the origin of these words.

9. The Polynesian number "nine," *siwa*, *hiwa*, *iwa*, with Indo-Nesian varieties in *sia*, *sio*, *siau*, *siam*, *siwer*, I confess myself unable, from my limited philological resources, to trace satisfactorily to its origin. I cannot entertain the idea of Professor Bopp that *siwa* is a mutilation and corruption of the Malay *sambilan*. It is the same word in Madagascar and in Easter Island, and must have existed in the Polynesian language ages before it came in contact with the Malay. No Polynesian or pre-Malay tribe in the Archipelago comes in any measure near the Malay *sambilan* in its appellation of the number "nine." Even the Sunda dialect, which has been so greatly Malayified, has not adopted the word, but adheres to what was probably the older Malay formation, and calls "nine" *salapan*, as it calls "eight" *dalapan*. The Indo-Nesian synonyms for "nine," Javanese *sanga*, Bugui *hassera*, and the Dyak varieties *petan*, *paih*, *piri*, *iletean*, throw no light, so far as I know, on the language from which they all were derived. There is no apparent reason why the Polynesians, after having adopted "six," "seven," and "eight," from a foreign tongue, should have reverted to their own language for the formation of the number "nine." And yet the change of the first vowel from *i* to *a* in the Savu *saiu*, and to *u* in the Pulo-Nias *su-wa*, might lead to the inference that the first syllable represented the ancient Arian *sa*, *si*, demonstrative pronoun, and number one, while the second syllable *wa* was an abbreviation of the already adopted *walu*; the more so, as in Mindanao and the Solo Archipel nine is *si-au*, and in the Sangvir Islands it is *ka-si-au*, showing a lapse of the middle *l* not uncommon in some dialects like the Marquesan. And this inference requires additional weight from the Teor *si-wer*, where the liquid is retained, though the final *u* is omitted. The word would then represent 1, 8, or  $1 + 8 = 9$ .

10. The Polynesian "ten," *pulu*, *fulu*, *huru*, with varying prefixes of *sa*, *se*, *san*, *sanga*, *singa*, *tanga*, *aua*, *ono*,

*honga*, is doubtless a genuine Polynesian word. Its literal and archaic meaning in all the dialects is that of "feathers, hair, wool." When the denary system was adopted, "ten" became a new tally, and was expressed by a word indicating a multitude, as may be seen from its synonym *umi* lit., "the beard."<sup>1</sup> But the Polynesian *puru, fulu, huru* is evidently near kindred to the Sanskrit (Ved.) *pāru*, "much, many, exceeding," though I am not aware that in any of the Indo-European branches it was ever used to express any definite quantity. The concrete sense of "feathers, hair," &c., must be very ancient, however, inasmuch as the denary system must have been adopted before the Polynesians occupied the Indian Archipelago, and while yet subject to, or mingling with, the Dravidian tribes of India, and before the Vedic Arians had crossed the Indus.

As to the prefix *sa, se, sanga, singa, ana, hongo*, &c., I consider the two first as the old Arian numeral "one," thus making the *sa-* or *se-pula* equal to "one ten." *Sanga* and its varieties is composed of the same numeral *sa*, and the Polynesian plural prefix *na*, thus making the word properly written as *sa-nga-pulu*; and in that way the original plural sense of *nga-pulu*, "the feathers," crops out under its later conventional meaning of "ten."

That the quaternary system of counting continued long after the denary system was adopted among the Polynesians is evidenced in the Hawaiian dialect. There "ten fours" were called a *kana-ha* or an *iako* or a *ka'au* = 40; "ten forties" were called a *lau* = 400; ten "lau" were one *mano* = 4000; ten "mano" were one *kini* = 40,000; and ten "kini" were one *lehu* = 400,000, the highest number known to them. The expressions for a single hundred or a single thousand were unknown to the Hawaiians until

<sup>1</sup> In Hawaiian, *umi*, "ten;" *umi-umi*, "beard." Samoan *umi*, "ten fathoms." Tahitian, *umi-umi*, "beard;" *umi*, "ten fathoms." Marquesan, *kumi-kumi*, "beard." Mangarewa, Paumotu, *id.*, Fiji *kumi*, "beard;" *va-kumi*, "bearded." The Ceram *hutu* and *hutu-sa*, "ten," refer themselves to the Tidore and Galela *hutu*, "hair."

the discovery of the group by Cook, and subsequent intercourse with foreigners. Some of these words, like the *pulu* and *umi* and *hutu*, have preserved their original meanings alongside of the later conventional and numeral designations. Thus LAU still means "the leaves of trees" in the Hawaiian, Samoan, Marquesan, New Zealand, and Fiji dialects; in the Tonga contracted to *lo*; and still retains the primary sense in composites, as *lau-ulu* (Samoan), "hair," lit., "the leaves of the head," as *lo-nutu* (Tonga), "lips," lit., "the leaves of the mouth," *et al.* In the Indonesian dialects, the same word, with the same meaning, still remains in the Ceram *lau*, *laun*; Malay *dawn*, "leaf," and others. Thus LEHU, under varying dialectical forms of *rehu*, *reu*, *lefu*, *efu*, means "ashes, dust;" in Fiji *levu*, "large, numerous, great," already a secondary meaning; in the Amblaw and Javanese *avu*, in Malay *habu*, Sunda *lebu*, also mean ashes. In the Hawaiian and other Polynesian dialects, the duplicated form *lehu-lehu* means "many, numerous, and an indefinite large number." In none of the Polynesian, however, except the Hawaiian, has this word assumed the conventional sense of a definite number; but in Indonesia we find Malgasse *ar-rivu*, 1000; Tagal *libo*, *id.*, Malay *sa-ribu*, *id.*, Sunda *sa-rivu*, *id.*, Javanese *sevu*, *id.*, while in the island of Mysol *lafu* only represents "ten." Thus the Hawaiian KINI, beside the definite number, means "an indefinitely great number, a retinue of persons, a following;" Marquesan *tini*, "many, innumerable;" Tahitian *po-tini-tini*, "an indefinitely large number;" while in Fiji *tini*, and in Ceram (Camar.) *tinein* means only "ten." And thus, lastly, MANO, which in Hawaiian represents 4000, and in Tonga 10,000, has a primary meaning of "many, numerous, an indefinite multitude."

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I think the facts collected, in the foregoing attempt to satisfactorily solve the question of the Polynesian origin, will warrant the conclusion that the various branches of that family, from New Zealand to the Hawaiian group, and from Easter Island to the outlying eastern portion of the Fiji Archipel, are descended from a people that was agnate to, but far older than, the Vedic family of the Arian race; that it entered India before these Vedic Arians; that there it underwent a mixture with the Dravidian race, which, as in the case of the Vedic Arians themselves, has permanently affected its complexion; that there also, in greater or less degree, it became moulded to the Cushite-Arabian civilisation of that time; that, whether driven out of India by force, or voluntarily leaving for colonising purposes, it established itself in the Indian Archipelago at an early period, and spread itself from Sumatra to Timor and Luzon; that here the Cushite influence became paramount to such a degree as to completely engraft its own legends, myths, culte, and partially institutions, upon the folklore and customs of the Polynesians; that it was followed into this archipelago by Brahmanised or Buddhist Ario-Dravidians from the eastern coasts of Deccan, with a probably strong Burmah-Tibetan admixture, who in their turn, but after protracted struggles, obtained the ascendancy, and drove the Polynesians to the mountain ranges and the interior of the larger islands, or compelled them to leave altogether; that no particular time can be assigned for leaving the Indian Archipelago and pushing into the Pacific—it may have occurred centuries before the present era, but was certainly not later than about the first century of it; that the diversity of features and complexion in the Polynesian family—the frequently broad forehead, Roman nose, light olive complexion, wavy and sometimes ruddy hair—attest as much its Arian descent and Cushite connection, as its darker colour, its spreading nostrils, and its black eyes attest its mixture with the Dravidian race;

and, finally, that if the present Hindu is a Vedic descendant, the Polynesian is *á fortiori* a Vedic ancestor.

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In estimating the time of arrival of the Polynesian family in the Pacific, I have been guided almost wholly by their own genealogies and traditions. No other history throws any light on their departure, their passage, or their arrival. When once they entered the Pacific, they were lost, as it were, and forgotten. Among the many legends and traditions still existing in the Asiatic Archipelago of large and extensive migrations, occasioned by civil feuds, foreign invasion, or the desolating effects of earthquakes and eruptions, of pestilence and famine, it is impossible to fix upon any one as the one, or the ones, that pushed their fortunes into the Pacific. In the Java and Bugui legends we are told that such or such a prince left with a thousand followers or more to escape oppression, or evil of some kind or other, or to found a new home in a better land: and while not a few of those who found that home on the cis-Papuan side were duly reported in song and saga, not one of those who went beyond the Gilolo passage or Torres Straits, and found that home on the trans-Papuan side, remains upon the memory of those from whom they separated, or of those by whom they were displaced.

But the Polynesian legends and genealogies themselves, bearing upon this point, are extremely obscure, confused, and contradictory, and consequently difficult to bring into chronological order. The generally-received genealogies of most of the leading Polynesian groups lead up to *Wakea*, *Atea*, or *Makea*, and his wife *Papa*, as the earliest progenitors, the first chiefs of their respective groups. Other genealogies, like that of "Kumuhonua," bring the line of Hawaiian chiefs on Hawaiian soil up to *Hawaii-loa*, who is said to have first discovered and settled on these

islands while on a fishing excursion, sailing east from his native home. Another, a Tahitian legend, goes also back of *Wakea* to *Tii*, whom it makes the first settler or discoverer of their group, and whom some Hawaiian legends claim as a brother of *Hawaii-loa*. But I have shown that the *Hawaii-loa* legend is probably the concentration of several originally distinct legends upon one person, and that if he of whom the legend speaks was the first discoverer and settler of the Hawaiian group, his place on the genealogy is a fatal and irreconcilable anachronism. Moreover, according to the legend, the Hawaiian group at the time of its discovery by *Hawaii-loa* consisted only of the two islands of Hawaii and Maui, the other islands of the group not having yet arisen from the sea; yet, before the death of the discoverer, they are not only made to rise up from the ocean, but to become wooded, watered, and fertile, and to have been allotted as the homes and principalities of his other children. The *Wakea* period is almost equally unsatisfactory and difficult a starting-point in computing the age of the Polynesian race in the Pacific. Between the Hawaiian genealogies alone, which lead back to *Wakea* from the present time, there is a difference between fifty-seven generations on the shortest, and seventy on the longest, a difference representing a period of about 400 years. There may be lacunas on the shorter line; I am morally sure that there are interpolations on the longer. The latter would represent the year 230 B.C. as a medium year, the former the year 160 A.C. Yet admitting the high antiquity of the *Wakea* and *Papa* legends, it is obvious from the legends themselves that the islands now held by the Polynesian race were already peopled in the time of *Wakea*, and that too by people of his own race and kindred. When or how that people arrived is now an absolute blank. They may have been waifs, they may have been colonists from the eastern fringe of the Polynesian area in the Asiatic Archipelago, but of their traditions or their descent not a vestige remains. The *Wakea* period eclipsed

or obscured all previous movements or migrations in an easterly direction.

The Wakean era, however, was undoubtedly one of great disturbance, displacement, and change in the ancient Polynesian homesteads. The very fact that so many of the principal tribes have retained his legend, though under different forms, and have attempted to localise him and his wife on their own groups, proves to me that he was anterior to, or at least contemporary with, some great popular movement preceding or attending the first considerable exodus into the Pacific, the memory of which was linked to his name, and thus handed down to posterity. His wars with *Lihaula*, his brother; his wars with *Kaneia-Kumuhonua*, in which he was conquered, driven out of the land and fled over the sea, though he is said to have recovered his kingdom afterwards; his changes in the religious and social institutions of the people, or which have been ascribed to him; all point to an area of unrest, tribal if not ethnic displacement and material modifications among the Polynesian forefathers, but still occurring in some common country, ere the original stream of migration had divided itself over the different Pacific groups where the legend is still preserved.

Now this period of Wakea, counting on the shortest Hawaiian genealogy, corresponds with the commencement of the Malay Empire in the Indian Archipelago. In the year 76 A.D., according to Javanese historians, *Tritestra* invaded Java, and commenced those wars against the Rakshasas, the Polynesian-Cushite pre-Malay inhabitants, which ended in their subjugation, isolation, or expulsion throughout the Archipelago. Eighty years from that time bring us to the period of Wakea, and the same time possibly brought the Malays from Java and Sumatra, where they first set foot, to Timor, Gilolo, and the Philippines.

Taking this epoch, therefore, as the starting-point for the great exodus and general appearance of the Polynesian

family in the Pacific, there is an interval of time of 900 to 1000 years in which to people the various islands and groups now held by that family, until we meet with the uncontested Hawaiian traditions which affirm that twenty-eight generations ago that group was already densely peopled by that family.

But twenty-eight generations only represent a period of somewhat less than 900 years, and within that period there is no distinct tradition or remembrance of the active state of the volcanoes on the leeward islands of the Hawaiian group, or of the upheavals and subsidences to which those islands have been subjected. Yet recent discoveries have established the fact that those islands were inhabited before their volcanoes had ceased their action and the land assumed its present form. The legends of *Pele*, *Hiaka*, and that family of demigods, it is true, would seem to infer the ancient Hawaiian belief that the leeward islands were inhabited while their volcanoes were still active; but the legend of *Pele* itself, in its application to the Hawaiian group, when critically considered, must be subsequent to the great commotion which prevailed among the Polynesian tribes about twenty-six or twenty-eight generations ago, and is rather a mythical attempt in after ages to explain the volcanic phenomena of the group, than an historical datum for their occurrence. The tone of the legend, its several associations, and especially the therein occurring prayer of *Malaehaako*, the *Kahu* or guard of *Hiaka*, bespeak its later composition from Southern materials recast in a Hawaiian mould.

It is impossible to judge the age of a lava flow by its appearance. Portions of the lava stream of 1840, flowing from the crater of Kilauea into Puna district, Hawaii, and thence to the sea, a distance of from sixteen to twenty miles, was in 1867 covered with a luxuriant vegetation; while older flows in Puna, of which no memory exists; while the last flow from Mount Hualalai in 1791-92, through Kekaha on the west of Hawaii; and while the

flow near Keonioio in Honuaula, island of Maui, called *Hanakaie*, and which is by tradition referred back to the mythological period of *Pele* and her compeers—look as fresh and glossy to-day as if thrown out but yesterday. Geologically speaking, the leeward islands are the oldest of the group, but both on Oahu and on Molokai human remains have been found imbedded in lava flows of undoubted antiquity, and of whose occurrence no vestige of remembrance remains in the Hawaiian folklore.

In 1822 the first wells were dug in the city of Honolulu. They passed through some eight or ten feet of surface loam and underlying volcanic sand, when a coral bed of some eight feet in thickness was encountered and cut through, under which the fresh water was reached. In this coral formation were found embedded a human skull and sundry human bones.<sup>1</sup>

In 1858, in dredging the harbour of Honolulu, island of Oahu, near the new Esplanade, after scooping up and removing the mud and sand at the bottom of the harbour in about twenty feet of water, it was found that underneath this sand and mud was a pan of coral rock which it was necessary to break up and remove in order to obtain the required depth of water. This pan was of an average thickness of two feet, and beneath it was a thick couch of black volcanic sand, such as is found some four or five feet beneath the surface throughout the city, and evidently thrown out by the extinct crater of Punch-bowl-hill in some pre-traditional time. Embedded in this black sand, underneath the coral bed, was found the lower part or pointed end of an ancient spear or *Oo*, about three feet long; and near to it a rounded small stone, the size of a hen's egg and nearly its shape, of a red, close-grained, compact, and heavy lava, such as is not found in the Punch-bowl-hill formation or its vicinity. The broken spear speaks for itself, and shows that man passed over

<sup>1</sup>Hawaiian Club Papers, p. 3; by James Hunnewell. Boston, October 1868.

that spot by water or by land before the formation of that coral pan which now covers the bottom of the harbour and the adjoining reefs. What purposes the stone had subserved I am not prepared to say, unless it had been used for slings and dropped by the same hand or the same generation that dropped the spear. It bears no geological relation to the black sand around it, to the coral-rock above it, or to the extinct crater one and a quarter mile inland.<sup>1</sup>

In 1859 Mr. R. W. Meyer of Kalae, Molokai, found in the side of a cañon on his estate—some seventy feet below the surface rim of the upper level country, and among a stratum of volcanic mud, Creccia, clay and ashes of several feet in thickness—a human skull, whose every cavity was fully and compactly filled with the volcanic deposit surrounding it, as if it had been cast in a mould, evidently showing that the skull had been filled while the deposit was yet in a fluid state. As that stratum spreads over a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood, at a varying depth beneath the surface of from ten to four hundred feet, and as the valleys and gulches, which now intersect it in numerous places, were manifestly formed by erosion—perhaps in some measure also by subsequent earthquake shocks—the great age of that human vestige may be reasonably inferred, though impossible to demonstrate within a period of one or five hundred years preceding the coherent traditional accounts of that island.

Hawaiian traditions on Hawaiian soil, though valuable as national reminiscences, more or less obscured by the lapse of time, do not go back with any historical precision much more than twenty-eight generations from the present, or, say 840 years. Within that period the harbour and neighbouring coast-line of Honolulu have remained nearly

<sup>1</sup> The writer was present when these articles were dug up from beneath the coral, and deposited them in the Library of Excelsior Lodge, No. 1, I. O. O. F., no public museum existing in Honolulu at the time.

what they now are, nor has any subsidence sufficient to account for the formation of that coral bed beneath the city and its harbour, or of subsequent upheaval, or of any eruption from the Punch-bowl-hill crater, been retained on the memory of those twenty-eight generations.

Among the Hawaiian genealogies now extant, I am, for reasons which will hereafter appear, disposed to consider the *Haloa* or *Hoohokukalani-Nanaulu-Maweke* line as the most reliable. It numbers fifty-six generations from *Wakea* to the present time; twenty-nine from *Wakea* to and including *Maweke*, and twenty-seven from *Maweke* until now. Fifty-six generations, at the recognised term of thirty years to a generation, make 1680 years from now (1870) up to *Wakea*, the recognised progenitor and head of most of the Southern and Eastern Polynesian branches, and brings his era at about A.D. 190, which would in a great measure correspond with the invasion and spread of the Hindu-Malay family in the Asiatic Archipelago. But the first thirteen names on the *Haloa* line, to *Nanaulu*, are now allowed to have been shared, partially if not wholly, with the Marquesan and Tahitian branches of the Polynesian family, possibly also by the Samoan, though I have not now the means of ascertaining. These, then, must have existed elsewhere, and been introduced by the pre-*Maweke* occupants of the Hawaiian group, which would leave sixteen generations, or about five hundred years, in which to discover and people this group previous to the era of *Maweke* and his contemporaries, the *Paumakua* of Oahu, the *Kuhiailani* of Hawaii, the *Puna* family of chiefs on Kauai, the *Hua* family on Maui, the *Kamauaua* family on Molokai, and others renowned in the legends and songs of the people. By which of these sixteen generations, from *Nanaulu* down to *Maweke*, these islands were settled upon, there is nothing positively to show. The historical presumption, however, would indicate *Nanaulu*, the first of these sixteen, as the epoch of such settlements; and there still exists a Hawaiian tradi-



tion concerning his grandson *Pehekeula*, who was a chief on Oahu.

The first thirteen generations just referred to, from *Wakea* to *Nanaulu*, would thus represent the period of arrival and sejour on the Fiji group, and subsequent dispersion over the Pacific. Probably the greater portion of those generations passed away on the Fiji group, for it is otherwise inconceivable how so much of Polynesian language and Polynesian folklore could have been incorporated on the Fijian. And when the expulsion from there took place, several streams of migration issued simultaneously, or nearly so, to the Samoan, Tonga, Tahiti, and other eastward and northward groups. The Marquesas group could be reached from Tahiti in a straight direction, through the trade-winds, and the Hawaiian from the Marquesas, as well as from the Samoan, by taking advantage of the north-east and south-east trade-winds. Whether the expulsion from the Fiji covered one year or fifty years, it does not necessarily follow, as some ethnologists are inclined to hold, that the Polynesians departed *en masse* either to Tonga or the Samoan group; and after an indefinite period of residence there, and when population had become redundant, portions of it again moved eastward to Tahiti; and after another indefinite period, moved northward to the Marquesas, and so on; lastly, to the Hawaiian group. It is natural, and hence more probable, that the Polynesian-settlements scattered over the Fiji group were attacked separately and successively, and that each chieftain, as necessity compelled, fled with his family and followers in this or that direction, according as the state of the winds and the season of the year made it most favourable to go. Many such parties, doubtless, made for the same group, and, finding the land already occupied by previous refugees, continued their course to the eastward and northward, until they found some convenient locality, where they finally established themselves permanently. The Polynesian legends would seem to support this latter

proposition. While it may be an open question whether the Tahitians came by the way of Samoa or direct from Fiji, Tahitian legends claim that one *Tii* was the first ancestor of Tahitian chiefs on Tahitian soil. Subsequent generations elevated him to the position of a demi-god and grandson of *Taaroa*, the southern god *par excellence* of a later creed. But Hawaiian legends claim this same *Tii* or *Kii*—who was the last of the thirteen from *Wakea* that lived elsewhere than on the Hawaiian group—as the father of *Nanauku*, with whom Hawaiian aristocracy on Hawaiian soil commences; while his brother *Ulu* remained at the south, and became the ancestor of that enterprising race of chiefs who six hundred years later overran the Pacific, from the Tonga group to the Hawaiian, and who gave rise to an era of commotion and unrest among the Polynesian tribes, the memory whereof is vividly retained in the Hawaiian folklore.

With due reservation, therefore, regarding any light that may hereafter be shed on pre-Wakean voyages and settlements by Polynesians in the Pacific, we arrive at the following leading propositions as chronological signposts—approximately, at least—of Polynesian migrations to and in the Pacific:—

1st. At the close of the first and during the second century of the present era the Polynesians left the Asiatic Archipelago and entered the Pacific, establishing themselves on the Fiji group, and thence spreading to the Samoan, Tonga, and other groups eastward and northward.

2d. During the fifth century A.D. Polynesians settled on the Hawaiian Islands, and remained there, comparatively unknown, until—

3d. The eleventh century A.D., when several parties of fresh emigrants from the Marquesas, Society, and Samoan groups arrived at the Hawaiian islands, and, for the space of five or six generations, revived and maintained an active intercourse with the first-named groups; and—

4th. From the close of the above migratory era, which

may be roughly fixed at the time of *Laa-mai-kahiki* and his children, about twenty-one generations ago, Hawaiian history runs isolated from the other Polynesian groups, until their re-discovery by Captain Cook in 1778.

I have thus attempted to clear the path by which men of more varied knowledge and greater acquirements than myself may travel with increased facility, and restore the Polynesian race to its proper place in the world's history. The ancient folklore at this end of the road unmistakably points to its former connection with those grand old-world peoples, the Arians and Cushites, of whom until the last century we hardly knew anything more than the names. It is for the savans of Europe and America to clear the other end of the road, and the more light they can throw upon those ancient races, the more numerous will be the points of affinity between them and the Polynesians.

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Hawaiian history, during the first period above referred to, is naturally merged in that of the entire stock which emigrated to the Pacific. Whether the dialectical and other differences which distinguish the Hawaiians from the Southern and Western groups, and each group from the other, existed as already formed tribal characteristics at the time of the migration, or were developed afterwards through dispersion and isolation, there is nothing positive to determine. They are probably owing to both conditions. The same dialectical differences are still recognisable among their pre-Malay congeners in the Asiatic Archipelago, spite of the corrupting influences to which they have been subjected from Malay, Arab, and Chinese intermixture. These differences, then, must have been older than the first dispersion into the Pacific, though they may have been hardened and deepened by subsequent events. I am thus led to infer that at a period, which, for

reference sake, I will call the Wakean period, a number of expeditions, impelled by the pressure of the Malay conquests, left their ancient homes on the eastern border of the Asiatic Archipel, and proceeding eastward on both sides of the Papuan Archipel, met on the Fiji group, and thence spread to the eastward, southward, and northward. And such I take it is the tenor of Polynesian folklore when critically studied and properly collated.

In the Northern and Eastern groups the names of places which coincide with, and evidently were called after, local names in their ancient habitats, are to a remarkable extent drawn from the northern portion of the Asiatic Archipelago, the Moluccas, Celebes, Borneo; whereas the South-eastern groups of Polynesia show an equal preference for names drawn from the southern portion of the above Archipel, the Banda islands, Timor, &c., while both streams unite in, and refer to, the more western islands and countries beyond as a common source for their local nomenclature.

In several of the Hawaiian legends respecting Wakea, he is said to have been chief over a country called *O-lolo-i-mehani*. This word is composed of the prefix *O*, the name *lolo*, and the epithet *mehani*. That *lolo* and the reference to it as the western home of Wakea point to that one of the Moluccas which by Spanish, Dutch, and English navigators is variously called *Gi-lolo*, *Ji-lolo*, *Dji-lolo*, and *I-lolo*, I think there is little doubt. The epithet *mehani* is now obsolete, and its meaning forgotten in the Hawaiian dialect, and I think, but am not sure, in the other Polynesian dialects.<sup>1</sup> But in the Amblaw dialect, one of the

<sup>1</sup> In Raiatea, of the Society group, there is a mountain called *Mehani*, where the ghosts of the dead were said to go. That mountain, like so many other places in Polynesia, may have been a namesake of some older locality, though its application as a residence for departed spirits might indicate a derivation from the Polynesian (Hawaiian) *hani*, with prefix *mahani*, "to step lightly, to graze, or

just to touch, pass quickly through the air, to disappear, vanish." Epithets of places may vary in different ages and under different conditions, and whether the legendary *Mehani* allies itself to the Amblaw or Polynesian signification, there can be no doubt of the identification of the traditional *O-lolo* with the modern *Gi-lolo*.

Bandas, south of Buru, the word still remains, and means "red;" and in Ceram (Ahtiago) *la-hanin*, "red," is evidently the same word. But all the Polynesian tribes invested the red colour with special dignity as a mark of royalty and pre-eminence, and as such it was a most proper epithet for the largest and probably dominant island of the Molucca group.

In the legend of Hawaii-loa and his descendants, *Ka Oupe-Alii*, the grandmother of Wakea's wife *Papa*, is said to have been a princess from *O-lolo-i-mehani*. Other legends of Wakea mention that his father *Kahiko* lived in *O-lalo-waia*; <sup>1</sup> others again give Wakea a land, which they call *Hihiku*, as his residence; and Hawaiian commentators on these legends suggest that *O-lolo-i-mehani* was the island of Nukahiwa, Marquesas group, or some place upon it, and that *O-lalo-waia* was some place on Oahu, Hawaiian group, saying that such was one of the ancient names for Oahu, or a portion of it, as *Kana-wai-lua-lani* was an ancient name for the island of Kauai. But a critical comparison of the legends referring to Wakea brings out the fact that he probably never set foot on either Marquesan or Hawaiian soil; and that, the names being given by the earlier settlers, the process is both easy and intelligible by which the priests and bards of after-times transferred and localised on their own groups the hero with whose names those places were connected in the ancient legends. In another Hawaiian legend the islands of that group are said to have been created and named by Wakea and Papa. In this cosmogony Wakea is said to have had illicit intercourse with a woman called *Hina*, and she brought forth the island which Wakea named *Molokai*. In revenge for this unfaithfulness, Papa cohabited with a man called *Lua*, and gave birth to the island of *Oahu*; and in commemoration of this double adultery, the two islands have ever after preserved the sobriquets arising from their birth, viz., *Molokai-Hina*

<sup>1</sup> See p. 17.

and *Oahu-a-Lua*. Under the crudeness and coarseness of the legend we may discover the lingering reminiscence of a geographical and historical fact, namely, the ancient connection between the *O-lolo* or *Gi-lolo* chief Wakea and the neighbouring island of *Morotai*, after which the Hawaiian Molokai was undoubtedly named. The reference to that island by that name puts the identity of *O-lolo* and *Gi-lolo* beyond much doubt. And the connection of Papa with *Oahu* points to the central and probably once powerful state of *Ouadjon* in Celebes, and recalls the legend which makes Papa a lineal and tabued descendant of *Hawaii-loa*, and claims that Wakea was inferior to her in royal dignity.

In the legend of *Pupuhuluana* the relative position of *O-lolo-i-mehani* is farther indicated. Papa, under her other name of *Haumea*, had caused a fearful drought and famine to devastate not only her own island of Oahu, but also Kauai, Maui, and Hawaii, and she herself had retired to a land frequently mentioned in the legends by the name of *Nuu-meha-lani*. In this distress some people of Oahu fitted out an expedition to procure food from *O-lolo-i-mehani*, "the land of Makalii," *ka aina o Makalii*, which land was to the eastward of Oahu.

With the exception of the allusion already referred to, of *Wakea* having been driven out of his country by a hostile chief, and fleeing over the ocean, and afterwards conquering his enemy and recovering his country, there is no Hawaiian legend that I have become acquainted with which refers to any great migration performed by *Wakea* himself, or by any of his children. Most of the legends which do not treat *Wakea* and *Papa* as gods, or endowed with superhuman powers, assume that they were born and bred on the Hawaiian group; and those who do admit and refer to their foreign origin, yet give no account of their leaving that foreign home for the Pacific, or how they or their descendants arrived here.

Though the Marquesan legends are more explicit than any others upon the migrations of their tribes, and prob-

ably the entire Polynesian family, and though one of the migrations preserved in their legends bears the name of *Atea*, there is nothing to connect him with the *Wakea* of the Hawaiian genealogies. It is probable, moreover, that the branch of the Polynesian family to which the Marquesans originally belonged took its departure from *Vevau* or *Wawao*, i.e., Timor, and not from Gilolo, and thus came by Torres Straits and the southern passage into the Pacific. They left the marks of their passage in the still retained names of *Nuu-mea*, near Port de France, in New Caledonia; in *Ua'ho*, a bay in Lifu, one of the Loyalty isles; in *Uea* or *Ua-ea*, one of those islands; and in a point of land or cape on *Uea*, called *Fae-a-Ue*, "the house of Ua." That name of *Ua*, whoever or whatever he was, meets us again in the Marquesas group, *Ua-pou*, and *Ua-huka* or *Ua-hunga*, according to the harder or softer pronunciation of the natives. A greater acquaintance with the coast-line and the interior of the Papuan groups, and with the people generally, would no doubt greatly increase these vestiges of Polynesian passage and sejour. On the islands of *Vate* and *Mele*, of the New Hebrides, the numeral system is identical with the Polynesian of the earlier dialects, retaining both the *s* and the *r* sounds; and other indications demonstrate the Polynesian presence and, probably, partial absorption in the Papuan race of this group, or, rather, these portions of the group.

The two Marquesan accounts of the wanderings of their people ere they reached their present abodes, while they entirely agree in the earlier and later stages of the journey, materially disagree in the middle portions. Apparently they are the representations or reminiscences of two tribes or branches of the same family, travelling together, or following each other, over the earlier portions of the journey, then separating for several stages, and finally uniting again, or striking the same trail, so to say, until they arrived at the Marquesas group. These itineraries are called by the principal personages whom they represent,

or whom the travellers claimed as their ancestors, the *Atea* and the *Tani* migrations. Here are their way-bills:—

ATEA ACCOUNT.		TANI ACCOUNT.	
From	<i>Take-hee-hee</i> to	From	<i>Take-hee-hee</i> to
„	<i>Ahee-tai</i> „	„	<i>Ahee-take</i> „
„	<i>Ao-nuu</i> „	„	<i>Ao-nuu</i> „
„	<i>Papa-nui</i> „	„	<i>Papa-nui</i> „
„	<i>Take-hee</i> „	„	<i>Take-hee</i> „
		„	<i>Ho-vau</i> „
		„	<i>Nini-oe</i> „
„	<i>Ani-take</i> „	„	<i>Ao-ewa</i> „
		„	<i>Ani-take</i> „
„	<i>Hawaii</i> „	„	<i>Ho-vau</i> „
„	<i>Tu-uma</i> „	„	<i>Vevau</i> „
„	<i>Mea-ai</i> „	„	<i>Tu-uma</i> „
„	<i>Fiti-nui</i> „	„	<i>Mea-ai</i> „
„	<i>Mata-hou</i> „	„	<i>Fiti-nui</i> „
„	<i>Tona-nui</i> „	„	<i>Mata-hou</i> „
„	<i>Mau-ewa</i> „	„	<i>Tona-nui</i> „
„	<i>Pi ina</i> „	„	<i>Mau-ewa</i> „
		„	<i>Pi ina</i> „
		Thence “over the ocean” to	
„	<i>Ao-maama</i>	„	<i>Ao-maama</i>

Their name for the Marquesas Islands.

The chant or legendary poem which accompanies the *Atea* account appears to be imperfect or partly forgotten. It gives short and passing descriptions of the eight first stations, then passes over *Fiti-nui* in silence, then notices *Mata-hou*, but takes no note of *Tona-nui* and *Mau-ewa*. I have seen no chant explanatory of the *Tani* migration. If any such exists among the Marquesans, it is to be hoped that some resident gentlemen of leisure and archæological predilections may collect and publish them before the priests of the heathen time and the old people generally, from whom they may be collected, have become extinct. From the chants to which I have had access, through the politeness of Professor W. D. Alexander, and which have been collected and carefully translated by Mr. T. C. Law-



son, a resident on Hiwaoa or St. Dominica island, the following prosaic and historical *resumé* of the migrations of the *Take*, as the Marquesans are called in the chants, may be presented:—

*Take-hee-hee*, or *Ahee-tai*, as another legend calls it, was the oldest original home of which the "Takes" had any remembrance. It is described as a mountain-land with a settlement or inhabited district at *Tai ao*, another at *Meinitaha-hua*, and another near the water (lake or river) of *Nuu-teea*. Wars and commotions having arisen among themselves, the people were driven out of this land and migrated to—

*Ao-nuu*, which is described in the chant as

*He henua hiwaoa mei Ahee-tai,*

*He henua hiwahiwa Ao-mai.*

"A beautiful country far from Ahee-tai,  
A beautiful country is Ao-mai."

While dwelling in *Ao-nuu* a chief ruled over the country whose name was *Faaina*. After him came *Anu-o-Aatuna*. After that the chief *Atea* killed *Umai*, by which civil wars arose, and *Atea* and many other "Takes" were driven out and obliged to seek new homes in other lands. They then migrated to

*Papa-nui*, which seems to have been reached by sea, for a legend relates that the chief *Tiki-Matohe* and his wife *Hina* left *Aonuu* with their followers and outfit of pigs, fowls, and fruit in a double canoe, and thus, with a favouring wind, arrived at *Papa-nui*. This land is described as a high table-land, surrounded by the sea. It appears also that the *Tani* branch of the family arrived at *Papa-nui* after *Atea*, for one of the chants mentions his cordial reception as one of the same family as *Atea*, and how, for his entertainment, pigs were brought from *Ao-tumi*, and turtle from *Ono-tapu*, and fowls from below *Ii-Hawa* and *Nuu-teea*. The next stopping-place was

*Take-hee*, which is said to

*Tu hiwaoa eeke eeke i te hee.*

Here the two branches seem to have separated, the *Tani* legend mentioning five lands not visited, or at least recorded by the *Atea* legend, while the latter makes only two stopping-places between *Take-hee* and *Tu-uma*, where the *Tani* branch seems to have joined it again, or come in upon its track. But while thus separated the *Atea* branch visits *Hawa-ii*, which the legend calls

*Tai mamao uta-oa tu te Ii.*

“The distant sea or region, far inland stand the volcanoes.” The *hupe*, *kohanui*, *mio*, and *temanu* trees are said by one chant to have been growing there in abundance. It is also said to have been subject to tremendous hurricanes, followed by famines. Two of the chants give rather particular descriptions of the *Hawa-ii* remembered by the Marquesans. One mentions five headlands or capes, *Fiti-tona-tapu*, *Pua*, *Ao*, *Ao-ena*, and *Ao-oma*, and one mountain which it calls *Mouna-tika-oe*. The other chant, of evidently later origin, mentions a mountain called *Mouna-oa*, which is said to have been raging, burning (*Ii*) on top, and served as a landmark for *Tupaa* when he left *Hawa-ii* with his family and followers.

The order in which this *Hawa-ii* appears on the Marquesan *carte de voyage*, and other considerations, make it impossible to identify it with the North Pacific Hawaiian group, or even with the *Sawa-ii* of the Samoan group. The constant and emphatic expression of all these legends, that the wanderers came from “below,” *mei iao mai*, from the direction towards which the wind was blowing, and were always going “up,” *iuna*, in the direction from which the wind was blowing, makes it evident that the *Hawa-ii* to which they refer must have been situated to the westward or “below” the *Fiti*, *Viti*, or *Fiji* group, from which, with one intermediate station, whose name I am not now able to identify, they proceeded to the *Tonga* group, *Tona-nui*, and thence to the *Society* group, or *Mau-ewa*, which name I consider to be the same as *Ma-ewa*, a district on

the island of Huahine, thence to *Pi ina*, now not known by that name, and thence the wanderers, still going up on the wind, crossed the ocean—*una te tai*—to the Marquesas or *Te Ao-maama*.

That the Marquesans in aftertimes visited the Hawaiian group there can be little doubt, and it is quite probable that the whole or a portion of the early Hawaiian settlers came from or passed through the Marquesas group; but that the *Hawa-ii* of the Marquesan *carte de voyage* is the North Pacific Hawaii is not credible under any proper analysis of the legend. It was, then, to the westward of the Fiji group, and, according to the legend, removed by two stages. But one of these is said in the chant to be “near to *Hawa-ii*”—

*Te Tuuma i Hawa-ii tata ae,*

while the situation of the other *Mea-ai* is not indicated.

We thus find ourselves again in face of a western *Hawa-ii*, far west of the Fiji group; but whether it is the same Hawaii to which the Hawaiian legends refer there are no means to decide. Probably it was not. The *Hawa*, *Sawa*, and *Djawa* name and its composites were not uncommon appellations of island places and districts throughout the Asiatic Archipelago, and some one of these may have been the *Hawa-ii* in question.

Here the *Tani* account of the migrations may offer an indication at least of the direction in which this *Hawa-ii* is to be sought for. Tracing that account backward from *Ao-maama* and beyond the Fiji group, through places identical with the *Atea* account, we find that *Vevau* is the station just previous to *Tuuma*, and not *Hawa-ii*, as the other account calls it. I have already shown that the *Vevau* referred to in the earlier Marquesan legends corresponds, in all probability, to Timor of the Asiatic Archipelago; and thus understood the *Tani* account renders the journey both intelligible and credible. Whether *Hawa-ii* in those ancient times was another name for *Vevau* or Timor, or whether in the *Atea* account it is used

as a representative name for the Asiatico-Polynesian area and the eastern and last portion especially, it is now impossible to say.

The current traditional belief among the Southern Marquesans, that they came from *Hawaii*, which in ordinary parlance has become synonymous with "the regions below, the invisible world,"—and the similarly current belief among the Northern Marquesans, that they came from *Vavao*, an island "below," *i.e.*, to westward of, Nukahiwa,—point to the earlier legend and its two migrations, that of *Atea* and that of *Tani*. And dialectical differences between the northern and southern portions of the group confirm the fact of a double origin; whether from two originally distinct tribes, or at two widely separate epochs, I am unable to determine. Mr. Hale, in the "Ethnographical portion of the United States Exploring Expedition," p. 127, inclines to the conclusion that the Marquesans were colonists from Sawaii of the Samoan group. I think it quite probable and very natural that a considerable portion of the Marquesans did come from the Samoa, either direct or *via* the Society group; but the legendary *Hawa-ii* and *Vevau* of the Marquesans lay unquestionably farther west than either the Samoan or the Tonga group.

There is no time, or attempt at specification of time, connected with these Marquesan legends; and the conformity of names in the legends with those on the only Marquesan genealogy which I have seen will not even warrant a conjecture. A better acquaintance with, and a critical comparison of, the Marquesan genealogies still extant might furnish some approximative data for determining the period of these migrations.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hale of the United States Exploring Expedition under Commodore Wilkes, in the section of Ethnology and Philology, p. 128, quoting from Commodore Porter, states that the chief *Ke-ata-nui* of Nukahiwa was the eighty-eighth generation from *Oataia* (*Atea*) and his wife *Ananoona*, who came from *Vavao* and brought bread-fruit, sugar-cane,

and other plants with them. Eighty-eight generations, at thirty years each, make 2640 years back of 1812-14 when Commodore Porter visited the Marquesans. I have little doubt that the *Ke-ata-nui* genealogy was as inflated as the Hawaiian genealogies of the *Ulu-Hema* line, by admixture with Tahitian, Samoan, and possibly Tongan collateral issues.

I am very little acquainted with the Samoan traditions and legendary lore, and am unable, therefore, to state what reference, if any, the ancient legends of that group may make to the Polynesian migrations into the Pacific, the time of their occurring, or whence they started.

The name of the Samoan group, however, affords, in my opinion, some indication of the extraction of the people who named and inhabit it. The group is called by the natives *Samoa*, in the Tonga and other dialects *Hamo*a. The early Spanish visitors to the Molucca islands give the ancient names of Gilolo as "Maurica" and "Bato-chine," and mention the middle part of Gilolo as being called *Gamoca-nora*. The affinity or identity of *Gamoca*, as the Spaniards pronounced it, and *Hamo*a or *Samoa* is intelligible, and no doubt will be unquestioned by Polynesian scholars;<sup>1</sup> but the epithet *nora* I am unable to explain, unless it connects with the Polynesian (Hawaiian) *noa*, meaning "constantly burning, unquenchable as a volcano," and thus referring to the former active state of the volcanoes on Gilolo.

In the absence of positive evidence to the contrary, it is therefore extremely probable that the Samoans came from the Gilolo group and to the north of the Papuan Archipel; and with them, or by the same route, came the Hawaiians,

<sup>1</sup> In the account of the United States Exploring Expedition, Com. Wilkes, sect. Ethnology and Philology, Mr. H. Hale, p. 120, proposes that Samoa is a Malay word and adopted by the Navigator Islanders to designate their group; its meaning being "all," *scil.* of that group, and equivalent to the American expression of "Union" when speaking of the United States as a whole, united country. He intimates that it must have been of later adoption, and that the earlier emigrants from the Samoas only knew that group by the name of its largest island, *Sawaii*. With due deference to so able and careful a writer, I

would differ from the Malay extraction and the later adoption of the name. It has been shown, I hope, in previous pages, that the Polynesian owes nothing to the Malay *per se*, least of all the names of its places and islands. As to the later adoption of the name by the Samoans themselves, I think it questionable, inasmuch as the name was known not only to the Tongans, who, however, may be considered as comparative neighbours, but also to the Tahitians and the still farther distant Hawaiians, the latter of whom still designate a land on the island of Maui by the name of *Hamo*a.

possibly also the Society Islanders ; while the Marquesans and the Tongans came by the southern route and Torres Straits, the former from Timor, the latter from Buru. From what has been already said, it is equally probable that some portion of the Fiji group was the primary rendezvous of these two, three, or more streams of migration, and that, whether expelled or leaving voluntarily, a new division took place there according to tribal, dialectical, or other affinities and predilections, some seeking new homes in the north-east, others in the east and south-east. And it has been shown by one genealogy at least that this ethnic movement embraced a period of from seven to thirteen generations previous to the forty-third recognised, and generally considered as authentic, ancestor of the present Hawaiian chief families.

Of these thirteen names born on most of the Hawaiian genealogies very little is known that throws any historical light on that period. David Malo, a Hawaiian gentleman, educated by the earlier missionaries, states in his "Hawaiian Antiquities," that many well-informed people of the olden time maintained that the six first generations after *Wakea* still lived in *O-lolo-i-mehani*. Be that as it may, it is evident that the *Tahiti* mentioned in these earlier legends,—to and from which *Papa*, *Wakea's* wife, made so many voyages, where she took other husbands and had other children, from whom the Polynesian Tahitians claim their descent, and where she finally died,—could not have been the Tahiti of the South Pacific, but must be sought for in some of the islands of the Asiatic Archipelago. It is presumable that, when in after ages the intercourse between the Polynesian tribes was renewed, the scenes of those early legends was shifted and modified to suit the requirements of the new area which they then occupied ; and thus *O-lolo-i-mehani* became located on Oahu of the Hawaiian group, while the *Tahiti* of the legend was transposed to Tahiti of the Georgian or Society group.

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Before proceeding further, as we are entering on peculiarly Hawaiian domain, it may be proper in this place to insert the various genealogies current among the Hawaiians, so that the reader may understand the force of our subsequent criticism and attempt at correction. We will commence with the different genealogies which, starting from the first man, lead down to *Wakea* and *Papa*; then those which, starting from *Wakea* and *Papa*, lead down to the present time.

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### THE GENEALOGY OF KUMUHONUA.

The letter *k.* means *kame* or husband; *w.* means *wahine* or wife.

1	Kumuhonua, <i>k.</i>	Lalo-Honua, <i>w.</i>
2	Laka, or Kolo-i-ke Ao, <i>k.</i>	Papa ia Laka, <i>w.</i>
	Kulu-Ipo, or Kolo-i-ke Po, or Ahu, <i>k.</i>	
	Kapili, or Kaiki-ku-a-Kane, <i>k.</i>	
3	Ka Moolewa, <i>k.</i>	Olepuu-Honua, <i>w.</i>
4	Maluapo, <i>k.</i>	Laweao, <i>w.</i>
5	Kinilau-a-Mano, <i>k.</i>	Upolu, <i>w.</i>
6	Halo, <i>k.</i>	Kini Ewalu, <i>w.</i>
7	Ka Mano Lani, <i>k.</i>	Ka Lani-a-Noho, <i>w.</i>
8	Ka Maka o ka Lani, <i>k.</i>	Ka Moo Lani, <i>w.</i>
9	Ka Lei Lani, <i>k.</i>	Opua Hiki, <i>w.</i>
10	Ka La Lii, <i>k.</i>	Ke Ao Melemele, <i>w.</i>
11	Haule, <i>k.</i>	Loaaio, <i>w.</i>
12	Imi Nanea, <i>k.</i>	Imi Walea, <i>w.</i>
13	Nuu, or Kahinalii, <i>k.</i>	

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2	Kapili, <i>k.</i>	Nohi-nohi-nohele, <i>w.</i>
3	Ka Wa Kahiko, <i>k.</i>	Luhiluhi Heleae, <i>w.</i>
4	Ka Wa Kupua, <i>k.</i>	Kahiko-o-Lupa, <i>w.</i>
	Kahiko Lei Kau, <i>w.</i>	
	Kahiko Lei Ulu, <i>w.</i>	
	Kahiko Lei Honua, <i>k.</i>	Nahae-i-Kua, <i>w.</i>
	Hakoakoa Lau Leia, <i>k.</i>	
	Kupo, <i>w.</i>	
6	Ke Ake Nui, <i>k.</i>	{ Ka Ipo Lau Leia-i Heleua, <i>w.</i>
		{ Kalani-Hoohonua, <i>w.</i>
7	Mauli Neweneweloa, <i>k.</i>	
	Ke Olai Maolina a kane.	Muo Lani, <i>w.</i>

8	Ka Lei Lani, <i>k.</i>	Apaiki, <i>w.</i>
9	Hauli i Honua, <i>k.</i>	Laa-a, <i>w.</i>
10	Ka La Lili, <i>k.</i>	Ke Ao Melemele, <i>w.</i>
11	Lalo-o-Kona, <i>k.</i>	Ka Mole Aniani, <i>w.</i>
12	Hoo Nanea, <i>k.</i>	Hoo-Walea, <i>w.</i>
13	Nuu or Kahinalii, <i>k.</i>	

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13	Nuu, <i>k.</i>	Lili-noe, <i>w.</i>		
14	{ Nalu Akua, <i>k.</i> Nalu Hoohua, <i>k.</i> Nalu Manamana, <i>k.</i>	Ka Ali Akea, <i>w.</i>		
15			Naeheehe Lani, <i>k.</i>	Kawowo-i-Lani Hikimoe, <i>w.</i>
16			Ka Hakui Moku Lei, <i>k.</i>	Ke kai Holana, <i>w.</i>
17	Ke kai Lei, <i>k.</i>	Nalu Lei, <i>w.</i>		
18	Ka Haku Lani, <i>k.</i>	Moeana-i-lalo, <i>w.</i>		
19	Hele i Kahiki Ku, <i>k.</i>	Hooneenee i ka Hikina, <i>w.</i>		
20	Ka Noelo Hikina, <i>k.</i>	Hala Po Loa, <i>w.</i>		
21	Hele i ka Moo Loa, <i>k.</i>	Kawehe'a'ao, <i>w.</i>		
22	Ke Au Apaapaa, <i>k.</i>	Ke Au Laelae, <i>w.</i>		
23	Lua Nuu, or Kanehoalani, <i>k.</i>			

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14	Nalu Manamana, <i>k.</i>	Manamana-ia-Kuluea, <i>w.</i>
15	Ka Io Lani, <i>k.</i>	Kawowo-i-Lani, <i>w.</i>
16	Hakui Moku, <i>k.</i>	Lu-i-ka Po, <i>w.</i>
17	Nunu Lani, or Imi Lani, <i>k.</i>	Pili Po, <i>w.</i>
18	Honua o ka Moku, <i>k.</i>	Anahulu ka Po, <i>w.</i>
19	Neenee Papu Lani, <i>k.</i>	Wehe ka Po, <i>w.</i>
20	Hele i kua Hikina, <i>k.</i>	Hala ka Po, <i>w.</i>
21	Hele Moo Loa, <i>k.</i>	Ka Wanaao, <i>w.</i>
22	Ke Ao Apaapaa, <i>k.</i>	Ke Ao Laelae, <i>w.</i>
23	Lua Nuu, or Kanehoalani, <i>k.</i>	

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23	Lua Nuu, <i>k.</i>	{ Ahu, <i>w.</i> Mee Hiwa, Hakulani, Po Malie, <i>w.</i>
24	{ Ku Nawao, <i>k.</i> Kalani Mene Hune, <i>k.</i>	Ka Mole Hikina Kuahine, <i>w.</i>
25	{ Aholoholo, <i>k.</i> Ka Imi Puka Ku, Kinilau-a-Mano, <i>k.</i>	
		Ka Hooluhi Kupaa, <i>w.</i>



- Ka Hekili Paapaaina, *k.*  
 Ke Apaapa Nuū, *k.*  
 Ke Apaapa Lani, *k.*  
 Nakeke i Lani, *k.*  
 Kahiki Apaapa Nuū, *k.*  
 Kahiki Apaapa Lani, *k.*  
 Nakolokolo Lani, *k.*  
 Nakeke Honua, *k.*  
 Ku i ka Ewa Lani, *k.*  
 Ka Uwai o ka Moku, *k.*  
 Hoopale Honua, *k.*  
 26 Newenewe Maolina i Kahiki-ku, *k.* Nowelo Hikina, *w.*  
 27 Kaokao Kalani, *k.* Heha ka Moku, *w.*  
 28 Aniani Ku, *k.* Ke kai Pahola, *w.*  
 29 Aniani Kalani, *k.* Ka Mee Nui Hikina, *w.*  
 30 Hawaii Loa, or Ke kowa i Hawaii, *k.* Hualalai, *w.*  
     Kii, *k.*  
     Kana Loa, *k.*  
     Laa Kapu, *k.*  
     Maui-ai-Alii, *k.*  
 31 Oahu, *w.* Ku Nui ai a ke Akua, *k.*  
     Kauai, *k.*  
 32 Ku Nui Akea, *k.* Kahiki Walea, *w.*  
 33 Ke Lii Alia, *k.* Kahiki Alii, *w.*  
 34 Ke Milia, *k.* Polohainalii, *w.*  
 35 Ke Lii Ku, or Eleleualani, *k.* Ka Oupe Alii, *w.*  
 36 Ku Kalani Ehu, *k.* Ka Haka ua koko, *w.*  
 37 Papa Nui Hanau Moku, *w.* Wakea, *k.*

I have another genealogy from *Kumuhonua* to *Papa* and *Wakea*, purporting to be the genealogy followed by the ancient Hawaiian priests of the *Paa*o line. That genealogy inserts ten generations between *Newenewe Maolina* and *Hawaii Loa*, Nos. 26 and 30, and thirty-four generations between *Hawaii Loa* and *Papa Nui*, Nos. 30 and 37 on the foregoing list. It is said to have been confirmed and approved by the late chiefess *Luahine*, wife of *Kaoleioku*, the first born son of *Kamehameha I.*, and grandmother of the present high chiefess, Mrs. Pauahi Bishop; but it is evident at almost the first glance that, even if those

ancient priests had correctly preserved the tradition of the number of links in this genealogical chain, yet the naming of them has been an entirely arbitrary operation in far subsequent times,—presenting more the appearance of a geographical list of lands and islands known to the compilers, personified and genealogically arranged, than a proper pedigree of genuine names. It is very probable that this last arrangement of the *Kumuhonua* genealogy was another of those curious interpolations made after that great Southern influx in the Hawaiian group, to which I have alluded in previous pages, and by the *Kahunas* or priests of that period and of those invaders.

*The Genealogy of KUMU-ULI.*

This genealogy was much praised by the ancient Hawaiian chiefs. It is quoted in the famous chant of *Kualii*, the warrior king of Oahu, and was recited in honour of *Keopuolani*, the wife of Kamehameha I., and who was a tabued scion of the Maui line of kings. It runs thus:—

	{ Kane.	
	{ Kanaloa.	Ukina-opiopia, <i>w.</i>
	{ Kauakahi.	
	{ Maliu.	
1	{ Hulihonua, <i>k.</i>	Keakahuilani, <i>w.</i>
	{ Laka, <i>k.</i>	
	{ Kamooalewa, <i>k.</i>	
	{ Maluakapo, <i>k.</i>	
2	Laka, <i>k.</i>	Kapapaiakele, <i>w.</i>
3	Kamooalewa, <i>k.</i>	Olepuukahonua, <i>w.</i>
4	Maluapo, <i>k.</i>	Lawekeao, <i>w.</i>
5	Kinilauamano, <i>k.</i>	Ulupalu or Upolu, <i>w.</i>
6	Halo, <i>k.</i>	Koniewalu, <i>w.</i>
7	Kamanonookalani, <i>k.</i>	Kalani a noho, <i>w.</i>
8	Kamakaoholani, <i>k.</i>	Kaehuaokalani, <i>w.</i>
9	Keohokalani, <i>k.</i>	Kaamookalani, <i>w.</i>
10	Kaleiokalani, <i>k.</i>	Kaopuahihi, <i>w.</i>
11	Kalalii, <i>k.</i>	Keaomele, <i>w.</i>
12	Haule, <i>k.</i>	Loaa, <i>w.</i>
13	Nanea, <i>k.</i>	Walea, <i>w.</i>
14	Nana Nuu, <i>k.</i>	Lalohana, <i>w.</i>

15	Lalokona.	Laloheaniani, <i>w.</i>
16	Hanuapoiluna, <i>k.</i>	Hanuapoilalo, <i>w.</i>
17	Pokinikini, <i>k.</i>	Polehulehu, <i>w.</i>
18	Pomanomano, <i>k.</i>	Pohakoikoi, <i>w.</i>
19	Kupukupunu, <i>k.</i>	Kupukupulani, <i>w.</i>
20	Kamoleokahonua.	Keaaokahonua, <i>w.</i>
21	Kapalaokalani, <i>k.</i>	Kanikekaa, <i>w.</i>
22	Ohemoku, <i>k.</i>	Pinainai, <i>w.</i>
23	Mahulu, <i>k.</i>	Hiona, <i>w.</i>
24	Milipomea, <i>k.</i>	Hanahanaiau, <i>w.</i>
25	Hookumukapu, <i>k.</i>	Hoaono, <i>w.</i>
26	Luakahakona, <i>k.</i>	Niau, <i>w.</i>
27	Kahiko, <i>k.</i>	Kupulanakehau, <i>w.</i>
28	Wakea, <i>k.</i>	Papa Nui, <i>w.</i>

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The correspondence between the fourteen first generations of this genealogy—with the exception No. 9, *Keoho*, which in some versions is omitted—with the first thirteen of the *Kumuhonua* genealogy is, to say the least, remarkable. But the introduction of the four divinities, *Kane*, *Kanaloa*, *Kauakahi*, and *Malin*, as the natural parents of the first man *Hulihonua*, and as part and portion of a human genealogy, is, according to my understanding of Polynesian folklore, a clear indication that this genealogy was compiled from pre-existing materials after the influx of the southern element, about 800 years ago. The *Kumuhonua* legend draws a broad distinction between man and his Maker, which this legend ignores. Its later origin is, moreover, evidenced by the introduction of *Kanaloa*, the great southern god of later times, although, as a compromise or a concession to the primary and comparatively purer creed of the Hawaiians, he is placed in a secondary position to *Kane*. After *Nuu*, *Nana-Nuu*, or *Kahinalii*, this correspondence ceases, the *Kumu-uli* genealogy leading down to *Wakea*, whereas the other leads down to his wife *Papa*.

## THE GENEALOGY OF OPUKAHONUA.

1	{ Opukahonua, <i>k.</i>	Lana, <i>w.</i>
	{ Lolomu, <i>k.</i>	
	{ Mihi, <i>k.</i>	
	{ Kananamukumanao, <i>k.</i>	
	{ Ohikimakaloa, <i>w.</i>	
2	{ Hekilikaaka, <i>k.</i>	Ohikimakaloa, <i>w.</i>
	{ Nakolowailani, <i>k.</i>	
	{ Ahulukaaala, <i>w.</i>	
3	{ Mihi, <i>k.</i>	Ahulukaaala, <i>w.</i>
4	{ Kapuaululana, <i>k.</i>	Holani, <i>w.</i>
5	{ Kekamaluahaku, <i>k.</i>	Laamea, <i>w.</i>
6	{ Lanipipili, <i>k.</i>	{ Laakeakapu, <i>w.</i>
	{ Lanioaka.	{ Hinaimanau, <i>w.</i>
7	{ Laakealaakona, <i>k.</i>	Kamaleilani, <i>w.</i>
8	{ Haulanuiakea, <i>k.</i>	Manau, <i>w.</i>
9	{ Kahaloalena, <i>k.</i>	Laumaewa, <i>w.</i>
10	{ Kahalolenaula, <i>k.</i>	{ Kanehoalani, <i>w.</i>
		{ Hinakului, <i>w.</i>
		{ Kaihikapualamea, <i>w.</i>
11	{ Kaiwilaniolua.	Kanehoalani, <i>w.</i>
11	{ Kapumaweolani.	Haweaoku, <i>w.</i>
11	{ Kukonalaa.	Kaenakulani, <i>w.</i>
12	{ Kalaniwahine, <i>k.</i>	Malela, <i>w.</i>
	{ Manuiakane.	
	{ Kalanipaumake.	
13	{ Kamakahiwa, <i>k.</i>	Loi, <i>w.</i>
13	{ Makakaile, <i>k.</i>	Paweo, <i>w.</i>
13	{ Makakailenuiaola, <i>k.</i>	
14	{ Kikenui a Ewa, <i>k.</i>	Ewa, <i>w.</i>
14	{ Kalanimanuia, <i>k.</i>	
15	{ Kahiko, <i>k.</i>	Kupulanakehau, <i>w.</i>
15	{ Kupulanakehau, <i>w.</i>	
15	{ Kukalaniehu, <i>k.</i>	Kahakauakoko, <i>w.</i>
15	{ Kahakauakoko, <i>w.</i>	
16	{ Wakea, <i>k.</i>	
16	{ Papa, <i>w.</i>	

## THE GENEALOGY OF KAPAPAIAKEA.

Quoted in the Chant of *Kualii*, the King of Oahu.

1	Kapapaiakea, <i>k.</i>	Kauhihi, <i>w.</i>	Hinakapeau.
2	Hinakapeau, <i>k.</i>	Ukinohunohu, <i>w.</i>	Ukinaopiopi.
3	Ukinaopiopi, <i>k.</i>	Moakuanana, <i>w.</i>	Kalei.
4	Kalei, <i>k.</i>	Keelekoha, <i>w.</i>	Kaiakea.
			{ Kamoanaakea.
			{ Hulukeeaea.
5	Kaiakea, <i>k.</i>	Kaehokumanawa, <i>w.</i>	{ Hauii.
			{ Hauee.
5	Kamoanaakea, <i>k.</i>	Kauakahikuaana, <i>w.</i>	Kanehoalani.
	Iwikauikauanui, <i>k.</i>	„ „	Hauinuinaholoholo.
5	Hulukeeaea, <i>k.</i>	Kahakuakea, <i>w.</i>	Hauikiaiapokahi.
6	Hauikiaiapokahi, <i>k.</i>	Wahineikapeakapu, <i>w.</i>	{ Uliuli.
			{ Maihea.
7	Maihea, <i>k.</i>	Kahakapolani, <i>w.</i>	{ Kaukeano.
			{ Mehameha.
7	Uliuli, <i>k.</i>	Niau, <i>w.</i>	Kahiko.
8	Kahiko, <i>k.</i>	Kupulanakehau, <i>w.</i>	Wakea.
9	Wakea, <i>k.</i>	Papa-nui, <i>w.</i>	

## THE GENEALOGY OF WELAAHILANI.

1	Welaahilani, <i>k.</i>	Owe, <i>w.</i>	Kahiko.
2	Kahiko-Luamea, <i>k.</i>	Kupulanakehau, <i>w.</i>	{ Wakea, <i>k.</i>
			{ Lihauula, <i>k.</i>
			{ Makuu, <i>k.</i>
3	Wakea, <i>k.</i>	Papa, <i>w.</i>	

According to the genealogy called *Kumuulipo*, a woman called *Lailai* was the first person on earth, descended from *Po* or chaos. From her and her husband *Kealiwahilani*, the rest of mankind were derived. Their son was *Kahiko*, the father of *Wakea*.

According to the tradition called *Puanue*, the creators of heaven and earth, and the progenitors of mankind, were *Kumukanikekaa* and her husband *Paialani*.

Among the various Hawaiian genealogies I consider the *Nanaulu* line as the most reliable and least affected by the interpolations and confusion introduced by the southern element so often referred to. It was extensively, almost exclusively, patronised by the Kauai and Oahu chiefs, and seldom referred to by the Maui,—hardly ever by the Hawaii chiefs. I will, therefore, commence with that and bring it down to the person of the present reigning sovereign Kalakaua. I would premise by saying that there exist two versions of the earlier portion of this genealogy, from *Wakea* to *Kii*, one descending from *Wakea*'s son *Haloa*, the other from his daughter *Hoohokukalani*. The former was the most generally current of later times, but the latter appears to me to be the most archaic as well as the most trustworthy, for reasons which will appear when I come to treat of the *Ulu* line, and as the number of generations is the same on both, though the arrangement is somewhat different, I prefer to follow the latter in this earlier portion down to *Nana-ulu*.

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 THE NANA-ULU GENEALOGY.

1	Wakea, <i>k.</i>	Papa, <i>w.</i>	{ Haloa, <i>k.</i> Hoohokukalani, <i>w.</i>
2	Hoohokukalani, <i>w.</i>	Manouluae, <i>k.</i>	Waia, <i>k.</i>
3	Waia, <i>k.</i>	Huhune, <i>w.</i>	Wailoa.
4	Wailoa, <i>k.</i>	Hikawaopualanea, <i>w.</i>	Kakaihili.
5	Kakaihili, <i>k.</i>	Haulani, <i>w.</i>	Kia.
6	Kia, <i>k.</i>	Kamole, <i>w.</i>	Ole.
7	Ole, <i>k.</i>	Haii, <i>w.</i>	Pupue.
8	Pupue, <i>k.</i>	Kamahele, <i>w.</i>	Manaku.
9	Manaku, <i>k.</i>	Hikohaale, <i>w.</i>	Nukahakoa.
10	Nukahakoa, <i>k.</i>	Koulamaikalani, <i>w.</i>	Luanuu.
11	Luanuu, <i>k.</i>	Kawaamaukele, <i>w.</i>	Kahiko.
12	Kahiko, <i>k.</i>	Kaea, <i>w.</i>	Kii.
13	Kii, <i>k.</i>	Hinakoula, <i>w.</i>	{ Nana-ulu. Ulu.
14	Nanaulu, <i>k.</i>	Ulukou, <i>w.</i>	Nanamea.
15	Nanamea, <i>k.</i>	Puia, <i>w.</i>	Pehekeula.

16	Pehekeula, <i>k.</i>	Uluae, <i>w.</i>	Pehekemana.
17	Pehekemana, <i>k.</i>	Nanahapa, <i>w.</i>	Nanamua.
18	Nanamua, <i>k.</i>	Nanahope, <i>w.</i>	Nanaikeauhaku.
19	Nanaikeauhaku, <i>k.</i>	Elehu, <i>w.</i>	Keaoa.
20	Keaoa, <i>k.</i>	Waohala, <i>w.</i>	Hekumu.
21	Hekumu, <i>k.</i>	Kumukoa, <i>w.</i>	Umalei.
22	Umalei, <i>k.</i>	Umaumanana, <i>w.</i>	Kalai.
23	Kalai, <i>k.</i>	Laikapa, <i>w.</i>	Malelewaa.
24	Malelewaa, <i>k.</i>	Pililohai, <i>w.</i>	Hopoe.
25	Hopoe, <i>k.</i>	Hauananaia, <i>w.</i>	Makalawena.
26	Makalawena, <i>k.</i>	Koihouhoua, <i>w.</i>	Lelehooma.
27	Lelehooma, <i>k.</i>	Hapuu, <i>w.</i>	Kekupahaikala.
28	Kekupahaikala, <i>k.</i>	Maihikea, <i>w.</i>	Maweke.
29	Maweke, <i>k.</i>	Naiolaukea, <i>w.</i>	Mulielealii.
30	Mulielealii, <i>k.</i>	Wehelani, <i>w.</i>	Moikeha.
31	Moikeha, <i>k.</i>	Henauulua, <i>w.</i>	Hookamalii.
32	Hookamalii, <i>k.</i>	Keahiula, <i>w.</i>	Kahai.
33	Kahai, <i>k.</i>	Keheau, <i>w.</i>	Kuolono.
34	Kuolono, <i>k.</i>	Kaneakalelei, <i>w.</i>	Maelo, <i>w.</i>
35	Maelo, <i>w.</i>	Lauli-a-Laa, <i>k.</i>	Laulihewa.
36	Laulihewa, <i>k.</i>	Akepamaikalani, <i>w.</i>	Kahuoi.
37	Kahuoi, <i>k.</i>	Pelea, <i>w.</i>	Puaakahuoi.
38	Puaakahuoi, <i>k.</i>	Nononui, <i>w.</i>	Kukahiaililani.
39	Kukahiaililani, <i>k.</i>	Kokalola, <i>w.</i>	Mailikukahi.
40	Mailikukahi, <i>k.</i>	Kanepukoa, <i>w.</i>	{ Kalona-nui.
			{ Kalona-iki.
41	Kalona-nui, <i>k.</i>	Kaipuholua, <i>w.</i>	Kalamakua.
42	Kalamakua, <i>k.</i>	Keleanuinohoanaapiapi, <i>w.</i>	Laielohelohe.
43	Laielohelohe, <i>w.</i>	Piilani, <i>k.</i>	Piikea.
44	Piikea, <i>w.</i>	Umi-a-Liloo, <i>k.</i>	Kumulae.
45	Kumulae, <i>k.</i>	Kunuu-nui-puawalau, <i>w.</i>	Makua.
46	Makua, <i>k.</i>	Kapohelemai, <i>w.</i>	I.
47	I, <i>k.</i>	Kawalu, <i>w.</i>	Ahu-a-I.
48	Ahu-a-I, <i>k.</i>	Kaoui, <i>w.</i>	Kapaihi-a-Ahu.
49	Kapaihi-a-Ahu, <i>k.</i>	Umiulaakaahuumanu, <i>w.</i>	Heulu.
50	Heulu, <i>k.</i>	Ikuaana, <i>w.</i>	Keawe-a-Heulu.
51	Keawe-a-Heulu, <i>k.</i>	Ululani, <i>w.</i>	Keohohiwa.
52	Keohohiwa, <i>w.</i>	Kepookalani, <i>k.</i>	Aikanaka.
53	Aikanaka, <i>k.</i>	Kamae, <i>w.</i>	Keohokalole.
54	Keohokalole, <i>w.</i>	Kapaakea, <i>k.</i>	55 <i>Kalakaua.</i>

The *Ulu* genealogy was the one most in vogue among Hawaii and Maui chiefs. It divides in two principal branches, the *Puna* and *Hema*, and although, through subsequent intermarriages, every aristocratic family in the land can trace itself up to one or the other, and both; yet, for reasons now not well understood or perhaps forgotten, the Hawaii and Maui chiefs, with peculiar pride and pertinacity, preferred to ascend to *Wakea* on the *Hema* line, while the Kauai and Oahu chiefs clung to the *Puna* line with a pride and affection hardly less than that with which they regarded the *Nana-ulu* line just quoted. I will now insert the *Ulu-Hema* line as currently adopted in the time of *Kamehameha* I., and first published by David Malo in 1838, in his *Moololo Hawaii*, "Hawaiian History."

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 THE ULU GENEALOGY.

1	Wakea, <i>k.</i>	{ Papa, <i>w.</i>	{ Hoohokukalani, <i>w.</i>
2	Haloa, <i>k.</i>	{ Hoohokukalani, <i>w.</i>	{ Haloa.
3	Waia, <i>k.</i>	Hinamanouluae, <i>w.</i>	Waia.
4	Hinanalo, <i>k.</i>	Huhune, <i>w.</i>	Hinanalo.
5	Nanakehili, <i>k.</i>	Haunuu, <i>w.</i>	Nanakehili.
6	Wailoa, <i>k.</i>	Haulani, <i>w.</i>	Wailoa.
7	Kio, <i>k.</i>	Hikawaopuaiaanea, <i>w.</i>	Kio.
8	Ole, <i>k.</i>	Kamole, <i>w.</i>	Ole.
9	Pupue, <i>k.</i>	Hai, <i>w.</i>	Pupue.
10	Manaku, <i>k.</i>	Kamahele, <i>w.</i>	Manaku.
11	Kahiko, <i>k.</i>	Hikohaale, <i>w.</i>	Kahiko.
12	Luanuu, <i>k.</i>	Kaea, <i>w.</i>	Luanuu.
13	Kii, <i>k.</i>	Kawaamaukele, <i>w.</i>	Kii.
14	Ulu, <i>k.</i>	Hinakoula, <i>w.</i>	{ Ulu.
			{ Nana-ulu.
			{ Nana.
			{ Kapulani.
			{ Nanaie.
15	Nanaie, <i>k.</i>	Kapunuu, <i>w.</i>	Nanailani.
16	Nanailani, <i>k.</i>	Kahaumokuleia, <i>w.</i>	Waikulani.
17	Waikulani, <i>k.</i>	Hinakinau, <i>w.</i>	Kuheleimoana.
18	Kuheleimoana, <i>k.</i>	Kekaulani, <i>w.</i>	Konohiki.
19	Konohiki, <i>k.</i>	Mapunaiaala, <i>w.</i>	Wawena.
		Hikaululena, <i>w.</i>	



20	Wawena, <i>k.</i>	Hinamahuia, <i>w.</i>	Akalana.
21	Akalana, <i>k.</i>	Hinakaweia, <i>w.</i>	{ Maui-mua. Maui-hope. Mauiikiiki. Mauiakalana.
22	Mauiakalana, <i>k.</i>	Hinakealohaila, <i>w.</i>	Nanamaoa.
23	Nanamaoa, <i>k.</i>	Hinaikapaikua, <i>w.</i>	Nanakulei.
24	Nanakulei, <i>k.</i>	Kahaukuhonua, <i>w.</i>	Nanakaoko.
25	Nanakaoko, <i>k.</i>	Kahihioikalani, <i>w.</i>	Heleipawa.
26	Heleipawa, <i>k.</i>	Kookookumaikalani, <i>w.</i>	Hulumanailani.
27	Hulumanailani, <i>k.</i>	Hinamaikalani, <i>w.</i>	Aikanaka.
28	Aikanaka, <i>k.</i>	{ Hinahanaia Kama- lana, <i>w.</i>	{ Puna. Hema.
29	Hema, <i>k.</i>	Ulumahahoa, <i>w.</i>	Kahai.
30	Kahai, <i>k.</i>	Hinauluohia, <i>w.</i>	Wahioloa.
31	Wahioloa, <i>k.</i>	Koolaukahili, <i>w.</i>	Laka.
32	Laka, <i>k.</i>	Hikawaelena, <i>w.</i>	Luanuu.
33	Luanuu, <i>k.</i>	Kapokulaiula, <i>w.</i>	Kamea.
34	Kamea, <i>k.</i>	Popomaili, <i>w.</i>	Pohukaina.
35	Pohukaina, <i>k.</i>	Huahuakapalei, <i>w.</i>	Hua.
36	Hua, <i>k.</i>	Hikimolulolea, <i>w.</i>	Pau.
37	Pau, <i>k.</i>	Kapohaakia, <i>w.</i>	Huanuikalalailai.
38	Huanuikalalailai, <i>k.</i>	{ Kapoea, <i>w.</i> Molehai, <i>w.</i>	{ Paumakua. Kuhelani.
39	Paumakua, <i>k.</i>	Manokalililani, <i>w.</i>	Haho.
40	Haho, <i>k.</i>	Kauilalianapa, <i>w.</i>	Palena.
41	Palena, <i>k.</i>	Hikawainui, <i>w.</i>	{ Hanalaa-nui. Hanalaa-iki.
42	Hanalaa-nui, <i>k.</i>	Mahuia, <i>w.</i>	Lanakawai.
43	Lanakawai, <i>k.</i>	Kolohialiokawai, <i>w.</i>	Laau.
44	Laau, <i>k.</i>	Kukamolimolialoha, <i>w.</i>	Pili.
45	Pili, <i>k.</i>	Hinaauaku, <i>w.</i>	Koa.
46	Koa, <i>k.</i>	Hinaaumai, <i>w.</i>	Ole.
47	Ole, <i>k.</i>	Hinamailii, <i>w.</i>	Kukohou.
48	Kukohou, <i>k.</i>	Hinakeuki, <i>w.</i>	Kaniuhi.
49	Kaniuhi, <i>k.</i>	Hiliamakani, <i>w.</i>	Kanipahu.
50	Kanipahu, <i>k.</i>	{ Hualani, <i>w.</i> Alaikauakoko, <i>w.</i>	{ Kalahumoku. Kalapana.
51	Kalapana, <i>k.</i>	Makeamalamaihanae, <i>w.</i>	Kahaimoeleikaakupou.
52	Kahaimoeleikaai- kupou, <i>k.</i>	Kapoakauluhailaa, <i>w.</i>	Kalaunuiohua.
53	Kalaunuiohua, <i>k.</i>	Kaheke, <i>w.</i>	Kuaiwa

54	Kuaiwa, <i>k.</i>	Kamuleilani, <i>w.</i>	{ Kohoukapu. Hukulani. Manauea.
55	Kohoukapu, <i>k.</i>	Laakapu, <i>w.</i>	Kauholanuimahu.
56	Kauholanuimahu, <i>k.</i>	Neula, <i>w.</i>	Kiha.
57	Kiha, <i>k.</i>	Waoilea, <i>w.</i>	Liloa.
58	Liloa, <i>k.</i>	{ Pinea, <i>w.</i> Akahiakuleana, <i>w.</i>	Hakau. Umi.
59	Umi, <i>k.</i>	{ Kulamea, <i>w.</i> Makaalua, <i>w.</i> Kapukini, <i>w.</i>  Piikea, <i>w.</i>	Kapunanahuanuiaumi. Nohowaaumi. { Kealiiokaloa. Kapulani. Keawenuiaumi. { Aihakoko. Kumalae.
60	Kealiiokaloa, <i>k.</i>	Makuhineapalaka, <i>w.</i>	Kukailani.
61	Kukailani, <i>k.</i>	Kaohukiokalani, <i>w.</i>	{ Kaikilani. Makakaulii.
62	Makakaulii, <i>k.</i>	Kapukamola, <i>w.</i>	Iwikauikaua.
60	Keawenuiaumi, <i>k.</i>	Koihalawai, <i>w.</i>	Kanaloakuaana.
61	Kanaloakuaana, <i>k.</i>	Kaikilani, <i>w.</i>	{ Kealiiokalani. Keakealanikane. Kalanioumi.
62	Keakealanikane, <i>k.</i>	Kealiiokalani, <i>w.</i>	Keakamahana.
63	Iwikauikaua, <i>k.</i>	Keakamahana, <i>w.</i>	Keakealani.
64	Kanaloakapulehu, <i>k.</i>	Keakealani, <i>w.</i>	Keawe.
	Kaneikauaiwilani, <i>k.</i>	„ „	Kalanikauleleikaiwi.
65	Keawe, <i>k.</i>	Kalanikauleleikaiwi, <i>w.</i>	{ Keeaumoku. Kekela.
66	Keeaumoku, <i>k.</i>	Kamakaimoku, <i>w.</i>	Kalanikupuapaikalaniui.
66	Kekela, <i>w.</i>	Haee, <i>k.</i>	Kekuiapoiva.
67	Kalanikupuapaikalaniui, <i>k.</i>	Kekuiapoiva, <i>w.</i>	68 Kamehameha.

Such is the genealogy which the bards and priests at the Court of Kamehameha I. recited in his honour. Continuing this line to the present time, from *Keawe's* half-sister, *Kalanikauleleikaiwi*, No. 61, we have

65	Kalanikaulele- iaiwi, <i>w.</i>	Lonoikahaupu, <i>k.</i>	Keawepoepoe.
66	Keawepoepoe, <i>k.</i>	Kanoena, <i>w.</i>	Kameeiamoku.
67	Kameeiamoku, <i>k.</i>	Kamakaeheikuli, <i>w.</i>	Kepookalani.
68	Kepookalani, <i>k.</i>	Keohohiwa, <i>w.</i>	Aikanaka.
69	Aikanaka, <i>k.</i>	Kamae, <i>w.</i>	Keohokalole.
70	Keohokalole, <i>w.</i>	Kapaakea, <i>k.</i>	Kalakaua.
71	<i>Kalakaua, k.</i>	Kapiolani, <i>w.</i>	

The other line of the *Ulu-Hema* genealogy, dividing at *Hanalea-iki*, and attributed to the Maui chiefs, runs as follows:—

42	Hanalea-iki, <i>k.</i>	Kapukapu, <i>w.</i>	Mauiloa.
43	Mauiloa, <i>k.</i>	Kauhua, <i>w.</i>	Alau.
44	Alau, <i>k.</i>	Moikeaea, <i>w.</i>	Kanemokuhealii.
45	Kanemokuhealii, <i>k.</i>	Keikauhale, <i>w.</i>	Lononai.
46	Lononai, <i>k.</i>	Kolu, <i>w.</i>	Wakalana.
47	Wakalana, <i>k.</i>	Kauai, <i>w.</i>	Alo.
48	Alo, <i>k.</i>	Puhia, <i>w.</i>	Kaheka.
49	Kaheka, <i>k.</i>	Maiaoula, <i>w.</i>	Mapuleo.
50	Mapuleo, <i>k.</i>	Kamaiokalani, <i>w.</i>	Paukei.
51	Paukei, <i>k.</i>	Painalea, <i>w.</i>	Luakoa.
52	Luakoa, <i>k.</i>	Hinaapoapo.	Kuhimana.
53	Kuhimana, <i>k.</i>	Kaumana, <i>w.</i>	Kamaluohua.
54	Kamaluohua, <i>k.</i>	Kapu, <i>w.</i>	Loe.
55	Loe, <i>k.</i>	Waohaakuna, <i>w.</i>	Kahaokuohua.
56	Kahaokuohua, <i>k.</i>	Hikakaiula, <i>w.</i>	Kaulahea.
57	Kaulahea, <i>k.</i>	Kapohanaaupuni, <i>w.</i>	Kakae.
58	Kakae, <i>k.</i>	Kapohauola, <i>w.</i>	Kahekili.
59	Kahekili, <i>k.</i>	Haukanuimaka- maka, <i>w.</i>	Kawaokaohele.
60	Kawaokaohele, <i>k.</i>	Kepalaoa, <i>w.</i>	Piilani.
61	Piilani, <i>k.</i>	Laielohelohe, <i>w.</i>	Kihapiilani.
62	Kihapiilani, <i>k.</i>	Kumaka, <i>w.</i>	Kamalalawalu.
63	Kamalalawalu, <i>k.</i>	Piilaniwahine, <i>w.</i>	Kauhi a Kama.
64	Kauhi a Kama, <i>k.</i>	Kapukini, <i>w.</i>	Kaulanikaumakao- wakea.
65	Kaulanikaumakao- wakea, <i>k.</i>	{ Kaneakauhi, <i>w.</i> { Makakuwahine, <i>w.</i>	Lonohonuakini. Umialiloa.
66	Lonohonuakini, <i>k.</i>	Kalanikauanakini- lani, <i>w.</i>	Kaulahea.
67	Kaulahea, <i>k.</i>	Papaikaniau, <i>w.</i>	Kekaulike.
68	Kekaulike, <i>k.</i>	Kekuiapoianui, <i>w.</i>	Kahekili.

- |                            |                      |               |
|----------------------------|----------------------|---------------|
| 69 Kahekili, <i>k.</i>     | Kauwahine, <i>w.</i> | Kalanikupule. |
| 70 Kalanikupule, <i>k.</i> |                      |               |

the last independent king of Maui, conquered by Kamehameha I. Continuing this line, however, from Umialiloa, the brother of Lonohonuakini, No. 66, we descend to the present generation, as follows:—

- |                            |                             |              |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 66 Umialiloa, <i>k.</i>    | Kuihewamakawalu, <i>w.</i>  | Kuimiheua.   |
| 67 Kuimiheua I., <i>k.</i> | Kalanikueiwalono, <i>w.</i> | Niau.        |
| 68 Niau, <i>w.</i>         | Mokulani, <i>k.</i>         | Ululani.     |
| 69 Ululani, <i>w.</i>      | Keawe a Heulu, <i>k.</i>    | Keohohiwa.   |
| 70 Keohohiwa, <i>w.</i>    | Kepookalani, <i>k.</i>      | Aikanaka.    |
| 71 Aikanaka, <i>k.</i>     | Kamae, <i>w.</i>            | Keohokalole. |
| 72 Keohokalole, <i>w.</i>  | Kapaaha, <i>k.</i>          | Kalakaua.    |
| 73 Kalakaua, <i>k.</i>     | Kapiolani, <i>w.</i>        |              |

The other branch of the *Ulu* genealogy, descending from *Hema's* brother *Puna*, is equally voluminous and equally subject to different versions, between which great discrepancy occurs. The one quoted by several ancient Hawaiians, *scil.*, Kamakau among others, and recited when rival heralds sang the praises of their chiefs, runs as follows:—

- |                            |                               |               |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 29 Puna-imua, <i>k.</i>    | Hainalau, <i>w.</i>           | Ua.           |
| 30 Ua, <i>k.</i>           | Kahilina, <i>w.</i>           | Uamaikalani.  |
| 31 Uamaikalani, <i>k.</i>  | Haimakalani, <i>w.</i>        | Uanini.       |
| 32 Uanini, <i>k.</i>       | Welihaakona, <i>w.</i>        | Auanini.      |
| 33 Auanini, <i>k.</i>      | Maunakuahaokalani, <i>w.</i>  | Newalani.     |
| 34 Newalani, <i>k.</i>     | Kahihiikaale, <i>w.</i>       | Lonohuanewa.  |
| 35 Lonohuanewa, <i>k.</i>  | Loiloa, <i>w.</i>             | Lonowahilani. |
| 36 Lonowahilani, <i>k.</i> | Kahikihaaueue, <i>w.</i>      | Pau.          |
| 37 Pau, <i>k.</i>          | Kapalakuakalani, <i>w.</i>    | Paumakua.     |
| 38 Paumakua, <i>k.</i>     | Keananui, <i>w.</i>           | Moeanaimua.   |
| 39 Moeanaimua, <i>k.</i>   | Alahoe, <i>w.</i>             | Kumakaha.     |
| 40 Kumakaha, <i>k.</i>     | Moanaaulii, <i>w.</i>         | Nana.         |
| 41 Nana, <i>k.</i>         | Haakaleikini, <i>w.</i>       | Luahiwa.      |
| 42 Luahiwa, <i>k.</i>      | Kilohana, <i>w.</i>           | Ahukai.       |
| 43 Ahukai, <i>k.</i>       | Keakamilo, <i>w.</i>          | Laa.          |
| 44 Laa, <i>k.</i>          | Kaikulani, <i>w.</i>          | Laamaikahiki. |
| 45 Laamaikahiki, <i>k.</i> | Hoakamaikapuaihelu, <i>w.</i> | Lauli-a-Laa.  |

	Waolena, <i>w.</i>	Ahukini-a-Laa.
	Manoopupaipai, <i>w.</i>	Kukona-Laa.
46	Lauli-a-Laa, <i>k.</i>	Maelo, <i>w.</i>
47	Laulihewa, <i>k.</i>	Laulihewa.

This is the same *Laulihewa* as No. 36 on the *Nana-ulu* genealogy. Other versions of this portion of the *Puna* line are considerably shorter, and hence, in my opinion, more correct. I now proceed to give the *Puna* line from *Ahukini-a-Laa*, one of the sons of *Laamaikahiki*, down to the present time, it comprises the descent of *Kaumualii*, the last independent king of the island of Kauai:—

46	Ahukini-a-Laa, <i>k.</i>	Hai-a-Kamaio, <i>w.</i>	Kamahano.
47	Kamahano, <i>k.</i>	Kaaueanuiokalani, <i>w.</i>	Luanuu.
48	Luanuu, <i>k.</i>	Kalanimoekawai- kai, <i>w.</i>	Kukona.
49	Kukona, <i>k.</i>	Laupuapuamaa, <i>w.</i>	Manokalanipo.
50	Manokalanipo, <i>k.</i>	Naekapulani, <i>w.</i>	Kaumakamano.
51	Kaumakamano, <i>k.</i>	Kapoinukai, <i>w.</i>	Kahakuakane.
52	Kahakuakane, <i>k.</i>	Manukaikoo, <i>w.</i>	Kuwalupaukamoku.
53	Kuwalupaukamoku, <i>k.</i>	Hameawahaula, <i>w.</i>	Kahakumakapaweo.
54	Kahakumakapaweo, <i>k.</i>	Kahakukukaena, <i>w.</i>	Kalanikukuma.
55	Kalanikukuma, <i>k.</i>	Kapoleikauila, <i>w.</i>	Ilihiwalani.
56	Ilihiwalani, <i>k.</i>	Kamili, <i>w.</i>	Kauihi a Hiwa.
57	Kauihi a Hiwa, <i>k.</i>	Kueluakawai, <i>w.</i>	Kaneiahaka.
58	Kaneiahaka, <i>w.</i>	Kealohi, <i>k.</i>	Kapulauki.
59	Kapulauki, <i>w.</i>	Kainaaila, <i>k.</i>	Kuluina.
60	Kuluina.	Kauakahilau.	Lonoikahaupu.
61	Lonoikahaupu, <i>k.</i>	Kamuokaumeheiwa, <i>w.</i>	Kaumeheiwa.
62	Kaumeheiwa.	Kaapuwai.	Kamakahalei.
63	Kamakahalei, <i>w.</i>	Kaeokulani, <i>k.</i>	Kaumualii.
64	Kaumualii, <i>k.</i>	Kapuaamohu, <i>w.</i>	Kinoike.
65	Kinoike, <i>w.</i>	Kuhio, <i>k.</i>	Kapiolani.
66	<i>Kapiolani</i> , <i>w.</i>	<i>Kalakaua</i> .	

The Oahu chiefs, claiming descent under the *Nana-ulu* genealogy, mostly derive from *Kalona-iki*, the son of *Mailikukahi*, No. 40, and the Royal *Kualii* family line runs thus:—

41	Kalona-iki, <i>k.</i>	Kikenui-a-Ewa, <i>w.</i>	{ Piliwale, <i>k.</i> Kamaleamaka, <i>k.</i> Lo-Lale, <i>k.</i>
42	Piliwale, <i>k.</i>	Paakanilea, <i>w.</i>	Kukaniloko.
43	Kukaniloko, <i>w.</i>	Luaia, <i>k.</i>	Kalaimanuia.
44	Kalaimanuia, <i>w.</i>	Lupekapukeahomakalii, <i>k.</i>	Kaihikapu.
45	Kaihikapu-a-Manuia, <i>k.</i>	Kaunuiakanehoalani, <i>w.</i>	Kakuhihewa.
46	Kakuhihewa, <i>k.</i>	{ Kahaiaonuiakauailana, <i>w.</i> Kaakaualani, <i>w.</i>	{ Kanekapu. Kaihikapu. Kauakahinui.
47	Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa, <i>k.</i>	Kalua-a-Hoohila, <i>w.</i>	Kahoowaha.
48	Kahoowahaokalani, <i>k.</i>	Kawelolauhuki, <i>w.</i>	Kauakahi.
49	Kauakahi-a-Kahoowaha, <i>k.</i>	Mahulua, <i>w.</i>	Kualii.
50	Kualii, <i>k.</i>	Kalanikahimakeialii, <i>w.</i> Kukuiaimakalani, <i>w.</i>	Peleioholani.
51	Peleioholani, <i>k.</i>	Lonokahikini, <i>w.</i>	Kumahana.
52	Kumahana, <i>k.</i>		Kaneoneo.

I am not aware that any lineal descendants of *Peleioholani* still survive, but there are numerous scions of the *Kualii* house, through his daughter *Kukuiaimakalani* and granddaughter *Kalanipo*, still alive in the fourth and fifth generation, thus bringing this line down to Nos. 55 and 56, corresponding exactly with the *Kalona-nui* branch of the *Nanaulu* genealogy.

To reconcile these different genealogies is impossible; to reconstruct them by the exercise of a proper criticism and with the light thrown upon them by the legends and chants still preserved—regarding the contemporaneity, intermarriages, wars, &c., of various chiefs on different lines—may be practicable, at least approximatively, and the result of my endeavours in that direction will appear in the following synchronical list of the *Nana-ulu* and *Ulu* lines. A few prefatory remarks, however, on these lines, as recorded on the Hawaiian genealogies, may be

necessary for the better understanding of the list and the necessity, on behalf of historical truth, of reducing the *Ulu* line to more moderate proportions, and leaving it in an apparently incomplete condition, compared with the *Nana-ulu*.

There are no legends of much historical value referring to the long line of chiefs from *Nanaulu* to and including *Maweke*, embracing a period of fifteen generations, or about 450 years. Even the family—*Nana*—name had ceased to appear as a component part of the chiefs' names. But it is a significant fact, and of considerable importance, that out of all the genealogies of different Hawaiian chief families now known and recited, not one falls in upon the main line of either *Nanaulu* or *Ulu* above the time of *Maweke* or *Paumakua*, with the exception of the *Puna* and *Hema* divisions of the *Ulu* line. From these two (*Maweke* and *Paumakua*) the bare stems without collateral offshoots run up to *Kii*, and from him to *Wakea*. In their time, then, probably commencing some generations earlier, certainly continuing several generations later, took place that general movement and displacement of Polynesian tribes which sent the Hawaiians southward, and the Southerners northward, in quest of new homes, adventures, or renown, of which the Hawaiian legends are so full and circumstantial. The *Maweke* family, through his numerous sons and grandchildren, was probably the most powerful of the original chief families descended from *Nanaulu*, and were thus able to hold their ground against the intrusion and influence of the southern element, and retain their genealogy intact and unmixed; while most, if not all the other chief families on the same line, of which scattered notices occur here and there in the legends, were gradually absorbed or superseded by the southern chiefs who claimed descent from *Ulu*, through *Puna* and *Hema*. Whatever legends may have existed, connected with names previous to *Maweke*, they were apparently swallowed up and forgotten in the new era then inaugurated.

The historical value of the *Ulu* line, as recorded on Hawaiian genealogies, in the pre-*Maweke*, pre-*Paumakua* period, is very small and very doubtful. In critically examining the post-*Paumakua* period, numerous opportunities present themselves from time to time to compare the various genealogies which lead up to *Paumakua* among themselves, and with others that lead up to *Maweke*, as well as with the legends connected with the prominent chiefs of either line, thus testing their correctness, and enabling the inquirer to detect and adjust their inaccuracies. The pre-*Paumakua* period furnishes neither so many nor so clear tests for historical criticism. The legends have grown into myths, and the myths have degenerated into fables. Still probabilities are not wanting, though very little can be definitely proven.

It is certain that during the migratory period of which *Maweke* and *Paumakua* are the central figures, the Hawaiian group was visited by expeditions from the Samoan, Society, and Marquesas groups, and that Hawaiian expeditions visited them in return. It thus appears both natural and probable that several different versions of the southern or *Ulu* legends and genealogies were introduced by the immigrant chiefs, their priests and followers, which, as the southern element became dominant and consolidated, were localised and incorporated on the general folklore of the Hawaiian group, and the different genealogies of the leaders of these expeditions were pieced together into one connected whole. Thus the *Puna* and *Hema* divisions of the *Ulu* line become so disproportionately longer than the *Nanaulu* straight line or its various branches. By counting upward from the present generation, having due regard to the evidence furnished by the accompanying legends as to intermarriages and other social and political relations between the chiefs of the *Nanaulu* and *Ulu* lines, it becomes an undoubted historical fact that *Maweke* and *Paumakua* were contemporaries, the former being the twenty-seventh, and the latter the twenty-sixth,



generation from and inclusive of the present. If we now count from *Nanaulu* and *Ulu*, admitted by all genealogies and legends of both lines to have been brothers and sons of *Kii*, down to *Maweke* and *Paumakua*, we find only fifteen generations on the former line, and twenty-five and twenty-four respectively on the two divisions of the latter line, besides the discrepancies between the two divisions themselves, some making the *Puna* branch even longer than the *Hema* branch.

It is almost certain that a number of names on the *Ulu* line were those of chiefs in some of the southern groups, who never set foot on Hawaiian soil, but whose names and whose legends were imported by southern emigrants, and to whom dynastic ambition and national vanity afterwards assigned a *locus standi* on Hawaiian legends, and a birthplace and burialplace on the Hawaiian group. Glimpses of southern legends and genealogies in New Zealand, Tonga, Samoa, Society, and Marquesas groups confirm this proposition still more. The *Mau*i legends, the *Mau*i family of four brothers, and their parent *A-kalana*, *Karana*, or *Taranga*, and the grandmother *Hina-mahuia*, are found upon all those groups in slightly different versions. The legend of *Mau*i-*kiiki*i or *Mau*i-*tiki-tiki*, the youngest of the family, being out fishing, and catching the various Hawaiian islands on his hook, attempting to drag them ashore at Hilo and join them to Hawaii, is found nearly literally the same on New Zealand. On Tonga the same legend obtained, but they ascribe the act to *Tangaloa* instead of *Mau*i. Near Puuepa, district of N. Kohala, Hawaii, a stone is still shown which is said to bear the impress of *Mau*i's fish-hook called *Manaiakalana*. Near the south end of Hawke's Bay, in the district of Here-taunga, New Zealand, *Mau*i's fish-hook is still said to be preserved; and at Tonga, a place called Hounga is pointed out as the spot where the hook caught in the rocks, and the hook itself was said to have still been in the possession of the *Tui-Tonga* family some thirty years before

Mariner's time and residence on that group. Maui's exploits in discovering fire are the common property, under various versions, of all the Polynesian groups. The deified ancestress and grandmother of Maui, in the New Zealand legends called *Mahuika*, is evidently the same as his grandmother *Hina-Mahuia* on the Hawaiian *Ulu* genealogy; and the Samoan *Mafuie* betrays a confused reminiscence of the same legends. These legends were undoubtedly older than the Polynesian exodus into the Pacific. On Borneo a legend still exists that that island formerly was composed of a number of smaller islands, which by some miraculous process were joined together. It is just to conclude, therefore, that the *Maui* family and legends were not only not indigenous to Hawaiian soil or contemporary with any chiefs on the *Nanauku* line, but it is very questionable whether their origin does not date back to the pre-Pacific period of the Polynesian race.

The next interpolation or, rather, insertion in the wrong place of the *Ulu* line, to which I will call attention, is the *Nana* family ending, or, according to the royal Hawaiian genealogy published by D. Malo, and referred to above on page 191, continued through *Heleipawa*, though several other genealogies end that family with a chief called *Kapawa*, which is no doubt the correct version. According to one genealogy there were four *Nana* preceding *Kapawa*; according to another there were three *Nana*; and according to the old genealogy above referred to, page 184, there were but two *Nana* preceding *Kapawa*. I think there is little doubt that this family and their descendant *Kapawa* were actual chiefs on the Hawaiian group. The building up and consecration of *Kukaniloko*, on the island of Oahu, that peculiarly hallowed place in all subsequent ages of Hawaiian history as the birthplace of the highest "Kapu" chiefs, is universally and continuously ascribed to *Kapawa's* father *Nanakaoko*. As to the time of *Kapawa*, the legend of *Paao*—a Southerner of great rank and a high-priest, whose family was established

during this *Maweke-Paumakua* period as *par excellence* the priestly caste, and whose descendants survive to this day—expressly confirms Kapawa's contemporaneity with this migratory period. The legend states that when *Pili-kaiatea* arrived from Tahiti or *Kahiki*, "the *Nana* chiefs of Hawaii were extinct on account of the crimes of Kapawa, the chief of Hawaii at that time:" *Ua pau na Alii Nana o Hawaii-nei i kahewa o Kapawa, ke Alii o Hawaii ia manawa*. What this great crime or fault may have been is not stated. *Pao*, the high priest, who had then already arrived and established himself, sent to *Kahiki*, that foreign, southern land, for *Pili*, who, on his invitation and through his instrumentality, became a king on Hawaii. Thus *Kapawa* and *Pili* were contemporaries, and Kapawa's grandfather, *Nana-maoa*, was contemporary with or of the period of *Paumakua*; and the family was probably of that same Southern, *Ulu*, descent as *Puna* and *Paumakua*, as, though living for some generations on the Hawaiian group previous to *Pili*, they were never included on the original Hawaiian *Nanalu* line. In confirmation of this Southern extraction of the *Kapawa* family, several legends give strong, though inferential testimony. Thus *Hina-i-kapaikua*, the wife of *Nana-maoa* and grandmother of *Kapawa*, is also called the grandmother of *Niheu-kolohe*, who was the recognised grandson of *Kuheailani*, the brother of *Paumakua*. Thus the same lady is called the grandmother of *Kaulu*, sometimes called *Kaulu-a-Kalana*, the renowned navigator and explorer of those days, whose astrologer and soothsayer—*Kilo-kilo*—named *Luhau-Kapawa*, is admitted to have been a man from *Kahiki*, and is by some said to have introduced the "Kapu" system in the Hawaiian group; and they are both stated to have been contemporary with *Kahiwa-kaapu*, the wife of *Hina-kai-mauliawa*, the grandson of *Maweke*. I feel justified, therefore, in placing *Kapawa* within the period of *Maweke's* and *Paumakua's* grandchildren, and as contemporary with *Pili*. The *Kapawa* family, whether consisting of two or

more *Nana* previous to *Kapawa*, is evidently greatly misplaced on the *Ulu-Hema* genealogy, and belongs to the latter instead of the earlier portion of the line.

Still another large excision must be made from the *Ulu* line, as represented on the Hawaiian genealogies, previous to the *Paumakua* period. The four first names of the *Hema* division of the *Ulu* line, though referred to in song and saga as heroes of Hawaiian birth, were really but another importation and adaptation by that oft-mentioned southern element of their own legends and genealogies to their altered circumstances in the Hawaiian group.

The Hawaiian genealogies make *Puna* and *Hema* sons of *Aikanaka* and his mythical wife *Hina-hanaiakamalama*, with the cognomen *Lonomoku*, and descendants on the *Ulu* line from *Heleipawa*, or, as others say, *Kapawa*. The longest genealogies introduce nine generations, the shortest four, between *Puna* and *Hema* respectively and *Paumakua*, whom both divisions claim as a common ancestor for succeeding generations. The same uncertainty obtains on both divisions from *Paumakua* to the time of *Pili*, some having two, others four, and still others five generations during that period. It is significant, moreover, and to be observed, that no prominent name on the *Ulu* line, previous to *Paumakua*, occurs upon the legends connected with the *Nanarulu* line, except the *Puna* family of Kauai, who claimed to be, and probably were, of the *Ulu* descent, and with whom Maweke's grandson *Moikeha* allied himself after his return from Kahiki. No crossings of intermarriages, no intercourse of peace or war, are recorded as having occurred between the two lines. They appear to have been mutually ignorant of each other's existence; and yet the *Ulu* legends represent the *Ulu* chiefs of this pre-*Paumakua* period as having been born, lived, and died side by side of the *Nanarulu* chiefs, whose bare names have been preserved through the Maweke family, but whose legends were obliterated and forgotten in the superior eclat and later introduction of

that southern, *Ulu*, element with its own peculiar genealogies, legends, and innovations of various kinds.

In comparing the New Zealand legends, as published by Sir George Grey, I find that the New Zealanders claim descent from the island of Sawaii in the Samoan group, which they pronounce *Hawaiki*, and that among other prominent names occurring in their ancestral tales, previous to their departure from *Hawaiki*, are four that appear also on the Hawaiian *Ulu* line between *Aikanaka* and *Paumakua*. In the New Zealand legends they appear as chiefs or *Ariki* of *Hawaiki*, following one another in the same succession as on the Hawaiian genealogy. Their names are—the Hawaiian pronunciation in brackets—*Hema* [Hema], *Tawhaki* [Kahai], *Wahieroa* [Wahieloa], *Raka* [Laka]. Each of these chiefs have been naturalised, so to say, and localised on the Hawaiian group by Hawaiian legends; yet as there is no reasonable probability that the New Zealanders took their departure from the Hawaiian instead of the Samoan group, and as their evidence is positive as to the residence of those chiefs on the *Hawaiki*, which they knew and from which they departed for New Zealand, I am forced to conclude that their introduction on the Hawaiian genealogies was the work of that migratory period, to which I have so often alluded, and was a local adaptation in after ages of previously existing legends, when the memory of the mother-country had become indistinct, and when little more was known of them except the one main fact that they stood on the genealogical list of the Hawaiian chiefs of the *Ulu* line; a fact which was never allowed to be forgotten under the old system, however much local associations might be forgotten or altered.

It is hardly historically possible that there could have been two series of chiefs in the Samoan and Hawaiian groups, with identical names and in the same succession; with one transposition alone, the same identity holds good in the names of three of their wives, viz. :—

<i>New Zealand.</i>		<i>Hawaiian.</i>	
Hema, <i>k.</i>	Uru-tonga, <i>w.</i>	Hema, <i>k.</i>	Ulu-mahehoa, <i>w.</i>
Tawhaki, <i>k.</i>	Hine-piri-piri, <i>w.</i>	Kahai, <i>k.</i>	Hina-uluohia, <i>w.</i>
Wahieroa, <i>k.</i>	Kura, <i>w.</i>	Wahieloa, <i>k.</i>	Koolaukahili, <i>w.</i>
Raka, <i>k.</i>	Tongarautawhiri, <i>w.</i>	Laka, <i>k.</i>	Hikawaelena, <i>w.</i>

Thus, on the testimony of the New Zealand legends, these chiefs were not original on the North Pacific Hawaii, of which the New Zealanders knew apparently nothing, but on the South Pacific Samoan Sawaii, from which they claimed descent, from which they emigrated, and whose legends they brought with them to their new homes in *Ao-tea-roa* or New Zealand.

Thus, while the *Nanaulu* genealogy for the period between *Kii* and *Maweke* has been assailed by no doubts and by no diversity of opinion among subsequent generations of Hawaiians, the *Ulu* genealogy has been subject to numerous varying constructions, no two agreeing together throughout, and as a Hawaiian genealogy on Hawaiian soil is disproven in several places by its own discrepancy with the *Nanaulu* line, as well as by the direct testimony of the legends and genealogies of the South Pacific groups.

With these introductory remarks I will now give the Hawaiian genealogy from *Nanaulu* and *Ulu* down, as I consider it ought to be rendered, when the sources have been critically examined and properly collated; showing at the same time the collateral branches both of the *Puna* and *Hema* lines of the *Ula* division, as well as the main branches of the *Nanaulu-Maweke* division. (For Genealogical Table, see Appendix No. IX.)

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Of the legends which treat of *Wakea* and his wife *Papa*, not much bearing the impress of ancient and original tradition has been preserved. What has been preserved, however, establishes the fact, as previously noticed, that *Wakea* was a chief on one of the Molucca islands (*Gilolo*), previous to, perhaps contemporary with, the great exodus

of the Polynesian family from the Asiatic Archipelago. His reign seems to have been chequered by wars and reverses. Certain great changes in the social system of the people, the strengthening of the *Kapus* and the introduction of new ones, are vaguely ascribed to him. His life seems to have been troubled by rebellion at home and by foreign pressure from without. The domestic relations between him and his wife *Papa* appear to have been very unfortunate, and form by far the greatest portion of the subject-matter of the legends referring to those personages.

*Wakea*, however, seems not to have been without defenders of his good name, for there were legends existing in David Malo's time, say fifty years ago; which asserted that *Hoo-hokukalani*, the reputed, and on the most prevalent genealogies recognised, daughter of *Wakea* and *Papa*, was not their child at all, but was the daughter of *Wakea's* high priest *Komoawa* and his wife *Popokolonuha*; and I have one genealogy which, while it recognises *Hoo-hokukalani* as the daughter of *Papa* and *Wakea*, gives her *Manauluae* as husband and *Waia* as their son. The domestic scandal of *Wakea's* incest, on which later versions of the *Wakea* legends lay so much emphasis, appears therefore not to have been fully believed in more ancient times, and I feel justified in considering it as an unfounded gravamen of a character remembered only by succeeding generations for its oppressiveness and tyranny. I find no personal description in the legends of *Wakea*, but *Papa* is represented as a comely woman, "very fair and almost white." She is said to have become crazy or distracted on account of her domestic troubles with her husband, who publicly divorced her, according to ancient custom, by "spitting in her face." She is represented as having lived to a very old age, and as having died in *Waieri*, a place in Tahiti. In after ages she was deified under the name of *Haumea*.

Of the remaining names from *Wakea* to *Nanarulu* and *Ulu*, there exist no legends of any historical value. On the whereabouts of their residence and the exploits of their

lives, tradition is apparently silent; though some Hawaiian commentators of the ancient legends, according to D. Malo, asserted that the first six lived in *Kahiki* (Tahiti), that is in some foreign land outside of the Hawaiian group.

Of *Kii*, No. 13 on the list, and the last of the first series, nothing is known except that he was the father of the two brothers *Nanaulu* and *Ulu*, from whom the northern and southern Polynesians respectively claimed their descent, and in whose time the probable separation of the two branches took place; the *Nanaulu* branch proceeding northward and settling on the Hawaiian group with a possible sejour or rest on the Marquesas group, though nothing in the legends remain to indicate such a fact; and the *Ulu* branch remaining on the islands of the South Pacific, keeping up a not unfrequent intercourse between them, forgetting or ignoring their northern brethren for a period that may be roughly stated to have extended over ten to twelve generations.

Towards the close of this period, from *Nanaulu* to *Maweke*, as a central figure, the Hawaiian seclusion or isolation was interrupted by the arrival of sundry parties from the South, or, as the legends call it, *Kahiki*, claiming descent from *Ulu* through either the *Puna* or *Hema* division. Such were the *Puna* family established on Kauai, with whom *Maweke's* grandson *Moikeha* allied himself. Such were the *Nanamaoa* or *Nana-a-Maui* family established on Oahu, and obtaining ascendancy for some time on Hawaii. Such the *Huanwikalalailai* family, whom the *Hema* division in subsequent times claimed as the father of *Paumakua*, and probably others whose legends have perished. What particular groups of southern islands those emigrants came from no vestiges on existing legends remain to indicate. It is probable that the *Puna* family came from or through the Marquesas group. The name is familiar and common on the Marquesan genealogy in my possession about thirty-five to forty-two generations



ago, and may have been the stock from which the Hawaiian *Punas* descended.

It is almost certain, taking the concurrent testimony of the legends as the arbitrium of conflicting genealogies, that several of those earlier names mentioned on the *Ulu* line, both before and after the *Puna-Hema* divisions, were contemporary. Thus the genealogies represent *Laau-alii* as the father of *Pili-kaiaea*, but the legends are unanimous that *Pili* came to Hawaii from *Kahiki* in the time of *Laau-alii*, and that *Pili* succeeded *Kapawa* in the government of Hawaii. Hence *Laau-alii* and *Kapawa* must have been contemporary. Thus *Hua*, or, as he is otherwise called, *Hua-a-kapuaïmanaku*, who on the genealogies is placed as the grandfather of *Huanui-Kalalailai*, was in reality, according to the legends and the known contemporaneity of his associates, at least five generations later.

Discarding, therefore, the earlier portion of the *Ulu* line as of any historical value in the reconstruction of Hawaiian genealogies for the period previous to *Maweke* and *Paumakua*, the uncontested *Nanaulu* line remains for our guidance, showing a period of fifteen generations previous to *Maweke*, during which the Hawaiian group was inhabited by the Polynesian race, practising under its own line of chiefs the customs and religion which they brought with them. It is now nearly impossible to separate those customs and that religion from what subsequently obtained, after the great migratory wave of the eleventh century had passed over Polynesia and thoroughly inundated the Hawaiian group with a new order of things. Glimpses, however, of the former condition of the Hawaiian portion of the Polynesian family appear here and there in the legends immediately relating to this migratory period; and from a careful inquiry into their contents and bearing, I am led to believe that the *Kane* worship in greater simplicity, with the customs it enjoined or which grew out of it, and notices of which have been given in

previous pages, was the prevalent creed of those ancient Hawaiians; that the Kapus were few and the ceremonials easy; that human sacrifices were not practised, and cannibalism unknown; and that government was more of a patriarchal than of a regal nature.

By counting upwards from the present time, the Hawaiian genealogies and legends have enabled me to establish, approximatively, the period of *Wakea* at about the middle or latter part of the second century A.D. But in examining the genealogies bearing upon the pre-*Wakea* period, it becomes evident that the thirty-seven generations embraced upon even the longest of them—that from *Kumuhonua*, or the first man, to *Wakea*,—is entirely inadequate to represent the continued existence of the human race during that interval, and that there must be large and important gaps in that genealogy. All the other Hawaiian genealogies, covering the pre-*Wakea* period, are equally if not more defective. There is evidently a large gap among the generations immediately succeeding the twelve sons of *Kinilau*. Up to that time I look upon the *Kumuhonua* genealogy as merely a reflex of the Cushite knowledge and Cushite reminiscences imparted to the Polynesians while yet sojourning in India, or during their early residence in the Asiatic Archipelago. A number of families in ancient history seem to have adopted this distant and mysterious twelve-ship as their national point of departure, and to have carried it with them wherever they spread. All previous to that was to them a common heirloom; all subsequent became national divergence, complexity, confusion, and oblivion. The manifest relation, in many places, between this genealogy (the *Kumuhonua*) and Arabian, Chaldeo-Hebraic, and other Eastern genealogies and legends, clearly proves the common origin of them all. The ten generations between the sons of *Kinilau* and the time of *Wakea* must hence cover a period of some thousands of years. They represent probably only the most prominent figures on the

traditional canvass of that half-forgotten period, including the discoveries and exploits of *Hawaii-loa*. It is a period extending from their connection with, and absorption of, the Cushite element, to their expulsion from the Asiatic Archipelago by the Malays.

Having thus attempted to show who the Polynesians are, whence they came, and how connected with the old-world peoples of historic renown, I will in the next portion of this work endeavour to sketch Hawaiian history proper, from the period of *Maweke* and *Paumakua* to the times of *Kamehameha I.*—so far as such history may be gathered, from a critical research into the legends, traditions, songs, and genealogies of the Hawaiian people.

It will be observed that in this sketch of the Polynesian race I have not referred to the tribes occupying Western Polynesia, the Micronesian and Caroline groups. I am not acquainted with their languages, and very imperfectly with their traditions. That they are a branch of the same great race there can be little doubt; but they were probably of much later separation from the Asiatic Archipelago, and had been either there, or have been subsequently, subjected to intermixture with foreign elements to so great an extent as to destroy the Polynesian character of the language, and that general homogeneity of customs and traditions which is so conspicuous a link of connection between the Southern, Eastern, and Northern groups of Polynesia.



## APPENDIX.

No. I., page 63.

SOME writers, supporting themselves by a legend said to have come from Hawaii, that the world was produced from an egg.<sup>1</sup> I find a relation of that legend to the Brahminical doctrine of the World-egg. I have been unable to discover or collect such a legend on the Hawaiian group; nor do I know of any resembling it on the other island groups, unless in some distorted form it may refer to the Fiji legend which says that mankind sprang from two eggs that were hatched by the god *Ndengei*. There is a Hawaiian legend, however, which ascribes the creation of the world to *Wakea* and *Papa* in this way: "*Papa*, the wife of *Wakea*, begat a calabash—*ipu*—including bowl and cover. *Wakea* threw the cover upward, and it became the heaven. From the inside meat

<sup>1</sup> In a "Journal of a Tour around Hawaii," "by a deputation from the Mission of those islands," Boston, 1825—of which deputation Rev. Mr. Ellis, of Polynesian and Madagascar fame, was one—it is said, page 197, that in a conversation with Mr. John Young, who had resided on the islands since 1790, "Mr. Young said the natives had several traditions, one of which was, that an immense bird laid an egg on the water, which soon burst and produced the island of Hawaii, and shortly after a man and

a woman, a hog and a dog, and a pair of fowls, came in a canoe from the Society Islands, landed on the eastern shores, and were the progenitors of the present inhabitants." It is much to be regretted that this tradition, of which Mr. Young gave only a meagre *resumé*, should have utterly perished from the land during the fifty years since the above "Tour around Hawaii." It certainly must have been an earlier and purer form of the subsequent tradition of *Papa* and her calabash.

and seeds *Wakea* made the sun, moon, stars, and sky; from the juice he made the rain, and from the bowl he made the land and the sea."

I now give the Brahminical account of creation, as gathered from an "Analysis of the Code of Menu," published in the "Asiatic Journal," November 1827. It says:—

"The universe existed only in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, as if wholly immersed in sleep. The self-existing power, himself undiscerned, with five elements and other principles, appeared in glory, dispelling the gloom. 'He, whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even he, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth in person.' Having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought he created the waters; 'the waters are called *nárá*, because they were the production of Nara, or the spirit of God; and since they were his first *ayana*, or place of motion, he thence is named *Náráyana*, or moving on the waters.' . . . . The Hindu legislator proceeds to tell, that the self-existing power placed a productive seed in the waters, which became 'an egg, bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams,' from whence he was born himself, 'the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of Brahma.'"

Compare with the above the following extract from the *Manek-Maya*, the classical work on Javanese mythology before the introduction of Mohammedanism. I quote from "Océanie," par M. de Rienzi, vol. i. p. 75.

"Avant que les cieux et la terre fussent créés, *Sangyang-wisesa* (le Tout-Puissant) existait. Cette divinité, était placée au centre de l'univers; elle désira intérieurement que le Régulateur suprême lui accordât un souhait. Aussitôt tous les éléments se heurterent, et il entendit, au milieu d'eux, une répétition de sons semblable au batte-

ment rapide d'une cloche. Il leva les yeux, et il vit un globe suspendu au-dessus de sa tête, il le prit et le separa en trois parties : une partie devint les cieux et la terre, une autre partie devint le soleil et la lune, et la troisième fut l'homme, ou *Manek-Maya*. La volonté de Sang-yang-wisesa ayant été accomplie, il voulut bien parler à *Manek-Maya*, et lui dit : Tu seras appelleé, *Sang-yang-gouron* ; je place une entière confiance en toi ; je te donne la terre et tout ce qui en depend, afin que tu en uses et que tu en disposes selon ton plaisir. Après ces paroles, le Tout-Puissant disparut."

The Hawaiian legend, as I have collected it, is possibly a corruption of the Javanese myth ; but whether either of them refers to Menu's account of creation for their origin, may, I think, admit of a doubt, unless the Brahminical account itself is a copy, or a compromise, of some previously existing Cushite-Dravidian cast of thought, hardened into myth or legend. The chaotic condition of the world, the *Narayana* or "moving on the waters," referred to by Menu, are certainly Cushite modes of thought, and bespeak their kindred to the Polynesian *Po*, and the Tahitian *Tino-Taata*,<sup>1</sup> and the Hawaiian *Lono-noho-i-kawai*,<sup>2</sup> as well as with the Egyptian *Noub* and his mysterious boat.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide*, p. 94.

No. II., page 63.

## TE VANANA NA TANAOA.

In the beginning, space and companions.

*I te tumu ona-ona a na hoa.*

Space was the high heaven.

*Ona-ona oia te iku-ani,*

Tanaoa filled and dwelt in the whole heavens.

*Tanaoa<sup>1</sup> hakapi a nonoho i na ani otoa*

And Mutuhei was entwined above.

*A Mutuhei<sup>2</sup> ua hei ma una,*

There was no voice, there was no sound ;

*Koe na eeo, koe na tani,*

No living things were moving.

*Aoe e ae na mea pohoe,*

There was no day, there was no light.

*Koe na A, maama koe*

A dark, black night.

*He tano-tano ke-ke po,*

O Tanaoa he ruled the night.

*O Tanaoa vivini-ia o te po,*

O Mutuhei was a Spirit pervading and vast.

10 *O Mutuhei uhane vae-vae a oa.*

From within Tanaoa came forth Atea.

*Mei ioto Tanaoa tihe ae Atea,<sup>3</sup>*

Life vigorous, power great.

*Pohoe oko, mana nui,*

O Atea he ruled the day

*O Atea vivini-ia o te 'A,*

And drove away Tanaoa.

*A tatau pu ia Tanaoa.*

<sup>1</sup> Darkness.

<sup>2</sup> Silence.

<sup>3</sup> Light, the Sun.



Between Day and Night, Atea and Tanaoa,  
*I vavena o te A me po, a Atea me Tanaoa*  
 Sprang up wars, fierce and long.  
*Tupu ae na toua a-ha oa-oa,*  
 Atea and Tanaoa, great wrath and contention.  
*Atea a Tanaoa, a-ha nui a nanaku*  
 Tanaoa confined, Atea soared onward,  
*Tanaoa tamau ae, Atea hee anatu*  
 Tanaoa dark as ever.

*Tanaoa keke pe ananu*  
 Atea very good and very active.  
 20 *Atea meita meitai a ta-ana-ana*  
 From within Atea came forth Ono.  
*Mei ioto o Atea taha-taha ae te Ono*<sup>1</sup>  
 O Ono he ruled the sound  
*O Ono vivini'ia o te tani*  
 And broke up Mutuhei.  
*A ta fati-fati'ia Mutuhei*  
 Here a great division was made  
*I tenei he pahei nui haka'ia*  
 In the company of Atanua.  
*I na hoa o Atanua*<sup>2</sup>  
 Atanua was beautiful and good  
*Atanua pootu a meitai*  
 Adorned with riches very great.  
*Tapi i taia tae-tae ma-iko-iko*  
 Atanua was fair, very rich and soft.  
*Atanua teea, taetae nui a peehu,*  
 Atea and Atanua embraced each other.  
*Atea me Atanua popoho'ia kohua*  
 Atanua produces abundantly of living things.  
 30 *Atanua tupu oko i na mea pohoe*  
 Atea took Atanua for wife.  
*Atea too'ia Atanua mea vahine*  
 Atea and Ono pass onward, pass upward.  
*Atea me Ono hee anatu, hee ma una*  
 Atea the body, Ono the Spirit.  
*Atea tino, Uthane Ono*

<sup>1</sup> Articulated sound, the voice.<sup>2</sup> The Dawn.

Atea with Ono in one place.

*Atea me Ono etahi ona*

Atea the substance, Ono the

*Atea tono, moui Ono*

Atea produces the very hot fire.

*Atea tupu i te ahi vea-vea*

Ono is powerful and great

*Ono mana oko nunui' ia*

Atea is adorned with riches changeable and dazzling,

*Atea tapi i te taetae take take a ponio-nio*

Ono is adorned with princely wealth and power.

*Ono tapi i te taetae Hakaiki me te mana*

They two the same glory.

40 *Aua eua etahi koaa.*

Atea the body, Ono the Spirit.

*Atea te tino, Uhane Ono*

Atea the substance, Ono the

*Atea te tono, o moui Ono,*

And dwelt as kings in the most beautiful places

*A nonoho hakaiki o na ona meitai oko*

Supported on thrones, large, many-coloured, wondrous.

*Hakatu mauna na paipai nui take take a-anaau*

They dwelt above, they dwelt beyond.

*A noho una, a nonohu atu*

They ruled the space of heaven,

*Mea haatoitoti te va-vae-ani*

And the large entire sky,

*Me na ikuani nui otoa*

And all the powers thereof.

*A me otoa na mana i ke ia*

The first Lords dwelling on high.

*Te tau Fatu o'mua nonoho tikitiki,*

O wondrous thrones, good and bright

50 *E na paipai aanaau meitai ta-ana-ana*

O wondrous thrones, whereon to seat the great Lord Atea.

*E na paipai aanaau mea paipai ia te Fatu-nui Atea.*

O thrones placed in the middle of the upper heavens.

*E na paipai hakatu i vavena o te ani una*

O thrones whereon to seat the Lord of love ;

*E na paipai mea paipai 'ia te Fatu'o te hina-nau*

The great Lord Atea established in love,

*Te Fatu nui Atea haatuia i te hinanau*

To love the fair Atanua.

*Mea hinanau 'ia te pootu Atanua,*

Atanua shades the neck of Atea.

*Mau kaki Atanua no Atea*

A woman of great wealth is Atanua,

*He vahine taetae nui Atanua*

Which she brought from out of night,

*Toi mai 'ia mei ioto o te po*

Gathered for Atea.

*Hai-hai 'ia mai no Atea*

Nothing was given back to night,

60 *Aoe he mea tuu atu no te po*

Atea gave nothing back to Tanaoa,

*Aoe he mea no Atea tuu atu no Tanaoa.*

Who thus was chased to distant regions,

*Pehea tatai 'ia vahi oa*

Where the light of day was not known ;

*Koe e itea te ao-o-te a*

No wealth, no warmth ;

*Taetae koe, mahanahana koe,*

Confined, lying beneath the feat of Atanua,

*Tamau moeana iao te tapu vae no Atanua*

Very cold, dreary, dark, without companions ;

*Anu oko aa-naho Kevokevo koe na hoa*

Nothing of all his wealth remained.

*Koe to'ia taetae a na mea otoa*

Cold, shivering, engulfed ; behold indeed !

*Anu kamaiko uuku ia aa choa.*

O dark Tanaoa engulfed in the long nights

*E keke Tanaoa uuku ia i na po a oa,*

Secure sits Atea on his wondrous throne,

70 *Mau Atea una to'ia paipai aanaau,*

And dwells as Chief in his domains.

*Nonoho Hakaiki i to'ia pai aina*

Born is his first son, his princely son.

*Tupu to'ia tama mua, to'ia tama Hakaiki.*

O the great Prince, O the sacred superior.

*O te Hakaiki nui o te una tapu*

O the princely son, first born of divine power !

*O te tama Hakaiki fanau mua o te mana na etua*

O the Lord of everything, here, there, and always.

*O te Hakaiki o na mea otoa eia aia a e ia mai a oa*

O the Lord of the heavens and the entire sky.

*O te Hakaiki o te vaevaani a na'ikuanu otoa*

O the princely son, first born of the exalted power.

*O te tama Hakaiki fanau mua o te mana tiki-tiki.*

O the son, equal with the father and with Ono.

*O te tama tia me te motua a me Ono*

Dwelling in the same place.

*Etahi ona a te nonoho*

Joined are they three in the same power.

80 *Poho 'ia toko tou etahi koaa.*

The Father, Ono, and the Son.

*Te motua, Ono a te Tama*

One tree (trunk, cause) was formed from those three.

*Te tumu tahi koaa mei na toko tou*

The tree producing in the heavens above

*Te tumu tupu ia i te vaevaani una*

All the good and wondrous families in love.

*I te tau huaa meitai aanaa i te hina-nau*

The tree of life, firm rooted in heaven above

*Te tumu o te pohoe, mau te aka i te ani una :*

The tree producing in all the heavens

*Te tumu tupu i te ani otoa*

The bright and sprightly sons.

*I na tau tama ponionio a ta anaana*

From Atea they were born as his sons.

*No Atea hakatupu nui ia atou i te tama*

O Atea, the exalted Lord of everything !

*O Atea te Fatu tikitiki o na mea otoa*

O Atea, their life, body, and spirit.

90 *O Atea to atou pohoe, tino, moui a uhane.*

The foregoing chant is extremely valuable as a relic of Polynesian folklore. It is now impossible to determine the age of its composition; but to judge from the ruggedness of its diction, it must be of very high antiquity. It is an allegory, no doubt, but the consciousness of its being an allegory had not yet faded from the mind of the composer, nor, perhaps, from the people before whom it was chanted. It points to a period of the human mind when the thoughts of sages still lingered and laboured in the border land between material facts and metaphysical abstractions; when *Tanaoa* was still half the real darkness of night, chaos, and half the deified impersonation of an evil principle, antagonistic to the powers of light; when *Atea* was still half the actual sun, springing forth from, succeeding to, and dispelling the gloom and darkness of night, and half the deified impersonation of creative power; when *Ono* was still half the mere actual sound, the busy hum of a living, active, moving world, just awakening from the torpor and silence of night, and half the deified impersonation of speech and intelligent communication, an evolution of, and a companion to, *Atea*; when *Atanua* was still the mere Dawn, the result of the apparent contest between Darkness and Light, "encircling the neck of the sun," as well as the goddess wife of *Atea*. This chant must be at least as old as the period when the Vedic poets sang the praises of Indra and the charms of Ushas. It sounds like a lost hymn of the Vedas, or, perhaps, of the pre-Vedic period. Its whole tenor, style, and imagery are thoroughly Arian. Even here the conception of a triplicate Godhead occurs: perhaps the prototype of the Chaldean Anu, Bel, Hea, as well as of the Indian Trimurti, and is but another version of the Hawaiian Kane, Ku, Lono.

## No. III., page 63.

PROBABLY one of the grandest religious poems, once current among the Polynesians, and relating to the creation of the world, is that which Mr. Moerenheut has preserved in his "Voyage aux isles du Grand Ocean." Though but a fragment of what was probably a series of religious poems, yet its lofty tone and archaic simplicity of expression make it extremely valuable as a testimony to the ancient belief of the Polynesians. As published by Mr. Moerenheut there are several errors of orthography which I have endeavoured to correct; but there are also some other unintelligible parts, whether owing to a bad manuscript copy or to careless printing, which I have enclosed in brackets, being unable to give an English translation of the same. Those who have an opportunity and are competent to compare Mr. Moerenheut's translation with the original and with mine, will perceive that though his is more florid and free, and mine more literal, yet the spirit of the poem is fully preserved. The poem accords so thoroughly with the Marquesan and Hawaiian poems on the same subject, that there can be no doubt of its very great antiquity, although the introduction of *Taaroa* as the Great Creator would seem to indicate a later period for its composition than that of the Hawaiian and Marquesan chants on creation and cognate subjects. I am unable, at present, to indicate the period of Polynesian life, when the attributes and powers of *Kane*, or *Tane*, or *Atea* (for they are but synonyms of the same conception) were transferred to *Taaroa* or *Tangaroa*, who, to judge

from the Hawaiian and Marquesan folklore, was originally conceived of as the very opposite in attributes and functions. It is admitted even in Tahitian folklore, that at some remote period the *Tane* worship was superseded by, and subordinated to, that of *Ono* on nearly all the islands of the Society group except Huahine; and at that time probably the legend arose which made *Tane* and *Ono* to be brothers, and sons of *Taaroa*.

With these considerations, and others that have been set forth elsewhere in this work, I am satisfied that this Tahitian chant of creation is older than the period when *Taaroa* was elevated by the southern groups into the primacy of Godhead, and that its intrinsic evidence connects it with the remarkable series of ancient chants, once common to the Polynesian race as an heirloom from the past, of purer creed and loftier conceptions, and of which the Marquesans and Hawaiians have preserved such interesting relics.

For better reference I have interlineated the translation.

He abides—*Taaroa* by name—

*Parahi, Taaroa te ioa,*

In the immensity of space.

*Roto ia te aere.*

There was no earth, there was no heaven,

*Aita fenua, aita rai,*

There was no sea, there was no mankind.

*Aita tai, aita taata.*

*Taaroa* calls on high;

*Tiaoro Taaroa i nia;*

He changed himself fully. . . .

*Fuarirò noa ìhora oia (i te ohe narea ei).*

*Taaroa* is the root;

*Te tumu Taaroa;*

The rocks (or foundation);

*Te papa;*

*Taaroa* is the sands;

*Taaroa te one;*

Taaroa stretches out the branches (is wide-spreading).

*Toro Taaroa ia naio.*

Taaroa is the light ;

*Taaroa tei te ao ;*

Taaroa is within ;

*Taaroa tei roto ;*

Taaroa is . . .

*Taaroa (te nahora ;) <sup>1</sup>*

Taaroa is below ;

*Taaroa tei raro ;*

Taaroa is enduring ;

*Taaroa te taii ;*

Taaroa is wise ;

*Taaroa te paari ;*

He created the land of Hawaii ;

*Fanau fenua Hawaii ;*

Hawaii great and sacred,

*Hawaii nui raa,*

As a crust (or shell) for Taaroa.

*Ei paa no Taaroa.*

The earth is dancing (moving).

*Te ori-ori ra fenua.*

O foundations, O rocks,

*E te tumu, e te papa,*

O sands! here, here.

*E te one! O, o.*

Brought hither, press together the earth ;

*O-toina mai, pohia tei fenua ;*

Press, press again !

*Pohia, popohia !*

They do not. . . .

*Aita ia (e farire)*

Stretch out the seven heavens ; let ignorance cease.

*Toro o hitu te rai ; e pau maua.*

Create the heavens, let darkness cease.

*Fanau ai te rai, pau mouri,*

<sup>1</sup> *Nahora*, if not a misprint, probably refers to the Tahitian *Hora-hora*, "a platform, the deck of a canoe;" to the Samoan *Fola* and Hawaiian *Hola*, "to spread out, to unfold, to open."



Let anxiety cease within ; . . .

*Mataroa e pau roto ; (pau ahai te pautia).*

Let repose (immobility) cease ;

*E pau noho ;*

Let the period of messengers cease ;

*E pau va arere ;*

It is the time of the speaker.

*E te va orero-reo.*

Fill up (complete) the foundations,

*E faai te tumu,*

Fill up the rocks,

*E faai te papa,*

Fill up the sands.

*E faai one.*

The heavens are enclosing (surrounding),

*Fa-opia rai,*

And hung up are the heavens

*A toto te rai*

In the depths ;

*Ia hohonu ;*

Finished be the world of Hawaii.

*E pai fenua no Hawaii.*

Mr. Horatio Hale, "United States Exploration Expedition," under Commodore Wilkes, section, "Ethnography and Philology," Philadelphia, 1846, p. 125, refers to this same Tahitian chant as published by Mr Moerenhout, and sees in it another evidence of the Tahitian descent from the Samoan island of Sawaii; the more so, as in another poem, connected by Mr. Moerenhout with the former, it is said that the god *Roo* created Uporo, another island of the Samoan group. Mr. Hale is doubtless correct in tracing the Tahitians to the Samoan group, though possibly some of them came direct from the Fiji group at the time of their expulsion; but the evident relation of this Tahitian chant to those of the Marquesas group, which posi-

tively locate the "Hawaii" of which they speak far to the westward of the Fiji group, prevents me from concurring with Mr. Hale in assigning no higher or older origin to this and those chants. I regret that I have not any Samoan legends or chants comparable in date to those of the other groups. If any such exist, I shall be much deceived if they also do not refer to a Hawaii far beyond, and to the westward of their own Sawaii.

What Mr. Hale calls "the third portion" of this chant, as arranged and published by Mr. Moerenhout, and treating of the genesis of the Tahitian gods, is evidently a separate poem, and of very much later date; in short, a local theogony, not even fully recognised on the Society group, and unknown in the neighbouring groups.

No. IV., page 90.

TE TAI TOKO (The Deluge).

Part I.

The Lord Ocean is a going

1     *Te Fatu Moana ua hoe 'ia*

To pass over the whole dry land.

*E taha ta te Moo oa*

A respite is granted

*He koina e vae ana*

For seven days.

*Na mou atea eitu*

Who would have thought to bury the great earth \* \* \*

*Oai tuto e tomi 'ia te papanui Tinaku*

In a roaring flood? E.

*Ma he tai-toko e hetu. E.*

Ho, ho, in the enclosure!

*Ho, ho, i te papua*

Ho! the twisted ropes!

*Ho, ho, te tau hauhii*

Here is confusion among

*Eia e tohu 'ia i vavena*

The generations (different kinds) of animals

10    *Te tai o te puaa*

O we are the kind, O we are the kind,

*O maua he tai, O maua he tai*

O we are reserved from the flood

*O maua a ke iho e tai*

Reserved on the flood,

*E ke iho i tai*

The flood, the roaring. E.

*He tai-toko e hetu. E.*

And it will fall over the valleys,

*A e vi una i na kavai*

Pass over the plains,

*Taha una te tohua*

It will bury the mountains,

*Tomi'ia te tau mouna*

And envelop the hill-sides,

*A e tupo te varu*

O the flood, the roaring. E.

*O te tai-toko e hetu. E.*

Ho! in the enclosure.

20 *Ho, ho, i te papua*

Ho! the twisted ropes,

*Ho, ho, te tau hauhii*

For to tie up in couples

*Mea pitiki i tahuna.*

The (various) kinds of animals.

*Te tai o te puua.*

The white kinds,

*Te tai o te mouo*

The striped kinds,

*Te tai o te hahei*

The spotted kinds,

*Te tai o te patipati*

The black kinds,

*Te tai o te papanu*

The horned kinds,

*Te tai o te kivikivi*

The big lizard kinds,

*Te tai o te huho-oo.*

The small lizard kinds,

30 *Te tai o te huho-poto*

O the flood, the roaring. E.

*O he tai toko e hetu. E.*

High above the ocean,

*Tie tie o te moana*

Build a house upon it,

*Haka haka he hae ma eia*

- A storied house, the house.  
*He hae papa, te hae*
- A house with chambers, the house.  
*He hae puho, te hae*
- A house with windows, the house.  
*He hae puta maama, te hae,*
- A very large house, the house.  
*He hae oa-oa, te hae*
- A house to keep alive  
*He hae mea haapohoe*
- The (various) kinds of animals.  
*Te tai o te puua.*
- O the flood, the roaring. E.  
 40 *O he tai toko e hetu. E.*
- Ho, ho, there in the enclosure.  
*Ho, ho, ina i te papua*
- Ho, ho, the long-twisted ropes  
*Ho, ho, te hauhiia oa*
- To tie up and make fast in couples  
*Mea nati a haamaru i tahuna*
- The (various) kinds of animals.  
*Te tai o te puua*
- One man before, O Fetu-amo-amo.  
*He enata imua o Fetu-amo-amo.*
- One man behind, O Ia-fetu-tini.  
*He enata i mui o Ia-fetu-tini*
- The animals between, making great noise.  
*Te puua te vavena e tani huina*
- O the flood, the roaring. E.  
*O te tai toko e hetu. E.*
- Eh; bear away (carry away); Here.  
*E amo E. Eia*
- Carry away the animals; Here.  
 50 *E amo te puua. Eia*
- Carry them away to the sea. Here  
*E amo atu atou i tai. Eia*
- O, the long deep wood (a name for the house or vessel).  
*O Kakaveie-oa. Eia* [Here.

- O the God of destruction (causing evil). Here  
*O te Etua o te hakanau. Eia*
- O Hina-touti-ani. Here  
*O Hina-touti-ani. Eia*
- O Hina-te-ao-ihi. Here  
*O Hina-te-ao-ihi. Eia*
- O Hina-te-upu-motu. Here  
*O Hina-te-upu-motu. Eia*
- O Hina-te-ao-meha. Here  
*O Hina-te-ao-meha. Eia*
- O Fetu-moana. Here.  
*O te Fetu-moana. Eia*
- O Fetu-tau-ani. Here  
*O te Fetu-tau-ani. Eia*
- O Fetu-amo-amo. Here  
 60 *O Fetu-amo-amo. Eia*
- O Ia-fetu-tini. Here.  
*O Ia-fetu-tini. Eia*
- O the flood, the roaring. E.  
*O he tai toko e hetu. E.*
- A man before, with the offerings,  
*He enata i mua i te utunu*
- O Fetu-moana.  
*O te Fetu-moana*
- A man behind, clinging to the offerings.  
*He enata i mui te pikia i te utunu*
- O Fetu-tau-ani.  
*O te Fetu-tau-ani*
- A turtle between, making great noise  
*He hono te vavena-e-tani-huina*
- O the flood, the roaring. E.  
*O te tai toko e hetu E.*
- Cut off, cut off your ear ; this is a bad house  
*Tipia, tipia to oe puaina, te hae pe 'ia*
- For to cook food for the God \* \* \* \*  
 70 *Mea tuna kai no te Etua ke huha ko huha*
- The four-faced priests \* \* \* \*  
*Te tau taua mata fa ke huha ko huha*

House fast asleep. God the destroyer.

*Hae momoe, Etua te hakanau*

Crush, crackle, a stinking crowd.

*A omi hu, tai piau*

Bring together, pell-mell,

*E hau 'ia kohua*

All the heaven-fed animals.

*Ani otoa tafau puaa*

Sleeps the sacred supporter in this noise.

*Moe te tapu tutui i teia mu*

Noise, God, noise, with God arise!

*Mu Etua mu, ma Etua va*

God wills it.

*Etua kaki hia.*

Here is manifest the trouble (storm),

*Eia ua atea te toua*

A trouble that is great and manifest,

80 *He toua te mea nui i atea*

And it is roaring, and it is working,

*A ua hetu e hana nei*

A rain like a solid cloud.

*He ua mea ata taki*

Bring together, pell-mell,

*E hau ia kohua.*

All the heaven-fed animals.

*Ani otoa tafau puaa*

Sleeps the sacred supporter.

*Moe te tapu tutui*

Shaken up and mixed up is the earth.

*Ua upu a uu-uu te fenua*

I consent and let loose

*N'au e ae tuku atu*

\* \* \* \* a confused noise

*Te matu he mu*

\* \* \* \* make a buzzing noise,

*Matu a mu a mu*

\* \* \* \* arise, arise

*Matua a va a va*

90

\* \* \* \* I will it thus.

*Matu t'au kaki tenei.*

## Part II.

O, the \* \* \* new

*E te kou hou*

O, the mountain ridges

*E te vau va-a*

E, \* \* \* \*

*E te mota*

Some \* \* \* men

*He mou uu Enata*

Are arriving here,

*Tu-tu ana nei*

People in the storm (war, trouble) ;

*Tai i te toua*

A veil on the head

*He pae i te oho*

A paddle in the hand

*He hoe i te iima*

E, arrivals, come and push back

100 *E tutu' ina amai e hoe*

The ocean to the centre.

*Te moana ie vene.*

E, the house, E.

*E puho E.*

Here I am aground.

*Eia toko ae au*

The Fetu-moana E.

*Te Fetu-moana E.*

Hearken up there

*Hakaono oe una nei*

The Lord-Ocean consents,

*Te Fatu-moana e ao'ia*

That the dry land appears.

*Te fenua moo e haaita.*

The Lord-Ocean, E.

*Te Fatu-moana, E.*

Ah, quick the \* \* \* new

*A-ve te kou hou*



- The \* \* \* new, here it is  
 110 *He kou hou e ia mai*  
 \* \* \* \* \*
- A te mota.*  
 In channels receding.  
*I kava miki 'ia.*  
 The Lord-Ocean. E.  
*Te Fatu-moana. E.*  
 Ah! quick the \* \* \* new  
*A-ve te kou hou*  
 \* \* long, and when I \* \* \*  
*Kou oa a no au e mota*  
 I will offer seven sacred offerings  
*E utunu au eitu tapu taetae*  
 And seven sucklings that shall cry  
*A eitu mamau a te ve*  
 To the Lord-Ocean.  
*No te Fatu-moana*  
 The Lord has assented that the earth  
*Te Fatu ua ao te fenua*  
 Shall now be dry.  
 120 *E moo ana mai.*  
 E, the traveller,  
*E te teetina*  
 The traveller of Tanaoa,  
*Te teetina o Tanaoa*  
 Over the sea of Havaii,  
*Una te tai o Havaii*  
 Stretch thy bones thither,  
*Te ivi a ke atu*  
 Stretch thy bones hither,  
*Te ivi a ke mai*  
 Over the sea of Havaii,  
*Una te tai o Havaii.*  
 Tanaoa, rest on the curling wave,  
*E noho Tanaoa no te hae-hae*  
 Remain at the stern of the vessel,  
*E maohe i te mui o te vaa*

Strike, strike your legs, Tanaoa

*E paki-pakia to vae Tanaoa*

Tanaoa, I will it thus.

130 *Tanaoa au kaki hia.*

Tanaoa, why do you return ?

*Tanaoa heaha to oe hua*

Returned is the North wind with the \* \*

*A hua te tiu me te hafa*

Not found is a place where to alight.

*Aoe koaa e tau ae mei nei atu*

Tanaoa, I will it thus.

*Tanaoa au kaki hia*

Alight, Tanaoa, on the sands.

*E tau Tanaoa i te one-one*

Call Tanaoa here \* \* \*

*E vevau Tanaoa nei tahu mai*

Do not go away.

*A umoi a hee atu*

Strike, strike thy breast, Tanaoa.

*E paki-pakia te vaa Tanaoa*

Tanaoa, yes I will it thus.

*Tanaoa ee au kaki hia*

E the traveller,

140 *E te teetina*

The traveller of Moepo,

*Te teetina o Moepo*

Over the sea of Hawaii

*Una te tai o Hawaii*

Thy bones stretch thither,

*To ivi a ke atu*

Thy bones stretch hither,

*To ivi a ke mai*

Over the sea of Hawaii.

*Una te tai o Hawaii*

Ah, alight, alight here.

*E a a tau-tau mai.*

E the Lord Ocean. E.

*E te Fatu-moana. E.*

The four bowls, and the four bowls

*Te efa ipu-ipu, a te efa ipu-ipu*

Are safely landed here.

*Ua tau meitai nei.*

Great mountain ridges, ridges of Hawaii

150 *Va-va nui 'ia te va-va o Hawaii*

Great mountain ridges, ridges of Matahou,

*Va-va nui 'ia te va-va o Matahou.*

Whereon to thread and stamp.

*Mea kihahi a kahi.*

Ah, here is the Moepo

*A eia te Moepo*

Bringing aloft what has been gathered.

*E hai ina mai una koki-koki.*

*Part III.*

Ask, ask, the sorcerer (the high-priest),

*Ui-ui te tupua*

Generations new, generations past,

*Tai hou, tai hee,*

Who is the flower above there ?

*Oai oia te pua una nei ?*

It is Atii-hau-hua.

*O Atii-hau-hua.*

The Tiki-vae-tahi.

*Te Tiki-vae-tahi.*

What is the work of that God,

160 *Heaha te hana o tena etua*

That is here revealed

*Te fai mai ae*

With that face that is so bright,

*Me tena ao te io mai ae*

And with that noise arising ?

*A me tena mu ua va*

E generations, E.

*E, tai, E.*

## THE POLYNESIAN RACE.

Generations go (spread) again,

*Tai a-hee-hou*

E quick over the plain,

*E a-ve una te tohua*

Return and stand with Tanaoa

*Te hua a ua tu me Tanaoa*

I shall arrive, hearken,

*A tu-tu au, e ono*

Hark, hark, arise, get up,

*Ono, ono, tu ae va-a*

Ho, Ho, arise, God wills it thus.

170 *Ho, Ho, va, Etua kaki hia.*

Ask, ask, the sorcerer,

*Ui, ui te tupua*

Who is the flower inland here?

*Oai oia te pua iuta nei?*

It is Ka-ka-me-vau.

*O Ka-ka-me-vau.*

The God with the white teeth.

*Te Etua niho teea*

Hark, it is he, I arise, hearken,

*Ono oia tutu au e ono*

E generations, E.

*E, tai, E.*

Generations go again

*Tai a hee hou*

Quickly over the plain.

*E a-ve una te tohua*

Hark, hark, arise, get up,

*Ono, ono, tu ae va-a*

Ho, Ho, arise, God wills it thus.

180 *Ho, Ho, va Etua kaki hia.*

Ask, ask, the sorcerer,

*Ui ui te tupua*

Who is the flower seaward here?

*Oai oia te pua tai nei?*

It is the Fatu-moana,

*Oia te Fatu-moana*

- He is going to sacrifice  
*Na hoe 'ia e tooo*  
 The sorcerer here below.  
*Te tupua iao nei*  
 O the black eel (water-snake)  
*O te puhi ke ke*  
 The eel with ugly head.  
*Te puhi o oho ino.*  
 Who is the flower tied here ?  
*Oai oia te pua naki nei ?*  
 It is Tu-mata-te-vai.  
*Oia o Tu-mata-te-vai.*  
 Who is the flower before here ?  
 190 *Oai oia te pua mua nei ?*  
 It is Au-te-una-tapu.  
*Oai te o Au-te-una-tapu,*  
 Who is the flower behind here ?  
*Oai te pua imui nei ?*  
 It is Mau-te-anua-nua.  
*O Mau-te-anua-nua.*  
 Who is the strange flower here ?  
*Oai te pua hiva nei ?*  
 I am here, Tumu-tupu-fenua.  
 195 *O au tenei te Tumu-tupu-fenua.*

---

Believing that Mr. Lawson—from whose MS. collection the foregoing chant has been copied—in his endeavour to be literal in his translation, has sometimes become unintelligible, I have attempted a translation that would in some measure obviate that defect, but this, like almost all the ancient Polynesian chants, is replete with tropes and allusions of which the original meaning is in many instances now forgotten or only acquired with great difficulty. The words marked with asterisks in the translation are such words as I was either unable to find in the only Marquesan vocabulary within my reach (that by the Abbé Mosblech. Paris 1843), or only found with a meaning that would have made no sense of the context.

No. V., see page 116, n. 2.

DIEFFENBACH, in "Travels in New Zealand," p. 28, &c., describes the baptism of infants; that the priest with a green branch, dipped in a calabash of water, sprinkled the child and recited a prayer over it. The prayer differed for boys and for girls. The following are the prayers:—

*For Boys.*

Tohia te tama nei  
Kia riri, kia nguha  
Kani o tu me te nganahau  
Ka riri ke tai no Tu  
Ka nguha ki tai no Tu  
Koropana ki tai no Tu  
E pa te karanga ki tai no Tu  
Me te nganahau ki tai no Tu  
Taku tama nei kia tohia  
Koropana ki tai no Tu  
Pa mai te karanga ki tai no Tu  
Ko te kawa o karaka wati  
O riri ai koe, e nguha ai koe  
E ngana ai koe  
E toa ai koe  
E kano ai koe  
Ko Tu iho uhia  
Ko Rongo iho uhia.

*For Girls.*

Tohia te tama nei  
Kia riri, kia nguha te tama nei.

Kani o Tu me te nganahau  
Ka riri ki tai no Tu  
Ka wakataka te watu  
Kania ma taratara  
Te hau o Uenuku  
Puha ka mama taurira o Tu  
Ka mama taurira o Rongo  
Ho.  
Ka kai Tu  
Ka kai Rongo  
Ka kai te Wakariki  
He haha  
He hau ora  
He hau rangatira  
Kei runga, kei te rangi  
Ka puha te rangi  
E iri iria koe ki te iri iri  
Hahau kai mau tangaengae  
Haere ki te wahie mau tangaengae  
Watu kakahu mou tangaengae.

I am inclined to think that Dieffenbach has not correctly apprehended some of the words in the above prayers, or that they have been misprinted.

## No. VI., page 128.

THE following are a number of signs and omens current among the Hawaiians in heathen times, and not yet entirely disregarded :—

*Opeakua* : “Hands crossed behind.” If a Hawaiian was going out on business or on pleasure, and met another person with his hands crossed behind his back, it was an unlucky omen; but if it occurred twice on the same journey, it became a sign of success.

*Maka-paa* : “A blind person.” If you met a blind person on the road, it was a bad sign. If you met two blind ones, the sign was good.

*Kahea-kua-ia* : “Calling after one.” If, starting on a journey, you were called after or called back by somebody, it was a bad sign. Therefore, to prevent being thus troubled, the traveller always told those whom he left where he was going, his errand, &c.

*Kuapuu-hohailua* : “Meeting a humpback.” If on your journey you met a humpbacked person, it was a bad sign. If two such were met with, the sign was good.

*Hoo-kua-kii* : “Arms akimbo.” If you met a person with his or her arms akimbo, hands resting on the hips, it was a bad sign.

*Hoihou-i-hope* : “Returning.” If, starting away from a place, and having actually proceeded some distance from the house, however short, you turned back after something forgotten or left, it was a bad sign.

*Ku-ia o ka wawai* : “Stumbling.” If you stumble or stub your feet in walking, it is a bad sign.



*Makole* : "Sore-eyed." If you meet a person with sore or inflamed eyes, the sign is bad.

*Kukue* : "Lame." If you meet a lame or deformed person, it is a bad sign.

*Maia* : "Bananas." If you are going on business, and meet a man carrying a banana bunch, you will not prosper, and would do well to defer it; but if that cannot be done, then, to avoid the evil omen, you should either touch the bananas with your hand, or grasp them, and then proceed on your journey without looking back.

*Alae* : "A water-fowl." If the bird called alae was heard crying in the neighbourhood of a village, it was a sign of the death of somebody there.

*Kuukuu* : "Spider." If the long-legged spider drops down from above in front of you, or on your bosom, it is a good sign, foreboding either presents or strangers; if he drops on either side, or behind you, the sign brings you no good.

*Hulahula o ka Maka* : "Twitching of the eyes." If the eye twitches or throbs suddenly, it is the sign of the arrival of strangers, or of approaching wailing for some one that is dead.

*Kani-ana o ka ula o ka pepeiao* : "Ringing sounds in the ear." If you have a ringing sound in your ears, it is a sign that you are spoken evil of by some one. If in the right ear, by a man; if in the left ear, by a woman. Sometimes it indicates approaching sickness.

*Okakala or Malana o ka poo* : "Shuddering, shivering of the head." If you feel a sudden shivering or itching of the scalp or skin of the head, as if a louse were crawling, it is a sign that you are spoken evil of.

*Koni o na wawae* : "Throbbing of the feet." If you feel a beating, creeping, throbbing sensation in the foot, it is a sign that either you will go on a sudden journey, or that strangers are arriving.

No. VII. *Vide page 132.*

THERE are numerous other customs, traits, and peculiarities observed by the Polynesians, which find remarkable analogies and coincidences among the nations to the west of them, from whom they sprang, or with whom they cohabited during unknown periods of their former national life. Each one, singly, is but a drop in the stream of evidence which tends to connect the Polynesian with the Cushite and Arian races; but, taken together, they supplement in a large measure the coincidences previously referred to, and strengthen the evidence of that connection beyond the possibility of contravention. As with my limited means of reference I am unable to say whether these coincidences ultimately refer to Arian or Cushite sources, seeing that the former borrowed so much from the latter, I merely present them *en bloc*, that men more able than myself may classify them hereafter. We find, then—

## I.

The Hawaiian soothsayer or *kilo-kilo* turned always to the north when observing the heavens for signs or omens, or when regarding the flight of birds for similar purposes. The ancient Hindus turned also to the north for divining purposes, and so did the Iranians before the schism, after which they placed the devas in the north; so did the Greeks, and so did the ancient Scandinavians before their conversion to Christianity.

## II.

Hogs were of the most precious offerings to Polynesian

gods, and hogs'-meat the most delicious food of the people.

While the Egyptian, the Hebrew, and the Brahmanised Hindu abominated swine, and the contact therewith, the Arian, Goth, and Scandinavian sacrificed swine as well as sheep, cattle, and horses to their gods, and the boar was a daily feast to the heroes of that northern Valhalla. The Greeks held swine in high estimation, and Homer gives to a swineherd the title "divine."

### III.

The Egyptians were permitted to marry their sisters by the same father and mother, and in patriarchal times among the Hebrews a man might marry a sister, the daughter of his father only, though it was afterwards forbidden in Leviticus (chap. xviii.). According to Persian law such marriages were not permitted; but the Greeks and Romans seem to have admitted the practice in earlier times, if the proceedings of the Olympian gods are an index of primitive manners—Saturn and Rhea, Jupiter and Juno.

Among Hawaiian chiefs such marriages were not uncommon, even in earliest times, and the offspring of such unions were invested with higher rank, and called *Alipio*, taking precedence over brothers and sisters of different unions.

### IV.

In the Hawaiian, Marquesas, and Tahitian groups the first prisoner taken in war was invariably offered as a sacrifice to the particular god of the captors.

"The custom of sacrificing their first prisoner (in war) is ascribed by Procopius to the Thulitæ or Scandinavians" ("Bell. Goth." ii. 15). "The Germans made their first captive contend with a champion of their own race, and took the result as an omen of success or failure" ("Tacit. Germ." 10), *vide* Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vii., 180, n. 4.

## V.

In Ceylon and Southern India, whenever a favour is solicited, peace made, or an interview desired, presents are always sent before.<sup>1</sup>

In Hawaii and elsewhere in Polynesia presents always accompanied the visitor, or were sent before.

## VI.

In India an unhealthy country is said to "eat up the inhabitants," and a victorious or oppressive rajah is said to "eat up the country."<sup>2</sup>

In Hawaii the expression *Ai-moku*, "eating up the land," is an epithet of chiefs.

## VII.

In India the expression "to live in the shadow," *i.e.*, under the security and defence of another, is very common.<sup>3</sup>

In Hawaiian the expression *e noho ma ka malu*, "to dwell in the shadow," *i.e.*, under the protection of such or such a chief, is frequently heard.

## VIII.

In App. chap. v. book ii. of Rawlinson's edition of "Herodotus," I read that the hieroglyphic sign for a negative "is a pair of extended arms with the palms of the hands downwards, preceding the verb." Before such an action of the hands could have become a recognised hieroglyphic sign of a negative, it must have been a common and generally adopted manner of expressing a negative in actual everyday life, a gesticulation as significant and as well understood to the Egyptians, and perhaps the entire Cushite race, as a shrug of the shoulders or a shake of the head is to many nations of modern time.

<sup>1</sup> Oriental Illustrations, by Joseph Roberts, p. 22. London, 1835.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

I know not if such a manner of expressing a negative still obtains among the Cushite descendants in N.E. Africa, in Asia, or the Archipelago, but the self-same identical manner of inverting the hands, "palms downwards," in sign of a negative answer, prevails throughout Polynesia. Ask a person if he has such or such a thing, and, two to one, instead of saying "No," he will turn his hand or hands "palms downwards," in sign of a negative answer.

## No. VIII., page 144.

MR. CRAWFURD, in his "Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language," vol. i. p. 134-35, considers that those who hold that the Polynesian "language and race are essentially the same as the Malay," are undoubtedly "under a great mistake," and advance "a gratuitous assumption." And, though he resolutely repudiates the idea that there is anything, physically or linguistically, to connect them as springing from the same race, or that the former descended from the latter—yet, in order to account for the few Malay and Javanese words which, according to him, have found entrance into the Polynesian language, he resorts to the hypothesis that at some remote period, while the Polynesians were still living in a body, before their dispersion over the East Pacific, they had been visited by a fleet of Malay rovers, who introduced to the then uncultivated Polynesians the knowledge of the taro, yam, cocoa-nut-palm, sugar-cane, and the numeral system, p. 144 *et seq.*; and he fixes upon the Tonga or Friendly Islands as the country where this encounter took place.

Mr. Crawford argues that, as those articles, taro, yam, &c., bear Malay names, ergo they are of Malay origin, and most probably brought by Malays to the Polynesians. Let us consider these names. Mr. Crawford identifies the Polynesian *taro*, *kalo*, arum esculentum, with the Javanese *talás*, and the Polynesian *to*, *ko*, sugar-cane, with the Javanese and Malay *tábu*. I would not, on slight grounds, question the conclusions arrived at by a gentleman who

has done so much, and done it so worthily and well, to illumine the dark and unknown parts of the Asiatic island-world; but when Mr. Crawfurd wrote, the data bearing upon Polynesian life, language, customs, and traditions were scanty, detached, frequently one-sided, and hence not always reliable. Consequently, when Mr. Crawfurd deriving *talo* from *talás*, and *to* from *tábu*, I have no doubt that every competent Polynesian scholar of the present day, foreign or native, would dissent from such derivation as contrary to the very genius and idiom of the Polynesian. Had *talás* and *tábu* at any time been introduced as foreign words in the Polynesian language, the form the former would have assumed could not possibly have been any other than *talasa*, *talaha*, *talafa*, or even *talaka*, according to the peculiar dialect wherein adopted; and the form of the latter would have been *tapu*, *tafu*, *tahu*, or *tawu*. With one exception, I know of no single instance where a foreign word, introduced in the Polynesian, and ending with a consonant, is not invariably followed by a vowel to enable the Polynesian to pronounce it; and I know of no instance where a foreign dissyllable, ending with a vowel, has been contracted into a monosyllable in the Polynesian. The exception alluded to is in the Hawaiian dialect, where a few foreign words ending in *er* or *ar* have the *r* elided and the entire syllable sounded as *a*, as *dia* for "deer," *bea* for "bear," *wineka* for "vinegar," *leta* for "letter," and some others; though the rule is not general, for we find per contra foreign words like *hamale* for "hammer," *lepela* for "leper," and others. And so violent a contraction as *to* from *tábu* is entirely unheard of in the Polynesian. *Taro* and *tálas*, *to* and *tábu* may possibly be related; but if so, it is for the very opposite reason, viz., that the latter names are derived from the former, and not as Mr. Crawfurd claims it. *Taro* is not a staple food of the Malays or Javanese, who, when they arrived from India, brought with them their rice-eating proclivities, and spread the use of the article as well as

the name, throughout the Archipelago. But taro has from time immemorial been the staple food of the Polynesians; and so with the sugar-cane. The Hawaiians ascribe the introduction of taro to their renowned ancestor *Wakea*; but, according to the most reliable and rational of their traditions, it will be seen that *Wakea* was a Gilolo chief, in times previous to the Polynesian migrations, who never put foot on any of the Pacific groups now inhabited by those who claim descent from him.

That the Polynesian *ufi*, *uhi*, and *u'i*, "yam," and *niu*, "cocoa-nut," are identically the same words as the Malay and Javanese *ubi*, *uvi*, and the Javanese *ñu*, there can be no doubt. But assuming that yams and cocoa-nuts were not indigenous on the groups of the Pacific—which, however, has yet to be proven—is it not as likely that the first Polynesian emigrants from the Archipelago (Asiatic) brought those articles with them, as that they were subsequently brought to them by Malay rovers? Besides, I am inclined to think that *kálapa* is the genuine proper Malay name for cocoa-nut, and *ñu* only adopted by them since their arrival in the Archipelago, and adopted from the previous inhabitants, the Polynesians and their congeners. Among the thirty-three names for cocoa-nut recorded in the Appendix to Mr. R. A. Wallace's "Malay Archipelago," p. 611, there are thirty-one entirely different from the Malay name, which is there given as *kálapa* or *klápa*, and twenty-three which are evidently related to the Polynesian *niu*, though more or less corrupted, of which only two, the Salibabo and Ceram (Gah), appear to have retained the Polynesian word in its purity.

In regard to the numeral system, I have shown (p. 144 *et seq.*) the sources which in all probability contributed to form the Polynesian numerals, and for which they are not beholden to either Malays or Javanese.

The notion entertained by Mr. Crawford, that the Tonga Islands were the cradle of the Polynesian race,



from whence they spread over the Pacific Ocean, after having received the benefits of the intercourse with Malay and Javanese sea-rovers, does not at this day require consideration. I prefer to follow Mr. Horatio Hale in his excellent work on the "Ethnology and Philology of Polynesia—United States' Exploring Expedition," published 1846, wherein it is convincingly shown that the primary rendezvous of the Polynesian emigrants from the Asiatic Archipelago was at the Fiji group, and that when driven out from there they scattered east, south, and north over the Pacific Ocean. Malay and Javanese rovers may have followed them to the Fijis; but if so, there is no trace of such occurrence in the traditions, customs, or language of the Polynesians. Whatever there may be in common between the Malays and Javanese, on one hand, and the Polynesians, on the other, must be sought for in circumstances unconnected with ethnic consanguinity, and existing previous to the migrations of the latter into the Pacific.





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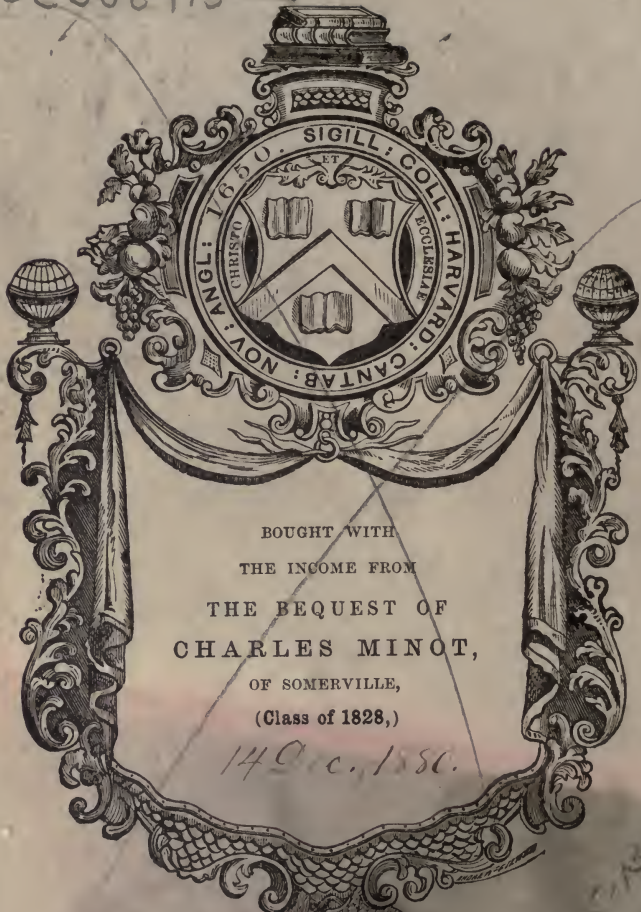


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ITS ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS

AND THE  
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TO THE TIMES OF KAMEHAMEHA I.*

BY  
ABRAHAM FORNANDER,  
CIRCUIT JUDGE OF THE ISLAND OF MAUI, H.I.  
KNIGHT COMPANION OF THE ROYAL ORDER OF KALAKAUA.

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## P R E F A C E.

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IN issuing this, the second volume of "An Account of the Polynesian Race," &c., and the "Ancient History of the Hawaiian People," the author gratefully acknowledges the kind reception which the first volume received. It was a hazardous undertaking to publish a work of that kind ten thousand miles away from the author's residence, with no opportunity of revising the sheets as they came from the press, or preparing an index when the volume was finished. The well-known ability and care of his publishers, the world-known Messrs. Trübner & Co., grappled bravely and successfully with the difficulties of a MS. which, owing to peculiar circumstances, had not been clean copied for the press before it was sent away. To Stephen Spencer, Esq., formerly Chief Clerk to the Interior Department of the Hawaiian Government, and now residing in London, the author is under great obligations for the kind and vicarious supervision that he gave to the proof-reading, and for the thoroughly faultless rendition of the Polynesian words, phrases, and entire chants occurring in the work.

To the gentlemen who compose the staff of such lead-

ing literary journals as the "Westminster Review," the "British Quarterly Review," and the "Academy," the author sends his warm *Aloha* for the notices of kindness and encouragement with which they met his efforts to bring the Polynesian folklore within the zone of scientific research; to collect the broken and distorted rays of that folklore into one historical focus; and, by following the indications thus obtained, to seek the homesteads of the earlier Polynesians, where they themselves say that they ought to be found.

The author may have startled some and shocked others by seeking a Polynesian ancestry beyond the Malay Archipelago; but their own undoubted folklore, their legends and chants, gave no warrant for stopping there. They spoke of continents, and not of islands, as their birthplace. They referred to events in the far past which have hitherto been considered as the prehistoric heirlooms of Cushites and Semites alone. And the language in which that folklore is conveyed, whatever its subsequent modifications and admixtures, will be found, on a critical examination, to be fundamentally Arian of a pre-Vedic type before the inflections were fully developed or generally adopted. If the author has not in every instance secured the consensus of his reader to those conclusions, which to him seem the only possible ones, from the data that he has collected, the fault must be ascribed to the author and not to the data. He may have failed in his manner of presenting them; they still remain, a now imperishable heirloom of the Polynesian

race, to await a more skilful expounder, and to challenge any attempt to deprive that race of its inheritance in the Arian blood and the Cushite civilisation.

In the present volume the author has endeavoured to present the ancient history of that branch of the Polynesians which took up its abode on the Hawaiian Islands. In entering the wilderness of a hitherto untrodden field, and the almost impenetrable jungle of traditions, legends, genealogies, and chants, the author has had no easy task in reducing his materials to historical sequence, precision, and certainty. The difficulties he has had to contend with hardly any but Polynesian scholars can fully appreciate, and how far he has succeeded he respectfully leaves to the Hawaiians themselves to decide.

The author had originally sketched out for himself as a portion of this work—or rather as an appendix to the first volume—a comparative glossary of the Polynesian and Arian dialects in confirmation of their affinity. But the closer and the more critically that subject was approached, the greater and the more numerous became the points of contact, and what had been intended for a few pages has unavoidably swollen to the size of a volume, and as such will be issued in separate form if life and health are granted the author.

ABR. FORNANDER.

LAHAINA, December 1879.



ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS'  
OF  
THE POLYNESIAN RACE.

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*PART II.*

IN the first part of this work I have attempted to trace the origin of the Polynesian Race by following strictly the plain lead of its own folklore and the obvious inductions which the scattered fragments of that lore suggest. To recapitulate in an inverse order the findings to which that folklore has led, I would briefly say that I have found a vague, almost obliterated, consciousness in some of their legends that the head, and front, and beginning of the Polynesians lay in a white (the Arian) race; and I found this consciousness confirmed by referring to the language, probably the oldest Arian form of speech, and to the Arian numeral system, as well as to some customs and modes of thought exclusively Arian. I found in their legends proofs, many and distinct, that at this remote era the Polynesians must have come into long and intimate contact with the early Cushite, Chaldeo-Arabian civilisation, of which so many and so exceedingly interesting fragments yet remain in their folklore. I found that during or after this period of Cushite contact the Polynesians must have amalgamated, as greatly as their Vedic

brethren did afterwards, with the Dravidian peoples south of Chaldea in India. I next found that, whatever the manner or the occasion of their leaving India, though they probably followed in the wake of the great Chaldeo-Arabian commerce of that period, they had occupied the Asiatic Archipelago from Sumatra to Luzon and Timor. I have found no time of their arriving in the archipelago, but I have found from their own genealogies and legends that, approximatively speaking, during the first and second centuries of the Christian era many and properly organised migrations of the Polynesians into the Pacific Ocean took place from various points of the archipelago; a period coincident with the rise and development of the Hindoo and Malay invasions of Sumatra, Java, &c. I found, moreover, that though there is nothing to indicate that some of these migratory expeditions may not have pushed on to some of the eastern, northern, or southern groups of the Pacific now held by the Polynesians, yet that their general rendezvous during this migratory period was on the Fiji group, and principally on the west side of *Viti-levu*; that they were of superior cultivation to the Papuans then and now inhabiting that group; that they stayed there long enough to introduce a large amount of their vocables into the Fijian language, and no inconsiderable part of their legends and customs in the Fijian folklore; and that when finally, after several generations of *séjour*, they were expelled from the Fiji group, they scattered over the Pacific, taking up their present positions on the principal groups, either simultaneously or by stages from group to group, or in both ways; and I have shown that that branch of the Polynesian family from which the oldest ruling line of Hawaiian chiefs claim descent arrived at the Hawaiian group during the sixth century of the Christian era, and, in the utter absence of legendary information, is supposed to have lived secluded and isolated from its cousins in the South Pacific for twelve to fourteen generations, or until a



period which, for convenience, I have designated as that of *Maweke* and *Paumakua*, or about the close of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century A.D.

So far the previous volume has carried the reader. It is known in most cases, and presumed in all, that by the time indicated above all the principal groups had been occupied and peopled by the Polynesians migrating thither, partly during, mostly after, their *séjour* on the Fiji group. There are few data to determine the order of their going; whether the more distant groups were not settled upon as early, or nearly as early, as those nearer to the Fiji group. Mr. Horatio Hale, of the "United States Exploring Expedition," argues a successive distribution of the Polynesian race, after leaving the Fiji group, from the corruption of language and the affinity of dialects; and intimates that the Samoan group was the mother group and the keynote of Polynesian migrations within the Pacific; that having first settled on the Samoan, when this group became over-peopled, it threw off new migrations to the Society group, which, in its turn, when overstocked, started expeditions to the Paumotu and the Marquesas, and that these, in their turn, relieved themselves of a too-redundant population by migratory expeditions to Easter Island and the Hawaiian group, and he allows over three thousand years for this gradual process of redundancy and relief.

The dialectical variations of the different Polynesian groups, and their linguistic corruption from a once common form of speech, are patent enough to him who takes an interest in examining the subject; but it is far from patent, and cannot be proved, that these variations are the result of a process of sequences; in other words, that the Tahitian is a dialect of the Samoan, the Marquesan is a dialect of the Tahitian, and the Hawaiian is a dialect of the Marquesan, and so on in other directions. There are shades of affinity that appear to link one dialect to another more than to

the rest; but there are also shades of divergence so great and glaring that they cannot be explained except on the hypothesis that they existed of old, and were brought with the Polynesians from their various habitats in the Asiatic Archipelago when first they entered the Pacific.

I believe it is now well understood among the best philologists of Europe that the ancient High and Low German, the Saxon and the old Norse, were not successive dialects, formed the one upon the other, but contemporary and coexistent varieties of the Teutonic or Gothic stock when first it entered Europe; and by the same law I claim that the Polynesian dialects are older than their appearance in the Pacific, though the variations may have widened and the peculiarities attached to each may have hardened through lapse of time and through isolation; and, consequently, that the lines of distribution within the Polynesian area cannot safely be argued according to the apparent affinity or divergence of the different dialects. It is, geographically speaking, probable, and as a matter of fact not to be disputed, that the early Hawaiians arrived at their group *via* Tahiti and the Marquesas; though there is nothing to disprove that some of those emigrants came from Samoa direct, as it is known to Hawaiian scholars to have been the case during the period upon which we are now entering, five hundred years later. There is an amount of archaic forms of speech and archaic meanings of vocables in each dialect, that have been altered or become obsolete in the others; thus showing that each dialect was coeval with the others. And in further disproof of Mr. Hale's theory of derivation, the three dialects that are farthest away from what is considered the common centre or source, the Hawaiian, the Easter Island, and the New Zealand are the least corrupted from what undoubtedly was the common mother tongue of the Polynesians before their migration into the Pacific, and much less so than the

supposed mother form, the Samoan. Moreover, the legends and traditions of the pre-Pacific life of the Polynesian race have been preserved in a fuller, better, and purer condition on the Marquesan and Hawaiian groups than on the Tahitian, Samoan, or Tongan, where they are found distorted or frittered away, if found at all, or else entirely forgotten.

I have referred to this subject somewhat at length to justify me in assigning as old, or nearly as old, a residence of the Hawaiians on their group as the Tongans, Samoans, Tahitians, and Marquesans on their groups respectively; and to confirm the correctness of Hawaiian traditions and genealogies, which carry their principal line of chiefs, known and admitted to have lived and flourished on the Hawaiian group, up to *Nanaulu*, or some forty-three generations ago, with the reservation always understood of any previous chance emigrants, of whom tradition makes no mention.

During that long period, of which *Nanaulu* may be considered as the initial point, and extending for thirteen or fourteen generations, or between four and five hundred years, I find nothing in Hawaiian legends, except the bare genealogical tree, to indicate even the faintest ripple of national life and existence. If the epigram be true that "happy is the nation that has no history," the Hawaiians must have been eminently happy during this period. Human and organic nature were, however, probably the same then as now, and wars and contentions may occasionally have disturbed the peace of the people, as eruptions and earthquakes may have destroyed and altered the face of the country. The traditions of such events were forgotten through lapse of time, or absorbed in and effaced by the stirring events which ushered in and accompanied the new era at which we have now arrived. But in spite of the din and stir of the succeeding epoch, in spite of the lapse of time and increasing decadence and savagery of the people, some relics still

remain of the *Nanaulu* period to attest the condition and activity of the people of that period. Such are the *Heiaus* (temples) of the truncated pyramidal form found in various places of the group, and the best preserved specimen of which that I have seen is the Heiau of *Kumakaula* at Kaimu, district of Puna, Hawaii. Such are the *Pohaku-a-Kane*, referred to on p. 46, vol. i., and which retained their sanctity to comparatively modern times. Such are the fishponds—*Loko-ia*—of Cyclopean structure along the coast of Molokai and in some other places, of which tradition has no other account than that they were the work of the *Menehune* people, one of the ancient names of the Polynesians, thus showing that they were executed previous to the *Maweke-Parumakua* period and the arrival of the southern expeditions, after which that name, as a national appellation, disappeared from Hawaii. Such are the *Kumuhonua*, *Welaahilani*, and *Kumuuli* legends and genealogies referred to in the first volume, and which, however much shorn, distorted, and overlaid by subsequent innovations, still found shelter and adherents among the *Maweke* descendants, and have survived in part to the present time.

About the commencement of the eleventh century, after a period of comparative quiet and obscurity, the Polynesian folklore in all the principal groups becomes replete with the legends and songs of a number of remarkable men, of bold expeditions, stirring adventures, and voyages undertaken to far-off lands. An era of national unrest and of tribal commotion seems to have set in, from causes not now known, nor mentioned in the legends. In all the legends and traditions relating to this period that have come under my cognisance, I have been unable to discover any allusions which might indicate that pressure from without by some foreign foe was the primary cause of this commotion; and I am inclined to believe that it arose spontaneously from overpopulation, or perhaps, in a measure, from elemental

casualties, such as desolating volcanic eruptions, subsidence of peopled areas, or the like. Be the cause what it may, a migratory wave swept the island world of the Pacific, embracing in its vortex all the principal groups, and probably all the smaller. Chiefs from the southern groups visited the Hawaiian group, and chiefs from the latter visited the former, accompanied by their relatives, priests, and retainers, and left indelible traces of their *séjour* and permanent settlement on the genealogies of succeeding chiefs, in the disuse of old and substitution of new names for places and landmarks, in the displacement of old and setting up of new tutelal gods, with enlarged rites of worship and stricter tabus. In as far as the Hawaiian group partook of this ethnic convulsion, it continued for seven or eight generations, though there is ground for believing that among the southern groups it continued several generations later, and only finally closed with the emigration from Sawaii, Samoan group, to New Zealand, about fifteen generations previous to 1850,<sup>1</sup> or at the close of the fourteenth or commencement of the fifteenth century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> In "Polynesian Researches," Rev. Mr. Ellis mentions that the Tahitians have genealogies going back upward of a hundred generations, but that only thirty of them can be considered as accurate and reliable. Those thirty generations bring us up to that period of tribal commotion of which I am now treating, when the aristocracy in almost all the groups took, so to say, a new departure. Mr. De Bovis, in his "Etat de la Société Taitienne a l'arrivée des Européens," mentions twenty-four generations of chiefs on Raiatea and Borabora, from *Raa*, the progenitor, to *Tamatoa*, the then (1863) reigning chief of Raiatea. The establishment of this line of chiefs on Raiatea coincides in a remarkable manner as to name, time, and some other circumstances with the well-known Hawaiian chief *Laa*, surnamed

*Mai-kahiki*, with whom, or perhaps with whose sons, closed the Hawaiian period of this interoceanic communication. In the Hervey group, at Rarotonga, the chief, *Makea*, reckoned himself as the twenty-ninth descendant from the time when the two united expeditions from Samoa and Tahiti, under the leaderships of *Karika* and *Tangia*, arrived and established themselves by subduing the previous inhabitants. The Marquesan chiefs of Hivaoa, after counting one hundred and forty-eight generations from the beginning of things, commence a new series from *Matapapa*, and count twenty-one generations to the present time. The *Mangarewa* or *Gambier* islands count twenty-five generations since *Teatamoana* arrived there from foreign lands.

It has been objected by not a few writers to the long voyages of the Polynesians, either on their first entering the Pacific or at this period of tribal commotion and unrest, that they could not possibly be performed in their frail canoes, incapable of containing stores and provisions for a long voyage, and for want of astronomical and nautical knowledge of those who navigated them. Those writers judge the Polynesians as they found them one hundred years ago, isolated, deteriorated, decaying. Had those writers been acquainted with Polynesian folklore, they would have learnt that, at the time we are now speaking of, the Polynesians were not only possessed of open canoes, hollowed out of a single tree, and seldom used except for coasting or fishing excursions, but of vessels constructed from planks sewn or stitched together in a substantial manner, pitched and painted, decked over, or partly so, and with a capacity of hold sufficient to contain men, animals, and stores for any projected voyage;<sup>1</sup> that they possessed a respectable knowledge of the stars, their rising and setting at all times of the year, both in the Southern and Northern Hemisphere; that they were acquainted with the limits of the ecliptic and situation of the equator; that they possessed the keenest eyesight and a judgment trained to estimate all appearances indicating the approach of

<sup>1</sup> Rev. J. Williams relates that during his residence at Tahiti there arrived at Papeete, about 1819-20, from Rurutu, one of the Austral group, 700 miles distant, a large canoe, planked up and sewed together, whose hold was twelve feet deep. This peculiar method of planking up or sewing together the different pieces of which the large sea-going canoes in olden times were made prevailed throughout Polynesia, and is still retained at the Navigators, Paumotu, and other groups, besides in Micronesia, and is still customary among the Buguis of Celebes and

Ceram. In the Hawaiian group this manner of making large canoes was not wholly discarded as late as the middle of the last century; for it is credibly reported by some of the old natives, whose grandparents lived at the time and saw it, that the principal war-canoe, or admiral's ship, of *Peleioholani*—the famous warrior-king of Oahu, who died about eight years before the arrival of Captain Cook—was a double canoe built in that manner; its name was "*Kaneaai*," and that on *Peleioholani's* expeditions it carried on board from one hundred and twenty to one hundred

land, by flight of birds and other signs; and with all this a courage, hardihood, and perseverance that never failed them at critical moments. And when to this be added that seven or eight hundred years ago the Pacific Ocean probably presented a different aspect as regards islands and atolls than it now does—the legends speaking of islands both large and small in the track of their voyages, of which now no trace exists—surprise ceases when one finds on the traditional record accounts of voyages undertaken from Hawaii to Marquesas, Tahiti, Samoa, or *vice versa*.

As little as the legends speak of the cause or causes which led to this ethnic or tribal movement and inter-communication after so long a period of comparative quiet, as little do they mention the causes which led to its discontinuance after more than two hundred years' duration. It is permitted, therefore, to suppose that, among other causes, not the least potent was the subsidence and disappearance of some of those islands which had served as landmarks and stopping-places on previous voyages.

What the conceptions of the ancient Hawaiians of this and subsequent periods were in regard to the geography of the Pacific may be gathered from the following chant of *Kamahualele*, the astrologer and companion of *Moikeha*,

and forty men, besides provisions, water, stores, armament, &c. Of the enormous size of the double canoes that were fashioned out of a single tree, some idea may be formed from a specimen still existing—at least it was a few years ago when the author visited the locality—near the south point of Hawaii. It was said to have been one of a double canoe belonging to *Kamehameha I.*, and it measured one hundred and eight feet in length. Its mate had decayed and disappeared, and this giant relic of ancient shipbuilding was also hastening to decay. In the New Zealand

legends collected by Sir George Grey we read of a Samoan expedition of five large double canoes, the *Arava*, *Tainui*, &c., decked over, or partly so, containing the different chiefs and their families, their retainers and their families, provisions, animals, &c., which were bound to New Zealand, the *Ao-tea-roa* of the legend, who found the land they were bound to, and, disembarking, settled there; that some of them returned to the Samoan group, and finally came back and remained permanently on New Zealand.

the grandson of *Maweke*, on his return from Tahiti to Hawaii. As he approached the latter island the seer and prophet exclaimed:—

Here is Hawaii, the island, the man,  
*Eia Hawaii, he moku, he kanaka,*  
 A man is Hawaii,—E.  
*He kanaka Hawaii,—E.*  
 A man is Hawaii,  
*He kanaka Hawaii,*  
 A child of Kahiki,  
*He kama na Kahiki,*  
 A royal flower from Kapaahu,  
*He pua Alii mai Kapaahu,*  
 From Moaulanuiakea Kanaloa,  
*Mai Moaulanuiakea Kanaloa,*  
 A grandchild of Kahiko and Kapulanakehau,  
*He moopuna na Kahiko laua o Kapulanakehan,*  
 Papa begat him,  
*Na Papa i hanau,*  
 The daughter of Kukalaniehu and Kauakahakoku.  
*Na ke kama wahine o Kukalaniehu laua me Kauakahakoko.*  
 The scattered islands are in a row,  
*Na pulapula aina i paekahi,*  
 Placed evenly from east to west,  
*I nonoho like i ka Hikina, Komohana,*  
 Spread evenly is the land in a row  
*Pae like ka moku i lalani*  
 Joined on to Holani.  
*I hui aku, hui mai me Holani.*  
 Kaialea the seer went round the land,  
*Puni ka moku o Kaialea ke kilo,*  
 Separated Nuuhiwa, landed on Polapola :  
*Naha Nuuhiwa, lele i Polapola :*  
 O Kahiko is the root of the land,  
*O Kahiko ke kumu aina,*  
 He divided and separated the islands.  
*Nana i mahele kaawale na moku.*  
 Broken is the fish-line of Kahai,  
*Moku ka aholawaia a Kahai,*  
 That was cut by Kukanaloa :  
*I okia e Kukanaloa :*  
 Broken up into pieces were the lands, the islands,  
*Pauku na aina na moku,*  
 Cut up by the sacred knife of Kanaloa.  
*Moku i ka ohe kapu a Kanaloa.*



O Haumea Manukahikele,  
*O Haumea Manukahikele,*  
 O Moikeha, the chief who is to reside,  
*O Moikeha, ka Lani nana e noho,*  
 My chief will reside on Hawaii—a—  
*Noho kuu Lani ia Hawaii—a—*  
 Life, life, O buoyant life !  
*Ola, Ola, o kalana ola !*  
 Live shall the chief and the priest,  
*Ola ke Alii, ke Kahuna,*  
 Live shall the seer and the slave,  
*Ola ke Kilo, ke Kauwa,*  
 Dwell on Hawaii and be at rest,  
*Noho ia Hawaii a lu lana,*  
 And attain to old age on Kauai.  
*A kani moopuna i Kauai.*  
 O Kauai is the island—a—  
*O Kauai ka moku—a—*  
 O Moikeha is the chief.  
*O Moikeha ke Alii.*

In the chant of *Kahakukamoana*, a famous high-priest of olden times, though several generations later than this migratory period, mention is made of Hawaii as having arisen from the dark—from the deep—and forming one of “the row of islands of *Nuumea*, the cluster of islands reaching to the farthest ends of Tahiti.”<sup>1</sup> And giving the same indefinite origin to Maui and the other islands under the paraphrases of natural births, the chant refers to some of the principal chief families from *Nuumea*, *Holani*, *Tahiti*, and *Polapola* who settled on the other islands of the Hawaiian group, and are thus poetically said to have given birth to them. Thus *Kuluwariaea*, the husband, and *Hinanui-a-lana*, the wife, are said to be the parents of Molokai, which is called “a god, a priest, the

<sup>1</sup> *Ea mai Hawaii-nui-akea !*  
*Ea mai loko, mai loko mai o ka*  
*po !*  
*Puka ka moku, ka aina,*  
*Ka lalani aina o Nuumea,*  
*Ka Pae aina o i kukulu o Kahiki.*

Rising up is Hawaii-nui-akea !  
 Rising up out of, out of the night  
 (Po) !  
 Appeared has the island, the land,  
 The string of islands of Nuumea,  
 The cluster of islands stretching to  
 the farthest ends of Tahiti.

first morning light from Nuumea.”<sup>1</sup> Lanai is said to have been an adopted child of a chief from Tahiti, whose name, if the transcript of the chant is correct, is not given, but whose epithet was “the spatterer of the red or dirty water,” *Ka haluku wai ea*. Kahoolawe is said to be the child of *Keaukanai*, the man, and *Walinuu*, the wife, from Holani; and the epithet of the island-child is “the farmer”—*he lopa*. Molokini has no separate settlers, but is called the navel-string—*Iewe*—of Kahoolawe. Oahu is attributed to *Ahukini-a-Laa*, a son of the famous *Laa-mai-kahiki*, who was fourth in descent from *Paumakua* of the southern *Ulu-puna* branch, and his wife’s name is given as *Laamealaakona*. The epithet of Oahu is *he Wohi*, a royal title assumed only by the Oahu chiefs of the highest rank until comparatively modern times. *Ahukini-a-laa* is said in the chant to have come from foreign lands, *mai ka nanamu*, from Apia, Samoan group, though the verse makes a pun on the word, and from the deep sea of Halehalekalani.<sup>2</sup> Kauai is said to have been begotten by *Laakapu*, the man, and *Laamealaakona*, the wife, thus having the same mother as Oahu. Finally, *Wanalia*, the husband, from Polapola, and his wife, *Hanalaria*, were the parents of Niihau, Kaula, and Nihoa, the last and westernmost islands of the group.

A remarkable fragment has been preserved of the chant of *Karlu-a-kalana*, a famous navigator of this period.

<sup>1</sup> *Na Kuluwaiea o Haumea he kane,* To Kuluwaiea of Haumea, the husband,  
*Na Hinanui-a-lana he wahine,* To Hinanui-a-lana, the wife,  
*Loaa Molokai, he Akua, he Kahuna,* Was born Molokai, a god, a priest,  
*He pualena no Nuumea.* The first morning light from Nuumea.

<sup>2</sup> *Ku mai Ahukiniialaa,* Up stands Akubinialaa,  
*He Aii mai ka nanamu,* The chief from the foreign land,  
*Mai ka Api o ka ia,* From the gills of the fish,  
*Mai ke ale poi pu o Halehalekalani,* From the overwhelming billows of Halehalekalani,  
*Loaa Oahu he Wohi,* Born is Oahu the Wohi,  
*He Wohi na Ahukini-a-Laa,* The Wohi of Ahukiniialaa,  
*Na Laamealaakona he wahine.* And of Laamealaakona the wife.

Whether he belonged to the southern, *Ulu*, line of chiefs, or to the northern, *Nana-ulu*, line, is not clear, but that he lived or settled on Oahu seems to be admitted; and he is referred to in several legends of this period as contemporary with *Moikeha*, *Luhaukapawa*, the famous priest and prophet, and other prominent personages of both lines. In his chant he mentions a number of lands and islands visited by him, some of which occur under the very same names as those earlier homesteads of the Polynesian race of which I have treated in the beginning of the first part of this work, and to which the legends of *Kumuhonua* and *Hawaii-loa* refer. The majority of the lands visited by Kaulu I have, however, been unable to identify. Wawau of the Tonga group and Upolo of the Samoan are clearly distinguishable as parts of his periplus. I quote the fragment in full:—

I am Kaulu,  
*O Kaulu nei wau,*  
 The child of Kalana,  
*O ke kama o Kalana,*  
 The sacred rest,  
*O ka hiamoe kapu,*  
 The sea-slug,  
*Ka auwaalalua,*  
 The great slinger (expert with the sling).  
*Ke keele maaalaioa.*  
 Rainbow colours, morning light,  
*O kuulei, o pawa,*  
 He (is the one) who spreads them out,  
*Ka mea nana i hoolei,*  
 Kaulu ashore, E, Kaulu at sea,  
*Kaulu mauka, E Kaulu makai,*  
 E. Kaulu—E—He is the Kiwaa,  
*E Kaulu—E—Kiwaa<sup>1</sup> ia,*  
 E. Kaulu—E—a fleet is he.  
*E. Kaulu—E—auwaa ia.<sup>2</sup>*  
 He has landed on (visited) Wawau,  
*O lele aku keia o Wawau,*

<sup>1</sup> *Kiwaa* was the name of a very large bird.

<sup>2</sup> Analogous to the English expression, "he is a host in himself."

Upolu, Little Pukalia,  
*O Upolu, O Pukalia iki,*  
 Great Pukalia, Alala,  
*O Pukalia nui, O Alala,*  
 Pelua, Palana, Holani,  
*O Pelua, O Palana, O Holani,*  
 The Isthmus, Ulunui, Uliuli,  
*O ke Kuina,<sup>1</sup> O Ulunui, O Uliuli,*  
 Melemele, Hiikua, Hiialo,  
*O Melemele, O Hiikua, O Hiialo,*  
 Hakalauai ;—who has spanned the heaven,  
*O Hakalauai ; apo ka lani,*  
 Spanned the night, spanned the day,  
*Apo ka po, apo ke ao,*  
 Spanned the farthest ends of Kahiki ;  
*Apo Kukuluo Kahiki ;*  
 Finished (explored) is Kahiki by Kaulu,  
*Pau Kahiki ia Kaulu,*  
 Finished is Kahiki by Kaulu,  
*Pau Kahiki ia Kaulu,*  
 To the coral reefs where the surf is roaring.  
*I Koa o Halulukoakoa.*  
 From the time perhaps of Ku,  
*Mai ke au paha ia Ku,*  
 From the time perhaps of Lono,  
*Mai ke au paha ia Lono,*  
 Broken has been the sacred shell,  
*I Wahia ai ka Pumaleolani,<sup>2</sup>*  
 The shell-fish, the porpoise,  
*O ka pupu, O ka Naia,*  
 The garlands for the back, the garlands for the breast,  
*O ka lei Kua, O ka lei Alo,*  
 The altar, the altar of that one,  
*O ka lele, O ka lele o Kela,*  
 Hakuhakualani is my father,  
*Hakuhakualani kuu Makuakane,*

<sup>1</sup> I have rendered *Kuina* by "isthmus;" it may be a proper name of a place or land, but the prefixed article, *ke*, seems to indicate otherwise. *Kuina* is a poetical phrase for an isthmus, its literal meaning being a "junction," the place where two things meet, a seam between two cloths, &c. What particular isthmus is here referred to it is difficult to say.

<sup>2</sup> *Pumaleolani* was the name of a large shell or conch, on which the highest chiefs alone were privileged to blow; and it was tabu for any inferior to touch or break it. Thus the sense of this and the two preceding lines is that from the most ancient times the tabus have been broken and authority disregarded.

The altar, the altar of this one,  
*O ka lele, O ka lele o keia,*  
 Hakuhakualani is my mother.  
*Hakuhakualani kuu Makuahine.*  
 Falling are the heavens, rushing through the heavens  
*Lele ka oiti o ka lani, lele i ka lani*  
 Falls the dismal rain, rushing through the heavens  
*Lele ka ua lokuloku, lele i ka lani*  
 Falls the heavy rain, rushing through the heavens  
*Lele ka ua hea, lele i ka lani*  
 Falls the gentle rain, rushing through the heavens  
*Lele ka ua huna, lele i ka lani*  
 Soars the dragonfly, rushing through the heavens,  
*Lele ka pinaohaololani, lele i ka lani,*  
 Passed away has this one to Moanawaikaioo.  
*O lele aku keia o Moanawaikaioo.*  
 The strong current, the rolling current, whirl away,  
*O ke au miki, o ke au ka, e mimilo ai,*  
 It will be overcome by you,—  
*E make ai ia oe,—*  
 Passing perhaps, remaining perhaps.  
*E lele paha, e ku paha.*

Another ancient Hawaiian bard sung about these foreign regions:—

The noisy sea (around) the island,  
*Kai wawa ka moku,*  
 The sea of burning coals,  
*Kai lanahu ahi,*  
 The azure blue sea of Kane.  
*Kai popolohua mea a Kane.*  
 The birds drink (of the waters) in the Red Sea,  
*Inu a ka manu i ke kai-ula,*  
 In (the waters of) the Green Sea,  
*I ke kai a ka omaomao,*  
 Never quiet, never falling, never sleeping,  
*Aole ku, aole hina, aole moe,*  
 Never very noisy is the sea of the sacred caves.  
*Aole wawa loa kai a ke ana oku.<sup>1</sup>*

Though the legends of *Hema* and of *Kahai* are undoubtedly of southern origin, yet, as evidences of the

<sup>1</sup> Where these red or green or tainly were beyond the area of the otherwise described seas may have Pacific Ocean, and in so far attest been situated it is now hardly possible to determine; but they certainly the distant voyages of the Polynesians of this epoch.

great nautical activity, and the expeditions to far-off foreign lands of this period, the following extracts may be quoted. The chant says of *Hema* :—

Hema went to Kahiki to fetch the red fillet (circlet or ring),

*Holo Hema i Kahiki, kii i ke apo-ula,*<sup>1</sup>

Hema was caught by the *Aaia*,

*Loaa Hema, lilo i ka Aaia,*<sup>2</sup>

He fell dead in Kahiki, in *Kapakapakaua*,

*Haule i Kahiki, i Kapakapahaua,*

He rests in *Ulu-paupau*.

*Waiho ai i Ulu-paupau.*<sup>3</sup>

According to the legend, his son *Kahai* started in search of his father or to avenge his death, and the chant describes his expedition :—

The rainbow is the path of *Kahai* ;

*O ke anuenuenu ke ala o Kahai ;*

*Kahai* arose, *Kahai* bestirred himself,

*Pii Kahai, Koi Kahai,*

*Kahai* passed on on the floating cloud of *Kane* ;

*He Kahai i ke Koi ula a Kane ;*

Perplexed were the eyes of *Alihi* ;

*Hihia i na maka o Alihi ;*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other versions of the legend say that *Hema* went to *Kahiki* to receive the tribute or tax due at the birth of his son, *Kahai*, which tax was called *Palala* ; those legends stating that *Hema's* wife was from *Kahiki*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Aaia*, or *Aaia-nuke-a-kane*, is the name of a large sea-bird with white feathers, but in the old legends was a fabulous bird, a messenger of *Kane*, and dedicated to him.

<sup>3</sup> For explanations of *Kapakapaua* and *Ulu-paupau*, see vol. i. pp. 15, 23, 134. According to the chant, *Hema* attempted to revisit those legendary homes of his race and was lost by the way ; and according to the legend of his son, *Kahai*, the voyage of the latter was equally disastrous, at least he never returned.

<sup>4</sup> According to the New Zealand legend of *Kahai* or *Tawhaki*, after he

and his brother *Karihi* had avenged their father's death upon the *Ponaturi* tribe—a race living below the sea in the daytime and on shore at night ("Polynesian Mythology," by Sir G. Grey)—they started to climb up to heaven in search of *Kahai's* celestial wife. *Karihi* slipped and fell back on the earth, and saw, with wonder and amazement, his brother succeeding in getting up into heaven. Hence doubtless the expression in the chant, "perplexed, bewildered, were the eyes of *Alihi*." The Hawaiian legends make no mention of *Kahai's* brother, but this line in the chant confirms the identity of the Hawaiian *Kahai* with the New Zealand, or rather Samoan, *Tawhaki*, and the importation of the legend by the southern emigrants.

Kahai passed on on the glancing light,  
*Ae Kahai i ke anaha,*  
 The glancing light (on) men and canoes ;  
*He anaha ke kanaka, ka waa ;*  
 Above was Hanaiakamalama,  
*Iluao Hanaiakamalama,<sup>1</sup>*  
 That is the road to seek the father of Kahai ;  
*O ke ala ia i imi ai i ka makua o Kahai ;*  
 Go on over the deep blue ocean,  
*O hele a i ka moana wehiwehi,*  
 And shake the foundations of heaven.  
*A halulu i Hale-kumu-kalani.*  
 Inquiring are the retainers of the God,  
*Ui mai kini o ke akua,*  
 Kane and Kanaloa are asking  
*Ninau o Kane o Kanaloa<sup>2</sup>*  
 For what purpose is your large travelling party,  
*Heaha kau huakai nui,*  
 O Kahai, that has come hither ?  
*E Kahai, i hiki mai ai ?*  
 I am seeking for Hema,  
*I imi mai au i ka Hema,<sup>3</sup>*  
 There in Kahiki, there in Ulupaupau,  
*Aia i Kahiki, aia i Ulupaupau,*

<sup>1</sup> *Hanaiakamalama* was the sobriquet of *Hema's* mother, *Hina*. She is said to have been disgusted with her children *Puna* and *Hema*, and to have gone up to the moon to live, but in the act of ascending, her husband, *Aikanaka*, caught her by the leg and tore it off, on account of which she was called *Lono-moku*, "the maimed or crippled Lono." Mr. S. B. Dole, in his translation of this chant published in the "Hawaiian Club Papers," Boston, 1868, gives *Hanaiakamalama* as the "Southern Star." I am not aware of any other legends or chants where this word is used to designate the "Southern Star," or rather the Southern Cross, which was a well-known and important constellation to Polynesian navigators. Its application to the moon was more usual, and in this case would imply that *Kahai* sailed under the protection of his grandmother, who dwelt in the moon.

<sup>2</sup> The placing of *Kanaloa* in the same category of gods as *Kane* shows the southern taint of the chant, although Hawaiian bards, in adopting and rearranging the legend, gave to their own ancient god *Kane* the pre-eminence by placing his name before that of *Kanaloa*.

<sup>3</sup> Here is a play upon the word *Hema*, which was the name of *Kahai's* father, and, with the accent on the first syllable, signifies "the south." From the whole tenor and drift of the literature of this period, I am convinced that the article *ka* before *Hema* is a Hawaiian alteration in aftertimes, to produce a double meaning, and convey the idea, from a Hawaiian point of view, that while *Kahai* was seeking his father *Hema*, he was also seeking him in places situated at the south of the Hawaiian group.

There at the Aaia constantly breathed on by Kane,  
*Aia i ka Aaia, haha mau ia a Kane,*  
 Reaching to the farthest ends of Kahiki.  
*Loaa aku i kukulu o Kahiki.*

Another extract from the chants of this period preserved by Hawaiian bards shows that the Hawaiian group was well known to the southern tribes of the Pacific. It is a portion of the chant of *Makuakaumana*, the priest who accompanied *Paa*, the southern prince and high priest, on his voyage to establish a new dynasty on Hawaii after the fall of *Kaparua*. *Paa* had offered the throne to *Lono Kaeho*, but he after a while refused, and recommended that *Pili*, surnamed *Kaaiea*, be sent. Following is the portion of the chant preserved; *Makuakaumana* is supposed to be addressing *Lono Kaeho*—

E Lono, E Lono!—E! E Lonokaeho!  
*E Lono, E Lono—E! E Lonokaeho!*  
 Lonokulani, Chief of Kauluonana!  
*Lonokulani, Alii o Kauluonana!*  
 Here are the canoes; get on board,  
*Eia na waa; kau mai a-i,*  
 Come along, and dwell in Hawaii-with-the-green-back,  
*E hoi, e noho ia Hawaii-kua-uli,*  
 A land that was found in the ocean  
*He aina loaa i ka moana,*  
 That was thrown up from the sea,  
*I hoea mai loko o ka ale,*  
 From the very depths of Kanaloa,  
*I ka halehale poi pu a Kanaloa.<sup>1</sup>*  
 The white coral in the watery caves  
*He Koakea i halelo<sup>2</sup> i ka wai,*  
 That was caught on the hook of the fisherman,  
*I lou i ka makau a ka lawaia,*  
 The great fisherman of Kapaahu,  
*A ka lawaia nui o Kapaahu,*  
 The great fisherman, Kapuheuanuu.  
*A ke lawaia nui o Kapuheuanuu-la.<sup>3</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> This expression refers again to the southern legend that the islands were fished up from the ocean by *Kanaloa*.

<sup>2</sup> Abbreviation from "Halelelo," caves in the sea.

<sup>3</sup> The foregoing lines refer to a legend which states that *Kapuheuanuu*, a fisherman of *Kapaahu* in Kahiki, being out fishing, caught a lump of coral on his hook. His priest advised him to perform certain religi-



The canoes touch the shore, come on board,  
*A pae na waa, kau mai,*  
 Go and possess Hawaii, the island ;  
*E holo, e ai ia Hawaii he moku ;*  
 An island is Hawaii,  
*He moku Hawaii,*  
 An island is Hawaii, for Lonokaeho to dwell on.  
*He moku Hawaii, no Lonokaeho e noho.*

Numerous other extracts of ancient legends and chants may be quoted from Hawaiian folklore alone to prove, not only the knowledge, in a general way, of each other's existence, possessed by the Polynesian tribes, but also the intimate and frequent connection between them at this period. Whatever the causes that led to its discontinuance, the fact of its once having existed can no longer be doubted. And the criticism which rests content with the apparent difficulty of navigating the Pacific Ocean in small vessels, without compass, and what may now be considered competent nautical knowledge, has simply failed to inform itself of the conditions and circumstances under which those voyages were undertaken, as well as of the then intellectual status of those who performed them. Certainly the difficulty of the Polynesians navigating the Pacific in their large canoes of that period, whether single or double, was no greater than that of the Norsemen navigating the Atlantic to Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland, or penetrating up the Mediterranean in their "sneckas"

ous rites over the coral and throw it back into the sea, where it would grow into an island and be called *Hawaii-loa* ; and it happened accordingly. Next time the fisherman caught another lump of coral, which in the same manner was sanctified and called *Mauiloa* ; and thus on different occasions the whole Hawaiian group was fished up out of the ocean by *Kapuhueuanuu*. The reference to *Kapaahu*, as being the place where the fisherman belonged, stamps the legend as of southern origin, it being the place in Kahiki whence, accord-

ing to the legends, *Moikeha* and *Laa-maikahiki* departed on their return to Hawaii. From that time *Kapaahu* became the name of several lands on the Hawaiian group. I have been unable as yet to ascertain if any district or land on any of the southern groups still retains the name of *Kapaahu*. In Hawaiian legends it is intimately connected with that southern migratory period, as one of the chief places to which and from which the naval expeditions of those days were fitted out.

and "drakes;" nor was the nautical knowledge of the latter any greater than that of the former. We believe the Icelandic folklore which tells of exploits and voyages to far distant lands; why then discredit the Polynesian folklore which tells of voyages between the different groups, undertaken purposely and accomplished safely both in going and returning?<sup>1</sup>

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Among the several southern chief families which at this period established themselves on the Hawaiian group, it is now almost impossible to determine the priority of arrival. The *Nana* family, of which *Kapawa* was the last reigning chief on Hawaii, and predecessor to *Pili*, was probably among the earliest arrivals. I have shown (vol. i. p. 200) that this family has been misplaced on the Hawaiian genealogies. *Nanamaoa*, or *Nana-a-Maui*, as he is called in some genealogies, could not possibly be the son of *Maui-a-kalana*, and at the same time the grandfather, or even great-grandfather, of *Kapawa*. I am led to assume, therefore, that *Nanamaoa* was the first of his family who arrived from one or the other of the southern groups and established himself on the Hawaiian group. His son, *Nanakaoko*, was a chief of considerable note on the island of Oahu. He and his wife, *Kahihiokealani*, are by the oldest, and by all the legends, acknowledged as having built the famous and in all subsequent ages hallowed place called *Kukaniloko*, the remains of which are still pointed out about three-fourths of a mile inland from the bridge now crossing the *Kaukonahua* stream in Ewa district, island of Oahu. Chiefs that were born there were "born in the purple," and enjoyed the dis-

<sup>1</sup> The reader will bear in mind the size of the vessels with which Columbus started to discover the new world. Even Drake's celebrated South Sea expedition was composed of vessels the largest of which was only one hundred tons and the smallest was but fifteen tons, the other three ranging at eighty, fifty, and thirty tons.

inction, privileges, and tabus which that fact conferred.<sup>1</sup> So highly were those dignities and privileges prized, even in latest times, when the ancient structure and surroundings had fallen in decay, that *Kamehameha I.*, in 1797, previous to the birth of his son and successor, *Liholiho K. II.*, made every arrangement to have the accouchement take place at Kukaniloko; but the illness of Queen *Keopuolani* frustrated the design.

Notwithstanding the royal genealogies of both Hawaii and Maui have expunged the name of *Nanakaoko's* son *Kapawa* from their lists, substituting the name of *Heleipawa*, and have misplaced *Nanakaoko* some seventeen generations ahead of his actual time, yet Oahu and Kauai genealogies, though equally misplacing the *Nana* family in the series, acknowledge *Kapawa* as the son of *Nanakaoko*; and while the legends—which either come down contemporary with and independent of the genealogies, or else are a sort of running commentary upon them—make brief mention of *Kapawa*, they are positive and plain on three episodes of his life, which, if we recognise him as the contemporary of *Paumakua*, have all the air of probability, and doubtless are historically true, but which, if referred to fifteen or seventeen generations earlier, would bring us away from the Hawaiian group altogether, and land us in that nebulous region of myth and legend which characterises the whole southern element, at least in Hawaiian tradition, from the time of *Ulu* up to this migratory period now under consideration. Those three events in *Kapawa's* life were, that he was born at *Kukaniloko* aforesaid;<sup>2</sup> that he was buried at *Iao*, an equally

<sup>1</sup> Here was kept the sacred drum, *Hawe*, which announced to the assembled and expectant multitude the birth of a tabu chief.

<sup>2</sup> Some legends call *Kapawa* a chief of Wailua district, island of Oahu. As he was born at Kukaniloko, his youth may have been passed at Wailua, and hence the epithet of "Ke Alii o Wailua." Oahu legends

make no further mention of *Kapawa*, or of his subsequent career; but Hawaii legends declare distinctly that he was the predecessor of *Pili* as chief over Hawaii, and that for his bad government or other wickedness he had been deposed or expelled. Even the notice of his death and burial at *Iao* comes to us through the *Pao* and *Pili* legends.

hallowed burying-place of ancient chiefs situated in the valley of Wailuku on the island of Maui; and that he was the last sovereign or supreme chief of the island of Hawaii previous to the arrival of *Pili*, surnamed *Kaaiea*.

*Kapawa* is the first Hawaiian chief whom tradition mentions as having been buried at *Iao*; but as no allusion is made anywhere to him as the founder of that sacred burial-place, the presumption is that it was instituted previous, though by whom or when is now unknown. During this period, however, and in after ages, it was considered as great an honour to be buried at *Iao* as to have been born at *Kukaniloko*. What the particular crimes of *Kapawa* may have been which lost him the sovereignty of Hawaii, tradition does not mention. Whatever they were, if any, it is presumable that they were imputed to him by those who succeeded him; and it is equally probable that *Paa*o, that southern chief and high priest who constituted his own family as a hereditary priesthood on Hawaii, had more or less to do with the downfall of *Kapawa*. On the expulsion or death of *Kapawa*, *Paa*o sent to "Kahiki" for some one of the southern chiefs to come and take possession of the vacant sovereignty. *Lonokaeho* was first applied to, but refused; and then *Pili Kaaiea* was advised to go, and he came to Hawaii, and by the assistance of *Paa*o was established as the territorial sovereign of that island, *Paa*o remaining his high priest. And from *Pili* the ruling Hawaiian chiefs, down to the *Kamehameha* family, claimed their descent; and, as if conscious of their usurpation or intrusion upon the domestic line, their genealogists and bards in subsequent ages were always trying to connect *Pili* with the indigenous chiefs on the Maui line from *Paumakua* and *Haho*; and the occasional matrimonial alliances of those *Pili* descendants with Oahu or Kauai chiefs or chiefesses of the ancient *Nanaulu* line were always considered an honour, and dwelt on with no small emphasis in the *Meles* (songs) and legends.

The next families of note derived from this southern immigrating element of this period were the two *Paumakuas*, the one claiming descent from *Puna* and the other from his brother *Hema*, both of the *Ulu* line. The former family spread over Oahu and Kauai, the latter on Maui and Hawaii. The Oahu *Paumakuas* may have arrived in the time of the grandfather *Newalani*,<sup>1</sup> or even earlier; certain it is that the *Paumakua* of this branch was born on Oahu, at Kuaaohe in Kailua, Koolaupoko, that he died on Oahu, and was buried at Iao on Maui. The Maui *Paumakuas*, on the other hand, probably did not arrive earlier than the time of the father, *Huanuikala-lailai*, if *Paumakua* himself was not the first arrival of that family, along with his brother *Kuheailani*. And though the Maui and Hawaii dynasties ever kept the *Paumakua*, whom they claimed as ancestor, distinctly descending on the *Hema* branch of the *Ulu* line, yet they never scrupled in after ages to appropriate to him the legends and events connected with the Oahu *Paumakua*,

<sup>1</sup> To judge from an ancient legend, *Newalani* had another son beside *Lonohoo-Newa*, the father of *Paumakua*. This son was called *Kahano-a-Newa*, and is mentioned as the *Kahu* (guardian or foster-father) of *Kahiki-ku-o ka-lani*, whom there is reason to believe was the same as *Kahihio-ka-lani*, the wife of *Nanakaoko* and mother of *Kapawa*. If so, it establishes beyond a doubt the contemporaneity and relationship of *Kapawa* and *Paumakua*, as well as their southern extraction. With a singular blending in after ages of ancient reminiscences and ancient myths, the legend speaks of this *Kahano-a-Newa* as a great sorcerer—a prominent characteristic of most of the southern celebrities—who “stretched out his hands to the farthest bounds of Kahiki, and on them,” as on a bridge, “came the *Menehune* people to Oahu;” and the places assigned

them to live in were Kailua in the Koolau district, and Pauoa and Puowaina in the Kona district; and it is said that they were introduced to be the servants of *Kahiki-ku-o ka-lani*, and that they were employed to build the Heiaus of Mauiki, Kaheiki, Kawaewae, Eku, Kamoalii, and Kuaokala. It is further stated, probably in reference to some remarkable eclipse, that “when the sun vanished and the earth became dark, *Kahano* brought the sun back again.” It is impossible to determine the date of this legend, but the ancient national appellation of *Menehune* must have become obsolete long before that, and forgotten by the compiler. The mention of the *Menehune* as servants of a chiefess of known southern extraction marks the legend as a product of that southern element, especially Tahitian, where *Menehune* had become the name for the lowest labouring class of the people.

and which apparently they borrowed from Kauai and Oahu sources. And when in later times, previous to the discovery of the islands by Captain Cook, and subsequently during the long reign of *Kamehameha I.*, the Hawaii and Maui dynasties had gained a decided preponderance and political supremacy, their versions of legends and genealogies passed undisputed, and it became treason to criticise them. Hence no little confusion in the national records and great embarrassment to the critical student who endeavours to elicit the truth from these conflicting relics of the past. Fortunately, both Oahu and Kauai genealogies have survived, and by their aid, and by the legends attached to them, it is possible to disentangle the apparent snarl of the various versions, and reduce the pretensions of the Hawaii and Maui genealogists and bards to limits conformable with historical truth.

Thus brought to the test, and divested of the embellishments of the raconteurs and the poetical frenzy of the bards, the Hawaiian folklore of this period establishes the following main facts:—That the family of the Oahu *Paumakua*, the son of *Lonohoonewa*, had been in the country for two if not three or more generations before *Paumakua* was born; that the family of the Maui *Paumakua*, the son of *Huanuikalalailai*, probably arrived with the said *Paumakua* himself; that the voyages to foreign lands, exploits, and adventures promiscuously ascribed by later legends to *Paumakua*, the ancestor of the Maui and Hawaii chiefs, in reality belong to the Oahu *Paumakua* of the *Puna* branch on the *Ulu* line.<sup>1</sup>

The various legends referring to this *Paumakua* relate

<sup>1</sup> There was a legend from which S. M. Kamakau culled the notice that *Huanuikalalailai* was buried at Niuala, Honokohau, Maui, and that he was the ancestor ("Kupuna"), or, according to the genealogies, the great-grandfather, of the famous *Kana* and *Niheu-Kalohe*, of whom more hereafter. I know not the

origin of the other legend which Kamakau strangely mixes up with the foregoing, and which says that *Huanuikalalailai*—so called by the people for his liberal and good government, but whose proper name was *Hua-kama-pau*—was an Oahu chief who ruled in Honolulu and Waikiki, and was born at Kewalo,

more or less of his wanderings in foreign lands; how he circumnavigated the world ("*Kaapuni Kahiki*"), meaning thereby all foreign lands outside of the Hawaiian group. One of these legends relates that on his return from one of his foreign voyages he brought back with him to Oahu two white men, said to have been priests, *Auakahinu* and *Auakamea*, afterwards named *Kaekae* and *Maluu*, and from whom several priestly families in after ages claimed their descent and authority. The legend further states that *Paumakua* on the same occasion also brought a prophet ("*Kaula*") called *Malela*, but whether the latter was also a white man the tradition is not so explicit. Another legend relates that when *Paumakua* returned from foreign voyages he brought with him three white persons, called *Kukahauula*, *Kukalepa*, and *Haina-Pole*, a woman. The latter legend, however, appears to me to be a Maui or Hawaii *réchauffée* of the original Oahu legend, and for this reason, that in all subsequent times no Maui or Hawaii priestly family traced their descent to either *Kaekae* or *Maluu*, which, with perhaps one or two exceptions on Kauai, flourished exclusively on Oahu.

The white foreigners who came with *Paumakua* are in the legend said to have been "*Ka haole nui, maka alohilohi, ke a aholehole, maka aa, ka puaa keokeo nui, maka ulaula*" ("Foreigners of large stature, bright sparkling eyes, white cheeks, roguish, staring eyes, large white hogs<sup>1</sup> with reddish faces"). A fragment of an ancient chant referring to this occurrence has been preserved, and reads—

*O Paumakua, ka lani o Moenaimua,*  
O Paumakua, the lord of Moenaimua,

between these two places; but in view of the foregoing observations, and the fact that the Ohau and Kauai genealogies do not know him, I look upon it as one of many other similar attempts on the part of Hawaiian bards to give him and other dubious names on the *Ulu-Hema* line an in-

digenous *locus standi* when their foreign pedigrees, whether Tahitian or Samoan, had been forgotten or obscured.

<sup>1</sup> It is not uncommon in the ancient Meles to find the word *Puua* (lit. "hog") applied to persons. It was a poetical and sacerdotal expression.

*O ke Alii nana i hele ke Kahiki,*  
 O the chief who went to Tahiti,  
*A Kahiki i ke kaiakea,*  
 Tahiti in the open ocean,  
*O mīmo, o momi, o ka mamio,*  
 The gentle, the precious, the prosperous,  
*O ka ia mailoko,<sup>1</sup> o ka Auakahinu*  
 (And) the fish within (were) Auakahinu,  
*O Auakamea ia lani.*  
 (And) Auakamea the noble.

There is a discrepancy in the Oahu genealogies leading up to *Paumakua*. Some of them make *Moenaimua* his son and *Kumakaha* his grandson; others pass over *Moenaimua* in silence and make *Kumakaha* the son of *Paumakua*. Judging from analogy on other well-known genealogies of much later age, I am inclined to think that both *Moenaimua* and *Kumakaha* were the sons of *Paumakua*, and introduced successively by bards in after times with that persistent vanity of making the line of descent as long as possible which characterised the entire fraternity of Hawaiian genealogists and bards.

Besides his extensive voyages to foreign countries, and his introduction of the two priests of an alien race, said to be white, and that some legends ascribe the custom and ceremony of circumcision to *Paumakua*—a fact disputed by others—little is known of his reign and influence on the island of Oahu. A reference to the genealogical table will show that he was the ancestor in the fourth generation of the famous *Laa-mai-kahiki*, from whom every succeeding generation of chiefs took a special pride in claiming their descent.

Giving thus all due credit to the *Paumakua* of the *Puna* line, whom the Oahu and Kauai chiefs exalted and glorified as their ancestor, there is little to tell of the Maui *Paumakua* of the *Hema* line, the son of *Huanui-kalalailai*, and brother of *Kuheailani*. Through his son

<sup>1</sup> A poetical phrase signifying that the fish that he caught, the treasure he found in his net on his voyage, were the foreigners *Auakahinu* and *Auakamea*.



*Hako* and grandson *Palena* he became the great-grandfather and progenitor of the noted *Hanalaa*, whom both the Maui and Hawaii chiefs contended for as their ancestor under the varying names of *Hanalaa-nui* and *Hanalaa-iki*, asserting that *Palena* was the father of twins who bore those names. Up to the time of the conquest of the islands, the Maui chiefs claimed *Hanalaa-nui* as their ancestor, and assigned *Hanalaa-iki* to the Hawaii chiefs; but after the conquest by *Kamehameha I.*, the claim of the Hawaii chiefs prevailed, and no genealogy recited after that ventured to give Maui the precedence in the claim upon the two brothers.

Here, again, the Oahu traditions come in as an umpire to settle the contention which for so many generations disturbed the peace and ruffled the temper of its windward neighbours, and destroy the illusion of the *Hanalaa* twins, into which even the Maui genealogists had fallen while hotly contending for their own priority over the Hawaii branch. This Oahu tradition is contained in an ancient chant or genealogical register, evidently once the property of the powerful *Kalona* families on Oahu, who claimed descent from *Maweke* as well as from *Laamaikahiki*, and who must reasonably be supposed competent to discriminate between the *Paumakua*, from whom their own *Laamaikahiki* descended, and this *Paumakua*, from whom the Maui *Hanalaa* descended. This register, while observing the requirements of chronology and contemporaneity, as mostly all the *Nanaulu* registers do, brings the *Piliwale* branch of the *Kalonas* up to this Maui *Paumakua*, descending from him through *Haho*, *Palena*, *Hanalaa*, *Mawiloa*, *Alo*, *Kuhimana*, &c., to *Mailikukahi*, the father of the *Kalonas*. This chant says nothing of two *Hanalaa*s; it knows but one; and when the undisputed fact is taken into consideration that *Pili*, from whom the Hawaii chiefs reckon their lineal descent, was an emigrant chief from the southern groups, the attempt to piece his lineage on to already existing Hawaiian lines becomes too

palpably untrue to deserve any notice. The chant or register referred to is probably not much later in time than the reign of *Kalaimanuia* on Oahu, the granddaughter of *Piliwale*, or twelve generations ago; but it is invaluable as a protest from olden time, and from those who in later ages were generally admitted as the best informed, against the exaggerated inflations and unscrupulous interpolations practised on the national registers by genealogists and bards in the service of Hawaii and Maui chiefs.

But though this Maui *Paumakua* is not remembered in song or legend for anything remarkable that he did or performed, yet his son, the afore-mentioned *Haho*, has gone down to posterity and been remembered by all succeeding ages throughout the group as the founder of the *Aha-Alii*, an institution which literally means "the congregation of chiefs," and, in a measure, may be compared to a heralds' college; and to gain admission into which it was incumbent on the aspirant to its rank and privileges to announce his name, either personally or through an accompanying bard, and his descent, either lineal or collateral, from some one or more of the recognised, undisputed ancestors ("*Kupuna*") of the Hawaiian nobility, claiming such descent either on the *Nanaulu* or *Ulu* line. "Once a chief always a chief," was the Hawaiian rule of heraldry, and no treason, crime, or lesser offence ever affected the rank or dignity in the *Aha-Alii* of the offender or of his children. There was no "bill of attainder" in those days.

There were gradations of rank and tabu within the *Aha-Alii*, well understood and seldom infringed upon. No chief could fall from his rank, however his possessions and influence might vane; and none could rise higher himself in the ranks of the *Aha-Alii* than the source from which he sprang either on mother's or father's side; but he might in several ways raise the rank of his children higher than his own, such as by marriage with a chiefess

of higher rank than his own, marrying with a sister, or by their adoption into a family of higher rank than that of the father.

The privileges and prerogatives of the *Aha-Alii* were well defined and universally known, both as regards their intercourse with each other and their relation to the commonalty, the *Makaainana*. Their allegiance or fealty to a superior chief was always one of submission to superior force, of personal interest, or of family attachment, and continued as long as the pressure, the interest, or the attachment was paramount to other considerations; but the slightest injury, affront, or slight on the part of the superior, or frequently the merest caprice, would start the inferior chief into revolt, to maintain himself and his possessions by arms if able, or he fled to some independent chief of the other islands, who almost invariably gave him an asylum and lands to live on until a change of affairs made it safe to return to his former home.

A chief of the *Aha-Alii*, if taken captive in war, might be, and sometimes was, offered in sacrifice to the gods, but he or his family were never made slaves if their lives were spared. And if the captive chief was of equal or higher rank than his captor, he invariably received the deference and attention due to his rank, and his children not unfrequently found wives or husbands in the family of the conqueror. A chief of the *Aha-Alii* was of right entitled to wear the insignia of his rank whenever he pleased: the feather wreath, the *Lei-hulu*—the feather cloak or cape, the *Ahu-Ula*—the ivory clasp, the *Palaoa*; his canoe and its sail were painted red, and he wore a pennon at the masthead.

Among the members of the *Aha-Alii* it was not unusual that two young men adopted each other as brothers, and by that act were bound to support each other in weal or woe at all hazards, even that of life itself; and if in after life these two found themselves, in war time, in opposing ranks, and one was taken prisoner, his life was invariably

spared if he could find means to make himself known to his foster-brother on the opposite side, who was bound to obtain it from the captor or the commanding chief. And there is no instance on record in all the legends and traditions that this singular friendship ever made default.

Such were some of the leading features of the *Aha-Alii*, which all existing traditions concur in asserting was instituted by *Haho* about twenty-five generations ago. It arose, probably, as a necessity of the existing condition of things during this migratory period, as a protection of the native aristocracy against foreign pretenders, and as a broader line of demarcation between the nobility and the commonalty. It lasted up to the time of the conquest by *Kamehameha I.*, after which this, as so many other heathen customs, good, bad, or indifferent, gradually went under in the light of newer ideas, new forms of government, and new religion. At present there is no *Aha-Alii*, though there is a "House of Nobles," in which the foreign-born number ten to nine of the native-born, and few of these latter recall to the minds of the common people the great historical names of former days, the great feudal lords on this or that island, who, still within the memory of yet living people, could summon a thousand vassals or more to work their fields and do their bidding.

Nothing remarkable has been retained upon Hawaiian traditions about *Kuheailani*, the brother of this Maui *Pau-makua*. His son, *Hakalanileo*, appears to have become lord of some lands in the Hilo district of Hawaii, and married a chiefess of southern descent named *Hina*, or, in some legends, *Hoohoakalani*, whose mother, *Uli*, came from Kahiki by some one or other of those southern expeditions of the period. The abduction and recovery of this Lady *Hina* or *Hooho* is the subject of one of the most popular legends of olden time. Though this legend is bristling with marvellous and fabulous exploits, yet doubtless an historical basis underlies the superstructure of

later times, and is confirmed by other legends of contemporary and later date. When stripped of their poetical and fictitious drapery, the facts appear to have been these:—

At the time of *Hakalanileo*, the son of *Kuheailani*, there lived on the island of Molokai a powerful family of the ancient native chiefs. Tradition has not preserved the pedigree of this family beyond that of the father of the subject of this legend, but its connection with the ancient *Nanaulu* line is frequently affirmed. The father of this family was *Kamauaua*,<sup>1</sup> who seems to have been the superior chief of Molokai. Among his several sons, the second, *Keoloewa*, succeeded his father in the sovereignty of the island, and married *Nuakea*, the granddaughter of *Maweke*, and daughter of *Keaunui*, and sister of *Lakona*, all famous and powerful chiefs on Oahu. The eldest son of *Kamauaua* was called *Kaupeepee-nui-kauila*, and he dwelt on a promontory or mountain-neck called *Haupu*, situated on the north side of Molokai.<sup>2</sup> This promontory was strongly fortified by art as well as by nature, and was in those days considered impregnable. From this stronghold *Kaupeepee* sallied forth in search of adventures, possibly plunder, and on one of his excursions off the coast of Hilo he saw and became enamoured of the beautiful *Hina*, the wife of *Hakalanileo*. To see and to desire to possess was the logical operation of the chieftain's mind. He succeeded in carrying off the lady, and returned with her without mishap to his mountain eyrie. So skilfully laid were the plans of *Kaupeepee*, and so well executed, that the bereaved husband was for a long

<sup>1</sup> The children of *Kamauaua* and his wife *Hinakeha* were *Kaupeepee-nui-kauila*, *Keoloewa*, *Haili*, and *Uli-hala-nui*. The adventures of the first will be treated of immediately; the second was noted as the head and progenitor of numerous powerful families throughout the group, whose pedigrees reach up to him and his

wife *Nuakea*; the third I have only encountered once in the traditions referring to this family, and then he is quoted as an ancestor of *Kanikani-aula*, one of the wives of *Kakaalaneo* of Maui and mother of the famous *Kaululaa*; of the fourth no further mention has been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> Between *Pelekunu* and *Waikolo*.

time ignorant of what had become of his wife or who was her abductor. He travelled over Hawaii and Maui, seeking and inquiring, but got no tidings of the lost one. Years rolled on, and the young sons of *Hina*, having grown up to manhood, took up the search which their father had abandoned. These sons were called *Kana* and *Niheu-Kalohe*. They are said to have been instructed by their grandmother, *Uli*, in all the arts of sorcery and witchcraft, for which the southern immigrants were noted and feared by the previous inhabitants of the Hawaiian group. The sons soon discovered where their mother was kept captive, and measures were taken for her liberation. *Kaupeepee* was warned by his *Kaula*, or prophet, *Moi*, the brother of *Nuakea*, the wife of his brother *Keoloewa*, that bad days were approaching, and that the sons of *Hina* were coming to the rescue of their mother. Secure in his mountain fastness, the chief scorned the advice and defied the sons of the outraged lady. On the episodes and details of the war that ensued I will not dwell. They are so mixed up with the fabulous and supernatural, that it is almost impossible to disentangle a thread of truth in the whole account. But of the result of the war there is no doubt whatever. By force, by stratagem, by treachery, or by all combined, the fortress was taken and demolished, *Kapeepee* slain, the Lady *Hina* delivered and returned to *Hakalanileo*, and the prowess and skill of the southern element in this expedition retained upon the songs and sagas of all succeeding generations.

The embellishments of the marvels and of the skill and adroitness which adorn this legend, indicate that the form it now possesses was given to it in much later times, probably during the period of Hawaiian intellectual activity which characterised the nearly contemporary reigns of the *Kawulos* on Kauai, the *Kakuhiewas* of Oahu, the *Kamalawalu* of Maui, and the *Keawenuiaumi* of Hawaii and his children, when so many of the old traditions and still older myths received a new dress and a new circulation

among the court circles and the commonalty of those days.

The two heroes of the legend, *Kana*—who is said to have disdained the use of canoes, and, by a faculty peculiar to himself, like the joints of a telescope or a Japanese fishing-rod, could walk with his head above the water through the deepest ocean—and his brother *Niheu-kalohe*, renowned for his cunning, his skill, and his trickery, left no progeny to claim their honours; and though *Hakalanileo* and *Hina* had three other children mentioned in the tradition, viz., *Kekahawalu*, *Kepani*, and *Haka*, yet in all my collections of Hawaiian genealogies I have found none and heard of none that ascended to either of *Hakalanileo's* children.

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Before referring to *Pili*, surnamed *Kaaiea*, from whom the principal chief families on Hawaii claimed descent to present times, the family and legend of *Paaao* arrests our attention.

Forty years ago there were two sets of traditions current regarding *Paaao*. They were nearly similar in most points, but differed in some essentials. The one legend, collected and referred to by David Malo, the Hawaiian antiquarian, states that *Paaao* came from "Wawao;" that having quarrelled with his brother *Lonopele*, he left and proceeded to Hawaii, where he established himself in the capacity of a high priest; and finding the island in a state of anarchy and without a sovereign chief "on account of the crimes of *Kapawa*, the chief of Hawaii," he sent back (another legend says he went back himself) to his native island, inviting some chief there to come and take possession of Hawaii. To which invitation *Pili* responded, and, having arrived at Hawaii, was confirmed in the government by *Paaao*, whose family, after him, remained the high priests of the reigning chiefs of Hawaii, until

after *Kamehameha I.* The other legend, collected and referred to by S. M. Kamakau, another Hawaiian antiquary, states that *Paa*o came from "*Upolo*," though he possessed lands at "*Wawao*," and in the islands still farther south; that having quarrelled, as above mentioned, with his brother *Lonopele*, he left in company with *Pili-kaaiea*, *Pili's* wife *Hinaauaku*, his own sister *Namauuo-malaia*, and thirty-five others, relatives and retainers, and after a long and dangerous voyage, arrived at the island of Hawaii, where he established himself in the district of Kohala, and *Pili* became sovereign chief of the island of Hawaii. It is possible that *Paa*o, *Pili*, &c., came from *Wawao*, one of the *Tonga* group, as the legend quoted by D. Malo asserts; but I think it hardly probable, for reasons that I will now set forth. Counting the greater distance from *Wawao* to the Hawaiian group as nothing to the adventurous spirits of those times, yet the legend quoted by Kamakau covers the whole ground when it states that *Paa*o, a native of *Upolo* in the *Samoa*n group, "owned lands in *Wawao* and in the islands farther south." The continued intercourse between the *Tonga* and *Samoa*n groups is well ascertained from the earliest times, and it would have been nothing unusual for a *Samoa*n chief to own lands in the *Tonga* or *Hapai* groups. The cause of *Paa*o's departure from *Upolo* to seek a new establishment in other lands, as narrated by Hawaiian tradition, bears so strong a resemblance to the *Samoa*n legend brought by the first emigrants to *New Zealand*, and narrated by Sir George Grey in his "*Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race*," London, John Murray, 1855, page 202, &c., that it is easy to recognise that both legends are but different versions of one and the same event. The Hawaiian version, whatever embellishments it may have received in subsequent ages, came substantially to Hawaii during this migratory period we are now considering, from twenty-one to twenty-seven generations ago, and is quoted as an explanation of why



*Paa*o left Upolo in the Samoan group. The New Zealand version goes back, at best, only fifteen generations on New Zealand soil, and is offered as an explanation of why the Samoan chief *Turi* left Hawaiki (Sawaii) for New Zealand, but how many generations that legend may have been current in the Samoan group before the departure of *Turi* there is no means of knowing. Thus, whatever credibility may attach to the legend as an historical relic, yet the similarity of the cast of the drama in each, and the fact of its being avowedly derived, both in New Zealand and Hawaii, from Samoan sources, would seem to confirm that one of the Hawaiian legends which claims *Paa*o and *Pili* and their companions as coming from the Samoan group, notably the island of Upolo.

The only other places in the Samoan group mentioned in the Hawaiian legends of *Paa*o which may help to identify the particular place from which *Paa*o came, are called "the mountains of Malaia" and "the cliff of Kaa-koheo," the latter overlooking the beach from which *Paa*o took his departure. Whether any such mountain and cliff still exist by those names on the island of Upolu or any of the Samoan islands, I am unable to say. Samoan archæologists may be able to throw light on that subject.

*Paa*o is said to have made his first landfall in the district of Puna, Hawaii, where he landed and built a Heiau (temple) for his god and called it *Wahaula*. The ruins of this Heiau still remain a short distance south of the village of Kahawalea in Puna,<sup>1</sup> but it is almost impossible now to say what portions of it date back to the time of *Paa*o, seeing that it was almost entirely rebuilt by *Imaikalani*, a noted chief over the Puna and Kau districts *tempore Kewenui-a-umi*, some twelve or thirteen generations ago, and was again repaired or improved in the time of *Kalaniopuu*, who died 1782. It was the very last Heiau that was destroyed after the tabus were abrogated by *Kamehameha II.* in 1820. It was built in the

<sup>1</sup> On the land called Pulama.

quadrangular or parallelogram form which characterised all the Heiaus built under and after the religious régime introduced by *Paa*, and in its enclosure was a sacred grove, said to have contained one or more specimens of every tree growing on the Hawaiian group, a considerable number of which, or perhaps their descendants, had survived when last the author visited the place in 1869.

From Puna *Paa* coasted along the shores of the Hilo and Hamakua districts, and landed again in the district of Kohala, on a land called Puuepa, near the north-west point of the island, whose name, "*Lae Upolu*," was very probably bestowed upon it by *Paa* or his immediate descendants in memory of their native land. In this district of Hawaii *Paa* finally and permanently settled. Here are shown the place where he lived, the land that he cultivated, and at Puuepa are still the ruins of the Heiau of *Mookini*, which he built and where he officiated. It was one of the largest Heiaus in the group, an irregular parallelogram in form, with walls more than twenty feet high and fully eight feet wide on the top; its longest sides are two hundred and eighty-six and two hundred and seventy-seven feet, and the shorter one hundred and thirty-six and one hundred and eighteen feet. The stones of which it is built are said to have come from Niulii, a land in Kohala, nine miles distant from Puuepa; and, as an instance of the density of population at that time, tradition says that the building-stones were passed by hand from man to man all the way from Niulii, a feat requiring at least some fifteen thousand working men at three feet apart. Ten years ago, when I visited the place, the walls of the Heiau were still unimpaired. The then Circuit Judge of that part of the island, Mr. Naiapaakai, who was well conversant with the ancient lore of the district, and who accompanied me to the ruins, showed me a secret well or crypt in the south side of the walls, east of the main entrance, several feet deep, but now filled up with stones and boulders of similar nature to those that com-

pose the wall. Having climbed on the top of the wall and removed the stones out of the well, we found at the bottom two *Maika* stones of extraordinary size, which were said to be the particular *Ulu* which *Paa*o brought with him from foreign lands, and with which he amused himself when playing the favourite game of *Maika*. These stones were as large as the crown of a common-sized hat, two inches thick at the edges and a little thicker in the middle. They were of a white, fine-grained, hard stone, that may or may not be of Hawaiian quarrying: I am not geologist enough to say. I have seen many *Maika* stones from ancient times, of from two to three inches diameter, of a whitish straw colour, but never seen or heard of any approaching these of *Paa*o in size or whiteness. Though they are called the *Maika* stones of *Paa*o—" *Na Ulu a Paa*o"—yet their enormous size would apparently forbid their employment for that purpose. If *Maika* stones, and really intended and used for that purpose, there could be no conceivable necessity for hiding them in the bottom of this crypt or well in the wall of the Heiau. In this uncertainty the legend itself may throw some light on the subject when it says that "*Paa*o brought two idols with him from Upolu, which he added to those already worshipped by the Hawaiians." Though almost every legend that treats of *Paa*o more or less mentions the changes and innovations which he effected in the ancient worship, yet no tradition that I have heard mentions the names of those two idols or where they were deposited. May not, then, these so-called *Maika* stones of *Paa*o, so carefully hidden in the walls of the Heiau, be those idols that *Paa*o brought with him? Their presence there is a riddle; and the superstitious fear with which they are treated or spoken of by the elder inhabitants of the district evinces in a measure the consideration in which they were anciently held, that certainly would never have been bestowed on a chief's playthings like actual *Maika* stones. When the tabus were abrogated, when the Heiaus were

doomed, when Christian zealots proved the genuineness of their new faith by burning the objects of faith of their fathers, and when the ancient gods were stripped of their kapas and feathers and their altars overturned, then many a devotee, a *Kahu* or servant of special Heiaus or individual gods, hid the object of his adoration in caves, in streams, in mountain recesses, in the mud of swamps or other unfrequented places, in hopes of the better days which never came. Thus many a *Kahu* died and made no sign, and the idol he cherished has only been discovered by accident. And so these stones, if they were the idols of *Paao*, may have been hidden at some previous time of change or improvement in the Heiau or its culte—perhaps when it was repaired by *Alapai-nui* of Hawaii, the stepson and usurping successor of *Keawe*, the great-grandfather of *Kamehameha I.*—or when the tabus were abolished and Christianity introduced in 1820-30.

The priesthood in the family of *Paao* continued until the last high priest on Hawaii, *Hewahewanui*, joined *Liholiho Kamehameha II.* and *Kaahumanu* in abrogating the tabus. Several families at this day claim descent from *Paao*.

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That both *Pili* and his wife *Hinaauaku* were of foreign birth, probably from Upolu of the Samoans, there can be no doubt. The name of his wife, *Hina*, with the sobriquet *auaku*, is a thoroughly southern name, a common and favourite appellation of female chiefs on the *Ulu* line, both on the *Hema* and *Puna* branches, but was utterly unknown or discontinued among the members of the *Nanaulu* line (the Hawaiian) from the days of *Kii*, the father of both *Ulu* and *Nanaulu*.

Of *Pili's* exploits scant mention is made in the legends beyond the main fact that he established himself and his family firmly on the island of Hawaii.

The genealogical tree published by David Malo, and quoted on page 191, vol. i., represents *Pili* as the father of *Koa*, the grandfather of *Ole*, and great-grandfather of *Kukohou*. I believe this to be another interpolation in subsequent ages, when the memory of the names alone were retained and the order of succession more or less forgotten. Judging from analogy of other genealogies, *Koa* and *Ole* may have been brothers of *Pili*; or *Koa*, *Ole*, and *Kukohou* may all have been sons of *Pili*. There are no legends serving as commentaries to their genealogy, and the Meles are silent respecting them. Moreover, the names of their wives, *Hina-aumai*, *Hina-mailelii*, *Hina-keuki*, are all of southern extraction, and indicate a simultaneous arrival. *Kukohou* may have been the son of *Pili*, and his wife the daughter of some other southern chief who accompanied *Pili* to Hawaii; but that *Koa*, *Ole*, and *Kukohou* were son, grandson, and great-grandson of *Pili*, as the Hawaiian genealogy current at the court of *Kamehameha*, and quoted by David Malo, has it, I think historically impossible. I have shown that the most sober and trustworthy traditions concur in making *Pili* the successor of *Kapawa* as sovereign chief of Hawaii, and that *Pili* either accompanied or followed *Paa*o to Hawaii, not as explorers or first discoverers, but when the Polynesian migratory wave was at its full height, and the Hawaiian group was already well known to southern chieftains and their wise men and bards. *Pili* therefore must have been contemporary with the grandchildren of *Maweke* of the *Nanaulu* line, established on Oahu and Kauai, with *Keoloewa* of Molokai, with *Haho* of Maui. When to this is added the undisputed, and by the *Pili* descendants never-forgotten fact, that *Kanipahu* of the *Pili* posterity married *Hualani*, the great-granddaughter of *Nuakea*, who was granddaughter of *Maweke* and wife of *Keoloewa*, there is no room on a correct pedigree for *Koa* and *Ole* as being son and grandson of *Pili*.

Of *Kanipahu's* father, *Kaniuhu*, the legends are silent,

but of *Kanipahu* himself we gather the following from his legends:—

Beside *Hualani*, of Molokai and Oahu descent above mentioned, he also married *Alaikauakoko*, who at one time, whether previously or subsequently cannot now be ascertained, was the wife of *Lakona*, the son of *Nawele*, who was the great-grandson of *Kumuhonua* the brother of *Moikeha*. With the latter he had a son, *Kalapana*, surnamed *Kuioiomoa*; with the former he had four children, called *Kanaloa*, *Kumuokalani*, *Laaikiahualani*, and *Kalahuimoku*. Up to this time the *Pili* family does not appear to have been so firmly seated in the sovereignty of Hawaii, but that occasional disturbances occurred with the ancient chief families of the island. It is related that a scion of one of those families named *Kamaiole* had revolted against *Kanipahu*, and, being successful, had driven him out of Hawaii. *Kanipahu* left his sons with some trusted friend in the secluded valley of Waimanu, Hamakua district, and sought refuge for himself on the island of Molokai, where, at Kalae, he lived as a simple commoner, doing his own work and carrying his own burdens. Years rolled on, and *Kamaiole* ruled Hawaii with such oppressiveness and severity that the people at length became wearied and disgusted with his sway, and went to the head of the *Paa* family, the high priest of Hawaii, for advice and aid. The priest sent messengers to *Kanipahu* on Molokai asking him to return to Hawaii and resume the government. *Kanipahu* refused, as the legend says, because he was ashamed of the hump on his shoulders contracted during the many years of hard and toilsome labour that he had lived on Molokai, but he directed the messengers to go to Waimanu, where they would find his son *Kalapana*, on whom he devolved the war with *Kamaiole* and the government of Hawaii. On the receipt of this information from *Kanipahu* the high priest sent for *Kalapana*, who raised an army among the discontented and gave battle to the usurper at a place

called Anaehoomalu in Kekaha, North Kona. *Kamaiole* was defeated and slain, and *Kalapana* was installed sovereign chief of Hawaii. *Kanipahu* remained on Molokai, and died there.

As *Kanipahu* was contemporary with *Laa-mai-kahiki* at the close of this migratory period, I will leave the *Pili* family at present, in order to notice some other prominent men of southern descent whose names have been preserved on the national legends.

Among those, the one whose fate probably arrested most attention, and served as a warning in after ages when chiefs ventured to oppose the priesthood, was *Hua*, with the sobriquet of *a-Kapuaimanaku*, in distinction from *Hua-nui-kalalailai*, the father of the Maui *Paumakua*. In the royal genealogies of both Hawaii and Maui this *Hua* is placed as third in ascent from *Paumakua*, to whom he is represented as having been the great-grandfather; but when the legends referring to him are critically scanned, and regard had to the contemporaneity of the other personages therein mentioned, his proper place would be three generations later than *Paumakua*. It is probable that he belonged to that southern *Hua* family from which *Paumakua* and *Haho* descended. He is said to have been king of Maui, and lived principally at Hana, Kauwika. The earliest remembered war between Maui and Hawaii is said to have been conducted by him, who invaded Hawaii, and at Hakalau, in the district of Hilo, thoroughly defeated the Hawaii chiefs. The Hawaiian legends call that war by the name of *Kanivuhooio*. One time, while residing on East Maui, *Hua* got into a dispute with his priest and prophet, *Luahoomoe*, about some birds called "Uwau," and became so angry that he resolved upon the death of the priest. *Luahoomoe*, conscious of the fate that awaited him, gave directions to his two sons, *Kaakakai* and *Kaanahua*, how to escape the vengeance of the king. In due time, according to ancient custom, the house of *Luahoomoe* was burnt by order of the king, and the refrac-

tory priest was killed. His sons and some of his household escaped to one of the mountain-peaks called Hanaula. But the vengeance of *Luahoomoe* and the king's punishment for slaying a priest were swift in coming and terrible in their consequences. No sooner was *Luahoomoe* consumed by the fire of his burning house than the streams of water ceased running, the springs dried up; no rain fell for three years and a half, and famine and desolation spread over the islands. *Hua* and his people perished miserably, and the saying survives to this day, *Nakeke na iwi a Hua i ka la*—"rattling are the bones of *Hua* in the sun"—as a warning to wicked people, implying that no one survived the famine to bury *Hua* or hide his bones;—the greatest disgrace of ancient times.

The legend further tells that the drought and famine spread to the other islands, and that *Naula-a-Maihea*, the famous prophet and seer who dwelt at Waimalu, Ewa district, Oahu, became concerned for the fate of the entire Hawaiian people. Seeing no signs of rain on the Kauai mountains, and none on the Kaala mountains of Oahu, he looked towards Maui, and there on the peak of Hanaula he saw a dark spot where the rain was concentrated. He knew at once that there the sons of *Luahoomoe* had taken up their abode, and he proceeded thither with offerings of a pig, fowl, &c., to appease their anger and procure rain. The sons of *Luahoomoe*, seeing *Naula* arriving, descended from the mountain and met him in Kula. The meeting was cordial; rain followed, and the country was relieved of the curse which followed *Hua's* wicked attempt on the life of a priest.

*Naula-a-Maihea* is said to have accompanied *Laa-mai-kahiki* from Kahiki, the southern groups. He was noted and feared as a sorcerer and a prophet, traits strongly characteristic of the priestly class of the southern immigrants. He built a Heiau at Waimalu, Ewa, Oahu, the foundation of which may still be seen. The legend mentions that, starting at one time from Waianae, Oahu, for



Kauai, his canoe was upset; that he was swallowed by a whale, in whose stomach he crossed the channel between Oahu and Kauai, and was vomited up alive and safe on the beach at Waialua, Kauai. If this is not a remnant of ancient myths and legends brought with them by the Polynesians from their trans-Pacific ancient homes, localised in new habitats and adapted to the most noted prophet of the times, it is at least a remarkable coincidence with the Jewish legend of the prophet Jonah.

Among other southern families of note who arrived at the Hawaiian group during this migratory period, though now it is impossible to place them in their proper order, the legend mentions *Kalana-nuunwi-kua-mamao*, and *Humu*, and *Kamaunua-niho* who came from Kahiki (the southern groups), and landed at Kahahawai in Waihee, Maui. *Aumu* soon returned to Kahiki, being discontented with *Kalana*, who had taken *Kamaunuaniho* for wife. They had a daughter named *Hina*, who became the wife of *Olopana* (not the brother of *Moikeha*, the grandson of *Maweke*), who had arrived from Kahiki and settled at Koolau, Oahu. To this *Olopana* is attributed the Heiau of Kawaewae at Kaneohe, Oahu. *Olopana's* brother *Kahikiula* came with him from Kahiki. Both these families are said to have come from places in Kahiki called "Keolewa," "Haenakulaina," and "Kauaniani."

With this family of *Olopana* is connected the legend of *Kamapuaa*, whom story and fable have exalted into a demigod, assuming the nature of a man or that of a gigantic hog as suited his caprice. There was doubtless a historical foundation for the legend of *Kamapuaa*. He is reported to have been the son of *Kahikiula* (*Olopana's* brother) and *Hina*, *Olopana's* wife. He offended his uncle *Olopana* and rebelled against him, and after various battles was taken prisoner and condemned to be sacrificed, but by the advice and assistance of *Lonoaohi*, the chief priest of *Olopana*, he surprised and slew his uncle in the very Heiau where he himself was to have

been sacrificed. After that *Kamapuaa* left Oahu and went to Kahiki, where he married, and, acquiring renown for his prowess, dwelt a considerable time.

It is extremely difficult to advance an opinion as to whether the combats and adventures of *Kamapuaa* with *Pele*, the reputed goddess of the volcano Kilauea, have any historical foundation, or are merely pure fiction of later ages, embodying some hidden and half-forgotten religious tenets of opposing creeds. Though *Pele* was universally acknowledged as the goddess of volcanoes, and of Kilauea in particular, yet her worship in the Hawaiian group is only subsequent to this migratory period and the arrival of the southern immigrants. Her culte was unknown to the purer faith of the older inhabitants of the *Nanauku* line, and her name had no place in the *Kane* doxology. Yet, to the careful observer of the ancient Hawaiian legends of this period, various circumstances combine together to produce the impression, almost of certainty, that among the immigrants of this period arriving from the southern groups was one particular family, afterwards designated as that of *Pele*, with her brothers and sisters; that they established themselves on Hawaii at or near the volcano of Kilauea; that becoming powerful, they became dreaded and identified with the volcano near which they resided; and that in course of time the head of the family, under the name of *Pele*, was regarded as the tutelary deity of that and other volcanoes. The minute and variedly narrated adventures of *Pele* herself and her sister *Hiaka-i-ka-pole-o-Pele* leave but little doubt on the critical student's mind that, at the time when the facts connected with these personages had become historically mouldy and passed into legends, they were still regarded as originally mortal beings, but by common consent exalted in the category of *Au-makua* (spirits of deceased ancestors), and feared and worshipped as such. Viewed in that light, there is some sense and some historical

foundation for the legends which relate that *Kamapuaa* went to Hawaii to court *Pele*, how he was refused and waged war upon her, and how, after a drawn battle, a compromise was effected. The metaphysical and theological notions associated with the legends of *Pele* appear to me to be partially due to the fertile imagination of priests and bards, as the actual, corporeal existence of *Pele* receded in the shadowy past, and partially also to be remnants of an older creed which had collected around the legend of *Pele* when their own appropriate associations and *point de mire* had been forgotten or distorted.

Another notability of southern extraction who arrived at the Hawaiian group during this period is *Luhaukapawa*. He was the "kilo-kilo," astrologer, navigator, and priest of *Kaula-a-kalana*, the famous Oahu chief who visited so many foreign lands, and who is said to have been the grandson of *Hina-i-kapaikua*, the wife of *Nanamaoa*, and consequently contemporary with the *Paumakuas* and with the children of *Maweke*. What southern group was his birthplace is not known, but he returned with *Kaulu-a-kalana* to Oahu and settled there. Some legends attribute to *Luhaukapawa*, in a general way, the introduction of the tabus; but it is most probable that he only enforced their stricter observance, and perhaps added some new regulations previously unknown to, or not in use among, the Hawaiians. He must have attained a remarkable old age, for he is said to have been still alive in the time of *Mualani*, the great-granddaughter of *Maweke* from his son *Kalehenui*, and who was an Oahu chiefess.

There was at this period one powerful family on the island of Kauai known as the *Puna* family, which probably belonged to this oft-mentioned southern *Ulu* line of emigrants, though their pedigree is nowhere mentioned in the traditions now remaining. Tradition mentions three of that name, viz., *Puna-nui-kaianaina*, *Puna-kai-olohia*, and *Puna-aikoai*, the latter of which was contemporary with *Moikeha*, who, on his return from Kahiki,

married *Puna's* daughter *Hinawulua*, or, as she is also called, *Hooipo-kamalanae*. This family may possibly have descended from the same *Puna* branch of the *Ulu* southern line as the Oahu *Paumakua* family; and as the first name known to Hawaiian tradition, that of *Puna-nui-kaianaina*, was also probably the first arrival at the Hawaiian group from the south, he would be contemporary with *Newalani*, the grandfather of *Paumakua*, and thus among the first immigrants of this period. I am inclined to think that this *Puna* family originally came from the Marquesan group, inasmuch as on a Marquesan genealogy of a Hivaoa (St. Dominica) chiefess I find that about thirty-two generations ago there were a number of *Punas*, with various sobriquets to distinguish them, on the said genealogical tree, evidently showing it to have been a family name, and I hold it quite probable that Hawaiian immigrants bearing that name came from that direction and from that family.

Doubtless many other southern chiefs visited the Hawaiian group and established themselves there, but time has blotted their names from the traditional record, and the fame of their exploits has not come down to after ages—“*caerent quia saero vate*”—or, having been mixed up and absorbed in the native population at an early period, they lost their southern individuality. The combined influence, however, of all these expeditions, large and small, known and unknown, on the condition of the previous Hawaiians, amounted almost to a social revolution, and was deep-felt and lasting. I shall refer to the changes introduced during this period at the conclusion of this section of Hawaiian history.

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If Hawaiian traditions are remarkably redundant with the brilliant exploits of princely adventurers from the southern groups, who flocked to this country, or by some

means or other insinuated themselves or their descendants on vacant thrones and in prominent positions, they are equally redundant, if not more so, with the adventures and achievements of Hawaiian chiefs of the original *Nanaulu* line, who roamed over the southern and south-western groups of the Pacific in quest of fame, of booty, or of new homes. Many of these returned to their native homes laden with rich and curious knowledge of foreign manners and foreign modes of thought, and thus aided not a little in overlaying the ancient condition, social, political, and religious, with the more elaborate but grosser southern cultus and more despotic rule of government.

About the time, probably a generation earlier, of the *Paumakuas*, *Kapawa*, and *Paa* who have been referred to in previous pages, there lived on Oahu a chief by the name of *Maweke*. He was the son of *Kekupahaikala* (k) and *Maihikea* (w), and the lineal direct descendant from *Nanaulu*, the brother of *Ulu*, from whom the southern chiefs claimed their descent. He lived twenty-seven generations ago, counting on the direct line through the Oahu chiefs his descendants, or from twenty-six to twenty-eight generations ago, counting on the collateral Hawaii and Maui lines of chiefs, or approximatively about the earlier and middle part of the eleventh century. Nothing worthy of note is related by the traditions about *Maweke*, but it is remarkable that he is the first on the *Nanaulu* line, counting downward, from whom any collateral branches have descended to our days. No doubt there were collateral offshoots of the *Nanaulu* line before his time. The *Hikapoloa*, *Kamaiole*, and others on Hawaii; the *Kamauaua* on Molokai; the *Wahanui* on Oahu; the *Kealiiloa*, *Pueonui*, and *Keikipaanea* on Kauai, and several others to whom the legends refer, were not southerners of the *Ulu* line, but it is nowhere stated through whom, on the *Nanaulu* line above *Maweke*, they descended. It does appear as if those families and many other collaterals above *Maweke* had been merged, absorbed in, and eclipsed

by the southern element, and in process of time lost the memory of their connection with the *Nanaulu* line, while the *Maweke* family was strong enough to not only retain its own individuality and its ancient genealogy to the latest times unruffled by southern contact, but also to absorb and subordinate to itself several of those southern invaders whose descendants in after ages counted it no small honour to be able, through the marriage of some of their ancestors, to claim connection and descent from this powerful *Nanaulu Maweke* family.

Tradition records that *Maweke* had three sons, *Mulielealii*, *Keaunui*, and *Kalehenui*, whose lines, with numerous collaterals, have descended to our days. The *Kalehenui* family appear to have chiefly resided on the Koolau side of the island of Oahu, while the favoured residence and patrimonial estates of the *Keaunui* family appear to have been in the Ewa, Waianae, and Waialua districts of the same island. The particular district occupied by *Mulielealii* is not well defined in the legends. As the descendants of one of his sons, *Kumuhonua*, are found for several generations afterwards in possession of the district of Kona, Oahu, it may be supposed to have been their heritage after the death of *Maweke*.

On the deeds and exploits of *Mulielealii* and *Kalehenui* personally the legends are silent. But to *Keaunui*, the head of the powerful and celebrated Ewa chiefs, is attributed the honour of having cut a navigable channel near the present Puuloa saltworks, by which the great estuary, now known as "Pearl River," was in all subsequent ages rendered accessible to navigation. Making due allowance for legendary amplification of a known fact, the estuary doubtless had an outlet for its waters where the present gap is; but the legend is probably correct in giving *Keaunui* the credit of having widened it and deepened it, so as to admit the passage of canoes, and even larger vessels, in and out of the Pearl River estuary. Among the most noted of *Keaunui*'s children were *Lakona*, the great

progenitor of the Ewa chiefs, *Nuakea*, the wife of the Molokai *Keoloewa-a-kamaruana*, and *Moi*, the prophet and seer of *Kaupeenui*, the brother of *Keoloewa*.

Nothing very remarkable is related of the descendants of *Kalehenui* during this period, except that tradition informs us that during the time of *Mualani*, the granddaughter of *Kalehenui*, while she and her husband *Kaomealani* lived at Kaopulolia in Kaneohe, Oahu, there arrived at the promontory of Mokapu, in Kaneohe aforesaid, a vessel with foreigners (white people—*haole*) on board. Tradition gives the vessel's name as *Ulupana*, and of the crew are mentioned the chief or captain, *Mololana*, and his wife, *Malaea*, and three other persons. Whether they remained in the country or left again is not known.

We now come to the *Mulielealii* branch of the *Maweke* family, which occupies so great a portion of the ancient legends of this period. *Mulielealii* is said to have had three sons and one daughter. The former were *Kumuhonua*, *Olopana*, and *Moikeha*; the latter was named *Hainakolo*.

*Kumuhonua* seems to have remained in possession of the patrimonial estates on Oahu, and possibly of the nominal sovereignty of the island. He had four sons, *Molohaia*, *Kahakuokane*, *Kukawaieakane*, and *Elepuka-honua*. The genealogies of none of these has been preserved except the last, which descends to the time of *Haka*, a noted Ewa chief who lived at Lihue, and was the last Oahu sovereign of the *Kumuhonua* branch, having been succeeded in the sovereignty by *Mailikukahi* of the *Moikeha* branch.

The two other sons of *Mulielealii*, viz., *Olopana* and *Moikeha*, appear to have established themselves on Hawaii, where *Olopana* ruled the valley of Waipio and adjacent country, and *Moikeha*, if not co-ordinate with his brother in power, was at least his highest subject and most trusted friend. Here *Olopana* married *Lwukia*, granddaughter of *Hikapoloa*, chief of Kohala Hawaii, and *Mailelaulii*, his

wife, from Kona Hawaii—both descended from the ancient Hawaiian *Nanaulu* line—and begat a daughter named *Kaupea*.

How long *Olopana* dwelt in Waipio is not mentioned, but the legend states that after a while heavy storms, floods, and freshets desolated the valley and compelled the inhabitants to seek refuge in other places. *Olopana* and his family, accompanied by his brother *Moikeha* and his family, embarked on their canoes and sailed for Kahiki, where they arrived safely, and where, according to the legend, *Olopana* obtained the sovereignty of a district or section of land called “Moaulanuiakea,” and where *Moikeha*, still the right-hand man of his brother, built a sumptuous residence and Heiau for himself, called “Lanikeha.” On this voyage *Moikeha* took with him, as an adopted son, the young chief *Laa*—who then must have been but a child—the son of *Ahukai*, who was the great-grandson of the Oahu *Paumakua*, and who in the chants is called “Chief of Kapaahu and Lord of Nualaka.”

*Ke 'i'i no Kapaahu  
He Lani no Nualaka.*

It would be interesting to know, if possible, on which of the southern or south-western groups of the Pacific *Olopana* and *Moikeha* landed and established themselves. The word “Kahiki,” from a Hawaiian point of view, comprises any and every group from Easter Island to the farthest west, even far into the present Malaysia. Not being able to define the particular place, it may be assumed with a considerable degree of certainty to have been on one of the Society or Georgian groups. The Hawaiian legends mention only three names of places in connection with these voyages of *Moikeha*, of *Kila*, or of *Laa-mai-kahiki*, and they were *Moa-ula-nui-akea*, the name of a land or district where *Olopana* dwelt, *Lanikeha*, the name of the residence and Heiau of *Moikeha*, and *Kapaahu*, the name of a neighbouring mountain, where



*Laa-mai-kahiki* was stopping when *Kila* was sent to bring him back to *Moikeha*. My own limited knowledge of names of places, ancient or present, in the Society group, prevents me from positively identifying either of these names, and thus settle the question. But the whole tenor of the Hawaiian legends would seem to indicate the Society group as the objective point of these voyages of *Moikeha*, *Kila*, *Laa*, and others referring to the same localities. The name of the district or section of country over which *Olopana* is said to have ruled in Kahiki was in Hawaiian *Moa-ula-nui-akea*. Analysing this word, it consists of one appellative, *Moa*, and three adjectives or epithets, *ula*, *nui*, *akea*, "red, great, open, or wide-spreading." As the adjectives may or may not have been original at the place to which they were applied, and probably arose in the eulogistic tendency of those who cherished its memory, and in the magnifying disposition of the bards of subsequent ages, there remains the word *Moa* as an index for our research. In the island of Raiatea, Society group, one of the entrances leading to the bay on which Opoa was situated was anciently, and is possibly still, called *Ava-Moa*, "the sacred harbour" or entrance. This, then, may be the place which Hawaiian legends so highly extolled as the splendid domain of *Olopana* and of *Laa*. *Moa*, which in Tahitian means "sacred," and was originally a distinctive epithet of that particular harbour, became in Hawaiian and to Hawaiian emigrants a local name, adorned with other though analogous epithets. When, moreover, we consider that Opoa, to which this "sacred entrance," this *Ava-Moa*, conducted the voyager, was the seat, cradle, and principal sanctuary of the entire Society group, the Tahitian Mecca, in fact, there are reasonable grounds for assuming that the *Moa-ula*, &c., of the Hawaiian legends refers to the *Ava-Moa* of Raiatea, Society group. It is true that the Hawaiian legends referring to this period make no mention of Opoa, its Morae or temple, nor to its presiding deity, *Oro*. But

according to Tatutian legends and traditions, the Morae of Opoa was built and dedicated to *Oro* by *Hiro*, whom their genealogies make the twentieth before the late Queen *Pomare*, and who, according to the same genealogies, was the great-grandson of *Raa*; whereas the Hawaiian *Laa* flourished twenty-three generations ago, and his foster-father, *Moikeha*, at least two generations earlier. Hence the legends of *Moikeha* and his contemporaries are silent on the Morae of Opoa and its famous god *Oro*.

Of the mountain of *Kapaahu* I have been unable to obtain any information. It is to be hoped that some Tahitian archaeologist may take the trouble to ascertain if any of the mountains of Raiatea, especially in the neighbourhood of Opoa, ever bore the name of Kapaahu.

According to the legend, *Olopana* and *Moikeha* lived harmoniously in their new domain for a long time, until jealousy and envy actuated a Tahitian chief named *Mua* to slander *Moikeha* and prejudice him in the eyes of *Luwkia*, the wife of *Olopana*. Unable to clear himself of the slander and to convince *Luwkia* of its malice, life became irksome to *Moikeha*, and he concluded to seek diversion by returning to his native land. His canoes were equipped forthwith under the superintendence of *Kamahualele*, his astrologer and seer (*Kilokilo*), and, with a goodly company of chiefs, retainers, and relatives, they set sail for Hawaii. It was on this occasion, as they approached the island of Hawaii, that *Kamahualele* is said to have chanted the verses quoted on page 10. The legends differ somewhat as to the names of the followers of *Moikeha*, but they all agree that a number of places in the Hawaiian group were named after such or such companions of *Moikeha*, who were permitted to land here and there as the fleet coasted along the island shores, and who succeeded in establishing themselves where they landed. Thus were named the land of *Moaula* in Kau, Hawaii, the capes of *Haehae* and *Kumukahi* in Puna, the district of *Honuaula* on Maui, capes *Makapuu* and *Makaaoo* on Oahu.

One legend says that *Moikeha's* priest was called *Mookini*, and that he and another follower named *Kaluawilinau* landed at Kohala, Hawaii. It may have been so, but the inference drawn by the native Hawaiian mind, that the famous Heiau of *Mookini* in Kohala was called after this companion of *Moikeha*, is an evident anachronism, as *Paa*o who built the Heiau preceded *Moikeha* in time of arrival at Hawaii; and it is not probable that the *Paa*o and *Pili* joint interest in Kohala would then, or in after-times, permit their special and sacred Heiau to be named after a chance passenger in the fleet of *Moikeha*; the more so as the former sprang from the Samoan group, and the latter came from the Society group. There was, doubtless, a Heiau in Puuepa, Kohala, near the shore, called *Mookini*, the ruins of which still remain, but it was much older than the one which *Paa*o built, and probably gave its name to the latter. Another of the companions of *Moikeha* was the famous *Laamaomao*, who by subsequent generations was worshipped as an *Aumakua*, and exalted as a demigod, a Hawaiian *Æolus*, from whose *Ipu* or calabash the imprisoned winds went forth at his bidding, in force and direction to suit the wishes of the devotee. He is said to have taken up his abode near a place called *Hale-a-Lono*, a well-known hill and landmark on *Kalua-koi*, island of *Molokai*. No incident is recorded during the voyage from *Kahiki* to Hawaii, and having passed through the Hawaiian group, making the different debarcations above mentioned, *Moikeha* arrived one evening off the island of *Kauai*, and anchored his canoes outside of *Waialua* and the surf of *Makaiwa*, or, as others say, off *Waimahanalua* in *Kepaa*, the neighbouring land, where the *Puna* family of chiefs held their court. Early next morning, with his double canoe dressed in royal style (*Puloulou-Alii*), *Moikeha* went ashore and was cordially received by the chiefs of the district. According to one tradition, *Puna* had two daughters, *Hooipo i Kamalanae* and *Hinauru* or *Hinaurulua*, who fell in love with *Moikeha*, and

whom he married; another tradition only mentions *Hooipo i Kamalanae* as his wife. On the death of *Puna*, *Moikeha* became the principal chief (*Alii nui*) of Kauai, and remained there the balance of his life. With these two wives *Moikeha* had the following children mentioned in the legends, viz.:—*Hookamalii*, *Haulanuiiaka*, *Kila*, *Umalehu*, *Kaialea*, *Kekaihawewe*, and *Laukapalala*, all boys. Not much is said of *Hookamalii* in the legends. It would appear that he settled in the Kona district of Oahu, where his grandfather, *Muliele-alii*, had held possession, and is reported to have resided at Ewa. His son *Kahai* is said to have made a voyage to Kahiki, and from Upolu in the Samoan group brought a species of bread-fruit tree, which he planted at Puuloa. The great-granddaughter of *Hookamalii*, called *Maelo*, married *Lauli-a-Laa*, the son of *Laa-mai-kahiki*, whom *Moikeha* took with him to the Society group, and from this union descended the great *Kalona* families on Oahu, which spread their scions over the entire group.

The second son of *Moikeha* was *Haulanuiiaka*. He followed his father in the supremacy of Kauai. I have been unable to recover any complete genealogy of his descendants, but it was universally conceded that *Kapolei-kauila*, the wife of *Kalanikukuma*, a descendant of *Laa-mai-Kahiki's* second son, *Ahukini-a-Laa*, was the lineal descendant of *Haulanuiiaka*. It probably was so, for it is undeniable that that union increased immensely the tabu and aristocratic rank of *Kalanikukuma's* two sons, *Kahakumakalina* and *Ilihewalani*.

The third son of *Moikeha* was *Kila*. He makes a more conspicuous figure in the ancient legends than his other brothers. I possess two legends relating to *Kila*. One is very copious and detailed, but shows evident marks of the embellishments of later narrators; the other is more succinct. They differ in several material points, and thus induce me to believe that the one is not a copy of the other, but that both sprang from independent sources. Com-

paring the two together, and with other legends referring to this period, the historical facts appear to be these:— After *Moikeha* had been many years residing at Waialua as chief ruler of Kauai, and when his sons were grown-up men, a strong desire took possession of him to see once more his foster-son *Laa*, whom, on his departure from Kahiki, he had left with his brother *Olopana*, and whom *Olopana* had adopted as his heir and successor. Either *Moikeha* was too old, or from other causes unable to undertake the voyage himself, and *Kila* was commissioned to go to Kahiki to Moa-ula-nui-akea and bring *Laa* with him to Kauai. The double canoes were fitted out and equipped for the long voyage; several, if not all, of *Kila's* brothers went with him; and, finally, *Moikeha's* own astrologer (*Kilokilo*) and friend, *Kamahualele*, who came with him from Kahiki, was ordered to accompany *Kila* as special counsellor and chief navigator. When all were ready the expedition started. After passing through the Hawaiian group, and taking its departure from the south point of Hawaii, it stood to the southward, and in due time arrived at Kahiki. Whether, as the one legend has it, *Laa* returned with *Kila* to the Hawaiian group, saw his foster-father, *Moikeha*, visited the other islands, and finally returned to Kahiki; or, as the other legend has it, *Laa* remained in Kahiki until after the death of *Olopana*, and then proceeded to Hawaii with his own canoes, accompanied by his priest, his astrologer, his master of ceremonies, his drummer, his prophet, and forty other attendants, the fact is none the less certain that *Laa* came to the Hawaiian group and stayed there for some time, principally on Oahu at Kualoa. Here he married three wives—*Hoakanuikapuaihelu*, daughter of *Lonokaehu* from Kualoa, *Waolena* from Kaalaea, and *Mano* from Kaneohe. All the ancient traditions retain the fact of this triple marriage, and that each one of those three ladies was delivered of a son on one and the same day, and from each of these three sons it was the glory and

pride of the aristocracy on Oahu and Kauai to trace their descent. These sons of *Laa-mai-Kahiki* were respectively called *Lauli-a-Laa*, *Ahukini-a-Laa*, and *Kukona-a-Laa*. *Pakui*, a noted bard and priest in the time of *Kamehameha I.*, in his version of the ancient chant of the creation of the islands and the origin of the nobility, thus sings:—

*O Ahukai, O Laa-a, O Laa-a,*  
*O Ahukai, O Laa-a, O Laa-a,*  
*O Laa-mai Kahiki ke Alii,*  
 O Laa from Tahiti, the chief,  
*O Ahukini-a-Laa,*  
 O Ahukini-a-Laa,  
*O Kukona-a-Laa,*  
 O Kukona-a-Laa,  
*O Lauli-a Laa, makua,*  
 O Lauli-a Laa, the father,  
*O na pukolu a Laa-mai-Kahiki,*  
 The triple canoe of Laa-mai-Kahiki,  
*He mau hiapo kapu a Laa,*  
 The sacred firstborn (children) of Laa,  
*Hookahi no ka la i hanau ai.*  
 Who were born on the same one day.

The legend adds that after *Moikeha's* death *Laa* returned to Tahiti and lived and died there. It then narrates the adventures of *Kila* and his troubles with his brothers in a rather prolix and marvellous manner; but the result seems to be, comparing the two legends together, that *Kila* abandoned the island of Kauai and established himself on Hawaii, where he obtained possession of the valley of Waipio, the former land of his uncle *Olopana*; and from him several Hawaii families claimed descent, notably *Laakapu*, the wife of *Kahoukapu*, *Kapukamola*, the wife of *Makakaualii*, and *Pilaniwahine*, the wife of *Kamalalawalu* of Maui.

Of *Mulielealii's* daughter *Hainakolo* a legend still exists. She is said to have married a southern chief named *Keanini*, whom she accompanied to his home in Kuaihelani; that the marriage was not a happy one; that *Hainakolo* returned to Hawaii while her brother *Olopana* still resided there;

that she met with a tragical end, and that her spirit still haunts the mountains and precipices around the valley of Waipio. This legend is very much overlaid with the fabulous and fanciful, but the historical kernel of it still confirms the prevalence of the long voyages and social intercourse of the Polynesian tribes during this period. *Hainakolo's* son is called *Leimakani*, from whom some Hawaiian families claimed descent.

Among other Hawaiian chiefs who during this period of unrest and tribal commotion visited foreign lands, the legends have retained the name of *Wahanui*, a chief from Oahu. He is not claimed as a scion of the powerful *Maweke* family, and was probably a descendant of some one of *Maweke's* ancestors, though the connection is now lost and forgotten. His expedition visited the southern groups first, and having seen them all (" *Ua paru ka Hema* "), it started for the islands in the west, and from there returned to the Hawaiian group. It is said that he brought many strange and curious things with him from the foreign lands that he had visited, and among others are mentioned the *Kanaka-pilikua*, a dwarfish people, whom he landed on Kauai, and who, on account of their swiftness, became famous as runners.

*Kaumailiula* was another Hawaiian chief whose adventures in foreign lands (*Kahiki*) formed the subject of contemporary gossip and of subsequent legend. He was the grandson of *Hikapaloa*, the noted Hawaiian chief from Kohala of the *Nanaulu* line, and brother to *Iuukia*, the wife of *Olopana*. He married his niece *Kaupea*, *Olopana's* daughter, who had come on a visit to Hawaii while her parents still were living in Kahiki. Misunderstandings possibly arose between husband and wife, and *Kaupea* returned to her parents in Kahiki, where she gave birth to a daughter afterwards named *Kamakaokoehi*. Hearing of this by other arrivals from Kahiki, *Kaumailiula* started to recover and bring back his daughter. His adventures on this voyage, and his narrow escape from being sacrificed

in Kahiki for having inadvertently broken the tabus, and his successful return with his daughter to Hawaii, are the theme of the legend and the traditional data in support of the frequent and intimate intercourse between the Hawaiian and the southern groups at this period.

With *Laa-mai-Kahiki* closes this period of oceanic travel, migrations, and intercourse so far as the Hawaiian group was concerned; at least no name has come down upon the traditions, legends, or genealogies of any Hawaiian chief who undertook such a voyage to the southward, or of any southerner that arrived at the Hawaiian group after that time. While the exploits and adventures of the many who failed to establish themselves and perpetuate their names on the genealogies of the country have faded from the national memory, or are only alluded to in connection with some other more prominent figure, yet sufficiently many succeeded in making themselves famous among their contemporaries and sending their names and their exploits down to posterity as a cherished heirloom through unbroken generations, and thus—in spite of the marvellous accretions which the legends gathered as they passed from father to son—attesting the historical truth of the fact, the time, and the character of this singular episode in Hawaiian and Polynesian national life.

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I have formerly stated that Polynesian legends furnish no clue as to the causes which set this migratory vortex in motion within the Polynesian area of the Pacific. No more do they give an inkling of what led to its discontinuance. To the Hawaiian people it was an era of activity and enterprise, an awakening from a sleep of fifteen generations, not devoid of the peculiar danger of being swamped or absorbed in this ethnic whirl. Its traces, however, were deep and indelible. It modified the



ancient customs, creed, and polity. It even affected the speech of the people, and as late as fifty years ago it was easy to distinguish a native from the leeward islands from one of the windward by his manner of pronouncing the letters *k* and *l*, which Kauai and Oahu natives, adopting the Tahitian style, pronounced *t* and *r*. Since the conquest of Oahu by *Kamehameha I.* in 1796, and the cession of Kauai in 1809, the fusion of the people of the leeward and windward isles of the group has been so great as to nearly obliterate the ancient difference of speech between them.

To this period Hawaiian tradition assigns the introduction of the four-walled, more or less oblong, style of Heiau (temple), instead of the open truncated pyramidal structure of previous ages, indicating a great change in the ceremonial of the religion and a tendency to exclusiveness unknown before. Under the old, the previous régime, the Heiau of the truncated pyramid form, with its presiding chief, officiating priests, and prepared sacrifice, were in plain open view of the assembled congregation, who could hear the prayers and see the sacrifice, and respond intelligently to the invocations of the priest. Under the innovations of this period, the presiding chief, those whom he chose to admit, and the officiating priests, were the only ones who entered the walled enclosure where the high-places for the gods and the altars for the sacrifices were erected, and where the prayers and invocations were recited, the congregation of the people remaining seated on the ground outside the walls, mute, motionless, ignorant of what was passing within the Heiau until informed by the officiating priest or prompted to the responses by his acolytes.

To this period may also be assigned the introduction and adoption of several new gods in the Hawaiian pantheon. That the Hawaiians previous to this venerated and prayed to the spirits of departed ancestors—*Aumakua*—is abundantly shown from their legends and traditions ;

but I have found no indications to show that these were looked upon in any other light than as tutelar genii and family intercessors with the great omnipotent gods *Kane*, *Ku*, and *Lono*, to whom alone Heiaus were raised, and to whom alone, singly or jointly, the public ceremonial of worship was addressed. During and following this migratory period, however, several varieties of the great gods begin to appear in the legends of the people, unknown to the former creed and culte. Originally, perhaps, they were considered as manifestations of the various attributes and powers of the three primeval gods; but if so, the original conception had been worn down by time and defaced by usage, until, at the time we now speak of, those deified attributes had been exalted to the position of independent godheads, receiving separate worship, and as such were introduced by the southern emigrants for the acceptance and worship of the Hawaiians. We thus find varieties of *Kane*, such as *Kanemakua*,<sup>1</sup> *Kanepuaa*,<sup>2</sup> *Kane-i Ka-pualena*,<sup>3</sup> and eight or ten others of that class, generally known as *Kane-nuiakoa*. We thus find the varieties of *Ku*, such as *Ku-ula*,<sup>4</sup> *Ku-ka-oo*,<sup>5</sup> *Ku-kaili-moku*,<sup>6</sup> and others. We thus find *Lono-a-kihi*,<sup>7</sup> *Lono-i-ka-ou-alii*,<sup>8</sup> and several others in more or less vogue. To this period belongs the introduction of

<sup>1</sup> One of the gods worshipped by fishermen, especially at the season of catching Malolo (flying-fish).

<sup>2</sup> The god of husbandry.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. "Kane with the yellow flower." The particular god worshipped by *Kawelo-a-Mahunalii*, the great Kauai chief who flourished some eight or nine generations ago.

<sup>4</sup> Another god worshipped by the fishermen throughout the group. His wife's name was *Hina* — which of itself shows their southern origin; and when the god proved unpropitious, the fishermen prayed to her to intercede with her husband.

<sup>5</sup> A god of husbandry.

<sup>6</sup> A feather god, chosen by *Umi* and by *Kamehameha I.* as their particular tutelar god, generally worshipped as a god of war. According to Rev. Mr. Ellis's "Polynesian Researches," vol. i. p. 276, *Tairi* was one of the ancient war-gods in Tahiti, "a deity of the first rank, having been created by *Taaroa* before *Oro* existed."

<sup>7</sup> The eel god.

<sup>8</sup> The particular god which *Laa-mai-Kahiki* brought with him from Raiatea, and which was deposited in the Heiau of his foster-father, *Moi-keha*, at Wailua, Kauai.

the *Pele*<sup>1</sup> family of divinities, male and female, and the transformation of the Hawaiian fallen angel, *Kanaloa*,<sup>2</sup> the prince of darkness and chief of the infernal world, to a rank almost equal with *Kane*, *Ku*, and *Lono*. To the influence of this period may be attributed the increased stringency of the tabus, and probably the introduction, or at least more general application, of human sacrifices. In support of this surmise, I may state that in all the legends or allusions referring to the period previous to this migratory epoch I have found no indications of the practice of human sacrifices, though they may have existed; but subsequent to this period the inhuman practice becomes progressively increasing, until in the latter days of paganism hardly any public affair was transacted without the inevitable preamble of one or more human victims.

<sup>1</sup> This family of gods consisted of *Pele*, the presiding goddess, whose especial abode was in the crater of the volcano of Kilauea, and her five brothers and eight sisters. They ruled over all volcanic phenomena, and they were considered as a cruel, capricious, and vengeful set of gods. Their names will indicate their attributes and functions, as well as the peculiar process by which, with an ignorant people, natural phenomena become exalted into special deities, and the "nomen" of one age becomes the "numen" of another. The five brothers were *Kamoho-ali'i*, the royal Moho; *Kapoha-i-kahi-ola*, the explosion in the place of life; *Ke-ua-a-ke-po*, the rain of night; *Kanehekili*, Kane the thunderer; *Ke-o-ahi-kama-kaua*, the fire-thrusting child of war. The eight sisters were *Makole-wawahi-waa*, red-eyed canoe-breaker; *Hiaka-wawahi-lani*, Hiaka the heaven-rending; *Hiaka-noho-lani*, Hiaka the heaven-dwelling; *Hiaka-kaalawa-maka*, Hiaka who turns her face; *Hiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele*, Hiaka on the bosom of Pele; *Hiaka-kapu-enaena*, Hiaka of the burning consuming tabu; *Hiaka-ka-*

*lei-ia*, Hiaka adorned with garlands; *Hiaka-opio*, Hiaka the young one. Rev. Mr. Ellis translates *Hiaka* (*Hii-aka*) with "cloud-holder." I think the better rendering would be "twilight-bearer." In Tahitian *Ata* sometimes has the sense of a "cloud," but in Hawaiian never. In all the Polynesian dialects, *Ata*, *Aka*, has one common sense, "shadow" of a person or thing. In a majority of the dialects *Ata* also has the sense of "twilight," the particular lighting up of the sky which precedes or follows the rising or setting of sun or moon; and in this sense it would appropriately convey the idea of the lurid light which accompanies an eruption of the volcano. As the name of the goddess was probably imported along with the culte of *Pele*, it may assist us in tracing the direction from whence it came to Hawaii to know that in Samoan *Ata* means "twilight;" *Ata ata*, "the red sky after sunset;" in Marquesan *Ata-ua* means the morning "twilight," "aurora."

<sup>2</sup> For my remarks upon *Kanaloa*, see vol. i. pp. 83, 84.

To what extent the previous Hawaiian social customs were affected by this prolonged intercourse with their southern cousins, it is extremely difficult now to state from any allusions that may be found in the legends or Meles. What the peculiar style of garment worn by Hawaiian females may have been before this time, I am unable to say, and there is nothing in the traditions to indicate; but all the legends concurrently testify that the style of garment known as the "*Pau*," consisting of five thicknesses of kapa or cloth, and reaching from the waist to the knee, was first introduced and rendered fashionable in Hawaii by *Iuukia*, the wife of *Olopana*, who, as previously stated, established himself as a supreme chief on one of the Society group, probably Raiatea. Could the ancient bards and raconteurs of legends be interrogated how *Iuukia* could have introduced the fashion of this garment on Hawaii, seeing that she never returned there after she and her husband and *Moikeha* left Waipio, their probable answer would be that to *Iuukia* belonged the credit of the invention, and that her daughter *Kaupea* brought the pattern of it to Hawaii when she visited her mother's family, and became the wife of her uncle *Kaumailiula*. In the Hawaiian group the pattern remained in its original comparative simplicity, and to this very day the manufacturers of kapa make them fivefold, from no other motive than because the "*Pau*" of *Iuukia* was of five thicknesses.

Among the improvements or additions to the ancient musical instruments of the Hawaiians which are assigned to this period is that of the large drum, "*Kaeke*," made from the hollowed trunk of a large cocoanut-tree and covered with shark skin. It was beaten by hand, and was first introduced in the group by *Laamaikahiki* when he returned from Kahiki. It was said to have been preserved at the Heiau of Holoholoku, Wailua, Kauai, until comparatively modern times. From *Laamaikahiki's* time

to the introduction of Christianity, the use of this kind of drum became general over the group, and every independent chief, and every "*Heiau Pookanaka*"—where human sacrifices were offered—had its own "*Kaekeke*" and drummer.

The "*Puloulou*," bundles or balls of either black or white kapa, tied to staffs and erected in front of the dwellings of the high chiefs, priests, and of the Heiaus, as signs of tabu, are said to have been introduced by *Paa*, the high-priest of Hawaii, who, there is reason to believe, came from the Samoan group. The "*Puloulou*" are still preserved in the national coat of arms as insignia of the ancient tabu.

Some prayers current amongst the priests and the people, which evidently go back to this period of disturbance and innovation on the old creed and old modes of thought for their origin, may be found in Appendix No. I.

In the polity of government initiated during this period, and strengthened as ages rolled on, may be noted the hardening and confirming the divisions of society, the exaltation of the nobles and the increase of their prerogatives, the separation and immunity of the priestly order, and the systematic setting down, if not actual debasement, of the commoners, the *Makaainana*. From this period dates the *Aha-Alii*, that peculiar organisation of the Hawaiian peerage referred to on previous pages, that zealous and watchful "Committee on Nobility," before whom every stranger aspirant to its prerogatives and privileges must recite his *Naua*, his pedigree and connections, and whom no pretensions could dazzle, no imposture deceive. The obligation was imperative on the highest as well as the lowest chieftain, whenever, passing beyond his own district or island where personally known, he visited a strange place or island where doubts might arise as to

his identity. Thus when *Lono-i-ka-makahiki*, the son of *Keawe-nui-a-umi* and suzerain lord of the whole island of Hawaii, after the unpleasant affair with his wife *Kaikilani-wahine alii o Puna* at Kalaupapa on Molokai—to which we shall refer in its proper place—visited the court of *Kakuhihewa* of Oahu incognito, a sort of “Chevalier Noir” in that gay, luxurious, and illustrious rendezvous, to which all the restless spirits of the group repaired in search of dissipation or distinction, he was promptly challenged, although his high rank was surmised from his surroundings, and obliged to satisfy the *Aha-Alii* or its committee as to who he was and whence descended.

At this period commenced the development of the idea of a sovereign lord or king, *Ka-Moi*, over each of the principal islands of the group. Previously it appears that each chief was entirely independent of every other chief, and his authority was co-extensive with his possessions. When the legends referring to that time speak of an *Alii-nui* of Kauai or an *Alii-nui* of Hawaii, it simply means that he was the most powerful chief on that island for the time being, and by inheritance, conquest, or marriage had obtained a larger territory than any other chief there. But after this period the word *Moi* appears in the legends and Meles, indicating that the chief who bore that title was, by some constitutional or prescriptive right, acknowledged as the suzerain lord of his island, the *primus inter pares* of the other chiefs of said island, to whom the latter owed a nominal, at least, if not always a real, allegiance and fealty. Nor were the territorial possessions and power of the acknowledged *Moi* always the source of this dignity, for the legends relate several instances where the wealth in lands and retainers of a *Moi* were inferior to some of the other chiefs, who nevertheless owed him allegiance and followed his banner. Thus *Keawemauhili*, the twice-tabued chief of Hilo, though he acknowledged *Kalaniopuu* of Hawaii as his suzerain, and assisted him in his wars with Maui, was far the more powerful in terri-

torial wealth and resources, and he refused to acknowledge *Kamehameha I.* as his *Moi* or sovereign for many years. Thus *Kuahua*, the grandson of *I*, chief of Hilo, three generations earlier than *Keawemauhili*, did for many years set the whole strength of the nominal sovereign of Hawaii at defiance; that sovereign and titular *Moi* being *Keakamahana*, great-granddaughter of *Keawe-nui-a-umi*, and grandmother to *Keawe*, surnamed *i-Kekahi-alii-o-kamoku* ("the one chief of the island"), from whom the *Kamehameha* dynasty descended. Thus the East Maui chiefs, though generally acknowledging the line of *Piilani* as the rightful possessors of the dignity and pre-eminence as *Moi*, sovereigns of Maui, were frequently too powerful to be coerced; and similar instances were not scarce on the other islands.

Though the dignity of *Moi* was generally hereditary, yet several cases are recorded in the legends where the *Moi* was deposed from his office and dignity by the other chiefs of his island and another *Moi* elected by them. Thus *Haka* on Oahu, in whose line—the *Maweke-kumuhonua*—the *Moi*-ship had been retained for many previous generations, was deposed by the Oahu chiefs and *Mailikukahi* of the *Maweke-Moikeha* line elected in his place. Thus *Kumahana*, the grandson of *Kualii* and son of *Peleioholani*, was deposed by the Oahu chiefs, and *Kahahana*, son of *Elani*, of the Ewa line of chiefs, elected in his place. Thus after the death of *Keawe* of Hawaii, his son and successor to the title of "*Moi*," *Kalani-nui-amaomao*, was deposed and killed by his cousin *Alapai-nui*—the son of *Keawe's* half-sister *Kalanikauleleiaivi*—who, although he usurped the authority and dignity of *Moi* of Hawaii, was none the less so recognised by the very son of the deposed monarch, by the rest of his family, and by all the other chiefs of Hawaii, and retained the authority for many years until his death.

Whatever disadvantages might arise under the government of a sovereign whose individual possessions and

power were inadequate to give weight to his commands, or who had failed to secure the good-will and co-operation of the quasi-independent chiefs and feudatories of his island, yet on the whole the institution of a recognised political head and umpire between turbulent and contending chiefs was a great advantage, in so far as it tended to make a political unit of each island, and in a measure to check the condition of anarchy into which the people apparently had fallen, consequent upon this period of invasion, disruption, and commingling of elements of varying culture and conflicting pretensions. It enabled each island to combine its forces for purposes of defence, and it required a *Moi* of more than common ability and force of character to induce his chiefs to join him in an aggressive war upon another island.

I have referred to the institution of a *Moi*, the recognition of one sovereign chief, however limited his authority, on each island, as a consequence and a political result of this migratory period. My reason for so doing is not the *post hoc, propter hoc*, argument of some; but because in all the legends and chants that have come under my inspection referring to this very period and to times preceding, I have never discovered the slightest mention of the name of *Moi*, nor any allusion to an institution at all corresponding. When the migratory wave had passed, and the commotions incident to it had subsided, this was one of the fruits it brought with it, and it grew out of the altered condition of society. The very word itself, if it existed at all in the Hawaiian dialect, was never applied in the sense which it afterwards acquired. We look in vain through the Hawaiian dialect for any radical sense of the word *Moi*. It has but one concrete meaning, that of sovereign; whereas in the sister dialect of Tahiti it has the radical sense of "the heart of a tree," "the pith," and in the duplicated form *Moi-moi* means "aged, stricken in years, principal, steady old man." Hence I look upon this word as imported into the Hawaiian, and employed to



distinguish the status and functions of that particular chief from that of the other independent chieftains of the various districts of an island,—the *Alii-ai-moku*, as they were called.

I am inclined to think that the oldest Hawaiian designation of the highest rank of chiefs was *Hau*,<sup>1</sup> which word meets us with nearly the same meaning in the Samoan and Fijian *Sau*, the Tongan and Tahitian *Hau*, the Rorotonga and Mangarewa *Au*, the New Zealand *Whaka-hau*, for I have found it applied to the independent district chiefs of an island as well as to the *Moi* or titular sovereign of the island; but the title of *Moi* was never applied to a district chief since *Moi*-ship was instituted.

### HAWAII.

When the islands had somewhat recovered from the shock of the preceding migratory period, about three generations after *Laamaikahiki*, there lived a chief on Hawaii who was the *Moi* of that island, and grandson of *Kalapana* of the southern *Pili-kaaiea* line, which came in the time of *Paao*, and had obtained the titular sovereignty of the island of Hawaii. The name of this chief was *Kalau-Kalauumio-  
hua.**nuiohua*. He is represented in the legends as a warlike and enterprising prince, and having confirmed his sway on Hawaii, he felt ambitious of extending it over the neighbouring islands. His warriors and his fleet were collected, and invaded the island of Maui, where *Kama-luohua* was the reigning or principal chief. A battle was

<sup>1</sup> In the excellent Hawaiian Dictionary of Hon. Lorrin Andrews, this word is rendered *Hau*. The word had become obsolete long before Mr. Andrews wrote, and was only met with in ancient chants, and there joined to the epithet *Ka-lani*. The latest of these chants was composed by *Keaulumoku*, the son of *Kauakahiakua*, of the Maui royal family, and

half-brother to *Kanekapolei*, the wife of *Kalaniopuu*, king of Hawaii about the year 1734. I am inclined to think that Mr. Andrews was misled by the spelling of those who reduced that chant to writing. *Hau-i-ka-lani* would seem to me to be the better way of spelling the word with which the chant of *Keaulumoku* opens.

fought, in which *Kamaluohua* was defeated and taken prisoner. Elated with the first success, *Kalaunuiohua* invaded the island of Molokai, where *Kahokuohua* was the principal chief or *Moi*. After another obstinate battle *Kahokuohua* was conquered, and surrendered himself to the victor. *Kalaunuiohua* now aimed at subjugating the entire group, and hastened to Oahu, taking his royal prisoners with him. It is doubtful if Oahu had any recognised *Moi* or titular sovereign at the time. The invasion of *Kalaunuiohua* must have occurred while *Moku-a-Loe* ruled over the Koolau division and *Kahuo* ruled over the Kona division of that island; for, without attacking either of those chiefs, *Kalaunuiohua* landed his forces at Waianae and gave battle to *Huapouleilei*, principal chief of the Ewa and Waianae division of the island. Again victory perched on *Kalaunuiohua's* banners, and *Huapouleilei* was defeated and captured. What steps, if any, *Kalaunuiohua* might have taken to consolidate his conquests is not mentioned in the legend. At least he did not stop to subdue the other portions of Oahu, but after the victory at Waianae set sail for the island of Kauai with the three captive kings in his train. At this time *Kukona*, the great-grandson of *Ahukini-a-Laa*, was the *Moi* or sovereign of Kauai. *Kalaunuiohua* made his descent on the coast of Koloa, and in that neighbourhood was met by *Kukona* and all the Kauai chiefs. A desperate engagement ensued in which *Kalaunuiohua* was thoroughly defeated, himself taken prisoner by *Kukona*, and his fleet surrendered. Having delivered his country from the invader, *Kukona* immediately set the three captive princes at liberty, and furnished them with the means of returning to their own possessions, but he kept *Kalaunuiohua* a close prisoner for a long time; the legend says for several years. At length negotiations were entered into with the Hawaii chiefs for the release of their *Moi*, and, though the conditions are not mentioned in the legend, the result proved favourable to *Kalaunuiohua*, and he was allowed to return to Hawaii,

where he ended his days without indulging in more war-like adventures.<sup>1</sup> *Kalaunuiohua's* wife was *Kaheka*, with whom he is said to have had a son, *Kuaiwa*, who succeeded him, and a daughter, *Kapapalimulimu*, from whom descended *Henaiakamalama*, the wife of *Makaoku*, one of the sons of *Kihanuilulumoku* of Hawaii.

During this period there lived on Hawaii a prophetess, or "*Kaula*," called *Waahia*, who in some way was connected with the expeditions of *Kalaunuiohua*, or with the negotiations for his release; but the legend merely refers to her as a person whose fame was too well known at the time the legend assumed its present form to require anything more than a passing allusion. Her fame and her prophecies, their fulfilment or their failures, are now, however, completely faded from the popular mind, and even the well-stored memory of the late Hon. S. M. Kamakau, from whom I received the legend, could tell nothing about her, though he admitted that the *Wanana o na Kaula*, "the sayings or predictions of the prophets," when preserved, formed a most valuable contribution towards understanding and elucidating the ancient legends purporting to treat of this or that dynasty of chiefs.

In the time of *Kalaunuiohua* the priestly power had not yet been firmly established, for the legends represent him as a chief who had no fear of the priesthood, but killed both priests and prophets when it suited his humour. No doubt the priesthood was struggling for ascendancy even then, and it is instructive to remark how, here in the Pacific, the heathen priests and their kindred bards consigned to odium the chiefs that thwarted or ill used them, as Christian priests and monks, the historiographers of their times in Europe, besmeared the memory of naughty kings who opposed their doings or frustrated their designs.

Of *Kalaunuiohua's* son *Kuaiwa*, who followed his father Kuaiwa. as sovereign of Hawaii, not much is related except that,

<sup>1</sup> This war is remembered in the legends as the war of *Kawelewele*.

from his peaceable character, he is held up as a contrast to his warlike father. *Kuaiwa* had two wives, *Kamuleilani* and *Kamanawa*. The former descended from *Luachu*, of the southern *Ulu* stock of chiefs, who arrived with or about the time of *Laamaikahiki*; the latter descended from *Maweke* of the *Nanaulu* line, through his son *Keavnui* and granddaughter *Nuakea*. By reference to the genealogical tables, it will be seen that *Kamanawa's* great-grandmother *Hualani*, on the *Maweke* line, was the Molokai wife of *Kanipahu* of the *Pili* line of Hawaii chiefs. With *Kamuleilani* *Kuaiwa* had three sons, *Kahoukapu*, *Hukulani*, and *Manauca*, and with *Kamanawa* he had one son, *Ehu*, all of whom became noted heads of numerous aristocratic families.

*Kahoukapu* seems to have followed his father *Kuaiwa* in the sovereignty of Hawaii. No wars nor misfortunes disturbed his reign, at least the report of none has come down to our time. His wife was *Laakapu*, who was descended from *Kila*, son of *Moikeha*, and grandson of *Maweke* on the original *Nanaulu* line. Only a portion of her pedigree has been preserved. *Laakapu*, with another husband named *Kanalukapu*, became the ancestress of the famous *Mahi* family on Hawaii.<sup>1</sup> She had also another son named *Hilo-a-Laakapu*, who, in conjunction with two other Hawaii chiefs, *Hilo-a-Hilo-kapuhi* and *Punaluu*, and *Iuakoa*, a Maui chief, invaded the island of Oahu, but were defeated and slain by *Mailikukahi*, the then sovereign of Oahu.

*Kauholanuimahu* was the son of *Kahoukapu* and *Laakapu*,<sup>2</sup> and followed his father as *Moi* or sovereign of Hawaii. No mention occurs in the traditions of any wars between Hawaii and Maui during this and the preceding reign, nor of any conquests made; yet the tradition is posi-

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Kamakau states that the *Mahi* family descended from *Kuaiwa's* son *Hukulani*. Kamakau does not give the pedigree; but, if so, it

must have been on the side of *Kana-loanoo*, the father of the *Mahis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kahoukapu* is said to have had another son named *Kukaohialaka* (Legend of Keamalu).

tive, and has not been contradicted, that *Kauholanui-mahu* resided a great portion of his time at Honuauula, Maui, where he exercised royal authority, and, among other useful works, built the fishpond at "Keoneoio," which still remains. During one of his long séjours on Maui, his wife *Neula* remained on Hawaii and took another husband, whose name has not survived in Hawaiian legend. The new husband and rival revolted from *Kauholanui* and assumed the government of Hawaii. Informed of the treachery and the revolt, *Kauholanui* hastened back to Hawaii, suppressed the rebellion, and slew his opponent. After that *Kauholanui* remained on Hawaii until his death.

*Kauholanui's* wife, *Neula*, is said in some traditions to have been a Maui chiefess; if so, the district of Honuauula may have been her patrimonial estate, and that may account for the frequent and protracted residences there by *Kauholanui*.

*Kauholanui-mahu* was contemporary with the *Kakaa-laneo* family on Maui, with the *Kalonas* on Oahu, and with *Kahakuokane*, the grandson of *Manokalanipoo* of Kauai. *Kiha-nui-lulu-moku* was the son of *Kauholanui-mahu* and *Neula*,<sup>1</sup> and succeeded his father as *Moi* of Hawaii. His principal residence was at Waipio, district of Hamakua, where the *Moi* of Hawaii seem to have preferred to dwell from the days of *Kahaimoelea*. *Kiha*, though no wars or conquests are reported as occurring during his reign, is represented in the legends as a strong, powerful, and industrious chief, who made himself respected and obeyed at home, and held in high estimation by his neighbours. Hawaiian priests and bards of later ages embellished his legend with marvels, and witchery, and superhuman adventures, a certain proof of the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries and

*Kiha-nui-lulu-moku.*

<sup>1</sup> *Kauholanui* is said in some of the *walu*, MS. Collection of L. Andrews, old chants to have had another son No. 41. named *Kaohuwale*. Mele of *Kaika-*

their posterity. He is eulogised as a chief of a peaceful disposition, but at the same time always ready to keep peace between the subordinate chieftains by force if necessary. Agriculture and industry received his attention, and the island of Hawaii is represented as prosperous and contented during his reign.

A curious and much-prized memento of *Kiha* has come down to our times. It was the celebrated war-trumpet of *Kiha*—“*Kiha-pu*”—whose notes, when blown upon, were said to have been audible from Waipio to Waimea, a distance of ten miles. It was a large nautilus shell, of a kind seldom if ever found now in this group, and inlaid, after the custom of those days, with the teeth of rebel or opposing chiefs slain in battle. It had been preserved as an heirloom in the *Kamehameha* branch of *Kiha's* descendants, and was, with many other relics of the Hawaiian heathen time, sent to the Paris Exhibition of 1865. It now adorns the Royal Hawaiian Museum. Many a weird tale is still told by some of the older people of the miraculous properties of the said shell or trumpet, how it was found, and of its power over the *Kini Akua*, “the host of gods or genii,” when properly blown.

*Kiha* lived to a very old age and died at Waipio. His first wife was his own aunt, *Waoilea*, the sister of *Neula*, his mother, with whom he had *Lilou*, who succeeded him as *Moi* of Hawaii. He also had three other sons, either with *Waoilea* or with some other wife whose name has not been preserved. Their names were *Kaunuamoā*, *Makaoku*, and *Kepailiula*, the second of whom became chief of the Hilo district, and married *Hinaiakamalama*, sixth in descent from *Kalaunuiohua*. In his old age *Kiha* took a new wife named *Hina-opio*, with whom he had a son, *Hoolana*, who appears to have been provided for in the Puna district, where the family remained for four generations, until *Kuikai* removed to Molokai, married *Kumakakaha*, the daughter of *Kalani-Pehu*, the then most potent chief of that island, and became the ancestor of the well-

known *Kaiakea* family, the head of which still survives in the author's daughter.<sup>1</sup>

*Liloa* followed his father *Kiha* as sovereign of Hawaii, <sup>Liloa.</sup> and kept his court at Waipio. He is represented as an affable, jolly monarch, who frequently travelled over the island, kept the other chiefs quiet, and protected the landholders. After his reign the glories of Waipio declined. It had been built up and delighted in as a royal residence from the time of *Kahaimoclea*, and the tabus of its great Heiau (temple) were the most sacred on Hawaii, and remained so until the destruction of the Heiau and the spoliation of all the royal associations in the valley of Waipio by *Kaeokulani*, king of Kauai, and confederate of *Kahekili*, king of Maui, in their war upon *Kamehameha I.* in 1791. It is not known by whom this Heiau, called *Pakaalana*, was built, but it existed before *Kiha's* time; and so did the sacred pavement leading to the enclosure where the chief's palace or mansion—called "*Hawnoka-maahala*"—stood, though its name has come down to

<sup>1</sup> The high consideration in which the *Kaiakea* family was formerly held throughout the group may be inferred from the connections it formed by its marriages. *Kuikai*, as above stated, married the daughter of *Kalanipehu*; his son *Kanehoalani* married *Kawakaweloaikanaka*, daughter of the famous *Kawelo-peekoa* of Kauai. His grandson *Kukalanihoouluae* married *Aialei*, granddaughter of *Ilíkieleele*, of the *Liloa-Hakau* and *Keavenui-a-Umi* branches of the Hawaii chiefs; and *Kaiakea* himself married *Kalanipoo-a-Peleioholani*, daughter of *Kukuaiimakalani*, who was daughter of *Kualii* of Oahu, and own sister to *Peleioholani*, who died about eight years before the discovery of the Hawaiian group by Captain Cook. *Kaiakea's* son *Kekuelikenui*, the grandfather of the author's wife, was a staunch and personal friend of *Kamehameha I.*, who, referring to the unsettled state of the group, the

treachery and anarchy prevailing at the time, remarked that "*Kekuelike's* house was the only place where he could sleep with his *malo* off," that is, that he could sleep undressed without fear of violence or treachery. It was to *Kekuelike's* place at *Kalamaula, Molokai*, that the Maui royal family, including *Kalola* and *Keopuolani*, afterwards *Kamehameha's* wife, fled for refuge after the disastrous battle of *Iao* in *Wailuku*. As an instance of the dense population, even a few years previous to *Kamehameha's* death, the author has often been told by a grand-niece of *Kekuelike*, who was a grown-up girl at the time, that when the chief's trumpet-shell sounded, over a thousand able-bodied men would respond to the call, within a circle described by *Palaaui, Naiwa, Kalae, and Kaunakakai*. Those lands together cannot muster a hundred men this day.

our days as the *Paepae-a-Liloo*. The tabued *Nioi*, a *Liloo*, or pepper tree, was also uprooted at the same time by this sacrilegious *Kaeokulani*. *Liloo's* first wife was *Pinea* or *Piena*, a Maui chiefess, with whom he had a son, *Hakau*, and a daughter, *Kapukini*. Later in life, while travelling near the borders of the Hamakua and Hilo districts,<sup>1</sup> he spied a young woman, of whom he became deeply enamoured, and whom he seduced, and the fruit of which liaison was a son, whom the mother named *Umi*, and who afterwards played so great a rôle in the annals of Hawaii. The mother of *Umi* was named *Akahiakuleana*, and though in humble life, she was a lineal descendant in the sixth generation from *Kalahui-moku*, the son of *Kanipahu*, with *Hualani* of the *Nanauh-Maweke* line, and half-brother to *Kalapana*, the direct ancestor of *Liloo*. When parting from *Akahiakuleana*, *Liloo* gave her the ivory clasp (Palaoa) of his necklace, his feather wreath (*Lei-hulu*), and his *Malo* or waist-cloth,<sup>2</sup> and told her that when the child was grown up, if it was a boy, to send him with these tokens to Waipio, and he would acknowledge him. The boy grew up with his mother and her husband, a fine, hearty, well-developed lad, foremost in all sports and athletic games of the time, but too idle and lazy in works of husbandry to suit his plodding stepfather. When *Umi* was nearly a full-grown young man, his stepfather once threatened to strike him as punishment for his continued idleness, when the mother averted the blow and told her husband, "Do not strike him; he is not your son; he is your chief;" and she then revealed the secret of his birth, and produced from their hiding-place the keepsakes which *Liloo* had left with her. The astonished stepfather stepped back in dismay, and

<sup>1</sup> The legend says that he had been to Koholalele in Hamakua to consecrate the Heiau called *Manini*, and that, passing from there, he stopped at Kaawikiwiki, and at the

gulch of Hoesa, near Kealakaha, he fell in with *Akahiakuleana*.

<sup>2</sup> One legend has it that, instead of the *Lei*, *Liloo* gave her his *Laau-palau*, a short instrument for cutting taro tops, a dagger.



the mother furnished her son with means and instruction for the journey to Waipio. Two young men accompanied him on the journey, *Omaukamaru* and *Piimaiwaa*, who became his constant and most trusted attendants ever after. Arrived in Waipio valley, they crossed the Wailoa stream, and *Umi* proceeded alone to the royal mansion, not far distant. According to his mother's instructions, though contrary to the rules of etiquette observed by strangers or inferior visitors, instead of entering the courtyard by the gate, he leaped over the stockade, and instead of entering the mansion by the front door, he entered by the back door, and went straight up to where *Liloa* was reclining, and set himself down in *Liloa's* lap. Surprised at the sudden action, *Liloa* threw the young man on the ground, and, as he fell, discovered his Malo and his ivory clasp on the body of *Umi*. Explanations followed, and *Liloa* publicly acknowledged *Umi* as his son, and even caused him to undergo, *pro forma*, the public ceremony of *Oki ka piko* in token of his recognition and adoption.<sup>1</sup>

*Umi's* position was now established at the court of *Liloa*, and, with the exception of his older brother *Hakau*, whose ill-will and jealousy his recognition by *Liloa* had kindled, he soon became the favourite of all. When *Liloa* was near dying, he called the two sons before him, and publicly gave the charge of the government of Hawaii, the position of *Moi*, to *Hakau*, and the charge of his God—that is, the maintenance of the Heiaus and the observance of the religious rites—to *Umi*, telling the former, "You are the ruler of Hawaii, and *Umi* is your man," equivalent to next in authority.

The legends make no mention of any wars or contentions having occurred during *Liloa's* long reign to disturb the tranquillity of Hawaii.

<sup>1</sup> The ceremony of *Oki ka piko*, performed at the Heiau with much pomp and ceremony, the sacred drum beating and prayers offered up attending the birth of a high chief's child. It was always, if possible, by the officiating priests.

*Liloa's* high-priest was *Laeauwikaumanamana*, great-grandson of *Kuaiwa* through his son *Ehu*, and he received as a gift in perpetuity from *Liloa* the land in Kona district called *Kekaha*, which, through all subsequent vicissitudes of wars and revolutions, remained undisturbed in *Laeauwi's* family until the time of *Kamehameha I.*

Hakau.

After *Liloa's* death *Hakau* became the *Moi* and chief ruler of Hawaii. He appears to have been thoroughly wicked, cruel, and capricious. I have found no legend in which he is mentioned that has a single good word to say in his behalf. No doubt much allowance must be made from the fact that nearly all the legends relating to him emanated from and were handed down by his opponents, the family of *Umi* and their descendants. Yet making allowance for the exaggeration of his faults, enough remains to load his memory with odium. He was rapacious and extortionate beyond endurance of either chiefs or people. He had the silly vanity of fancying himself the handsomest man on the island of Hawaii, and could brook no rival in that matter. If he even heard a man praised for his good looks, he would send for him and have him killed. He dismissed, disrated, and impoverished all the old and faithful counsellors and servants of his father, chiefs, priests, or commoners, and surrounded himself with a crew of sycophants and time-servers as cruel and as treacherous as himself. He missed no opportunity to thwart his brother *Umi*, and openly reviled him for his low birth, insisting that his mother was a woman of low degree. *Umi*, unable to bear the taunts of his brother, and not prepared to come to an open rupture with the tyrant, absented himself from the court of *Hakau*, and quietly left *Waipio* with his two friends, *Omaukamau* and *Piimaiwaa*. On the road he was joined by *Koi*, and these four travelled through *Hamakua* without stopping at *Kealahaka*, where *Umi's* mother lived, but proceeded at once to *Waipunalei*, near *Laupahoehoe* in the *Hilo* district, where, being unknown to the people, they concluded to

stop, and being kindly received by the farmers' families, they lived there for some time, associating themselves with the farmers, assisting them in their labours on the land or at fishing or bird-catching. After a while *Umi* was recognised by *Kaoleioku*, a priest of much influence and power in that part of the country. *Umi* and his friends now removed to *Kaoleioku's* estate, and active preparations were entered into for the overthrow of *Hakau*. Men were collected from the villages around, and measures taken to ensure a successful revolt. The plot, doubtless, spread into *Waipio*, for under the gloss of the legend the fact shines out that two of the principal priests and former counsellors of *Liloa*, named *Nunu* and *Kakohe*, disgusted with the tyranny of *Hakau*, and under pretext of a journey to *Hilo*, secretly went to *Kaoleioku's* residence to confer with him and *Umi* and ascertain the strength of the conspirators. Deeming *Umi's* forces inadequate to cope with those of *Hakau* in open combat, they advised a stratagem and promised to aid it. Returned to *Waipio*, the priests attended on *Hakau*, who asked them if they had seen *Umi* on their journey to *Hilo*. They frankly told him that they had seen *Umi* at *Kaoleioku's* place, and advised *Hakau* to lose no time to send his men to the mountain to get fresh feathers wherewith to dress his tutelar god (*Kavila i ke Akua*). *Hakau*, somewhat surprised, reminded the old priests that the *Kavila Akua* was only done when war was imminent or on some other public emergencies. The priests then told him that *Umi* was collecting men and preparing to rebel at no distant time. Somewhat shaken by this recital, *Hakau* concluded to follow the priests' advice, and the day after the approaching festival of *Kane* was fixed upon, when *Hakau* was to send all his available household men and retainers to the mountain to hunt the birds from which the proper feathers were to be obtained. That was the very day which had been previously agreed upon between the two priests and *Kaoleioku* and *Umi*

for an attack upon *Hakau*. The plot succeeded. *Umi* and his followers descended into the Waipio valley, found *Hakau* nearly alone and killed him, and *Umi* was proclaimed and installed as *Moi* or sovereign of Hawaii. No other blood was shed but that of *Hakau*, and the lives of his wife and daughter were spared; in fact, in after life *Hakau's* granddaughter *Haukanuinonakapuakea* became one of the wives of *Umi's* son *Keawenui-a-Umi*.

*Hakau's* wife was *Kukukalani-o-pae*<sup>1</sup> and his daughter's name was *Pinea*.

### MAUI.

Among the Maui chiefs from the close of the migratory period—say *Laamaikahiki* to *Piilani*, the contemporary of *Umi* and his father *Liloa*—not many names arrest the attention of the antiquarian student. The position of “*Moi*” of Maui appears to have descended in the line of *Haho*, the son of *Paumakua-a-Huanwikalalailai*, though, judging from the tenor of the legends, East Maui, comprising the districts of Koolau, Hana, Kipahulu, and Kaupo, was at times under independent Moiss. The legends mention six by name, from *Eleio* to *Hoolae*,<sup>2</sup> the latter of whom was contemporary with *Piilani*, and whose daughter married *Piilani's* son, *Kiha-a-Piilani*. Their allegiance to the West Maui Moiss was always precarious, even in later times. The island of Molokai does not appear to have acknowledged the sway of the

<sup>1</sup> Probably a daughter, at least belonging to the family of *Pae*, a famous priest and high chief in the time of *Liloa*. It is reported that after *Liloa's* death *Pae* took the bones of the defunct chief, and, sailing round the south point of Hawaii, stood up along the Kona shore, and sunk the bones in deep water off Kekaha. *Pae* had another daughter named *Hoe-a-Pae*, who was the mother of *Piimauilani(w)*, whose descendants still survive.

<sup>2</sup> These names were *Eleio*, *Kalae-haeha*, *Lei*, *Kamohohalii*, *Kalae-hina*, and *Hoolae*, each one succeeding the other. They generally resided at Hana, where the fortified hill of Kauiki was considered an impregnable fortress. I have a legend which mentions some transactions between *Eleio* and *Kakaalaneo*, the son of *Kaulahea I.*, but, if the legend may be trusted, *Eleio* must have been very old at the time. Whether this *Eleio* of Hana family descended from

Moi of Maui during this period, and for some time after, but obeyed its own independent chiefs, the ancestors of *Kalanipehu* and descendants of *Keoloewa* and *Nuakea*. The island of Lanai, however, and its chiefs, though often in a state of revolt, appear always to have recognised the Moi of Maui as their suzerain.

From the time of *Maviloa*, third from *Haho* and contemporary with *Laamaikahiki*, to the time of *Kaulahea I.*, there must have been troublous times on Maui, and much social and dynastic convulsions, to judge from the confusion and interpolations occurring on the royal genealogy of this period. I have shown it to be nearly historically certain that the Oahu and Maui *Paumakuas* were contemporary, and it will be seen in the sequel that it is absolutely certain that *Kawaokaohela* on the *Paumakua-haho* line was contemporary with *Kalamakua*, *Piliwale*, and *Lo-Lale* on the *Maweke* line of Oahu chiefs, as well as on the Oahu *Paumakua* line through *Lauli-a-Laa*; and yet the Maui royal genealogy, as recited at the court of *Kahikiki II.* at the close of the last century, counts thirteen generations between *Maviloa* and *Kaulahea I.*, or sixteen generations between *Maviloa* and *Kawaokaohela*, whereas the *Maweke* and Oahu *Paumakua* genealogies count only seven from *Laamaikahiki* to *Keleanohoanaapiapi*, the sister of *Kawaokaohela*. Even the contemporary Hawaii royal genealogy from *Kaniuhi* to *Kiha-nui* counts only seven generations. Evidently the Maui genealogy has been doubled up by the insertion of contemporary chieftains, who probably divided the rule of

some of the southern immigrant chiefs or from the ancient *Nanaulu* line, I have not been able fully to ascertain. The ever more or less uncertain state of allegiance of the Hana chiefs to the Maui sovereign, and their frequently independent political status, would seem to have been born of some radical ancient antagonism. The old legends mention incidentally that *Kanaloa* and *Kalahuimoku*, two

of the sons of *Hualani*, the wife of *Kanipahu*, and fifth in descent from *Maweke*, settled at Kauwika in Hana. While the Hawaii chiefs retained the pedigree of the younger brother whose grand-daughter *Kamanawa* married *Kuaiwa*, the Moi of Hawaii, the descendants of the older brother, have dropped out of memory. *Kanaloa* may have been the great-grandfather of *Eleio*.

the island. The Oahu and Hawaii genealogies convict the Maui genealogy of error. To this confusion may be ascribed the fact that the same event is in different legends said to have happened in the time of *Kamaloahua* and of *Wakalana*, and that *Luakoa* of Maui, who in company with *Laakapu's* of Hawaii sons made war on *Mailikukahi* of Oahu, is placed the sixth in order above *Kakae* and *Kakaalaneo*, who, through their grandsons *Kawaokaohela* and *Luaia*, were the undoubted contemporaries of *Mailikukahi*. Moreover, *Kahokuohua*, who figures on the Maui royal genealogy as the seventeenth from *Paumakua* and a son of *Loe*, was a Molokai chief, contemporary with *Kamaloohua* of Maui, with *Kalau-nuiohua* of Hawaii and with *Kukona* of Kauai.

In reconstructing the Maui royal genealogy for this period, I have, therefore, preferred to follow the *Kalona* register referred to on page 27, and the ascertained contemporaneity of Maui chiefs with those of the other islands whose places on their respective genealogies are undisputed and historically certain.

Looking down the line of these Maui chiefs, I have found nothing but the names to distinguish the lives of *Maiiloa*, *Alo* or *Alau*, and *Kuhimana*. The son of *Kuhimana* was *Kamaloohua*, of whom mention is made on page 67, and who was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner by *Kalau-nuiohua* of Hawaii, carried captive in the conqueror's train to Kauai, and there liberated by *Kukona* after the crushing defeat of *Kalau-nuiohua*. The above-mentioned *Kalona* register indicates that *Kuhimana* had a daughter named *Waohaakuna*, through whom *Mailikukahi* of Oahu became connected with the Maui line of chiefs. She does not appear by that name on the *Kakuhihewa* pedigree, though, according to ancient custom, it was very common for high chiefs to be known by several names.

While *Kamaloohua* ruled over the greater part of Maui, a chief who was doubtless a near relation, and was called

*Wakalana*, ruled over the windward side of the island and resided at Wailuku. During his time tradition records that a vessel called "*Mamala*" arrived at Wailuku. The captain's name is said to have been *Kaluwiki-a-Manu*, and the names of the other people on board are given in the tradition as *Neleike*, *Malaca*, *Haakoa*, and *Hika*. These latter comprised both men and women, and it is said that *Neleike* became the wife of *Wakalana* and the mother of his son *Alo-o-ia*, and that they became the progenitors of a light-coloured family, "*poe ohana Kekea*," and that they were white people, with bright, shining eyes, "*Kanaka Keokeo, a ua alohilohi na maka*." The tradition further states that their descendants were plentiful in or about Waimalo and Honouliuli on Oahu, and that their appearance and countenances changed by intermarriage with the Hawaiian people. As the time of *Kamaloohua* and *Wakalana* was at least twenty generations ago, or about the middle of the thirteenth century, it is evident that no Europeans traversed the Pacific Ocean at that time, and that these white or light-coloured foreigners probably were the crew of some Japanese vessel driven out of her course, and brought by winds and currents to these shores, as is known to have happened at least in two instances since the islands were discovered by Captain Cook, and may have happened at other unrecorded times previous to the event now referred to. That the Hawaiian natives regarded these castaways as of an alien race is evident; and the impression of astonishment and wonder at their light complexions remained on the traditional record long after their descendants had become absorbed by, and become undistinguishable from, the original native inhabitants. Another version of the same tradition, while substantially the same as the foregoing, differs somewhat in the names of the new arrivals; and the event is ascribed to the time of *Kamaloohua*, while the other ascribes it to the time of *Wakalana*. As *Kamaloohua* and *Wakalana* were contemporary, and as the main fact is identical in

both versions, this difference rather confirms than weakens the truth of the narrative, inasmuch as it goes to show that the remembrance of the event had come down on two different streams of tradition, one reckoning time by the reign of *Kamaloohua*, the other by that of *Wakalana*.

Kakae and  
Kakaalaneo.

After the reign and times of *Kamaloohua* nothing worthy of note has been recorded of the Maui chiefs until we arrive at the time of *Kakae* and *Kakaalaneo*, the sons of *Kaulahea I.*, three generations after *Kamaloohua*. Of *Kakae* personally nothing is remembered.<sup>1</sup> His wife's name was *Kapohauola*, and she was probably the same *Kapohauola* who at one time was the wife of *Ehu*, the son of *Kuaiwa*, on the Hawaii *Pili* line, and thus establishes the contemporaneity of these chieftains. *Kakae's* son was *Kahekili I.*, who is known to have had two children, a son named *Kawao Kaohela*, who succeeded him as *Moi* of Maui, and a daughter named *Keleanohoanaapiapi*, who was successively the wife of *Lo-Lale*, son of *Kalona-iki*, and of *Kalamakua*, son of *Kalona-nui*, on the Oahu *Marweke* line.

*Kakae's* brother, *Kakaalaneo*, appears, from the tenor of the legends, to have ruled jointly with *Kakae* over the islands of Maui and Lanai. He was renowned for his thrift and energy. The brothers kept their court at Lahaina, which at that time still preserved its ancient name of *Lele*, and tradition has gratefully remembered him as the one who planted the bread-fruit trees in Lahaina, for which the place in after times became so famous. A marvellous legend is still told of one of *Kakaalaneo's* sons, named *Kaululaau*, who, for some of his wild pranks at his father's court in Lahaina, was banished to Lanai, which island was said to have been terribly haunted by ghosts and goblins—" *Akua-ino.*" *Kaululaau*, however, by his prowess and skill, exorcised

<sup>1</sup> He was surnamed *Kaleo-iki*, and was considered as deficient in mental qualities. Some traditions state that *Luaia* was his grandson, but all the genealogies that I have seen or heard make *Luaia* the grandson of *Kakaalaneo*, and I have followed the latter.



the spirits, brought about quiet and order on the island, and was in consequence restored to the favour of his father.<sup>1</sup> It is said that *Kaululaau's* mother was *Kanikaniaula*, of the Molokai *Kamaraua* family, through *Haili*, a brother of *Keoloewa*.

With another wife, named *Kauulua*, *Kakaalaneo* had a son, *Kaihiwalua*, who was the father of *Iuaia*, who became the husband of the noted *Kukaniloko*, daughter of *Piliwale*, the Moi of Oahu, son of *Kalona-iki*, and brother of *Lo-Lale* and *Kamaleamaka*.<sup>2</sup>

During the reign of *Kawaokaohela*, the son of *Kahikili* I., and grandson of *Kakae*, the island of Maui appears to have been prosperous and tranquil. No wars with neighbouring islands or revolts of turbulent chieftains at home have left their impress on the traditional record. *Kawaokaohela's* wife was *Kepalaoa*, whose pedigree is not remembered, but who was probably some Maui chiefess.

The manner in which *Kawaokaohela's* sister, *Kelea*, surnamed "*Nohoanaapiapi*," became the wife of the two prominent Oahu chiefs above mentioned is characteristic of the times, and was a favourite subject of bards and raconteurs in after ages. The tradition regarding her may be abridged as follows:—

There lived at this time at Lihue, Ewa district, Oahu, a chief named *Lo-Lale*, son of *Kalona-iki*, and brother of *Piliwale*, the reigning Moi of Oahu. He was a bachelor and a man of an amiable temper. His brothers and the friendly neighbouring chiefs became very anxious that he should take unto himself a wife. Apparently no suitable match for so high a chief could be found on Oahu, or none had succeeded in captivating the fancy of *Lo-Lale*. In this case a bride must be sought for abroad, and a

<sup>1</sup> One legend mentions six children of *Kaululaau* by name—*Kuihiki*, *Kuiwawau*, *Kuiwawau-e*, *Kukahaulani*, *Kumakaakaa*, and *Ulamealani*. No further record of them occurs, however.

<sup>2</sup> *Kakaalaneo* is also said to have had a daughter named *Wao*, who caused the watercourse in Lahaina called "*Auwaiawao*" to be dug and named after her.

proper canoe, with trusty messengers, was fitted out at Waialua to visit the windward islands and report upon the beauty and rank of the chiefesses there. The canoe first visited Molokai, but not satisfied with their inquiries, the messengers proceeded to Lanai, and being equally unsuccessful there, they sailed to Hana, Maui, intending to cross over to Hawaii. At Hana they heard that *Kawao-kaohela*, the *Moi* of Maui, was at that time stopping with his court and his chiefs at Hamakuapoko, regulating the affairs of the country, and enjoying the cool breezes of that district, and the pleasure of surf-bathing, and that with him was his sister *Kelea*, the most beautiful woman on Maui, and the most accomplished surf-swimmer. Hearing this, the messengers turned back from Hana and arrived with their canoe on a fine morning off Hamakua-poko. On that very morning *Kelea* and her attendants had gone down to the beach to enjoy the sport of surf-bathing. Swimming out beyond the surf, she encountered the canoe, and was at first somewhat surprised and startled at seeing strangers in it, but being reassured by their kindly speech, and being invited to come on board, the messengers offered to ride the canoe ashore through the surf—a sport as exciting as that of swimming on the surf-board. *Kelea* accepted the invitation, and gallantly the canoe shot over the foaming surf and landed safely on the beach. All sense of danger or mistrust being dispelled, the princess accompanied the canoe again out over the surf, and again rode successfully ashore over the breakers, the attendants hurraing lustily at the brave and fearless style in which the canoe was handled. The messengers having by this time ascertained who their illustrious guest was, invited her to another trip through the roaring surf. Thoughtlessly she consented, and the canoe pulled out beyond the surf, watching for a good, high, combing roller of the sea to start in with. At this moment a squall or a whirlwind suddenly struck the canoe, coming from off the shore, and away sped the canoe with its fair

and involuntary passenger over the broad ocean. When the storm subsided, the shores of Maui were far distant, and the messengers started for Waialua, Oahu, where they arrived safely. From Waialua *Kelea* was taken up to Lihue, where *Lo-Lale* received her with the regard due to a chiefess of her rank, and as she did not commit suicide, it may be inferred that she became reconciled to her lot and accepted him as her husband. And as no invasion of Oahu was ever attempted by *Hawaokaohele*, or vengeance exacted for the abduction of his sister, it is probable, though the legend says nothing about it, that the affair was diplomatically settled to the satisfaction of all parties.

For several years *Kelea* lived with *Lo-Lale* at Lihue, and bore to him three children, named *Kaholi-a-Lale*, *Luliwahine*, and *Luli Kane*. But the inland situation of Lihue, at the foot of the Kaala mountains, and far away from the sea, became wearisome and monotonous to the gay and volatile temper of *Kelea*. She informed her husband of her intention to leave, and reluctantly he gave his consent, knowing well that the prerogatives of her rank gave her the privilege of separation if she wanted it. His grief at parting has been preserved by the tradition in the form of a chant, the following portion of which alone has been remembered :—

*Aloha kóu hoa i ka puali,*  
 Farewell, my partner on the lowland plains,  
*I ka wai o Pohakea,*  
 On the waters of Pohakea,  
*He luna o Kanehoa,*  
 Above Kanehoa,  
*He Lae ino o Maunauna.*  
 On the dark mountain spur of Maunauna.  
*O Lihue, ke hele ia !*  
 O Lihue, she has gone !  
*Honi aku i ke ala o ka Mauu,*  
 Sniff the sweet scent of the grass,  
*I ke ala o ke kupukupu,*  
 The sweet scent of the wild vines,

*E linoia ana e ka Waikoloa,*  
 That are twisted about by (the brook) Waikoloa,  
*E ka makani he Waiopua-la,*  
 By the winds of Waiopua,  
*Kuu pu—a!*  
 My flower!  
*Me he pula la i kuu maka,*  
 As if a mote were in my eye,  
*Ka oni i ka haku onohi,*  
 The pupil of my eye is troubled,  
*Ka wailiu I kuu maka. E auwe au-e!*  
 Dimness (covers) my eyes. Woe is me! Oh!

Leaving Lihue, *Kelea* descended to Ewa, and skirting the head of the lagoon by way of Halawa, arrived at the mouth of Pearl river opposite Puuloa, and found a crowd of idlers, nobles and retainers of *Kalamakua*, the high chief of that region, disporting themselves in the surf. Borrowing a surf-board from one of the bystanders, *Kelea* jumped in the sea and swam out beyond the breakers and joined the company of the other surf-bathers. When the surf broke at its highest they all started for the shore, and *Kelea* excelled them all, and was loudly cheered for her daring and skill. *Kalamakua*, being at the time in a neighbouring plantation, heard the loud uproar of voices from the shore, and inquired what the cause of it was. He was told that a beautiful woman from Lihue had beaten all the Halawa chiefs at surf-swimming, and hence the loud and continued cheering. Satisfied in his own mind that but one woman at Lihue could perform such a feat, and that she must be his cousin, *Lo-Lale's* wife, the Maui chiefess, *Kalamakua* went at once to the beach, and threw his *kihei* (mantle) over *Kelea* as she touched the shore, returning from another victorious trip through the surf. Explanations followed, and *Kelea* was borne home in state to the residence of *Kalamakua* in Halawa, and became his wife. With him she remained to her death, and bore him a daughter, called *Laielohelohe*, who in early youth was betrothed and subsequently married to

her cousin *Piilani* of Maui, the son of *Kelea's* brother, *Kawaokaohela*.

*Kawaokaohela* was succeeded as *Moi* of Maui by his son *Piilani*, who, through his good and wise government, and Piilani. through his connection with the reigning chief families of Oahu and Hawaii, brought Maui up to a political consideration in the group which it never had enjoyed before, and which it retained until the conquest by *Kamehameha I.* consolidated the whole group under one rule. During *Piilani's* reign, and perhaps during that of his father, the Hana chiefs acknowledged the suzerainty of the *Moi* of Maui, and *Piilani* made frequent tours all over his dominions, enforcing order and promoting the industry of the people. One of his daughters, named *Piikea*, became the wife of *Umi*, the son of *Liloa*, the *Moi* of Hawaii, and through her great-grandson, *I*, became the ancestress of the present sovereign of the Hawaiian group, *Kalakaua*.

*Piilani's* children with *Laielohelohe* were *Lono-a-Pii*, who succeeded him as *Moi* of Maui; *Kiha-a-Piilani*, who was brought up to the age of manhood among his mother's relatives on Oahu; the daughter *Piikea*, just referred to; and another daughter, *Kalaaheana*, of whom no further mention occurs. With another wife, named *Moku-a-Hualeiakea*, a Hawaii chiefess of the *Ehu* family, he had a daughter, *Kauhiitiula-a-Piilani*, who married *Laninui-a-kaihupee*, chief of Koolau, Oahu, and lineal descendant of *Maweke* through his son *Kalehenui*. And with still another wife, named *Kunuuunui-a-kapokii*, whose pedigree has not been preserved, he had a son, *Nihokela*, whose eighth descendant was *Kauwa*, grandmother of the late King *Lunalilo* on his father's side.

#### OAHU.

On Oahu, at the close of the migratory period, after the departure of *Laamaikahiki*, we find his son, *Lauli-a-Laa*,

Maelo. married to *Maelo*, the sixth in descent from *Marweke*, and daughter of *Kuolono*, on the *Mulielealii-Moikeha* line. They probably ruled over the Kona side of the island, while *Kaulaulaokalani*, on the *Maweke-Kalehenui* line, ruled over the Koolau side, and *Lakona*, also sixth from *Marweke*, on the *Mulielealii-Kumuhonua* line, ruled over Ewa, Waianae, and Waialua districts, and in this latter line descended the dignity of *Moi* of Oahu. Tradition is scanty as to the exploits of the Oahu *Mois* and chieftains, until we arrive at the time of *Haka*, *Moi* of Oahu, chief of Ewa, and residing at Lihue. The only genealogy of this chief that I have, while correct and confirmed by others from *Marweke* to *Kapae-a-Lakona*, is deficient in three generations from *Kapae-a-Lakona* to *Haka*. Of *Haka's* place on the genealogy there can be no doubt, however, as he was superseded as *Moi* by *Mailekukahi*, whose genealogy is perfectly correct from the time of *Marweke* down, and conformable to all the other genealogies, descending from *Marweke* through his various children and grandchildren. Of this *Haka*, tradition records that he was a stingy, rapacious, and ill-natured chief, who paid no regard to either his chiefs or his commoners. As a consequence they revolted from him, made war upon him, and besieged him in his fortress, called *Waewae*, near Lihue. During one night of the siege, an officer of his guards, whom he had ill-treated, surrendered the fort to the rebel chiefs, who entered and killed *Haka*, whose life was the only one spilt on the occasion. Tradition does not say whether *Mailekukahi* had a hand in this affair, but he was clamorously elected by the Oahu chiefs in council convened as *Moi* of Oahu, and duly installed and anointed as such at the *Heiau* (temple).

*Haka's* wife was *Kapunawahine*, with whom he had a son, *Kapiko-a-Haka*, who was the father of two daughters—*Kaulala*, who married *Kalaniuli*, a Koolau chief, and became the ancestress of the royal *Kualii* family on Oahu—and *Kamili*, who married *Ilihiwalani*, son of *Kalaniku-*

*kuma*, of the Kauai royal family, from whom *Kaumualii*, the last independent Kauai king, descended.

*Mailikukahi* was the son of *Kukahia'ililani* and *Kokalola*. His father was fourth in descent from *Maelo* and her husband *Lauli-a-Laa*, and he thus represented both the *Maweke* and *Paumakua* families; a fact which gave him and his descendants no little importance among the Hawaiian aristocracy.

*Mailikukahi* is said to have been born at Kukaniloko, and thus enjoyed the prestige of the tabu attached to all who were born at that hallowed place. After his installation as *Moi* he made Waikiki in the Kona district his permanent residence, and with few exceptions the place remained the seat of the Oahu kings until Honolulu harbour was discovered to be accessible to large shipping.

On the Oahu legends *Mailikukahi* occupies a prominent place for his wise, firm, and judicious government. He caused the island to be thoroughly surveyed, and the boundaries between the different divisions and lands to be definitely and permanently marked out, thus obviating future disputes between neighbouring chiefs and landholders. He caused to be enacted a code of laws, in which theft and rapine were punishable with death. He also caused another ordinance to be enacted and proclaimed, which the legend says found great favour with both chiefs and commoners, namely, that all first-born male children should be handed over to the *Moi*, to be by him brought up and educated. He was a religious chief withal, built several Heiaus, held the priests in honour, and discountenanced human sacrifices. The island of Oahu is said to have become very populous during his reign, and thrift and prosperity abounded.

I have before (p. 70) referred to the expedition by some Hawaii chiefs, *Hilo-a-Lakapu*, *Hilo-a Hilo-Kapuhi*, and *Punaluu*, joined by *Luakoa* of Maui, which invaded Oahu during the reign of *Mailikukahi*. It cannot be considered as a war between the two islands, but rather as a

raid by some restless and turbulent Hawaii chiefs, whom the pacific temper of *Mailikukahi* and the wealthy condition of his island had emboldened to attempt the enterprise, as well as the *éclat* that would attend them if successful, a very frequent motive alone in those days. The invading force landed at first at Waikiki, but, for reasons not stated in the legend, altered their mind, and proceeded up the Ewa lagoon and marched inland. At Waikakalaua they met *Mailikukahi* with his forces, and a sanguinary battle ensued. The fight continued from there to the Kipapa gulch. The invaders were thoroughly defeated, and the gulch is said to have been literally paved with the corpses of the slain, and received its name, "Kipapa," from this circumstance. *Punaluu* was slain on the plain which bears his name, the fugitives were pursued as far as Waimano, and the head of *Hilo* was cut off and carried in triumph to Honouliuli, and stuck up at a place still called *Poo-Hilo*.

*Mailikukahi's* wife was *Kanepukoa*, but to what branch of the aristocratic families of the country she belonged has not been retained on the legends. They had two sons, *Kalonanui* and *Kalona-iki*, the latter succeeding his father as *Moi* of Oahu.

Kalona-iki.

*Kalona-iki* appears to have followed in the footsteps of his father, and observed the laws and policy inaugurated by him. The island was quiet and continued prosperous. No attacks from abroad, no convulsions within, have been remembered in the legends during his time. His wife was *Kikinui-a-Ewa*. Her parents are not mentioned, but it is said that she belonged to the great family of *Ewa-uli-a-Lakona*, the great-grandson of *Maweke*. *Kalona-iki's* children, as known, were *Piliwale*, *Lo-Lale*, and *Kamalea-maka*. The first succeeded him as *Moi*, the second we have already referred to, and of the third nothing more is known.

Piliwale.

Of *Piliwale's* reign no legends remain, and it may be presumed that the country enjoyed the same tranquillity



and good fortune which had attended the reigns of his father and grandfather. His wife was *Paakanilea*, but of what descent is now not known. They had two daughters, one named *Kukaniloko*, who succeeded her father as *Moi* of Oahu, the other named *Kohipalaoa*, who married *Kaholia-Lale*, her cousin, and son of *Lo-Lale* and *Keleanohoana-*apiapi**.

Of *Kukaniloko's* reign the legends are equally meagre, except that she is frequently referred to as a great and powerful chiefess, who kept the country quiet and orderly. Her husband was a Maui chief named *Luaiia*, grandson of *Kukaalaneo*. They had two children, *Kalaimanuia*, a daughter, and *Kauwahimakaweo*, of whom nothing further is known.

Kukani-  
loko.

#### MOLOKAI.

The island of Molokai during this period, from *Laamaikahiki* to *Kukaniloko* and her contemporary *Piilani*, presents no legendary lore of historical importance except the disaster which befell its principal chief, *Kahokuohua*, from the invasion of *Kalaunuiohua*, the *Moi* of Hawaii, referred to on page 67. The possession of the island had not yet become a political bone of contention between the Oahu and Maui kings, and its internal affairs apparently did not attract the attention of the neighbouring islands. Among the local legends of the island referring to the early part of this period is one which mentions *Kupa* as having been a brother of *Laamaikahiki*, and as having come with him from Tahiti, and become a principal chief of the eastern portion of Molokai. He is said to have resided at *Mapulehu*, and he and his household were destroyed and drowned by an extraordinary waterspout or freshet coming down the mountain and flooding the valley. It is also said that the *Heiaus* of *Kahakoililani* at *Waialua*, and of *Iliiopae* at *Mapulehu* existed at this time, though the building of the latter has also been attributed to later times.

## KAUAI.

On the exploits and achievements of the Kauai sovereigns and chiefs during this period the ancient legends are very incomplete. The line of sovereigns or Mois seems to have been kept, without exception, in that branch of the *Laamaikahiki* family which descended through his second son, *Ahukini-a-Laa*. How the dynastic differences between the older and powerful *Puna* and *Maweke* families, separately or jointly through *Moikeha's* children, and the comparatively later *Laa-maikahiki* descendants, were settled so as to confirm the sovereignty in the line of the latter, I have found no record of. Certain it is that the older lines had not become extinct, for their scions were referred to in much later times as enjoying a degree of tabu and consideration which greatly enhanced the dignity of the *Ahukini-a-Laa* descendants when joined with them in marriage.

Ahukini-a-  
Laa, &c.

Of *Ahukini-a-Laa* no legend remains. His wife was *Hai-a-Kamaio*, granddaughter of *Luaehu*, one of the southern emigrant chiefs during the previous period. Their son was *Kamahano*, of whom nothing also is known, except that his wife's name was *Kaauewanuiokalani*, of unknown descent, and that their son was *Luanuu*. Equally curt notice remains of the reign of *Luanuu*. His wife's name on the genealogy is *Kalanimoekawaiikai*, but she could hardly have been the same who figures on the *Muliele Kumuhonua* genealogy as the wife of *Nawele*, the grandson of *Elepukahonua*, the latter being fifth from *Maweke*, while the former was eighth from *Maweke* on the contemporary line of *Paumakua*. *Luanuu's* son was *Kukona*, of whom mention has already been made in narrating the war of invasion undertaken by *Kalaunuiohua*, the sovereign of Hawaii, p. 67. It would appear that during these three generations from *Laamaikahiki* to *Kukona*, Kauai, its government and chiefs, had been living apart, or not mingled much with the chiefs or

Kukona.

events on the other islands. Indigenous Kauai legends referring to this period have perished, and up to *Kukona's* time naught but the royal genealogy remains. But the war with the Hawaii chief, and the terrible defeat and capture of the latter, as well as *Kukona's* generous conduct towards the Oahu, Molokai, and Maui chiefs who fell into his hands after the battle, brought Kauai back into the family circle of the other islands, and with an *eclat* and superiority which it maintained to the last of its independence. *Kukona's* wife was *Laupuapuamaa*, whose ancestry is not known, and their son and successor was *Manokalanipo*.

*Manokalanipo* has the characteristic honour among the Hawaiians of having had his name affixed as a sobriquet to the island over which he ruled, and in epical and diplomatic language it was ever after known as "Kauai-a-Manokalanipo." He was noted for the energy and wisdom with which he encouraged agriculture and industry, executed long and difficult works of irrigation, and thus brought fields of wilderness under cultivation. No foreign wars disturbed his reign, and it is remembered in the legends as the golden age of that island.

The wife of *Manokalanipo* was *Naekapulani*. What lineage she sprang from is not known with any certainty. She was probably of Kauai birth, and one legend calls her *Naekapulani-a-Makalii*, indicating that *Makalii* was her father; and other legends speak of *Makalii* as a chief of Waimea, Kauai, though nothing is said whether he belonged to the *Maweke-Moikeha* line, or to that of *Laamakahiki*.<sup>1</sup> The children of *Manokalanipo* and his wife were *Kaumaka-mano*, *Napuu-a-mano* and *Kahai-a-mano*.

No special legend attaches to *Kaumaka-a-mano*, nor to his wife *Kapoinukai*. Their son was *Kahakuakane*, of whom nothing remarkable has been remembered in the

Manokalanipo.

Kaumaka-a-mano.  
Kahakuakane

<sup>1</sup> In the "Mele inoa" (Family and that *Manokalanipo* had also another wife called *Pulanaiie*.  
Chant) of *Kiha-a-Piilani* it is said that her name was *Noho-a-Makalii*,

legends. *Kahakuakane* had two wives. With the first, named *Manokaikoo*, he had a son and successor called *Kuwalupaukamoku*; with the second, named *Kaponaena*, he had two children called *Kahekiliokane* and *Kuonamauaino*. Though no legend or genealogy, that I have seen, state explicitly who were the parents or ancestors of either of the two wives of *Kahakuakane*, yet, judging from their names, and guided by the prevalent custom in such cases among the Hawaiian chiefs, it is very probable that the first was a granddaughter of *Manokalanipo*, and thus a cousin to her husband, and that the second was a sister of *Kahekili I.* of Maui, and daughter of *Kakae* and *Kapohauola*. And I am strengthened in the correctness of this suggestion by the fact that the granddaughter of this *Kahekiliokane* was sought for, and became the wife of *Lono-a-Pii*, the son of *Piilani* of Maui, thus returning to the family from which she sprang with the Kauai blood superadded.

No incidents in the reign of *Kahakuakane*, nor in that of his son *Kuwalupaukamoku*, have been retained on the traditional record. The wife of the latter was *Hameawahaula*, but her parentage is not given.

Kuwalu-  
paukamo-  
ku.

*Kuwalupaukamoku's* son was *Kahakumakapaweo*, contemporary with *Piilani* of Maui, with *Liloa* of Hawaii, and with *Kukaniloko* of Oahu. He is remembered with great renown and affection throughout the group, not only as a good, wise, and liberal sovereign, but also as the ancestor, through his grandchildren, *Kahakumakalina* and *Ilihiwalani*, of numerous aristocratic families from Hawaii to Niihau, who in after ages took a special pride in tracing themselves back to the high and pure-blooded tabu chiefs of Kauai.

Kahakuma  
kapaweo.

During these nine generations from *Laamaikahiki*, the island of Niihau bore about the same political relation to the *Moi* of Kauai as the island of Lanai did to the *Moi* of Maui—independent at times, acknowledging his

suzerainty at others. No historical event connected with Niihau during this period has been preserved, nor any genealogy of its chiefs. Springing from and intimately connected with the Kauai chiefs, there was a community of interests and a political adhesion which, however strained at times by internal troubles, never made default as against external foes.

Thus, after all allowance made for the marvellous and the palpably fabulous in the legends, and after comparing the legends and scraps of tradition, in prose or verse, of each island together, as well as with those of the other islands, the foregoing may be considered as the residuum of historical truth regarding the period just treated of. After the great excitement, the wild adventures, and restless condition attending the migratory period, which may be considered as closed with *Laamaikahiki*, a reaction of solitariness, quiet, and, so to say, darkness set in over the entire group, during which, with a very few exceptions, each island appears to have attended to its own affairs, and enjoyed that repose which leaves so little to chronicle in song or legend, and whose history may be condensed in an epigram.

We now approach the last period of Hawaiian ancient history before the conquest of the group by Kamehameha I. It was an era of strife, dynastic ambitions, internal and external wars on each island, with all their deteriorating consequences of anarchy, depopulation, social and intellectual degradation, loss of knowledge, loss of liberty, loss of arts. But, as the moral shadows deepen on the picture, the historical figures emerge in better view, and enable us to give a clearer synopsis of this period than of the foregoing.

#### HAWAII.

We again commence our review with this island, not because of any political preponderance that it may have

exercised over the other members of the group—for its ascendancy only comes in at the closing scene of this period—but on account of its geographical position solely, it being the most eastward.

After the overthrow and death of *Hakau*, the son of *Liloa*, referred to on p. 78, his brother, *Umi-a-Liloa*, became the *Moi* of Hawaii, the titular sovereign of the island. So great had been the discontent and disgust of the entire people, chiefs, priests, and commoners, with the tyrannical and unusually barbarous rule of *Hakau*, that, as a matter of political reaction and as an expression of relief, the great feudatory chiefs in the various districts of the island cordially received and freely acknowledged the sovereignty of *Umi* as he made his first imperial tour around the island shortly after his accession to power.

This journey, however, was stained by an act of cruelty which even those rough times felt as such and recorded. When *Umi* had fled from his brother *Hakau's* court, and was living at Waipunalei, in the Hilo district, unknown and in disguise, he and his friend, *Koi*, attended a surf-swimming match at Laupahoehoe. A petty chief of the district, named *Paiea*, invited *Umi* to a match, and offered a trifling bet, which *Umi* refused. *Paiea* then offered to bet four double canoes, and *Umi*, at the request, and being backed up by his friends, accepted the bet. *Umi* won the bet, but in coming in over the surf, by accident or design, *Paiea's* surf-board struck the shoulder of *Umi* and scratched off the skin. *Umi* said nothing then, but when he had attained to power and was making his first tour around the island, on arriving at Laupahoehoe he caused *Paiea* to be killed and taken up to the Heiau at Waipunalei to be sacrificed to his god.

*Kaoleioku*, the priest who assisted *Umi* in his revolt against *Hakau*, became *Umi's* high priest and chief counsellor, and through *Umi's* acknowledgment of the services rendered him, the priesthood advanced a large step in its status and pretensions.

Though *Liloa* had formally and publicly acknowledged *Umi* as his son, and *Umi's* prowess and accomplishments had vindicated his assumption of power, yet doubtless not a few of the higher chiefs, while acknowledging the pure descent of *Umi's* mother, considered her rank as so much inferior to that of *Liloa*, as to materially prejudice the rank of *Umi* himself in his position as *Moi* and as a chief of the highest tabu. To remedy this so far as his children were concerned, *Umi* took his half-sister, *Kapukini*, to be one of his wives, and thus their children would be "*Alii Pio*," chiefs of the highest grade. Moreover, on the advice of *Kaoleioku*, the high-priest, *Umi* resolved to send an embassy to *Maui* to solicit the hand of *Piikea*, the daughter of *Piilani*, the *Moi* of *Maui*, and of *Laielohelohe*, the grand-daughter of the *Oahu Kalonas*. Such a union, it was thought, would not only bring personal *éclat* to *Umi*, but also produce more intimate relations between the *Hawaii* sovereigns and those of the other islands. Forthwith a proper expedition was fitted out, and *Omaokamau* was sent as ambassador. The expedition landed at *Kapueokahi*, the harbour of *Hana*, where *Piilani* held his court at the time. *Umi's* offer was laid before *Piilani*, and met a favourable acceptance from both him and his daughter, and the time was arranged when she was to leave for *Hawaii*. At the appointed time *Piilani* sent his daughter over to *Hawaii*, escorted as became her rank and dignity. The legend says that four hundred canoes formed her escort. She landed at *Waipio*, where *Umi* resided, and, according to the etiquette of the time, she was lifted out of the canoe by *Omaokamau* and *Piimaiwaa* and carried on their locked hands into the presence of *Umi*. The legend adds, that shortly after these nuptials *Piilani* of *Maui* died, and his son, *Lono-a-Pii*, succeeded him.

When *Kiha-a-Piilani*, the younger brother of *Lono-a-Pii*, had to flee from *Maui*, he sought refuge with his sister, *Piikea*, at the court of *Umi*. Here his sister advocated his cause so warmly, and insisted with *Umi* so

urgently, that the latter was induced to espouse the cause of the younger brother against the older, and prepared an expedition to invade Maui, depose *Lono-a Pii*, and raise *Kiha-a-Piilani* to the throne of his father. Having received favourable auguries from the high-priest, *Kaoleioku*, *Umi* summoned the chiefs of the various districts of Hawaii to prepare for the invasion of Maui. When all the preparations were ready, *Umi* headed the expedition in person, accompanied by his wife, *Piikea*, and her brother, *Kiha-a-Piilani*, and by his bravest warriors.

Crossing the waters of "Alenuihaha" (the Hawaii channel), the fleet of *Umi* effected a landing at Kapueokahi, the harbour of Hana, Maui, where *Lono-a-Pii* appears to have continued to reside after his father *Piilani's* death. Having failed to prevent the landing of *Umi's* forces, *Lono-a Pii* retired to the fortress on the top of the neighbouring hill called Kauwiki, which in those days was considered almost impregnable, partly from its natural strength and partly from the superstitious terror inspired by a gigantic idol called *Kawalakii*, which was believed to be the tutelar genius of the fort. *Umi* laid siege to the fort of Kauwiki, and, after some delay and several unsuccessful attempts, finally captured the fort, destroyed the idol, and *Lono-a Pii* having fallen in the battle, *Kiha-a-Piilani* was proclaimed and acknowledged as *Moi* of Maui. Having accomplished this, *Umi* and his forces returned to Hawaii.

Though the legend from which the foregoing episode of *Umi's* reign is taken is probably incorrect when it refers to *Imaikalani*, the blind warrior chief, as fighting on the side of the Maui sovereign, *Lono-a Pii*, unless there were two of the same name and both affected by blindness, yet inasmuch as it has preserved a portion of a chant purporting to be a *Mele inoa* (a family chant) of *Kiha-a-Piilani*, which chant bears intrinsic evidence of not having been composed any later than in the time of *Keawe*



and *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*, or about two hundred years ago, in so far it is valuable as showing that at that time *Lauli-a-Laa's* mother (*Hoakanuikapuaihele*) was said to be the daughter of *Lonokaehu*, and that the latter or his ancestors came from "Wawau" in the southern groups. That legend ends with the return of *Umi* from the war with Maui.

In the legend of *Kihapiilani* it is said that *Hoolae*, the chief of Hana, commanded the fortress of Kauwiki, and that *Lono-a Pii* was at Waihee at the time; that *Hoolae* escaped at the capture of the fort, but was pursued and overtaken on Haleakala, and there slain by *Pimaiwaa*; and that *Umi's* army proceeded from Hana to Waihee, where a final battle was fought with *Lono-a Pii*, in which he was killed. But whatever the discrepancies in detail between the two legends—the first being confessedly of Hawaiian growth, and the second probably of Maui origin—the historical result set forth by both cannot well be called in question.

After *Umi* returned from the war with Maui, he turned his attention to the domestic affairs of the island. Some legends refer to difficulties between *Umi* and *Imaikalani*, the powerful blind chief of Kau and parts of Puna, and though others intimate that *Pimaiwaa* was despatched to bring the obstinate old chief under subjection, yet it is not clear that any open rupture occurred between *Umi* and his great feudatory during their lifetime.

In the "*Récits d'un Vieux Sauvage pour servir à l'Histoire ancienne de Hawaïi*" M. Jules Remy has evidently been misled by the venerable savage *Kanuha*, who related to him the legend of *Umi*, when he says that *Umi's* last rival and opponent on Hawaïi "was his cousin *Keliiokala*," whom he fought and slew on the high plateau between the Hualalai and Maunaloa mountains, and erected the memorial stone-piles on that spot now known as the *Ahua-a-Umi* in commemoration of that event. As the tales related to M. Remy have been translated into Eng-

lish by Prof. W. T. Brigham (Boston, 1868), and may be read by many people even here, who have not the means of critically examining the merits of a legend, it may be proper in this place to correct the error into which M. Remy has been led.

The genealogical tree of *Umi* is one of the best preserved in the group, for his descendants were numerous and powerful, and spread themselves over all the islands. I have a large number of pedigrees of those families descending from *Umi*, and they all concur in asserting that *Keliokaloa* was *Umi*'s oldest son, and all the legends in my possession referring to the time of *Umi* and that of his children and grandchildren also concur in making *Keliokaloa* the son and successor of *Umi* as *Moi* of Hawaii. Thus supported, I venture to say that there must have been some confusion as to names in the mind of the ancient Hawaiian who told M. Remy the tale of *Umi*. If there had been contest between *Umi* and a chief of the Kona district, that chief could have been none other than *Hoe-a-Pae*, the son of *Pae*, who was the counsellor and friend of *Liloa*, and who is said to have buried his bones in the deep sea off the *Hulaana*, between Waimano and Pololu, on the north-east coast of Hawaii; or, as another legend has it, off Kekaha on the Kona coast. But the legends, which I have collected and carefully compared, make no mention of such a civil war, nor that the *Ahua-a-Umi* were erected to commemorate this war.

It is doubtless true that *Umi* discontinued the permanent residence of the Hawaii sovereigns at Waipio. The reasons why are not very explicitly rendered. It is advanced in some legends that it was in order to check the rapacity of the nobles and retainers attending his court while held in that rich and densely peopled valley of Waipio, and that that was the reason which led him to establish his residence on that great and comparatively barren plateau where the *Ahua-a-Umi* were reared, far from the fruitful and ordinarily inhabited portions of the

island, choosing to live there on the income or tribute brought him by the chiefs and the landholders of the various districts. And thus the six piles of stones were reared as peaceful mementoes and rallying-points, each one for its particular district, while the seventh pile indicated the court of *Umi* and its crowd of attendants.

Perhaps also another reason for *Umi's* removal from Waipio was the desire to live conveniently near to the rich fishing-grounds of the smooth sea off the Kona coast, the "*Kai Malino o Kona*," which from time immemorial had filled the minds of the chiefs of the eastern and northern parts of the island with golden dreams of a luxurious life, and which continued to be a constant cause of bitter feuds between those who coveted its possession. But though *Umi* deserted Waipio and established his royal camp or headquarters at the *Ahua-a-Umi*, he did by no means withdraw himself from the active supervision of the affairs of his kingdom. He frequently visited the different districts, settled disputes between chiefs and others, and encouraged industry and works of public utility.

It is presumed that *Umi's* life passed tranquilly after his removal from Waipio; at least no wars, convulsions, or stirring events have been recorded. In making his tours around the island, *Umi* erected several Heiaus, distinguished from the generality of Heiaus by the employment of hewn stones. Such, among others, are the Heiau of *Kukii*, on the hill of that name, overlooking the warm springs of Kapoho, in the district of Puna; and of *Pohaku Hanalei*, in the district of Kau, above the wooded belt of the mountain. A number of hewn stones of this period—at least tradition, by calling them the *Pohaku Kalai a Umi* ("the hewn stones of Umi"), does so imply—were found scattered about the Kona coast of Hawaii, specially in the neighbourhood of Kailua, and, after the arrival of the missionaries (1820), furnished splendid material wherewith to build the first Christian church at Kailua.

*Umi* is reported to have been a very religious king, according to the ideas of his time, for he enriched the priests, and is said to have built a number of Heiaus; though in the latter case tradition often assigns the first erection of a Heiau to a chief, when in reality he only rebuilt or repaired an ancient one on the same site.

M. Jules Remy, in his collection of Hawaiian legends before referred to, thinks that the cruciform pavement observed in some of the Heiaus said to have been built by *Umi* is an indication of the advent and influence of the shipwrecked Spaniards, whose arrival he places in the reign of *Umi*. The author of this work is personally cognisant of the great interest and zeal in Hawaiian archæology evinced by M. Remy during his séjour in these islands; but the limited data at the command of M. Remy have led him into a wrong conclusion. For, first, the overwhelming majority of traditions still extant, referring to the advent of the shipwrecked foreigners about this time, place the event in the time of *Keliokaloa*, the son of *Umi*, and not in that of *Umi* himself. Second, as *Keliokaloa* did not become *Moi* of Hawaii until after his father's death, and as, according to Hawaiian custom, when an event is said to have transpired during the time or reign of such or such a chief, its proper and traditional meaning is that it transpired while such a chief was the *Moi* or sovereign, or at least most prominent chief on his island; it follows that the event so universally ascribed to the time or reign of *Keliokaloa*—" *i ke au o k*"—could not possibly be, and was not by the ancients construed to mean, the time of *Umi*. Third, the cruciform pavement or division of the ground-floor, though found in some of the Heiaus on Hawaii ascribed to *Umi*, and very rare on the other islands, was neither exclusively peculiar to Hawaii nor to the time of *Umi*; for the Heiau of Ililiopae, in Mapulehu valley on Molokai, was certainly not built by *Umi*, inasmuch as it was generations older than the time of *Umi*.

In the domestic relations of *Umi*, though blessed with a number of wives, as became so great a potentate, yet he knew how to keep his house in order, and no discords or family jars have been reported. He is known to have had at least six wives, viz.—(1.) *Kulamea*, whose family and descent are not reported, and who was the mother of *Napunanahunui-a-Umi*, a daughter; (2.) *Makaalua*, whose family has not been remembered, and who was the mother of *Nohowaa-a-Umi*, a daughter; (3.) *Kapukini*, a half-sister of *Umi*, and daughter of *Liloa* with *Pinea*, and who was the mother of *Kealiikalooa*, a son, *Kapulani* or *Kapukini*, a daughter, and *Keawenui-a-Umi*, a son; (4.) *Piikea*, the daughter of *Piilani*, the *Moi* of *Maui*, and who was the mother of *Aihakoko*, a daughter, and *Kumalae*, a son; (5.) *Mokuahualeiakea*, descended from the great *Ehu* family in *Kona*, and who previously is said to have been the wife of *Pälani* of *Maui*. She was the mother of *Akahiilikapu*, a daughter. (6.) *Henahena*, said to be descended from *Kahnikapu* of *Hawaii*. She was the mother of *Kamölanui-a-Umi*, a daughter. There is one legend which mentions a seventh wife, named *Haua*, but her descent and her children are unknown, and her name is not mentioned on any of the genealogies that I possess.

Of these eight children of *Umi*, *Kealiikalooa* first, and *Keawenui-a-Umi* afterwards, succeeded their father as sovereigns of *Hawaii*. Of *Napunanahunui-a-Umi* not much is known, except that the lands generally known as “*Kapalilua*,” in south *Kona*, *Hawaii*, were given by *Umi* to this daughter in perpetuity, and through all the vicissitudes and violence of subsequent reigns remained in the possession of her descendants to the days of *Kamehameha*, when *Keeaumokupapaiaaheahi*, the son of *Keawepoe* and *Kumaiku*, and grandson of *Lonoikahaupu*, possessed them, they having descended through his mother’s, *Kumaiku*’s, ancestors, *Ua*, *Iwakaualii*, *Iama*, &c., for eight generations. Of *Nohowaa-a-Umi* nothing more is known. Of *Piikea*’s children the legends refer to

the tragical end of *Ainakoko*, near Kalepolepo, on Maui, but no details of her sad fate have come down to the present time, so far as the author has been able to learn. *Kumalae*, however, the son of *Umi* and *Piikea*, is well known as the grandfather of *I*, of Hilo, and head of the present reigning family of *Kalakaua*. Of *Akahiilikapu* it is related that *Kahakumakaliua*, son of *Kalanikukuma*, the *Moi* of Kauai, travelling through the group for pleasure and observation, arrived at the court of *Umi*, and, charmed with this daughter of *Umi*, asked and obtained her for wife. Another legend says that *Akahiilikapu* went visiting the islands, and that having arrived at Kauai, there became the wife of *Kahakumakaliua*. Judging from the intrinsic merits of each legend, I consider the former as the correct version of the affair. Certain it is that *Akahiilikapu* accompanied her husband to Kauai and gave birth to two children, a daughter named *Koihalauwailana*—or popularly, *Koihalawai*—and a son named *Keliiohiohi*. After some time spent on Kauai, and for some reasons which have not been handed down, *Akahiilikapu* returned to Hawaii with her children, and *Kahakumakaliua* remained on Kauai. Of *Kamolanui-a-Umi* it is known that she became one of the wives of *Keawenui-a-Umi*, and was the mother of *Kapohelemui*, the wife of *Makua-a-Kumalae*, and mother of *I*. *Kamolanui* had also another daughter named *Kanakeawe*, who was the mother of *Kapukamola*, the wife of *Makakauli*, and mother of *Iwikawikaua*. This *Kanakeawe* is said also at one time to have been the wife of *Kaihiikapu-a-Kahuhihewa* of Oahu.

The legend which M. Remy relates of the disposition of the remains of *Umi* is probably correct, for it is corroborated by other legends; and it so strikingly illustrates the custom of those times in regard to the funeral of high chiefs, that I take the liberty to quote it verbatim:—  
 “*Umi*, some time before his death, said to his old friend *Koi*, ‘There is no place, nor is there any possible way, to

conceal my bones. You must disappear from my presence. I am going to take back all the lands which I have given you around Hawaii, and they will think you in disgrace. You will then withdraw to another island, and as soon as you hear of my death, or only that I am dangerously sick, return secretly to take away my body!

“*Koi* executed the wishes of the chief, his *aikane* (friend). He repaired to Molokai, whence he hastened to set sail for Hawaii as soon as he heard of *Umi's* death. He landed at Honokohau. On setting foot on shore he met a Kanaka in all respects like his dearly-loved chief. He seized him, killed him, and carried his body by night to Kailua. *Koi* entered secretly the palace where the corpse of *Umi* was lying. The guards were asleep, and *Koi* carried away the royal remains, leaving in their place the body of the old man of Honokohau, and then disappeared with his canoe. Some say that he deposited the body of *Umi* in the great *Pali* (precipice) of Kahulaana, but no one knows the exact spot; others say that it was in a cave of Waipio at Puaahuku, at the top of the great *Pali* over which the cascade of Hiilawe falls.”

This extreme solicitude of concealing the bones of defunct high chiefs was very prevalent in the Hawaiian group, and I have found indications of the same custom in other groups of Polynesia. The greatest trophy to the victor, the greatest disgrace to the vanquished, was the possession of the bones of an enemy. They were either simply exhibited as trophies, or they were manufactured into fish-hooks, or into arrow-points wherewith to shoot mice. Hence various expedients were resorted to to effectually prevent the bones of a high chief ever becoming the prey of any enemies that he may have left alive when he died. One of the most trusted friends of the deceased chief was generally charged with the duty of secreting the bones (*Hunakele*), and the custom prevailed till after the time of *Kamehameha I.* This custom applied, however, more particularly to prominent warrior chiefs, whose deeds

in life may have provoked retaliation after death. Generally the custom in chief families was to strip the flesh off the corpse of a deceased chief, burn it, and collect the skull, collar-bones, arm and leg bones in a bundle, wrap them up in a tapa cloth, and deposit them in the family vault, if I may so call it, a house especially devoted to that purpose, where they were guarded with the utmost care, some trusty Kahu or attendant of the family always being present night and day, who in time of danger immediately conveyed them to some safe and secret hiding-place.

During *Umi's* reign the following chiefs have been recorded as the district chiefs, the "Alii-ai-moku," of Hawaii:—*Wahilani* of the Kohala district; *Wanua* of Hamakua; *Kulukulua* of Hilo; *Huaa* of Puna; *Imaikalani* of Kau; and *Hoe-a-Pae* of Kona. During his and their lifetime peace and quiet obtained on Hawaii.

When *Umi* died he was succeeded as *Moi* of Hawaii by his oldest son, *Kealiikaloa*. Not much is said of him in the legends, and his reign apparently was of short duration. Whether he died from sickness, or, as one legend has it, was treacherously assailed and killed by some rebellious chief, he is remembered as an unpopular king, and the only event of note connected with his reign is the arrival on the coast of Kona of some shipwrecked white people.

The legend of that event is well known, and has several times been stated in print. Its main features are the following:—

"In the time of *Kealiikaloa*, king of Hawaii and son of *Umi*, arrived a vessel at Hawaii. *Konaliloha* was the name of the vessel, and *Kukanalooa* was the name of the foreigner (white man) who commanded, or to whom belonged the vessel. His sister was also with him on the vessel.

"As they were sailing along, approaching the land, the vessel struck at the Pali of Keei, and was broken to pieces by the surf, and the foreigner *Kukanalooa* and his sister



swam ashore and were saved, but the greater part of the crew perished perhaps; that is not well ascertained.

“And when they arrived ashore, they prostrated themselves on the beach, uncertain perhaps on account of their being strangers, and of the different kind of people whom they saw there, and being very fearful perhaps. A long time they remained prostrated on the shore, and hence the place was called ‘*Kulou*,’ and is so called to this day.

“And when evening came the people of the place took them to their house and entertained them, asking them if they were acquainted with the food set before them, to which they replied that they were; and afterwards, when breadfruit, ohia, and bananas were shown to them, they expressed a great desire to have them, pointing to the mountain as the place where to get them. The strangers cohabited with the Hawaiians and had children, and they became ancestors of some of the Hawaiian people, and also of some chiefs.”—“*Moololo Hawaii*,” by *D. Malo*.

That such an event as the arrival of shipwrecked white people really transpired there is no reasonable ground for doubting. It was generally so received throughout the group previous to its discovery by Captain Cook; and as the first echoes of the event grew fainter by the lapse of time, some of the other islands set up claims to have this identical event occurring on their shores. Thus the Maui version of the event, while retaining the name of the vessel and the name of the commander, relegates the occurrence to the time of *Kakaalaneo*, king of Maui; changes the locality of the wreck from the Kona coast of Hawaii to Kiwi in Waihee, Maui, and enters into a number of details unknown or forgotten in the Hawaii tradition. There was a tradition in later times on Kauai also that such an event had happened on their shores.

Taking the Hawaii tradition to be the original and correct version of this event, let us first ascertain to what period, if not to what particular year, Hawaiian chronology

assigns it, and then inquire how far it may with probability be confirmed by outside contemporary historical evidence.

Hawaiian chronology counts by generations, not by reigns nor by years. In computing long genealogies, thirty years to a generation will be found approximately correct. *Keliikalooa*, it will be seen by all the genealogies that lead up to him directly, as well as by the genealogies of his contemporaries in the other islands of the group, is the eleventh generation back of the present one now living. But the present generation—and for illustration we take his present majesty, *Kalakaua*—was born in 1836. Eleven generations, or 330 years back of 1836, bring us to A.D. 1506 as the year of *Keliikalooa's* birth. If we count by the line of her Highness *Ruth Keelikolani*, the great-granddaughter of *Kamehameha*, and who was born in 1826, we come to the year 1496 as the probable birth-year of *Keliikalooa*; and considering that he was the oldest of *Umi's* children, the latter year is probably the more correct. When *Umi* died and *Keliikalooa* succeeded to the government of Hawaii, the latter was certainly about twenty-five or thirty years old, which brings us to a period between 1521–1526 A.D. But his reign is everywhere said to have been of short duration, certainly not exceeding ten years. We have, then, from Hawaiian authority, established the fact that the arrival of the shipwrecked foreigners—white people—took place between the years 1521–1530 A.D. No legend states whether it was in the early or latter part of his reign, but as he is reported to have reigned but a few years before his brother succeeded him, we may be justified in taking a middle term, and say that it happened between 1525–1528.

In Burney's "Discoveries in the South Seas," vol. i. p. 148, we read, in substance, that on October 31, 1527, three vessels left a port called Zivat Lanejo, said by Galvaom to be situated lat. 20° N. on the coast of New Spain, for the Moluccas or Spice Islands. The vessels were

called the "Florida," with fifty men, the "St. Iago," with forty-five men, and the "Espiritu Santo," with fifteen men. They carried thirty pieces of cannon and a quantity of merchandise, and they were under the command of Don Alvaro de Saavedra. These vessels sailed in company, and when they had accomplished 1000 leagues from port, they were overtaken by a severe storm, during which they were separated. The two smaller vessels were never afterwards heard of, and Saavedra pursued the voyage alone in the "Florida," touching at the Ladrone Islands.

A thousand Spanish or Portuguese leagues are equal to nearly fifty-eight equatorial degrees. Now allowing that Saavedra's logbook was perfectly correct as regards the 1000 leagues that the vessels kept company, saving and excepting always what allowance should be made for the westerly current, and that Galvaom is also correct as regards the latitude of Zivat Lanejo, the port of departure, it becomes evident that Saavedra's fleet must have been somewhere within 200 miles, probably to the westward and southward, of the Hawaiian group when the storm overtook it. And, to judge from the period of the year when the fleet left New Spain (October 31), that storm must have been what in this group is well known as a Kona storm—a southerly or south-westerly gale with heavy squalls of rain. In that position and under those circumstances, if unable to weather the gale by lying-to, and obliged to scud, a vessel would almost necessarily run ashore on the western coast of Hawaii. That one vessel, at least, about that time was wrecked on Hawaii, and two, if not more, people saved, Hawaiian tradition bears ample testimony to; and Spanish records furnish us with the further testimony that at that time, in that vicinity, and during a severe storm, there were not one only, but three Spanish vessels likely to be shipwrecked, and that two of the three were never afterwards heard of. They may have foundered in open sea, but Hawaiian tradition is positive, and cannot be refuted, that one at least was

wrecked on the Kona coast off Keei, and that two of its crew, if not more, a man and a woman, were saved.

Moreover, as there can be now no doubt that the foreigners referred to in the Hawaiian tradition were "Haole"—white people—and as no white people except Spanish subjects were cruising in the Pacific at that time, the conclusion becomes almost irresistible that the said foreigners were a portion of the crew or the passengers on board of one or the other of the lost vessels under Saavedra's command.

The names preserved in Hawaiian tradition of the vessel and of the saved man, "Konaliloha" and "Kukanaloha," are Hawaiian names, and furnish no indications of their nationality.

It may reasonably be assumed, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that the influence exercised by these foreigners over the people among whom they were cast was very limited. No traces of such influence can now be found in the religion, knowledge, customs, or arts of the Hawaiians, as practised from that time till now. They were either too few, or too ignorant, or too unpretending, to become reformers, or to impress themselves for good or for bad upon the national mind, and with the exception of the blood that they transmitted through their descendants to our days, little is known of them or ascribed to them beyond the fact of their arrival.

It has been said that the feathered headdress or helmet, the *Mahiolo*, worn by the chiefs when dressed for battle, or in gala array, was an invention of this period, and attributable to these foreigners. But the *Mahiolo*, as a part of a chief's apparel, is mentioned in legends older than the time of *Umi*; and besides, such feathered helmets were worn by Tahitian chiefs when Wallis and Bougainville first made their acquaintance.

The wife of *Keliiokaloa* was *Makuahineapalaka*,<sup>1</sup> and their son was *Kukailani*, who became the father of *Maka-*

<sup>1</sup> Her family or descent is nowhere mentioned.

*kaualii*, and grandfather of *Iwikawikaua*, a prominent and turbulent chief in his day, and grandfather of *Keawekekahialiokamoku* and his sister *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*.

After the death of *Keliokaloa* there supervened a season of internal war, anarchy, and confusion, which has left its blurred image on the traditions of the country, for they are neither copious nor clear in regard to it. Yet reading the legends of the time with a tolerably correct conception of the customs and condition of men and things, and knowing that those ancient legends frequently merely hint at an event instead of describing it, because it was well and commonly known at the time the legend was composed or was popularly recited, it would appear that at *Kealiokaloa's* death the great district chiefs of the island of Hawaii refused to acknowledge the sovereignty or Moishop of *Keawenui-a-Umi*, the younger brother of *Kealiokaloa*. War followed, but the revolted chiefs seem to have been deficient in organisation or co-operation, for *Keawenui-a-Umi* defeated each and all of them, killed them, and kept their bones—bundles referred to on page 105—as trophies. In the legend and chant of *Lonoikamakahiki*, the son of *Keawenui*, the names of the six district chiefs whom his father defeated are given: *Palahalaha*, son of *Wahilani* of Kohala; *Pumaia*, son of *Wanua* of Hamakua; *Hilo-Hamakua*, son of *Kulukulua* of Hilo; *Lililehua*, son of *Huaa* of Puna; *Kahalemilo*, son of *Imaikalani* of Kau; *Moihala*, son of *Hoe-a-Pae* of Kona.

After these revolted chiefs had been subdued and disposed of,<sup>1</sup> *Keawenui* restored order and quiet in the island of Hawaii, on the pattern of his father, *Umi*. *Keawenui* is said to have been of a cheerful and liberal disposition, and not only frequently travelled around his own dominions of Hawaii, but also visited the courts of the sovereigns of the other islands. His visit to Maui, and

Keawenui-  
a-Umi.

<sup>1</sup> In the legend of *Lonoikamakahiki* the son of *Keawenui-a-Umi*, it is said that the revolted chiefs were conquered and captured in a severe battle fought at Puumaneo, in Kohala district.

his sumptuous entertainment by *Kamalalawalu*, the Moi of Maui, is particularly described. One of his most trusted friends and "*Puuku*" (royal treasurer) was a man named *Pakaa*, who for many years had served him faithfully and well. But at the court of *Keawenui*, as at many other courts, jealous and intriguing rivals conspired the downfall of *Pakaa*, and after a while they succeeded. *Pakaa* fled to Molokai to escape the anger of *Keawenui*, and lived there in retirement and disguise. *Pakaa's* wife is said to have been *Hikauhi* of Molokai, daughter of *Hoolhua* and *Ilohi*, who lived at Kaluakoi, which may have been the reason of his fleeing there for shelter and safety. Some time after *Pakaa's* flight—how long is not stated, but several months may be inferred—*Keawenui* discovered that the accusations brought against *Pakaa* had been unjust and malicious, and, filled with sorrow and regret for the loss of his old friend and the injustice done him, he resolved to seek him in person and be reconciled to him. The account of this voyage of discovery by *Keawenui-a-Umi* was a favourite subject for listening ears in the olden time, and particularly interesting as giving a detailed relation of all the winds, their names and localities, that ever blew on the coasts and the mountains throughout the group. It is a chant of over four hundred lines, embodied in the legend, and supposed to have been recited by *Ku-a-Pakaa*, the son of *Pakaa*.<sup>1</sup>

After *Keawenui's* reconciliation with *Pakaa*, no further event of note during his reign has been recorded in the traditions. His principal residence seems to have been at Hilo.

*Keawenui-a-Umi* has been greatly blamed by some

<sup>1</sup> To Hawaiian scholars it may suffice to indicate the chant by its opening lines:—

*Kiauaru ! kiauaru ! kiauaru !  
Hiki ka ua, ka makani, ka ino,*

*No Puulenalena, no Hilo no, &c.*

Softly ! softly ! softly !

The rain is coming, the wind and  
bad weather,

From Puulenalena\* of Hilo.

\* The name of a cold wind from the mountains back of Hilo and the neighbourhood of the volcano.

genealogists for his numerous amours with women of low degree and with the daughters of the common people, thereby impairing the purity of the aristocratic blood and giving rise to pretensions that in after ages it became difficult to disprove. This objection dates back to the turbulent times of the early part of the reign of *Kamehameha I.*, and has been repeated since, but may have been of older origin. Admitting, however, that *Keawenui's* amours were not always conformable to the rules of Hawaiian heraldry, yet it is due to the memory of this great chief and to historical truth to state that during the present century, and in all the legends of the times preceding it, I have found no name or family claiming descent from him and setting up pretensions accordingly, unless they were actually and historically descended from some one of his five wives, all of whom were of high and undoubted aristocratic families. These five wives were—

(1.) *Koihalawai* or *Koihalawailaua*, daughter of his sister *Akahiilikapu* and *Kahakuma Kalua*, one of the tabu chiefs of Kauai. With this wife *Keawenui* had four children, three sons and a daughter: *Kanaloakuaana*, *Kanaloakuakawaiea*, *Kanaloakapulehu*, and *Keakalaulani*.

(2.) *Haokalani*, of the *Kalona-iki* family on Oahu, or from the great *Ehu* family on Hawaii through *Hao-a-kapokii*, the fourth in descent from *Ehunui Kaimalino*; the fact is not very clearly stated, though the presumption, from allusions in the legends, is in favour of the former. Her son was the celebrated *Lonoikamakakiki*.

(3.) *Hoopiliahae*, whose parentage is not stated,<sup>1</sup> but whose son, *Umiokalani*, allied himself to the Maui chiefess *Pii-mawi-lani*, and was the father of *Hoolaaikaiwi*, mother of the widely-known and powerful *Mahi* family on Hawaii.

(4.) *Kamola-nui-a-Umi*, the half-sister of *Keawenui*. Her daughter was *Kapoholemai*, who became the wife of her

<sup>1</sup> I have but one genealogy in which *Huanuikalalailai*, through his son, her parentage is referred to, and there *Kuhelani*, the brother of the Maui she is said to be a descendant of *Paumakua*.

cousin *Makua* and mother of *I*, from whom the present reigning family descends. (5.) *Hakaukalalapuakea*, the granddaughter of *Hakau*, the brother of *Umi*. Her daughter was *Iliikikikuahine*, through whom more than one family now living claims connection with the line of *Liloa*. All the legends mention a son of *Keawenui* named *Pupuakea*, who was endowed with lands in *Kau*, but none of the legends that I possess mention who his mother was. He remained true to *Lonoikamakahiki* when all the world forsook him, and was treated by *Lono* as a younger brother or very near kindred.

There can be little doubt that *Keawenui* himself, as well as the public opinion of the chiefs and landholders of Hawaii, considered his occupancy of the dignity and position of *Moi* of Hawaii as an usurpation of the rights of his nephew, *Kukailani*, the son of *Keliiokalooa*; and this was probably the cause of the commotion and uprising of the great district chiefs in the early part of *Keawenui's* reign. Thus, when *Keawenui* was on his deathbed, he solemnly, and in the presence of his chiefs, conferred the sovereignty, the dignity, and prerogatives of *Moi* on *Kaikilani*, the daughter of *Kukailani*, and who was the joint-wife or successive wife of his two sons, *Kanaloakuaana* and *Lonoikamakahiki*. This *Kaikilani*, whose full name was *Kaikilani-nui-alii-wahine-o-Puna*, must not be mistaken, as several later genealogists have done, for another wife of *Lonoikamakahiki* called *Kaikilanimai-panio*, and who was the daughter of *Kaeilau-nui* and his wife *Kauluoaapalaka*, a descendant of the great *Ehu* family through *Laeauwikaumanamana*, the high-priest in the time of *Kihanui* and *Liloa*. *Kaikilani-alii-wahine-o-Puna* had three children with *Kanaloakuaana*, but had no children with *Lonoikamakahiki*; whereas *Kaikilanimai-paneo* had two sons with the aforesaid *Lonoikamakahiki*.

The legends are rather minute in detailing the early life and training of *Lonoikamakahiki*, how he was instructed, and became a great proficient in all the athletic and war-



like exercises of the time; how he was endowed with great powers of conversation and argumentation; how he was a zealous worshipper of the gods, having in early life been deeply affected, when on a visit with his father to Hilo, by the austere and venerable aspect of *Kawaamaukele*, the high-priest of Hilo, whose long hair, reaching down to his knees after the fashion of high-priests, inspired him with awe and terror, and who afterwards told him his fortune.

For some time after the accession of *Kaikilani* as *Moi*, though the government of the island was carried on in her name, yet *Kanaloakuaana* appears to have acted as a Regent or Prime Minister and as a special guardian of his younger brother, *Lonoikamakahiki*. After a while, *Kanaloakuaana* instituted a formal examination or trial of *Lonoikamakahiki* as to his qualifications as a warrior, a counsellor, and chief, and the latter having come out victorious in all the trials, *Kaikilani* was advised to share the throne and dignity with *Lonoikamakahiki*, and thenceforth the latter was hailed as *Moi* of Hawaii.

For several years peace and prosperity prevailed on Hawaii and concord in the royal family. Having regulated the government satisfactorily, and having no wars or rebellions to contend with, *Lonoikamakahiki* concluded to visit the other islands, especially Kauai, in search of some famous kind of wood of which spears were made. His wife *Kaikilani* accompanied him. Among his outfit on the occasion are mentioned the royal *Hokeo*,<sup>1</sup> called "*Kuwalawala*," and the royal *Kahili*,<sup>2</sup> called "*Eleleualani*."

*Lonoikamakahiki* and his suite stopped at Lahaina, but

<sup>1</sup> The *Hokeo* was a large, high, and straight calabash, in which the wardrobe of chiefs and other valuables were packed, as in a trunk. This particular "*Hokeo*" was famous for containing the bundles of bones of the six rebel chiefs of Hawaii whom his father, *Keawenui-a-Umi*, had slain.

<sup>2</sup> The *Kahili* was an ensign of chiefship and royalty. It was composed of select birds' feathers closely tied on to a flexible handle or staff, and varying in size from two to three feet long for daily use, to twelve or fifteen feet in length for processions and grand occasions.

*Kamalalawalu*, the *Moi* of *Maui*, was absent visiting other parts of the island, and *Lono* proceeded on towards *Oahu*. Being overtaken by bad and stormy weather, *Lono* put in to *Kalaupapa*, on the north-west side of the island of *Molokai*, for shelter; hauled up his canoes, and remained the guest of the *Kalaupapa* chiefs until better weather should permit him to leave.

To beguile the time while thus windbound, *Lonoikamakahiki* and *Kaikilani* frequently amused themselves with a game of "*Konane*," resembling the game of draughts, played on a checkered board with white and black squares. One day while thus occupied, seated in the open air, the faint sound as of some one hailing from the top of the overhanging *Pali* of "*Puupaneenee*" reached the players. Again the hail was repeated, and distinct and clear these words came down on the astounded ears of *Lono*:—  
 "E, *Kaikilani alii wahine o Puna*—E, E aa mai ana ia oe ko'u ipo; o ke ku a *Kalaulipali, o Uli, o Heakekoa!*"  
 ("Ho, *Kaikilani!* your lover *Heakekoa*, the son of *Kalaulipali* and *Uli*, is longing for you.") By her confusion and her attempts to divert the attention of *Lono*, *Kaikilani* confirmed him in his suspicions; and enraged at the infidelity of his wife, as well as at the audacity of the lover thus publicly to affront him, he snatched up the *Konane* board and struck *Kaikilani* so violent a blow on the head that she fell senseless and bleeding on the broad flagstones<sup>1</sup> where they had been sitting. Full of his angry feelings, the chief ordered his canoes to be launched, and, sternly forbidding *Kaikilani* to follow him, set sail for *Oahu* that same day.

It is said in the legend that this passionate exhibition of her husband's love, and the finding herself left alone and forbidden to accompany him, produced such revulsion

<sup>1</sup> Tradition has preserved, and the old inhabitants, on the author's first visit to the place, pointed out the very broad stone on which *Lono* and *Kaikilani* were said to have been sitting and playing when the game was so fatally interrupted. The place was called "*Pikoone*," and is near the harbour of *Kalaupapa*.

in the mind of *Kaikilani* as to entirely break off her fondness for *Heakekoa* (if she really ever had had any such), who disappears, and is not further heard of in the legends. As soon as she had recovered from the wound inflicted by the Konane-board she sorrowfully returned to Hawaii. Meanwhile the news of the tragical episode at Kalaupapa had preceded her arrival at Hawaii. The island was filled with consternation; the chiefs took counsel together how to avenge the reported death of *Kaikilani* and the indignity offered her; all the brothers of *Lonoikamakahiki*, and all the district chiefs except *Pupuakea* of Kau, joined in the revolt, *Kanaloakuaana* again assuming the regency and organising measures to intercept and slay *Lonoikamakahiki* should he attempt to land on the coast of Hawaii. When *Kaikilani* arrived at Kohala from Molokai, she learned the news of this great revolt, and, with all the ardour of her old love for *Lono* reawakened, and only anxious for his safety, she quietly re-embarked and sailed for Kau, avoiding the rebel chiefs, and placing herself in communication with *Pupuakea*, the only chief of note that still adhered to the fortunes of *Lonoikamakahiki*. Under his advice and with his assistance men were assembled and measures taken to recover the lost supremacy of *Lono*. In view, however, of the superior forces and personal character of the revolted chiefs, it was thought that *Lono's* presence was absolutely needed as a counterpoise before commencing active hostilities. In this dilemma *Kaikilani* resolved to go to Oahu and personally acquaint her husband with the state of affairs on Hawaii, and by this proof of her returned love endeavour to win back his affections and induce him to return. She sailed; how she succeeded will be seen in the sequel.

When *Lonoikamahiki* left Kalaupapa on Molokai he started with only one canoe, leaving the rest of his retinue to follow when ready. *Lono* went straight to Kailua, in Koolaupoko district, Oahu, where *Kakuhihewa*, the *Moi* of Oahu, then held his court, the name of the royal resi-

dence being "Kamooa." As Lono's canoe approached the shore, *Lanahwimihaku*, a chief and a priest who had formerly been in the service of *Keawenui-a-Umi*, and was well versed in all the lore of the Hawaii chiefs, but who was now a counsellor under *Kakuhihewa*, recognised the canoe, the sail, and the insignia, and informed *Kakuhihewa* that one of *Keawenui's* sons was approaching. *Kakuhihewa* received him royally and cordially. Food was prepared in abundance and a house set apart for his reception. An incident that occurred the first night of *Lono's* stay ashore will in a measure show the manners of the time, and may well be worth repeating.

After *Lono* had left his royal host in the evening and retired to rest, either that the thoughts of the Kalaupapa affair troubled his mind, or that the heat of the night made it uncomfortable to sleep in the house, he got up and went down to the beach to sleep in his canoe, where the cool breeze off the sea would fan and refresh him.

While there, another double canoe arrived during the night from Kauai, having on board a chiefess named *Ohaikawiliu*, bound to Hawaii on a visit. *Lono* accosted the stranger, inquired the news from Kauai, and in course of conversation learned that a new *Mele* or chant had just been composed in honour of this chiefess's name; that it was only known to a few of the highest chiefs on Kauai, and had not yet become public. Prompted by curiosity and a natural bent for acquiring all sorts of knowledge, *Lono* entreated the chiefess to repeat the chant, which she complaisantly did, and *Lono's* quick ear and retentive memory soon caught and correctly retained the whole of it. The chant was well known to Hawaiians of the last generation, and many of the present may recall it to mind by hearing the first line:

*Kealiaha liu a Mana.*<sup>1</sup>  
The salt pond of Mana.

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<sup>1</sup> For what remains of this chant, see Appendix No. 2.

His expected sleep on the beach having been thus interrupted, *Lono* returned to the house and slept soundly till late in the morning.

*Kakuhihewa*, having enjoyed an uninterrupted night's rest, rose early next morning and repaired to the seashore for a bath, according to the custom. He there found the canoe of the Kauai chiefess just getting ready to leave. Saluting the stranger, he also inquired the latest news from Kauai, and received the same information that *Lono* had received during the night, of which fact, however, *Kakuhihewa* was ignorant. Having repeated the chant to *Kakuhihewa*, and he having committed it to memory, the Kauai chiefess made sail and departed, and *Kakuhihewa* returned to his palace much pleased at the opportunity of puzzling his guest, when he should awake, with the latest news from Kauai. When *Lono* finally awoke and made his appearance, *Kakuhihewa* challenged him to chant the latest Mele from Kauai. Without hesitation *Lono* complied, and recited the chant correctly from beginning to end, to the great discomfiture and perplexity of *Kakuhihewa*.

*Lonoikamakahiki* remained a long time a guest of *Kakuhihewa*, and their adventures, excursions, amusements, and betting exploits are related at great length in the legends, but they are so greatly exaggerated, so mixed with the marvellous, and withal so confused as to sequence of time, that it is hardly possible to eliminate any historical fact from them, except the general one that during this time "les rois s'amusaient." It was during this period also that *Lono* exhibited the trophies of his father (the bundles of bones referred to on a former page) and chanted the names of the slain chiefs. Yet, though there was no doubt in *Kakuhihewa's* mind that *Lono* was a chief of very high rank on Hawaii, and probably one of *Keawenui-a-Umi's* sons, still his real name and position appear not to have been known to *Kakuhihewa* nor to his

grand counsellor *Lanahuimihaku*, and the latter did not scruple openly to call *Lono* an *Alii inoa ole*, "a nameless chief," to which taunt *Lono* merely replied that if ever *Lanahuimihaku* fell in his power he would flay him alive.

One day when *Lonoikamakahiki* and *Kakuhihewa* were playing *Konape*, *Kaikilani* arrived from Hawaii. Going up to the enclosure of the palace and perceiving *Lono* inside occupied at the game and with his back towards her, she commenced chanting his *Mele inoa*—"the chant of his name"—in the well-known strain:—

*O Kahikohonua ia Elekau Kama,  
O Halalakauluonae," &c., &c.*

At the very first intonation of the chant *Lono* knew who the singer was, and remembering the unpleasant affair at *Kalaupapa*, resolutely kept his seat without looking round to the singer. But as stave after stave of the chant rolled over the lips of *Kaikilani*, and allusions to common ancestors and scenes endeared to both came home to the obdurate mind of her husband, the stern heart relented; yet, mastering his emotions until she had finished, he turned around, and in reply chanted her own name. This was the token of his forgiveness and reconciliation, and gladly *Kaikilani* sprang to her husband and was again tenderly saluted by him.

This mutual public recognition between the two sovereigns of Hawaii solved the mystification and the incognito of *Lono's* presence at *Kakuhihewa's* court, which form so large a portion of the legend.

Informed by *Kaikilani* of the revolt on Hawaii, *Lonoikamakahiki* left Oahu at once, crossed the channels of the group, and avoiding the Kohala coast, where the rebels were in force, sailed to Kealakeakua, and sent messengers to Kau to acquaint *Pupuakea* of the arrival of himself and *Kaikilani*. *Pupuakea* responded promptly,

and, taking a mountain road above the coast villages, he joined *Lono* and the forces that the latter had collected in Kona at Puuanahulu, on a land called Anaehoomalu, near the boundaries of Kohala and Kona. The rebel chiefs were encamped seaward of this along the shore. The next day *Lono* marched down and met the rebels at a place called Wailea, not far from Wainanalii, where in those days a watercourse appears to have been flowing. *Lono* won the battle, and the rebel chiefs fled northward with their forces. At Kaunooa, between Puako and Kawaihae, they made another stand, but were again routed by *Lono*, and retreated to Nakikiaianihau, where they fell in with reinforcements from Kohala and Hamakua. Two other engagements were fought at Puupa and Puukohola, near the Heiau of that name, in both of which *Lono* was victorious. His brother *Kanaloakapulehu* was taken prisoner, slain, and sacrificed at the Heiau, but *Kanaloakuakawaiea* escaped with the scattered remnant of the rebel forces. The rebels now fled into Kohala, and were hotly pursued by *Lonoikamakahiki*. Several skirmishes were fought during the pursuit; at Kaiopae, where *Kanaloakuakawaiea* was slain; at Kaiopihi, and finally at Puumaneo, on the high lands above Pololu, where the last remnant of the rebel force was conquered and slain, and the island returned to its allegiance to *Lono* and *Kaikilani*.

Although *Kanaloakuaana*, the eldest brother of *Lono*, was the originator and prime mover in this revolt, there is nothing said in the legends as to how he escaped condemnation and death, and they are equally silent about the youngest brother, *Umiokalani*. They probably made separate peace and submitted to *Lono*, for we find them, a few years afterward, on good terms with their brother *Lono*, and acting under him in his war with *Kamalalawalu* of Maui.

Having restored peace and order on Hawaii, *Lono* went

round the island consecrating Heiaus as acknowledgment to the gods for his victories. The following Heiaus are mentioned:—"Muleiula," in Apuakehau, Kohala; "Puukohola," at Kawaihae; "Makolea," in Kahaluu Kona. After leaving the latter place, one of the rebel chiefs named *Kapulani* was caught and brought to *Lono*. He was condemned to death, and ordered to be sacrificed at the Heiau the next morning; but during the night he was set at liberty by *Kalanioumi*, *Lono's* niece, and one of the daughters of *Kaikilani* and *Kanaloakuaana*. *Kapulani* escaped into Kau, and was not further molested.

After this *Lonoikamakahiki* and *Kaikilani* made a visit to Maui. *Kamalalawalu*, the *Moi* of Maui, held his court at Hana at that time, and thither the royal visitors repaired. They were sumptuously entertained, and when their visit was ended they returned to Hawaii. *Kamalalawalu* must have been very advanced in years at that time, as he was a contemporary of *Keavenui-a-Umi*, and his sons were man-grown when *Lono* visited Maui.

Not long after the return of *Lono* to Hawaii, *Kamalalawalu*, either stimulated by ambition or misled by false reports as to the strength and resources of Hawaii, formed the resolution to invade that island and conquer it. Orders were issued to prepare the fleet and collect men for the invasion. The priests and soothsayers were given to understand that the king expected favourable auguries, and, afraid of their lives, they framed their answers to suit his wishes. One only among the subservient crowd lifted a warning and protesting voice against the mad enterprise. That man was *Lanikaula*, a high-priest from Molokai, whose tomb and grove may still be seen near the north-east point of that island. His warning was unheeded; yet, when the fleet was ready and *Kamalalawalu* was stepping on board, *Lanikaula* implored him to desist in a "Wanana," or prophecy, which has been preserved, and which commences—



*Koae*<sup>1</sup> *ula*, *Ke Koae Kea*,  
*Koae lele pauma ana*,  
*Kiekie i luna Ka hoku*  
*Haahaa i au Ka Malama.*

The red Koae, the white Koae,  
 The Koae soaring, pushing (upward)  
 High above are the stars,  
 Lowly am I the gazer.

The only answer the irate monarch vouchsafed was, "When I return I will burn you alive." *Kamalalawalu's* fleet landed without opposition near Puako, a few miles south of Kawaihae. *Kanaloakuaana* was at the time at Waimea, and hearing of *Kamalalawalu's* landing on the coast, he started off with what forces he had to check his advance until *Lonoikamakahiki*, who was then at Kohala, could arrive. At Kaunooa he met *Kamalalawalu*, who was marching inland. A battle ensued. The Maui forces greatly outnumbered those of *Kanaloakuaana*, who was utterly defeated and himself taken prisoner at Kamaka-hiwa, in Puako, where his eyes were put out, and then he was slain.

This wanton cruelty inflicted on *Kanaloakuaana* appears to have been looked upon by his contemporaries as a touch beyond the ordinary barbarity of Hawaiian warfare, for not only was the place where it occurred called after the black eyes (Ka-maka-hiwa) of the unfortunate chief, but the bards embalmed his memory and his tragical end in a Mele or chant, which has been partly preserved till the present time, and in the Hawaiian anthology was known as "*Koauli*."

After this first success *Kamalalawalu* marched boldly inland, and took up a position in Waimea, at a place called Hokuula. Here he awaited the arrival of *Lono's* forces. A second battle was fought, and *Kamalalawalu* was defeated with great slaughter. Among the slain were *Kamalalawalu* and *Makakukalani*, his nephew and generalissimo; his son *Kauhi-a-Kama* escaped to Kawaihae,

<sup>1</sup> A species of bird found in the mountains.

where he was aided to cross over to Maui by one *Hinau*, one of *Lono's* officers, who had taken a liking to him, and who accompanied him to Maui.

Though it is very probable that *Lonoikamakahiki* made a visit to Kauai after this war with the Maui king, and it may be accepted as a fact that he did so, yet the romance of the expedition may be called in question; that, having started with a grand retinue, as became so great a chief, immediately on his arrival at Kauai he was deserted by all, from the highest to the lowest, of his retainers, and left to pursue his way alone, and that he would have perished had not a Kauai man named *Kapaihihilina* been moved by compassion for the forsaken chief, and accompanied him through his perilous journey among the mountain wilds of Waialeale<sup>1</sup> in search of a real or imaginary place called "Kahihikalani;" that having accomplished his journey and returned to Hawaii, he heaped honours and distinction on this *Kapaihihilina*, and the romance of the latter's disgrace and restoration to favour. The adventures related are certainly in keeping with the spirit of the time, and there can be no doubt that in his day and by his contemporaries *Lonoikamakahiki* was looked upon as a Hawaiian Richard Cœur de Lion, whose name and whose deeds the bards passed down to after-

<sup>1</sup> I know that the romantic episode of *Lonoikamakahiki's* visit to Kauai, and the rise and vicissitudes in the fortunes of his friend *Kapaihihilina*, have by some been attributed to *Kalaninuiamamao*, five generations after the time of *Lonoikamakahiki*. But I cannot find that such an application of the legend dates higher than the time of the conquest of the group by *Kamehameha I.*, or thereafter. It is very probable that *Kalaninuiamamao* visited Kauai as well as Oahu, where he fell in with *Kamakaimoku*, and engaged her to come to Hawaii as his wife; but in critically examining the two legends, it becomes pretty conclusively evident that the *Lonoika-*

*makahiki* legend is the older and the original one, after and on which the *Kalaninuiamamao* legend was modelled. *Kalaninuiamamao* being close upon our own times, and the grand-uncle of *Kamchameha I.*, it is hardly conceivable that his deeds and adventures should have been set back in time, and assigned to so remote an ancestor as *Lonoikamakahiki*, whereas there is both probability and precedent in favour of the presumption that—both having visited Kauai—the adventures of *Lono* were borrowed, so to say, or assigned by time-serving bards or priests to embellish the Kauai voyage of *Kalaninuiamamao*.

times, and whose more romantic adventures, embellished by fervent imaginations, were rehearsed by professional storytellers, and continued to delight chiefs and commoners even down to our own days, when so much of the ancient poetry of Hawaiian life has been wrung out of it by the pressure of a new civilisation, leaving the more repulsive features which it partially covered protruding in the day, to be wept over or to be hooted at as suits the humour of the beholder.

Returned from the Kauai expedition, *Lonoikamakahiki* passed the balance of his days in peace on his own island of Hawaii.

The children of *Kaikilani-Alii-Wahine-o-Puna* with *Kanaloakuaana* were a son, *Keakealanikane*, and two daughters, *Kealiiokalani* and *Kalani-o-Umi*. She had no children with *Lonoikamahiki*, as previously stated. With his other wife, *Kaikilanimaipanio*, *Lono* had two sons, one called *Keawehanauikawalu* and the other *Kaihi-kapumahana*, from both of whom her Highness *Ruth Keelikolani* is the descendant on her father's and mother's sides. The first was the husband of *Akahikameenoa*, the daughter of *Akahiilikapu* and *Kahakumakalina*, referred to on page 104. The second, who, according to the Oahu legends, was born while *Lono* was sojourning at the court of *Kakuhihewa*, and was called after *Kakuhihewa's* favourite son *Kaihiikapu*, was the husband of *Aila*, a Kauai chiefess of the great *Kealohi* family, and thus became the great-grandfather of *Lonoikahaupu*, on whom the Kauai sovereignty finally settled after the close of the civil wars between the members of the *Kawelo* family.

To this period of *Lono's* reign belongs the episode of *Iwikawikaua*, another knight-errant of this stirring time. *Iwikawikaua*, was the son of *Makakaualii*, who was the younger and only brother of *Kaikilani-Alii-Wahine-o-Puna*. His mother was *Kapukamola*.<sup>1</sup> The direct legends con-

<sup>1</sup> A daughter of *Kanakeawe*, who *kauaii* were *Kapukini*, a daughter, was the daughter of *Kamolaniui-a-Keawe* and *Umikukailani*, sons, and *Umi*. The other children of *Maka-Pueopokii*, a daughter.

cerning him have mostly perished, but enough remains referring to him in other legends to give us glimpses of his character and a few data of his life.

Though nearly related to the reigning family of Hawaii, yet, being the son of a younger brother, without feudatorial possessions in his own right, a tabu chief by birth, but with no land to back the title except what his aunt's bounty might provide, brought up to, and master of, all the princely exercises of the time, he sought his fortune as other chiefly scions had to do.

During the time of the revolt of *Kanaloakuaana* and the Hawaii chiefs against *Lonoikamakahiki*, it would appear that *Iwikawikaua* was already a grown-up young man, for he is reported as having espoused the cause of *Lono* and his aunt *Kaikilani*. During some of the battles of that civil war *Iwikawikaua* was taken prisoner by *Kanaloakapulehu* and condemned to be sacrificed at the Heiau. When standing on the steps of the altar, he asked the officiating priest to allow him to utter a prayer to the gods before he was slain. The priest consented, but told him if his prayer was bad—that is, if it was interrupted or attended by unfavourable omens, and thus repudiated by the gods—he would surely die that day; but if not, he would be reprieved. *Iwikawikaua* chanted his prayer, and it appears to have been successful, for his life was spared. This prayer, addressed to *Ku*, to *Uli*, and to *Kama*, has been preserved. It is replete with archaic expressions and now obsolete words, and is probably as old as the times it represents.

After this narrow escape *Iwikawikaua* went to Oahu, and there became the husband of *Kauakahikuaanauakane*, daughter of *Kakuhihewa's* son *Kaihikapu*. He is next heard of in the legends as having visited Maui, where one of his sisters, *Kapukini*, was the wife of the *Moi Kauhi-a-Kama*, and another sister, *Pueopokii*, was the wife of *Kaaoao*, the son of *Makakukalani*, and head of the Kaupo chief families who descended from *Koo* and

*Kaiuli*. He finally returns to Hawaii, where he becomes the husband of *Keakamahana*, the daughter of his cousins *Keakealanikane* and *Kealiokalani*, and who at their death became the *Moi* of Hawaii.

When *Lonoikamakahiki* and *Kaikilani*, his wife, died, they were succeeded as *Moi* of Hawaii by *Kaikilani's* son *Keakealanikane*. We have no legends of his reign, as we have of the preceding, and infer that it was uneventful as regards himself. Though no open revolt has been recorded, yet there is little doubt that the feudal bonds in which the district chiefs were held by the strong hand of *Lonoikamakahiki* were greatly loosened during this reign, and thus the great houses of *I* in Hilo and of *Mahi* in Kohala, with large territorial possessions, were enabled to assume an attitude little short of political independence, and which, in the reign of his grandchild *Keakealanivahine*, ripened into civil war.

*Keakealanikane's* wife was his sister *Kealiokalani*, and their daughter and successor as *Moi* was *Keakamahana*, whose recognised husband was *Iwikauikaua* above referred to. They had also another daughter named *Kalakiiki*, who became the wife of *Ahulililani*, a chief of Puna, and mother of *Kwikai*, referred to on pp. 72 and 73 note. Though the genealogical Meles speak in the highest laudatory terms of *Keakamahana*, yet there is little left to mark her reign on the historical page.

The most prominent figures about the time of *Keakamahana* was probably *Kanaloauoo*, the renowned chief of Kohala, and his three sons, all named *Mahi*, though with different sobriquets, — *Mahiolote*, *Mahikuku*, *Mahikapalena* or *Mahiopupeleha*. *Kanaloauoo* had two wives from the reigning Maui dynasty; first, *Kapuleiolaa*, who was a descendant of *Lonoapii*; second, *Kihamoihala*, who was a great-granddaughter of *Kamalalawalu*. With the first he had a daughter named *Kapaihi*; with the second he had the son *Mahikapalena*. The families from both these children remained on Maui, and do not appear to have

settled on Hawaii or taken part in its politics. Returning from Maui to Kohala, of which district *Kanaloauoo* was the ruling chief, the "*Alii-ai-moku*," he took for wife *Hoolaaikaiwi*, a daughter of *Umiokalani* and *Piima-wilani*, and granddaughter of *Keawenui-a-Umi*. With this last wife he had the two sons *Mahiolole* and *Mahikuku*.

The only husband known of *Keakamahana* was *Iwikawikaua*, above referred to, and with him she had a daughter called *Keakealaniwahine*, who succeeded her mother as *Moi* of Hawaii. With his other wife, the Oahu chiefess *Kauakahi-kuaanaauakane*, *Iwikawikaua* had a son, *Kaneikaiwilani*, who became one of the husbands of his half-sister *Keakealaniwahine*, and with another wife named *Kapukiniakua* he had a daughter called *Kamakahaoku*.

Keakealani-  
wahine.

The reign of *Keakealaniwahine* was a troubled one. The great house of *I*, in whose family the chieftainship of the Hilo district had been vested since the days of their ancestor *Kumalae* the son of *Umi*, had grown to such wealth, strength, and importance, as to be practically independent of even the very loose bonds with which the ruling district chiefs were held to their feudatory obligations. The representative of this house as district chief of Hilo at this time was *Kuahwia*, the son of *Kuaana-a-I*, and grandson of *I*. What led to the war, or what were its incidents, has not been preserved on the traditional records, but it is frequently alluded to as a long and bitter strife between *Kuahwia* and *Keakealaniwahine*; and though tradition is equally silent as to its conclusion, it may be inferred that the royal authority was unable to subdue its powerful vassal from the fact that at the death of *Keawe*, *Keakealani's* son and successor, we find that *Mokulani*, the son of *Kuahwia* was still the principal chief—"Alii-ai-moku"—of Hilo. It is on record that *Mahiolole*, the powerful district chief of Kohala, was the chief counsellor and supporter of *Keakea-*

*laniwahine*, which fact, independent of other causes, may account in a measure for the intimacy of *Keakealani's* daughter, *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*, and *Mahiolole's* son, *Karuua-a-Mahi*.

*Keakealaniwahine* had two husbands. The first was *Kanaloaikaiwilewa*, or, as he is called in some genealogies, *Kanaloakapulehu*. His pedigree is not given in any genealogy or legend that I have met with, but he was probably a descendant of *Lonoikamakahiki's* brother with the same name. The other husband was *Kaneikailani*, who was the son of *Iwikauikaua* and *Kaukahikuaanaauakane*. With the first, *Keakealani* had a son named *Keawe*; with the second, she had a daughter named *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*.

*Keawe*, surnamed "*ikekahialiokamoku*," succeeded his Keawe. mother, *Keakealaniwahine*, as the *Moi* of Hawaii. He is said to have been an enterprising and stirring chief, who travelled all over the group, and obtained a reputation for bravery and prudent management of his island. It appears that in some manner he composed the troubles that had disturbed the peace during his mother's time. It was not by force or by conquest, for in that case, and so near to our own times, some traces of it would certainly have been preserved on the legends. He probably accomplished the tranquillity of the island by diplomacy, as he himself married *Lonomaaikanaka*, the daughter of *Ahu-a-I*, and he afterwards married his son *Kalaninuioimamao* to *Ahia*, the granddaughter of *Kuaana-a-I* and cousin to *Kuahuia's* son, *Mokulani*, and thus by this double marriage securing the peace and allegiance of the Hilo chiefs. The other districts do not seem to have shared in the resistance made by the Hilo chiefs to the authority of the *Moi*, at least the name of no district chief of note or influence has been recorded as having been so engaged.

Three short generations had passed between the time of *Lonoikamakahiki* and the present *Keawe*, and the "iron-hand" policy of the former, as of his father, *Keawenui-a-*

*Umi*, had been exchanged for the "velvet-glove" statecraft of the latter. But the iron hand, though nude and rude, kept the turbulent district chiefs in subjection, or forcibly ejected them if contumacious; whereas the velvet glove was deficient in grip, and the great feudal vassals became practically independent, and their allegiance grew into a question of interest, rather than one of constitutional obligation. Under these conditions it is much to the credit of *Keawe* that he gathered up in a firmer hand the loosened reins of government, and during his lifetime ruled the island peaceably and orderly, without rebellion, tumult, or bloodshed occurring to be chronicled in song or legend.

There can be little doubt that *Keawe's* half-sister, *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*, was, during the ancient regime, considered as co-ordinate with her brother as *Moi* of Hawaii, though she is not known to have been actively occupied in any matters of government. The legends refer to her as his equal on the throne; and at the time, and by posterity, she was held to be of higher rank than *Keawe*, owing to her descent, on her father's side, from the Oahu dynasty of *Kakuhihewa*.

*Keawe's* wives were—(1.) *Lonomaaikanaka*, a daughter of *Ahu-a-I* and of *Piilaniwahine*. The former belonged to the powerful and widely spread *I* family of Hilo; the latter was the daughter of *Kalanikaumakaowakea*, the *Moi* of Maui. With her *Keawe* had two sons, *Kalaniniuio-mamao* and *Kekohimoku*.<sup>1</sup> (2.) *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*, his half-sister, as before stated. With her he had *Kalanikee-aumoku*, a son, and *Kekelakekeokalani*, a daughter. (3.) *Kanealae*,<sup>2</sup> a daughter of *Lae*, chief of the eastern parts of

<sup>1</sup> Some genealogies state that *Keawe* and *Lonomaaikanaka* had also a daughter named *Kauhiokaka*; others state that she was the daughter of *Lonomaaikanaka* with a previous husband named *Hulu*. We are inclined to hold with the latter authorities in

this case, for the reason that the chronological necessities of *Kauhiokaka's* descendants require it.

<sup>2</sup> She afterwards became the wife of *Kekaulike*, the *Moi* of Maui, with whom she had a daughter named *Luahiwa*.



Molokai. With her he had *Hao*, *Awili*, *Kumukoa*, sons, and *Kabiloamoku*, a daughter. (4.) *Kauhiokaka*, daughter of *Lonomaaikanaka* and *Hulu*. With her he had a daughter named *Kekaulike*, who became one of the wives of her half-brother *Kalaninuiomamao*, and was the mother of the celebrated *Keawemauhili*, chief of Hilo. *Keawe* had two other wives, though, strange to say, their names have perished from the traditional record. With the one he had two sons, *Ahaua*<sup>1</sup> and *Kaolohaka-a-Keawe*,<sup>2</sup> whose descendants were conspicuous enough in after-history; with the other he had a son, *Kanuha*, who is said to have built the city of refuge, the "*Puu-honua*," known as the *Hale-o-Keawe*, at Honaunau in the South Kona district.

*Kalanikauleleiaiwi*, the half-sister of *Keawe*, had four husbands:—(1.) *Kaulahea*, the *Moi* of Maui. This union must have taken place in her early youth, and tradition is silent as to the causes which led to her leaving *Kaulahea* and returning to Hawaii. With him she had a daughter, *Kekuiapoivanui*, who remained on Maui and became the wife of her half-brother, *Kekaulike*. (2.) *Keawe*, the *Moi* of Hawaii, above referred to. (3.) *Kauaua-a-Mahi*, son of *Mahiolole*, the great Kohala chief. With him she had two sons, *Alapainui* and *Haae*!<sup>3</sup> (4.) *Lonoikaharpu*, one of the tabu chiefs of Kauai, and a descendant of *Kahaku-*

<sup>1</sup> He was one of the husbands of the noted Maui chiefess, *Kaupekamoku*, and father of *Kaiana-a-Ahaua*, who played so prominent a part during the early years of the reign of *Kamehameha I.*, and who was killed in the battle of Nuuanu, Oahu, 1796.

<sup>2</sup> From him descended *Kaikioewa*, the governor of Kauai during portion of the reign of *Kamehameha III.*, and whose daughter *Kuwahine* was mother of *Leleiohoku I.*, governor of Hawaii in 1848. From him also descended *Koakanu*, who was the father of the chiefess *Liliha*, and grandfather of her numerous children, *Abigail*, *Jane Loeau*, *Kailinaoa*, *Koa-*

*kanu*, *Pelekaluhi*, *Mary Ann Kiliwche*, et als., some of whom survive to this day.

<sup>3</sup> I possess one genealogy which asserts that *Haae* was the son of *Kauaua-a-Mahi* and *Kapoomahana*, who was a great-granddaughter of *Kalakauaehu-a-Kama*, one of the sons of *Kamalalawalu* of Maui. I have not been able to decide upon the merits of these two genealogies. The former appears to have been followed by those who claimed descent through *Kamakaheukuli*, the one daughter of *Haae*, while the latter has been followed by those who claim through *Kekuiapoiva II.*, the other daughter of *Haae*.

*makapaweo* through *Ilihiwalani* and *Kealohikanakamai-kai*. With him she had her last and youngest son, *Keawepeepoe*, who was the father of *Keeaumoku-papaiahiahi*, *Kameeamoku*, and *Kamanawa*, who, together with *Keawe-a-Heulu*, were the four principal chiefs that assisted *Kamehameha I.* to conquer and consolidate the group under one dominion, and who became his counsellors and ministers after the conquest. *Lonoikahaupu* afterwards returned to Kauai, and with his Kauai wife, *Kamuokau-mehiwa*, became the great-grandfather of *Kaumualii*, the last independent sovereign of Kauai, of whom the present Queen-consort, *Kapiolani*, is the granddaughter.

Though nothing is positively said in the legends on the subject, yet it may credibly be inferred that during his lifetime *Keawe* had established his eldest son, *Kalaninui-amamao*, as "*Alii-ai-Moku*," principal chief of Kau, and his other son, *Kalanikeeaumoku*, as principal chief of Kona, and probably portions of Kohala, for we find that while both were living in their respective districts a quarrel arose between them, and that *Kalaninuiamamao* was killed, or caused to be killed, by *Kalanikeeaumoku*; <sup>1</sup> and we find further that at *Keawe's* death, *Mokulani*, who ruled over Hilo, Hamakua, and part of Puna districts, declared himself independent of *Kalanikeeaumoku*, who apparently was unable to enforce his claims as *Moi* of Hawaii, but who, nevertheless, claimed lordship over the Kona and Kohala districts. When *Keawe* died, *Alapainui*, the rightful heir of the Kohala district, as representative of the *Mahi* family, was sojourning at the court of *Kekaulike*, the *Moi* of Maui, on a visit to his half-sister *Kekuia-poiwanui*, the wife of *Kekaulike*. Hearing of the troubles on Hawaii, he hastened back to Kohala, assembled the warriors, vassals, and retainers of his house, made war on

<sup>1</sup> One version of the *Kalaninui-amamao* legend states that he was deposed ("Wailana") by the landholders—"Makaainana"—of Kau, who were a notoriously and proverbially turbulent people, frequently deposing, and even slaying, their chiefs, when, either from popular caprice or personal tyranny, they had become unpopular.

*Kalanikeeaumoku* first, who was worsted in battle and slain, and then on *Mokulani*, who shared the same fate. In consequence of these victories *Alapainui* declared himself as *Moi* of Hawaii, and the island submitted to his sway.

Having established himself as sovereign or *Moi* of Hawaii, *Alapainui* assumed the lordship, in his own Alapainui. person, of the Kohala and Kona districts, while, for political reasons, doubtless, the chieftainship of the Hilo district, with its outlying possessions, was retained in the person of *Mokulani's* daughter and only child, *Ululani*, with whom it afterwards passed over to *Keawemauhili*, the son of *Kalaninuiamamao*. The Kau district seems in a measure to have escaped the troubles and changes incident to the interregnum and civil war after *Keawe's* death, for we find that when *Kalaniopuu*, the son of *Kalaninuiamamao*, was grown up, he assumed the lordship of it as his patrimonial estate, and it passed as such from him to his son, *Keoua-Kuahuula*, who retained it until his death in 1791.

While these intestine commotions were occurring on Hawaii, harassing the country people and weakening the power of the chiefs, *Kekaulike*, the *Moi* of Maui, judging the time opportune for a possible conquest of Hawaii, assembled his forces at Mokulau, Kaupo district, Maui, where he had been residing for some time, building the Heiaus Loaloa and Puumakaa at Kumunui, and Kane-malohemo at Popoiwi. When his forces and fleet were ready, *Kekaulike* sailed for the Kona coast of Hawaii, where he harried and burned the coast villages. *Alapainui* was then in Kona, and, assembling a fleet of war canoes, he overtook *Kekaulike* at sea, fought a naval engagement, beat him, and drove him off. Retreating northwards, *Kekaulike* landed in several places, destroying villages in Kekaha, cutting down the cocoa-nut trees at Kawaihae, and plundering and killing along the Kohala coast, and finally returned to Mokulau, Maui, intending to invade Hawaii with a larger force next time.

Hearing of the depredations committed by *Kekaulike* on the Kohala coast, *Alapainui* hurried back to Kohala, and concluded to forestall *Kekaulike* by invading Maui, and thus carry the war home to *Kekaulike's* own dominions. For that purpose all the great feudal chiefs and their vassals were summoned to assemble at Kohala along the shore from Koaie to Puuwepa, with their men and war-canoes, and *Alapainui* established his own headquarters at Kokoike, near Upolu, the north-west point of Hawaii.

It is related of *Alapainui*, that when he obtained the sovereignty of Hawaii, he caused the oldest sons of *Kalaninuiamamao* and of *Kalanikee'aumoku* to be brought to him and kept at his court. The legends say that he did so out of kindness and love to the young chiefs, his near relatives, though it may have been, and possibly was, for political reasons—the keeping them about his person to prevent them from hatching treason and revolt in the provinces. These two chiefs were the afterwards well-known *Kalaniopuu*, Moi of Hawaii at the time of Captain Cook's arrival, and *Kalanikupupuapaikalaninui*, generally known by his shorter name of *Keoua*, who was the father of *Kamehameha I.* But whether from policy or affection—and the two motives are so frequently blended in life—the fact is none the less that these two princes were the nearest and most trusted about the person of *Alapainui* at this time, and for many years subsequent.

*Kamakaimoku* was the mother of these two princes, and a sketch of her life may serve to illustrate the freedom of manners and the liberty of selecting their husbands accorded to chiefesses of high rank during the ancient régime.

*Kamakaimoku's* mother was *Umiula-a-kaahumanu*, a daughter of *Mahiolole*, the frequently referred to Kohala chief, and *Kanekukaailani*, who was a daughter of *I* and *Akahikameenoa*; consequently, according to the Hawaii peerage, she was a cousin to *Alapainui*, and a chiefess of

the highest rank. Her father was *Kuanuuanu*, an Oahu chief, and in her childhood and youth she was brought up by her father on Oahu, her mother having gone back to Hawaii and espoused *Kapahi-a-Ahu-Kane*, the son of *Ahu-a-I*, and a younger brother of *Lonomaaikanaka*, the wife of *Keawe*. With *Kuanuuanu Umiulaakaahumanu* had another child, a son named *Naili*, who remained on Oahu, and followed his father as chief over the Waianae district. With *Kapahi-a-Ahukane* she had a son named *Heulu*, who was the father of *Keawe-a-Heulu*, one of *Kamehameha I.*'s doughty counsellor chiefs, from whom the present dynasty descends in the fourth degree. When grown up, *Kamakaimoku* was seen by *Kalaninuiamamao* on his visit to Oahu, and sent for to be his wife. Living with him at the court of *Keawe*, she bore him a son, *Kalaniopuu*, who afterwards became the *Moi* of Hawaii. This union was not of long duration, for within a year or two she left *Kalaninuiamamao* and became the wife of his brother, *Kalanikeeaumoku*, and to him she bore another son, *Kalanikupupuapaikalaninui Keoua*, the father of *Kamehameha I.* How long she remained with *Kalanikeeaumoku* is not known positively, but she is next referred to as the wife of *Alapainui*, with whom she had a daughter, *Manona*, grandmother of the celebrated *Kekuaokalani*, who, at the abolition of the tabus in 1819, after *Kamehameha's* death, took up arms in defence of the old gods and the old religion.

While *Alapainui* was staying at Kohala superintending the collection of his fleet and warriors from the different districts of the island preparatory to the invasion of Maui, in the month of "*Ikuwa*," corresponding to November of present reckoning, there was born on a stormy night a child whose career in after life so greatly influenced the destiny of the entire group of islands and the conditions of its people. That child was *Kamehameha I.*, and we thus obtain another approximate chronological starting-point, whether counting backward or forward; for when

*Kamehameha* died in 1819 he was past eighty years old. His birth would thus fall between 1736 and 1740, probably nearer the former than the latter. His father was *Kalanikupua-keoua*, the half-brother of *Kalaniopuu* above referred to, and grandson of *Keawe*; his mother was *Kekuiapoiwa II.*, a daughter of *Kekelakekeokalani-a-keawe* and *Haae*, the son of *Kalanikauleleiaiwi* and *Kauaua-a-Mahi*, and brother to *Alapainui*.

It is related of *Kamehameha I.* that on the night of his birth, amidst the din, confusion, and darkness of the storm, he was stolen from his mother's side by a chief called *Naeole*, lord of Halawa in Kohala. At first all search after the missing child proved unsuccessful, but finally he was discovered with *Naeole*, who apparently compromised the affair in some way with the parents; for instead of being punished as a kidnapper, he was allowed to retain the child and become his "kahu" (nurse or guardian), and with him *Kamehameha* remained until he was five years old, when he was taken to *Alapainui's* court and there brought up.

When all the preparations for the invasion of Maui were completed, *Alapainui* set sail with his fleet and landed at Mokulau, in the district of Kaupo on Maui. He met no resistance, but learned that *Kekaulike* had died but a short while previous; that his body had been removed to the sepulchre of Iao in Wailuku, and that *Kamehamehanui*, the son of *Kekaulike* and *Kekuiapoiwa*, had, by orders of the late king, succeeded him as *Moi* of Maui. On hearing this news *Alapainui's* anger relented, and moved by feelings of affection for his sister *Kekuiapoiwa* and his nephew *Kamehamehanui*, he refrained from acts of hostility, and met the young *Moi* and his mother with the rest of the royal family at Kiheipukoa, where peace was concluded and festive reunions took the place of warlike encounters.

While here, tidings arrived from Molokai that *Kapiiohokalani*, the son and successor of *Kualii*, the *Moi* of

Oahu, had invaded the island of Molokai with a large force, and that several of the chiefs there were in great distress, having taken refuge in fortified mountain localities, while their possessions on the lowlands and their fishponds were ravaged and destroyed by the Oahu invaders, who were said to have made their headquarters at Kalamaula and occupied the country from Kaunakakai to Naiwa.

When this intelligence reached *Alapainui*, having no occupation for his army and fleet on Maui, he concluded to go to Molokai to the assistance of the distressed chiefs there; the more so as some of them were his near relatives, being the sons and grandsons of *Keawe* of Hawaii with his Molokai wife, *Kanealai*. Leaving Maui, he crossed the Pailolo channel, and landed his fleet on the Molokai coast from Waiialua to Kaluaaha. Having landed his army, he marched to Kamalo, and at Kapualei he met the forces of *Kapiiohokalani*. An obstinate fight ensued, which lasted for four days, without any decisive result; but as *Kapiiohokalani* retreated to Kawela, it is presumed that he suffered most. On the fifth day the battle was renewed at Kawela, extending as far as Kamiloloa. The Hawaii troops being ranged along the seashore, and the auxiliary Molokai chiefs descending from the uplands with their men, *Kapiiohokalani* was hemmed in between them, and, after a severe fight from morning till far in the afternoon, he was completely routed with great loss of life, and himself slain. Those who escaped from the battle immediately evacuated Molokai and fled back to Oahu.

Among the more illustrious of the Oahu chiefs who partook in this battle under *Kapiiohokalani* were *Kauakahialiiikapu*, *Kuihewakaokoa*, *Kaihiikapu-a-Mahana*, *Kaweloikiakulu*, *Lononuiakea*, who are said to have commanded the left wing of the Oahu army, and *Kahoowahakananuha*, *Kahooalani*, *Hua*, and *Mokokalai*, who commanded the right wing; the centre being commanded by *Kapiiohoka-*

lani in person. *Kalanikupua-keoua* and *Kalaniopuu* commanded under *Alapainui*.

This famous battlefield may still be seen in the place described, where the bones of the slain are the sports of the winds that sweep over that sandy plain, and cover or uncover them, as the case may be. The numerical strength of the two opposing armies is not mentioned in the legends; but to judge from the multitude of bones and the number of skulls that are bleaching in the sun when a strong north wind has removed their sandy covering, the numbers engaged on each side must have been reckoned by thousands.

With rare forbearance in a barbarous chief, *Alapainui* neither annexed Molokai to Hawaii nor covered annexation by the name of protectorate; but reinstated the chiefs who had suffered from *Kapiiohokalani's* oppression, and allowed them to manage their own affairs, domestic or foreign, according to ancient custom. The possible conquest of Oahu, however, the hereditary kingdom of *Kapiiohokalani*, arose as a bright vision on *Alapainui's* mind after the brilliant victory at Kawela, rendered more probable, perhaps, from the number of Oahu chiefs that had been killed in the battle, and the fact that *Kapiiohokalani's* son and successor, *Kanahaokalani*, was but a young boy, some six years old, thus inferring a regency, discord, and weakness in the Oahu government.

Stopping on Molokai only long enough to refresh his men and repair his own losses, *Alapainui* started with his fleet for the conquest of Oahu. Attempting to land at Waikiki, at Waialae, at Koko, and at Hanauma, *Alapainui* found the young Oahu king's regency fully prepared to meet the emergency; and baffled and repelled at all these places, he sailed round the east side of the island and effected a landing at a place called Oneawa, in Kailua, district of Koolaupoko. Though unable to prevent his landing on that side of the island, the Oahu forces, after crossing the Pali of Nuuanu in great haste, succeeded in



limiting the operations of the war to a mere series of skirmishes, thus protracting the contest for nearly a month.

Immediately on the arrival of *Alapainui's* fleet on the coasts of Oahu, messengers were sent to the young king's uncle, *Peleioholani*, who at that time held the sovereignty over the western portion of Kauai, to come to the assistance of the Oahu chiefs. With the least possible delay *Peleioholani* started with a fleet and a number of warriors for Oahu, and joining their forces, took supreme command of the young king and his chiefs.

Among the Oahu chiefs was one *Naili*, chief of Waianae, brother of *Kamakaimoku*,<sup>1</sup> the mother of *Kalaniopuu* and *Keoua*, and a cousin of *Alapainui*. It is not known on whose suggestion he acted, but being so nearly related to the principal Hawaii chiefs, he was considered the fittest man to approach *Alapainui* with overtures of peace. Advancing to the outposts of the Hawaii army in Kaneohe, he encountered *Kalaniopuu* and *Keoua*, and having made himself known to them, they conducted him to the headquarters of *Alapainui* at Waihaikalua, near the shore. He was cordially received, and *Alapai* expressed his willingness to meet and confer with *Peleioholani* with a view of terminating the war. It was agreed that the Hawaii fleet should move to a place called Naonealaa, in Kaneohe, and that *Alapainui* alone should go ashore unarmed, while *Peleioholani* on his part would advance from the lines of his army equally alone and unarmed.

The meeting took place as arranged. The two sove-

<sup>1</sup> It is stated in the legend which I am following that at this time *Kamakaimoku* was living at Waikele, in Ewa district.

It is further intimated in some legends that *Kamakaimoku* had cohabited with *Peleioholani* before she went to Hawaii to be the wife of *Kalaninuiamamao*, and that she was *enceinte* at that time with *Kalaniopuu*,

who was born in Kau, on Hawaii. It may have been so, but the report was probably gotten up by the opponents of *Kamehameha I.*, in the early years after the death of *Kalaniopuu*, when he was contending with *Keoua Kuahuula*, the brother of *Kiwalao*, and son of *Kalaniopuu*, for the supremacy of Hawaii.

reigns met on the beach, and acknowledging each other's rights and dignities, a peace was concluded, and *Alapai* gave orders to evacuate Oahu.

On his return *Alapainui* rested his fleet at Molokai, and after assisting the chiefs there to settle up their affairs and establish friendly relations with those of Maui and Lanai, he sailed for Maui.

Arrived at Lahaina, *Alapainui* was informed that *Kauhiaimokuakama*, also known as *Kauhipumaikahoaka*, the eldest son of the late *Kekaulike* and his wife *Kahawalu*, had risen in arms against the authority of his brother *Kamehamehanui*, whom *Kekaulike* on his death-bed had appointed Moi of Maui. It is said that *Alapainui* offered to mediate between the two brothers, and that if *Kauhi* would meet him at an appointed place, and terms could be agreed upon, then he (*Alapai*) would remove *Kamehamehanui* to Hawaii and leave *Kauhi* in possession of the government of Maui. *Kauhi*, on the advice of his counsellors, rejected the offer, thinking it was a ruse to get him in *Alapai's* power, and in answer made a furious attack on *Kamehamehanui's* forces in Lahaina, defeated and dispersed them, and obliged *Kamehamehanui* to flee on board of *Alapai's* fleet for safety.

*Alapai*, not feeling ready for a new war after the losses sustained in the various battles on Molokai and on Oahu, returned to Hawaii to prepare a fresh force for the war with *Kauhi*, and took *Kamehamehanui* with him to Hawaii.

In the following year, say 1738, *Alapainui* returned to Maui with a large fleet, well equipped, accompanied by *Kamehamehanui*. With headquarters at Lahaina, his forces extended from Ukumehame to Honokawai. Meanwhile *Kauhi* had not been idle during the absence of *Alapai*. Besides his own forces and the chiefs that adhered to him, he had sent presents and messages to *Peleioholani*, now king of Oahu, to come to his assistance, which that restless and warlike prince accepted, and

landing his fleet at Kekaha, encamped his soldiers about Honolua and Honokahua.

It is said that *Alapai* proceeded with great severity against the adherents of *Kauhi* in Lahaina, destroying their taro patches and breaking down the watercourses out of the Kauaula, Kanaha, and Mahoma valleys.

Though details of this war are not given in the legend, yet the following facts may be gathered from scattered passages, viz., that *Alapai* arrived at Lahaina with his fleet before *Peleioholani* had landed at Kekaha; that *Kauhi*, being unable to cope alone with the large force under *Alapainui*, retreated to the uplands and ravines back of Lahaina, where he was kept in check by a corps of observation; that *Peleioholani*, after landing and finding *Kauhi* in this position, resolved to march to his relief, and by engaging *Alapai's* forces in a general battle, enable *Kauhi* to descend and form a junction with his Oahu allies.

To this effect *Peleioholani* advanced to Honokawai, where he found a detachment of *Alapai's* army, which he overthrew and drove back with great loss to Keawawa. Here they rallied upon the main body of the Hawaii troops. The next morning *Alapai* had moved up his whole force, and a grand battle was fought between the Oahu and Hawaii armies. The fortune of the battle swayed back and forth from Honokawai to near into Lahaina; and to this day heaps of human bones and skulls, half buried in various places in the sand, attest the bitterness of the strife and the carnage committed. The result was probably a drawn battle, for it is related that, after great losses on both sides, the two kings—*Alapainui* and *Peleioholani*—met on the battlefield, and, instead of coming to blows, they saluted each other, and, considering their mutual losses on behalf of others, they made a peace between themselves and renewed the treaty of Naonealaa on Oahu.

*Kauhiaimokuakama* was captured during this battle, and it is said that he was killed by drowning by order of *Alapai*. No other opposition being made to *Kamehamehanui*, he resumed the position of *Moi* of *Maui*, which he held to his death, several years afterwards.

After this *Peleiokolani* returned to *Oahu*, stopping first on the *Koolau* side of *Molokai*, and *Alapainui* returned to *Hawaii*.

Having achieved fame and consideration by his foreign expeditions, *Alapai* now occupied himself with the affairs of his own island, making frequent circuits and visiting the different districts; and when not thus occupied he resided with his court at *Hilo*. Nothing appears to have troubled the peace and tranquillity of his reign until about the year 1752.

During said year *Kalanikupua Keoua*, the half-brother of *Kalaniopuu* and father of *Kamehameha I.*, died after a severe illness at *Piopia*, near *Wailoa* in *Waiakea*, *Hilo* district. *Kalaniopuu* was then at *Kalepolepo*, and rumours having been circulated attributing the death of *Keoua* to *Alapai*—whether by praying to death or by direct poisoning is not stated, but the superstition of the times made such rumours possible, and the arbitrary rule of the chiefs made them probable to credulous minds—*Kalaniopuu* resolved to abduct *Kamehameha* from the surveillance and grasp of *Alapai*. The legend leaves the guilt or innocence of *Alapai* an open question, and posterity possesses too few data to pronounce a definite verdict in the matter. On the one hand, the social conditions and customs of the times, as well as the personal precedents of *Alapainui*, would seem to support the charge. It was no uncommon event in those days for a chief to disembarrass himself of an obnoxious and powerful vassal, against whom open force or other violence would be unadvisable, by the process of praying to death, "*Anaana*," or by secret poisoning, "*Akuahana*;" and as late as thirty years ago, the belief was

common that if a person died suddenly in the prime of life, without any known cause of death, he had either been prayed to death or poisoned by secret enemies; and the belief still lingers in many quarters where none would expect it, and divinations and counter-prayers are resorted to in place of blisters and aperients. It was known, moreover, that the father of *Keoua* had been killed in battle by *Alapainui*, when, after *Keawe's* death, both were contending for the sovereignty of Hawaii, and the fate that befell the father might, with some show of reason, be apprehended for the son. On the other hand, the personal character and conduct of *Alapainui* would go far towards his acquittal. He was always known, and in after years quoted, as a most affectionate parent and kinsman, and the solicitude and care with which he brought up the young chiefs *Kalaniopuu* and *Keoua*, and employed them about his person in the most confidential and important positions for so many years, would seem to indicate that he entertained no suspicion of them, and harboured no ill-will towards them. On the whole, we are inclined to deal gently with the memory of *Alapainui*, and are prone to believe that *Kalaniopuu* gave but too willing an ear to the advice of his Kahu, named *Puna*, and to the tales of those restless spirits to whom peace and good order had become irksome, and who, even in savage courts, indulge in intrigues for selfish ends and foment strife in hopes of change.

Whether *Kalaniopuu* really believed or affected to believe that his own life was threatened, he deemed it advisable to withdraw the young *Kamehameha* from the court of *Alapai*. He laid his plans accordingly, and going by land, accompanied by his young half-brother *Keawemauhili* and a few trusty followers, he dispatched a large war-canoe under command of *Puna* to meet him at an appointed place, in order to take his party on board, should they be pursued. *Kalaniopuu* arrived that night at Piopio, and found most of the prominent chiefs, then

residing with the court at Hilo, assembled at the house of *Keoua* for the purpose of wailing over the corpse. *Kalaniopuu* attempted to bring away the young *Kamehameha*, but was opposed and frustrated in his design by the other chiefs present, and a fight ensued, from which *Kalaniopuu* escaped on board of his war-canoe.

The revolt of *Kalaniopuu* was no longer doubtful. Forces were gathered on both sides, and a civil war commenced. Several battles were fought—at Paieie near Puaaloo, at Kualoa, at Mokaulele, and at Mahinaakaka, at which latter place *Kalaniopuu* narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. After that *Kalaniopuu* retreated to Kau, where he was born, declared himself independent of *Alapainui* and sovereign (Moi) of the Puna and Kau districts as the heir of *Kalaninuiamamao*, to whom they appear to have been allotted by his grandfather *Keawe*.

For reasons that have not come down to our day, *Alapainui* made no further attempts to subdue his contumacious kinsman and vassal, but remained for upwards of a year at Hilo, apparently unconcerned at the defection of one-third of his kingdom. He then removed to Waipio in Hamakua, the cherished residence of *Lilooa* and the ancient Hawaii Moie. Having remained here for some time, he proceeded to Waimea and Kawaihae in Kohala. At this latter place he sickened, and died at Kikiakoi some time in the year 1754, having previously bequeathed his power and dignity as Moie of Hawaii to his son *Keaweopala*.

*Alapainui*, according to the custom among great chiefs, had several wives, the principal one among whom, however, was *Keaka*, the mother of *Keaweopala*. Another wife was *Kamakaimoku*, previously referred to. She was the mother of a daughter, *Manona*, who became the grandmother of *Kekuaokalani*, the cousin of *Liholiho Kamehameha II.*, and the defender of the ancient religion when the tabus were abolished. Another wife was *Kamaau*,

with whom *Alapai* had two children, *Kauwaa*,<sup>1</sup> a daughter, and *Mahiua*, a son.

In the allotment of lands among the chiefs and members of the deceased *Moi*'s family—which, since the time of *Keawenui-a-umi*, appears to have become a custom on the death of a *Moi*—*Keeaumoku*, surnamed *Papaiaaheahe*, a son of *Keawepoepoe*, who was a uterine brother of *Alapainui*, became dissatisfied with his allotment and retired to *Kekaha*, where he commenced open rebellion against *Keaweopala*. The latter promptly sent an armed *Keaweopala*. force forced against him and drove him off from the land, and obliged him to seek refuge at sea on board of his canoes. In this extremity *Keeaumoku* fled to *Kalaniopuu* for succour and shelter. On learning the death of *Alapainui* and the disposition made of the government, *Kalaniopuu* had collected his forces and started from *Kau* to contest the sovereignty of *Hawaii* with *Keaweopala*. Arrived at *Honomalino* in *South Kona*, he there met the vanquished *Keeaumoku*, and, joining their forces and fleets, proceeded to the northward. *Keaweopala*, advised of the movements and designs of *Kalaniopuu*, hastened from *Waimea*, and, crossing the "Aamoku" and passing by the "Ahua-a-Umi," he descended in *Kona* and met *Kalaniopuu* between *Kei* and *Honaunau*. The battle that ensued is said to have continued for several days, owing partly to the ruggedness of the ground and the obstinate valour of the combatants, and the issue was for a long time uncertain. Finally *Kalaniopuu* won the day; *Keaweopala* was slain, and his adherents acknowledged the new *Moi* of *Hawaii*.

It is related that when the battle was at the hottest and

<sup>1</sup> *Kauwaa* married *Nahili*, and had two daughters: *Alapai*, who was married to the late *John Young Keoniana*, son of *John Young* and *Kaoanaha*, and Premier during the reign of *Kamehameha III.*, and uncle to the present Queen Dowager *Emma R. Kateleonalani*. The other daughter was *Kaulunae*, who married *Kanehiwa*, and was the mother of a son, *Lipoa*, and a daughter, *Julia Moemalie*.

the issue most doubtful, *Holoae*,<sup>1</sup> the Kahuna or priest of *Kalaniopuu*, informed him that the only means of obtaining victory was to kill *Kaakau*, the priest of *Keaweopala*, whose prayers and powers prolonged the contest. Acting on the advice, *Kaakau* was singled out in the battle by *Kalaniopuu's* soldiers and slain, after which the victory soon was won.

*Keaweopala* is known to have had two wives; one was *Keoua*, with whom he had a daughter, *Peleuli*; the other was *Kaukuhakuonana*,<sup>2</sup> with whom he had two sons, *Kanehiwa* and *Kuapuu*.

*Kalaniopuu* was now sole sovereign of Hawaii, and, at the usual redistribution of lands at his accession, apparently all were satisfied or none dared to resist. For several years afterwards he occupied himself diligently in reorganising the affairs of the state, augmenting the warlike resources of the island, building war-canoes, collecting arms, &c., and his own and the neighbouring islands enjoyed a season of rest from foreign and domestic strife and warfare.

*Kalaniopuu.*

But *Kalaniopuu* was ambitious of fame in his island world by warlike exploits and by enlarging his domain with the acquisition of neighbouring territory. Possibly also he may have been moved by reasons of policy, such as finding occupation abroad for the young and restless chiefs with whom every district abounded. Suddenly, therefore, he concentrated his forces and war-canoes at Kohala, and, without previous rupture of peace or declaration of war, he invaded Maui, where *Kamehamehanui* then ruled as *Moi*, and made a descent in the Hana district. Little or no resistance was offered, and in a short time he

<sup>1</sup> *Holoae* was of the *Paa* race of Kahunas and descended from him. He was the great-grandfather of the late *Luahine*, who was the wife of *Kaoleioku*, the oldest son of *Kamehameha I.*, and grandmother of the present Hon. Mrs. C. R. Bishop.

<sup>2</sup> *Kanehiwa* married *Kaulunae*, who was the granddaughter of *Alapainui*, and mother of the late *Lipoa* and *Julia Moemalie*, both of Honolulu. *Kanepuu* was the grandfather of the late *Kamaipuu*.



possessed himself of the two valuable districts of Hana and Kipahulu, as well as the celebrated fort on Kauwiki Hill overlooking the harbour of Hana. The date of this invasion is approximately, and probably correctly, fixed at 1759.

*Kalaniopuu* appointed *Puna*—the same who counselled him to revolt against *Alapainui*—as governor over the conquered districts; and a number of Hawaii chiefs were placed in various positions, and endowed with lands, both in Hana and Kipahulu. Satisfied with the success of his campaign, *Kalaniopuu* then returned to Hawaii.

But *Kamehamehanui*, though taken by surprise by the invasion of East Maui by *Kalaniopuu*, was not a man to yield to such a usurpation and affront without an effort to recover the lost districts. Carefully and thoroughly he made his preparations, collecting his forces from Maui, and strengthening himself with a number of auxiliaries drawn from the neighbouring islands of Molokai and Lanai, under well-known and valiant chiefs. Conspicuous among the former were *Kaohela*,<sup>1</sup> *Kaolohaka-a-keawe*, *Awili*, *Kumukoa*, and *Kapooloku*; among the latter were *Namakeha*, *Kalaimanuia*, and *Kealiiia*. With these forces *Kamehamehanui* set out for Hana and laid siege to the fort on Kauwiki. Several battles were fought with the Hawaii army under *Puna*, especially at Makaolehua and at Akiala, where the Maui forces were victorious, and in which the valour of *Kaohelani* is greatly extolled. The fort of Kauwiki, however, withstood all attempts to take it, and, after a prolonged and unsuccessful siege, *Kamehamehanui* withdrew his forces, and left Hana in possession of *Kalaniopuu*, while *Puna* remained as its governor and chief; and it does not appear that *Kamehamehanui* again attempted to drive the

<sup>1</sup> *Kaohelani* was the brother of through his daughter *Kamai*, was *Kawau(k)* and *Kaonaia(k)*, chiefs the great-grandfather of the author's of Kalapapa, Molokai. *Kaonaia*, wife.

Hawaiians out of Hana. In the native legends this campaign is called the war of "Kapalipilo."

Suspension of hostilities, if not peace, between Maui and Hawaii obtained for several years after this abortive attempt to recapture the fort of Kauwiki. During this interval not many noteworthy events transpired, at least none are related, except the displacement of *Puna* as governor of Hana and commander of the important fort of Kauwiki, and the appointment of *Mahihelelima* in his place. This change was effected by a *ruse* practised upon *Puna* by *Mahihelelima*, but it was afterwards confirmed by *Kalaniopuu*.

Another event during this interval was the revolt and escape and subsequent adventures of *Keeaumoku*, the son of *Keaweopoe*, the same who, on the death of *Alapainui*, had rebelled against *Keaweopala* and joined *Kalaniopuu*. The cause of his defection from the latter is not stated. Revolt and turbulence seem to have been his natural element until age cooled his temper, and the conquest of the group by *Kamehameha I.* deprived conspirators of the support and aid they formerly had found in the neighbouring islands. However, it happened *Keeaumoku* rose in revolt against *Kalaniopuu*, and intrenched himself at the fort of *Pohakuomane*, between *Pololu* and *Honokane*, in North *Kohala*. When informed of the revolt of *Keeaumoku*, *Kalaniopuu* crossed the mountains with an adequate force, took the fort by assault, extinguished the rebellion, but missed the arch-rebel; for *Keeaumoku* escaped over the *Pali*, reached the shore, and obtaining a canoe, was safely landed on *Maui*, where, on account of his mother, *Kumaiku*—of the *Maui* line of chiefs—he was hospitably received by *Kamehamehanui* and the great chiefs of that house.

After the death of *Kamehamehanui*, which happened about 1765, *Keeaumoku* took one of his widows for wife. This lady was *Namahana*, daughter of *Kekaulike* and his wife

*Haalou*, and consequently half-sister of the deceased king and of his brother and successor, *Kahekili*. The latter was greatly displeased with the match, possibly considering his brother's widows as his own special inheritance, and looking upon the intrusion of *Keeaumoku* as an act of rebellion and hostility towards himself.

At that time the large and fertile land of Waihee was in the possession of *Namahana*, and here she and her new husband took up their abode. They appear to have kept court in princely style, and thither gathered many of the gay and restless spirits of the time, besides her mother, *Haalou*, and her brothers, *Kekauhiwamoku* and *Kauhiwawaono*. Several Molokai chiefs whom *Peleioholani*, the Oahu king, had despoiled of their lands and driven out of the island, had also found refuge and entertainment at *Namahana's* court in Waihee, among whom are mentioned by name *Kumukoa*, the son of *Keawe* of Hawaii, who at that time must have been considerably aged.

While this brilliant assembly were passing their time at Waihee, *Kahekili* had come over the mountain from Lahaina and was holding his court at Pihana and at Paukukalo in Wailuku, and the ill-will which the marriage of *Keeaumoku* and *Namahana* had engendered soon found an occasion to show itself.

Among the subordinate landholders in Waihee, occupying a subdivision of land called Kaapoko, was a warrior named *Kahanana*. For some reason, now unexplained, this *Kahanana* had frequently been neglected when the chief of Waihee distributed fish, after fortunate catches, among the subordinates and warriors living on the land. Incensed at what he considered a studied neglect and insult, *Kahanana* donned his feather cape—the *Ahuula*—and his helmet—the *Mahiole*—and went in the night to Nuikukahi in Waiehu and killed three men belonging to *Keeaumoku*. An *emeute* arose, sides were taken, and the *Kahanana* party being supported by *Kahekili*, a general fight ensued, in which *Keeaumoku* and the Waihee

party maintained their ground for some days, but were eventually overmatched, beaten, and obliged to flee. This battle is known in the regions as the battle of "*Kalailili*."

The Waihee coterie of chiefs having thus been broken up, some fled over the Lanilili spur of the Eka mountains into the Kaanapali district. Among these were *Keeaumoku*, his wife *Namahana*, her mother *Haalou*, and her brothers *Kekuamanoha* and *Kauhiwawaeono*, and at Kaanapali they embarked for Molokai. But the hot anger of *Kahekili* pursued the fugitives. Invading Molokai, he engaged *Keeaumoku* and his Molokai allies in a sea-fight, was again victorious, and *Keeaumoku* fled to Hana, where *Mahihelelima*, the governor under *Kalaniopuu*, received him and his wife and entertained them at Kauwiki. The naval engagement just referred to is in the native legend called the battle of "*Kalauonakukui*."

At Kauwiki *Keeaumoku* appears to have found a short repose in his turbulent career, at least he is not heard of again for some years. It is probable that he made his peace with *Kalaniopuu* and was permitted to remain at Hana, where the afterwards so famous *Kaahumanu*, wife of *Kamehameha I.*, was born in 1768.

Again several years pass by, of which the native legends make no mention, *Kalaniopuu* still holding portions of the Hana district on Maui and the great fort of Kauwiki; but about the year 1775 the war between Hawaii and Maui broke out again.

The Hawaii forces at Hana, apparently under the command of *Kalaniopuu* in person, had made an incursion or raid in the Kaupo district, which still acknowledged the rule of *Kahekili*. Taken by surprise and unprepared, the Kaupo people suffered great destruction of property, cruelty, and loss of life at the hands of the Hawaii soldiers; and the expedition is called in the legends the war of "*Kalaeohoa*," from the fact that the captives were

unmercifully beaten on their heads by the war-clubs of the Hawaii troops.

When *Kahekali* heard of this fresh irruption into his domain, he immediately sent two detachments of soldiers, under the command of *Kaneolaelae*, to the support and relief of the Kaupo people. A sanguinary battle ensued between the Hawaii and Maui forces near the point of land called "Kalaeokailio." *Kalaniopuu's* army was utterly routed and pursued to their fleet, which was lying under lee of the said point of land, and barely a remnant escaped on board and returned to Hana. After this severe repulse *Kalaniopuu* went back to Hawaii, determined to make preparations for a fresh invasion that would prove irresistible.

Among the warriors on the Hawaii side in this battle of "Kalaeakailio" the legends make honourable mention of the valour of *Kekuhaupio*, whose fame as a warrior chief stood second to none of his time, and of *Kamehameha*, afterwards so famous in history, and who on that occasion gallantly supported *Kekuhaupio* and rescued him from inevitable capture.

A whole year was consumed by *Kalaniopuu* in preparing for the next war with Maui. Six army corps or brigades were organised, and became known by the names of *I*, *Ahu*, *Mahi*, *Palena*, *Luahine*, and *Paia*; the members of the royal family were formed into a life-guard, called *Keawe*; and the *Alii-ai-alo*—the nobles who had the privilege of eating at the same table with the *Moi*—composed two regiments called *Alapa* and *Piipi*.

While thus preparing material resources, *Kalaniopuu* was not forgetful of his duties to the god whom he acknowledged and whose aid he besought. This god was *Kaili*—pronounced fully "*Ku-kaili-moku*"—who, from the days of *Liloa*, and probably before, appears to have been the special war-god of the Hawaii Mois. To ensure the favour of this god, he repaired and put in

good order the Heiaus called "*Ohiamukumuku*" at Kahlalu, and "*Keikepuipui*" at Kailua, in the Kona district, and the high-priest *Holoae* was commanded to maintain religious services and exert all his knowledge and power to accomplish the defeat and death of the Maui sovereign.

*Kahekili*, the Maui king, was well informed of the preparations of *Kalaniopuu*, and in order not to be outdone by the latter in reference to the spiritual powers, and there being apparently no high-priest on Maui at the time of adequate celebrity and power to cope with the Hawaii high-priest *Holoae*, he sent to Oahu and prevailed upon *Kaleopuupuu*, the high-priest of *Peleioholani*—and who after *Peleioholani's* death appears not to have been employed in that capacity by his successors—to come to Maui and take charge of the religious rites and magical processes whereby to counteract the incantations and powers of the Hawaii high-priest. This *Kaleopuupuu* stood high in the Hawaiian priesthood, being a descendant of *Kaekae*, *Maliu*, and *Malea*, the foreign priests whom *Paumakua* of Oahu is said to have brought with him on his return from foreign voyages about seven hundred years previously. Following his instructions, *Kahekili* repaired and consecrated the Heiau called "*Kaluli*" at Puuohala on the north side of Wailuku, and was greatly comforted by the assurances of *Kaleopuupuu* that the Hawaii forces would be caught like fish in a net—  
 " *Ua komo ka ia i ka makaha ua puni i ka nae.*"

In 1776 *Kalaniopuu* embarked his forces and landed them without resistance in the Honuaula district, from Keonioio to Makena. Plunder and spoliation marked his arrival, and the country people fled to the woods and mountain ravines for shelter. Taking part of his forces around by water, *Kalaniopuu* landed again at Kiheipukoa, near the Kealia or salt marsh between Kalepolepo and Maalaea. The landing being effected early in the day, it was resolved to push forward at once, and "On to

Wailuku!" where *Kahekili* was residing, became the war-cry of the day. The detachment or regiment known as the *Alapa*, mustering eight hundred men, was selected for this hazardous expedition, and with high courage they started across the isthmus of Kamaomao, now known as the Waikapu common, determined, as the legend says, "to drink the waters of the Wailuku that day." This regiment was considered the bravest and best of *Kalaniopuu's* army, every man in its ranks being a member of "*la haute noblesse*" of Hawaii. They are said to have all been of equal stature and their spears of equal length; and the legend represents their appearance—with their feather cloaks reflecting the sunshine and the plumes of their helmets tossing in the wind—as a gorgeous and magnificent spectacle.

Little did this gallant troop apprehend the terrible fate that awaited them. Little did *Kalaniopuu* know the wily warrior with whom he was contending. Offering no resistance to the enemy while crossing the common, *Kahekili* distributed his forces in various directions on the Wailuku side of the common, and fell upon the Hawaii *corps d'armée* as it was entering among the sand-hills south-east of Kalua, near Wailuku. After one of the most sanguinary battles recorded in Hawaiian legends, and deeds of valour that await but another Tennyson, the gallant and devoted *Alapa* were literally annihilated; only two out of the eight hundred escaped alive to tell *Kalaniopuu* of this Hawaiian Balaclava, and the only prisoner brought alive to *Kahekili* was *Keawe-hano*, a chief of Hilo, and he died of his wounds before he could be sacrificed at the Heiau by the victors. This battle is called the "*Ahulau ka piipii i Kakanilua.*"

When, in the evening of that day, the news of the battle was brought to *Kalaniopuu* at Kiheipukoa, where he and the royal family and the main body of his army were encamped, consternation and sorrow filled his mind at the loss of his gallant eight hundred. A council of

war was called in the night, at which the following chiefs are said to have assisted:—*Keawemauhili*, half-brother of *Kalaniopuu*; *Kalanimanookahoowaha*, a scion of the *Iuahine* family of Kohala;<sup>1</sup> *Keawe-a-Heulu*, of the great *I* family, and also called in the legend a scion of *Imakakaloa* of Puna; *Nuruanu*, from Naalehu in Kau; *Naeole*,<sup>2</sup> a scion of the *Wahilani* family in Kohala; *Kanekoa*,<sup>3</sup> from Waimea; *Nanuekaleiopu*, from Hamakua; *Kameewiamoku* and *Kamanawa*,<sup>4</sup> the twin children of *Keawepoepoe*; *Kekuhaupio*, a relation and son-in-law of the high-priest *Holoae*; besides the sons and relatives of *Kalaniopuu*.

In that council it was resolved to march the entire army on Wailuku the following day, and, by a bold attack, retrieve the fortunes of the previous day.

*Kahekili* had not been idle during the night. Distributing his own forces and the auxiliary Oahu troops, under the Oahu king, *Kahahana*,<sup>5</sup> among the sandhills, from Waikapu to Wailuku, which skirt that side of the common, and stationing a reserve force at the turn of the Waikapu stream, he awaited the approach of the enemy coming from the Kealia saltponds. Long and severe was the contest, but again the Hawaii army was beaten

<sup>1</sup> The *Iuahine* family in Kohala, to which *Keaka*, the wife of *Alapainui*, belonged, is said to be descended from *Keakealanikane*, the grandson of *Keawe-Nui-a-Umi*.

<sup>2</sup> The same that stole *Kamehameha I.* away from his mother on the night of his birth.

<sup>3</sup> He was son of *Kalanikeeumoku*, the son of *Keawe*, Moi of Hawaii. His mother was a lady called *Kailakanoa*.

<sup>4</sup> In more than one legend *Kameeiamoku* and *Kamanawa* are called the tabued twin children of *Kekaulike*, and half-brothers of *Kahekili*; but all the genealogies that I have had access to represent them as the sons of *Keawepoepoe* and *Kanoena*; the former a son of *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*

and her Kauai husband *Lonoikahau*; the latter a daughter of *Lonoanahulu*, of the great *Ehu* family. It is not easy to tell whether the legends or the genealogies are correct. The former frequently give the *chronique scandaleuse* of their time, either directly or by innuendo; the latter are generally such as the parties themselves, or their descendants, wished to be understood as a fact, and so handed down to posterity.

<sup>5</sup> He was a relative of *Kahekili* on his mother's side, and had been elected Moi of Oahu by the Oahu chiefs after they had deposed *Kumahana*, the son of *Peleioholani*, about 1773.



back with fearful slaughter; but, although victorious, the battle must have cost *Kahekili* dearly, for it is not mentioned that the pursuit of the fleeing remnant of *Kalaniopuu's* army was ever very close or long protracted.

In this extremity *Kalaniopuu* proposed to send his wife, *Kalola*, who was own sister to *Kahekili*,<sup>1</sup> as an ambassador to solicit peace and personal safety. *Kalola*, however, refused to go, distrusting the temper of her victorious brother, and alleging to *Kalaniopuu* that she feared for her own life, inasmuch as this had been a war of devastation and conquest (“*Kaua hulia mahi*”), and not characterised by princely courtesy; but in her turn she proposed that *Kalaniopuu's* son, *Kiwalao*, the nephew of *Kahekili* and the tabued heir of *Kalaniopuu*, should be sent with *Kameeiamoku* and *Kamanawa*, to soothe the temper of *Kahekili*, and obtain the most favourable terms possible.

The advice was acted on, and, dressed up with all the royal insignia of his rank, and accompanied by *Kameeiamoku* and *Kamanawa*, the former carrying the chief's *Ipu-kuha*, and the latter his *Kahili*, *Kiwalao* proceeded to Wailuku. The proclamation of his heralds and the insignia of his rank passed him safely through the ranks of the Maui soldiers, who, according to custom, prostrated themselves at the approach of so high a chief.

When it was reported to *Kahekili*, who was reposing at “*Kalanihale*,” in Wailuku, that *Kiwalao* was approaching, he is said to have turned round on the mat, face upward;<sup>2</sup> a sign of kindly intentions and good-humour.

On entering the house, *Kiwalao* went direct to where *Kahekili* was reposing, and sat down on his lap. They saluted each other, and wailed according to custom. When the wailing was over, *Kameeiamoku* and *Kamanawa*,

<sup>1</sup> She was daughter of *Kekaulike* and *Kekuiapoiwanui*, the parents of *Kahekili*, *Kamehamehanui*, and a daughter named *Kuhoohihipahu*.

<sup>2</sup> “*Iluna ke alo.*” A contrary position, “*Ilaalo ke alo,*” would have been the certain death-warrant of *Kiwalao*.

according to the etiquette of the time, crawled up ("*Kokolo*") to *Kahekili* and kissed his hands. *Kivalao* being too high a chief to commence the conversation, the negotiations were opened by *Kahekili*. The conditions of peace are not mentioned, but *Kalaniopuu* and *Kahekili* met afterwards, and a peace was concluded, whereupon *Kalaniopuu* returned to Hawaii.

The defeat and humiliation of *Kalaniopuu* in this last campaign rankled deep in his mind, and hardly a year had elapsed after his return to Hawaii before we find him afloat again with a large force, carrying war and desolation into *Kahekili's* dominions. His first descent on Maui was at Mokolau, in the Kaupo district, where the inhabitants were plundered and ill-treated. On hearing of this new invasion, *Kahekili* sent troops to Kaupo, and apparently cleared the country of the invaders, for it is said that *Kalaniopuu* left Kaupo, and made his next descent on the island of Kahoolawe, and, not finding much booty there, steered for Lahaina, whither *Kahekili* and the Oahu auxiliaries hastened to oppose him. After some partial successes, *Kalaniopuu* attempted to take a fortified place called Kahili, between Kauaula and Kanaha, where the chiefs of Lahaina had taken refuge; but failing in the assault, and being repulsed with considerable loss, he embarked his force and landed on Lanai.

During this campaign at Lahaina we first meet with the name of *Keaulumoku*,<sup>1</sup> the great bard and prophet, who at that time was following *Kahahana*, the Oahu king, whom he afterwards left and went to Hawaii, where he was received at the court of *Kalaniopuu*. Some time after the death of the latter, *Keaulumoku* composed the famous chant, "*Hau-i-Kalani*," describing the horrors of the civil war then desolating the island of Hawaii, and prophesying the success and glory of *Kamehameha I*.

*Kalaniopuu* ravaged the island of Lanai thoroughly, and

<sup>1</sup> *Keaulumoku* was the son of *Kauakahiakua*, a cousin of *Kekaulike*, king of Maui. His mother was a lady from Naohaku, Hamakua, Hawaii.

the Lanai chiefs, unable to oppose him, retreated to a fortified place called "Hookio," inland from Maunalei. But being short of provisions, and their water supply having been cut off, the fort was taken by *Kalaniopuu*, and the chiefs were killed. This Lanai expedition is remembered by the name of *Kamokuhi*.

From Lanai *Kalaniopuu* proceeded with his fleet and army up the Pailolo channel, between Molokai and Maui, touching at Honokohau, where provisions were obtained. Then, rounding Kahakuloa, he stood to the eastward, and landed at Hamakualoa, on Maui, where he plundered the country, and committed fearful barbarities on the people, until *Kahekili* came to their support with his forces, and, after several encounters, drove *Kalaniopuu* on board of his fleet. Foiled in Hamakualoa, *Kalaniopuu* made his next descent in the Koolau district, committing similar depredations and barbarities there. While there, he was joined by *Mahihelelima*, the Hawaii governor of the adjoining Hana district, with a select force of warriors, and being thus enabled to rally and hold his ground against *Kahekili*, he again attempted the invasion of Hamakualoa, where the war was protracted, with varying success, for several months.

It was during the early part of this campaign of 1778 that the English discovery ships "Resolution" and "Discovery," under command of Captain James Cook, arrived at these islands. The subject of his discovery, his communications with the natives, and his violent death, may as well be discussed in this place as in any other. They form an epoch in the history of the group, and their consequences, reacting on the destiny and development of this and other Polynesian groups, amount almost to a revolution, as unique as it is instructive, in the history of mankind. One hundred years have passed since that memorable event, and yet there linger a few persons on the various islands who were born before Cook arrived, and who have witnessed the stupendous changes that

have occurred since then; and the children and grandchildren of many of those who took a part in the scenes then transacted, and who heard the tale of the arrival and death of "Lono" from the lips of then living witnesses; are still alive, or have left their memoirs of that time in writing.

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The objects of Captain Cook's voyage of discovery are well known, and need not be repeated here. The question has arisen, and been in some measure discussed—Whether Captain Cook was aware of the existence of the Hawaiian group from information received from Spanish authorities, and looked for it on purpose to find or rediscover it, or whether he was entirely ignorant of its existence, and thus by merest accident discovered it?

There can be no doubt that in the early part of the sixteenth century shipwrecked Spaniards arrived at the Hawaiian Islands, as already stated on page 106, &c., and I think that various evidences, set forth in the "North Pacific Pilot," London, 1870, and in the document from the Colonial Office in Spain, procured at the solicitation of the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1866—both published in "The Friend," Honolulu, October 1873—will satisfy the majority of those who take an interest in the matter that the Hawaiian group was discovered in 1555 by Juan Gaetano, a Spaniard sailing from the coast of New Spain to the Spice Islands.<sup>1</sup> And we will, in the sequel, attempt to show that it is extremely probable that other Spanish vessels besides that of Gaetano passed by or through the Hawaiian Archipelago on their way to or from Manilla.

But if the priority of the discovery, as a fact, must be conceded to the Spaniards, yet the credit of the rediscovery, as an act tending to enlarge the knowledge of mankind, and extend the area of civilised and Christian

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. 3.

activity, must be awarded to Captain Cook. The Spaniards knew of the existence of the Hawaiian group, but they buried that knowledge in their logbooks and archives, and it was as barren of results to themselves as to others. Cook gave the world the benefit of his discovery, and in the fulness of time added another star to the family group of civilised peoples.

In attempting to reproduce a correct narrative of Captain Cook's discovery of, visit to, and intercourse with the Hawaiian Islands, I have taken due heed of what has been written on the subject by himself and by Captain King in their journal of "A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean," printed by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, 1784, as well as of what has been written by others; but as I am not writing a history of Captain Cook, but a history of the Hawaiian group, I have also consulted the Hawaiian reminiscences of that memorable event, as handed down to still living children or grandchildren by those who figured more or less prominently at the lifting of the curtain in January 1778 on Kauai, and at the close of the drama in February 1779 on Hawaii. The one story in several instances supplements the other; and in some cases where the two differ, and, from ignorance of the language and the people, Captains Cook and King were misled as to facts, the Hawaiian version gives a more natural, and consequently a more probably correct, account of the transaction.

On the 8th of December 1777, Captain Cook, with H.B.M. ships "Resolution" and "Discovery," left the island of Bolabola, Society group, bound to the north-west coast of America. Before leaving he had inquired of the natives if any land or islands known to them existed to the north or north-west, and was told that they knew of none.<sup>1</sup> Standing up through the south-east trades, he discovered Christmas Island, lat.  $1^{\circ} 58' N.$ , long.  $157^{\circ} 32' W.$ , on the 24th of December. Leaving that island

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 180.

on the 2d January 1778, steering to the north, he discovered on the 18th January the island of Oahu, bearing north-east by east, and soon after saw the island of Kauai, bearing north. On the 19th January, at sunrise, Oahu bore east several leagues distant, and he therefore stood for the other island seen the day before, and not long after discovered a third island, Niihau, bearing west-north-west. When approaching the east side of Kauai several canoes came off, and a barter of bits of iron for hogs and vegetables commenced. Speaking of the appearance of the natives Cook says :<sup>1</sup>—“ There was little difference in the casts of their colour, but a considerable variation in their features, some of their visages not being very unlike those of Europeans.” Coasting along the south-east side of the island, he saw several villages, some near the sea, others more inland. Standing off and on during the night, Cook again approached the land on the 20th of January, when several canoes came off filled with people, some of whom ventured on board. The ships were now off Waimea Bay, and Cook sent three armed boats ashore to look for a watering-place, under command of Lieutenant Williamson. On his return the Lieutenant reported that he had found a good watering-place, but that, on attempting to land, he was so pressed upon by the natives, who had flocked to the beach, that he was obliged to fire,<sup>2</sup> by which one native was killed. Between three and four o'clock that afternoon the ships anchored in Waimea Bay, Kauai, and Captain Cook went ashore. I quote his remarks upon that occasion, as they will throw some light upon his subsequent conduct at Hawaii,—a conduct that has been the subject of no little animadversion. He says :<sup>3</sup>—“ The very instant I leaped ashore the collected body of the natives fell flat upon their faces, and remained in that very humble posture till, by expressive signs, I prevailed upon them to rise. They then brought a great many small pigs, which they presented to me, with plantain

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

trees, using much the same ceremonies that we had seen practised on such occasions at the Society and other islands; and a long prayer being spoken by a single person, in which others of the assembly sometimes joined, I expressed my acceptance of their proffered friendship by giving them in return such presents as I had brought with me for that purpose."

On the 21st January, in the morning, the business of watering the ships began; trade with the natives was established; and everything having the appearance of friendliness and goodwill, Cook took a walk up the country, and returned on board. On the 22d January a southerly storm with rain set in; and on the 23d, on endeavouring to change the anchorage of the "Resolution," which was rather too close inshore, the ship drifted off to sea; and after cruising about from the 24th to the 29th, and being unable to regain the roadstead of Waimea, he steered for Niihau, and anchored off the west point of that island on the last-named day, having been joined by the "Discovery" on the 25th.

Cook says that when he ordered the boats ashore at Waimea to search for a watering-place, he gave orders<sup>1</sup> "not to suffer more than one man to go with him (the officer) out of the boats," and explains the motive of the order to be "that I might do everything in my power to prevent the importation of a fatal disease into this island, which I knew some of our men now laboured under, and which, unfortunately, had been already communicated by us to other islands in these seas. With the same view I ordered all female visitors to be excluded from the ships. . . . Many of them had come off in the canoes. They would as readily have favoured us with their company on board as the men; but I wished to prevent all connection which might, too probably, convey an irreparable injury to themselves, and, through their means, to the whole nation."

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 195.

Giving Cook all credit for his good intentions, it is lamentable to reflect that his orders were so little heeded and so badly executed. The native accounts are positive and unanimous that the intercourse between the seamen of the ships and the native women, both ashore and on board, was notorious and unchecked. The native historians all say that on the night that Cook's ships anchored at Waimea, a grand council was held at the house of *Kamakahahelei*, the highest chiefess on the island, and the actual hereditary sovereign of that part of Kauai, when some proposed to seize the ships by force and run them ashore for the sake of the plunder that would be obtained, while others of a more pacific or more timid mind proposed to propitiate the newcomers—whom, or rather whose captain, they in some confused manner connected with the old and distorted legend of Lono—with presents and with the charms of their women. The latter advice was acted on, and hogs, vegetables, kapa, and women were sent on board, and among the latter was *Kamakahahelei's* own daughter, *Lelemahoalani*; and during the last generation of Hawaiians it was openly said, and never contradicted, that that night *Lelemahoalani* slept with *Lono* (Cook).

Native historians<sup>1</sup> are particularly bitter against the memory of Captain Cook on account of the introduction of the venereal disease in the group by the seamen of the ships under his command; and they argue, that had Cook himself shown greater continence, his orders referred to above would have been better obeyed. The resentment is natural, the argument cogent; but it is an *ex post facto* argument, which takes no notice of the times and the circumstances under which Cook and his seamen were placed, nor of the social condition, customs, and modes of thinking which at that time obtained among the Hawaiians. I am not called upon to defend the personal morality of Cook. Though superior to many

<sup>1</sup> D. Malo and S. M. Kamakau.



of his day as a naval commander and a discoverer in unknown seas, yet he was probably no better than the majority of men of his education, training, and pursuits would have been under the same or similar circumstances; nor were the simple sailors of a hundred years ago more sensitive to moral teachings or more obedient to naval discipline than are such men at the present time. On the other hand, the Hawaiians of that time were not the race of Nature's innocents which the school of Rousseau loved to paint; their moral darkness, or rather their deep ignorance of the precepts and principles which ought to restrain and guide a Christian or a moral person, has so often and so broadly been described by others, that I may only allude to it here. Placed under particularly trying circumstances, confronted with men whom they looked upon as divine, or supernatural beings at least, the Hawaiians freely gave what in their moral ethics there was no prohibition to give; and the seamen—well, they were mortal men with mortal passions, and they only followed the famous saying inaugurated by the Buccaneers and become proverbial ever since, that "there was no God on this side of Cape Horn."

The result, however, was death and indescribable misery to the poor Hawaiians, and no wonder that the memory of Captain Cook is not cherished among them.

When Cook says that he gave orders to "exclude the women from on board the ships," and the native testimony asserts that numerous women, and the queen's own daughter among them, passed one or more nights on board, there is but one way to escape from the dilemma, and that is to assume what was probably the fact, though Cook does nowhere acknowledge it—namely, that his orders were not properly carried into effect.

Cook remained at anchor off Niihau from the 29th January to the 2d of February 1778, where, owing to the unfavourable weather and the high surf, twenty of

his men, with an officer, were left ashore two nights, and were hospitably treated by the natives.

On February 1, Cook landed a ram-goat, two ewes, a boar, and a sow of English breed, and seeds of melons, pumpkins, and onions, which were given to a prominent native.

Cook does not mention that he met any superior chief while staying at Waimea, Kauai; and yet it is indisputable that *Kamakahēlei* and her family were there.<sup>1</sup> But on Niihau he was told that the island owed allegiance to *Kaneoneo*, and that Kauai was ruled by several chiefs, notably by *Kaneoneo*,<sup>2</sup> *Kaeo*,<sup>3</sup> and *Terarotoa*.<sup>4</sup> After Cook left Kauai, however, and while the "Discovery" was still detained there, a high chief, before whom the natives prostrated themselves, came on board and was entertained by Captain Clerke.<sup>5</sup> This chief is said to have been "a young man accompanied by a young woman, supposed to be his wife," and his name as reported to Cook was *Tamahano*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Kamakau, in his account, states that both *Kaeo* and *Kamakahēlei* received Cook and exchanged presents with him on the day that he went ashore, but he does not mention that they visited the ships. Apparently Cook was ignorant of their exalted rank when he met them ashore.

<sup>2</sup> *Kaneoneo* was the son of *Kumahana*, king of Oahu, and grandson of the famous *Peleioholani*. He was one of the husbands of *Kamakahēlei*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kaeo*, or, more correctly, *Kaeokulani*, was a son of *Kekaulike*, king of Maui, and his wife *Hoolau*, a great-granddaughter of *Lonoikamakahiki* of Hawaii on her father's side. *Kaeokulani* was another husband of *Kamakahēlei*, and father of *Kaumualii*, the last independent king of Kauai.

<sup>4</sup> I have been unable to identify this name with any of the known chiefs of that time on Kauai. The singular manner in which Captain

Cook and those around him apprehended the native names of persons and places, and reproduced them in writing, is sometimes sorely perplexing to Polynesian scholars.

<sup>5</sup> Cook's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 245.

<sup>6</sup> It is uncertain who this high chieftain might have been. *Kumahana*, the son of *Peleioholani*, to whom the name most probably corresponds, was doubtless then on Kauai, if alive, whither he had fled after being dethroned on Oahu by his chiefs and subjects in 1773; but he was not "a young man" at the time. If he had died in the interval between his deposition and 1778, it is possible that his son *Kaneoneo* might, according to frequent usage, have assumed his father's name, or presented himself under that name on board of the "Discovery." Or it might have been a younger son of *Kumahana*, bearing his father's name, of whom, however, native traditions are silent.

It is probable that Cook's estimate of the populousness of Kauai is too high. Judging from the section of the island that he saw, and taking the village of Waimea as a standard, he estimated sixty such villages on the island, with a total of 30,000 inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> The ancient native division of the island gives no account of so many villages as Cook supposed, yet it may safely be assumed that the island contained 20,000 people at that time. On the second visit to Kauai, Captain King estimates the population at 54,000; but his calculation is based on the assumption<sup>2</sup> that the whole coast-line of all the islands was as thickly inhabited as the bay of Kealakeakua on Hawaii. On Niihau Cook supposed, judging from the "thinly-scattered habitations of the natives,"<sup>3</sup> that there "were not more than five hundred people on the island;" but King, according to his rule of calculation, assumes the island to have had 10,000 inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> It is plain that Cook underrated Niihau as much as he overrated Kauai, and that King's rule of calculation was not borne out by fact. Yet there can be no doubt that all the islands at that time were vastly more populous than they ever have been since; and there exist no valid reasons for assuming a greater or more rapid depopulation between 1778 and 1832, when the first regular census taken gave an approximately correct enumeration of 130,000, than between the latter year and 1878, when the census gave only 44,088, exclusive of foreigners.

It has been presumed by several writers that Captain Cook was acquainted with the existence of the Hawaiian group from the chart captured on board of the Spanish galleon "Santissima Trinidad" by Commodore Anson in 1742, where a group of islands in the same latitude, but with somewhat varying longitude, were laid down; and that with him it was not a discovery, inasmuch as he merely found what he sought for.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iii. p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii. p. 128.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iii. p. 129.

That the Spanish navigators between Acapulco and Manilla, at least some of them, knew of the existence of the Hawaiian group, I think is no longer doubtful, and may yet be proven as an historical fact when Spanish archives in the Old and New World shall have been thoroughly ransacked.<sup>1</sup> The chart above referred to is *prima facie* evidence, and, as we shall see hereafter, Hawaiian tradition confirms the inference. But that Cook had any previous knowledge of such a group in such a place, or that he knew that it was known to the Spaniards, I consider hardly probable, or at all consistent with what he says on the very subject of the discovery of the group. On p. 251, vol. ii., he says: "Had the Sandwich Islands been discovered at an early period by the Spaniards, there is little doubt that they would have taken advantage of so excellent a situation, and have made use of Atooi" (Kauai), "or some other of the islands, as a refreshing place to the ships that sail annually from Acapulco for Manilla. An acquaintance with the Sandwich Islands would have been equally favourable to our Buccaneers, who used sometimes to pass from the coast of America to the Ladrões with a stock of food and water scarcely sufficient to preserve life. . . .

"How happy would Lord Anson have been, and what hardships would have been avoided, if he had known that there was a group of islands half-way between America and Tinian, where all his wants could have been effectually supplied!"

If these words mean anything at all, they convey the unavoidable inference that Cook had no previous knowledge of the existence of the group. To argue the contrary, as Mr. Jarves has done,<sup>2</sup> is to accuse Cook of a hypocrisy and disingenuousness that his works give no warrant for, and of which competent men who can appreciate the real traits of his character will acquit him.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. 1, and p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> History of Hawaiian Islands, by J. J. Jarves, 4th ed., p. 50.

Let us now see how this unexpected meeting of Europeans and Polynesians affected the latter, what impressions they received, what accounts they gave of it.

It is reported by the native historians that during one of *Peleiwholani's* (king of Oahu) maritime excursions—1740-70—a ship was seen off the Oahu channel by the crew of his famous war-canoe, but it was too far off to be boarded or spoken. If such was really the case, the impression of such a sight was confined to but a few persons, and was of too indefinite a nature to have been long retained, and was probably only revived as a reminiscence after Captain Cook's arrival. However that may be, the astonishment and excitement of the Hawaiians as Cook's vessels approached the coast of Kauai were thoroughly genuine and extravagant. David Malo, the Hawaiian historian, who heard the account of Cook's arrival from actual eye-witnesses, writes in his *Moololo Hawaii* (Hawaiian History), printed in 1838, as follows:—

“It is at Waimea, on Kauai, that Lono first arrived. He arrived in the month of January, in the year of our Lord 1778. *Kaneoneo* and *Keawe* were the chiefs of Kauai at that time. He arrived in the night at Waimea, and when daylight came the natives ashore perceived this wonderful thing that had arrived, and they expressed their astonishment with great exclamations.

“One said to another, ‘What is that great thing with branches?’ Others said, ‘It is a forest that has slid down into the sea,’ and the gabble and noise was great.<sup>1</sup> Then the chiefs ordered some natives to go in a canoe and observe and examine well that wonderful thing. They went, and when they came to the ship they saw the iron that was attached to the outside of the ship, and they were greatly rejoiced at the quantity of iron.

<sup>1</sup> S. M. Kamakau, in his History, priest *Kuoho* said it was the Heiau adds: “Others said it was an ‘Auwalalua’\* from Olohe, Mana, but the *Kolewa*, and the steps to the altars.”

\* “A large species of fish; an animal that sails in the sea like a canoe.”—*Andrews' Hawaiian Dictionary.*

“Because the iron was known before that time from wood with iron (in or on it) that had formerly drifted ashore, but it was in small quantity, and here was plenty. And they entered on board, and they saw the people with white foreheads, bright eyes, loose garments, corner-shaped heads, and unintelligible speech.

“Then they thought that the people (on board) were all women, because their heads were so like the women’s heads of that period. They observed the quantity of iron on board of the ship, and they were filled with wonder and delight.<sup>1</sup>

“Then they returned and told the chiefs what they had seen, and how great the quantity of iron. On hearing this, one of the warriors of the chief said, ‘I will go and take forcible possession of this booty, for to plunder is my business and means of living.’

“The chiefs consented. Then this warrior went on board of the ship and took away some of the iron on board, and he was shot at and was killed. His name was *Kapupuu*. The canoes (around the ship) fled away and reported that *Kapupuu* had been killed by a ball from a squirt-gun.<sup>2</sup>

“And that same night guns were fired and rockets were thrown up. They (the natives) thought it was a god, and they called his name *Lonomakua*, and they thought there would be war.<sup>3</sup>

“Then a chiefess named *Kamakahalei*, mother of

<sup>1</sup> Kamakau (S. M.) mentions that the party sent consisted of *Kaneokahoowaha*, *Kuohu* the priest, and *Kikiki*, another chief; that when they came on board they saluted Cook by prostrating themselves and with prayer, and that they were kindly received.

<sup>2</sup> Hawaiian *Waiki*. Judge Andrews, Hawaiian Dictionary, gives the following explanation:—“4. The ball, anciently made of stone, and projected from a squirt-gun. ‘Hai mai ua make

o *Kapupuu i ka Waiki*,’ he said that *Kapupuu* was killed by the *Waiki*, i.e., the wad or ball of the gun.” S. M. Kamakau adds that the unfortunate *Kapupuu* was a retainer of *Kaao*, and that when the people were urging the chief to avenge the death of *Kapupuu*, the priest *Kuohu* dissuaded them from so perilous and reckless an adventure.

<sup>3</sup> Kamakau relates that *Kuohu*, the priest, had his doubts whether the newcomers were gods or mortal men,

*Kaumualii*, said, 'Let us not fight against our god; let us please him that he may be favourable to us.' Then *Kamakahalei* gave her own daughter as a woman to *Lono*; *Telemahoalani* was her name; she was older sister of *Kaumualii*. And *Lono* slept with that woman, and the Kauai women prostituted themselves to the foreigners for iron."

The news of Cook's arrival, and all the wonders connected therewith, spread rapidly over the entire group, and here, as elsewhere, the reports were swelled by repetition. Kauai natives brought the news to Oahu, and a Hawaii native, whose name has been preserved as *Moho*, and who at the time was living on Oahu, brought the intelligence with all its embellishments to Maui, and made his report to *Kalaniopuu*, who was then at Hana.

It will thus be seen that before Captain Cook returned from the north-west coast of America, in the fall of that year, his fame had preceded him throughout the group,<sup>1</sup> and the people were fully prepared to receive him as an impersonation of *Lono*, one of the great gods of the Hawaiian trinity, and render him the homage and worship due to so great and mysterious a visitant, until his long

and that having tried to ascertain by means of the sacred cup (*Ka ipu Aumakua*), he came to the conclusion that "they were not gods but *Haole* (foreigners), from the country whence *Kaekae* and *Kukanaloo* \* came;" but the young people and the majority looked upon Cook as the god *Lono*.

<sup>1</sup> After Cooke's departure *Kaao* sent *Kaneokahoo-waha* and *Kaukapua* to Oahu to acquaint King *Kahahana* of the arrival of the foreigners, and all the wonders connected therewith. After hearing the wonderful tale, *Kaopuhuluhulu*, the high-priest of *Kahahana*, replied: "Those people

are foreigners (*Haole*) from *Hiikua*, from *Melemele*, from *Uliuli*, from *Keokeo*. They are surely the people that will come and dwell in this land" (*O na Kanaka na e noho aku ka aina*). Others said: "Those are the people of whom *Kekiopilo*, the prophet of *Kupihea*, spoke when he said, 'the foreigners should come here—white people—and as for their dogs, people should ride upon them; and they should bring dogs with very long ears.'" Others thought they were the "*Haole*" referred to in the chant of *Kualii*. (S. M. Kamakau's account of Cook's visit.)

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\* *Kaekae* and *Malin* were the two white priests said to have been brought from a foreign country by *Paumakua*, vide p. 25; and *Kukanaloo* was the native name of the white man shipwrecked at *Keei*, *Kona*, *Hawaii*, vide p. 106.

*séjour* at Kealakeakua Bay and his ill-advised projects destroyed the illusion and caused his death.

On February 2, 1778, Captain Cook left the island of Niihau to prosecute the objects of his voyage, connected with the exploration of Behrings Straits and the North-West Passage. When the inclemency of the weather and the approach of winter precluded farther researches in the north, Cook returned with a light heart to the sunny isles that he discovered at the commencement of that year. On the 26th of November the island of Maui was seen well to the westward, and later in the day the island of Molokai. Cook was now off the Hamakua coast, and in the morning of the 27th the isthmus of Kamaomao was visible. The ships were lying off and on, and considerable trading was done with the natives, whom Cook found were advised of his visit to Kauai in the early part of the year; and, as indubitable proof of that fact, he states with regret that he observed that they had already been infected with the disease which his crew communicated to the Kauai women. In beating to windward, Cook found himself, on the 30th of November, off the north-east end of Maui. Here more canoes came off trading, and *Kalaniopuu* came off on board. After *Kalaniopuu* left the ship some six or eight natives remained, "who chose to remain on board," and whose double sailing-canoe, having arrived to attend them, was towed astern all night. That evening Cook discovered the island of Hawaii, and next morning his visitors left him and returned to Maui. Cook crossed the Hawaii channel, and hove-to off the Kohala coast on the evening of December 1st.

During the whole of the month of December Cook kept beating round the east side of Hawaii, frequently standing inshore and trading with the natives. On the 5th of January 1779, Cook rounded the south cape of Hawaii, and on the 17th of that month he anchored in the bay of



Kealakeakua, on the south-west side of the island, in the south Kona district.

The Hawaiian accounts are somewhat more detailed, by stating that it was off the village of Wailua, in the Koolau district, that the Hawaiian chiefs came on board of Cook's ship and remained there that night. Although *Kalaniopuu* was at Wailua at that time, yet no Hawaiian account mentions that he went on board personally;<sup>1</sup> but they all concur that it was *Kamehameha*, afterwards king of Hawaii, who went on board and passed the night in Cook's ship; and they state, moreover, that when the ships stood off to sea for the night and *Kamehameha* did not return, a great wailing was set up ashore by *Kalanioopuu* and his retinue, thinking that *Kamehameha* had been abducted by the ship and was lost; and their joy was proportionately great when he returned the next day.<sup>2</sup>

The native accounts farther remark that the first place on Hawaii off which Cook stopped to trade after leaving Maui was near the village of Kukuipahu, in the district of North Kohala; that crowds of people went off to see the vessels and the wonders that they contained; that when the natives saw the sailors eating water-melons,—this fruit being unknown to them,—they fearfully exclaimed, "These men are gods indeed; see them eating human flesh" (the meat of the melon), "and the fire burns in their mouths" (pipes or cigars).

As Cook proceeded up the west side of Hawaii, along

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen farther on that Captain King says that, when they had arrived at Kealakeakua, he recognised *Kalanioopuu* as one of those Hawaiian chiefs that had come on board off the east end of Maui. S. M. Kamakua states that *Kalaimamahū*, the brother of *Kamehameha* and maternal grandfather of the late king *Lunalilo*, was one of those who stayed on board that night.

<sup>2</sup> The native account that *Kalanioopuu* sent *Kepaalani* with a smart canoe and six picked men to hunt up

the ships on the ocean and recover and bring back *Kamehameha* and his company, is possibly true in the main, but confused as to time and detail. Cook expressly states that after *Kalanioopuu* left, six or eight of his company remained on board, and that "a double sailing-canoe came soon after to attend upon them, which we towed astern all night." That probably was the canoe which *Kalanioopuu* sent off under *Kepaalani* to bring *Kamehameha* back.

the Kona coast, the populousness of the country and the abundance of provisions surprised and delighted him. This is what he says in his journal, as on the 16th of January he approached the bay of Kealakeakua :—

“ At daybreak on the 16th, seeing the appearance of a bay, I sent Mr. Bligh, with a boat from each ship, to examine it, being at this time three leagues off. Canoes now began to arrive from all parts ; so that before ten o'clock there were not fewer than a thousand about the two ships, most of them crowded with people, and well laden with hogs and other productions of the island. We had the most satisfying proof of their friendly intentions ; for we did not see a single person who had with him a weapon of any sort, Trade and curiosity alone had brought them off. Among such numbers as we had at times on board, it is no wonder that some should betray a thievish disposition. One of our visitors took out of the ship a boat's rudder. He was discovered, but too late to recover it. I thought this a good opportunity to show these people the use of firearms ; and two or three muskets, and as many four-pounders, were fired over the canoe which carried off the rudder. As it was not intended that any of the shot should take effect, the surrounding multitude of natives seemed rather more surprised than frightened.”

After anchoring and mooring his ships on January 17th, Cook's journal continues :—“ The ships continued to be much crowded with natives, and were surrounded by a multitude of canoes. I had nowhere in the course of my voyages seen so numerous a body of people assembled at one place. For besides those who had come off to us in canoes, all the shore of the bay was covered with spectators, and many hundreds were swimming round the ships like shoals of fish. We could not but be struck with the singularity of this scene ; and perhaps there were few on board who now lamented our having failed in our endeavours to find a northern passage homeward last summer.

To this disappointment we owed our having it in our power to revisit the Sandwich Islands, and to enrich our voyage with a discovery which, though the last, seemed in many respects to be the most important that had hitherto been made by Europeans throughout the extent of the Pacific Ocean."

After Cook's ships had anchored, two chiefs, named *Palea* and *Kanina*, came on board, and the former informed him that *Kalaniopuu*, the king of Hawaii, was absent on Maui, but would be back in a few days, and he and *Kanina* appear to have made themselves serviceable in keeping order among the natives and preventing the ships from being overcrowded. Another prominent man was also introduced to Cook by *Palea*, whose name was *Koa*, and was apparently the highest officiating priest of the place in the absence of the high-priest who accompanied *Kalaniopuu*.<sup>1</sup> Of this interview Captain King says:<sup>2</sup>—"Being led into the cabin, he approached Captain Cook with great veneration, and threw over his shoulders a piece of red cloth, which he had brought along with him. Then stepping a few paces back, he made an offering of a small pig which he held in his hand, while he pronounced a discourse that lasted for a considerable time. This ceremony was frequently repeated during our stay at Owhyhee, and appeared to us, from many circumstances, to be a sort of religious adoration. Their idols we found always arrayed in red cloth in the same manner as was done to Captain Cook, and a small pig was their usual offering to the *Eatooas*."<sup>3</sup>

That same afternoon Captain Cook landed and was received by *Koa*, *Palea*, and a number of priests, who conducted him to the Heiau, just north of the Napoopoo

<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that *Holoae* was the recognised high-priest of *Kalaniopuu*; where he was, however, at the time of Cook's arrival at Kealakekua, is not easy to say. Native accounts assert that *Pailili* or *Pailiki*,

the son of *Holoae*, was with *Kalaniopuu* on Maui, and officiating priest on that expedition.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> The divinities.

village and at the foot of the Pali.<sup>1</sup> Here the grand ceremony of acknowledging Cook as an incarnation of *Lono*, to be worshiped as such, and his installation, so to say, in the Hawaiian Pantheon took place. The scene is so vividly described by Captain King, that I need not apologise for its repetition here. Captain King says: <sup>2</sup>—

“Before I proceed to relate the adoration that was paid to Captain Cook, and the peculiar ceremonies with which he was received on this fatal island, it will be necessary to describe the *Morai*, situated, as I have already mentioned, at the south side of the beach at *Kakooa* (Kealakeakua). It was a square solid pile of stones, about forty yards long, twenty broad, and fourteen in height.<sup>3</sup> The top was flat and well paved, and surrounded by a wooden rail, on which were fixed the skulls of the captives sacrificed on the death of their chiefs. In the centre of the area stood a ruinous old building of wood, connected with the rail on each side by a stone wall, which divided the whole space into two parts. On the side next the country were five poles, upward of twenty feet high, supporting an irregular kind of scaffold; on the opposite side toward the sea, stood two small houses with a covered communication.

“We were conducted by Koah to the top of this pile by an easy ascent leading from the beach to the north-west corner of the area. At the entrance we saw two large wooden images, with features violently distorted, and a long piece of carved wood of a conical form inverted, rising from the top of their heads; the rest was without form, and wrapped round with red cloth. We were here met by a tall young man with a long beard, who presented Captain Cook to the images, and after

<sup>1</sup> The name of this Heiau is *Hikian*. It was sacred to *Lono*, and its ruins may still be seen. By a not uncommon *esprit de corps*, its priests were the firmest and most constant believers in Captain Cook's identity with *Lono*.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii. p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> It was one of the ancient Heiaus, of a truncated pyramidal form, that obtained before the southern migratory period.—*The Author*.

chanting a kind of hymn, in which he was joined by Koah, they led us to that end of the *Morai* where the five poles were fixed. At the foot of them were twelve images ranged in a semicircular form, and before the middle figure stood a high stand or table, exactly resembling the *Whatta* of Otaheiti, on which lay a putrid hog, and under it pieces of sugar-cane, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, plantains, and sweet potatoes. Koah having placed the Captain under the stand, took down the hog and held it toward him; and after having a second time addressed him in a long speech, pronounced with much vehemence and rapidity, he let it fall on the ground and led him to the scaffolding, which they began to climb together not without great risk of falling. At this time we saw coming in solemn procession, at the entrance of the top of the *Morai*, ten men carrying a live hog and a large piece of red cloth. Being advanced a few paces, they stopped and prostrated themselves; and Kaireekea, the young man above mentioned, went to them, and receiving the cloth, carried it to Koah, who wrapped it round the Captain, and afterwards offered him the hog, which was brought by Kaireekea with the same ceremony.

“ Whilst Captain Cook was aloft in this awkward situation, swathed round with red cloth, and with difficulty keeping his hold amongst the pieces of rotten scaffolding, Kaireekea and Koah began their office, chanting sometimes in concert and sometimes alternately. This lasted a considerable time; at length Koah let the hog drop, when he and the Captain descended together. He then led him to the images before mentioned, and having said something to each in a sneering tone, snapping his fingers at them as he passed, he brought him to that in the centre, which, from its being covered with red cloth, appeared to be in greater estimation than the rest. Before this figure he prostrated himself and kissed it, desiring Captain Cook to do the same, who suffered himself to be directed by Koah throughout the whole of this ceremony.

“ We were now led back to the other division of the *Morai*, where there was a space, ten or twelve feet square, sunk about three feet below the level of the area. Into this we descended, and Captain Cook was seated between two wooden idols, Koah supporting one of his arms, whilst I was desired to support the other. At this time arrived a second procession of natives, carrying a baked hog and a pudding, some bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, and other vegetables. When they approached us, Kaireekeea put himself at their head, and presenting the pig to Captain Cook in the usual manner, began the same kind of chant as before, his companions making regular responses. We observed that after every response their parts became gradually shorter, till, toward the close, Kaireekeea’s consisted of only two or three words, which the rest answered by the word *Orono*.

“ When this offering was concluded, which lasted a quarter of an hour, the natives sat down fronting us, and began to cut up the baked hog, to peel the vegetables and break the cocoa-nuts; whilst others employed themselves in brewing the *Awa*, which is done by chewing it in the same manner as at the Friendly Islands. Kaireekeea then took part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut, which he chewed, and wrapping it in a piece of cloth, rubbed with it the Captain’s face, head, hands, arms, and shoulders. The *Awa* was then handed round, and after we had tasted it, Koah and Pareea began to pull the flesh of the hog in pieces, and to put it into our mouths. I had no great objection to being fed by Pareea, who was very cleanly in his person, but Captain Cook, who was served by Koah, recollecting the putrid hog, could not swallow a morsel; and his reluctance, as may be supposed, was not diminished when the old man, according to his own mode of civility, had chewed it for him.

“ When this last ceremony was finished, which Captain Cook put an end to as soon as he decently could, we quitted the *Morai*, after distributing amongst the people

some pieces of iron and other trifles, with which they seemed highly gratified. The men with wands conducted us to the boats, repeating the same words as before. The people again retired, and the few that remained prostrated themselves as we passed along the shore. We immediately went on board, our minds full of what we had seen, and extremely well satisfied with the good dispositions of our new friends. The meanings of the various ceremonies with which we had been received, and which, on account of their novelty and singularity, have been related at length, can only be the subject of conjectures, and those uncertain and partial; they were, however, without doubt, expressive of high respect on the part of the natives; and, so far as related to the person of Captain Cook, they seemed approaching to adoration."

In another place<sup>1</sup> Captain King, relating Captain Cook's visit to the habitations of the priests in the neighbourhood of the observatory, says:—

"On his arrival at the beach, he was conducted to a sacred building called *Harre-no-Orono*, or the house of *Orono*, and seated before the entrance, at the foot of a wooden idol, of the same kind with those on the *Morai*. I was here again made to support one of his arms, and after wrapping him in red cloth, *Kaireekeea*, accompanied by twelve priests, made an offering of a pig with the usual solemnities. The pig was then strangled, and a fire being kindled, it was thrown into the embers; and after the hair was singed off, it was again presented, with a repetition of the chanting, in the manner before described. The dead pig was then held for a short time under the Captain's nose, after which it was laid, with a cocoa-nut, at his feet, and the performers sat down. The *awa* was then brewed and handed round, a fat hog, ready dressed, was brought in, and we were fed as before.

"During the rest of the time that we remained in the bay, whenever Captain Cook came on shore he was

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 13-15.

attended by one of those priests, who went before him, giving notice that the *Orono* had landed, and ordering the people to prostrate themselves. The same person also constantly accompanied him on the water, standing in the bow of the boat with a wand in his hand, and giving notice of his approach to the natives, who were in canoes, on which they immediately left off paddling, and lay down on their faces till he had passed. Whenever he stopped at the observatory, Kaireekēea and his brothers immediately made their appearance with hogs, cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, &c., and presented them with the usual solemnities. It was on these occasions that some of the inferior chiefs frequently requested to be permitted to make an offering to the *Orono*. When this was granted, they presented the hog themselves, generally with evident marks of fear on their countenances, whilst Kaireekēea and the priests chanted their accustomed hymns.<sup>1</sup>

“The civilities of this society<sup>2</sup> were not, however, con-

<sup>1</sup> One of the formulated prayers or addresses with which the priests and others generally accosted Captain Cook in his character of Lono has been preserved by Kamakua, and I insert it here:—“Ou mau Kino e Lono i ka lani. He ao loa, he ao poko, he ao kiei, he ao halo, he ao hoopu-a i ka lani, mai Uliuli, mai Melemele, mai Kahiki, mai Ulunui, mai Haehae, mai Omaokuululu, mai Hakalauai, mai ka aina o Lono i wahi aku ai i ka lewa nuu, i ka lewa lani, i ka papa ku, i ka papa kukui a Leka—O Lalohana,—O Olepuukahonua. E Ku, E Lono, E Kane, E Kanaloa, E ke Akua mai ka Apapalani o ka Apapanuu, mai Kahiki-ku, a Kahiki-moe, eia ka mohai, eia ka alana; E ola i ke Alii, E ola i na pulapula, a kau a kau i ke ao malamalama ia lana honua. Amama, ua

noa!” Which may be translated as follows:—“O Lono in heaven! you of the many shapes (or beings). The long cloud, the short cloud, the cloud just peeping (over the horizon), the wide-spreading cloud, the contracted cloud in the heaven, (coming) from Uliuli, from Melemele, from Kahiki, from Ulunui, from Hakalauai, from the country of Lono situated in the upper regions, in the high heavens, in proper order, in the famous order of Leka. O Lalohana, O Olepuukahonua; Eh Ku, Eh Lono, Eh Kane, Eh Kanaloa, Eh the god from Apapalani of Apapanuu, from Kahiki east, from Kahiki west, here is the sacrifice, here is the offering. Preserve the chief, preserve the worshippers, and establish the day of light on the floating earth! Amen.\*

<sup>2</sup> The priests.

\* The phrase, “*Amama, ua noa*,” invariably used at the conclusion of every Hawaiian heathen prayer, corresponds, in so far, to the Christian Amen. Literally it means “it is offered, the tabu is taken off,” or the ceremony is ended.



fined to mere ceremony and parade. Our party on shore received from them every day a constant supply of hogs and vegetables, more than sufficient for our subsistence, and several canoes loaded with provisions were sent to the ships with the same punctuality. No return was ever demanded, or even hinted at in the most distant manner. Their presents were made with a regularity more like the discharge of a religious duty than the effect of mere liberality; and when we inquired at whose charge all this munificence was displayed, we were told it was at the expense of a great man called Kaoo, the chief of the priests, and grandfather to Kaireekēea, who was at that time absent attending the king of the island."

After these detailed accounts of the reception of Cook by the chiefs, priests, and common people, there can be no doubt that, so far as the latter were concerned, they looked upon him as a god, an "*Akua*,"<sup>1</sup> possessed of hitherto unknown and terrible powers of destruction, and of an inexhaustible mine of that metal which they so highly coveted, accompanied by a crew of wonderful beings, "*Kupueu*," of different colour, speech, and customs than their own, who had come from another and unknown world, "*Mai ka lewa mai*." Coming to them from over the sea, and apparently having the thunder and the lightning at his command, no wonder that the natives regarded Captain Cook as an avatar of the great *Lono-noho-ik a-wai* of their religious creed, whose attributes may be found described in the chant of the deluge (see vol. i. pp. 93, 94), and their adoration was as natural as it was spontaneous, and their gifts "more like the discharge of a religious duty," as Captain King expresses it. But that

<sup>1</sup> It should be borne in mind that to the heathen Hawaiian the word *Akua* did not convey the same lofty idea as the word God or Deity does to the Christian. To the Hawaiians the word *Akua* expressed the idea of any supernatural being, the object of fear or of worship. This term was

also, as Judge Andrews says in his Hawaiian Dictionary, "applied to artificial objects, the nature and properties of which Hawaiians did not understand, as the movement of a watch, a compass, the self-striking of a clock, &c." For etymology of the word *Akua*, see Appendix, No. 4.

Captain Cook should have permitted himself to foster and keep up that delusion into which the natives had naturally fallen, by complacently receiving and assisting at the adoration which he must have perceived and known was only intended for the Divine Being, however gross the native conception of that Being might have been, that is the great blot which some of Cook's critics, native and foreign, Malo, Dibble, and Jarves, have thrown upon his character, and, penetrating the designs of Providence, they have not failed to consider his violent death as an act of Divine punishment.

Can nothing be said for Captain Cook against this terrible charge of self-deification?

That intelligent men, writing long after the event, when the religious customs and modes of thought of the natives were well understood and their intentions in the matter were well known, would not have lent themselves to "perform a part in this heathen farce," as Jarves calls it, is perfectly intelligible; but that, before giving their verdict, they should not have been able to place themselves in the position of Cook, who was ignorant of those customs and modes of thought, and naturally enough construed their intentions as those of goodwill, respect, and friendship, is a lamentable defect in a critic, the more so when the object of his criticism is dead and cannot reply to the charge, and has left no materials for his friends from which to argue what his own construction of the affair might have been. To Captain King, who seems to have been not only a kinder man but also a gentleman of finer susceptibilities than Captain Cook, these ceremonies "seemed approaching to adoration," though he had no doubt that on the part of the natives they were "expressive of high respect;" and so little did even he perceive the blasphemous act of self-deification in what transpired, that he actually took an active part in the performance, not exactly understanding "the meaning of the various ceremonies," but certainly not apprehending that a damaging judgment

would be passed upon Captain Cook or himself for so doing.

If we now look back to p. 161, and see what Cook himself says of his reception on Kauai, we find that he had been the recipient of "much the same ceremonies on such occasions at the Society and other islands." To him, then, this prostration of bodies, offerings of pigs, chanting of hymns, &c., of which he understood nothing, were no new things, for he had seen them on Kauai and elsewhere, and, though details might vary, they were substantially "much the same," and to him they were apparently only significant of respect and friendship.

"The apology of expediency," which Jarves<sup>1</sup> says has been offered, has then no room in the argument. It was never offered by Cook or King, and its admission would imply a consciousness of the infraction of a moral duty in that respect which neither Cook nor King were ever conscious of or ever admitted. Captain Cook committed several errors in his intercourse with the natives, and their consequences proved fatal to him; but I think that a candid posterity, judging him as his contemporaries would have judged him, will acquit him of a wilful assumption of divine honours or of a conscious participation in his own deification.

The native accounts relate what Captain Cook apparently was not aware of, viz., that when the ships arrived at Kealakeakua, the bay was under a tabu, the festival days connected with the ancient celebration of the new year not having as yet expired. But as his fame had preceded him throughout the group, and Cook himself was looked upon as a god (an *Akua*) and his ships as temples (*Heiau*), the priests and chiefs who governed in the bay in the absence of *Kalaniopuu* proclaimed an exception to the tabu in the matter of the ships of the newcomers—a lucky thought, a well-timed compromise to gratify their curiosity and soothe their consciences; for most assuredly

<sup>1</sup> History of the Hawaii Islands, p. 54.

without some such arrangement not a single canoe would have dared to ripple the quiet waters of the bay.

The business of recruiting the ships, caulking their sides, erecting an observatory ashore, salting pork for ships' stores, mending sails, &c., was now proceeded with, and every assistance the natives possibly could give was unhesitatingly and liberally given.

On the 24th January *Kalaniopuu* returned from Maui, and one of his first acts was to put a tabu on the bay, no canoes being allowed to leave the beach. All that day no vegetables were brought on board as usual. After a week of feasting and plenty, a day of fasting caused considerable disappointment and irritation among the ships' companies. As a specimen of the inconsiderate and overbearing manner in which the foreigners returned the unbounded liberality and kindness of the natives when their wants and desires were in the least crossed, the following remarks of Captain King may illustrate. After mentioning the fact of the tabu having been laid on the bay, he says<sup>1</sup>—“The next morning, therefore, they (the ships' crews) endeavoured, both by threats and promises, to induce the natives to come alongside; and as some of them were at last venturing to put off, a chief was observed attempting to drive them away. A musquet was immediately fired over his head to make him desist, which had the desired effect, and refreshments were soon after purchased as usual. In the afternoon Tereoboo” (*Kalaniopuu*) “arrived, and visited the ships in a private manner, attended only by one canoe, in which were his wife and children. He stayed on board till near ten o'clock, when he returned to the village of Kowrowa” (*Kaawaloa*).

On the 26th January *Kalaniopuu* made a formal state visit to the ships, and I again quote from Captain King:—

“About noon, the king, in a large canoe, attended by two others, set out from the village, and paddled toward the ships in great state. Their appearance was grand and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 16.

magnificent. In the first canoe was Tereeooboo and his chiefs, dressed in their rich feathered cloaks and helmets, and armed with long spears and daggers; in the second came the venerable Kaoo,<sup>1</sup> the chief of the priests, and his brethren, with their idols displayed on red cloth. These idols were busts of a gigantic size, made of wickerwork, and curiously covered with small feathers of various colours, wrought in the same manner with their cloaks. Their eyes were made of large pearl-oysters, with a black nut fixed in the centre; their mouths were set with a double row of the fangs of dogs, and, together with the rest of their features, were strangely distorted. The third canoe was filled with hogs and various sorts of vegetables. As they went along, the priests in the centre canoe sung their hymns with great solemnity; and after paddling round the ships, instead of going on board, as was expected, they made toward the shore at the beach where we were stationed.

“As soon as I saw them approaching, I ordered out our little guard to receive the king; and Captain Cook, perceiving that he was going on shore, followed him, and arrived nearly at the same time. We conducted them into the tent, where they had scarcely been seated, when the king rose up, and in a very graceful manner threw over the Captain’s shoulders the cloak he himself wore, put a feathered helmet upon his head, and a curious fan into his hand. He also spread at his feet five or six other cloaks, all exceedingly beautiful and of the greatest value. His attendants then brought four very large hogs, with sugar-canes, cocoa-nuts, and bread-fruit; and this part of the ceremony was concluded by the king’s exchanging names with Captain Cook, which amongst all the islanders

<sup>1</sup> As the native testimony is concurrent and clear that *Holoae* was the high-priest of *Kalaniopuu*, at least during the latter years of his reign, and attended him in his expeditions to Maui in 1776-78, it is possible that *Kaoo* might have been another name or sobriquet of *Holoae*, given to the foreigners instead of the ordinary and well-known *Holoae*. Such transpositions and changes of names in the same person were and are of frequent occurrence.

of the Pacific Ocean is esteemed the strongest pledge of friendship. A procession of priests, with a venerable old personage at their head, now appeared, followed by a long train of men leading large hogs, and others carrying plantains, sweet potatoes, &c. By the looks and gestures of Kaireekea, I immediately knew the old man to be the chief of the priests before mentioned, on whose bounty we had so long subsisted. He held a piece of red cloth in his hands, which he wrapped round Captain Cook's shoulders, and afterward presented him with a small pig in the usual form. A seat was then made for him next to the king, after which Kaireekea and his followers began their ceremonies, Kaoo and the chiefs joining in the responses.

"I was surprised to see, in the person of this king, the same infirm and emaciated old man that came on board the 'Resolution' when we were off the north-east side of the island of Mowee; and we soon discovered amongst his attendants most of the persons who at that time had remained with us all night. Of this number were the two younger sons of the king,<sup>1</sup> the eldest of whom was sixteen years of age, and his nephew, Maiha-maiha,<sup>2</sup> whom at first we had some difficulty in recollecting, his hair being plastered over with a dirty brown paste and powder, which was no mean heightening to the most savage face I ever beheld.

"As soon as the formalities of the meeting were over, Captain Cook carried Tereoboo, and as many chiefs as the pinnace could hold, on board the 'Resolution.' They were received with every mark of respect that could be shown them; and Captain Cook, in return for the feathered cloak, put a linen shirt on the king, and girt his own hanger round him. The ancient Kaoo and about half a dozen more old chiefs remained on shore, and took up their abode at the priests' houses. During all this time not a canoe was seen in the bay, and the natives

<sup>1</sup> *Keoua Kuahuula* and *Keoua Peale*, sons of *Kalaniopuu* and *Kanekapolei*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kamehameha*.

either kept within their huts or lay prostrate on the ground. Before the king left the 'Resolution,' Captain Cook obtained leave for the natives to come and trade with the ships as usual; but the women, for what reason we could not learn,<sup>1</sup> still continued under the effects of the tabu; that is, were forbidden to stir from home or to have any communication with us."

When Captain Clarke of the "Discovery" paid his visit to Kalaniopuu on shore,<sup>2</sup> he was received with the same formalities as were observed with Captain Cook, and on his coming away, though the visit was quite unexpected, he received a present of thirty large hogs, and as much fruit and roots as his crew could consume in a week.<sup>3</sup>

When the scientific members of the voyage started for an excursion into the interior of the island, we are told "that it afforded Kaoo a fresh opportunity of showing his attention and generosity. For as soon as he was informed of their departure, he sent a large supply of provisions after them, together with orders that the inhabitants of the country through which they were to pass should give them every assistance in their power. And to complete the delicacy and disinterestedness of his conduct, even the people he employed could not be prevailed on to accept the smallest present."<sup>4</sup>

Again, the day before their departure from the bay, *Kalaniopuu* gave them another large present of hogs and

<sup>1</sup> The reason was not far to search. While the fame of Cook had spread throughout the group, the disease connected with his arrival at Kauai had also spread; and when *Kalaniopuu*, on his return from Maui, found the women received by hundreds at a time on board the ships, he took the only course left him, though, alas! too late to restrict the evil. It is somewhat remarkable that on his arrival at Hawaii, neither Cook nor King make the slightest mention of having taken any similar precautions against the spreading of the disease,

which he says took on Kauai. And when it was left to the sovereign of the island to protect his people as best he could, his act, instead of awakening reflection and suggesting the cause, became a subject of wonder. Neither Cook nor King seem to have felt the quiet rebuke implied by the tabu being laid on the women.

<sup>2</sup> When at Kaawaloa, *Kalaniopuu* dwelt at Awili in *Keaweakeulu's* place on Hanamua.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iii. p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

vegetables. Captain King says, "We were astonished at the value and magnitude of this present, which far exceeded everything of the kind we had seen, either at the Friendly or Society Islands."<sup>1</sup>

And how did Captain Cook requite this boundless hospitality, that never once made default during his long stay of seventeen days in Kealakeakua Bay, these magnificent presents of immense value, this delicate and spontaneous attention to his every want, this friendship of the chiefs and priests, this friendliness of the common people? By imposing on their good nature to the utmost limit of its ability to respond to the greedy and constant calls of their new friends; by shooting at one of the king's officers for endeavouring to enforce a law of the land, an edict of his sovereign that happened to be unpalatable to the newcomers, and caused them some temporary inconvenience after a week's profusion and unbridled license; by a liberal exhibition of his force and the meanest display of his bounty; by giving the king a linen shirt and a cutlass in return for feather cloaks and helmets, which, irrespective of their value as insignia of the highest nobility in the land, were worth singly at least from five to ten thousand dollars, at present price of the feathers, not counting the cost of manufacturing; by a reckless disregard of the proprieties of ordinary intercourse, even between civilised and savage man, and a wanton insult to what he reasonably may have supposed to have been the religious sentiments of his hosts.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Captain Cook being in want of fuel for the ships, sent Captain King to "treat with the priests for the purchase of the rail that surrounded the top of the Moral." King says (vol. iii. p. 25), "I had at first some doubt about the decency of this proposal, and was apprehensive that even the bare mention of it might be considered by them as a piece of shocking impiety. In this, however, I

found myself mistaken. Not the slightest surprise was expressed at the application, and the wood was readily given, even without stipulating for anything in return." But when the sailors carried off, not only the railing of the temple, but also the idols of the gods within it, even the large-hearted patience of Kaoo gave up, and he meekly requested that the central idol at least might be restored. Captain King failed to perceive that



It is much to be regretted that no acts of kindness, benevolence, or sympathy, or any endeavours to ameliorate the material or mental condition of his generous hosts, have been recorded to relieve the dark, harsh, greedy, and imperious traits of Captain Cook's character, which his stay at Hawaii indelibly impressed on the memory of the natives. To them he was a god or the incarnation of a god, no doubt, but a god to be feared, not loved, and from whose further visits they devoutly prayed to be delivered. To use a common expression, he "wore out his welcome," a fact of which Captain King apparently became sensible when he wrote as follows:—

"Tereoboo and his chiefs had for some days past been very inquisitive about the time of our departure. This circumstance had excited in me a great curiosity to know what opinion this people had formed of us, and what were their ideas respecting the cause and object of our voyage. I took some pains to satisfy myself on these points, but could never learn anything further than that they imagined we came from some country where provisions had failed, and that our visit to them was merely for the purpose of filling our bellies. Indeed, the meagre appearance of some of our crew, the hearty appetites with which we sat down to their fresh provisions, and our great anxiety to purchase and carry off as much as we were able, led them naturally enough to such a conclusion. To these may be added a circumstance which puzzled them exceedingly, our having no women with us, together with our quiet conduct and unwarlike appearance. It

the concession of the priests was that of a devotee to his saint. The priests would not sell their religious emblems and belongings for "thirty pieces of silver" or any remuneration, but they were willing to offer up the entire Heiau, and themselves on the top of it, as a holocaust to *Lono*, if he had requested it. So long as Cook was regarded as a god in their eyes, they could not refuse him. And though

they exhibited no resentment at the request, the want of delicacy and consideration on the part of Captain Cook is none the less glaring. After his death, and when the illusion of godship had subsided, his spoliation of the very Heiau in which he had been deified, was not one of the least of the grievances which native annalists laid up against him.

was ridiculous enough to see them stroking the sides and patting the bellies of the sailors (who were certainly much improved in the sleekness of their looks during our short stay in the island), and telling them, partly by signs and partly by words, that it was time for them to go, but if they would come again the next bread-fruit season, they should be better able to supply their wants. We had now been sixteen days in the bay, and if our enormous consumption of hogs and vegetables be considered, it need not be wondered that they should wish to see us take our leave. It is very probable, however, that Tereeooboo had no other view in his inquiries at present than a desire to make sufficient preparation for dismissing us with presents suitable to the respect and kindness with which he had received us. For, on our telling him that we should leave the island on the next day but one, we observed that a sort of proclamation was immediately made through the villages, to require the people to bring in their hogs and vegetables for the king to present to the *Orono* on his departure."

On the 4th of February 1779, the ships being ready, Cook left Kealakeakua Bay to visit and explore the leeward side of the group. When abreast of Kawaihae Bay, on February 6th, which Captain King writes "Too-yah-yah," he says that they saw "to the north-east several fine streams of water,"<sup>1</sup> and a boat was sent ashore to look for an anchorage, but could not find any suitable watering-place.

On the 8th of February the ships encountered a gale,

<sup>1</sup> Captain Vancouver, if I remember correctly, also speaks of streams of running water in the neighbourhood of Kawaihae. I am not aware of any stream now coming down to the seashore, unless in extraordinary heavy freshets; and as no extraordinary southerly storm occurred while the ships were lying at Kealakeakua, those streams that Cook saw

must have been an ordinary feature of the landscape. It is possible that since that time unrecorded earthquakes and the terribly wasteful destruction of the forests in the interior may have diverted and dried up the streams that fertilised the lower slopes of the Kohala mountains and gladdened the sight of transient navigators.

during which the fishes of the fore masthead gave way, and it became necessary to seek a port where to repair the damage. After some consideration it was resolved to return to Kealakeakua, and on the 11th February the ships anchored again in nearly their former position.

On this occasion their reception was not of that boisterous jubilant kind as on their former visit, an ominous silence reigned along the shore, and not a canoe came off to the ships. A boat sent ashore to inquire the reason, soon returned and informed Captain Cook that *Kalani-opuu* was absent and had left the bay under tabu. However, the injured mast was sent ashore, carpenters and sailmakers set to work, the observatory erected anew on the ground formerly occupied on the south side of the bay. The priests still remained friendly, and, for the protection of the workmen and their tools, tabued the place where they were at work.

There can be no doubt that during the absence of the ships reflection had sobered the judgment of the natives, and measurably cooled their enthusiasm. When the excitement of the novelty had subsided, it was found that the visit of *Lono* and his crews had been a tremendous drain on their alimentary resources, for which their only equivalents were some scraps of iron, a few hatchets and knives. But another, and perhaps a principal, reason of their waning friendliness is probably correctly expressed by the native historian, D. Malo, when he says, "The long and amorous intercourse of the foreigners with the women, and the great liking which some of the women had taken to the foreigners, was the reason why the men became opposed to *Lono* and his whole crew of foreigners." Another fact tended not a little to weaken the dread with which the natives had at first beheld the foreigners—the death from sickness and funeral on shore of one of the seamen. However firm their opinion might have been about Cook and his being a god—the *Lono* of their ancient creed—yet it was evident that *Lono's* companions, how-

ever wonderful in other respects, were mortals like themselves, that could be reached by sickness and subdued by death. From such or similar mingled motives the conduct of the natives had become, if not actually hostile, yet troublesome and defiant. The return of the ships was not viewed with pleasure, and the ill-will of the natives, and their readiness to measure themselves with the foreigners in actual combat, did not wait long for an opportunity to manifest itself.

On the 12th of February *Kalaniopuu* returned to the bay, the tabu was taken off, and he visited Captain Cook on board. It cannot now be positively known whether *Kalaniopuu* personally shared in the unfriendly and jealous feeling entertained by his subordinate chiefs and the common people. If he did, he knew how to dissemble; but it is due to the memory of *Kalaniopuu* to state that no act of his has been recorded that would indicate that he was not as loyal and liberal on the second visit of Cook to the bay as on the first. The priests also remained friendly to Cook, to his officers and men, although their friendship was badly requited.

In the afternoon of the 13th February a watering-party belonging to the "Discovery" was interrupted and impeded by some of the chiefs, who had driven away the natives engaged in assisting the sailors to roll the casks to the shore. When informed of this, Captain King immediately went to the watering-place. On seeing him approach, the natives threw away the stones with which they had armed themselves. After remonstrating with the chiefs, they drove away the crowd that had collected at the prospect of an affray, and the watering-party were no more molested.

On the events which followed this first attempt of the natives to resist and defy the foreigners there are three independent sources of information. First, Captain King's continuation of Captain Cook's journal of the "Voyage to the Pacific Ocean," vol. iii.; second, Ledyard's Life, by Sparks; and, third, the native reminiscences as recorded

by D. Malo, S. Dibble, and S. M. Kamakau. The main facts are the same with all these authorities, though each one supplies details that are omitted or unknown to the others. Captain King received his information, where he was not personally present, from Lieutenant Philips and others who accompanied Cook ashore on that ill-fated 14th of February. Ledyard professes to have been one of the company who went ashore with Cook, and was an eye-witness to the whole affray. Malo, Dibble, and Kamakau obtained their information from some of the high chiefs who were present at the time and formed the "Ai-alo" (court circle) of *Kalanioopuu*. There are a few discrepancies between King's and Ledyard's accounts, but they are not very material, and may be owing to want of correct information on the one part, and to exaggeration and a confused memory on the other, whose memoirs were only written years after the event.

Among these various versions of the same melancholy event and the causes that led to it, I prefer to follow the compilation of the native authorities as prepared by Rev. Sheldon Dibble in his "History of the Sandwich Islands," printed at Lahainaluna, 1843, as the least inflated and probably most correct account that can now be obtained. Mr. Dibble says:—

"Some men of Captain Cook used violence to the canoe of a certain young chief whose name was *Palea*. The chief making resistance, was knocked down by one of the white men with a paddle.

"Soon after, *Palea*<sup>1</sup> stole a boat from Captain Cook's

<sup>1</sup> This was the same *Palea* who from the first had been the constant, kind, and obliging friend of Captain Cook and all the foreigners, and who, only the day before Cook's death, had saved the crew of the pinnace of the "Resolution" from being stoned to death by the natives, exasperated at the brutal and insolent manner in which *Palea* had been treated by an officer of the "Discovery." It was

during the night after the above fracas, the night of the 13th February, that the cutter of the "Discovery" was stolen from her mooring, as King himself admits, "by *Palea*'s people, very probably in revenge for the blow that had been given him," and not by *Palea* himself. The boat had been taken to Onouli, a couple of miles higher up the coast, and there broken to pieces.

ship. The theft may be imputed to revenge, or to a desire to obtain the iron fastenings of the boat.

“ Captain Cook commanded *Kalaniopuu*, the king of the island, to make search for the boat and restore it. The king could not restore it, for the natives had already broken it in pieces to obtain the nails, which were to them the articles of the greatest value.

“ Captain Cook came on shore with armed men to take the king on board, and to keep him there as security till the boat should be restored.

“ In the meantime was acted the consummate folly and outrageous tyranny of placing a blockade upon a heathen bay, which the natives could not possibly be supposed either to understand or appreciate. The large cutter and two boats from the ‘Discovery’ had orders to proceed to the mouth of the bay, form at equal distances across, and prevent any communication by water from any other part of the island to the towns within the bay, or from within to those without.

“ A canoe came from an adjoining district, bound within the bay. In the canoe were two chiefs of some rank, *Kekuhaupio* and *Kalimu*.<sup>1</sup> The canoe was fired upon from one of the boats, and *Kalimu* was killed. *Kekuhaupio* made the greatest speed till he reached the place of the king, where Captain Cook also was, and communicated the intelligence of the death of the chief. The attendants of the king were enraged, and showed signs of hostility; but were restrained by the thought that Captain Cook was a god.<sup>2</sup> At that instant a warrior, with a spear in his hand, approached Captain Cook, and was heard to say that the boats in the harbour had killed his brother, and

<sup>1</sup> *Kekuhaupio* was the great warrior chief under *Kalaniopuu* who had instructed *Kamehameha* in all the martial exercises of the time. He was the son-in-law of the high-priest *Holoae*, and his daughter *Kailipakalua* was the great-grandmother of the present Hon. Mrs. Pauahi Bishop.

*Kalimu* was the brother of *Palea*, but I have been unable to trace their pedigree.

<sup>2</sup> King mentions that when *Kalaniopuu* manifested a willingness to go on board the “Resolution” with Captain Cook, and his two younger sons were already in the pinnace, his

he would be revenged. Captain Cook, from his enraged appearance and that of the multitude, was suspicious of him, and fired upon him with his pistol. Then followed a scene of confusion, and in the midst of it Captain Cook being hit with a stone, and perceiving the man who threw it, shot him dead. He also struck a certain chief with his sword whose name was *Kalaimanokahoowaha*.<sup>1</sup> The chief instinctively seized Captain Cook with a strong hand, designing merely to hold him, and not to take his life, for he supposed him to be a god, and that he could not die. Captain Cook struggled to free himself from the grasp, and as he was about to fall uttered a groan. The people immediately exclaimed, 'He groans—he is not a god,' and instantly slew him. Such was the melancholy death of Captain Cook.

"Immediately the men in the boat commenced a deliberate fire upon the crowd. They had refrained in a measure before for fear of killing their captain. Many of the natives were killed. In vain did the ignorant natives hold up their frail leaf-mats to ward off the bullets. They seemed to imagine that it was the fire from the guns that was destructive, for they not only shielded themselves with mats, but took constant care to keep them wet. Soon round-shot from one of the ships was fired into the middle of the crowd, and both the thunder of the cannon and the effects of the shot operated so powerfully that it produced a precipitate retreat from the shore to the mountains.

"The body of Captain Cook was carried into the interior of the island, the bones secured according to their custom, and the flesh burnt in the fire. The heart, liver, &c., of

wife, whom King calls Kanee-Kabareea, came along, and "with tears and entreaties besought him not to go on board." The lady's name was *Kanekapolei*, referred to in a previous note. S. M. Kamakau states that the lady was *Kalola*, another of *Kalaniopuu's* wives; but it will be

seen hereafter that *Kalola* and her son *Kiwalao* were probably on Maui at this time.

<sup>1</sup> He was also known by the name of Kanaina, and from him the late Charles Kanaina, father of the late King Luaalilo, received his name.

Captain Cook were stolen and eaten by some hungry children, who mistook them in the night for the inwards of a dog. The names of the children were *Kupa*, *Mohoole*, and *Kaiwikokoole*. These men are now all dead. The last of the number died two years since at the station of Lahaina. Some of the bones of Captain Cook were sent on board his ship, in compliance with the urgent demands of the officers, and some were kept by the priests as objects of worship.”<sup>1</sup>

The other side of the bay, where the carpenters and sailmakers were at work, and where the observatory was erected, and where Captain King was in charge, shared also in the confusion, strife, and bloodshed which had been enacted at Kaawaloa.<sup>2</sup> Protected by *Kaoo* and the priests, the injured mast, the instruments at the observatory, and the ships' artisans, returned on board unhurt. Negotiations were entered into for the recovery of the bodies or bones of Captain Cook and the four marines that had been killed in the affray at Kaawaloa, and the ships, finding their situation precarious, concluded to procure a supply of water and leave the bay. The watering, however, was not suffered to proceed unmolested. The throwing of stones by the natives was at first responded to by the musquets of the foreigners, by the guns from the ships, and finally by burning the village of Napoopoo,<sup>3</sup> in which conflagration the houses of the friendly and faithful priests were destroyed.

“On the evening of the 18th February,” Captain King writes, “a chief called Eappo,<sup>4</sup> who had seldom visited us,

<sup>1</sup> Or, as I have heard native authorities suggest, as objects of revenge, for the purpose of making fish-hooks or arrow-heads of them.

<sup>2</sup> King reports that he learned from some of the priests that seventeen natives were killed in the action at Kaawaloa, where Cook fell, of whom five were chiefs, and that eight natives were killed at the observatory at Napoopoo, three of whom were of

the highest rank. Of the merely wounded no account was made.

<sup>3</sup> A cocoa-nut tree is still standing near the landing-place at Napoopoo whose trunk was pierced through and through by one of the cannon-balls fired on this occasion. The hole made by the ball has never closed up. A melancholy souvenir of *Lono's* visit.

<sup>4</sup> I am unable to ascertain the proper name of this chief. Captain King's orthography must be wrong.



but whom we knew to be a man of the very first consequence, came with presents from Tereoboo to sue for peace. These presents were received, and he was dismissed with the same answer which had before been given, that until the remains of Captain Cook should be restored, no peace would be granted. We learned from this person that the flesh of all the bodies of our people, together with the bones of the trunks, had been burnt; that the limb bones of the marines had been divided among the inferior chiefs, and that those of Captain Cook had been disposed of in the following manner:—The head to a great chief called Kahoo-opeou,<sup>1</sup> the hair to Maia-maia, and the legs, thighs, and arms to Tereoboo.”

The fact that *Kamehameha* was a party to the division of these sad relics of Captain Cook is of itself no proof that he was directly or indirectly a leader or a prominent actor in the fatal affray at Kaawaloa. But the careful historian will not fail to note what Captains Portlock and Dixon, who were the first foreigners that arrived at Hawaii after the death of Captain Cook, and who had been with Cook on his last disastrous voyage, say of *Kamehameha*; that he declined to visit their ships when anchored in Kealakeakua Bay, from apprehension that they had come to avenge the death of Captain Cook, in regard to which Portlock expressly says,<sup>2</sup> that “*Kamehameha* took an active part in the unfortunate affray which terminated in the much-lamented death of Captain Cook.” And again, in the “Voyage of John Meares,” who visited the islands the next year after Captain Portlock, we are told that *Kamehameha* took no common pains to persuade Captain Douglas that *Tereoboo* was poisoned

<sup>1</sup> I am equally unable to give the correct name of this chief, unless, which is probable from his known position as *Kalaniopuu's* generalissimo, it was *Kekuhaupio* above referred to. “Maia-maia,” who got the hair, is evidently *Kamehameha*. Jarves, in his “History of the Ha-

wai Islands,” mentions that “*Liholiho*” (the son of *Kamehameha I.*) is said to have carried a portion of them (the bones of Cook) to England, and to have presented one of the sad relics to the widow of Cook.

<sup>2</sup> Voyage Round the World, by Portlock, 1786, p. 61.

for having encouraged the natives to the murder of Captain Cook.<sup>1</sup> What grounds Portlock had for the assertion that he makes are not stated. He may have spoken of his own personal knowledge, having attended Cook on his last visit to these islands, or he may have expressed what was the current opinion at the time. What motive *Kamehameha* might have had in endeavouring to impose upon Captain Douglas by the story of *Kalaniopuu* having been poisoned by the revolted chiefs for murdering Captain Cook can only be surmised from concurrent circumstances. Certain it is, if Meares' representation of the conversations between *Kamehameha* and Captain Douglas is correct, that *Kamehameha* knowingly told Captain Douglas three distinct untruths in thus imposing upon him. We know now, from native annals and from native contemporary eye-witnesses, that *Kalaniopuu* was at first a willing companion of Cook, then a passive, and lastly a frightened spectator of the affray going on around him, and took no active part in the final tragedy. We know that the chiefs did not revolt from him during the remainder of his life for this or any other cause; and we know that he did not die from poison administered by the revolted chiefs, who threatened worse outrage if he refused to submit, but that he died three years after Cook, of old age and debility. It is impossible to believe that *Kamehameha* was ignorant of these facts, and it is but fair to infer that his motive, in thus misrepresenting things, was to screen himself from the odium and reprisals which he anticipated would follow an act in which he had been a prominent if not a chief actor. Neither Captain Cook nor Captain King mention the presence of *Kivalao*, the son and heir-presumptive of *Kalaniopuu*, and native historians are equally silent as to his whereabouts at the time of Cook's death. In his absence, therefore, *Kamehameha* was the next highest chief of the blood-royal, and might naturally be supposed to have

<sup>1</sup> Voyage of John Meares, 1787, 1788, 1789, London, 1790, p. 374.

resented and forcibly resisted the attempted abduction of his aged uncle, and to have taken an active part in the affray which ensued. The persistent efforts of Captain Cook to bring *Kalaniopuu* on board of his ship, and his unprovoked firing upon the canoes in the bay, would have been enough to fire the blood of civilised men into resistance, much more that of a semi-barbarous chief; and if *Kamehameha* "took an active part in the unfortunate affray," as Portlock says, the impartial historian will not blame him.

On the 20th and 21st of February, "Eappo and the king's son" brought what remained of the bones of Captain Cook on board of the "Resolution," and Eappo having been dismissed with a request to tabu the bay, the bones were committed to the deep with military honours; and on the 22d of February, in the evening, the ships left Kealakeakua Bay for the last time. "The natives, at the time," Captain King says, "were collected on the shore in great numbers, and as we passed along, received our last farewells with every mark of affection and good-will."

On the 24th February, being off the south side of Maui, in the channel between Kahoolawe and Lanai, canoes from Maui came alongside to sell provisions, and Captain King learned from them that they had already heard of the transactions at Kealakeakua and the death of Captain Cook.

Going to the southward of Lanai, and rounding the east and north points of Oahu, the ships anchored off the mouth of the Waialua river on the 27th February. The two captains and Captain King landed, and, he says, "we found but few of the natives, and those mostly women; the men, they told us, were gone to Morotoi to fight<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The "Tahy-terree" of Captain King was the well-known *Kahekili*, king of Maui. The report of Waialua, or Oahu men, warring against *Kahekili* on Molokai is hardly correct. There is no doubt that Molokai was in a distracted condition at the time, and individual free lances from Oahu were probably engaged on the sides of contending chiefs; but in 1779 *Kahahana*, the Oahu king, had but lately returned from Maui, where he

Tahy-terree, but that their chief, Perreeoranee,<sup>1</sup> who had stayed behind, would certainly visit us as soon as he heard of our arrival."

On the 1st of March, the ships not finding watering facilities at Waialua, and having crossed the channel on the 28th, anchored in their former places off Waimea, Kauai. Of their welcome there Captain King writes:—"We had no sooner anchored in our old stations than several canoes came alongside of us, but we could observe that they did not welcome us with the same cordiality in their manner and satisfaction in their countenances as when we were here before. As soon as they got on board, one of the men began to tell us that we had left a disorder amongst their women, of which several persons of both sexes had died. As there was not the slightest appearance of that disorder amongst them on our first arrival, I am afraid it is not to be denied that we were the authors of this irreparable mischief."

On the first day of their stay at Waimea the watering-party experienced much trouble and annoyance from the natives, who were apparently left to themselves in the absence of their chiefs, and who demanded a hatchet as the price for each cask of water that was filled, and who strove in different ways to obtain possession of the musquets of the marines. When the party were getting into the boats to return on board, the natives commenced throwing stones and made a rush for the boats. Two musquets were fired at them, and they dispersed, leaving one fellow wounded on the beach. The next day, however, no further trouble was experienced, some of the chiefs having apparently returned, and the watering-place being tabued by the erection of small white flags around it.

had assisted *Kahekili* in his wars against *Kalaniopuu* of Hawaii, and the rupture between *Kahekili* and *Kahahana* did not occur till some-time afterward, in 1780-81.

<sup>1</sup> "Perreeoranee," properly *Peleioho-*

*lani*. He, and the only one of that name who was king of Oahu, died about the year 1770. The one that Captain King refers to must have been a namesake and an inferior chief in the Waialua district.

Several chiefs having come off on board on the 3d of March, Captain King learned that contentions and wars had occurred between the two high chiefs *Kaneoneo* and *Keawe*<sup>1</sup> in regard to the goats which Captain Cook had left at Niihau, and that during the period of dispute the goats had been killed.

The mother and sister of *Keawe*, and also *Kaneoneo*, visited the ships, making presents to Captain Clarke.

On the 8th of March the ships left Kauai and anchored at their former station at Niihau, and on the 15th of March took their final departure for the north.

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Thus ended the episode of *Lono* (Captain Cook), but its influence on the Hawaiian people was lasting and will long be remembered. He came as a god, and, in the untutored minds of the natives, was worshipped as such; but his death dispelled the illusion; and by those whom he might have so largely benefited he is only remembered for the quantity of iron that for the first time was so abundantly scattered over the country, and for the introduction of a previously unknown and terrible disease.<sup>2</sup> As education and intelligence are spreading, however, among the natives, they will gradually learn to appreciate the benefits that have followed and will continue to follow in the wake of his first discovery. The reproaches that have been levelled at his memory will gradually fade, as men learn to judge others according to the standard of the times and the exceptional circumstances under which they lived and had to act; and while time will eradicate the evils attributed to Cook's arrival, time will also bring into greater prominence the advantages and blessings, the light and the knowledge, to which his discovery opened the

<sup>1</sup> I have referred to *Kaneoneo* before in note to page 164. *Keawe* was another grandson of *Peleioholani* of Oahu.

<sup>2</sup> S. M. Kamakau states that fleas and mosquitoes were unknown in the Hawaiian group until the arrival of Cook's ships.

portals, and enable future historians, be they native or foreign, to draw a truer, more just, and more generous balance. In contemplating what the Hawaiians were one hundred years ago and what they are this day, no candid person can fail to kindly remember the man who first tore the veil of isolation that for centuries had shrouded the Hawaiians in deeper and deeper growing darkness, who brought them in relation with the civilised world, and who pointed the way for others to bring them that knowledge which is power and that light which is life.

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After Captain Cook's death and the final departure of the two ships, *Kalaniopuu* dwelt some time in the Kona district, about Kahaluu and Keauhou, diverting himself with Hula performances, in which it is said that he frequently took an active part, notwithstanding his advanced age. Scarcity of food, after a while, obliged *Kalaniopuu* to remove his court into the Kohala district, where his headquarters were fixed at Kapaau. Here the same extravagant, *laissez-faire*, eat and be merry policy continued that had been commenced at Kona, and much grumbling and discontent began to manifest itself among the resident chiefs and the cultivators of the land, the "Makaainana." *Imakakaloo*, a great chief in the Puna district, and *Nuuanupaahu*, a chief of Naalehu in the Kau district, became the heads and rallying-points of the discontented. The former resided on his lands in Puna, and openly resisted the orders of *Kalaniopuu* and his extravagant demands for contributions of all kinds of property; the latter was in attendance with the court of *Kalaniopuu* in Kohala, but was strongly suspected of favouring the growing discontent.

One day, when the chiefs were amusing themselves with surf-swimming off Kauhola, in the neighbourhood of Halaula, *Nuuanupaahu* was attacked by an enormous

shark. He perceived his danger too late, and the shark bit off one of his hands. Nothing daunted, *Nuuanupaahu* sprang to his feet, and standing upright on the surf-board, shot through the surf and landed safely. But from loss of blood and exhaustion he died a few days after at Pololu, and the court of *Kalaniopuu* was thus relieved from further anxiety in that quarter.

It appears from the native accounts that at this time *Kiwalao*, the son of *Kalaniopuu*, and his mother, *Kalola*, were absent on Maui, on a visit to her brother *Kahekili*. Messengers were sent to recall them to Hawaii, and in the meanwhile the court moved from Kohala to the Waipio valley in Hamakua district. When *Kiwalao* arrived, a grand council of the highest chiefs was convened, at which, with the approval of the chiefs present, *Kalaniopuu* proclaimed *Kiwalao* as his heir and successor in the government and the supervision of the tabus and the "palaoa pae," and he intrusted the care of his particular war-god, *Kukailimoku*, to his nephew *Kamehameha*, who was, however, to be subordinate to *Kiwalao*. The Heiau of Moaula, in Waipio, was then put in repair and consecrated to the service of the war-god aforesaid.

Having thus arranged his worldly and spiritual affairs to his satisfaction, *Kalaniopuu* started with his chiefs and warriors for Hilo, in order to subdue the rebel chief of Puna. In Hilo *Kalaniopuu* consecrated the Heiau called Kanowa, in Puueo, to the service of his war-god; then took up his abode at Ohele, in Waiakea, and then the war with *Imakakaloa* commenced. The rebel chieftain fought long and bravely, but was finally overpowered and beaten. For upwards of a year he eluded capture, being secreted by the country-people of Puna. In the meanwhile *Kalaniopuu* moved from Hilo to the Kau district, stopping first at Punaluu, then at Waiohinu, then at Kamaoa, where he built the Heiau of Pakini in expectation of the capture of *Imakakaloa*. Finally, exasperated at the delay, and the refuge given to the rebel chief by the Puna people,

*Kalaniopuu* sent *Puhili*, one of his Kahus, to ravage the Puna district with fire, *i.e.*, to burn every village and hamlet until *Imakakoloa* should be found or the people surrender him. Commencing with the land of Apua, it was literally laid in ashes. It is said that through some accident one of *Imakakoloa's* own nurses became the means of betraying his hiding-place. He was found, captured, and brought to *Kalaniopuu* in Kamaoa, Kau.

*Imakakoloa* is represented to have been a young man of stately aspect, and with hair on his head so long as to have reached to his heels. That he had secured the affection of his people is shown by the war he waged and the shelter he found among them when the war was over, and he was hunted as an outlaw by *Kalaniopuu's* warriors and servants.

When *Imakakoloa* was to be sacrificed at the Heiau of Pakini, the performance of the ceremony devolved on *Kiwalao*, as representing his father. The routine of the sacrifice required that the presiding chief should first offer up the pigs prepared for the occasion, then bananas, fruit, &c., and lastly, the captive chief. But while *Kiwalao* was in the act of offering up the pigs and fruit, *Kamehameha* catches hold of the slain chief and offers him up at the same time, and then dismisses the assembly.

The native authorities intimate that *Kamehameha* was instigated to this act of insubordination by some chiefs who, in fomenting strife and jealousy between the two cousins, saw an opportunity of profit to themselves. As no names of such Hawaiian Aчитophels are given in the native accounts, it may possibly be but a surmise of *Kamehameha's* contemporaries, who in that way sought to remove the blame from his shoulders. The more probable motive would be irritation and a sense of slight at being superseded, as it were, by *Kiwalao* in the performance of the sacrifices to that particular god which *Kalaniopuu* had officially and solemnly intrusted to his care at Waipio. While, therefore, native chroniclers do



not go deep enough in search of motives to an act that doubtless coloured the subsequent intercourse of the cousins, and left its sting in both their breasts, the resentment felt by *Kamehameha* at what he considered an intrusion upon his prerogative may very likely have been fanned into flame by evil counsellors.

This daring act of *Kamehameha* created an immense excitement in the court circle of *Kalaniopuu* and among the chiefs generally, and not a few looked upon it as an act of rebellion. When *Kalaniopuu* was informed of the transaction, he called *Kamehameha* privately to his side, and told him that the sentiment of the chiefs about the court was so bitter and hostile to him that it would be difficult to answer for his safety, and advised him kindly to leave the court and go to Kohala for a season, but to be careful to attend to the observances due to his god *Kukailimoku*.

*Kamehameha* took his uncle's advice, and in company with his wife *Kalola*,<sup>1</sup> his brother *Kalaimamahu*,<sup>2</sup> and the god *Kaili*, he left Kau, and passing through Hilo, went to Halawa, his patrimonial estate in Kohala, where he remained till the death of *Kalaniopuu*.

From Kamaoa *Kalaniopuu* moved down to Kaalualu and Paiahaa, and from there to Kalae, where he attempted to dig a well in order to obtain good water, but failed to reach it. In his anger and disappointment he killed the soothsayer who had endeavoured to dissuade him from so fruitless an attempt.

Intending to go to Kona once more, *Kalaniopuu* left the seashore of Kalae and went up to Kailikii, in Waioa-

<sup>1</sup> *Kalola* was the daughter of *Kumu-koa*, who was the son of *Keaweikekahialiiikamoku*, the king of Hawaii, and his wife *Kane-a-Lae*. *Kalola* afterwards had *Kekuamanoha*, a younger brother of *Kahakili* of Maui, for husband, and became the mother of the valiant and faithful *Manono*, the wife of *Kekuaokalani*, a nephew of *Kamehameha*.

<sup>2</sup> *Kalaimamahu* was the son of *Keouakalanikupuapaikalani* and *Kamakaeheukuli*, who was a daughter of *Haae*, of the famous *Mahi* family in Kohala, and his wife *Kalelemaulio-okalani*. *Kalaimamahu* was the father of the late *Kekauluohi*, who was mother of the late King *Lunalilo*.

hukini, where he sickened and died some time in the month of January 1782.<sup>1</sup> Of course his exact age cannot be ascertained, but he was very old, and probably upwards of eighty years old when he died.

It has been often asserted that *Kalaniopuu* was the son of *Peleioholani*, and that his mother, *Kamakaimoku*, was pregnant with him when *Kalaninuiamamao* brought her to Hawaii as his wife from Oahu, where her mother and brothers were living at Waikele, in the Ewa district; and it is said that his mother called him *Ka-lei-opuu*, after the ivory ornament with braids of human hair worn as a necklace by the Oahu chiefs, which name the Hawaii chiefs and nurses (*Kahu*) perverted to *Kalaniopuu*. The truth or error of this assertion was apparently an open question in *Kalaniopuu's* own lifetime, and will probably ever remain so.

During the last years of *Kalaniopuu's* life, *Kahekili*, the Maui king, invaded the Hana district of Maui, which since 1759 had been an appanage of the Hawaii kingdom. Successful this time, *Kahekili* reduced the celebrated fort on the hill of Kauwiki and reannexed the Hana district to the Maui dominion. The particulars will be given when treating of *Kahekili's* reign among the Maui sovereigns.

*Kalaniopuu* had at different times of his life six wives; their names were—

(1.) *Kalola*, the great tabu chiefess of Maui, daughter of *Kekaulike* and his wife *Kekuiapoiwanui*. With her he had but one child, *Kiwalao*, who succeeded him as king of Hawaii.

(2.) *Kalainwahineuli*, the daughter of *Heulu* and his wife *Kahikiokalani*, and thus a cousin on his mother's side. With her he had a son, *Kalaipaihala*, great-grandfather of the present queen-dowager, *Emma Kaleleonalani*.

(3.) *Kamakolunuiokalani*, with whose pedigree I am not acquainted. With her he had a daughter, *Pualinui*, who became the mother of the late *Luluhiwalandi* of Lahaina.

<sup>1</sup> Jarves in his history says that *Kalaniopuu* died in April 1782. I know not Jarves' authority.

(4.) *Mulehu*, of a Kau chief family. With her he had a daughter, *Manoua* or *Manowa*, who became the grandmother of the late *Asa Kaeo*, and great-grandmother of the present *Peter Kaeo Kekuaokalani*. With another husband, named *Kalaniwahikapaa*,<sup>1</sup> *Mulehu* became the grandmother of the late *A. Paki*, and great-grandmother of the present Mrs. *Pauahi Bishop*.

(5.) *Kanekapolei* is claimed by some to have been the daughter of *Kauakahiakua*, of the Maui royal family, and his wife *Umiaemoku*; by others she is said to have been of the Kau race of chiefs. With her he had two sons, *Keoua Kuahuula* and *Keoua Peeale*. The former contested the supremacy of Hawaii with *Kamehameha* after the death of *Kiwalao*; the latter made no name for himself in history.

(6.) *Kekuohi* or *Kekupuohi*, with whose pedigree I am not acquainted, and who had no children with *Kalanioopuu*.

## MAUI.

After *Piilani's* death (p. 87), his oldest son, *Lono-a-Pii*, *Lono-a-Pii* followed him as the Moi of Maui. His character has been severely handled by succeeding generations and the legends they handed down. He is represented as unamiable, surly, avaricious—unpardonable faults in a Hawaiian chieftain. His niggardliness and abuse of his younger brother, *Kiha-a-Piilani*, drove the latter into exile and brought about his own downfall and death, as already narrated on page 98.

*Lono-a-Pii's* wives were—*Kealana-a-waauli*, a great granddaughter of *Kahakuokane*, the sovereign of Kauai, and grandson of *Manokalanipo*. With her he had a daughter called *Kaakaupea*, who became the wife of her uncle *Nihokela*, and mother of *Piilaniwahine*, the wife of *Kamalalawalu*. *Lonoapii* had another daughter named *Moihala*, from whom descended *Kapuleiolaa*, one of the

<sup>1</sup> Son of *Kumukoa-a-Keawe* and *Kaulahoa* (w).

wives of *Kanaloauoo* and ancestress of *Sarai Hiwauli*, wife of the late Hon. *John Ii*.

There is a legend, or rather a version, of the war which *Umi-a-Liloa* undertook against *Lono-a-Pii* on behalf of his brother *Kihapiilani*, which states that when *Umi* arrived with his fleet at Hana, he was informed that *Lono-a-Pii* had died, and that a son of his named *Kalanikupua* reigned in his stead, and had charge of the fort of Kauwiki at Hana; that *Umi* was disposed to spare the young man and allow him to remain on the throne of his father, but *Piikea*, *Umi's* wife, strongly opposed such clemency, and persuaded her husband to prosecute the war and place *Kihapiilani* as *Moi* of Maui. I know not the source of this version, but finding it among the legends of this period, and it being the only one which mentions a son of *Lono-a-Pii*, I refer to it under reserve.

*Kihapiilani*. *Kihapiilani*, who thus forcibly succeeded his brother as *Moi* of Maui, had been brought up by his mother's relatives at the court of *Kukaniloko* of Oahu, and only when arrived at man's estate returned to his father on Maui. Having, as before related, through the assistance of his brother-in-law *Umi* obtained the sovereignty, he devoted himself to the improvement of his island. He kept peace and order in the country, encouraged agriculture, and improved and caused to be paved the difficult and often dangerous roads over the Palis of Kaupo, Hana, and Koolau—a stupendous work for those times, the remains of which may still be seen in many places, and are pointed out as the “Kipapa” of *Kihapiilani*. His reign was eminently peaceful and prosperous, and his name has been reverently and affectionately handed down to posterity.

*Kihapiilani* had two wives—(1.) *Kumaka*, who was of the Hana chief families, and a sister of *Kahuakole*, a chief at Kawaipapa, in Hana. With her he had a son named *Kamalalawaku*, who succeeded him as *Moi* of Maui. (2.) *Koleamoku*, who was daughter of *Hoolae*, the Hana chief at Kauwiki, referred to on page 99. With her he had a

son called *Kauhiokalani*, from whom the Kaupo chief families of *Koo* and *Kaiuli* descended.

*Kamalalawalu* followed his father as Moi of Maui. He <sup>*Kamalalawalu.*</sup> enjoyed a long and prosperous reign until its close, when his sun set in blood and disaster, as already narrated on page 123, &c. His reputation stood deservedly high among his contemporaries and with posterity for good management of his resources, just government of his people, and a liberal and magnificent court according to the ideas of those times, and in recognition of all which his name was associated with that of his island, and Maui has ever since been known in song and saga as *Mawi-a-Kama*. His sumptuous entertainments of the two Hawaii kings, *Keawenui-a-Umi* and his son *Lonoikamakahiki*, are dilated upon in the legends; and Maui probably never stood higher, politically, among the sister kingdoms of the group than during the life of *Kamalalawalu*.

There are no wars mentioned in the legends as having been undertaken by *Kamalalawalu* except the one against *Lonoikamakahiki* of Hawaii, in which *Kamalalawalu* lost his life, and in which the old king's obstinacy was the cause of the disaster that befell his army and himself. But from certain allusions in the legends the inference may with great probability be drawn that the chiefs of Lanai became subject or tributary to Maui during this reign; but whether through war or negotiation is not apparent.

*Kamalalawalu* had only one recognised wife, *Piilani-wahine*. She was the daughter of his cousin *Kaakaupea*, who was the daughter of *Lono-a-Pii*, and who in the family chants was also known by the name of *Kamaikawekiuloloa*. With this wife he had six children, four boys and two girls, named respectively *Kauhi-a-kama*, *Umikalakaua*, *Kalakauaehu-a-kama*, *Pai-kalakaua*, *Piilanikapo*, and *Kaunoho*. The first succeeded him as Moi of Maui; the third, through his children *Kawaumahana*, *Kihamahana*, and *Moihala*, became widely connected with the aristocracy of

the other islands, and progenitor of several still living families. Of the other four children of *Kamalalawalu* little is known.

*Kauhi-a-kama.*

*Kauhi-a-kama* followed his father on the throne of Maui. It is related of him that when *Kamalalawalu* was meditating and preparing for the invasion and war on Hawaii, he sent *Kauhi* on a secret mission to explore and report upon the condition, resources, and populousness of the Kohala and Kona districts; and that *Kauhi* performed his mission so carelessly or ignorantly, that, on his return to Maui, he led the old king to believe that those districts were but thinly peopled and totally unprepared to resist an invasion; and that this incorrect report from his own son confirmed *Kamalalawalu* in his project of invasion. It is further related that after the disastrous battle at Hokuula, where *Kamalalawalu* and the best part of his army perished, *Kauhi* escaped to Kawaihae, where he hid himself among the rocks for two days until discovered by *Hinau*, who assisted him and procured a canoe, in which they crossed over to Maui.

Returned to his own island, *Kauhi* assumed the government left vacant by the death of his father, and gratefully remembered the services of *Hinau* by heaping wealth and distinction upon him, until, in an evil hour, *Hinau* was enticed to return to Hawaii on a visit, was caught by the orders of *Lonoikamakahiki*, slain, and sacrificed at the Heiau.

Of the subsequent career of *Kauhi* not much is said in the legends. It appears, however, that at the close of his reign he headed an expedition to Oahu; that having landed at Waikiki, he was met by the Oahu chiefs, and was defeated and slain, his body exposed at the Heiau of Apuakehau, and that great indignities were committed with his bones. And it is further said that the memory of this great outrage instigated his descendant, *Kahekili*, to the fearful massacre of the Oahu chiefs, when, after the battle at Niuhelewai, he had defeated the Oahu king, *Kahahana*, and conquered the island.

*Kauihakama*, like his father, had but one recognised wife, *Kapukini*. She was the daughter of *Makakaualii*, the grandson of *Keliokaloa*, of the Hawaii reigning family, and sister to the celebrated *Iwikawikawa*. Their only known son was *Kalanikaumakaowakea*, who followed his father as *Moi* of *Maui*. Peace and its attendant blessings obtained on *Maui* during his reign; and not a cloud abroad or at home gave rise to an item in the legend or the chants referring to his name among the *Mois* of *Maui*.

*Kalani-  
kaumaka-  
owakea.*

*Kalanikaumakaowakea* had two wives—(1.) *Kaneakauhi*, or, as she was also called, *Kaneakalaru*. With her he had a son, *Lonohonuakini*, who succeeded him as *Moi*, and a daughter, *Piilaniwahine*, who became the wife of *Ahu-a-I*, of the great *I* family on *Hawaii*, and mother of *Lonomaaikanaka*, the wife of *Kearweikekahialiikamoku* and mother of *Kalaninuiamamao*. (2.) *Makakuwahine*, a daughter of *Kanelaukahi* and his wife *Kamaka*, of the *Kaunwi-a-Maweke-Laakona* family. With her he had a son named *Umi-a-Liloa*, from whose three children, *Papai-kaniau*, *Kuimiheua*, and *Uluehu*, a number of prominent chief families descended. *Kalanikaumakaowakea* had another son called *Karuloaivi*, but whether with the first or second wife, or with some other, is not very clearly ascertained.

*Lonohonuakini* ascended the throne of *Maui* under the flattering auspices of peace and prosperity bequeathed by his father, and, with singular good fortune, succeeded in maintaining the same peaceful and orderly condition during his own reign also. Though the yearly feasts and the monthly sacrifices were performed as usual, though bards gathered to the chieftain's court to chant the deeds of his ancestors and extol the wealth and glory of his own reign, yet the smooth and placid stream of this and the preceding reigns left no ripple on the traditional record, and considering the convulsed condition of the neighbouring islands, this absolute silence is their noblest epitaph.

*Lonohonu-  
kini.*

*Lonohonuakini's* wife was *Kalanikauanakinilani*, with

whom he had the following children:—*Kaulahea*, a son, who succeeded his father in the government; *Lonomakaihonua*, who was grandfather to the celebrated bard *Keaulumoku*; *Kalaniomaihevila*, mother of *Kalanikahimakeialii*, the wife of *Kualii* of Oahu, and, through her daughter *Kaionuilalahai*, grandmother of *Kahahana*, the last independent king of Oahu, of the Oahu race of chiefs, who lost his life and his kingdom in the war with Maui in 1783.

*Kaulahea.*

*Kaulahea* continued the same peaceful policy as his father and grandfather had pursued, and Maui deservedly rose to be considered as a model state among its sister kingdoms of the group. It is probable, however, that during this period were sown the seeds of disintegration which in the next two reigns destroyed the independence and autonomy of the island of Molokai, whose chiefs in their internal divisions and quarrels began to seek outside support, some from Maui, some from Oahu.

But no prospect of foreign conquests, however tempting, induced *Kaulahea* to forsake the peaceful path of his fathers, and no domestic troubles with his feudal chiefs distracted his attention or impoverished his resources.

*Kaulahea* had two wives — (1.) *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*, daughter of *Keakealani*, the sovereign queen of Hawaii, and half-sister of *Keawekekahialiiokamoku*, already referred to on page 128. With her he had a daughter named *Kekuiapoivanui*, also known in the chants by the names of *Kalanikauhihiwakama* and *Wanakapu*.<sup>1</sup> (2.) *Papaikaniau*, also known as *Lonoikaniau*, the daughter of his

<sup>1</sup> I am aware that certain genealogists contend that *Kekuiapoivanui* was the daughter of *Keawe* and *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*; that she was born at Olowalu or Ukumehame while her said parents were on a visit to Maui; that *Kaulahea*, the Moi of Maui, and then living at Wailuku, hearing of the event, sent to *Keawe* and asked that the new-born child be given to him to be brought up as a wife for

his son *Kekaulike*, and that *Keawe* and his wife complied with the request. I know not how old that assertion may be; but I am certain that neither David Malo, who was instructed by *Ulumehihehi Hoapilikane*, nor S. M. Kamakau, who was particularly well informed in the Maui genealogies, so understood it or so expressed it. It was a matter of frequent occurrence in those days



uncle, *Umi-a-Iloa*. With her he had a son named *Kekaulike*, also known by the name of *Kalaninuiuihonoikamoku*, who succeeded him as *Moi* of *Maui*.<sup>1</sup>

*Kekaulike's* reign over *Maui* continued for a long time on the same peaceful and prosperous footing as that of his predecessors; but towards the close of his life, after the death of *Keawe* of *Hawaii*, the civil war then raging on *Hawaii* presented too tempting an opportunity for invasion, possibly conquest, or at least unresisted plunder, and *Kekaulike* assembling his fleet and his warriors, started on the expedition recorded on page 133. It was a raid on a grand scale, that brought no laurels to *Kekaulike's* brow, and did not materially cripple the resources of *Hawaii*. *Kekaulike.*

We know that *Kekaulike* died the year that *Kamehameha I.* was born, 1736-40, probably nearer the former year, and thus we have here a starting-point for computing the generations of chiefs on *Maui*.

When *Kekaulike* was on his death-bed, while being brought from *Mokulau* in *Kaupo*—where he landed on his return from the raid on *Hawaii*—to *Wailuku*, he appointed his son *Kamehamehanui* as his successor, thus breaking the rule of primogeniture which generally was observed on such occasions. But this deviation from a common rule was probably based upon the consideration that not only was *Kamehamehanui* an *Alii Niaupio*, being the son of *Kekuiapoiwanui*, but also that the said mother was of higher rank than *Kahawalu*, the mother of *Kekaulike's* first-born son, *Kauhiamokuakama*.

*Kekaulike* enjoyed the company of several wives, and was blessed with a numerous progeny. We know who

that high chiefesses visited the other islands and contracted alliances according to their own liking, and as long as they liked. They were as much at liberty to have more than one husband as the high chiefs were to have more than one wife, and the whole life of *Kalanikauleleiwai* shows that she availed herself of her privileges in that respect.

<sup>1</sup> It is said by some genealogists that *Kaulahea* had another son named *Kanaluihoae*, who was the father of *Namakeha*, of whom more hereafter; but I am inclined to follow those who represent *Kanaluihoae* as the son of *Uluehu*, a brother of *Papaikaniau*, the wife of *Kaulahea*, and his cousin. *Kanaluihoae's* mother was *Kalanikauihaliiohaloa*.

was his first wife, but the order in which the others were obtained is not certain. They probably were contemporary with each other, or nearly so.

The wives and children of *Kekaulike* were—

(1.) *Kahawalu*, from the Kaupo or Hana chief families. With her he had but one son, the aforesaid *Kauhiaimokua-kama*, whose ambition and whose fate is mentioned on page 140-42. Of this *Kauhi's* descendants, the most prominent in Hawaiian history was his daughter's<sup>1</sup> son, *Kalaimoku*, famous in the latter part of the wars of *Kamehameha I.*, and as prime minister of the kingdom after *Kamehameha's* death. That branch of the family is now extinct; but from another daughter<sup>2</sup> of *Kauhi*, who became one of the wives of *Keaumokupapaia*, there still survives a grandson in the valley of Pelekunu, on Molokai.

(2.) *Kekuiapoawanui*, who was his half-sister, as before stated. With her he had the following children:—*Kamehamehanui*, a son who succeeded his father as *Moi* of Maui. *Kalola*, a daughter, who became the wife of *Kalaniopuu*, the king of Hawaii, and bore to him his son and successor, *Kiwalao*. She was also at one time the wife of *Keouakalanikupua*, *Kamehameha I.'s* father, and with him had a daughter, *Kekuiapoiva Liliha*, who became the mother of *Keopuolani*, the queen of *Kamehameha I.* *Kalola* was also the mother of a girl, *Kalanikauwikikilokalaniakua*, who in those days was one of the highest tabu chiefs, on whom the sun was not permitted to shine, and who, unless with extraordinary precautions, only

<sup>1</sup> *Kamakahukilani*. She was of the Kaupo *Koo* family. Her mother's name was *Luukia*. She married *Kekuamanoha*, one of *Kekaulike's* sons with *Haalou*, and thus became the mother of *Kalaimoku*, mentioned above; of his brother *Poki*, whose turbulent career met a tragical close on a sandalwood expedition to the New Hebrides in 1829; and of a daughter, *Kahakuhaakoi*, who became the mother of *Kahalaiia*, the first governor of Kauai

after *Kaumualii's* death, and of *Keahikuni Kekauonohi*, a granddaughter of *Kamehameha I.*

<sup>2</sup> *Kalotawahilani*. With *Keaumokupapaia* she had a son, *Keakakilohi*, who, with *Kamahanakapu*—a daughter of *Kawelookalani* and his wife *Naonoaina*, the former a brother of *Kamehameha I.*, the latter a granddaughter of *Kaiakea* of Molokai—begat a son, *Kalaniopuu*, the person referred to above.

moved about when the sun was so low as not to throw its beams upon her head. There was another daughter of *Kekaulike* and *Kekuiapoiwanui* on the genealogy, named *Kuhoochiepahu*, but she is not further referred to, and probably died young. The youngest scion of this union was a son, *Kahekali*, who succeeded his brother *Kamehamehanui* as *Moi*, and was the last independent king of Maui.

(3.) *Kane-a-Lae*, daughter of *Lae*, one of the independent chiefs of the eastern part of Molokai. She had previously been one of the wives of *Keawe* of Hawaii. With her he had a daughter named *Luahiwa*, who became one of the wives of his son *Kahekali*.

(4.) *Hoolau*, daughter of *Kawelo-aila*, a grandson of *Lonoikamakahiki* of Hawaii, and of *Kauakahiheleikarwi*.<sup>1</sup> With her he had two sons and one daughter—*Kekauhiwamoku*, from whom descended *Keouawahine*, the grandmother of her Highness *Ruth Keelikolani*; *Kaeokulani*, who married *Kamakahalei*, sovereign of Kauai, and became father of *Kaumualii*, the last independent sovereign of that island, and grandfather of the present queen, *Kapiolani*, and her sisters; and *Manuhaaipo*, who was the mother of *Kailinaoa* and grandmother of *Ahu Kai Kaulualii*.

(5.) *Haalou*, daughter of *Haae*, the son of *Kauaua-a-Mahi* and brother of *Alapainui* of Hawaii, and of *Kalelemauliokalani*, daughter of *Kaaloapii*, a chief from Kau, and of *Kaneikaheilani*, said to have been a daughter or granddaughter of *Kawelo-a-Mahunalii*, who in his day was the *Moi* of Kauai. With her *Kekaulike* had one son and two daughters—(1.) *Kekuamanoha*, previously referred to; (2.) *Namahana-i-Kaleleokalani*, who was first the wife of her half-brother *Kamehamehanui*, with whom she had two sons, *Pelioholani* and *Kuakini*, who both died young; afterwards she became the wife of *Keeaumokupapaiahahi*, the son of *Keawepeope* of Hawaii, with whom she had three daughters (*Kaahumanu*, *Kaheihemalie*, and

<sup>1</sup> Of the Kauai aristocracy.

*Kekuaipia*) and two sons (*Kecaumokuopio*, known by the English name of George Cox, and *Kuakini*, also known as John Adams); (3.) *Kekuapoi-ula*, said to have been the most beautiful woman of her time, and who became the wife of *Kahahana*, the king of Oahu.

*Kamohomoho*, a high chief on Maui in the time of *Kahekili*, is said to have been a son of *Kekaulike*, but his mother's name has not been handed down.

*Kamehamehanui.*

*Kamehamehanui* followed his father *Kekaulike* as Mōi of Maui. I have on previous pages described his relations with *Alapainui* of Hawaii, and his troubles and civil war with his half-brother, *Kauhiaimokuakama*. After this nothing transpired to interrupt the peace and tranquillity of Maui until the abrupt invasion by *Kalaniopuu* of Hawaii, about the year 1759, when the districts of Hana and Kipahulu were wrenched from the crown of Maui and became subject to Hawaii. It is probable that, although *Kamehamehanui* failed in retaking the fort of Kauwiki, Hana, yet to some extent he curtailed the possessions of Hawaii outside of Kauwiki, more especially on the Koolau side.

It should be mentioned that in his younger days, when quite a lad, *Kamehamehanui* was brought up at Moanui, Molokai, in the family of his nurse and "Kahu," *Palemo*, of whom several descendants still survive.

*Kamehamehanui* resided most of his time at Wailuku, and there he died about the year 1765. He had two wives—his half-sister, *Namahana*, with whom he had two children, *Pelioholani* and *Kuakini*, who both died young; and *Kekukamano*, whose lineage is unknown to me, and with whom he had three sons, *Kalaniulumoku*, *Kalanihemailuna*, and *Peapea*, all apparently of tender age at the time of his death. Of the two first, several scions still survive; the line of the last, I believe, is extinct, *Peapea* himself having been killed in 1794 by the explosion of a barrel of gunpowder at the fort of Kauwiki, Hana.

When *Kamehamehanui* died, the government of Maui

devolved by force of circumstances upon his brother *Kahekili*, the youngest son of *Kekaulike* and *Kekuia-Kahekili-poiwanui*, and the highest chief in the absence of his sister *Kalola*, the wife of *Kalaniopuu*.

*Kahekili* is said, by those who knew him in mature life and later age, to have been of a stern, resolute, and reserved temper, living much by himself and avoiding crowds. He gave freely, as became a chief, but was annoyed at the boisterous *éclat* which his largesses elicited. He was laborious and persistent, cold, calculating, and cruel. Successful in all his enterprises during a long life, yet its close was clouded by reverses, and he presented the singular instance of a monarch who conquered another kingdom but was not able to keep his own. In an age when tattooing was declining as a custom, he made himself conspicuous by having one side of his body from head to foot so closely tattooed as to appear almost black, while the other side bore the natural colour of the skin. In a state of society where a number of wives was looked upon as an indispensable portion of a chief's establishment, *Kahekili* contented himself with only two wives. Being a younger son, with no prospect or expectation of ascending the throne until nearly fifty years old, he had lived as a private nobleman, a dutiful son, and a loyal brother during the two preceding reigns. But after the death of *Kamehamehanui's* children with *Namahana*, *Kahekili* was the highest chief on Maui, and as such assumed the government at his brother's death by common consent as of right.

I have mentioned on foregoing pages (149-57) the domestic trouble of *Kahekili* with *Keeaumoku-papaia*, the new husband of his sister *Namahana*, and his wars with *Kalaniopuu*, the Moi of Hawaii, up to the fall of the year 1778, and the arrival of the discovery ships under command of Captain Cook.

In 1781 *Kahekili*, hearing of the weakness and approaching end of *Kalaniopuu*, prepared his forces to recover the

districts of East Maui, which for so long a time had been under the rule of the Hawaii king. *Mahihelelima* was still Governor of Hana, and with him were a number of Hawaii chiefs of high renown and lineage,<sup>1</sup> *Kalokuokamaile*, *Naeole*, *Malualani*, *Kaloku*, and others. *Kahhekili* divided his forces in two divisions, and marched on Hana by Koolau and by Kaupo. The fort on Kauwiki was invested, and the siege continued for many months. The Hawaii chiefs were well provisioned, and the fort held out stoutly until *Kahhekili* was advised to cut off the water supply of the fort by damming and diverting the springs in the neighbourhood. The measure succeeded, and the garrison, making desperate sorties beyond their lines to procure water, were slain in numbers and finally surrendered, expecting no mercy and obtaining none. *Mahihelelima* and *Naeole* made good their escape to Hawaii,<sup>2</sup> but the larger number of Hawaii chiefs and soldiers were slain and their corpses burnt at Kuawalu and at Honuaula. This war is called in the native legends the war of *Kaumupikao*.

Thus the famous fort of Kauwiki fell again into the power of the Maui king, but its prestige was gone, and we never hear of it again as a point of strategical importance.

According to the political economy of those days, *Kahhekili* fell back from the devastated neighbourhood of Kauwiki to the large plain of Makaliihanau, above Muolea, in Hana district, and employed himself, his

<sup>1</sup> *Kalokuokamaile* was the son of *Keouakalanikupuapaikalani*, and half-brother of *Kamehameha I.*; his mother was *Kalanilehua*, also called *Kahikikala*, said to have been a granddaughter of *Mopua* of Molokai. *Kalokuokamaile*, through his daughter *Kaohelani*, became the grandfather of the late *Laanui*, and great-grandfather of the present Mrs. *Elizabeth Kaaniau Pratt*.

*Naeole* was the same Kohala chief who abducted *Kamehameha I.* on the night that he was born.

*Malualani* was the son of *Kekau-like*, the granddaughter of *Keawe* of Hawaii, and her husband, *Kepoomahoe*. He was grandfather of the late *Kalaipaihala* of Lahaina. *Malualani*'s sister, *Kalaikauuleiwi II.*, was the great-grandmother of the present queen, *Kapiolani*.

Who the last-mentioned *Kaloku* was I am unable to determine.

<sup>2</sup> It is said by some that *Malualani* also escaped to Hawaii, and was afterwards killed in an affray at Makapala, Kohala.

chiefs, and his soldiers in planting a food-crop for the coming year. The surrender of Kauwīki may be dated as of the early part of 1782, about the time of *Kalaniʻōpuu's* death.

In order to understand the political relations between *Kahekili* and *Kahahana*, the king of Oahu, and the causes of the war between them, it is necessary to go back to the year 1773, when *Kumahana*, the son of *Peleioholani*, was deposed by the chiefs and Makaainana of Oahu. Though *Kumahana* had grown-up children at the time, yet the Oahu nobles passed them by in selecting a successor to the throne, and fixed their eyes on young *Kahahana*, the son of *Elani*, one of the powerful Ewa chiefs of the *Maweke Lakona* line, and on his mother's side closely related to *Kahekili* and the Maui royal family. *Kahahana* had from boyhood been brought up at the court of *Kahekili*, who looked upon his cousin's child almost as a son of his own. What share, if any, indirectly, that *Kahekili* may have had in the election of *Kahahana*, is not known; but when the tidings arrived from Oahu announcing the result to *Kahekili*, he appears at first not to have been overmuch pleased with it. The Oahu chiefs had deputed *Kekela-okalani*, a high chiefess, a cousin to *Kahahana's* mother and also to *Kahekili*, to proceed to Wailuku, Maui, and announce the election and solicit his approval. After some feigned or real demurrer, *Kahekili* consented to *Kahahana* going to Oahu, but refused to let his wife *Kekuapoi-ula* go with him, lest the Oahu chiefs should ill-treat her. Eventually, however, he consented, but demanded as a price of his consent that the land of Kualoa in Koolaupoko district should be ceded to him, and also the "Palaoa-pae" (the whalebone and ivory) cast on the Oahu shores by the sea.

Hampered with these demands of the crafty *Kahekili*, *Kahahana* started with his wife and company for Oahu, and landed at Kahaloa in Waikiki. He was enthusiastically received, installed as *Moi* of Oahu, and great were the rejoicings on the occasion.

Shortly after his installation, *Kahahana* called a great council of the Oahu chiefs and the high-priest *Kaopulupulu*, and laid before them the demands of *Kahekili* regarding the land of Kualoa and the "Palaoa-pae." At first the council was divided, and some thought it was but a fair return for the kindness and protection shown *Kahahana* from his youth by *Kahekili*; but the high-priest was strongly opposed to such a measure, and argued that it was a virtual surrender of the sovereignty and independence of Oahu. Kualoa being one of the most sacred places on the island, where stood the sacred drums of *Kapahuula* and *Kaahu-ulapunawai*, and also the sacred hill of *Kauakahi-a-Kahoowaha*; and the surrender of the "Palaoa-pae" would be a disrespect to the gods; in fact, if *Kahekili's* demands were complied with, the power of war and of sacrifice would rest with the Maui king and not with *Kahahana*. He represented strongly, moreover, that if *Kahahana* had obtained the kingdom by conquest, he might do as he liked, but having been chosen by the Oahu chiefs, it would be wrong in him to cede to another the national emblems of sovereignty and independence. *Kahahana* and all the chiefs admitted the force of *Kaopulupulu's* arguments, and submitted to his advice not to comply with the demands of *Kahekili*.

*Kahekili* was far too good a politician to display his resentment at this refusal of his demands, knowing well that he could not have the slightest prospects of enforcing them by war so long as the Oahu chiefs were united in their policy, and that policy was guided by the sage and experienced high-priest *Kaopulupulu*. He dissembled, therefore, and kept up friendly relations with *Kahahana*, but secretly turned his attention to destroy the influence of *Kaopulupulu* in the affairs of Oahu, and create distrust and enmity between him and *Kahahana*. In this object he is said to have been heartily advised and assisted by his own high-priest, *Kaleopuupu*, the younger brother of



*Kaopulupulu*, and who envied the latter the riches and consideration which his wisdom and skill had obtained for him. Moreover, the warlike preparations of his brother-in-law, the Hawaii king *Kalaniopuu*, cautioned him against precipitating a rupture with so powerful an ally as the Oahu king; and *Kahekili* was but too glad to obtain the assistance of *Kahahana* and his chiefs in the war with *Kalaniopuu*, 1777-78, *Kahahana's* forces arriving from Molokai just in time to share the sanguinary battle on the Waikapu common,<sup>1</sup> related on page 153, and the subsequent events of that war.

After the return of *Kalaniopuu* to Hawaii in January 1779, *Kahahana* went over to Molokai to consecrate the Heiau called Kupukapuakea at Wailau, and to build or repair the large taro patch at Kainalu known as Paikahawai. Here he was joined by *Kahekili*, who was cordially welcomed and royally entertained. On seeing the fruitfulness and prosperity of the Molokai lands, *Kahekili* longed to possess some of them, and bluntly asked *Kahahana* to give him the land of Halawa. *Kahahana* promptly acceded to the request, not being moved by the same considerations regarding the Molokai lands as those of Oahu, Molokai having been conquered and subjected as an appanage or tributary to the Oahu crown by *Peleioholani*. At this meeting, while discussing *Kahahana's* previous refusal to give *Kahekili* the Kualoa land and the "Palaoa-pae" on Oahu, *Kahekili* expressed his surprise at the opposition of *Kaopulupulu*, assuring *Kahahana* that the high-priest had offered the government and throne of Oahu to him (*Kahekili*), but that out of affection for his nephew he had refused; and he intimated strongly that *Kaopulupulu* was a traitor to *Kahahana*.

The poisoned arrow hit its mark, and *Kahahana* returned to Oahu filled with mistrust and suspicion of his faithful

<sup>1</sup> They arrived on the evening of the day that the famous "Alapa" regiment of *Kalaniopuu* was annihilated by *Kahekili*, and joined in the next day's general battle.

high-priest. A coolness arose between them. *Kahahana* withdrew his confidence from, and slighted the advice of, the high-priest, who retired from the court to his own estate in Waialua and Waimea, and caused himself and all his people and retainers to be tattooed on the knee, as a sign that the chief had turned a deaf ear to his advice. It is said that during this period of estrangement *Kahahana* became burdensome to the people, capricious and heedless, and in a great measure alienated their good-will. It is said, moreover, that he caused to be dug up dead men's bones to make arrow-points of wherewith to shoot rats—a favourite pastime of the chiefs; and that he even rifled the tombs of the chiefs in order to make Kahili handles of their bones, thus outraging the public sentiment of the nation. That *Kahahana* was imprudent and rash, and perhaps exacting, there is no doubt; and that conquered chieftains' bones were the legitimate trophies of the victors is equally true; but that *Kahahana* would have violated the tombs of the dead—an act even in those days of the greatest moral baseness—is hardly credible, and is probably an after exaggeration, either by the disaffected priestly faction or by the victorious *Kahékili* plotters.

While such was the condition on Oahu, *Kahékili* reconquered the district of Hana, as already related, and, hearing of the death of *Kalaniopuu* and the subsequent contentions on Hawaii, he felt secure in that direction, and seriously turned his attention to the acquisition of Oahu. He first sent some war-canoes and a detachment of soldiers under command of a warrior chief named *Kahahawai*<sup>1</sup> to the assistance of *Keawemauhili*, the then inde-

<sup>1</sup> It is related by S. M. Kamakau, that when *Kahékili* heard of the defeat and death of *Kiwalao*, and that *Kamehameha* had assumed the sovereignty of the Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua districts on Hawaii, he then sent *Alapai-maloiki* and *Kautunae*, two sons of *Kumaaiku* (w) and half-brothers of *Keaumoku-papaiahahi*, to ask *Kamehameha* to assist him with some double canoes in his projected war against *Kahahana*, and that *Kamehameha* had refused, replying that when he had subdued the chiefs of Hilo and Kau he then would consider *Kahékili's* request; and that when *Keawemauhili*, the chief of Hilo, heard of this refusal, he hastened to send some double canoes and other costly presents to

pendent chief of Hilo, in his contest with *Kamehameha*.<sup>1</sup> He next sent his most trusted servant *Kauhi* to *Kahahana* on Oahu, with instructions to inform *Kahahana* in the strictest confidence that *Kaopulupulu* had again offered him the kingdom of Oahu, but that his regard for *Kahahana* would not allow him to accept it, and exhorting *Kahahana* to be on his guard against the machinations of the high-priest. Credulous as weak, *Kahahana* believed the falsehoods sent him by *Kahekili*, and, without confiding his purpose to any one, he resolved on the death of *Kaopulupulu*. Preparations were ordered to be made for a tour of the island of Oahu, for the purpose of consecrating Heiaus and offering sacrifices. When the king arrived at Waianae he sent for the high-priest, who was then residing on his lands at Waimea and Pupukeya, in the Koolau district, to come to see him. It is said that *Kaopulupulu* was fully aware of the ulterior objects of the king, and was well convinced that the message boded him no good; yet, faithful to his duties as a priest and loyal to the last, he started with his son *Kahulupue* to obey the summons of the king. Arrived at Waianae, *Kahulupue* was set upon by the king's servants, and, while escaping from them, was drowned at Malae.<sup>2</sup> *Kaopulupulu* was killed at Puuloa, in Ewa.

Thus foolishly and cruelly *Kahahana* had played into

*Kahekili*; and that this was the reason why *Kahekili* sent *Kahahawai* and some soldiers to assist *Keawe-mauhili* against *Kamehameha*.

<sup>1</sup> *Kahahawai* was from Waihee, Maui. He was a special friend of *Kahekili* (an "Aikane"), and was the father of *Keaholawaia* and *Haiia*.

<sup>2</sup> The legend relates that when *Kaopulupulu* saw his son set upon and pursued by *Kahahana's* retainers, he called out to him, "*I nui ke aho a moe i ke kai! No ke kai ka hoi ua aina.*" This was one of those oracular utterances in which Hawaiian priests and prophets were as adept as any of

their brethren in other lands. Its literal meaning is—"It is far better to sleep in the sea; for from the sea comes life or the means of living." Those who heard it and reported it found the fulfilment of the prophecy when *Kahekili*, coming over the sea from Maui, conquered Oahu and caused *Kahahana* to be slain. Others sought the fulfilment in the conquest of the group by *Kamehameha* coming from Hawaii; others found it in the arrival of the foreigners, coming over the ocean with new ideas, knowledge, and arts.

the hand of *Kahekili*, who, with his high-priest *Kaleo-pururu*, had for a long time been plotting the death of *Kahahana's* ablest and wisest counsellor.

Though executions *de par le roi* of obnoxious persons for political reasons were not uncommon in those days throughout the group, and by the proud and turbulent nobility generally looked upon more as a matter of personal ill-luck to the victim than as a public injustice, yet this double execution, in the necessity of which few people except the credulous *Kahahana* believed, greatly alienated the feelings of both chiefs and commoners from him, and weakened his influence and resources to withstand the coming storm.

The death of *Kaopulupulu* took place in the latter part of 1782 or beginning of 1783.

As soon as *Kahekili* heard that *Kaopulupulu* was dead, he considered the main obstacle to his acquisition of the island of Oahu to be removed, and prepared for an invasion. He recalled the auxiliary troops under *Kahaharwai* which he had sent to the assistance of *Keawemauhili* in Hilo, and assembled his forces at Lahaina. Touching at Molokai on his way, he landed at Waikiki, Oahu. Among his chiefs and warriors of note on this expedition are mentioned *Kekuamanoha*, *Kaiana*, *Namakeha*, *Kalaikoa*, *Kamohomoho*, *Nahiolea*, *Hueu*, *Kauhikoakoa*, *Kahue*, *Kalaninuiulumoku*, *Peapea*, *Manono-Kauakapekulani*, *Kalanikupule*, *Koalaukane*.<sup>1</sup> Besides his own armament, he had

<sup>1</sup> *Kekuamanoha* was a son of *Ke-kaulike*, king of Maui, and his wife, *Haalou*. He was thus a half-brother to *Kahekili*. His son was the celebrated *Kalaimoku*, prime minister during the regency of *Kaahumanu*. His other son was *Boki*, at one time governor of Oahu.

*Kaiana*, also called *Keawe-Kaiana-a-Ahuula*, was the son of *Ahuula-a-Keawe*, who claimed *Keawe* of Hawaii as his father and *Kaolohaka-a-Keawe* as his brother. *Kaiana's* mother was the famous *Kaupekamoku*, a granddaughter of *Ahia* (w) of the *I* family

of Hilo, Hawaii. This was the same *Kaiana* who went to China in 1787 with Captain *Mearns*, returned to Hawaii, and was finally killed in the battle of *Nuuana*, 1796. His cousin, *Kaiana Ukupe*, the son of *Kaolohaka*, was father of the late *Kaikioewa*, governor of Kauai.

*Namakeha* was son of the above-mentioned *Kaupekamoku* and *Kanaluhoae*, a brother or cousin of *Ke-kaulike* of Maui. In after-life *Namakeha* rebelled against *Kamehameha I.*, and was slain in battle, 1796.

*Nahiolea* was another son of the

several double canoes furnished him by *Keawemauhili* of Hilo, and by *Keouakuahuula* of Kau.

*Kahahana* was at *Kawananakoa*, in the upper part of Nuuanu valley, when the news came of *Kahekili's* landing at Waikiki, and hastily summoning his warriors, he prepared as best he could to meet so sudden an emergency.

As an episode of this war the following legend has been preserved and may prove interesting:—When the news of the invasion spread to Ewa and Waiialua, eight famous warriors from those places, whose names the legend has retained, concerted an expedition on their own account to win distinction for their bravery and inflict what damage they could on *Kahekili's* forces. It was a chivalrous undertaking, a forlorn hope, and wholly unauthorised by *Kahahana*, but fully within the spirit of the time for personal valour, audacity, and total disregard of consequences. The names of those heroes were *Pupuka*,<sup>1</sup> *Makaioulu*, *Puakea*, *Pinau*, *Kalaeone*, *Pahua*, *Kauhi*, and

same above-mentioned *Kaupekamoku* and *Kuimiheua II.*, a cousin of *Ke-kaulike* of Maui. *Nahiolea* was father of the late *M. Kekuaanaoa*, governor of Oahu, and father of their late majesties *Kamehameha IV.* and *V.*, and of her Highness *Ruth Keelikolani*.

*Kamohomoho* is always called a brother of *Kahekili* in the native accounts, but I have been unable to learn who his mother was.

*Kauhikoakoa* was a son of *Kauhaimokukama*, the elder brother of *Kahekili*, who rebelled against his brother, *Kamehamehanui*, and was drowned after the battle near Lahaina. *Kauhikoakoa's* mother was *Luukia*, of the Kaupo *Koo* family of chiefs.

*Kalaninuiulumoku* was the son of *Kamehamehanui* of Maui, and *Kekumano* (w), and thus a brother of *Kalanihelēmailuna*, the grandfather of the present Hon. Mrs. *Pauahi Bishop*.

*Peapea* was another son of *Kamehamehanui* of Maui. He was subse-

quently killed at Hana by the explosion of a keg of gunpowder.

*Manonokauakapekulani*, also called *Kahekilinuiuahunu*, was the son of *Kahekili* of Maui and *Luahiwa*, a daughter of *Ke-kaulike* of Maui and *Kane-a-Lae* (w).

*Kalanikupule*, son and successor of *Kahekili* of Maui. His mother was *Kauwahine*.

*Koalaukane*, another son of *Kahekili* and *Kauwahine*.

*Kalaikoa*, *Hueu*, and *Kahu*, unknown to me.

<sup>1</sup> *Pupuka*, an Oahu chief of considerable importance, was father of *Inaina*, the wife of *Nahiolea*, and mother of *Kekuaanaoa*, late governor of Oahu.

Tradition is silent on the descent and connections of the other heroes of this band. They and theirs were probably all exterminated, and not being maritally connected with the victorious side, no scions were left to chant their names.

*Kapukoa*. Starting direct from Apuakehau in Waikiki, where *Kahakili's* army was encamped and organising preparatory to a march inland to fight *Kahahana*, the eight Oahu warriors boldly charged a large contingent of several hundred men of the Maui troops collected at the Heiau. In a twinkling they were surrounded by overwhelming numbers, and a fight commenced to which Hawaiian legends record no parallel. Using their long spears and javelins with marvellous skill and dexterity, and killing a prodigious number of their enemies, the eight champions broke through the circle of spears that surrounded them. But *Makaioulu*, though a good fighter was a bad runner, on account of his short bow-legs, and he was overtaken by *Kauhikoakoa*, a Maui chief. *Makaioulu* was soon tripped up, secured, and bound by *Kauhikoakoa*, who, swinging the captive up on his own shoulders, started off with him for the camp to have him sacrificed as the first victim of the war. This affair took place on the bank of the Punaluu taro patch, near the cocoa-nut grove of Kua-kuaaka. *Makaioulu*, thus hoisted on the back of his captor, caught sight of his friend *Pupuka*, and called out to him to throw his spear straight at the navel of his stomach. In hopes of shortening the present and prospective tortures of his friend, and knowing well what his fate would be if brought alive into the enemy's camp, *Pupuka* did as he was bidden, and with an unerring aim. But *Makaioulu*, seeing the spear coming, threw himself with a violent effort on one side, and the spear went through the back of *Kauhikoakoa*. Seeing their leader fall, the Maui soldiers desisted from farther pursuit, and the eight champions escaped.

In the beginning of 1783—some say it was in the month of January—*Kahakili*, dividing his forces in three columns, marched from Waikiki by Puowaina, Pauoa, and Kapena, and gave battle to *Kahahana* near the small stream of Kaheiki. *Kahahana's* army was thoroughly routed, and he and his wife *Kekua-poi-ula* fled to the

mountains. It is related that in this battle *Kauwahine*, the wife of *Kahekili*, fought valiantly at his side.

Oahu and Molokai now became the conquest of *Kahekili*, and savagely he used his victory.

For upwards of two years or more *Kahahana* and his wife and his friend *Alapai*<sup>1</sup> wandered over the mountains of Oahu, secretly aided, fed, and clothed by the country people, who commiserated the misfortunes of their late king. Finally, weary of such a life, and hearing that *Kekuamanoha*, the uterine brother of his wife *Kekuapoula*, was residing at Waikele in Ewa, he sent her to negotiate with her brother for their safety. Dissembling his real intentions, *Kekuamanoha* received his sister kindly and spoke her fairly, but having found out the hiding-place of *Kahahana*, he sent messengers to *Kahekili* at Waikiki informing him of the fact. *Kahekili* immediately returned peremptory orders to slay *Kahahana* and *Alapai*, and he sent a double canoe down to Ewa to bring their corpses up to Waikiki. This order was faithfully executed by *Kekuamanoha*; and it is said that the mournful chant which still exists in the Hawaiian anthology of a bygone age under the name of "*Kahahana*" was composed and chanted by his widow as the canoe was disappearing with her husband's corpse down the Ewa lagoon on its way to Waikiki.

The cruel treachery practised on *Kahahana* and his sad fate, joined to the overbearing behaviour and rapacity of the invaders, created a revulsion of feeling in the Oahu chiefs, which culminated in a wide-spread conspiracy against *Kahekili* and the Maui chiefs who were distributed over the several districts of Oahu. *Kahekili* himself and a number of chiefs were at that time living at Kailua; *Manonokauakapekulani*, *Kaiana*, *Namakeha*, *Nahiolea*, *Kalaniulumoku*, and others, were quartered at Kaneohe and Heeia; *Kalanikupule*, *Koalaukane*, and *Kekuamanoha* were at Ewa, and *Hueu* was at Waialua.

The Oahu leaders of the conspiracy were *Elani*, the

<sup>1</sup> I have been unable to learn who this *Alapai* was, and of what family.

father of *Kahahana*, *Pupuka*, and *Makaioulu*, above referred to, *Konamanu*, *Kalakioonui*, and a number of others. The plan was to kill the Maui chiefs on one and the same night in the different districts. *Elani* and his band were to kill the chiefs residing at Ewa; *Makaioulu* and *Pupuka* were to kill *Kahekili* and the chiefs at Kailua; *Konamanu* and *Kalaikioonui* were to despatch *Hueu* at Waialua. By some means the conspiracy became known to *Kalanikupule*, who hastened to inform his father, *Kahekili*, and the Maui chiefs at Kaneohe in time to defeat the object of the conspirators; but, through some cause now unknown, the messenger sent to advise *Hueu*, generally known as *Kiko-Hueu*, failed to arrive in time, and *Hueu* and all his retainers then living at Kaowakawaka, in Kawailoa, of the Waialua district, were killed. The conspiracy was known as the "*Waipio Kimopo*" (the Waipio assassination), having originated in Waipio, Ewa.

Fearfully did *Kahekili* avenge the death of *Hueu* on the revolted Oahu chiefs. Gathering his forces together, he overran the districts of Kona and Ewa, and a war of extermination ensued. Men, women, and children were killed without discrimination and without mercy. The streams of Makaho and Niuhelewai in Kona, and that of Hoaiai in Ewa, are said to have been literally choked with the corpses of the slain. The native Oahu aristocracy were almost entirely extirpated. It is related that one of the Maui chiefs, named *Kalaikoa*, caused the bones of the slain to be scraped and cleaned, and that the quantity collected was so great that he built a house for himself, the walls of which were laid up entirely of the skeletons of the slain. The skulls of *Elani*, *Konamanu*, and *Kalakioonui* adorned the portals of this horrible house. The house was called "*Kauwalua*," and was situated at Lapakea in Moanalua, as one passes by the old upper road to Ewa. The site is still pointed out, but the bones have received burial.

The rebellion of the Oahu chiefs appears to have had



its supporters even among the chiefs and followers of *Kahakili*. *Kalaniulumoku*, the son of *Kamehamehanui* and nephew of *Kahakili*, took the part of the Oahu chiefs, and was supported by *Kaiana*, *Namakeha*, *Nahiolea*, and *Kaneoneo*,<sup>1</sup> the grandson of *Peleioholani*. Their struggle was unsuccessful, and only added to the long list of the illustrious slain. *Kalaniulumoku* was driven over the Pali of Olomana and killed; *Kaneoneo* was killed at Maunakapu, as one descends to Moanalua; *Kaiana*, *Nahiolea*, and *Namakeha* escaped to Kauai. A number of chiefesses of the highest rank—"Kapumoe"—were killed, mutilated, or otherwise severely afflicted. *Kekelao-kalani*, the cousin of *Kahahana's* mother and of *Kahakili*, made her escape to Kauai. As an instance of deep affection, of bitterness of feeling, and of supreme hope of return and revenge at some future day, it is said that she took with her when she fled some of the Oahu soil from Apua-kehau, Kahaloea, Waiaula, and Kupalaha at Waikiki, and deposited it at Hulaia, Kaulana, and Kane on Kauai.

The events above narrated bring us down to the early part of 1785.

While *Kahakili* was carrying on the war on Oahu and suppressing the revolt of the Oahu chiefs, a serious disturbance on Maui had occurred which gave him much uneasiness. It appears that he had given the charge of his herds of hogs that were running in the Kula district and on the slopes of Haleakala to a petty chief named *Kukeawe*. This gentleman, not satisfied with whatever he could embezzle from his master's herds, made raids upon the farmers and country people of Kula, Honuaula, Kahikinui, and even as far as Kaupo, robbing them of their

<sup>1</sup> In 1779 we have seen that *Kaneoneo* was on Kauai. He had been contending with his cousin *Keawe* for the supremacy of Niihau and the possession of the goats left there by Captain Cook, and he had been worsted in the contest. What brought him to Oahu, and what part he played there during those troublous times, is not well known. After the overthrow and death of *Kahahana* he probably returned to Oahu in the hope that the chapter of accidents might prepare a way for him to recover the throne that his father had lost.

hogs, under pretext that they belonged to *Kahekili*. Indignant at this tyranny and oppression, the country people rose in arms and a civil war commenced. *Kukeawe* called the military forces left by *Kahekili* at Wailuku to his assistance; a series of battles were fought, and finally *Kukeawe* was killed at Kamaole-i-kai, near Palauea, and the revolted farmers remained masters of the situation.

When *Kahekili* was informed of this disturbance and its upshot, he appointed his eldest son and heir-apparent, *Kalanikupule*, as regent of Maui, and sent him back there at once with a number of chiefs to restore order and to pacify the people, while he himself preferred to remain on Oahu to ensure its subjection and to reorganise that newly conquered kingdom.

*Kalanikupule* departed for Maui, accompanied by his aunt, *Kalola*, the widow of *Kalaniopuu*, and by her new husband, *Kaopuiki*; by her daughters, *Kekuiapo'iwa Liliha*, widow of *Kiwalao*, and *Kalanikauikikilo*; and by her granddaughter, *Keopuolani*. His brother *Koalaukane*, and his uncle *Kamohomoho*, and a noted warrior chief named *Kapakahili*, were also sent off as his aids and counsellors. *Kalanikupule's* personal popularity, his affable manners, and the supreme authority vested in him, soon tranquillised the revolted country people, who had only risen in defence of their own property against the unauthorised oppression of *Kukeawe*, and peace and order was again established on Maui.

While the events above narrated were transpiring on Oahu and on Maui, *Kamehameha I.* had fought and won the battle of Mokuohai, in which *Kiwalao*, the son and successor of *Kalaniopuu*, was slain, had assumed the sovereignty of the districts of Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua, on Hawaii, and was carrying on desultory war with *Keawemauhili* and *Keouakuahuula*, the independent chiefs of Hilo and Kau, with varying and not very marked success. Towards the close of the year 1785 or beginning of 1786, during a truce between the contending

chiefs on Hawaii, *Kamehameha I.*, probably considering the defenceless condition of Maui on account of the absence of most of the prominent chiefs with *Kahakili* on Oahu, and deeming the opportunity favourable, fitted out an expedition under command of his younger brother, *Kalanimalokuloku-i-kapookalani*, to retake the districts of Hana and Kipahulu which had been reconquered by *Kahakili* during the last year of *Kalaniopuu's* life. The expedition landed successfully, and soon took possession of the coveted districts. Contrary to all previous practice, *Malokuloku* scrupulously caused to be respected the private property of the country people and farmers, and thereby not only secured the good-will of the inhabitants towards the Hawaii invaders, but earned for himself the sobriquet of *Keliimaikai* (the good chief), by which he was ever after known.

As soon as *Kalanikupule* received tidings of this invasion, he immediately sent *Kamohomoho* with what forces he could muster to drive the invaders out of Maui. The hostile armies met on the Kipahulu side of the Lelekea gulch, and the battle waged with great fierceness. After hard fighting the Hawaii troops were driven back as far as Maulili, in Kipahulu, where they were joined by a reinforcement under *Kahanaumaikai*, and the battle continued. But victory rested with the Maui troops, and what were not killed of the Hawaii expedition fled back to Kohala. *Keliimaikai* narrowly escaped with his life, and would have been captured but for his timely rescue by his Kahu, *Mulihele*, who hid him until nightfall, when, by the assistance of the country people, whom his kind treatment had conciliated, he obtained a passage over to Hawaii; and it was remarked of *Kamehameha*, as an instance of his love for this younger brother, that he was more rejoiced at his safe return than grieved at the loss of the expedition.

It was in this year, 1786, that the first vessels after the death of Captain Cook visited the Hawaiian Islands.

The "King George" and "Queen Charlotte," from London, commanded by Captains Portlock and Dixon, touched at Kealakeakua Bay on the 26th of May; but finding the natives troublesome, and no chief of apparently sufficient authority to keep them in order, they left on the 27th, touched off the east point of Oahu on 1st June, anchored at Waialae Bay on 3d June, discovered Waikiki Bay as a preferable anchoring ground,<sup>1</sup> and touched at Waimea, Kauai, on the 13th June. In the fall of that year those ships returned to the islands, again visiting Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, and Kauai, for the purposes of trade. Having anchored off Waikiki,<sup>2</sup> *Kahekili* came on board, and during their stay treated them hospitably and kindly.<sup>3</sup> In December of that year, while at Kauai, they met with *Kaeo*, the principal chief, and *Kaiana*,<sup>4</sup> who appears to have found a refuge there from the dire vengeance which *Kahekili* had executed upon the Oahu chiefs and their sympathisers.

On the 28th May 1786, La Perouse, commanding the French exploring expedition, anchored near Lahaina on Maui. He was favourably received, but did not meet with *Kahekili*, who was then on Oahu.

In August 1787, Captain Meares in the ship "Nootka"

<sup>1</sup> Portlock says that he found the country "populous and well cultivated."

<sup>2</sup> On December 1, 1786, Portlock describes *Kahekili* as "an exceedingly stout, well-made man, about fifty years old, and appears to be sensible, well disposed, and much esteemed by his subjects." He says further, that at that time *Kahekili* drank no awa, nor would he touch any spirits or wines that were offered him on board.

<sup>3</sup> Jarves, quoting from Portlock's "Voyage Round the World," says that "an old priest who came frequently on board informed Captain Portlock that there was a plot brewing to cut off both vessels. As no other evidence of such a design trans-

pired, it was either a false report, or effectually checked by the vigilance constantly displayed by the crews, and dread of firearms, the effect of which the king, at his request, had been shown." The native accounts make no mention of any such plot.

<sup>4</sup> Jarves, *loc. cit.*, calls *Kaiana* a brother of *Kaeo*. *Kaiana's* mother, *Kaupekamoku*, was a daughter of *Kukaniauaua*, of whom I have no direct genealogy, but whom I have reason to believe was the same as *Papaikaniau*, the wife of the Maui king *Kaulahea*, and grandmother of *Kaeo*. Hence the high rank which *Kaupekamoku* enjoyed among her contemporaries; and hence *Kaiana* was a cousin of *Kaeo*.

arrived at the islands in company with the "Iphigenia," Captain Douglas. While at Kauai, *Kaiana* embarked with Captain Meares for a voyage to Canton, and was returned the following year in the "Iphigenia;" but *Kaao* having become inimical to him in his absence, he proceeded in the ship to Hawaii, where at *Kamehameha's* request he landed with his foreign acquired property, including guns, powder, &c., in January 1789. His high aristocratic connections, his well-known personal bravery, his at the time large, miscellaneous, and valuable property, and the fact of his having visited "Kahiki," those foreign lands of which the legends told and of which *Kualii* sang, procured for him a distinction at the court of *Kamehameha*, that in the end turned his head with vanity and ambition and caused his ruin.

At this period a number of vessels, following in the tracks of those just mentioned, chiefly occupied in the fur trade on the north-west coast of America, visited the islands for refreshments and for trade, touching regularly on their passage to and from China, bartering arms and ammunition with the different chieftains, and not a few runaway seamen from those vessels became scattered over the islands.<sup>1</sup>

Among those trading vessels was the American snow "Eleanor," Captain Metcalf, accompanied by her tender, a small schooner called the "Fair America," under command of the son of Captain Metcalf. The vessels had been trading off the coasts of Hawaii during the winter months of 1789, and, leaving the tender off Hawaii, the larger vessel went over to Maui and anchored off Honouaula in the month of February 1790, and trading was com-

<sup>1</sup> It became quite fashionable for every chief of note to have one or more of these runaway foreigners in his employ. They were not always the best specimens of their class, but they made themselves serviceable as interpreters and factors in trading with the foreign ships; and their skill and adroitness in managing fire-arms, and in many other things hitherto unknown to the Hawaiians, made them valuable to the chiefs, who aided them to run away from their ships, or even kidnapped them if other means failed, as will be seen hereafter.

menced with the natives. The native accounts state that the captain was an irritable and harsh man, and liberal in his use of the rope's-end on trifling provocations; yet trade was continued and his ill-usage submitted to for the gain the common people thought they obtained in the barter of their commodities for those that the foreigner brought them.

*Kalola*, the widow of *Kalaniopuu*, with her new husband, *Kaopuiki*, and her family, were at this time living at the village of Olowalu, some fifteen miles from where Metcalf's vessel was anchored. Hearing of the arrival of the trading ship at Honuaula, *Kaopuiki* got ready a number of hogs and other produce, and started for Honuaula to trade for musquets, ammunition, and such other articles. It is not known that *Kaopuiki* received any bad usage from Captain Metcalf, although others did; but noticing that the ship's boat was left towing astern during the night, *Kaopuiki* formed the design of getting the boat into his possession. The following night the plan was carried into effect, the boat was cut adrift from the vessel, the watchman, who had fallen asleep in her, was killed, the boat towed ashore and broken up for the sake of the iron fastenings, and *Kaopuiki* and his men returned to Olowalu.

When the loss of the boat and the death of the seaman were ascertained in the morning, Captain Metcalf fired on the people ashore, and took two prisoners, from one of whom belonging to Olowalu it is thought that he received information as to who the party was that had stolen his boat. In a day or two the vessel left her anchorage at Honuaula and came to off Olowalu. The following day *Kalola* put on a tabu in connection with some festival or commemoration relating to her own family; the tabu to be binding on all for three days, no canoes to leave the shore, and the being burned alive was the penalty of disobedience. This tabu was called "*Mauumae*." On the fourth day the tabu was taken off, and the native canoes crowded to the vessel for the purposes of trade. Canoes from the imme-

diate neighbourhood of Olowalu and Ukumehame, from Lahaina, Kaanapali, and from Lanai, came, in good faith and suspecting no harm, to exchange their produce for the coveted articles of the white man's trade.

But Captain Metcalf meditated a terrible revenge for the loss of his boat and the death of his seaman.<sup>1</sup> As the canoes collected around the ship, he ordered the guns and small arms to be loaded, and the unsuspecting natives were ordered to keep their canoes off the waists of the ship, and when any strayed either under the bows or the stern, they were pelted with stones or other missiles until they rejoined the fleet of canoes lying off either broadside of the ship waiting for the trade to commence. When all

<sup>1</sup> Jarves in his History, page 69, mentions that "the bones of the murdered seaman and the remains of the boat, for which a reward was offered, had been delivered up; and the natives supposing the anger of the captain appeased by the attack he had already made, innocently asked for the promised reward. This he said they should have." This circumstance is not referred to in the native accounts, which merely state that when the boat had been towed a long distance from the ship the sleeping sailor woke up and began to cry out for help; but the ship was then too far off to hear him, and that then, to stop his cries, he was killed and thrown overboard from the boat. No mention of any reward is made, or of the recovery of the bones of the seaman and the remnants of the boat, though such may have been the case. The tragedy enacted at Olowalu was horrible enough without the spice of such accursed perfdy; yet, if Mr. Young—who was on board of the "Eleanor" at the time, and subsequently resided and died on the islands—had so reported it, it undoubtedly was so. In Vancouver's Voyage, vol. ii., page 136, edition 1798, Vancouver says that "Young stated that on a reward being

offered for the boat and the man, Mr. Metcalf was informed that the former was broken to pieces and the latter had been killed. The bones of the man were then demanded, which, with the stem and the stern-post of the boat, were carried on board the snow in about three days." On demanding their reward, "Mr. Metcalf replied they should have it, and immediately ordered all the guns to be loaded and fired among the canoes." But Mr. Young was dead some years before Mr. Jarves arrived, and as Mr. Dibble, who knew Mr. Young well in his lifetime, says nothing in his History of the islands of the recovery of the remains or of the promised reward, on which the native narrative is equally silent, I am inclined to think that either Young's memory was somewhat confused, or that Vancouver misunderstood Young. The dead seaman thrown overboard in the middle of Maalaea Bay would probably have been food for sharks before it drifted ashore; and as the boat was taken and broken up at Olowalu, and no communication had with the ship until the day of the massacre, I think the story of the recovery and the reward as *prima facie* doubtful.

was ready, Captain Metcalf mounted on the rail and gave orders to open the ports of the ship, that had hitherto been closed. The guns of the ship, loaded with small shot and grapnel, and the musketry of the sailors, were fired in the crowd of canoes lying within easy range on both sides. The carnage was immense. Over a hundred natives were killed outright, and several hundred more or less seriously wounded. The confusion, the wailing, the rush to escape, was indescribable.<sup>1</sup>

After this cruel and wanton vengeance on an innocent and unsuspecting multitude—for the main trespasser, *Keopuiki*, was not among the slain, and does not appear to have been afloat that day—Captain Metcalf lifted his anchor and proceeded to Hawaii to join his tender, the “Fair American.”

It was probably in the morning of the 17th March 1790 that the tender was captured off Kaupulehu, in North Kona, by *Kameeiamoku*,<sup>2</sup> a great chief and supporter of *Kamehameha*, and all the crew killed, including Metcalf's son, excepting the mate, Isaac Davis, whose life, from some sudden impulse of compassion, was spared.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “The bodies of the slain were dragged for with fish-hooks” (after the vessel had sailed), “and collected in a heap on the beach, where their brains flowed out of their skulls.”—*Moololo Hawaii*, by D. Malo.

<sup>2</sup> Grandson of *Kalanikauleleaiwi*, wife of *Keawe* of Hawaii. Having gone on board of Metcalf's ship one day, he was, for some reason not recorded, beaten with a rope's-end. Smarting under the indignity offered to him, he vowed to avenge himself on the first foreign vessel that fell in his power. Not long after, the unfortunate tender came in his way. Her crew consisted of only five men and the captain. Fitting out his canoes, *Kameeiamoku* went off to the sloop, taking with him a number of retainers, seven of whom are mentioned by name, and four other

chiefs, his relatives—*Kalaukoa*, *Manukoa*, *Kanuha*, and *Keakaokalani*—and a quantity of trade as a pretext for boarding. At a given signal the crew were attacked, young Metcalf thrown overboard and drowned, and the rest of the crew killed except Isaac Davis.

Vancouver relates (p. 137, vol. ii.), that on the 22d March *Kamehameha I.* and Young set out for where the schooner was, that he severely reprimanded *Kameeiamoku* for his breach of hospitality and inhumanity, and ordered the schooner to be delivered up to him in order to be restored to the owner. *Kamehameha I.* also took the wounded Davis under his special care and as a companion to Young.

<sup>3</sup> See Vancouver for particulars, vol. ii. p. 139, ed. 1798.



The vessel was hauled ashore, the booty of guns, ammunition, articles of trade, and the wounded prisoner, Davis, were afterwards taken to *Kamehameha*, then stopping at Kealakeakua, where Metcalf's ship, the "Eleanor," was lying. On the same day a party of seamen from the "Eleanor," with the boatswain, John Young, had been ashore. Young, who had wandered inland and been separated from his shipmates, found his return to the beach barred by orders of *Kamehameha*, who, having obtained a quantity of arms and ammunition, was anxious of having a foreigner in his employ who knew how to use them and keep them in order. When the boat's crew returned to the ship, John Young was missing. Captain Metcalf remained two days off the bay, firing guns and awaiting Young's return; but *Kamehameha* having received intelligence of the capture of the tender by *Kameciamoku*, and having heard of the massacre at Olowalu, would not permit a canoe to leave the beach or go alongside the ship, lest Metcalf should retaliate as he had done on Maui.

The two captive foreigners, Young and Davis, finding their lives secure and themselves treated with deference and kindness, were soon reconciled to their lot, accepted service under *Kamehameha*, and contributed greatly by their valour and skill to the conquests that he won, and by their counsel and tact to the consolidation of those conquests.

It is not clearly stated by native authorities in what manner the feud between *Kamehameha* and *Keawemauhili* of Hilo had been composed. Certain it is that during the summer of this year (1790), *Kamehameha*, assuming the style of "Moi" of Hawaii, sent to *Keawemauhili* of Hilo and *Keoua-Kuahwula* of Kau to furnish him with canoes and troops for a contemplated invasion of Maui. *Keawemauhili* complied with the summons of *Kamehameha*, and sent a large force of men and canoes under command of his own sons *Keaweokahikiona*, *Elele* or *Elelule*, *Koakanu*, and his nephew *Kalaipaihala*. *Keoua-Kuahwula* positively

refused to obey the summons, acknowledging no feudal obligations to *Kamehameha*, and deeming the projected war with Maui as unwise and unprovoked.

Having collected his forces in Kohala, *Kamehameha* crossed the Hawaii channel, making his descent in Hana, and, as the natives say, his canoes covered the beach from Hamoa to Kawaipapa.

When *Kalanikupule* heard of the landing of *Kamehameha* at Hana, and that he was marching with his force through the Koolau district, he sent *Kapakahili* with the best troops he had through the Hamakua districts to meet and resist the progress of the invader.

Of the campaign in Hamakualoa some mementoes are still pointed out. The fortified position at Puukoae on Hanawana, which was attacked and taken by *Kamehameha*, who had brought his fleet round from Hana. The hill is known as "Kapuai-o-Kamehameha," to the west of the Halehaku stream, where he encamped for the night after taking Puukoae. Here his war-god *Kukailimoku* was paraded around the camp, to ascertain by the usual auguries—the more or less erect position of the feathers, &c.—the issue of the campaign; and the answers being favourable, *Kamehameha* engaged *Kapakahili* in battle the following morning. For some time the result was uncertain, but reinforcements having come up to *Kamehameha*, the Maui forces were routed, and fled as far as Kokomo, where a final stand was made. Fighting desperately, and with hardly a hope of retrieving the fortune of the day, *Kapakahili* encountered *Kamehameha* on the field, and one of those single combats ensued in which the fate of an empire depends on the personal prowess of one or the other of the combatants. *Kapakahili* was killed, the Maui men fled and dispersed, and the road to Wailuku lay open to *Kamehameha*.

After this victory *Kamehameha* moved his fleet to Kahului, and hauled up his canoes from there to Hopukoa without opposition. After two days of preparation he

marched on to Wailuku, where *Kalanikupule* awaited him with such forces as he had been able to collect. This battle was one of the hardest contested on Hawaiian record. We have no detailed account of the disposition of the forces on either side; we only know that the battle commenced at Wailuku and thence spread up the Iao valley, the Maui army defending valiantly every foot of the ground, but being continually driven farther and farther up the valley, *Kamehameha's* superiority in the number of guns, and the skilful management of the same under the charge of Young and Davis, telling fearfully upon the number of his foes, and finally procuring him the victory. The author has conversed with people who were present at the battle and escaped with their lives, and they all tell that before the battle commenced the women and children, and the aged who could move, were sent up on the mountain-sides of the valley, where they could look down upon the combatants below. They speak of the carnage as frightful, the din and uproar, the shouts of defiance among the fighters, the wailing of the women on the crests of the valley, as something to curdle the blood or madden the brain of the beholder. The Maui troops were completely annihilated, and it is said that the corpses of the slain were so many as to choke up the waters of the stream of Iao, and that hence one of the names of this battle was "Kepaniwai" (the damming of the waters).

*Kalanikupule*, his brother *Koalaukani*, *Kamohomoho*, and some other chiefs escaped over the mountain and made their way to Oahu. *Kalaniakua*, *Kekuiapoiwa Liliha*, and her daughter *Keopuolani*, crossed over to Olowalu, where they joined their mother, *Kalola*, and after a hurried preparation they all left for Molokai, and took up their residence with *Kekuelikenui* at Kalamaula.

It does not appear that *Kamehameha* took any active steps at this time to secure the conquest of Maui by leaving garrisons or organising the government. The

island was completely conquered, its fighting force destroyed, its land wasted, and its chiefs seeking refuge on Oahu and Molokai. It is probable that his intention was to follow up his victory by an invasion of Oahu, where *Kahakili* still ruled with unbroken force. But deeming it an object of sound policy to come to some terms with *Kalola*, and, if possible, get her daughters and granddaughter in his possession, he sent a messenger named *Kikane* ahead to Molokai to request of *Kalola* that she would not go to Oahu, but go back with him to Hawaii, where she and her daughters would be provided for as became their high rank. He then re-embarked his forces, and leaving Kahului, sailed to Kaunakakai, on Molokai, deeming it prudent also to secure the adhesion of its chiefs before proceeding to Oahu.

When *Kamehameha* arrived at Kaunakakai he was informed that *Kalola* was very sick and not expected to live long. He at once went over to Kalamaula and had an interview with her, renewing his request that she should confide her daughters and granddaughter to his care and protection. To which *Kalola* is said to have replied, "When I am dead, my daughters and granddaughter shall be yours." Not long after this *Kalola* died and was mourned with the customary rites attending the death of so high a chiefess. The custom of "Moepuu"<sup>1</sup> was observed, so was tattooing and other practices. Even *Kamehameha* had some of his teeth knocked out in token of sorrow. When the mourning season was ended *Kalola's* bones were deposited in Konahale, and *Kamehameha* took charge of her daughters and granddaughter, not only as a legacy from the mother, but as a seal of reconciliation between himself and the older branch of the *Keawe* dynasty, the representatives of *Kiwalao*.

When the funeral rites were finished and the tabus taken off, and the creed and customs of the time permitted business to be attended to, *Kamehameha* dispatched two

<sup>1</sup> See vol. i. p. 108.

messengers to Oahu. One was *Kikane*, above referred to, the other was *Haalou*, the mother of *Namahana*, and grandmother of *Kamehameha's* wife, *Kaahumanu*. The mission of *Kikane* was to *Kahekili*; that of *Haalou* was originally intended for Kauai, to seek some renowned soothsayer, for which that island was famous, and obtain his opinion as to the best way in which to obtain the supremacy of Hawaii for *Kamehameha*.

*Kikane* presented himself before *Kahekili* at Waikiki, and in the name of *Kamehameha* offered him two Maika-stones, "Ulu-maika," one black and the other white. *Kahekili* looked at them and said, "This one (the white) represents agriculture, fishing, husbandry, and the prosperity of the government; that one (the black), is a symbol of war. Does *Kamehameha* want to go to war with Oahu?" On *Kikane* replying that such was *Kamehameha's* intention, and that he had been sent as a herald to arrange with *Kahekili* in a courteous and chiefly manner about the place of landing and the field of battle, *Kahekili*, after some consideration of the various plans proposed by *Kikane*, replied, "Go, tell *Kamehameha* to return to Hawaii, and when he learns that the black kapa covers the body of *Kahekili* and the sacrificial rites have been performed at his funeral,<sup>1</sup> then Hawaii shall be the Maika-stone that will sweep the course from here to Tahiti; let him then come and possess the country." *Kikane* then presented one more request from *Kamehameha*, which was for the gods *Olopu*e and *Kalaipahoa*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "A kau ka puaa i ka nuku," lit., "when the hog has been placed at his nose." This was one of the sacrificial observances on the demise of high chiefs, and is used as a trope to indicate the entire funeral ceremony. The offering of hogs in sacrifice on the death of a person, especially a chief, was a mark of respect similar to that offered to the idols of the gods; and the savour of the baked animal was supposed to refresh and

comfort the spirit of the defunct, still hovering about its mortal remains.

<sup>2</sup> *Olopu*e or *Ololupe* was a god who conducted the spirits of chiefs to their final abode after death, and assisted them on the journey. This god was greatly feared by the warrior chiefs of olden times.

*Kalaipahoa*. This god was made of the wood of the Nioi tree, in which his spirit or essence was supposed to reside. It was an exceedingly poison-

*Kahékili* gave him a chip of the *Kalaipahoa*, but the *Olopué* was in charge of the high-priest *Kaopuhuluhulu*, and *Kikane* did not obtain it for his master.

*Haalou's* mission was more successful. Arrived at Oahu, she was spared the further journey to Kauai by finding the object of her search at Kamoku in Waikiki. His name was *Kapoukahi*. He was a Kauai man, and related to *Haalou's* grandmother *Kaneikaheilani*. Hence he received her overtures kindly, and in reply to her inquiries, instructed her to tell *Kamehamehá* to build a large Heiau for his god at Puukohola, adjoining the old Heiau of Mailekini near Kawaihae, Hawaii; that done, he would be supreme over Hawaii without more loss of life.

Having accomplished their errands, *Kikane* and *Haalou* returned to *Kamehameha* on Molokai.

While these events transpired on Maui and Molokai, *Kamehameha's* power on Hawaii was seriously threatened. When *Keouakuahuula* heard of the assistance in men and canoes which *Keawemauhili* of Hilo had furnished to *Kamehameha* on his expedition to Maui, he was greatly irritated, and considered it as a breach of the agreement between them to jointly oppose *Kamehameha's* pretensions to sovereignty. To punish, therefore, his former ally, *Keoua* invaded Hilo. A battle was fought at Alae in Hilo-paliku, in which *Keawemauhili* was killed, and *Keoua* added the district of Hilo to his own possessions of Puna and Kau. Elated with his victory, he entered *Kamehameha's* estates, overran Hamakua, destroying valuable fish ponds and taro patches at Waipio, and plundering the inhabitants. From Waipio he crossed over to Waimea in Kohala, committing similar ravages and barbarities.

ous wood, said to have been found only on Mounaloa, Molokai, though I have heard it said that it was also found on Lanai. That species of the *Nioi* is now extinct. The least particle of the wood inserted in the food

or drink was sure to kill the consumer. It is said to have been discovered by *Kaiakea* of Molokai, at least its uses, or rather abuses, were greatly in vogue in the latter part of his generation.

When the news of these transactions by *Keoua* reached *Kamehameha* at Kaunakakai, he was deeply moved at the death of his uncle *Keavemauhili*, and at the ravages and cruelties committed on his people and possessions by *Keoua*. All thoughts of invading Oahu, even of securing Maui, were given up, for a season at least, for the one imperious necessity of hastening back to Hawaii to protect his own estates and to punish the audacious *Keoua*. Gathering his army and his fleet together, *Kamehameha* evacuated Maui and Molokai, and returned to Hawaii.

This brings us to the latter months of the year 1790, for it is known that the eruption of Kilauea, which destroyed a portion of *Keoua's* army on its return to Kau, took place in November 1790.

The abrupt departure of *Kamehameha* and his fleet from Molokai and his return to Hawaii took a great weight off the mind of *Kahakili*, and plans of vengeance, if not of aggrandisement, occupied his thoughts and brightened his vision in the immediate future. He was doubtless encouraged by *Kaeokulani*, who by this time had obtained the supremacy of Kauai, and who urged upon his aged brother the golden opportunity of *Kamehameha's* difficulties with *Keoua-kuahuula* to avenge the defeat of *Kalanikupule* on Maui, and to deal a crushing blow to the growing power of *Kamehameha*. Negotiations and preparations having been perfected between the Kauai and Oahu sovereigns during the winter months of 1790-91, *Kaeokulani* left Kauai with a well-equipped fleet of war canoes, accompanied by his nephew *Peapea*,<sup>1</sup> his military commanders *Kiikiki* and *Kaiawa*, his foreign gunner *Mare Amara*,<sup>2</sup> and a number of ferocious trained dogs, and arrived at Oahu in the spring of 1791.

<sup>1</sup> *Peapea* was a son of *Kamehameha-nui*, already referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Who this man was and in what ship he arrived at the islands, I am unable to say. His first name was "Mare," Hawaiianised, but the

second name, "Amara," is but the Hawaiian corruption of the English "Armourer." The man was probably the gunner or blacksmith of some of the foreign vessels trading at the islands.

*Kahakili* appointed his son *Kalanikupule* as regent of Oahu during his absence, and the combined fleets of *Kahakili* and *Kaeokulani* started for the Windward Islands. Making a short stay at Kaunakakai, Molokai, the fleet passed to the windward side of Maui, and landed for a while at Waihee and Waiehu. It would appear from subsequent facts as if some convention or stipulation had been agreed upon between *Kahakili* and *Kaeokulani*, in virtue whereof *Kahakili* had transferred, either provisionally or permanently, the sovereign authority over Maui to *Kaeo*. Certain it is that the latter on his arrival, commenced to divide up the island, apportioning the various districts among the Kauai chiefs and warriors. This proceeding gave great umbrage to the sons of *Kahakili* and to the ancient Maui chiefs, and came near breaking up the entire expedition of the two kings. A quarrel and an *émeute* arose on this subject at Paukukalo, near Waiehu, between the Kauai and Maui chiefs, in which *Koalaukani*, one of the sons of *Kahakili*, greatly distinguished himself for his bravery against a vastly superior number of Kauai warriors.

In some way not now particularly remembered, this misadventure was smoothed over without more serious results, and the two fleets left Waiehu, *Kaeokulani* going round by the Koolau side to Hana to recruit, and *Kahakili* going farther on to Mokulau in Kaupo, for the same purpose. It is reported that while at Hana, *Kaeokulani* ascended the famous hill of Kauwiki, and, in a spirit of bravado, threw his spear up into the air, exclaiming, "It is said of old that the sky comes down close to Hana, but I find it quite high, for I have thrown my spear, 'Kamoo-lehua,' and it did not pierce the sky, and I doubt if it will hit *Kamehameha*; but hearken, O Kauai! you chiefs, warriors, and relations, be strong and be valiant, and we shall drink the water of Waipio and eat the taro of Kunaka."

Leaving Hana, the fleet of *Kaeokulani* sailed direct for



Waipio, Hawaii, where he landed his troops and ravaged the valley thoroughly. The acts of spoliation and barbarity committed on this occasion were the common occurrence of war in those days, and would not of themselves have stained the memory of *Kaeokulani* in the native estimation; but his disregard and desecration of the ancient tabu places, the tearing up and overturning the sacred pavement of *Liloa*, the burning of the sacred pepper-tree supports of the ancient palace of the Hawaiian kings, said to have been built by *Kahoukapu*, and his general demolition and destruction of all the sacred and valued mementoes of ancient times, in which that valley was so rich,—these and similar acts were regarded as unpardonable acts of vandalism, for which the insulted gods and “Aumakuas” would in due time exact a condign and fearful punishment.

While these outrages of the Hawaiian public sentiment were perpetrated by *Kaeokulani* in Waipio, the *Kahekili* division of the fleet, leaving Mokulau, had landed at Halawa in the Kohala district of Hawaii, and after various desultory and unimportant skirmishes with the troops of *Kamehameha*, proceeded to join *Kaeokulani* at Waipio.

*Kamehameha* was in the Kona district when he received the tidings of the invasion of *Kahekili* and *Kaeokulani*. His preparations to repel the invasion were not long in being perfected. Collecting a large fleet of double canoes, many of which were filled with small cannon obtained from traders, and with the sloop which *Kameeiamoku* had captured from the ship “Eleanor” the preceding year,<sup>1</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> So the native account collected by S. M. Kamakau says; but Vancouver, in vol. ii. p. 165, says that in March 1793 the sloop was lying in a creek about four miles from Kealakeakua, where she had been hauled up, and was fast decaying for want of necessary repairs. The impression is obtained from Vancouver's recital of what Young and Davis told him that the vessel had not been used since

she was captured. But Vancouver does nowhere state that Young and Davis had told him of their accompanying *Kamehameha* in his campaigns, while at the same time he expressly states that for a long time after their capture they invariably accompanied *Kamehameha* wherever he went. The silence of Vancouver is, therefore, no denial of the correctness of the native account.

started for Waipio, placing John Young and Isaac Davis in command of his artillery. Not far from Waipio, near the Pali Hulaana of Waimanu, the hostile fleets met, and the first naval battle was fought in Hawaiian waters in which modern gunnery formed a conspicuous element of strength on both sides. No particulars of this battle have been handed down; no chief of any prominence lost his life in this engagement. It is said, however, to have been sanguinary, and many lives and not a few canoes on either side were lost of whom Hawaiian fame had made no note; but the artillery of *Kamehameha* seems to have been too heavy or too well served for his foes, as he remained master of the situation; and *Kahekili* and *Kaokulani* returned to Hana in Maui with their shattered fleet, and with no farther thoughts of invading Hawaii, fortunate if they might be able to defend Maui from the retaliatory invasion by *Kamehameha*, which they certainly expected, and which they are known to have strained all their resources to frustrate.

This sea-fight off Waipio is remembered by the natives under the name of "*Ke-pu-waha-ula-ula*" and also of "*Kawai*." It occurred in 1791, before the death of *Keoua Kuahuula*.

Some time after this, *Peapea Makawalu*, the nephew of *Kahekili* and *Kaao*, was fatally wounded by the explosion of a keg of gunpowder on the hill of Kauwiki. He was removed to Honokohau in the Kaanapali district, where he shortly afterwards died from his wounds.<sup>1</sup>

*Kahekili* and *Kaao* remained on Maui during the winter of 1791 and during the whole of the year 1792. It was during this latter year that Captain Vancouver, commanding H.B.S.S. "*Discovery*" and "*Chatham*," arrived at these islands. Touching at Kealakeakua Bay on Hawaii on 3d

<sup>1</sup> Vancouver in his "*Voyage of Discovery*," vol. iii., says that in March 1794 he heard from the natives of Maui that *Peapea*, whom he calls by

his other name *Namahana*, had only a short time before been killed by an explosion of gunpowder.

March, he inquired after *Kalaniopuu*, and learned that he was dead. *Kamehameha* being absent,<sup>1</sup> Vancouver, passing by Maui without stopping, proceeded to Oahu and anchored off Waikiki on 7th March. There he learnt that *Kahekili* and *Kaeo* were absent on Molokai or Maui making preparations to repel an expected invasion by *Kamehameha*, and no person of distinction appearing, he left Oahu on the 8th and anchored at Waimea, Kauai, on the 9th, and left there for the north-west coast of America on the 14th of the same month.

The political situation of the islands of this group at this period may be concisely stated in this way. On Hawaii *Kamehameha* and *Keoua Kuahuula* were still contending for the sovereignty of the island, though *Keoua's* strength was gradually being exhausted. The great Heiau of Puukohola had been built, yet *Keoua* stubbornly defended himself, and his subjection by war seemed as distant as ever. By false representations and promises of safety he was induced during the fall of this year or early in 1792 to go to Kawaihae to confer with *Kamehameha*, and on his arrival was treacherously killed and sacrificed at the Heiau. On Maui, Molokai, and Oahu, *Kahekili* was still the recognised actual sovereign, but owing to his great age and feeble health the regency of Oahu and Molokai was intrusted to his son *Kalanikupule*; and his brother *Kaeokulani* remained with him on Maui to administer the affairs of that island, while the government of Kauai and the guardianship of *Kaeokulani's* son, *Kaumualii*, the legitimate Moi of Kauai, was intrusted to a high chief named *Nakaikuaana*.<sup>2</sup>

As Oahu had virtually lost its autonomy on the overthrow and death of *Kahahana*, the events connected with

<sup>1</sup> On 5th March Vancouver stopped off Kawaihae, where he saw *Keeau-moku*, and gave him some goats, seeds, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Such is his name in the native accounts. Vancouver calls him al-

ways by the name of *Enemo*, and says that his other name was *Wakea*; and it is said that he was a brother of *Kaahumanu*, one of *Kamehameha's* wives. The real name and the lineage of this chief are unknown to me.

its history may properly be referred to under the reigns of the Maui kings.

Vancouver's visit to Oahu in March 1792 left no special recollections in the native mind but the to them singular and inexplicable fact that these two foreign vessels positively refused to barter guns, ammunition, and arms for hogs, potatoes, or refreshments of any kind that might be offered. The foreign traders who had visited the islands since their discovery by Captain Cook had so recklessly pandered to the lust of the native chieftains to possess fire-arms and ammunition, used only for their own destruction, that they could not appreciate the humane motive of Vancouver in his refusal, and his reception, though civil and without any untoward accidents, was proportionately cool.

On the 7th of May 1792 the English national ship "Dædalus," acting as a storeship for Vancouver's expedition, and under command of Lieutenant Hergest, arrived off the north coast of Oahu, and standing in for the land, came to off the mouth of the Waimea stream, in the Koolauloa district. While lying off and on in this roadstead a party was sent ashore on the 11th to procure fresh water, accompanied by Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch, the astronomer.

The result of this watering-party was unfortunate, and another tragedy was enacted, which, although entirely unprovoked by the foreigners, has not received a moiety of the sympathy and comments from the civilised world which have shed such a halo over the memory of Cook as a martyr to science. Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch were foully murdered by the natives of Waimea, on set purpose, for the sake of plunder. By his own harsh and injudicious conduct Captain Cook drove the natives of Kealakeakua into open resistance, and fell ingloriously in an affray of his own seeking. In thus expressing myself, I only give utterance, as an historian, to what I know to be the native national sentiment on the subject. The Hawaiians never felt that they were in the wrong, or

admitted that they were to blame for the death of Captain Cook, but they freely admit that they were solely to blame for the deaths of Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch, and they acquiesced then in, and appreciate now, the justice of Vancouver's proceedings in that regard the following year.

By comparing the native narratives of this transaction at Waimea with that of Vancouver and other foreign writers, I think the following will contain briefly the substantial facts of the case.

After the repulse of *Kahekili* and *Kaeokulani* in the naval engagement called "Kepuwahaulaula," off the Pali Hulaana, on the Hamakua coast of Hawaii, the inferiority of firearms on the losing side had become disastrously manifest, and a desire to obtain a more abundant supply became the dominant passion of the chiefs who had shared and lost in the above-mentioned campaign. Whether *Kahekili* or *Kaeo* ordered or countenanced any violent measures against foreign vessels or their crews for the purpose of obtaining arms is doubtful, and has never been charged against them by the foreigners nor admitted by the natives.<sup>1</sup> But it is tolerably clear that *Kalanikupule*, *Kahekili's* viceroy on Oahu, had instructed his chiefs and military officers, or at least that they so understood his instructions, that although he was not willing to compromise himself by allowing violent measures or treatment of foreign vessels or their crews at the principal trading port at Waikiki, where he himself resided, yet violent measures, if successful in obtaining guns, side-arms, and ammunition—peaceful barter failing—from any vessels that might touch at the out-of-way districts of the island, would not only not be punished, but would be looked upon and rewarded as a service rendered to the state or the sovereign.

<sup>1</sup> Vancouver distinctly exculpates *Kahekili* and *Kaeo* from any complicity, direct or indirect, in this sad affair.

When, therefore, *Koi*<sup>1</sup>—a military chief who had shared in the late campaign against Hawaii, and was now stationed in the neighbourhood of Waimea—observed the arrival of the “*Dædalus*” and the landing of the watering-party, he laid his plans to obtain some of the coveted articles.

The watering-party, finding the water near the mouth of the stream rather brackish, rolled their casks some distance farther up, where the water was thoroughly fresh. Having filled their casks, the seamen were rolling them to the sea, assisted or impeded, as the case might be, by the natives that were crowding around them. In this general scramble a dispute arose between the seamen and the natives, a melee ensued, in which a Portuguese sailor was killed,<sup>2</sup> and the rest of the sailors escaped on board of their boats that were laying off the mouth of the river. Meanwhile Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch had been enticed away from the watering-party by *Koi* and his men, under pretext of selling them some fine hogs and vegetables, when suddenly they were attacked with stones,<sup>3</sup> knocked down, and killed. The boats with the watering-party on board fired on the natives on the beach. The “*Dædalus*,” seeing the boats firing, brought her broadside to bear on the scene and fired for some time up the valley, but apparently no great damage was done to the natives. That evening the “*Dædalus*” stood off to sea, and proceeded to join the Vancouver expedition on the north-west coast of America.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Koi* was an important personage among the courtiers of *Kahakili*. He was also a priest of the *Kaleopuu-puu* family, and to him belonged the Heiau and the grounds at Kapokea, in Waihee, Maui.

<sup>2</sup> The native accounts make no mention of killing the Portuguese sailor. They state that the sailors, seeing the natives surrounding and stoning Lieutenant Hergest and Mr. Gooch, deserted their water-casks

that they were rolling to the sea, and ran speedily to the boats and commenced firing on the natives.

<sup>3</sup> *Kapaleaiuku* and *Kuania* were the two men of *Koi*'s following who commenced throwing stones at the two officers.

<sup>4</sup> The account given by Captain Vancouver, vol. ii. p. 96, as he received it from Mr. New, the master of the “*Dædalus*,” is as follows:—

“In the morning of the 7th of May

The guns, pistols, side-arms, &c., of the killed foreigners were secured by *Koi*, their bodies taken to Mokuleia, in the Waialua district, where they were dissected and the bones kept for future use ; and in due time *Koi* presented himself at Waikiki before *Kalanikupule* with the spoils which he had obtained, and, as the native legend says, *Kalanikupule* was greatly rejoiced at the acquisition to his armoury.

In the spring of 1793 Vancouver returned from the coast of America to the Hawaiian group, and anchored off Kawaihae, Hawaii, on 13th February. Having been kindly and liberally entertained by *Kamehameha* and the Hawaii chiefs, to whom he had brought some cattle from California, and having fully discussed, and, as he thought, satisfactorily arranged a plan for the pacification of the

the 'Dædalus' arrived in that bay where the 'Resolution' and 'Discovery' had anchored in 1779, but Mr. Hergest declined anchoring there, as he considered the inhabitants of that neighbourhood to be the most savage and deceitful of any amongst those islands. For this reason he lay to, and purchased from the natives some hogs, vegetables, and a few gourds of water. In the evening he stood off shore, and desired that the inhabitants would bring a farther supply of water and refreshments the next morning ; but it falling calm, and the current setting the ship to the westward, it was near noon on the 11th before they regained the shore, when Mr. Hergest receded from his former wise determination, and, unhappily for himself and those who fell with him, ordered the ship to be anchored. The cutter was hoisted out and veered astern for the better convenience of purchasing water from the natives, but before three casks were filled, which was soon done, he ordered the cutter alongside, the full casks to be taken out and replaced by empty ones ; and

then, accompanied as usual by Mr. Gooch, he went on shore, and another boat was hoisted out for the purpose of obtaining water, while those on board continued making purchases until near dusk. At this time the cutter returned with only five persons instead of the eight who had gone on shore in her, from whom was learned the distressing intelligence that Mr. Hergest and Mr. Gooch, and two of the boat's crew, having landed, unarmed with two of the water-casks to fill, their defenceless situation was perceived by the natives, who immediately attacked them, killed one of the people, and carried off the commander and the astronomer. The other, being a very stout active man, made his escape through a great number of these savages, fled to the boat, and with two others landed again with two muskets, and with the intention to rescue their officers and to recover the body of their messmate. They soon perceived that both Mr. Hergest and Mr. Gooch were yet alive amongst a vast concourse of the inhabitants, who were stripping them and forcing them up the hills behind

islands, Vancouver left Kealakeakua on 8th March, and touching at Kawaihae on the 9th, anchored in Maalaea Bay, Maui, on the 11th, having the previous evening, while to the eastward of Molokini, fallen in with a canoe purporting to have been sent by *Kahekili* to inquire who he was and what his intentions. Vancouver returned a satisfactory answer, and despatched the chief in command of the canoe with a suitable present for *Kahekili*.

About noon of the 11th *Kamohomoho* arrived at Maalaea and informed Vancouver that he had been sent by *Kahekili* to pilot the ship to Lahaina. That same evening the "Discovery" and the "Chatham" anchored off Lahaina.

Vancouver's description of Lahaina, as it was in 1793, may interest the Hawaiian reader. He says:<sup>1</sup>

"The village of Raheina is of some extent towards the

the village; they endeavoured to get near the multitude, but were so assailed by stones from the crowd, who had now gained the surrounding hills, that they were under the painful necessity of retiring; and as night was fast approaching, they thought it most advisable to return on board, that more effectual means might be resorted to on this unfortunate occasion.

"Mr. New immediately assembled all the officers, to consult with them what was best to be done. It was agreed to stand off and on with the ship during the night, and in the morning to send the cutter, well manned and armed, on shore, and if possible to recover their unfortunate commander and shipmates. An old chief belonging to Attowai, who had been on board since the 'Dædalus' entered the bay, and had been promised by Mr. Hergest a passage to his native island, went also in the boat to assist as interpreter, and went towards the natives, of whom he demanded the absent gentlemen, on which he was informed they were both killed the preceding night. Having delivered this message, he

was sent back to demand their bodies, but was told in reply that they had both been cut in pieces and divided among seven different chiefs; at least it was so understood by those in the boat from the language and signs which the chief made use of.

"After this conversation the savages came in great numbers towards the seaside and threw stones at the party in the boat, who fired several times, and at length obliged them to retire. Finding their errand to be completely fruitless, the boat returned on board, in which the old chief re-embarked, and the vessel bore away to land him, agreeably to a former promise, at Attowai; but when they were about five or six leagues to leeward of Woahoo, about five in the evening, the old chief made a sudden spring overboard and swam from the ship, which was instantly brought to; but on finding that he still continued to swim from them, without the least inclination of returning on board, they filled their sails, and having then no business at Attowai, they made the best of their way towards Nootka, agreeably to my directions."

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 176.



north-west part of the roadstead. It seemed to be pleasantly situated on a space of low or rather gently elevated land, in the midst of a grove of bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and other trees. To the eastward the country seemed nearly barren and uncultivated, and the shores were bounded by a reef, on which the surf seemed to break with so much force as to preclude any landing with our boats. In the village the houses seemed to be numerous and to be well inhabited. A few of the natives visited the ships; these brought but little with them, and most of them were in very small miserable canoes. These circumstances strongly indicated their poverty, and proved what had been frequently asserted at Owhyhee, that Mowee and its neighbouring islands were reduced to great indigence by the wars in which for many years they had been engaged."

While on Hawaii, Vancouver had been told that three of the murderers of Lieutenant Hergest of the "Dædalus" had been put to death by the orders of *Kahékili*; but he was also told there that those murders were premeditated<sup>1</sup> by them (*Kahékili* and *Kæo*), and committed by their express orders, for the sole purpose of revenging a difference that had happened between them and Mr. Ingraham.<sup>2</sup> He was assured, however, by *Kamohomoho* and *Kahékili* that such was not the case; that not only had no such orders been issued by *Kahékili* or *Kæo*, nor had any chief been connected with the murder of the "Dædalus'" people, but that it had been perpetrated by a lawless gang living on that side of Oahu; and that as soon as they (*Kahékili* and *Kæo*) became acquainted with the sad event, they had immediately sent orders to Oahu to arrest and put to death those who were guilty of the murder, and that in consequence three of the most prominent of the gang had been executed, three or four others equally guilty having escaped to the mountains and eluded pursuit for a long time. As Vancouver insisted that those men should also be caught and punished by their own chiefs as a warning

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Of the "Hope," a North-West trader.

to others, it was arranged that *Kamohōmoho* should accompany him to Oahu in order to see *Kahekili's* orders to that effect duly executed.

During his stay on Hawaii, Vancouver had taken great pains to impress upon *Kamehameha* and his chiefs the necessity, propriety, and mutual advantages of the island chiefs living in peace and harmony with one another, instead of impoverishing each other by continual wars and the destruction of people and property. Though the Hawaii chiefs were rather reluctant to accede to this new peace policy, they finally agreed that if Vancouver could induce *Kahekili* and *Kao*—whom they greatly distrusted—to enter honestly and fairly into such an arrangement, they would be content with Hawaii for themselves, and leave Maui and the leeward islands to *Kahekili* and *Kao*. Acting upon this understanding, Vancouver lost no time, after his arrival at Lahaina, to lay before *Kahekili* and the Maui chiefs there assembled the propositions of *Kamehameha* and the Hawaii chiefs, backed by his own serious recommendations. *Kahekili* and the chiefs listened attentively, admitted the great benefit that would accrue to their country from a period of peace and rest, but that they knew *Kamehameha* too well to place any reliance upon his promises to keep the peace. He was ambitious of fame, they said, and greedy of possessions. Their jealousy and mistrust of *Kamehameha* was apparently deep rooted and not easily overcome. After a lengthy discussion the meeting was adjourned till the following day, when *Kao*, who was now on Molokai, would have returned. On the 13th March, *Kao* being present, the subject was resumed, and it was proposed that Vancouver should return to Hawaii with *Kao* on board as ambassador from *Kahekili*, and that then and there, under the eyes of Vancouver, the treaty of peace should be negotiated and concluded. With this Vancouver stated his inability to comply, on account of the limited time at his disposition; but he proposed to send a letter to John Young, asking

him to notify *Kamehameha* that *Kahakili* and the Maui chiefs were willing to enter into a treaty of peace on the conditions agreed upon between *Kamehameha* and Vancouver, and that a prominent chief should be sent with this letter, assuring them that on receipt of said letter *Kamehameha* would assemble his chiefs and ratify the peace thus concluded, adding that if *Kamehameha* should refuse, he, Vancouver, would withdraw his friendship and favour from him and his island. To this proposition *Kahakili*, *Kaao*, and the other chiefs agreed, and a high chief, whom Vancouver calls *Martier*,<sup>1</sup> was appointed to carry the letter to Hawaii and conclude the negotiations. The great good-will and disinterested endeavours of Vancouver to establish a peace between the Hawaii and Maui sovereigns unfortunately came to nothing. Though the native historians make no mention of this transaction, either in the life of *Kamehameha* or that of *Kahakili*, yet we gather from what Vancouver says, on his return that winter to the islands, that the Maui chiefs appear to have performed their part of the plan proposed by Vancouver. He then learned<sup>2</sup> that a small party had arrived from Maui on the west coast of Hawaii, but had been driven away by the inhabitants. Several versions of the affair were told to Vancouver, and this is what he says:—

“Immediately on my arrival here I inquired if my letter from Mowee had been received, and received an answer in the negative. But I was given to understand that a small party from that island had arrived on the western side of Owhyhee, whose object was suspected to be that of seizing some of the inhabitants there for the purpose of taking them away and of sacrificing them in their religious rites at Mowee; and some reports went so far as to assert that this diabolical object had been effected. On farther inquiry, however, this fact appeared

<sup>1</sup> Who this chief may have been I am unable to tell. The name as Vancouver gives it bears no resemblance to any known chief's name

of that time. The English of that day made sad havoc of Polynesian names.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii. p. 49.

to be by no means established, as it was positively insisted on by some, and by others as positively denied. One circumstance, however, both parties agreed in—that of the people from Mowee having been under the necessity of making a hasty retreat. I could not understand that any chief was in the neighbourhood of the place where they had landed; and *Tamaahmaah* himself, either from a conviction that they had been unfairly dealt with, or that I should disapprove of the suspicious narrow policy that had influenced the conduct of his people on this occasion, was unwilling to allow that he had been made duly acquainted with their arrival, and was always desirous of avoiding the subject in conversation.

“After many attempts to fix his attention, I at length explained to him what was the result of my negotiation with the chiefs at Mowee; and he then seemed to concur in opinion with me, that the party from Mowee who had landed on the western side of Owhyhee, could be no other than the embassy charged with my letter and invested with powers to negotiate for a general pacification.”

Although Vancouver's kindly disposition accepts the foregoing explanation, and appears loath to charge the failure of the Maui embassy to *Kamehameha* or his chief counsellors, yet to those acquainted with the character of the people and the spirit of that time, the desire to please and the fear to offend those whom they looked upon as present friends and possible auxiliaries in their dreams of conquest, their power of equivoques and peculiarity of expressing them, to such the hesitating “*pelapaha*,”<sup>1</sup> with which *Kamehameha* seemed to concur in opinion with Vancouver, joined to his “unwillingness to allow that he had been made duly acquainted,” &c., and “desire of avoiding the subject in conversation,” would be good if indirect proofs of his knowledge of and collusion with those who forcibly repelled and frustrated the Maui embassy. It is doing *Kamehameha* no injustice, and it is no

<sup>1</sup> “Perhaps so.”

detraction from his other great qualities, to say that he was not equal to the large-hearted philanthropy of Vancouver. And so ended the last and best-laid scheme of peacemaking between these jealous and embittered foes, and henceforth the conquest of the leeward islands was but a question of time and of favourable opportunity in the not distant future.

To Hawaiian readers it may be interesting to know the description that Vancouver gives of *Kahekali* and *Kaeo*. The former especially had filled so prominent a part in Hawaiian politics for the last thirty years. Speaking of the first meeting with *Kahekali*, Vancouver says:<sup>1</sup>—

“On Wednesday afternoon, 13th March 1793, we were honoured with the presence of *Titeeree*, who I was given to understand was considered as the king of all the islands to leeward of Owhyhee, and that from him *Taio* derived his authority. There seemed, however, nothing in his character or appearance to denote so high a station, nor was his arrival attended by any accumulation in the number of the natives on the shores or in the canoes about the vessels. He came boldly alongside, but entered the ship with a sort of partial confidence, accompanied by several chiefs who constantly attended him. His age, I suppose, must have exceeded sixty. He was greatly debilitated and emaciated, and from the colour of his skin I judged his feebleness to have been brought on by an excessive use of the ava. His faltering voice bespoke the decline of life, and his countenance, though furrowed by his years and irregularities, still preserved marks of his having been in his juvenile days a man of cheerful and pleasing manners, with a considerable degree of sensibility, which the iron hand of time had not entirely obliterated.”

Of *Kaeokulani* Vancouver says, referring to the circumstance of *Kaeo* reminding him of a lock of his hair that he had given *Kaeo* when visiting the islands in 1778, on

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 182.

board of the "Resolution" with Captain Cook, and which exchange of friendship's tokens Vancouver seems to have forgotten:—

"The circumstance of the hair having before been frequently mentioned to me, had made me endeavour to recall the person of this former friend to my remembrance, and on recollection, I suspected that *Taio* must have been a young chief, at that time about eighteen years of age, who had made me several presents, and who had given me many other instances of his friendly attention. But to my great surprise, on his entering the cabin, I beheld him far advanced in years, seemingly about fifty, and though evidently a much younger man than *Titeeree*, yet nearly reduced to the same state of debility. If he were really the person I had considered him to have been, I must have been much mistaken with respect to his age on our former acquaintance, or the intemperate use of that pernicious intoxicating plant, the *ava*, which he took in great quantities, assisted by the toils of long and fatiguing wars, had combined to bring upon him a premature old age. Notwithstanding these appearances of the decline of life, his countenance was animated with great quickness and sensibility, and his behaviour was affable and courteous. His inquiries were of the most sagacious nature respecting matters of useful information. The shrewdness of his understanding, his thirst to acquire and wish to communicate useful, interesting, or entertaining knowledge, sufficiently indicated a very active mind, and did not fail to impress us with a very favourable opinion of his general character."

On the 18th March Vancouver left Lahaina with *Kamohomoho* on board. After examining the southern and western shores of Molokai, he anchored off Waikiki, Oahu, on the 20th March 1793.

The main object of Vancouver's visit to Waikiki was to see that the remaining murderers of the officers and man of the "Dædalus" were apprehended and punished.

*Kamohomoho*, who had accompanied Vancouver as high commissioner from *Kahakili* to attend to this business, secured the apprehension of three natives, who were brought on board the "Discovery" for trial. A native—whom Vancouver calls *Tohooboarto*, who had been a voyage to China with some of the foreign traders, who spoke a little English, and who said he had visited the "Dædalus" in Waimea Bay, and went ashore in the same boat as Lieutenant Hergest after dissuading him from landing—was the principal witness who identified the prisoners to *Kamohomoho*, by whose orders they were apprehended. A Mr. Dobson, who had been midshipman of the "Dædalus" on the occasion, identified one of the prisoners as having been very turbulent and insolent on board of the "Dædalus" before Lieutenant Hergest went ashore, and who immediately followed him thither, and whom the crew of the "Dædalus," after the occurrence, accused of having been the ringleader or principal actor in the murders committed on shore. Adding to this the general belief of the chiefs present that the prisoners were concerned in and guilty of the crime they stood accused of—an opinion confirmed by *Kalanikupule* himself, who, however, pleaded sickness as an excuse for not attending the trial—Vancouver considered himself justified in sanctioning their conviction and punishment. The three prisoners denied their guilt, and stoutly asserted their ignorance of the whole occurrence. "This very assertion," Vancouver thinks, "amounted almost to self-conviction, as it is not easy to believe that the execution of their comrades by *Titeeree's* orders for the same offence with which they had been charged had not come to their knowledge, or that it could have escaped their recollection."<sup>1</sup>

On the 22d March the prisoners were placed in a double canoe alongside of the "Discovery," and, in sight of the shore and of numbers afloat in their canoes, were

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 209.

publicly executed, a chief, whom Vancouver calls *Tennavee*, shooting each one of them with a pistol.

It is very probable that the three first natives who were punished with death by the order of *Kahekili* for the murder of the "Dædalus" people were more or less concerned in the affair, and that when *Kahekili* learned from the foreigners residing with him that such an outrage on an English national vessel would surely, sooner or later, meet with condign punishment and prove highly injurious to himself, he then ordered the execution of the three first offenders as an expiation, and to put himself right on the record, as it were. And it is equally probable—their protestations to the contrary notwithstanding—that the three last offenders, who were executed in the presence of Vancouver, were also implicated in the murder. But we have the positive declaration of S. M. Kamakau, who in after-life conversed with one of the parties participating in the murder, that *Koi*, the head and instigator of the whole affair, and his immediate subordinates, were neither apprehended, punished, nor even molested, and that the parties executed were criminals of other offences, who, their lives having been forfeited under the laws and customs of the country, were imposed upon Vancouver as the guilty parties in the "Dædalus" affair.

On the 23d March, *Kalanikupule*, the son of *Kahekili* and the viceroy on Oahu, visited Vancouver, who thus describes him:—"Trytooboory appeared to be about thirty-three years of age; his countenance was fallen and reduced, his emaciated frame was in a most debilitated condition, and he was so totally deprived of the use of his legs, that he was under the necessity of being carried about like an infant; to these infirmities was added a considerable degree of fever, probably increased by the hurry and fatigue of his visit."

On the 24th March Vancouver left Waikiki, and after inspecting the Puuloa inlet to the Ewa lagoon, proceeded



to Kauai. In mid-channel he fell in with a fleet of canoes on their way from Kauai to Maui, carrying dispatches and a number of prisoners to *Kaeo*, informing him of a revolt that had occurred on Kauai against the authority of *Enemo*, his regent there, and of its suppression. At the head of this fleet was a single canoe that attracted Vancouver's attention. It was made from an American pine-tree that had drifted ashore on Kauai; it was the largest single canoe that he had seen, being sixty-one and a half feet long. It carried, as trophies of the suppression of the revolt, the leg-bones, with some of the flesh adhering, of two chiefs that had been engaged in it and been killed. The other canoes carried a number of prisoners, several of whom, Vancouver says, "were his (*Kaeo's*) nearest relations; one in particular was his half-sister, who had also been his wife or mistress, and had borne him some children."

Arrived off Waialua, Kauai, Vancouver was kindly received by *Kaumualii* and the chiefs there present, and proceeding to Waimea, he landed and provided for two Hawaiian girls from Niihau, whom an English trader had carried off the preceding year to the north-west coast of America, where Vancouver found them, and kindly gave them a passage home.

On his return from the American coast in the spring of 1794, Vancouver visited Hawaii first. Leaving that island on March 3d and proceeding westward, he spoke some canoes off Hamakuapoko, Maui, who told him that *Kahakili* was on Oahu, and that *Kaeo* was on Molokai at that time.

Of the occurrences on the leeward group of the islands under the sway of *Kahakili* and *Kaeo* from March 1793 to March 1794, our only information comes from Vancouver's valuable account of his voyage. We there learn that shortly before his arrival—either latter part 1793 or in the early part of 1794, while he was at Hawaii—*Enemo's* conduct as regent under *Kaeo* on Kauai had

become so suspicious and apparently disloyal, that *Kahakili*, advised of the fact, and acting for his brother *Kaao*, who was absent on Maui or Molokai, sent an embassy to Kauai to investigate the matter. Vancouver intimates that the "renegade white men" in *Enemo's* employ had instigated him to his disloyal conduct, and that they killed the greater portion of *Kahakili's* messengers. In this critical situation *Kahakili*, notwithstanding his advanced age, acted with his usual promptitude and decision. Obtaining a passage for himself and his following on board of the English ship "Butterworth," Captain Brown, he proceeded to Kauai and summoned *Enemo* to justify himself. Either overawed by the presence of *Kahakili*, or conscious of his own innocence, *Enemo* met *Kahakili* in conference, a compromise of existing difficulties was effected, and *Enemo* was retained as regent of Kauai.

From the native accounts it does appear that, after the above trouble on Kauai, *Kahakili* visited Maui once more, and returning to Oahu in the month of "Ikiiki" (June), died in the month of "Kaaona" (July) 1794 at Ulukou, Waikiki. His age is not accurately known, but as by all native accounts he was the reputed, if not the legitimate and acknowledged, father of *Kamehameha I.*, he could not well have been less than eighty years old, and was probably some years older. The same authorities state that *Kameeiamoku* and his twin-brother *Kamanawa* secretly took *Kahakili's* body away and hid it in one of the caves at Kaloko in North Kona, Hawaii. If this fact is truly accredited to those two Hawaiian chieftains, and, although happening in comparatively modern times, I have never heard or seen it disputed, it will, in consideration of the ancient customs, go far to justify the current opinion of that time, shared alike by chiefs and commoners, that *Kameeiamoku* and *Kamanawa* were the children of *Kekaulike* of Maui, and thus half-brothers of *Kahakili*. This relationship receives farther confirmation from the native legends when they relate that, on learning the birth of

*Kamehameha*, *Kahekili* sent these two sons of his father *Kekaulike*<sup>1</sup> to Hawaii to be and act as "Kahus"<sup>2</sup> to *Kamehameha*. In no other way can the otherwise singular fact be explained that two of *Kamehameha's* oldest and most prominent and trusted councillor chiefs, during a time of what may be called suspended hostilities, should have repaired from Hawaii to Oahu for the purpose of securing and safely hiding (*Huna-kele*) the bones of *Kamehameha's* political rival; nor the otherwise equally inexplicable fact that they should have been permitted by *Kalanikupule*, *Kahekili's* son and successor, to carry their design into effect. Under the social system of the old régime, and of time-hallowed custom, *Kamehameha* would have had no power to prevent those chiefs from executing their pious errand, and *Kalanikupule* would have had no motive to mistrust their honesty when resigning to them his father's remains; and a breach of trust on their part would have consigned them to an infamy of which Hawaiian history had no precedent, and so deep, that the Hawaiian language would not have had a word detestable enough wherewith to express it.

*Kahekili* had two wives:—(1.) *Kauwahine*, of the *Kaupo Koo* and *Kaiuli* chief families. Her children were—*Kalanikupule* and *Koalaukani*, already referred to, and two daughters, *Kailikaouha* and *Kalola*; the former became the wife of *Ulumeheihei Hoopilikane* (son of *Kameeia-moku*) and mother of *Liliha*, the princely and popular wife of governor *Boki* of Oahu after the death of *Kamehameha I.*; of the latter daughter, *Kalola*, nothing is known with certainty. (2.) *Luahiva*, daughter of *Kekaulike* and his *Molokai* wife *Kane-a-Lae*, and thus a half-sister to *Kahekili*. With her *Kahekili* had a son, *Kahekilinuiahuu*, also frequently called *Manonokauakapekulani*, who married

<sup>1</sup> Though every Hawaiian genealogy in my possession invariably states that *Kameeia-moku* and *Kamanawa* were the twin children of *Keavepoe* and his wife *Kanoena*, yet all the older

legends which refer to these two chiefs call them the sons of *Kekaulike*. "Na keiki kapu a *Kekaulike*."

<sup>2</sup> "Guardians, attendants."

his cousin *Kailinooa*, the daughter of *Manuhaaipo*, one of the sons of *Kekaulike* and *Hoolau*.

*Kalanikupule.*

Although *Kalanikupule*, at his father's death, was recognised as the Moi of Maui and its dependencies, Lanai, Molokai, and Oahu, yet the previous arrangement between *Kahekili* and *Kaokulani* remained in force for some time, the latter governing Maui and the adjacent islands, while *Kalanikupule* ruled over Oahu.

Towards the close of the year 1794 *Kaao* became very desirous of revisiting Kauai and placing affairs there on a better footing. Embarking with his chiefs and his soldiers, he left Maui and stopped a while on Molokai to collect tribute and take in supplies.

It is not stated in the native accounts whether any jealousy or ill-feeling had arisen between *Kaao* and *Kalanikupule*, nor, if so, what may have been the occasion of it. Certain it is that when *Kalanikupule* was informed that *Kaao* was coming with a great force on his way to Kauai, he assembled his chiefs and fighting men in Waimanalo, Koolaupoko district, in readiness to repel *Kaao* should he attempt a landing. Not aware of the hostile reception that awaited him, *Kaao*, after leaving Molokai, steered for Kukui in Kalapueo, Waimanalo, but when arriving there he was repulsed by the Oahu forces, and a skirmishing fight was kept up for two days, during which time *Kaao's* fleet kept at sea off the coast, exchanging shots with the forces ashore, with apparently no great losses on either side, except that the commander of the Oahu troops was shot by *Kaao's* foreign gunner, Mare Amara, near a little brook named Muliwaiolena.

By this time *Kalanikupule* had crossed the mountain and arrived on the scene of action. What influences had operated a change in his mind is not known, but he stopped farther hostile proceedings, permitted *Kaao* and his followers to land, and invited him to a conference at Kalapawai, in Kailua. What took place at this meeting is not known, but to all appearance friendship and good-

will were restored between uncle and nephew, and *Kaeo* remained some time the guest of *Kalanikupule*.

Still anxious to proceed to Kauai, and unwilling to tax the hospitality of his nephew too far, *Kaeo* refitted his fleet and re-embarked his men. Leaving Kailua and proceeding by easy stages, he touched at Wailua and at Waianae before intending to cross the channel to Kauai. Stopping a few days at Waianae, a defection sprang up among his troops and was surely and rapidly spreading, and is said to have been fomented by *Kaiawa* and other chiefs. On the eve of departure for Kauai, *Kaeo* was informed of the conspiracy and of its magnitude, and that the conspirators had resolved to throw him overboard on the passage to Kauai. The motives of this sudden conspiracy have not transpired. No oppressive or tyrannical act had been committed by *Kaeo*, who, on the contrary, had always been very popular with his subjects. On the other hand, subsequent events go far to show that it was hardly possible that *Kalanikupule* had tampered with the fealty of *Kaeo's* chiefs during their *sejour* at Kailua, or they would have saved themselves at the battle of Kukiiahu.

In this great emergency *Kaeo* showed himself equal to the occasion. Only a bold stroke could extricate him from the threatening peril. There would be no possible chance to cope with the conspirators if once they were embarked and afloat on the ocean. Could he divert the rebellion he was unable to suppress? Yes; one course was open, and only one. He might save his life and gain a kingdom, or at least fall in battle as became a brave man, instead of being thrown overboard like a dog. The expression he made use of on this occasion, when communicating his resolution to his intimate friends, has been preserved and recorded: "*E aho hoi ka make ana i ke kaa, he nui na moepu*"—"It is better to die in battle; many will be the companions in death." Next morning the departure for Kauai was countermanded, the canoes

were ordered to be dismantled and hauled up ashore, and the troops were ordered to prepare for a march on Waikiki and war with *Kalanikupule*.

*Kaeo* had judged his men correctly. The prospect of battle and renown, the hope of booty and new lands in the fertile valleys of Oahu, brought them back to their allegiance like a charm, and the cloud of revolt fled afar from the camp.

When this new order was proclaimed, the tidings of *Kaeo's* altered designs flew fast and far. A number of people from Wailua and Waianae flocked to his banner, and *Kalanikupule* hurried forward what forces he could collect at the moment to stop the advance of *Kaeo*.

In the month of November 1794 *Kaeo* broke up his camp at Waianae and marched on Ewa. At a place named Punahawele he encountered the troops of *Kalanikupule*, who had received an auxiliary force of armed seamen from the English vessels "Jackal" and "Prince Leboo," under command of Captain Brown, who shortly previous had been the first to enter the harbour of Honolulu, known to the natives by the name of Kou. In this first battle *Kaeo* was victorious. Some of *Kalanikupule's* hired foreigners were shot by *Kaeo's* gunner, Mare Amara, and the native troops were routed. Desultory fighting continued for several days afterwards, in all of which fortune still adhered to the arms of *Kaeo*, who slowly but steadily advanced through the Ewa district.

Worsted but not disheartened, *Kalanikupule* collected his scattered forces between Kalauao and Aiea, in Ewa, determined to dispute by another pitched battle the progress of *Kaeo*. The native chroniclers have noted the disposition of *Kalanikupule's* forces. His brother *Koalaukani* occupied with the right wing the raised main road from Kalauao to Aiea; his uncle *Kamohomoho* with the left wing occupied the shingly beach at Malei; and *Kalanikupule* himself, with his chiefs, occupied the middle of Aiea, while Captain Brown with his armed boats occu-

pied a commanding position off the shore. We know not how *Kaeo* had marshalled his forces. He was probably advancing through the cultivated fields below and beyond the ravine of Kalauāo. The battle took place on the 12th December 1794. It was a long and sanguinary conflict, and occupied nearly the whole of that day, The furious onset of *Koalaukani* descending from the upland where he was posted is said to have broken the main column of *Kaeo's* army, and decided the fortune of the day. *Kaeo* personally is said to have displayed prodigies of valour, but was finally compelled to flee, and with six of his companions in arms sought shelter in a small ravine near the shore of Aiea. His yellow feather cloak, the "Ahuula," betrayed his presence and his rank to the men stationed in the boats off shore, who fired at him and his party while the pursuers rushed upon them from above; and thus, with his face to the foe, like a lion at bay, died *Kaeokulani*, a perfect type of the personal daring, the martial skill, and the princely qualities that formed the *beau ideal* of a Hawaiian chieftain and the admiration of his contemporaries. The native historian Kamakau says that *Kaeo's* wives and several prominent chiefs were also killed in this battle, which received by the natives the name of "the battle of Kukiiahu." We are not told who those wives of *Kaeo* were. *Kamakahahelei*, the Kauai princess and mother of his son *Kaumualii*, was certainly not among the number.

Towards evening of the day of the battle the corpses of the slain were collected and piled up in heaps near the shore at Paaiāu. As an instance of an extraordinary escape, it is related that a woman named *Kahulunui-kaaumoku*, a daughter of *Kuohu*, the high-priest of Kauai, was among the number that were killed where *Kaeo* fell. To all outward appearance the woman was dead, and as such picked up and thrown on the pile of corpses. Life still lingered, however, though the woman was unconscious. During the early part of the night an

owl, or some other carrion bird, hovering over the pile of corpses, alighted on the woman's head and attempted to pick out her eye. The blow of the bird's beak and the smart of the torn eyelid brought her back to consciousness and a sense of her situation. Watching her opportunity when the sentinel's back was turned, she cautiously slipped off from the ghastly company, and crawling on the ground, reached the waters of the bay. She then swam to the farther side of Aiea, where she landed, and then went to the upper part of Halawa valley. Here she found a cave in which she hid herself, fully expecting to die from her wounds and exhaustion before morning. Morning came, but the woman was still alive; and one of her Kahus, going up to the mountain, passed by her cave, recognised her, and preserving her secret, brought her food and ointment. Two days after the battle *Kalanikupule* proclaimed an amnesty, and forbade any farther pursuit and slaughter of those who might have escaped the battle. *Kahulunuwikaumoku* recovered from her wounds; in after years she embraced Christianity, and died as late as 1834.

Beside the "Jackal" and "Prince Leboo" there was lying in Honolulu harbour at this time an American sloop, the "Lady Washington," Captain Kendrick. When Captain Brown and his sailors returned to Honolulu from the battle of Kukiiahu, he caused a salute to be fired in honour of the victory. A wad from one of the guns entered the cabin of the "Lady Washington" and killed Captain Kendrick, who was at dinner at the time. Captain Kendrick was buried ashore, and the natives looked upon the funeral ceremony as one of sorcery to procure the death of Captain Brown. The son of Captain Kendrick requested *Kalanikupule* to take good care of his father's grave; but that very night the grave was opened and robbed by the natives, as alleged, for the purpose of obtaining the winding-sheet. Shortly afterwards the "Lady Washington" left for China.



The native accounts state that when Captain Brown engaged to assist *Kalanikupule* in his war with *Kaao*, *Kalanikupule* had promised to pay him 400 hogs for his services. After the return from the war it appears that Captain Brown insisted upon some additional conditions, to which *Kalanikupule* and his chiefs strongly objected, and at which they were much annoyed, and plans, said to have been suggested by *Kamohomoho*, began to be entertained of cutting off the two vessels, should a favourable opportunity offer. The difficulty about the payment seems to have been amicably arranged, and Captain Brown acquiesced in the terms of the original agreement. Accordingly *Kalanikupule* commenced sending off the hogs in great numbers. Being short of salt wherewith to cure the pork, Captain Brown applied to *Kalanikupule*, who told him to send to the salt-ponds at Kaihikapu and help himself to as much as he wanted. The boats of the two vessels were sent off accordingly, and it happening to be high water on the reef at Keehi, they arrived at Kaihikapu without inconvenience, and loaded up with salt. In returning, however, the tide at Keehi was at low water, and the boats grounded.

In the meanwhile Captain Brown, who had now been a long time in the harbour, and considered himself on the most friendly and intimate terms with the Oahu chiefs, and suspecting no treachery, had invited *Kalanikupule* and a number of others on board of his vessels, it being New Year's day 1795. *Kalanikupule*, *Kamohomoho*, and a number of other chiefs and men of lesser note, repaired on board and were feasted and entertained by the two captains. When the visitors perceived that the ships' boats had grounded on the reef at Keehi and the crews were unable to return to the vessels, a general and preconcerted attack was made on the few foreigners that remained on board. Captains Brown and Gardner were killed and most of the seamen on board, while at the same time an overwhelming party was sent off to kill the boats' crews, and take possession of the boats. The

greater number of the crews were killed, but a few were spared to assist in navigating the vessels.

In possession of these two vessels, with all their stores of arms and ammunition, *Kalanikupule* became so elated, that, in a council with his chiefs, it was resolved to start forthwith to Hawaii and to conquer that kingdom from *Kamehameha*. The account of the subsequent proceedings are differently narrated by Dibble, Jarves, and by Kamakau; but although the two latter agree best together, I prefer to follow Dibble's account as probably the most correct as regards the facts, though he is wrong in the year that he assigns to them.

After describing the capture of the vessels, Mr. Dibble says:—"The ship's deck was soon crowded with soldiers and set sail under the management principally of a few foreigners. When they were fairly out of the harbour off Waikiki, the foreigners began to cover the rigging with oil that was extremely offensive, which so increased the sea-sickness of the king and his soldiers as to be insupportable, and they insisted upon returning into the harbour. On setting sail the second time, *Kamohomoho* advised that the foreigners should go in canoes, and natives only on board ship. *Kalanikupule* replied in English, "No." The soldiers therefore set sail in a fleet of canoes, and the foreigners with *Kalanikupule*, with all the guns, muskets, ammunition, and other means of warfare, and a few attendants perhaps, on board the ship. The foreigners, instead of sailing for Hawaii, stood directly out into the open ocean, sent *Kalanikupule* ashore at Waikiki, and took a final leave of the islands. It is said they touched at Hawaii and delivered the arms and ammunition to *Kamehameha*."

Kamakau's account differs somewhat in details, but it is substantially the same as to the results—the failure of *Kalanikupule* to hold the vessels he had captured and carry out the plans he had formed, and the success of the surviving seamen in escaping with their ships.

Before proceeding farther with the closing events of the

Hawaiian autonomous states under the old *régime*, it is proper to take up the Oahu line of kings from the time of *Kukaniloko* to the death of *Kahahana*, which closed the autonomy of that island.

## OAHU.

*Kalaimanuia* followed her mother, *Kukaniloko*, as *Moi* <sup>*Kalaimanuia.*</sup> of Oahu. No foreign or domestic wars appear to have troubled her reign, and little is known of her history. She was born at *Kukaniloko*, that famous birthplace of Hawaiian royalty, and resided most of her time at *Kalauao*, in the *Ewa* district, where the foundations of her houses are still pointed out at *Kukiiahu* and at *Paaiau*. To her is attributed the building of the great fishponds of *Kapaakea*, *Opu*, and *Paaiau*. Her husband was *Lupe Kapukeahomakalii*, a son of *Kalanuili* (k) and *Naluehiloikeahomakalii* (w), and he is highly spoken of in the legends as a wise and kind man, who frequently accompanied his royal spouse on the customary circuits of inspection of the island, and assisted her in the government and administration of justice.

An instance of *Lupekapu's* mildness of disposition has been preserved in the legends. Once a native stole a hog from the chief. When the theft was found out, *Lupekapu* goes to the house of the thief and asks, "Did you steal my hog?" The native answered trembling, "Yes." *Lupekapu* then ordered the thief to prepare an oven and bake the hog. When that was done, he was told to sit down and eat. The thief fell to with a light heart, but on attempting to rise, when his natural appetite was satisfied, he was sternly told to continue eating until he was told to desist. When nearly suffocated with food, the poor wretch was told to get up, and *Lupekapu* told him, "Next time that you steal your neighbour's hogs, the law of the land that *Mailekukahi* established will punish you, viz., you will be sacrificed as a malefactor,

and your bones will be scraped to make fish-hooks and arrow-heads of."

*Kalaimanuia* and *Lupekapu* had four children, three sons and one daughter. The first were *Ku-a-Manuia*, *Kaihikapu-a-Manuia*, and *Hao*; the latter was *Kekela*. According to ancient custom the sons were given over to their several Kahus or guardians, chiefs of high rank and generally related to the parents, to be by them brought up and educated. Thus *Ku-a-M.* was brought up at Waikiki, *Kaihikapu-a-M.* at Waimanalo, Koolaupoko, and *Hao* at Waikele, Ewa; but the daughter, *Kekela*, was brought up with her parents.

Before her death *Kalaimanuia* made the following dispositions of the government and the land. She appointed her eldest son, *Ku-a-M.*, to succeed her as *Moi* of Oahu, and she gave him the Kona and Koolaupoko districts for his maintenance. To *Kaihikapu-a-M.* she confided the charge of the tabus, the religious culte, and her family gods, "Kukalani" and "Kuhoooneenuu;" and for his maintenance she gave him the lands of Kalauao, Aiea, Halawa, and Moanalua. To *Hao* she gave the districts of Ewa and Waianae, subject in authority, however, to his elder brother. And to her daughter, *Kekela*, she gave the districts of Waialua and Koolauloa.

*Ku-a-Manuia* is spoken of in the legends as an exceedingly greedy and ambitious king, who endeavoured to wrest the lands from his brothers that had been given to them by their mother; and by his niggardliness he incurred the ill-will of the priests and the country-people, and became very unpopular. This manner of bickering and disputes with his brothers continued for about six years, when finally *Ku-a-M.* resolved on an armed attack on his brother, *Kaihikapu-a-M.*, who was at the time building the two fishponds at Keehi known as *Kaihikapu* and *Lelepaua*. *Kaihikapu-a-M.* defended himself against this sudden attack; the country-people and his brother *Hao* hurried up to his assistance, and a general battle was

fought between Lelepaua and Kapuaikaula, in which *Ku-a-M.* was slain. Not long ago a memorial stone was still pointed out on that field as marking the place where *Ku-a-M.* fell.

The legends have not preserved the names of *Ku-a-Manuia's* wives or children.

*Kahikapu-a-Manuia* followed his brother as *Moi* of *Kahikapu-a-Manuia.* Oahu. Tradition has preserved his memory as a pious and worthy chief, who built new Heiaus, repaired the old, and encouraged devotion and religious exercises. During one of the circuits of the island which the *Moi* occasionally made to inspect the condition of the country, to administer justice, and to dedicate or repair Heiaus, he visited his brother *Hao*, who lived at Waikele, Ewa, and, as the legend says, was surprised and disturbed in his mind at the wealth of all kinds and the number of vassals and retainers, both chiefs and commoners, that followed the banner of his opulent brother.

Apprehensive that a chief with so abundant material resources might any day rise in revolt and assert his independence, *Kahikapu-a-M.* returned to Waikiki and took counsel with his high-priest, *Luamea*. The priest advised him that open force would not prevail against *Hao*, but that he might be overcome by stratagem and surprise. The native legend makes a kind of Trojan horse of an enormous shark that had been caught off Waikiki by *Kahikapu-a-M.*, and which was sent as a present to *Hao*, from which, while *Hao* was occupied in dedicating it to the gods, armed men issued and slew *Hao*, his priest, and attendant chiefs, who, occupied with the sacrifice, were unarmed and unprepared.

I am inclined to believe that the embellishments of the legends, as in many other cases, are of a much later time, and that the actual fact of the matter was the sending of a valuable present, the bearers of which surprised *Hao* at the Heiau and killed him there.

*Hao's* son *Napulanahu-mahiki* escaped from the assassins

and fled to Waianae, where he maintained himself against *Kaihikapu-a-M.* until the death of the latter. By marrying his aunt *Kekela*, *Napulanahu* came into possession also of the Waialua and Koolauloa districts, and the island was thus divided into two independent sections, which continued until *Kakuhihewa's* reign.

*Kaihikapu-a-Manuia's* wife was *Kaunui-a-Kanehoalani*, a daughter of *Kanehoalani*, who was a grandson of *Lo Lale* (k) and *Keleanohoanaapiapi* (w), referred to on previous pages. *Kaunui's* mother was *Kualoakalailai* of the *Kalehenui* branch of the *Maweke* line, but whose pedigree I am not in possession of. With this wife *Kaihikapu-a-M.* had a son named *Kakuhihewa*, who succeeded him as *Moi*. If *Kaihikapu-a-M.* had other wives or other children, the legends are silent on the subject.

*Kakuhihewa.* As *Kakuhihewa* was not only one of the great kings of Oahu, but also celebrated throughout the group for all the princely qualities that formed the *beau ideal* of a high-born chief in those days, the legends relating to him are somewhat fuller, or have been retained better, than those of many of his contemporaries or successors.

*Kakuhihewa* was born at Kukaniloko, in the sleeping-place consecrated by the tabu of *Liloe*. From thence he was taken to Hoolonopahu by his grandfather *Kanehoalani*. Forty-eight chiefs of highest rank, conspicuous among whom were *Makokau*, *Ihukolo*, *Kaumakua*, *Pakapakuana*, were present at the ceremony of cutting the navel-string of the new-born chief, and the two sacred drums, named "Opuku" and "Hawea," announced the august event to the multitude. Several *Kahus* were duly appointed to watch over and bring up the heir-apparent, whose childhood was principally passed between Waipio, Waiawa, and Manana in the Ewa district.

During his youth *Kakuhihewa* was instructed in all the sciences and accomplishments known among his people, and such as became a chieftain of his rank and expectations. Spear exercise of the various kinds, single-stick,

stone-throwing, the use of the sling and the javelin, and the knowledge of martial tactics, were taught him by a number of masters, whose names the legend has preserved, and whose skill is said to have been so great that they could hit the smallest bird or insect at long distances. The use of the bow and arrow was taught him by the famous *Mailele*. The bow was never used in war, but was a fashionable weapon to shoot rats and mice with. There being no beasts of prey or wild animals on the islands, the rats were the only *fera natura* that offered the sports of the chase to the chiefs and their followers, with whom it seems to have been a fascinating amusement, and heavy bets were frequently put upon this or that archer's skill. The arrows were generally tipped with the sharpened bones of birds or of human beings.

When *Kakuhihewa* succeeded his father in the dignity of *Moi* of Oahu, his first care was to reunite the divided empire of the island. Instead of continuing the war with his cousin *Napulanahumahiki*, he made peace with him, and married his daughter *Kaea-a-Kalona*, generally known in the genealogies by the name of *Kahaiaonuiakauailana*, with whom the three districts of *Waianaë*, *Waialua*, and *Koolauloa* again fell under the sway of the legitimate *Moi* of Oahu; and during the balance of his long reign, no war or rebellion distracted the country or diminished his power.

The legends speak in glowing terms of the prosperity, the splendour, and the glory of *Kakuhihewa's* reign. Mild yet efficient in his government, peace prevailed all over the island, agriculture and fishing furnished abundant food for the inhabitants; industry thrived and was remunerated, population and wealth increased amazingly, and the cheerful, liberal, and pleasure-loving temper of *Kakuhihewa* attracted to his court the bravest and wisest, as well as the brilliant and frivolous, among the aristocracy of the other islands. Brave, gay, and luxurious, versed in all the lore of the ancients of his land, a practical statesman, yet passion-

ately fond of the pleasures of the day, wealthy, honoured, and obeyed, *Kakuhihewa* made his court the Paris of the group, and the noblest epitaph to his memory is the sobriquet bestowed on his island by the common and spontaneous consensus of posterity—"Oahu-a-Kakuhihewa."

*Kakuhihewa's* principal royal residences were at Ewa, Waikiki, and Kailua. On the latter land, at a place called Alele, he built a magnificent mansion, according to the ideas of those times. It was named Pamoā,<sup>1</sup> and is said to have been 240 feet long and 90 feet broad. To those who remember the large houses of even inferior chiefs in the latter years of the old régime, ere the feudal power was completely broken, the above dimensions, as given in the legend, will not appear extravagant, and were probably correct.

*Kakuhihewa* had three wives, some legends say four. (1.) *Kaea-a-Kalona* or *Kahaiaronuiakauailana*, the daughter of *Napulanahumahiki*, above referred to, and *Kekela*, the daughter of *Kalaimaneia*. With her he had two sons and one daughter—*Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa*, *Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa*, and *Makakaiailani*. (2.) *Kaakarualani*, the daughter of *Laninui-a-Kaihupee* and his wife *Kauhiiliula-a-Piilani*; the former a descendant of the *Kalehenui-a-Maweke* branch, the latter a daughter of *Piilani*, king of Maui. With her he had a son named *Kauakahinwi-a-Kakuhihewa*. (3.) *Koaekoa*, whose pedigree I am not in possession of, and with whom he had a son named *Kalehunapaikua*. The fourth wife mentioned by some legends, though not by all, was *Kahamaluihi*, a daughter of *Kaioe*—a descendant of the *Kumuhonua-a-Mulielealii* branch of the *Maweke* line—and *Kavelo-Ehu*, of the Kauai branch descending from *Ahukini-a-Laa*. She is said to have become afterwards the wife of *Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa*.

When *Kakuhihewa* died, the office and dignity of *Moi* of Oahu descended to his oldest son, *Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa*, in whose family it remained for five generations

*Kanekapu-  
a-Kakuhihewa.*

<sup>1</sup> Some legends give the name as *Kamooa*.



afterwards. In other respects the island appears to have been divided between the three oldest brothers.

No legends remain of the life of *Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa*. The brothers agreed well together; no dissensions seem to have troubled their lives, and peace and abundance blessed the land. Occasional allusions in the legends of other chiefs would seem to indicate, however, that the gay temper and sumptuous style of living, which had made *Kakuhihewa* so famous among his contemporaries, were in a great measure shared by his son *Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa*, whose brilliant *entourage* continued the lustre of his father's court.

*Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa's* wives were: (1.) *Kalua*, with whose name some confusion appears to have been made by the genealogies. On some she is said to have been one of the daughters of *Hoohila*—a daughter of *Kalaniuli* (k) and *Kaulala* (w)—and her husband *Kealohi-Kikaupea*, and thus a sister to *Kaioe*, the mother of *Kahamaluihi*, above referred to; but as *Hoohila* was a half-sister of *Kakuhihewa's* grandfather *Lupekapukeahomakalii*, and is referred to in the legends of *Kakuhihewa* as an old lady in his days, it is hardly probable that any of her daughters could have been the mate of *Kakuhihewa's* son. That she was descended from *Hoohila*, and in the Meles and legends is known as *Kalua-a-Hoohila*, there is no doubt, and I think it therefore more reasonable to assume that she was a granddaughter or great-granddaughter of *Hoohila*. The only child that *Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa* had with this wife was a son, *Kahoowahaokalani*. (2.) *Kahamaluihi*, just mentioned above, with whom he had no children.

*Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa*, though acknowledging his brother *Kanekapu-a-Kakuhihewa* as the *Moi* of Oahu, kept his gay and brilliant court sometimes at Ewa, sometimes at Waikiki. We know but little of the history of his life. The Meles and legends merely allude to certain events known to have transpired during his time as if they were too well known in the community at the time

those accounts in verse or prose were composed to require farther details. Thus there can be no doubt that it was during his time that *Kauhi-a-Kama*, the Moi of Maui, started an armed expedition to Oahu, landed at Waikiki, and met a violent death there at the hands of the Oahu chiefs; but we know not the cause of the quarrel or the invasion, nor if *Kaihiikapu-a-Kakuhihewa* was personally present at Waikiki and shared in the battle and took part in the outrage committed on *Kauhi-a-Kama's* body at the Heiau of Apuakehau. We know that the great civil war between *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii* and his cousin or near relative, *Aikanaka*, on Kauai, occurred during this period, and that *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii*—whose wife belonged to the *Kalona* family of Oahu, and who had obtained lands in Ewa on the slope ascending to the Kolekole pass of the Waianae mountains—was assisted with men, arms, and canoes by *Kaihiikapu-a-Kakuhihewa* during the war; but we learn nothing from those legends that throws any light on the contentions which distracted the island of Kauai between the time of *Kahakumakalina* and that of *Kawelomahamahaia*.

*Kaihiikapu-a-Kakuhihewa's* wife was *Ipuwai-a-Hoalani*, a daughter of *Hoalani* and *Kaua Kamakaohua*; the former a brother to *Kakuhihewa's* wife, *Kaakaulani*, the latter a daughter of *Kamakaohua*, a chief in Kohala, Hawaii, to whom belonged the Heiau of Muleiula, on the land of Kahei. With this wife *Kaihiikapu-a-K.* had a daughter named *Kauakahikuaanaauakane*, who married *Iwikauikaua*, referred to on p. 126, and thus became the grandmother of the famous *Kalanikauleleia'iwi*, the wife of *Keaweikekahiali'iokamoku*, king of Hawaii.

Of *Kauakahinui-a-K.* I have found no mention in the legends, except that he was the ancestor of *Papaikaniau*, one of the wives of *Kaulahea*, Moi of Maui, and of her brothers *Kuimiherua* and *Uluehu*, from whom several distinguished families descended.

Of *Kalehunapaikua*, the fourth son of *Kakuhihewa*,

nothing is known but the fact, which the genealogists carefully kept from oblivion, that from him descended the celebrated *Kaupekamoku* and her three warrior sons, *Nahiolea*, *Namakeha*, and *Kaiana-a-Ahaua*.

*Kahoowahaokalani* appears to have been recognised as *Kahoowa-huokalani* Moi of Oahu after his father, *Kanekapu-a-K*. His life and reign have furnished no theme for bards or *raconteurs*, from which the historian infers that peace and prosperity were uninterrupted. *Kahoowaha's* wife was *Kawelolau-huki*, whose pedigree is not clearly stated, but who was undoubtedly either a daughter or a niece of *Kawelomahamaia* of Kauai. Their son was

*Kauakahi-a-Kahoowaha*, who followed his father as *Kauakahi-a-Kahoowaha* of Oahu. On the subject of his life the legends are as barren as on that of his father, with one exception. It is stated that *Kauakahi-a-K*. sent an ambassador named *Kualona-ehu* to the court of *Kawelomakualua* and his sister-wife, *Kaarwihioalani* on Kauai, who are said to have been the first to establish the dreaded "Kapu wela o na Lii," the "Kapu-moe," which compelled all persons, on penalty of death, to prostrate themselves before a high chief, or when he was passing. On the return of the ambassador the tabu which he had witnessed on Kauai was introduced and proclaimed on Oahu by *Kauakahi-a-K*., and it is intimated that his grand-aunt, *Kahama-luhi*, was still alive at that time, and actively contributed to the introduction of the above tabu. From Oahu this tabu is said to have been introduced on Maui in the reign of *Kekaulike*.

The expression of the legend would seem to convey the impression that *Kawelomakualua* and his wife were the first to institute the "Kapu-moe" in the Hawaiian group. Such impression, I believe, would be incorrect, in view of the fact that the "Kapu-moe"—prostration before chiefs—was a well-known institution in all, or nearly all, the principal groups of Polynesia before they were visited by Europeans in the eighteenth century. Like many other

common customs with that race, it may have slumbered or been discontinued on the Hawaiian group for many generations, and probably the Kauai chieftains were the first to revive its practical application, and hence were said to have been the first to establish it.

*Kauakahi-a-Kahoowaha's* wife was *Mahulua*. She was doubtless of a rank corresponding to his own, but I have found no allusion to her pedigree in the legends or genealogies now extant. Their first-born, and perhaps their only son, was *Kualii*. If they had other children, their names have been eclipsed and forgotten in the superior renown of *Kualii*.

*Kualii.*

*Kualii* succeeded his father as *Moi* of Oahu, but by that time it would appear that the title had become more nominal than real, and that the Ewa and Waialua chiefs ruled their portions of the island with but little regard for the suzerainty of the *Moi*, who, since the time of *Kanekapua-Kakuhihewa*, resided chiefly on their patrimonial estates in the Koolaupoko district.

*Kualii* was born at Kalapawai, on the land of Kailua, Koolaupoko district. The ceremony of cutting the navel-string was performed at the Heiau of Alala, and thither, for that occasion, were brought the sacred drums of Opuku and Hawea. During his youth *Kualii* was brought up sometimes at Kailua, at other times at Kualoa. One of the special tabus attached to Kualoa, whenever the chief resided there, was that all canoes, when passing by the land of Kualoa, on arriving at Makawai, should lower their masts and keep them down until they had passed the sea off Kualoa and got into that of Kaaawa. I note the tabu and the custom, but I am not certain of the underlying motive. It may have been a religious observance on account of the sacred character of the "Pali o Kualoa," or a conventional mode of deference to the high chief residing there. It was strictly observed, however, and woe to the infractor of the tabu.

So far as known to me, only one legend of the life and

acts of *Kualii* has been reduced to writing and preserved. There doubtless were at one time several other legends regarding a king so widely known, so thoroughly feared, and so intimately connected with the highest families on Maui, Molokai, and Kauai as was *Kualii*, and as was his hardly less illustrious son, *Peleioholani*. But the political destruction of the house of *Kualii* by *Kahakili* of Maui, the spoliation of the territorial resources of its scions by the successful conquerors, and perhaps in no inconsiderable degree the idea set afloat by both the Maui and Hawaii victors that the *Kualiis* were a doomed race, all these co-operative causes first rendered the recital of such legends treasonable, next unfashionable, and lastly forgotten. As a singular good fortune, however, amidst the destruction of so much ancient lore that doubtless clustered round the names of *Kualii* and *Peleioholani*, several copies of the celebrated Mele or chant of *Kualii* have been preserved and reduced to writing; and Polynesian students are under great obligation to Mr. Curtis J. Lyons for his English translation of the same.<sup>1</sup>

The above legend of *Kualii*, to which I have referred, appears to be rather a compilation of previous existing legends than an original one, and its compilation was probably as late as the latter part of the reign of *Kamehameha I.*, when upwards of a century had elapsed since the death of *Kualii*, and time had covered the original historical data with its ivy of fable and myth. Subjecting this legend, however, to the same critical examination with which I have treated other legends; allowing for the exaggerations and embellishments incident to and

<sup>1</sup> This remarkable chant will be found in Appendix, marked 5. In the accompanying translation into English I have differed in several places from that of Mr. Lyons—for the better or for the worse, let the Hawaiian scholar determine. I have had the advantage of comparing four versions of this celebrated chant—

one collected on Hawaii, one on Oahu, one given by S. M. Kamakau to my collector, S. N. Hakuole, and lastly, the one furnished by Kamakau to Judge Andrews and Mr. Lyons—and I feel thus tolerably sure that the text I have followed is as nearly correct as such things can be when handed down by oral tradition only.

unavoidable in a legend that is told by professional *raconteurs* to admiring audiences, and is orally handed down for several generations; and having compared it with other legends treating of *Kualii's* contemporaries, and with the Mele just referred to,<sup>1</sup> I have been able to arrive at the following data as probably historical facts:—

*Kualii's* first attempt to bring the Oahu chiefs to their proper status as feudatories of the Moi of Oahu was directed against the chief of the Kona district. The legend gives the name of the principal chief in Kona as *Lonoikaika*, but I doubt the correctness of the name. The occasion of the collision was this:—In the valley of Waolani, a side valley from the great Nuuanu, stood one of the sacred Heiaus called Kawaluna, which only the highest chief of the island was entitled to consecrate at the annual sacrifice. As Moi of Oahu the undoubted right to perform the ceremony was with *Kualii*, and he resolved to assert his prerogative and try conclusions with the Kona chiefs, who were preparing to resist what they considered an assumption of authority by the Koolaupoko chief. Crossing the mountain by the Nuuanu and Kalihi passes, *Kualii* assembled his men on the ridge of Keanakamano, overlooking the Waolani valley, descended to the Heiau, performed the customary ceremony on such occasions, and at the conclusion fought and routed the Kona forces that had ascended the valley to resist and prevent him. The Kona chiefs submitted themselves, and *Kualii* returned to Kailua.

We next hear of *Kualii* making an expedition to Kauai for the purpose of procuring suitable wood from which to manufacture spears for his soldiers. Succeeding in this, and fully prepared, *Kualii* turned his attention to the Ewa and Waialua chiefs and their subjection to his authority.

<sup>1</sup> Of that Mele or chant, however, lifetime of *Kualii*, who must have there is no doubt as to its age. It died some time previous to 1730. was evidently composed during the

The hostile forces met on the land of Kalenā and the plain of Heleauau, not far from Lihue, where *Kualii* was victorious. The Ewa chiefs, however, made another effort to retrieve their fortunes, and fought a second battle with *Kualii* at Malamanui and Paupauwela, in which they were thoroughly worsted, and the authority of *Kualii* as *Moi* of Oahu finally secured and acknowledged.

Having thus subdued the great district chiefs of Oahu, it is related, and the *Mele* confirms the fact, that *Kualii* started with a well-equipped fleet to make war on Hawaii, but what in reality was only a well-organised raid on the coast of Hilo—kind of expedition not at all uncommon in those days, and undertaken as much for the purpose of keeping his warriors and fleet in practice and acquiring renown for himself, as with a view of obtaining territorial additions to his kingdom. As this expedition took place in the earlier part of *Kualii's* life and reign, it probably occurred while *Keakealaniwahine* was still the *Moi* of Hawaii, and before the accession of her son *Keawe*. Landing at Laupahoehoe, the subordinate chief there hastily assembled what force he could command to repel the invader. The name of this chief is given as *Haalilo*, but as this is the only time and the only legend that mentions him, I am unable to connect his name with any of the great Hawaii families. In the battle that ensued this *Haalilo* was defeated, and *Kualii* having secured such plunder as usually fell to the victors on such excursions, was preparing to make his next descent on the Puna district, when news came to him from Oahu that the Ewa and Waianae chiefs had revolted again. Hastily returning to Oahu, he met the hostile chiefs at Waianae, and after a severe contest, routed them effectually with great slaughter near the watercourse of Kalapo and below Eleu.

Having again crushed rebellion at home, it is said in the legend that *Kualii* made a second voyage to the Hilo district, but what he did or how he succeeded is not

stated. On his return from Hilo, however, while recruiting his force at Kaanapali, Maui, he was met by a deputation from the Kona chiefs of Molokai, invoking his assistance against the Koolau chiefs of that island, who had encroached upon the fishing-grounds of the former. The deputation consisted of a chief named *Paepae* and a chiefess named *Kapolei*, the daughter of *Keopuolono*. According to their request, *Kualii* crossed over to Molokai and landed at Kaunakakai, where the Kona chiefs were assembled. After agreeing upon their operations, their forces and *Kualii's* fleet rendezvoused at Moomomi on Kaluakoi, and from there made their descent on Kaluapapa, where the Koolau chiefs had collected. A well-contested battle was fought, the Koolau chiefs were beaten, and having satisfactorily settled the territorial disputes of the Molokai chiefs, *Kualii* returned to Oahu.

The legend refers to an expedition that *Kualii* made to Lanai, but the incidents related are so full of anachronisms, as to render the whole account unreliable. That *Kualii* made an armed excursion to Lanai is quite probable, and in accordance with the spirit and customs of his age, but that the excursion was made as related in the legend is highly improbable.

But what neither legend nor Mele refers to, however, is *Kualii's* connection with the Kauai chiefs and his influence there. And yet it is incontestable, that during his own lifetime he had established his son *Peleioholani* as *Moi* over at least the Kona section of Kauai. Had this connection been the result of war and conquest, it is hardly probable that the legend and the Mele would have both been silent about it. It arose then, probably, from a matrimonial connection of himself as well as of his said son *Peleioholani* with Kauai chiefesses, heiresses of the Kona districts. Of *Kualii's* wives only one is known by name, viz., *Kalanikahimakeialii*, a Maui chiefess, whose mother was *Kalaniomaiheuila*, a daughter of *Lonohonua-kini*, king of Maui. Other legends speak of the large



family of *Kualii*, but without mentioning his wives or their descents. It may fairly be assumed, therefore, that his relations with Kauai originated from such a cause.

*Kualii* is said to have lived to an extremely old age, and to have possessed unusual strength and vigour to the last. It is related that when *Kualii* was upwards of ninety years old, *Peleioholani* arrived one time from Kauai on a visit to his father on Oahu. Without endorsing the details of the legend, it suffices to say that a quarrel arose between father and son, that the latter assaulted the former, and a scuffle ensued, in which the old man, getting the grip of the "lua"<sup>1</sup> on his son, handled him so severely that, when released from the paternal grasp, he started at once for Kauai, and never revisited Oahu until after his father's death.

Kailua, in Koolaupoko, seems to have been the favourite residence of *Kualii*, and there he died at a very advanced age. Shortly before his death he called his trustiest Kahu and friend to his side and strictly enjoined upon him the duty of hiding his bones after death, so that mortal man should never get access to them or be able to desecrate them. When *Kualii* was dead, and the body, according to custom, had been dissected and the flesh burned, the Kahu carefully wrapped the bones up in a bundle and started off, as everybody thought, to hide them in some cave or sink them in the ocean. Instead of which, he repaired to a lonely spot and there pounded up the bones of the dead king into the finest kind of powder. Secreting this about his person, the Kahu returned to court and ordered a grand feast to be holden in commemoration of the deceased. Immense preparations were made, and the chiefs from far and near were invited to attend. The night before the feast the Kahu quietly and unobserved mixed the powdered bones of the dead king in the Poi prepared for the morn-

<sup>1</sup> The "lua" in ancient wrestling- matches was a grip or a position in which the one who had that advan- tage could easily, if he chose, break the back of the other.

ing's feast. At the close of the meal the following day the Kahu was asked by the chiefs present if he had faithfully executed the wishes of the late king regarding his bones. With conscious pride at his successful device, the Kahu pointed to the stomachs of the assembled company and replied that he had hidden his master's bones in a hundred living tombs. The legend does not say how the guests liked their repast, but the Kahu was greatly applauded.

As before stated, the name of only one of *Kualii's* wives has come down to present times. *Kalanikahimakeialii* was the daughter of *Kaulahea*, king of Maui, and his sister *Kalaniomaihevila*, and thus a chiefess of the highest rank, an *Alii Pio*. Three children were born from this union, two sons, *Kapiohookalani* and *Peleiokolani*, and one daughter, *Kukuiaimakalani*.

This is perhaps the proper place to refer to the celebrated Mele or chant of *Kualii*.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the longest known chants in the Hawaiian anthology, comprising 563 lines according to some versions, and 612 according to others; the difference being more in the manner of transcribing than in the actual matter of the two versions. This Mele, which is referred to and quoted in the legend, is said to have been composed by *Kapaahulani* and his brother *Kamakaaaulani*, and chanted by the former within hearing of the two armies previous to the battle of Keahumoa against the rebellious Ewa chiefs. It bears all the internal evidences, in language, construction, and imagery, of having been composed at the time it purports to be, and was widely known among the *élite* and the priesthood at the time of Captain Cook's arrival. There is in some versions of this chant an addition of some 200 lines, but their genuineness has been called in question, and I think justly so. They are probably of later origin than the time of *Kualii*. It is to the first and undoubted portion of this chant that

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. V.

I wish to call the attention, for in it occur the following lines—

“ *O Kahiki, moku kai a loa,  
Aina o Olopana i noho ai !  
Iloko ka moku, i waho 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 iwi kuamoo 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 au la he kanaka ;  
He kanaka no,  
Pai kau, a ke kanaka hookahi e hiki.  
Hala aku la o Kukahi la o Kulua,  
O Kukahi ka po, o Kulua ke ao,  
O hakahana ka ai,  
Kanikani ai a manu—a !  
Hoolono mai manu o lanakila !  
Malie, ia wai lanakila ?  
Ia ku no.”*

Which may be rendered in English—

O Kahiki, land of the far-reaching ocean,  
Land where Olopana dwelt !  
Within is the land, outside is the sun ;  
Indistinct is the sun and the land when approaching.  
Perhaps you have seen it ?  
I have seen it.  
I have surely seen Kahiki.  
A land with a strange language is Kahiki.  
The men of Kahiki have ascended up  
The backbone of heaven ;  
And up there they trample indeed,  
And look down on below.  
Kanakas (men of our race) are not in Kahiki.  
One kind of men is in Kahiki—the Haole (white man).  
He is like a god ;  
I am like a man ;  
A man indeed,

Wandering about, and the only man who got there.  
 Passed is the day of Kukahi and the day of Kulua,  
 The night of Kukahi and the day of Kulua.  
 By morsels was the food ;  
 Picking the food with a noise like a bird !  
     Listen, bird of victory !  
     Hush ! with whom the victory ?  
     With Ku indeed.

The above verses, from 137 to 161 of the chant, following the two versions which I possess, throw a singular and unexpected light on the knowledge, mode of thoughts, and relation to the outer world possessed by the Hawaiians of two hundred years ago. From these we learn that *Kualii* had visited "Kahiki," that foreign, mysterious land where the white man ("Haole") dwelt, with his proud manners and his strange language, a land shrouded in mists and fogs, and reached only after a long voyage, when provisions fell short, and from which he successfully escaped or returned to his island home.

Knowing that in the Hawaiian language "Kahiki" is a general term, designating any and all foreign lands outside of the Hawaiian group—those inhabited by cognate races as well as by alien—the natural queries arise—Which was the Kahiki that *Kualii* visited? how did he get there, and how return?

Although the chant says that it was the land where *Olopana* formerly dwelt, and thus seems to indicate that it was the Tahiti of the Georgian group in the South Pacific, yet the farther designation instantly dispels that idea when it speaks of a country where the sun and the land are seen indistinctly, as if shrouded in fogs and appearing to elude or dodge ("aloalo") the view of the approaching mariner; when it speaks of a people with a strange language ("leo pahaohao")—an expression that could never have been used by an Hawaiian when referring to the kindred dialects of his race;—and finally, when it expressly states that the people of that Kahiki (foreign land) were not of the same race as the narrator,

but were white men ("Haole"), aliens in race as well as in language.

While the chant thus enunciates with startling precision the fact that in the middle part of the seventeenth century, or thereabout, *Kualii* had actually visited a land where white men lived, yet it gives us hardly any light whereby to determine in which direction the land was situated or by what people it was inhabited, nor yet as to the question how *Kualii* was brought there and returned. In answer to all these questions the historian can only offer a more or less probable conjecture.

From the middle to the close of the seventeenth century, the time when *Kualii* flourished, the only lands bordering on the Pacific that were held by the white man, the Haole, were the western coast of America, the Ladrone Islands, and different places in the Philippine Islands. Between those places the regular trade was carried on by the Spanish galleons. I have endeavoured to show<sup>1</sup> that there can be little doubt that the Hawaiian group was discovered by Gaetano, a Spanish navigator, as early as 1555, and that this discovery was probably utilised by other Spanish galleons from time to time, though no written evidence of that fact has yet been found. To judge from the long discontinuance of native Hawaiian voyages to foreign lands—a discontinuance dating back to the time of *Laa-mai-kahili*, or some fourteen generations—and the consequent loss of nautical knowledge, it is hardly credible that *Kualii* started for Kahiki in his own Hawaiian canoes. But it is probable—and the only way to account for the fact vouched for by the chant—that some Spanish galleons, passing by the islands, had picked up *Kualii* and his company while fishing off the Oahu coast, carried them to Acapulco, and brought them back on the return trip. I am inclined to prefer the voyage to Acapulco or the American coast, in place of Manilla, from the fact that

<sup>1</sup> See p. 109, and Appendix No. III.

the chant describes the country as having "the land within and the sun outside"—

"*Iloko ka moku, iwaho ka la,*"—

which is a peculiarly Hawaiian expression, and, though not much used at present, may have been more prevalent in olden times, indicating that the land was to the eastward of the voyager. One may hear to this day among the native population such geographical terms as "*Kohala-iloko, Hamakua-iloko,*" expressing Eastern Kohala on Hawaii and Eastern Kamakua on Maui, in distinction from "*Kohala i waho,*" Western Kohala, &c. Moreover, the word "*Aloalo,*" which I have rendered as "indistinct," from its identity with the Tahitian "*Aroaro,*" "indistinct, dark, mysterious," would seem to apply with greater force to the high mountain land back of the American coast, shrouded in clouds or fogs, than it would to the neighbourhood of Manilla.

I have thus offered my conjecture, based partly, it is true, upon an assumption of probable incidents in the Spanish galleon trade, and also upon what I consider the correct exegesis of the native text in the chant referred to. The assumption may never be proven by the evidence of Spanish log-books, the exegesis may partly or wholly be controverted by some more able scholar than I claim to be; but while the chant itself remains an undisputed heirloom from the period and the chief whose acts it describes, the voyage of *Kualii* to that foreign land, where the white man dwelt with his strange and alien language, must be accepted as an historical fact, and as such I have referred to it here.

When *Kualii* died he was followed as *Moi* of Oahu by his son *Kapiohookalani*, and his other son, *Peleioholani*, succeeded him as sovereign over that portion of Kauai which in some now forgotten manner had come under the sway of *Kualii*.

*Kapiohookalani.*

Of the unfortunate campaign which *Kapiohookalani*

undertook against Molokai in order to reduce its chiefs to subjection, and in which he lost his life, mention has been made on page 137, &c.

The legends are silent as to who was *Kapiohookalani's* wife, but his son's name was *Kanahaokalani*, who was but a child when his father died, and who appears to have only survived him about one year, for in the war between *Alapainui* of Hawaii and *Kauhiaimokuakama*, the revolted brother of *Kamehamehanui* of Maui, we find that *Peleioholani* had succeeded his nephew as *Moi* of Oahu, and had gone with his fleet and warriors to Maui to assist *Kauhi* against *Alapainui*. *Vide* page 140, &c.

On his return from this expedition to Maui *Peleioholani* *Peleioholani.* visited the windward side of Molokai, and is said to have brought the Koolau chiefs to acknowledge him as their sovereign, though their subjection was neither very thorough nor very lasting. This must have been about the year 1738.

There is no special legend now extant that treats of *Peleioholani's* life and acts; but all Hawaiian legends that refer to him even incidentally speak of him as a most celebrated warrior king of his time, and as one of the highest tabu chiefs in the group. Yet, with the exception of his campaigns against *Alapainui* on Oahu and on Maui, I find no mention of any wars with the greater islands which he undertook after that and in which he distinguished himself, unless his several expeditions to keep the Molokai chiefs in subjection form the basis for his renown and for the terror that he inspired.

About the year 1764 or 1765, for some reasons not now known, the Molokai chiefs killed *Keelanihonuaiakama*, a daughter of *Peleioholani*, and on that occasion he took such a signal vengeance upon them that the island remained quiet in the possession of the Oahu sovereigns until the downfall of *Kahahana*. In this crusade and last military expedition of *Peleioholani* the revolted Molokai chiefs, mostly from the Koolau and Manae sides of the island, were either killed and burned or driven out of the island

to seek refuge at the courts of Maui and Hawaii. The *Kaiakea* family alone appears not to have been disturbed in their possessions or persons by the irate monarch, and their exemption was probably owing to the fact that *Kaiakea's* wife, *Kalanipo*, was *Peleioholani's* own niece, being the daughter of his sister *Kukuiaimakalani*.

About the year 1770 *Peleioholani* died on Oahu at an advanced age. He is reported as having had two wives:—(1.) *Halakii*, of whose pedigree I have found no mention in the legends of the time, but who most probably belonged to the Kauai aristocracy. The children with this wife, whose names have been remembered, were a son, *Kumahana*, and a daughter, *Keelanihonuuariakama*;<sup>1</sup> (2.) *Lonokahikini*, of whose ancestry and kindred no mention is made. It is said that with this wife he had two children, a son *Keeumoku*, of whom nothing further is known, and a daughter *Kapueo*, who is said to have lived to an advanced age.

*Kumahana*

*Kumahana* followed his father as *Moi* of Oahu. He appears to have been an indolent, penurious, unlovable chief, and for these or other reasons incurred the illwill and estranged the loyalty of chiefs, priests, and commoners to such a degree that, after enduring his rule for three years, he was formally deposed from his office as *Moi* by the chiefs of Oahu in council assembled. So thoroughly had he succeeded, during his short incumbency of office, to make himself disliked, that, in an age so peculiarly prone to factions, not a voice was heard nor a spear was raised in his defence. It was one of those few bloodless revolutions that leave no stain on the pages of history. There was no anger to appease, no vengeance to exact, it was simply a political act for prudential reasons. His deposition atoned for his incompetency, and he and his family were freely allowed to depart for Kauai, where they found refuge among their kindred in Waimea. I

<sup>1</sup> It will be seen in the next section on Kauai, that probably *Kaapuawai*, the wife of *Kaumeheiwā* of Kauai, was also a daughter of *Peleioholani*.



have not learned who was his wife, and the only son of his to whom history refers was *Kaneoneo*, who married *Kamakahahelei*, the sovereign chiefess of Kauai, and who was killed in a fruitless attempt to recover the kingdom of Oahu by joining the insurgent chiefs under *Kahekili's* iron rule, as narrated on page 265.

*Kahahana* was elected by the Oahu chiefs to succeed *Kamahana* as *Moi* of Oahu. His election, his reign, and his tragical end have already been narrated on page 225, and with his downfall Oahu ceased to be an independent state, and became a tributary to the Maui kings, with whose history it thenceforth became associated.

#### KAUAI.

The last portion of the ancient history of Kauai, from the time of *Kahakumakapaweo* until the close of the eighteenth century, is the most unsatisfactory to whoever undertakes to reduce the national legends, traditions, and chants to some degree of historical form and sequence. The legends are disconnected and the genealogies are few. The indigenous Kauai folklore of this period was singularly obscured and thrust in the background by that of Oahu during the ascendancy of *Kualii* and of *Peleioholani*, and by that of Maui during the time of *Kaeokulani*. When, subsequently to this period, after the death of *Kamehameha*, *Kaumualii*, the last independent king of Kauai, removed to Honolulu and became the spouse of *Kaahumanu*, most of his nobles followed him thither, and Kauai folklore suffered a further eclipse. That the ruling families of Kauai were the highest tabu chiefs in the group is evident from the avidity with which chiefs and chiefesses of the other islands sought alliance with them. They were always considered as the purest of the "blue blood" of the Hawaiian aristocracy; and even at this day, when feudalism has vanished and the ancient chants in honour of deceased ancestors are either silent or chanted

in secret, it is no small honour and object of pride to a family to be able to trace its descent from *Kahakumakapaweo* through one or the other of his grandsons, *Kahakumakalina* or *Iihiwalani*. But of the exploits and transactions of most of the chiefs who ruled over Kauai during this period, there is little preserved to tell.

*Kalanikukuma.*

*Kalanikukuma* followed his father *Kahakumakapaweo* as Moi of Kauai. No legend attaches to his name. His wife was *Kapoleikavila*, but whence descended is now not known. He is known to have had two sons, *Kahakumakalina* and *Iihiwalani*, or, as he is called on some genealogies, *Ilimealani*. The latter married *Kamili*, a sister of *Kaulala* of the Oahu *Maweke-Elepuukahonua* line, and from him descended *Lonoikahaupu*, the great-grandfather of *Kaumualii*.

*Kahakumakalina.*

Of *Kahakumakalina* as little is known as of his father except the genealogical trees which lead up to him. It has been stated before that *Akahiilikapu*, one of *Umi-a-Liloa's* daughters, of Hawaii, went to Kauai and became the wife of *Kahakumakalina*, with whom she had two children, a son named *Keliiohiohi*, who was father of the well-known *Akahikameenoa*, one of the wives of *I* of Hilo, and of a daughter *Koihalaruwailaua* or popularly *Koihalarwai*, who became the wife of *Keavenui-a-Umi* of Hawaii. After *Akahiilikapu* returned to Hawaii, *Kahakumakalina* took another wife, whose name on the genealogies is *Kahakumaia*, but whose parentage is not given. With her he had a son *Kamakapu*, who succeeded him as Moi of Kauai.

*Kamakapu.*

Of *Kamakapu* nothing further has been remembered than that his wife's name was *Pawahine*, and that their son was *Kawelomahamaia*.

*Kawelomahamaia.*

Both the legends and the family chants refer to *Kawelomahamaia* as one of the great kings of Kauai under whom the country prospered, peace prevailed, and population and wealth increased. His wife was *Kapohinao-kalani*, but of what family is not known. They had several children, and the names of the following have been

preserved :—*Kavelomakualua*, *Kaveloikiakoo*, *Koopakoko*, sons, and *Kaawihioikalani* and *Malaiakalani*, daughters.<sup>1</sup>

*Kavelomakualua* followed his father as *Moi*, the principal royal residence being at *Wailua*. He is mentioned in the legends with almost equal veneration to that of his father. His wife was his sister *Kaawihioikalani*, and she bore him two sons, twin brothers, *Kavelo-aikanaka* and *Kawleo-a-peekoa*.

I have been unable to learn, and the legends that have been preserved throw no light upon, the origin of the *Kealohi* family, which about this time had become prominent on the *Kauai* legends, the first of the name, *Kealohikanakamaikai*, having married *Kaneiahaka*, a granddaughter of *Ilihiwalani*, the brother of *Kahakumakalina*. From the tenor of the legends I infer that the older branch of *Kahakumakalina* were the titular sovereigns of *Kauai*, while the younger branch of *Ilihiwalani* were the "Alii-Aimoku" of *Waimea* and the south-western section of the island. The children of *Kealohikanakamaikai* and *Kaneiahaka* were *Kealohi-a-peekoa*, *Kealohikikaupea*, *Kauakahilaru*, sons, and *Kapulauki*, a daughter. The first son obtained a lordship of *Waianae* on *Oahu*, and became connected with the powerful *Ewa* chiefs. The second sought his fortune among the *Koolau* chiefs on *Oahu*, and seems to have been connected with the *Kanekapu-a-Kakuihewa* family, for I find his name mentioned as a relative in the *Kualii* legends. The third son apparently remained on *Kauai*, and eventually married his niece *Kuluwina*, and became the father of *Lonoikahaupu*. The daughter *Kapulauki*—with whom the fief of *Waimea* and perhaps the whole *Kona* side of *Kauai*, as descended from *Ilihiwalani*,

<sup>1</sup> It is nowhere clearly stated, but the course of events and the tenor of the legends make it extremely credible, that *Keavelomahamahai* had another daughter, named *Kavelolauhuki*, who became the wife of *Kahoo-wahaokalani*, the son of *Kanekapu-a-Kakuihuo* and *Moi* of *Oahu*, and

grandmother of *Kualii*. As the legends are silent, I can find no other reasonable way to explain the interest which *Kualii* acquired on *Kauai* after the close of the civil war between *Kawleoakanaka* and *Kawleo-a-Maihunalii*.

appears to have remained—became the wife of *Kainaaila*, a son of *Kaihikapumahana* and grandson of *Lonoikamakahiki* of Hawaii, and their child was a daughter *Kuluina*.

When *Kawelomakua* died he was followed by his son *Kaweloaikanaka* as *Moi* of Kauai. *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii*, a cousin of the former, and a son of *Malaiakalani* and of *Maihunalii*, whose pedigree I have been unable to collect, for some reason not clearly stated in the legends became obnoxious to *Kaweloaikanaka* and was driven out of the island. The *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii* legends certainly state that he found a refuge with *Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa* in Ewa, Oahu, and was given a land bordering on the Kolehoe Pass in the Waianae mountains; but unless *Kaihikapu-a-Kakuhihewa* had survived to an unprecedentedly old age, he must have been dead before this time, and the succour given to *Kawelo* must have come from *Kaihikapu's* sons or descendants. Certain it is, however, that *Kawelo* not only received the land on Oahu referred to for his maintenance, but in due time obtained both men and canoes to invade Kauai and make war on *Kaweloaikanaka*. The legends and chants referring to this war are lengthy, confused as to sequence of events, and so overloaded with the marvellous and fabulous, that very little reliance can be placed upon the details which they set forth. The result, however, is historically certain and vouched for by numerous other legends from the other islands, and that was the overthrow and death of *Kaweloaikanaka* and the transfer of the supremacy of Kauai to *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii*, or, as he is also called in some legends, *Kaweloleimakua*. How long he reigned is not known, but it is said that when he became old he was killed by having been thrown over a cliff by some rebellious subjects; but who they or their leader were, or what the occasion of the revolt, is not remembered. *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii's* wife was *Kanewahineikiaoha*, a daughter of *Kalonaiakahailaau*, of the Koolau chief families on Oahu. They are known to have had a daughter, *Kaneikaheilani*, who became the

*Kaweloai-  
kanaka.*

*Kawelo-a-  
Maihunalii.*

wife of *Kaaloapii*, a Kau chief from Hawaii, and grandmother to *Haalou*, one of the wives of *Kekaulike* of Maui, and to *Kamakaheukuli*, one of the wives of *Kameeiamoku*, a Hawaii chieftain and grandson of *Lonoikahaupu*.

What became of *Kaweloaikanaka's* family after his death is not known. His wife's name was *Naki*, but of what lineage is equally unknown at the present time. The probability is that he left no sons to avenge his death or reclaim the dignity of *Moi* after the death of *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii*. His twin brother, *Kawelo-a-Peekoa*, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is not heard of in the legends after the death of his brother, and appears to have had but one child, a daughter, named after her uncle, *Kau-a-Kaweloaikanaka*, and who married a Molokai chief named *Kanehoalani*, a grandson of *Kalanipehu* of that island, and grandfather to the, in later times, well-known *Kaiakea*.

No legends that I have seen state how it happened, but they all concur in representing *Kualii* of Oahu as the next *Kualii* chief over the windward side of Kauai after the death of *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii*. The historical probability is that *Kualii* reclaimed the succession to that portion of the island, as well as the sovereignty, in the name of his grandmother, *Kawelolauhuki*, one of the daughters of *Kawelomahamahaia*. The legends of *Kualii* never speak of Kauai as a conquered country, and the presumption is that he came into possession by inheritance, as understood in those days.

The *Ilihiwalani* branch of the Kauai royal family does not appear to have been disturbed or evicted from its possessions in the Kona part of the island by the usurpation of *Kawelo-a-Maihunalii*, for we find that *Kauakahilau* and his wife *Kulwina* remained at Waimea, and that their territory descended to their son, *Lonoikahaupu*.

From this time forward, to the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778, a mist has fallen over the history of Kauai, its legends and traditions, through which are but indistinctly seen the outlines of some of her prominent men. *Kualii*

is called the Moi of Kauai, but, except on occasional visits, does not seem to have resided there, preferring Oahu and his paternal estates. But when he grew old he placed his son, *Peleioholani*, as his viceroy over Kauai, and the latter resided there for many years; yet of his administration and exploits while thus governing Kauai not a whisper has come down to break the silence brooding over Kauai history. And when, after the death of his brother *Kapiohookalani*, he removed to Oahu, nothing seems to have transpired on Kauai worthy of note in Hawaiian annals, or, if so, it was obscured and forgotten in the course of the stirring events that followed close upon this historical calm and convulsed the islands from one end to the other.

*Lonoika-  
haupu.*

Of *Lonoikahaupu-Kauokalani*, the representative of the *Ilihiwalani* family and contemporary with *Kualii*, we should probably have known as little as we do of *Kualii* and *Peleioholani* in their relation to Kauai, were it not for the visit which he made to Hawaii, which brought his name in upon the legends and genealogies of that island.

Following the custom of the times, *Lonoikahaupu* set out from Kauai with a suitable retinue of men and canoes, as became so high a chief, to visit the islands of the group, partly for the exercise and practice in navigation, an indispensable part of a chief's education, and partly for the pleasures and amusements that might be anticipated at the courts of the different chieftains where the voyager might sojourn. Whether *Lonoikahaupu* stopped on Oahu or Maui, or, if so, what befell him there, is not known; but on arriving at Hawaii he found that the court of *Keaweikēkahialiiokamoku*, the Moi of Hawaii, was at the time residing in Kau. Repairing thither, he was hospitably received, and his entertainment was correspondingly cordial, as well as sumptuous. The gay and volatile *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*, the imperious and high-born wife of *Keawe*, the Moi, became enamoured of the young Kauai chief, and after a while he was duly recognised as one of her husbands. From this union was born a son called

*Keawepoepoe*, who became the father of those eminent Hawaii chiefs, *Keeaumokupapaiahiahi*, *Kameeiamoku*, and *Kamanawa*, who placed *Kamehameha I.* on the throne of Hawaii. How long *Lonoikahaupu* remained on Hawaii has not been stated, but after a time he returned to Kauai and took for a wife there a lady known by the name of *Kamuokaumeheiva*, but from what family she was descended has not been remembered. With this lady *Lonoikahaupu* had a son, *Kaumeheiva*, who married *Kaa-puwai*, of whose pedigree we have no positive information. Their daughter was the well-known *Kamakahalei*, who appears to have been the sovereign or *Moi* of Kauai when Captain Cook arrived. How this change of dynasty from the older to the younger branch had been effected there are no legends existing to tell and no chants to intimate. The only solution of this historical problem will be to admit what was probably the fact, though the legends concerning it have been lost or forgotten, namely, that *Kaapuwai*, the wife of *Kaumeheiva*, was the daughter of *Peleiokolani*, on whom the possessions of that house on Kauai and the sovereignty of the island had been bestowed either before or at the death of *Peleiokolani*, and thus, by her marriage with *Kaumeheiva*, united the dignity and possessions of the two royal branches descending from *Manokalanipo* upon her daughter *Kamakahalei*.

We know that *Kumahana*, the son of *Peleiokolani*, succeeded him as *Moi* of Oahu about 1770, and that after three years' reign he was deposed by the chiefs and commoners of that island, and that he was permitted to return with his family to Kauai, where probably he still held lands from which to maintain himself. But it has never been asserted on his behalf, and I have nowhere seen it intimated, that *Kumahana* ever was, or was considered to be, the *Moi* of Kauai as his father was, or his grandfather *Kualii* before him. A farther confirmation of the above proposition may be advanced from the well-known fact that *Kamakahalei's* first husband was *Kaneoneo*, the son of

*Kumahana*, with whom she had two daughters, *Lelema-hoalani*, referred to on page 169, and *Kapuaamohu*, who became one of the wives of *Kaumualii*, and grandmother of the present Queen *Kapiolani*. It is stated in some genealogies that *Kahulunuiaaumoku* was also a sister of *Kaumualii*, but whether she was a daughter of *Kamakahalei* with either of her two husbands, or was the daughter of *Kaeokulani* with another wife, I have been unable to ascertain. When Captain Cook arrived at Kauai in January 1778, the native legends state that *Kaumeheiva* and *Kaapuwai* were still alive, and that *Kamakahalei* had obtained a second husband in the celebrated *Kaeokulani*, a younger brother of *Kahekili*, the *Moi* of Maui.

All that we know with any certainty from that time on to the close of this period, has already been related under the section of Maui. With *Kaeokulani* *Kamakahalei* had a son named *Kaumualii*, whom Captain Vancouver intimates as having been about fourteen years old in 1792, but who was probably two or three years older.

*Kamakahalei's* first husband, *Kaneoneo*, died during the rebellion on Oahu against *Kahekili* about 1785-6; her second husband, *Kaeokulani*, died on Oahu in 1794, but the time of her own death has not been remembered, but it probably occurred shortly after that of *Kaeo*.

*Kaumualii.*

At his mother's death *Kaumualii* became the sovereign of Kauai, and, though young in years, appears from all descriptions to have been a prince of remarkable talents and a most amiable temper.

Though the cession of Kauai by *Kaumualii* to *Kamehameha I.* did not occur till 1810, yet as for convenience sake I have preferred to close the ancient Hawaiian history with the battle of Nuuanu in 1795, a year after the accession of *Kaumualii* to the throne of Kauai, I leave the modern history of that island, as well as of the entire group, to some future writer.



## HAWAII.

By referring to page 154 of this volume, it will be seen that at the great council of chiefs held by *Kalaniopuu* some time in 1780, at Waipio, the succession as *Moi* of Hawaii was conferred and confirmed on his son, *Kiwalao*, *Kiwalao*. and that, while no territorial increase was given to *Kamehameha*, the particular war-god—"Ku-Kaili-moku"—of the aged king was bestowed on him as a special heirloom, and its service and attention, and the maintenance of its Heiaus dedicated to that god, were enjoined upon him. It is known, and not contradicted, that during *Kalaniopuu's* lifetime all that remained to *Kamehameha* of his patrimonial estates was a not very extensive portion in the north Kohala district, of which Halawa may be considered the centre, and which was his favourite residence. Dibble, followed by Jarves, in their histories of these islands, state that before his death *Kalaniopuu* divided the island of Hawaii between *Kiwalao* and *Kamehameha*, giving the former the districts of Hilo, Puna, and Kau, and to the latter the districts of Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua, *Kamehameha*, however, being subordinate to, and acknowledging, the authority of *Kiwalao* as *Moi* of Hawaii. Dibble doubtless had his information from some of the chiefs in the train or in the interest of the *Kamehamehas*; but if we carefully look into the social condition of that period, the precedents that governed the distribution of land, and the political status of the prominent chiefs who took an active part in subsequent events, I think it will be found that the claims set up for a division of the island by *Kalaniopuu* between *Kiwalao* and *Kamehameha* is hardly correct in the strict and political sense that the apologists of *Kamehameha* advance it. Such a division is not mentioned by David Malo, by S. M. Kamakau, nor by the writer of the "Life of Kapiolani"<sup>1</sup>—gentlemen who

<sup>1</sup> See the "Elele," a newspaper printed in Honolulu in 1845.

were contemporary with Mr. Dibble, and had access to the same and many other sources of information.

It had been the custom since the days of *Keawenui-a-Umi*, on the death of a *Moi* and the accession of a new one, to distribute and redivide the lands of the island between the chiefs and favourites of the new monarch. This division was generally made in a grand council of chiefs, and those who were dissatisfied had either to submit or take their chances of a revolt if their means and connections made it judicious to attempt it. Certain lands, however, appear to have become hereditary in certain families, and whatever changes and divisions took place elsewhere, these estates never went out of the family to whom they were originally granted. Such were the lands of *Kekaha* in North Kona, the property of the *Kamecciamoku* family since the days of *Umi-a-Liloa*; such the lands of *Kapalilua* in South Kona, the property of *Keeaumoku*; such the *Halawa* portion of the *Kohala* district, the patrimony of the *Mahi* family and, through his mother, of *Kamehameha*; and some other such estates in other parts. All other lands were subject to change in this grand council of division, unless their previous owners were of the court party or too powerful to be needlessly interfered with.

In this periodical distribution and redistribution of the lands of the islands, regard was generally had to the advantages of the country and the wants and convenience of the chiefs who shared in the division. Thus the chiefs on the windward sides of the island, *Kohala-iloko*, *Hamakua*, *Hilo*, *Puna*, always coveted the lands on the leeward side, the *Kona* districts, on account of its mild climate and its rich fishing-grounds; while the *Kona* chiefs coveted the lands in the windward districts on account of their streams of running water, their numerous taro lands, and abundant food. To accommodate, adjust, and conciliate these ever-clashing claims was the great business of state on the accession of a new monarch.

Had *Kalaniopuu* before his death made such a division of the districts as Dibble intimates, *Kiwalao* would have had no more right to divide the lands in Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua between his chiefs than *Kamehameha* would have had to divide the Hilo, Puna, and Kau lands between his chiefs. Though *Kamehameha* would have acknowledged *Kiwalao* as *Moi* of Hawaii, and owed him fealty as such against foreign foes or internal rebellion, yet within his own districts he would have been practically independent. Moreover, the district of Hilo was not in the power of *Kalaniopuu* to give to either *Kiwalao* or *Kamehameha*, for it was an hereditary fief in the *I* family, had been such from the time of *Keawenui-a-Umi*, had never been conquered since then by any of the reigning *Moi*, and was now held by *Keawemauhili* for his wife *Ululani*, the daughter of *Mokulani* and great-granddaughter of *I*. In the other districts of the island the ancient hereditary lordships ("Alii-ai-moku") had been gradually extinguished by conquests. *Alapainui*, the hereditary lord of Kohala, conquered Kona and the greater part of Hamakua from *Kalanikeearumoku*, and constituted himself Alii-ai-moku over those districts. His son *Keaweopala* inherited those districts from his father, still leaving Hilo, Puna, and Kau districts under separate independent Alii-ai-moku. When *Kalaniopuu*, the independent Alii-ai-moku of Kau, overthrew *Keaweopala*, he conquered and invested himself with the lordships of Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua, and when afterwards he subdued and slew *Imakakaloa* of Puna, that district also became the apanage of the reigning *Moi*.

At the time of *Kalaniopuu's* death *Kamehameha* held possession of his ancestral home in Halawa, Kohala district. He also held possession of the Waipio valley in Hamakua, probably under gift from *Kalaniopuu*. And it is very likely that, like many other chiefs on the windward side of the island, he also held some land or lands in the Kona district, probably Kailua, though I have been

unable to find any specific evidence of that fact. The sequence of this narrative gives, however, a plausibility to that assumption.

The pretended division of the island in equal parts between *Kiwalao* and *Kamehameha* I hold, therefore, to be a fiction of later years, when *Kamehameha's* power had been long established, and when bards and heralds, in shouting his praise, found it incumbent to represent him as the injured and unjustifiably attacked party in the contest with *Kiwalao*. But a hundred years have cooled the partisanship and the bitter hatreds of those days, and the impartial historian can now give a different judgment without, therefore, impugning the remarkably great qualities which distinguished *Kamehameha* above his rivals.

I hope I have made it plain that the lands which *Kamehameha* held in Hamakua and Kona were not his in his own right, but were what would now be called crown-lands, in the gift of the sovereign, and revokable at his pleasure; and that on a particular occasion, like the accession of a new *Moi*, they might be retained in the hands of previous holders, or be lawfully given to others.

When the period of mourning the death of *Kalaniopuu* had expired, about the month of July 1782, *Kiwalao*, his uncle and chief counsellor, *Keawemauhili*, and the principal chiefs in attendance on the court, prepared themselves to bring the bones of *Kalaniopuu* to Kona, to be deposited, according to his last wish, with those of his ancestors in the "*Hale o Keawe*," that famous sanctuary or city of refuge (*Puu-honua*) on the land of Honaunau in South Kona. Of this grand ceremonial procession the Kona chiefs had been duly informed; but mistrusting the haughty and grasping temper of *Keawemauhili*, who appeared to have obtained complete influence over *Kiwalao*, and apprehensive lest, in the coming division of the lands, their possessions, which they held under *Kalaniopuu*, would be greatly shorn or entirely lost, they became restless, and anxiously looked round for a leader

to meet the coming storm. The leading spirits of this growing conspiracy were *Keeaumoku* of Kapalilua, *Keawe-a-Heulu* of Kaawaloa, *Kameeiamoku* of Kaupulehu in Kekaha, *Kamanawa* of Kiholo, and *Kekuhaupio* of Keei, the veteran warrior chief, the hero of many battles, and the military instructor of *Kamehameha*.

Considering *Kamehameha*, on account of his high birth, his martial prowess, and of his being the heir to the redoubtable war-god of *Kalaniopuu*, as the most suitable person for their purposes, *Kekuhaupio* started off for Kohala, where *Kamehameha* had quietly remained since his quasi-disgrace at *Kalaniopuu's* court, narrated on page 203, cultivating and improving his lands, building canoes, and other peaceful pursuits.

When *Kekuhaupio* arrived with his canoes at Kapania in Halawa, he found *Kamehameha* and his brother *Kalaimamahu* and their wives bathing in the sea and enjoying the sport of surf-swimming. When *Kamehameha* recognised *Kekuhaupio* on the canoe he repaired to his house, followed by the latter, who, after the customary salutations, entered upon the business that had brought him there. Gently reproaching *Kamehameha* for wasting his time in what he considered as unprofitable pursuits and in pleasures while the times were so unsettled, he represented that the only pursuit worthy of so great a chief would be the practice of war, and striving to obtain possession of the kingdom. He then informed him that *Kivalao* was going to deposit the bones of *Kalaniopuu* at Honaunau, and intimated that if *Kivalao* acted handsomely on the occasion (namely, the forthcoming division of the lands), all would be well, and quiet would prevail; but if not, then the country would belong to the strongest—" *aia ka aina ma ka ikaika.*"

To this proposition *Kamehameha* assented, and is said to have answered, "Your words are good; let us go to Kona at once, lest the king should already have arrived with the corpse. Let us pay our respects to the corpse,

and we may then perchance learn the unkind disposition of the king"—*o i ia mai auanei e ke alii i ka lokoino.*

Collecting his followers *Kamehameha* set out without delay, in company with *Kekuhaupio*, for Kaupulehu in Kekaha, and stopped with *Kameeiamoku*.

When all was ready for the funeral procession, *Kiwalao* on his double canoe, with the corpse of the deceased king lying in state on board of another double canoe, and accompanied by his chiefs and retainers and a numerous party of well-armed men, set sail for Honaunau. The first day they came to Honomalino in Kona, and stopped there. The next day, when off Honokua, *Keeaumoku* came down from Kapalilua and went on board of the funeral canoe to see the corpse. After the wailing was over, *Keeaumoku* inquired whither they were going? One of the guardsmen, *Kaihikioi* by name, in attendance on the corpse, answered off-hand and apparently without forethought, "to Kailua." As the Kona chiefs had been informed that the corpse was to be deposited in the "Hale-a-Keawe" at Honaunau, this answer confirmed *Keeaumoku* in his opinion that *Kiwalao* and his chiefs had an intention to occupy the whole of Kona. Returning ashore, he started off that very night for Kekaha, where he knew that *Kamehameha* had arrived, and where he found *Kameeiamoku*, *Kamanawa*, *Kekuhaupio*, and a number of other chiefs in council, and informed them that *Kiwalao* with the corpse of his father had arrived at Honaunau. On the advice of *Kekuhaupio*, the assembled chiefs set out forthwith to take up their quarters at Kaawaloa, Napoopoo, and Keei, the ground about Hauiki being considered a good battlefield, should occasion so require.

There is no proof that *Kiwalao* intended to take the bones of his father any farther than the "Hale-a-Keawe," and the reply of the guardsman to *Keeaumoku* was probably a wanton and boastful expression, the man knowing or suspecting that in the coming division the landed

possessions of the opulent Kona chiefs would be considerably curtailed. It has been said by those from whom D. Malo and Dibble obtained their information of this eventful journey, that it was the accident of a heavy rainstorm that obliged *Kiwalao* to stop at Honaunau, or he would have hurried on to Kailua. That information bears the impress of having come from the same quarter that was misled by the guardsman's insolent taunt to *Keaumoku*. For not only did *Kiwalao* put in at Honaunau, as previously notified, and deposited his father's bones in the "Hale-a-Keawe" with all the ceremonies due on so solemn occasion, but remained there several days and commenced the business of dividing the lands.

When *Kiwalao* heard that *Kamehameha* had arrived at Kaawaloa, he went there and called on him, and was received with all the observances due to his high rank. After the wailing and salutations were over, *Kiwalao* addressed *Kamehameha*, saying, "Where are you? It is possible that we two must die. Here is our father (their uncle *Keawemauhili*) pushing us to fight. Perhaps only we two may be the ones that shall be slain. What misery for both of us!" *Kamehameha* answered evasively, "To-morrow we will come and visit the corpse of the king." After this interview *Kiwalao* returned to Honaunau.

The next day *Kamehameha* went to Honaunau and attended on the corpse of *Kalaniopuu*, when the ceremonial wailing over the dead was repeated. That part performed, *Kiwalao* ascended a platform outside the "Hale-a-Keawe" and addressed the assembled chiefs and commoners. He told them that in his last will *Kalaniopuu* had only remembered *Kamehameha* and himself. That the bequest to the former was the wargod *Kukailimoku*, and such lands as had been given him by *Kalaniopuu*; and that to himself (*Kiwalao*) was bequeathed the government of Hawaii and the position and dignity of *Moi*.

When the Kona chiefs heard this publication of the last will of *Kalaniopuu*, they were greatly dissatisfied, saying,

"Strange, very strange! Why not have divided the country, three districts to one and three to the other? that would have been equal. Now we will be impoverished, while the Hilo and Kau chiefs will be enriched, for the king is of their party. War would be better, decidedly better!" E aho ke kaua.

It is said that *Kamehameha* was rather reluctant to go to war. It was urged upon him, however, by the great Kona chiefs who feared for their possessions, but who, while preparing for the worst, were apparently loath to take the first step in rebellion, and prudently waited for the chapter of accidents to furnish a suitable pretext. They had not long to wait before the mad rashness of *Keouakuaohuila* brought on a crisis.

As *Kamehameha* and the Kona chiefs were returning from Honaunau, after hearing the royal proclamation, *Kekuhaupio* invited *Kamehameha* to stop with him at Keei, and in the evening go back to Honaunau and visit *Kiwalao* at his own residence. *Kamehameha* assented, and at nightfall he and *Kekuhaupio* were paddled over to Honaunau. When they entered the house occupied by *Kiwalao*, preparations were in process for an Awa-party. The scene that ensued is thus related by a native historian:—"On seeing the awa roots passed round to be chewed, *Kekuhaupio* says to the king, 'Pass some awa to this one (*Kamehameha*) to chew.' The king replied, 'What occasion is there for him to chew it?' *Kekuhaupio* answered, 'It was so ordered by both of your fathers, that the son of the one should be the man of the other,<sup>1</sup> should either of them ascend the throne.' The awa was passed to *Kamehameha*, who chewed and prepared it, and handed the first bowl to the king. Instead of drinking it himself, however (*Kiwalao*), passed it to a special favourite sitting near him. As this chief was lifting the bowl to his mouth

<sup>1</sup> "*Kanaka*." When used in this sense it means the principal business-man of a chief, the next in authority, a subject, but the highest subject in the land. Thus even in modern times

the expression remained, and *Kalaimoku* was invariably called the "*Kanaka*" of *Kaahumanu* during her regency.



to drink, *Kekuhāupio* indignantly struck the bowl out of his hand, and addressed the king, saying, 'You are in fault, O king! Your brother has not prepared the awa bowl for such people but for yourself alone,' and pushing *Kamehameha* out of the house, he said, 'Let us go on board of our canoes and return to Keēi.'"

This breach of etiquette or studied insult to *Kamehameha* was to his aged counsellor a sure indication of the king's unfriendly disposition towards his cousin; but it is possible that this conclusion was not altogether just toward *Kiwalao*. The want of etiquette was not, probably, premeditated by him. It was an unfortunate and unguarded oversight on his part, and the ceremony of the court was perhaps relaxed or forgotten in the convivial meeting of the evening. We have but few means left to estimate correctly the character of *Kiwalao*, but what there is seems to indicate that he was a good-natured, pleasure-loving monarch, who would rather have been on good than on bad terms with his cousin; but he was lacking in resolution, and indolently preferred to be led by his imperious uncle than to exercise his own judgment in State matters.

Some days afterwards the great business of dividing the lands of the kingdom was taken in hand. It does not appear that *Kamehameha* or any of the great Kona chiefs were present. It is reported that *Kiwalao* intimated a wish that some more lands should be given to *Kamehameha*, but that he was rudely interrupted by *Keawemauhili*, who told him that such was not the will of the late king, who had bequeathed to *Kamehameha* his war-god and such lands as he held at that time, adding, "You are the king; I am next under you, and the other chiefs are under us. Such was the will of your father." *Keawemauhili*, it appears, did not fail to remember himself in the division, and the chiefs and followers of his party were the most favoured. Towards the close of the session *Keoua Kuahwula* came to his brother, the king, asking for the gift of several lands, all of which he was told had

already been disposed of by *Keawemauhili*. Among those lands was the valley of Waipio, in Hamakua, which had been given to *Kamehameha* by *Kalaniopuu*. Disgusted and chagrined, *Keoua* exclaimed, "Am I to have no share in this new division?" To which *Kiwalao* mildly replied, "You are no worse off than I am in this division. We will have to be content with the lands we held before."

Infuriated and disappointed, *Keoua Kuahuuila* went to his own place, called his chiefs, kahus, warriors, and retainers together and ordered them to don their feather mantles and helmets and their ivory clasps, and, fully armed, to follow him. They proceeded at once to Keomo, a place south-east from Keei, and commenced cutting down coconut trees. This was in olden time tantamount to a declaration of war, or that the party so doing defied the lord on whose land the trees stood. From there he proceeded to the shore at Keei, where he fell in with some chiefs and other people who were bathing. With these a quarrel was soon picked; a fight ensued, in which some natives were killed by *Keoua*, and the corpses were taken to Honaunau to be offered in sacrifice by *Kiwalao*, which he did.

The slain people belonged to *Kamehameha*.

The crisis had come, and the pretext for the rising of the Kona chiefs.

The native historians are rather minute on some details connected with these events, while they touch but lightly on other matters that to us would appear of greater importance. But in carefully comparing the various now existing sources of information, it appears that a kind of skirmishing fight was kept up for two or three days, and that, although the fight originally commenced between *Keoua Kuahuuila* and *Kamehameha*, without the command or sanction of *Kiwalao*, yet he was gradually drawn into it in support of his brother as against *Kamehameha*. The contest now had become one between *Kiwalao* and the *Kamehameha* faction, and the chiefs ranged themselves on either side. With *Kamehameha* stood *Keeaumoku*, *Keawe-*

*a-Heulu*,<sup>1</sup> *Kameeiamoku*, *Kamanawa*, *Kekuhaupio*, and some chiefs from Kohala, besides his brothers, *Kalaimamahū*, *Kawelookalani*, and *Kalanimalokuloku*.<sup>2</sup> With *Kiwalao* came the Hilo, Puna, and Kau chiefs, beside some notable defections from the *Kamehameha* party, especially *Kanekoa*<sup>3</sup> and *Kahai*, and some other chiefs of lesser note.

This mustering of forces on both sides, from day to day, eventually brought on a set battle. On a morning in July 1782, the chiefs of the *Kamehameha* party started for the battlefield, but *Kamehameha* himself was detained at Kealakeakua by *Holoae*, the old high-priest, and his daughter, *Pine*,<sup>4</sup> who were in the act of performing the auguries incumbent on the occasion. At the same time *Kiwalao* marched with his troops from Honaunau, and at Hauiki in Keei he met *Keeaumoku* with the opposing party, and the battle began. At first success leaned to the king's side; the rebel chiefs were driven back, a number of soldiers were slain and brought to *Kiwalao* to be sacrificed to his god, and expectation arose that the royal party would be victorious.

About this time *Kamehameha* arrived on the field, and the equilibrium of the battle was in a measure restored. While the fight was progressing, *Keeaumoku* got entangled with his spear in the rocky ground and fell. Immediately

<sup>1</sup> His father was *Heulu*, a great-grandson in direct descent from *I*, and on his mother's side a grandson of the famous *Mahioli* of Kohala. His wife was at one time *Ululani*, also a descendant of *I*, and hereditary chiefess of the Hilo district. Their children were *Naihe*, a son who died childless, and *Keohohiwa*, a daughter, of whom the present royal family are the great-grandchildren. For reasons now unknown, but perfectly in consonance with the customs of that age, *Ululani* left *Keawe-a-Heulu* and became the wife of *Keavemauhili*, with whom she had several children. She

outlived both her husbands, and died towards the close of the century.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise known as *Keliimaikai*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kanekoa* was a son of *Kalanikeeumoku* and his wife *Kailakauoa*, and thus a paternal uncle of *Kamehameha*. Both he and his brother *Kahai* went over to the *Keavemauhili* party during this crisis. The present queen *Kapiolani*, on her father's side, is the great-granddaughter of *Kanekoa*.

<sup>4</sup> She was the wife of *Kekuhaupio* above mentioned, and ancestress to present Hon. Mrs. *Pauahi Bishop*.

*Kahai*<sup>1</sup> and *Nuhi*<sup>2</sup> rushed upon him and stabbed him with their daggers, while *Kini* struck him in the back with his spear, exclaiming as he did so, "The spear has pierced the yellow-backed crab."<sup>3</sup> *Kiwalao* seeing *Keeaumoku* falling called out to the soldiers, "Be careful of the ivory neck-ornament, lest it be spoiled with the blood." On hearing these words *Keeaumoku* knew that no quarter would be given, and expected every moment to be the last. His half-brother *Kamanawa*, however, had also seen him fall, and instantly despatched a division of his men to succour him, or at least bring his corpse off. Hurrying up to the spot they drove away the assailants of *Keeaumoku*, and one of the troop, *Keakuarwahine* by name, armed with a sling, threw a stone that struck *Kiwalao* on the temple of his head and stunned him as he fell. When *Keeaumoku* saw *Kiwalao* falling he crawled up to him, and with an instrument garnished with shark's teeth cut his throat.

After *Kiwalao's* death the rout of his party became general. *Keoua Kuahuula* fled to the shore, where his canoes had been ordered to wait. Hastily embarking, he sailed back to Kau, where he was acknowledged as *Moi* and successor to his brother *Kiwalao*. A number of chiefs and warriors fled to the mountain and ultimately found their way through the forests to Hilo and Kau. A large number were taken prisoners, among whom was *Kearvemauihili*.

This first battle of *Kamehameha* for the empire of the group has been called the battle of "Mokuohai."

When *Kearvemauihili* was captured he was led to Napoopoo and confined in a building at Waipiele, under the guard of *Kanuha*, there to await the pleasure of *Keeaumoku* as to the time when he was to be offered in sacrifice.

<sup>1</sup> The other uncle of *Kamehameha* father of the present Mrs. *Elizabeth* referred to in note to previous page; *Kaaniau Pratt*.  
brother of *Kanekoa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nuhi* was a chief from Waimea Hawaii, father of *Laanui*, and grand-

<sup>3</sup> "*Ku aku la ka laau i ka aama kua lenalena*," referring to *Keeaumoku's* surname, *papai-ahihi*, "the evening crab."

*Kanuha* and some of the other chiefs, either touched by compassion or awed by the high rank of the prisoner—he being one of the highest tabu chiefs and an “Alii Niaupio” for two consecutive generations—managed during the night to let him escape; and, making good use of his opportunity, *Keawemauhili* crossed the mountain, and, after making a detour by Paauhau, in Hamakua, arrived safely in Hilo and proclaimed his independence of both *Kamehameha* and *Keoua Kuahuwala*.

The result of the battle of Mokuohai was virtually to rend the island of Hawaii into three independent and hostile factions. The district of Kona, Kohala, and portions of Hamakua acknowledged *Kamehameha* as their sovereign. The remaining portion of Hamakua, the district of Hilo, and a part of Puna, remained true to and acknowledged *Keawemauhili* as their *Moi*; while the lower part of Puna and the district of Kau, the patrimonial estate of *Kiwalao*, ungrudgingly and cheerfully supported *Keoua Kuahuwala* against the mounting ambition of *Kamehameha*.

In order to properly understand the political relations and rival pretensions of these three chiefs, and to disillusion oneself from certain impressions obtained from those who in the earlier days wove the history of *Kamehameha* into legend and song, or from those who in after years kept up the illusion from force of habit or from interested motives, it may be well to “take stock,” as it were, of the political capital with which each one supported his claim to supremacy.

*Keawemauhili* was undoubtedly the highest chief in rank, according to Hawaiian heraldry, of the three. He was the son of *Kalaninuiamamao* and *Kekaulikeikawe-kiuokalani*, the latter being the half-sister of the former and daughter of *Kauhiokaka*, one of *Keaweikakahialio-kamoku*'s daughters. Hence he was also called *Keawe-Wililua*. As “Aliiaimoku,” or provincial chief of the populous district of Hilo and its late accretions in Hama-

kua and Puna, he was also the most powerful and opulent chief on Hawaii. He had always been loyal and faithful to his brother *Kalaniopuu* during his reign; and when at his death *Kiwalao* succeeded, he naturally was looked upon as the first prince of the blood, the Doyen of the Hawaiian aristocracy, and as such became the prime counsellor and executive minister under his nephew *Kiwalao*. When *Kiwalao* was killed in the battle of Mokuohai by the revolted Kona and Kohala chiefs, there was actually no chief living on Hawaii of sufficient rank and influence whom *Keawemauhili* would acknowledge as his superior, or to whom he could rightfully transfer his allegiance, except to *Kiwalao's* daughter, *Keopuolani*, who was then but an infant, and had fled with her mother and grandmother to *Kahakili* on Maui. The power and resources of *Kamehameha*, though successful in the late battle, were yet of too untried and unconsolidated a nature to impress themselves on *Keawemauhili* as a political necessity that must be submitted to without a struggle. Moreover, he looked upon *Kamehameha* and the chiefs associated with him as rebels against *Kiwalao* and himself. Under those circumstances *Keawemauhili* could not do otherwise than take the stand he did, and oppose the pretensions of *Kamehameha* with all his might.

*Keoua Kuahuula*, the half-brother of *Kiwalao*, while acknowledging the superior rank of his uncle *Keawemauhili*, shared fully in his opinions as to the status and claims of *Kamehameha*, whom they both looked upon as a rebel and usurper. At the death of his brother the lordship of Kau, provisionally at least, descended to him as the next heir of his father, and he was acknowledged as such by the Kau chiefs, as well as by the other members of his family, notably by his brothers *Kaoleioku*<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The mother of *Kaoleioku*, as well as of the two *Keouas*, was *Kanekapolei*, one of the wives of *Kalaniopuu*. It was bruited, however, at the time of his birth that *Kamehameha* was his real father, and in after life the latter so acknowledged it. At this time, however, *Kaoleioku* adhered to the

*Keoua Peccale*. He was young, adventurous, and ambitious. He might hold his fief under his niece *Keopuolani*, but under *Kamehameha* never. In conjunction with his uncle *Keawemauhili* he deemed himself a match for *Kamehameha*, and thus personal enmity and political considerations urged him to assert the independence of his possessions and a war *à l'outrance* with *Kamehameha*. Of the bitterness of feeling that grew up between these two it is hardly possible now to form an adequate conception. Crimination and recrimination were bandied about between the rival courts and their adherents, and a period of intense excitement ensued, during which the characters of the rival chiefs were outrageously smirched by their respective opponents. From *Keoua's* point of view he would have been a traitor and coward had he yielded to *Kamehameha*, and so the strife went on for many a year to come.

In writing the history of this period thus much is due in justice to *Keawemauhili* and *Keoua Kuahuula*. It has been too much the habit of former writers to consider the battle of Mokuohai as an accident between two equally and legally constituted monarchs, and the opposition of *Keawemauhili* and *Keoua* as a selfish and wilful refusal to submit to lawful authority.

The last, but not least, prominent figure in the triangular fight that distracted Hawaii for upward of nine years was *Kamehameha*. His birth and lineage have already been related. His father, *Keoua Kalanikupua*, was the uterine brother of *Kalaniopuu*, and grandson of *Keawe* of Hawaii. His mother, *Kekuiapoiwa II.*, was a granddaughter of the same *Keawe* and, through her father *Haae*, a scion of the great *Mahi* family in Kohala. His rank was consequently high, among the very highest, and had *Kalaniopuu* had no son to succeed him as *Moi* of Hawaii, there can be

party and shared the fortunes of his brother *Keoua* until the death of the latter. *Kaoleioku* died in 1816, and through his daughters *Pauahi* and *Konia*, became the grandfather of Her Highness *Ruth Keilikolani* and of Hon. Mrs. *Bernice Pauahi Bishop*.

hardly any doubt that the claims of *Kamehameha* by blood and rank would have prevailed over any other claimant in any convocation of chiefs to whom the subject might have been submitted. His patrimonial possessions, which he shared with his brothers *Kalaimamahu* and *Keliimaikai*, were small when compared with his rivals, and would never have justified or enabled him to compete for the throne of Hawaii, notwithstanding his high lineage; but his personal character, his well-known talents, and oftentimes ability had brought him a host of powerful friends and created a confidence in him as a leader, when the interests of those friends were threatened by the intolerable greed of *Keawemauhili*, the fiery ambition of *Keoua Kuahuula*, and the weak and irresolute character of the actual sovereign. At this period *Kamehameha* was past the meridian of life, being some years over forty, and, after his retirement from the court of *Kalaniopuu*, appears to have found pleasure and occupation in his own family and in the cultivation of his lands; and it is not now known, and has never been alleged, that in any way he mixed in the intrigues or shared in the apprehensions which agitated the court and alarmed the country after the death of *Kalaniopuu*. It is certain, moreover, that it was the great Kona chiefs who sought him out—not he them—when their personal fears for their own possessions made them contemplate and counsel revolt as an escape from the unfair division of the lands which they apprehended under the new regime. It was their urgent solicitations, and the prospect of a crown which they held out, that moved *Kamehameha* from his quiet retreat in Kohala. The compact was that he should lead and they should aid, and the guerdon, which they reserved to themselves and their children, was the enjoyment and enlargement of their possessions and a participation in the administration of the government. And faithfully did *Kamehameha* perform his part till the day of his death. These chiefs were *Keeaumokupapaiahiahi*, *Kameeiamoku*, his brother



*Kamanawa*, and *Keawe-a-Heulu*. The three first were grandsons of the famous *Kalanikauleleiaiwi*, the wife of *Keawe* of Hawaii; the fourth was the most prominent male representative of the proud and powerful *I* family; and each one of these could on occasion have mustered some thousands of spears to battle. That these chiefs at that time, and for years afterwards, were looked upon by the commonalty, and looked upon themselves, as something more than the mere counsellors of *Kamehameha*—in short, as his partners in the conquest of the kingdom—is an historical fact that it is well not to forget; openly and tacitly during his and their lifetime *Kamehameha* acknowledged his indebtedness to them, and on sundry occasions, even after his power was confirmed, he bore and forbore with their crotchets and delinquencies where another monarch would have punished. This political relation between *Kamehameha* and those chiefs will go far to explain the fact why, failing heirs to the throne in the *Kamehameha* family, the national sentiment at the election of the present king went back to the head of one of those families who, in the war of Mokuohai, brought *Kamehameha* to the front of affairs; who placed the crown on his head that in those uncertain times might have dropped on one of their own; and who remained faithful and loyal to their choice in an age when intrigues, defection, and treason were the order of the day, and the rebel of one island or district was sure to find sympathy and assistance from the king of another.

When *Kahakili*, the king of Maui, learned the result of the battle of Mokuohai, and that *Kamehameha* ruled over the entire leeward side of the island of Hawaii, he sent the message to him asking for assistance in his contemplated invasion of Oahu, as related on page 220, note 1. Instead of returning to *Kahakili* the messengers were persuaded to remain on Hawaii, took service under *Kamehameha*, and were rewarded with lands.

Neither of the three independent chiefs of Hawaii was in a hurry to renew the war which all felt must end in

the extermination of two of the three. Warlike preparations resounded on every side; fashioning spears and daggers, building of war canoes, and enlisting men. How long this armed suspense, for it can hardly be called a truce, might have continued there is no knowing, but accident made it the duty of *Kamehameha* to be the first aggressor.

*Kanekoa*, one of the uncles of *Kamehameha*—who, it will be remembered, previous to the battle of Mokuohai, had gone over to the party of *Kiwalao* along with his brother *Kahai*, and after the battle had found refuge and protection with *Keawemauhili* at Hilo—for reasons not now remembered, revolted from *Keawemauhili* and took up arms to defend his real or pretended rights. The result was that he was defeated, and with his brother fled to Kau, where *Keoua* received him hospitably and gave him lands to live on. After a while—how long cannot be specified in months—difficulties arose between *Kanekoa* and *Keoua*, and the former raised troops and made war on the latter. *Keoua* immediately went in pursuit of the ungrateful rebel, and falling in with him between Olaa in Hilo and the crater of Kilauea in Kau, at a place not otherwise designated, fought a battle with him in which he was defeated and killed. When *Kanekoa* fell, his younger brother, *Kahai*, seeing safety in no other direction, fled to Kona, where *Kamehameha* was at the time residing, and presented himself before his nephew with all the signs of extreme grief and abject submission. Moved to compassion at the death of one uncle and the destitute condition of the other, and remembering the youthful days he had passed under the roof of *Kanekoa* at Waimea, he resolved to avenge his death and commence at once the long-deferred contest with *Keawemauhili* and *Keoua*.

After consulting with his counsellors and completing his preparations by sea and land, *Kamehameha* moved his forces to Kawaihae. The passage of the war canoes was

endangered by stormy weather, and the army, marching over the mountain, suffered from cold and severe rains, so that the expedition was remembered by the name of "Kamaino." At Kawaihae the plan of the campaign was agreed upon in the council of *Kamehameha*. The fleet of war canoes under command of *Keeaumoku* was to attack and harass the Hilo coast, while the main army under command of *Kamehameha* marched inland, towards the crater of Kilauea, with the intention of preventing the junction of *Keoua's* and *Keawemauhili's* forces, and of fighting them in detail should no junction have been effected. Arriving at Kilauea, *Kamehameha* learned that *Keoua* with the Kau army was encamped at a place above Ohaieka in Kapapala, some twenty miles distant over a difficult country. A council of war was held, and it was considered more prudent to act in conjunction with their own fleet, which by this time ought to be off the Hilo coast. Orders were therefore given to descend to Hilo and give battle to *Keawemauhili* first.

On descending the mountain from the neighbourhood of Kilauea, *Kamehameha's* army debouched at a place called Puaaloa, just outside of the Panaewa woods, some three or four miles east of Hilo Bay. Here the Hilo army, reinforced by the Maui auxiliaries under *Kahahawai*, met the invaders and a severely-contested battle ensued, in which a number of lives were lost on both sides. *Kahahawai* and his lieutenant, *Kahuewa*, are said to have performed prodigies of valour. *Kamehameha's* brother, *Kalanimakuloku*, narrowly escaped with his life. The Kona and Kohala forces were utterly routed, *Kamehameha* himself obliged to flee, and his defeat would have been decisive and fatal to himself and his chiefs had they not been able to save themselves on board of the fleet under *Keeaumoku*, that was hovering near the shore and received the fugitives. It is related that in his flight *Kamehameha* was pursued by a soldier from the opposite ranks named *Moo*, who tauntingly called out to him, "O Lord! do not

be in a hurry ; it is only me" (*E Kalani E! e akahete paha ka holo, owau wale no*).

When *Kamehameha* had saved all that he could on board of his fleet, he sat sail for Laupahoehoe in North Hilo, where he landed and established his headquarters.

This second war of *Kamehameha* has been called "Kauaawa"—the bitter war—on account of its reverses.

A short time after his debarkation at Laupahoehoe *Kamehameha* started one day with his own war canoe and its crew alone, without making his object known to his counsellors, and unaccompanied by any of them. Steering for the Puna coast, he ran in upon the reef at a place called Papai in Keaau. A number of fishermen with their wives and children were out fishing on the reef, and, as they were about returning ashore, *Kamehameha* rushed upon them with the object of slaying or capturing as many he could, they being the subjects of *Keawemauhili*. The greater number of these people saved themselves by flight, but two men were hemmed off and they engaged in fight with *Kamehameha*. During the scuffle *Kamehameha's* foot slipped into a crevice of the coral reef, and, while thus entangled, he was struck some severe blows on the head with the fisherman's paddle. Luckily for *Kamehameha* the fisherman was encumbered with a child on his back, and ignorant of the real name and character of his antagonist. Extricating himself with a violent effort, *Kamehameha* reached his canoe and returned to Laupahoehoe.

This excursion is by native historians called "Kaleleike." It was one of those predatory expeditions and wild personal adventures characteristic of the times and the reckless daring of the chiefs.

In singular commemoration of his own narrow escape from death on the above occasion, for having wantonly attacked peaceable and unoffending people, *Kamehameha* in after life called one of his most stringent laws, punishing robbery and murder with death, by the name of *Mamalahoe*, the "splintered paddle."

The foregoing events must have occurred during the latter part of 1782 and early part of 1783, for it is well established that shortly after *Kamehameha's* raid on Keaau, and while he was still residing at Laupahoehoe, *Kahakili* of Maui sent *Akalele* to *Keawemauhili* to recall *Kahahawai* and the Maui auxiliaries in order to join *Kahakili* in his invasion of Oahu, which took place that year. Feeling perfectly secure as against any further attempts of *Kamehameha*, *Keawemauhili* readily released the Maui troops from his service, and both he and *Keoua* sent a number of war canoes to the assistance of *Kahakili*.

On his return passage from Hilo to Maui, *Kahahawai* stopped at Laupahoehoe and fearlessly presented himself before *Kamehameha*, who received his late enemy courteously and kindly.

Seeing no prospect of prosecuting the war to any advantage, *Kamehameha* shortly after this left Laupahoehoe and established his court at Halaula and at Hapuu, in Kohala, and seriously occupied himself with the reorganisation and improvement of his portion of the island. During his residence here, some time in the year 1784, *Kekuhapuio* died at Napoopoo, in Kona, having been accidentally but mortally wounded during a spear exercise. *Kekuhapuio* enjoyed by the common consensus of all his contemporaries the reputation of having been the most accomplished warrior of his time, and as wise as he was brave. His death was a great loss to *Kamehameha* and his chiefs.

During the year 1785 *Kamehameha* again invaded the territories of Hilo. A protracted and desultory war was kept up with the combined Kau and Hilo forces; but no decisive results were obtained. In the absence of more definite information about this war, it is probable that *Kamehameha* was again repulsed, but that the Hilo and Kau chiefs were too weak to follow up their success by invading *Kamehameha's* territories.

At the close of the campaign *Kamehameha* returned to

Kohala and resided at Kauhola, in Halaula, where he turned his attention to agriculture, himself setting an example in work and industry. The war just referred to has been called the war of "Hapuu," and also the war of "Laupahoehoe-hope."

It was during this year of 1785 that *Kamehameha* took *Kaahumanu* to be one of his wives. This lady, who fills so prominent a place in modern Hawaiian history, after the death of *Kamehameha*, was the daughter of his counsellor, coadjutor, and most devoted friend, *Keeaumokupapai-ahihi*; her mother was *Namahana*, of the royal Maui family, and a half-sister to *Kahekili*. *Kaahumanu* was then about seventeen years old. Up to this period *Kamehameha* had had but two recognised wives. One was *Kalola*, referred to on page 201; the other was *Peleuli*. Her parents were *Kamanawa* and *Kekelaokalani*. The former a son of *Keawepoepoe* and grandson of *Kalani-kauleleiaiwi*, of the royal Hawaii family, and the latter a daughter of *Kauakahiakua* and *Kekuiapiwa-Nui*, both of the royal Maui family. With this *Peleuli* *Kamehameha* had four children:—(1.) *Maheha Kapulikoliko*, a daughter, of whom nothing more is known; (2.) *Kahoanoku Kinau*, a son, whose wife was *Kahakuhaakoi*, a daughter of *Kekuamanoha*, of the Maui royal family, with whom he had a daughter, *Keahikuni Kekauonohi*, who died in 1847; (3.) *Kaikookalani*, a son, whose wife was *Haaheo*, a niece of *Keawemauhili* by his sister *Akahi*, and who afterwards became the wife of *Kuakini*, one of the brothers of *Kaahumanu*; (4.) *Kiliwehi*, a daughter, who became the wife of *Kamehamehakaauokoa*.

Nothing worthy of notice appears to have transpired on Hawaii after the war of "Hapuu" until the following year (1786), when the expedition to Hana, Maui, was fitted out under command of *Kamehameha's* brother *Kalanimalokuloku*, as already narrated on page 229, under the article of "Maui."

In 1786, as previously stated, the first foreign vessels

touched at the Hawaiian group after the death of Captain Cook. The discovery of the islands, with its brilliant opening and its tragical close, had been a nine years' wonder to the civilised world. The first impression of horror and affright had been softened by time, and cupidity growing stronger than fear, men thought more of the advantages that offered than the dangers that menaced.

In 1787-8-9 and 1790 a steadily increasing number of English, American, French, Spanish, and Portuguese vessels touched at the islands and traded with the people. Iron, pure and simple and in its various forms of utensils, guns, and ammunition brought fabulous prices, and other things in proportion. To the natives it was an era of wonder, delight, and incipient disease; to their chiefs it was an El Dorado of iron and destructive implements, and visions of conquest grew brighter as iron, and powder, and guns accumulated in the princely storerooms. The blood of the first discoverer had so rudely dispelled the illusion of the "Haole's" divinity that now the natives, not only not feared them as superior beings, but actually looked upon them as serviceable, though valuable, materials to promote their interests and to execute their commands. Not a few of the seamen belonging to the foreign ships that now dodged each other in the island ports and underbid each other in the island markets had deserted their vessels and taken service under this or that chief, and already the dawn of a new day had sent its grey streaks of morning across the dark sky of Hawaiian night. Men wondered no longer at the sight of a foreigner, and chiefs pondered deeply on themes of glory and conquest that would never have had a shadow of realisation but for the foreigners' arms and the foreigners' knowledge enlisted in their service.

It may well be supposed that *Kamehameha* neglected no opportunity of improving his circumstances and increasing his stores from the newborn commerce that courted his country. Ruling over the entire western

half of Hawaii, with its splendid climate, its smooth sea, its regular sea-breeze, its commodious roadsteads, its dense population, and abundant food supply, there is no doubt that he and his chiefs took the lion's share of all the commerce that the foreign vessels brought to the group. Doubtless considerable trade was carried on with the windward districts, where *Kearvemauihili* and *Keoua* ruled supreme, but for the reasons above stated the major part of such trade was distributed along the western coast, and whatever was of special value or use soon found its way to *Kamehameha's* warehouses.

For once at least commerce brought peace for a season. No wars have been recorded on the islands during this period. Chiefs and commoners were all too busy to raise supplies and other articles wherewith to barter for foreign commodities. If the hatchet was not actually buried, it was at least turned to a more productive use than the splitting of an enemy's head. Unfortunately the fires that mouldered were not quenched, and with increasing power and resources the old contentions burst out anew, and to *Kamehameha's* name attaches the odious and weighty responsibility of having set the island world ablaze again.

I have referred on page 222, note 1, and page 231 to *Kaiana-a-Ahuula*, his voyage to China along with Captain Mears in the ship "Nootka," and his return to the islands and debarkation on Hawaii in January 1789, where he was welcomed by *Kamehameha*, who looked upon his large and miscellaneous property of guns and ammunition, acquired while abroad, as a valuable aid in future enterprises.

The detention of John Young by *Kamehameha* and the narrow escape of Isaac Davis, two foreigners belonging to the American vessels "Eleanor" and "Fair American," have been already mentioned on pages 231 and 235 as occurring in March 1790. It must therefore have been during the middle, probably latter, months of that year that *Kamehameha* invaded Maui and fought



the famous battle of Iao, which campaign is mentioned on page 237.

There is now no means of knowing at what time or in what manner *Keawemauhili* and *Kamehameha* came to a peaceable understanding, so much so as to induce the former to assist the latter with canoes, with men, and even with his own sons to command them in the campaign against Maui. That *Keawemauhili* did so assist *Kamehameha* is a well-known fact, and that *Keoua Kua-huula* did resent that assistance as a breach of the agreement between himself and *Keawemauhili* is equally well known. How he revenged himself by invading Hilo, by defeating and slaying *Keawemauhili* in the battle at Alae, ravaging the Hamakua district, and crossing over to Waimea, sent equal terror and devastation into the Kohala district, has already been mentioned on page 240, &c. The entire island lay open and defenceless before him, unless *Kaiana*, whom *Kamehameha* had left to guard the Kona district in his absence, could have made an effectual resistance. The news, however, had reached *Kamehameha* in time, and abandoning his conquests on Maui and Molokai, and his intended invasion of Oahu, he hurried back to Hawaii to defend his own dominions, to avenge the death of *Keawemauhili*, and to finally and definitely settle the question of superiority between himself and *Keoua*.

When *Kamehameha* landed at Kawaihae he learned that *Keoua* was at Waimea, and with the least possible delay he started to encounter his enemy. Whether *Keoua* had heard of the arrival of *Kamehameha* and wished to avoid him, or that he preferred some other battle-ground, it happened that when *Kamehameha* and his army had ascended to Waimea, *Keoua* had retreated to Paauhau, in the Hamakua district, where he awaited the arrival of *Kamehameha*. Here a battle was fought and obstinately contested on both sides. *Kamehameha* had one fieldpiece in action, known in the native account by the name of

“Lopaka,” which appears to have greatly annoyed the *Keoua* party, until by a brilliant charge it was captured by *Kaiaiaiea*, one of *Keoua's* chiefs. Great carnage was committed on both sides, but the battle proved indecisive, and was renewed at Koapapa, not far distant, on the following day. Long and bitter was the strife of that day, but the powder falling short on the side of *Keoua*, he withdrew his forces and retreated to Hilo.

Though *Kamehameha* was victorious in the battle, and master of the field, yet his victory had cost him so dearly that he was unable to pursue the retreating foe, and, satisfied for the time with having driven *Keoua* out of his territory, he turned down to Waipio to recruit his losses.

Having reached Hilo, *Keoua*, considering that district now as part of his own possessions, stopped there awhile to divide the lands between his chiefs and soldiers; and having performed that act of suzerainty, he set out for his own home in Kau. It was on this return march that a great disaster befell a portion of his army while passing by the crater of Kilauea. The most graphic and correct account of that disaster is given by Dibble in his “History of the Sandwich Islands,” page 65, and as it corresponds with the information that Kamakau received from a living witness to the event, I transcribe it here. Dibble says—

“His (*Keoua's*) path led by the great volcano of Kilauea. There they encamped. In the night a terrific eruption took place, throwing out flame, cinders, and even heavy stones to a great distance, and accompanied from above with intense lightning and heavy thunder. In the morning *Keoua* and his company were afraid to proceed, and spent the day in trying to appease the goddess of the volcano, whom they supposed they had offended the day before, by rolling stones into the crater. But on the second night and on the third night also there were similar eruptions. On the third day they ventured to proceed on their way, but had not advanced far before a more terrible and destructive eruption than any before

took place ; an account of which, taken from the lips of those who were part of the company and present in the scene, may not be an unwelcome digression."

"The army of *Keoua* set out on their way in three different companies. The company in advance had not proceeded far before the ground began to shake and rock beneath their feet, and it became quite impossible to stand. Soon a dense cloud of darkness was seen to rise out of the crater, and almost at the same instant the electrical effect upon the air was so great that the thunder began to roar in the heavens and the lightning to flash. It continued to ascend and spread abroad till the whole region was enveloped, and the light of day was entirely excluded. The darkness was the more terrific, being made visible by an awful glare from streams of red and blue light variously combined that issued from the pit below, and being lit up at intervals by the intense flashes of lightning from above. Soon followed an immense volume of sand and cinders, which were thrown in high heaven and came down in a destructive shower for many miles around. Some few persons of the forward company were burned to death by the sand and cinders, and others were seriously injured. All experienced a suffocating sensation upon the lungs, and hastened on with all possible speed.

"The rear body, which was nearest the volcano at the time of the eruption, seemed to suffer the least injury, and after the earthquake and shower of sand had passed over, hastened forward to escape the dangers which threatened them, and rejoicing in mutual congratulations that they had been preserved in the midst of such imminent peril. But what was their surprise and consternation when, on coming up with their comrades of the centre party, they discovered them all to have become corpses. Some were lying down and others were sitting upright, clasping with dying grasp their wives and children, and joining noses (their form of expressing affection) as in the act of taking a final leave. So much like life they looked

that they at first supposed them merely at rest, and it was not until they had come up to them and handled them that they could detect their mistake. The whole party, including women and children, not one of them survived to relate the catastrophe that had befallen their comrades. The only living being they found was a solitary hog in company with one of the families which had been so suddenly bereft of life. In those perilous circumstances the surviving party did not even stay to bewail their fate, but leaving their deceased companions as they found them, hurried on and overtook the company in advance at the place of their encampment."

In the above disaster it is said that *Keoua* lost about 400 fighting men.

The war with *Keoua* was vigorously continued by *Kamehameha* during the year 1791. One army corps under command of *Keeaumoku*, to which John Young and Isaac Davis were attached, operated against Hilo, while another corps under *Kaiana-a-Aharua* was sent against Kau. Though sorely pressed on both sides, yet *Keoua* bravely kept his ground during the spring and summer of that year, and no decisive advantages were gained by *Kamehameha* in any of the battles fought. The prolonged contest, however, began to tell upon the resources of *Keoua*, yet with consummate tact and bravery he showed a bold and ready front to every attack, from whatsoever quarter aimed.

No reminiscences of the operations against Hilo have survived, but of the campaign in Kau some notices have been collected by the native historians. Supported by a fleet of war canoes hovering about the South Cape ("Lae a Kalaeloa") of Hawaii, *Kaiana* fought several engagements with *Keoua* at Paiahaa, at Kamaoa, and at Naohulelua, but they were what may be called drawn battles, *Kaiana* sometimes remaining master of the field, and sometimes being obliged to fall back on his flotilla for support. During one of the intermissions in this

martial game *Keoua* suddenly changed his ground from Kau to Puna. *Kaiana* looked upon this move as a confession of weakness, followed *Keoua* into Puna, and with jubilant exultation anticipated an easy victory. At a place called Puuakoki the two forces met, and *Kaiana* was so severely handled by *Keoua* and by his generals, *Kaieiea* and *Uhai*, that he made a precipitate retreat out of Puna and returned with his men to Kona, reporting his ill success to *Kamehameha*.

Meanwhile the great Heiau on Puukohola, at Kawaihae, was approaching completion. It will be remembered (*vide* page 240) that when *Kamehameha* had sent *Haalou*, the grandmother of his wife *Kaahumanu*, to consult the wisest of the Kauai soothsayers, she brought back the advice of *Kapoukahi* to build a Heiau on Puukohola to the war-god *Kukailimoku*, and that that act would secure to *Kamehameha* the kingdom of Hawaii. Whether it was that *Kamehameha* preferred to try the efficiency of carnal weapons before having recourse to spiritual agencies, and believed more in his guns and his powder than in the prayers of his priests, certain it is that the building of the Heiau was but little advanced when *Kaiana* returned from Kau; and as no victories have been reported from the army corps under *Keeaumoku* against Hilo, it is presumable that the campaign in that direction had been equally unsuccessful. After nine years of struggle between the two sections of the island, *Kamehameha* stood no nearer to the supremacy of Hawaii than he did on the day of Mokuohai. He was richer, no doubt, in men and arms and the means of destruction that commerce had brought him, but *Keoua* had also shared in the fruits of that commerce, and so their relative means were about the same as at the beginning of the contest.

*Keoua* had repulsed *Kamehameha* both from Kau and Hilo, but was probably too crippled by his victories to follow them up by invading Kona or Hamakua. *Kamehameha* had trusted to spear and gun, and, however

successful in other directions and against other chiefs, they had proved powerless to subdue *Keoua*; and so he bethought himself of the Kauai soothsayer's advice, and the construction of the Heiau on Puukohola was resumed with a vigour and zeal quickened, perhaps, by a consciousness of neglected duty. Relays of people were ordered from Kona, Kohala, and Hamakua to repair to Kawaihae to carry stones and assist at the building. Chiefs of the highest degree and common natives worked side by side, and *Kamehameha* himself set the example of carrying stones to the building. There was but one exception known, and that was *Kamehameha's* younger and favourite brother *Keliimaikai*. Tradition says that when all the chiefs set out to carry stones to the Heiau, *Keliimaikai* also took up a stone and started with the others. Seeing which, *Kamehameha* rushed up and, taking the stone from the other's shoulder, exclaimed, "Some one must observe the Tabu, be thou the one." He then ordered the stone that had been touched by *Keliimaikai* to be taken out to sea and sunk in deep water. To judge from the heathen ritual of that time and its stringent requisitions, the object of this exception doubtless was that some high chief of tabued rank should remain uncontaminated by the menial labour of carrying stones, so as to preside at the ordinary sacrifices and assist at the purification of the others, when the building should be completed.<sup>1</sup>

It is often difficult to bring the events of Hawaiian history into their proper chronological order. Regarding the war and the invasion of Hawaii, undertaken by the joint forces of *Kahakili* and *Kaeo*, related on page 242,

<sup>1</sup> The author a few years ago conversed with a centenarian Hawaiian at Kawaihaeuka who had assisted in carrying stones towards building this Heiau. His description of the thousands of people encamped on the neighbouring hillsides, and taking their turns at the work, of their organisation and feeding, their time

of work and relaxation, the number of chiefs that attended, and who, as the old man said, caused the ground to tremble beneath their feet; and the number of human victims that were required and duly offered for this or that portion of the building—this description was extremely interesting and impressive.

there is great difference between the Hawaiian authorities. David Malo places the occurrence shortly after the death of *Keoua*, but does not state the year; Jarvis places it after the last departure of Vancouver, which took place in 1794; Dibble places it before the building of the Heiau on Puukohola; and Kamakau places it before the death of *Keoua*. The truth probably is this, that *Kahékili* and *Kaéo*, learning the small progress which *Kamehameha* was making in his war with *Keoua*, and believing him fully occupied with all his men and means in its prosecution, thought this a favourable opportunity to harass his provinces and retaliate his invasion of Maui the preceding year, and, possibly also, as a diversion in favour of *Keoua*. How, after ravaging Waipio and Kohala, they were beaten in the sea-fight, known as "Kepuwahaula," has already been narrated. Whether it took place before or after the completion of the Heiau of Puukohola, it may now be impossible to ascertain; but that it took place before the death of *Keoua* there can be little doubt; and that the defeat of *Kahékili* and *Kaéo* in some measure influenced *Keoua* to enter into negotiations with *Kamehameha* seems to be a probable inference. The same want of chronological precision characterises my historical predecessors in regard to the time of *Keoua's* death. D. Malo,<sup>1</sup> without stating any year, intimates that it happened before the battle of "Kepuwahaula." Dibble<sup>2</sup> places the event shortly after the eruption of Kilauea, referred to on page 324, which would bring it into the latter part of 1791 or beginning of 1792. Jarvis<sup>3</sup> says it occurred in 1793. Kamakau says it occurred in 1791, after the completion of the Puukohola Heiau. I believe Dibble and Kamakau are nearest the truth. It certainly occurred after the erection and consecration of Puukohola and before the arrival of Vancouver in March 1792.

Dibble, Jarvis, and Kamakau all concur in stating that

<sup>1</sup> Moolelo Hawaii, page 105.      <sup>2</sup> History of Sandwich Islands, page 67.

<sup>3</sup> History of Hawaiian Islands, page 69.

*Keoua* was enticed by false promises to leave Kau and visit *Kamehameha* at Kawaihae, where he was murdered while in the act of landing. Dibble intimates that "the deed was not done at the order of *Kamehameha*." Jarvis says that *Keeaumoku* acted under "secret instructions," and scouts the idea of *Kamehameha* not being privy to the murder. Kamakau admits that it was done in the presence of *Kamehameha*, but leaves his reader to infer that it was an act of over-officiousness on the part of *Keeaumoku*, who slew *Keoua*. David Malo is silent on the subject. In critically examining the above sources of information, and from what appears to have been the general opinion of that generation of Hawaiians who were contemporary with the event, it is impossible to acquit *Kamehameha* of complicity in the cruel death of *Keoua*. It must have been planned in his council. It was executed by three of his highest chiefs and most trusted counsellors. The deed itself took place in his presence and within sound of his voice; and there is no mention, tradition, or hint that he ever disapproved or regretted it, or in the slightest manner rebuked or punished those who treacherously enticed *Keoua* away, or him who actually stabbed him.

Before passing sentence, however, upon *Kamehameha* for what will always remain the darkest blot upon his otherwise fair name, the candid and impartial historian will not fail to take into consideration the political and social condition of the country and the principles of right and wrong that governed men's actions in that age. *Kamehameha* had contended with *Keoua* for the supremacy of Hawaii for more than nine years, and had failed to subdue him. Frequently routed, but never conquered, *Keoua* valiantly held his own, and on several occasions repelled the invaders of his territory. Each looked upon the other as an usurper, and the bitterest personal hatred had sprung up between them, heightened and envenomed, if possible, by the most outrageous vilifications with which each party branded the other. And in those days the putting away of an



obnoxious person by secret means, be he chief or commoner, where open force had made default, was not a crime that the gods condemned or society criticised too severely. Moreover, even if the deed had been planned without the knowledge and done without the consent of *Kamehameha*, yet the very men who planned and executed it were also the very men who had raised *Kamehameha* on the throne, who had aided and supported him throughout this long contest, and who singly or jointly were too powerful to be safely rebuked or alienated for an act, whose very object was to remove his rival, to increase his power and render it for ever secure. Under these considerations, though the deed was none the less a cruel wrong and a foul murder, and posterity will so designate it, it is well to bear in mind that the actors in that deed, while undoubtedly the foremost men of their age, yet were men of that age and of no other, swayed by its modes of thought, following its modes of action. But *Kamehameha* and his victim have both mouldered in dust. Nearly a hundred years have folded their cooling wings over those burning hearts. The sceptre has passed from the family of the former, and not a scion remains of the latter to point a finger or call out for vengeance. Their disputes are settled, and history resumes its course.

In referring to the tragedy of *Keoua*, neither Dibble nor Jarvis gives any detail. I shall therefore follow Kamakau, whom I believe to be substantially correct, though somewhat verbose.

After the unsuccessful campaign of *Kaiana* against *Keoua*, and after the Heiau of Puukohola had been finished, but not yet consecrated, *Kearweaheulu* and *Kamanawa*, two of the four principal counsellors of *Kamehameha*, set out for Kahuku in Kau, where *Keoua* then held his court. *Kearweaheulu* and his party landed at Kailikii, and, passing over the upland of Keekeekai, arrived at *Keoua's* abode. On approaching the fence of the royal residence they prostrated themselves according

to the etiquette of that time. Mutual recognitions were exchanged, and information given to *Keoua* of the arrival of *Kamehameha's* ambassadors. *Kaieiea*, the chief counsellor of *Keoua*, advised him to put the two chiefs to death, saying that "thus *Kamehameha* would lose two of his wisest and wiliest counsellors, and the supremacy of the island would easily pass to *Keoua*." Prompted by better feelings *Keoua* refused, remarking, "they are the brothers (near relatives) of my father, and they shall not die." They were accordingly admitted, and, crawling up according to custom, they embraced the feet of *Keoua* and wailed. When the wailing was over *Keoua* asked them what their errand was. They then said, "We have come to you, the son of our late lord and brother, to induce you to go with us to Kona to be united and reconciled with your younger brother (meaning *Kamehameha*), that you two may be the kings, and we, your parents, live under you. Let the war between you two come to an end." To which *Keoua* replied, "I am agreed; let us go to Kona."

The arrangements for the journey were soon made. Sending some of his party by land, *Keoua* himself embarked with the others in his double canoes. At Honomalino the overland party was picked up and they all proceeded to Kaawaloa, where they were the guests of *Kearweaheulu*, from Kaawaloa to Kailua, and from there to Luahinewai in Kekaha, which was the last stopping-place previous to Kawaihae. Here *Keoua* bathed and prepared himself for the possible events of the day; either a friendly reception by *Kamehameha*, or to die as became a chief of his rank and fortune. During the journey from Kau to this place *Kaieiea* had more than once endeavoured to obtain the consent of *Keoua* to kill *Kearweaheulu* and *Kamanawa* and to return to Kau, but *Keoua* had always and peremptorily refused.

There can be no doubt but that *Keoua* was well aware of the great risk he ran in thus trusting himself in the

power of *Kamehameha*. His motives can only be guessed at. He may have felt a touch of the old chivalric spirit, and thought that his own life would be held as sacred as he had held the lives of *Kamehameha's* counsellors sacred. He may have been moved by the fatalism of the ancient creed, and, tired of the never-ending war and the unaccomplished objects of life, may have considered his course run and his time up, and that the only object worthy of consideration was how to die with the dignity and *éclat* becoming so great a chief. But men's motives are frequently of a mixed nature, seldom apprehended by themselves, and not always acknowledged. While *Keoua* fairly trusted the smooth speeches and large promises of *Keaweaheulu* and *Kamanawa*, yet with a singular contradiction of that trust he, on that fatal morning, prepared his own body for the sacrifice, selected out of his company those whom he wished to be his companions in death, his "Moe-pu," and caused all others to be put in a separate fleet of canoes to follow after him, under the charge of his half-brother, *Pauli Kaoleioku*, whose life he supposed *Kamehameha* would at all events spare, the young man being the natural son of *Kamehameha*.

Having deposited his feather cloaks and other valuables in *Keaweaheulu's* canoe, *Keoua* stepped on the platform of his own double canoe, followed by *Uhai*, his kahili-bearer, and by his ipu-bearer (whose name is not given). Twenty-four oarsmen propelled the canoe. When off Puako, the environs of Kawaihae burst upon his sight; the great and new Heiau of Puukohola; the fleet of war canoes, many of them mounted with guns, forming a semicircle in the bay, the crowds of chiefs and warriors upon the beach, and other war-like appearances. Observing this, *Keoua* said to *Keaweaheulu*, whose canoe was near his own, "It looks bad ashore, the clouds are flying unfavourably" (Ino uka, ke lele ino mai nei ke ao). To which *Keaweaheulu* replied, "By whom should the evil come on so pleasant a day?" (Nawai hoi ka ino o ka la

malie). *Keoua* merely repeated, "The clouds have an unfavourable flight."

When the canoes were close to the landing at Mailekini in Kawaihae, *Keeaumoku* surrounded *Keoua's* canoe with a number of men armed with spears, guns, and other weapons, and *Keaweaeheulu's* canoe was separated from that of *Keoua*. Seeing *Kamehameha* on the beach, *Keoua* called out to him, "Here I am;" to which *Kamehameha* replied, "Rise, and come here that we may know each other." As *Keoua* was in the act of leaping ashore, *Keeaumoku* struck him with a spear. *Keoua* turned hastily and caught hold of the spear, endeavouring to wrench it out of the hands of *Keeaumoku*, but in vain, and falling down he expired. All the men in *Keoua's* own canoe, and in the canoes of his own immediate company, were killed, with two exceptions. One was *Kuakahela*, a priest of the Nahulu order, who succeeded in reaching the shore, and hastily entering the house of *Kekuiapoiva*, and lifting up the edge of the mats, hid himself thereunder. *Kekuiapoiva's* house being tabu, he was not pursued, and remained there until the proclamation was issued to cease slaying. The other saved one was *Laanui*, who had secretly left his canoe at Puako, before entering the bay of Kawaihae. All others but these two, of either high or low rank, that formed the escort of *Keoua*, were killed. And this cruel butchery, which must have required some time to execute, was done under the very eyes of *Kamehameha* himself, who never lifted his voice to stay the slaughter, until the second division of *Keoua's* escort, under the command of *Pauli Kaoleioku*, approached, then the word was given, and the lives of *Kaoleioku* and all his company were saved.<sup>1</sup>

The body of *Keoua* was taken to the Heiau of Puako-

<sup>1</sup> One of the versions of this tragedy, current among the last generation of Hawaiians, was, that *Keliimaikai*, the younger brother of *Kamehameha*, interceded for the life of *Keoua*, but

in vain, and that when the second division of *Keoua's* escort, in charge of *Kaoleioku*, arrived, *Keliimaikai* insisted that he also should be slain, saying to *Kamehameha*, "You have

hola and there sacrificed to *Kamehameha's* war-god *Kūkailimoku*. It is not known whether *Keoua* had any children or what became of them. His wife's name was *Hiiaka*, but of what family I have been unable to ascertain.

Thus fell *Keoua*; and the districts ruled by him passed at once under the sceptre of *Kamehameha*, and once more the entire island of Hawaii bore fealty to one king alone. It was the first step in the consolidation of the group under one government, whereby civilisation could be made possible and permanent. Providence does not provide angels for the introduction of necessary reforms in human affairs. It works by the means at hand, and one age unavoidably leaves its imprint upon the next. Of *Kamehameha* and *Keoua*, the former was probably the better means for the end in view—the consolidation and civilisation of the group—but he left the marks of the age of heathenish darkness, in which he was reared, upon the work that he took in hand. We admire the edifice whose foundation he laid, but we note that one of its cornerstones is laid in blood.

After the death of *Keoua* it is not known how *Kamehameha* employed the spring months of 1792. It is fairly presumable, however, that he was visiting the newly-acquired districts of Hilo, Puna, and Kau, and incorporating them in the body politic of which he now was the sole head. Certain it is that when the English commander, Vancouver, approached the western coast of Hawaii in March 1792, *Kamehameha* was neither at Kealakeakua nor at Kawaihae. *Kaiana* was his lieutenant in the former place, and *Keeaumoku* at the latter. To *Keeaumoku* Vancouver gave some goats and fruit and garden seeds, and, being pressed for time, left for the

killed my *Hanai*,\* and I will now kill child of my youth;" and ordered his yours." To which *Kamehameha* replied, "He shall not die; he is the elder brother *Kalaimamahu* to proclaim a cessation of the slaughter.

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\* *Hanai* means a "foster-child."

Leeward Islands, and thence for the north-west coast of America.

On the 13th of February 1793, Vancouver returned from the coast of America and anchored at Kawaihae, where *Keeaumoku* was still dwelling. Mutual civilities were exchanged, and on the 19th Vancouver landed a bull and cow, the first of its kind, on these islands, intended as a present to *Kamehameha*, who had not yet arrived at the bay. Vancouver had some difficulty in landing the animals, but having satisfied the greediness of *Kamehameha's* brother, *Kalaimamahu*, the latter furnished a large double canoe, on which the animals were safely landed.<sup>1</sup>

On February 21st the ships were visited by *Kamehameha*, who had arrived at the bay, by his wife *Kaahumanu*,<sup>2</sup> by John Young, and a number of chiefs. It was the first time since the night off Maui, in November 1778,<sup>3</sup> that *Kamehameha* and Vancouver had met, and the surprise and pleasure was mutual, and a sincere friendship sprang up between those two.

On February 22d, Vancouver with his ships, and *Kamehameha* with his court, went to Kealakeakua. Here Vancouver landed five cows, two ewes, and one ram, as a present for *Kamehameha*, and exacted of him a promise that they should be tabued for ten years. Right royally did *Kamehameha* requite Vancouver's beneficent present. On his very first visit on board ninety of the largest-sized

<sup>1</sup> In vol. ii. p. 120, Vancouver says that on the 20th February 1793, *Kamehameha's* eldest son, about nine years old, came on board. Vancouver does not give the lad's name. It may have been *Kahoanoku Kinau*, or it may have been his nephew, *Kekuaokalani*, the son of *Keliimaikai*. It could not possibly have been *Pauli Kaoleioku*.

<sup>2</sup> The difficulty of judging the age of Hawaiians by their looks is well illustrated by the wellnigh random guesses, by which the navigators of those days expressed their opinion

of the ages of certain prominent Hawaiians. In speaking of *Kaahumanu* in March 1793, Vancouver says that she was "about sixteen years old." It is now thoroughly well established that *Kaahumanu* was born in 1768 at Kauwika, in Hana, Maui, and that *Kamehameha* took her as his wife in 1785, about the time of the campaign of Hapuu or Laupahoehoe Lope. She was consequently twenty-five years old when Vancouver saw her.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide* pp. 171, &c.

swine were deposited on the decks of the vessels, and a prodigious quantity of fruit and vegetables, besides feather cloaks and feather helmets; and during the entire stay of Vancouver hardly a day passed without some kind remembrance of similar kinds from *Kamehameha*.

It was at this time that Vancouver exerted himself to negotiate a peace between the two sovereigns of Maui and Hawaii. With what result has already been narrated on pages 252, &c.

On the 8th of March 1793 Vancouver left Hawaii, and after visiting the Leeward Islands, as already related in article "Maui," proceeded again to the north-west coast of America.

On January 9th, 1794, Vancouver returned from the American coast and came to off Hilo, Hawaii. The vessels being unable to enter the port on account of bad weather, *Kamehameha* and his suit went on board and accompanied them to Kealakeakua, where Vancouver anchored on January 12, and he and his ships became the national guests of *Kamehameha*, and were constantly and liberally provided with hogs and vegetables.

At this time Vancouver landed some more cattle for *Kamehameha*, and allowed the ships' carpenters to assist the foreigners<sup>1</sup> in the employ of *Kamehameha* to build a small schooner, which was named the "Britannia," the first vessel of the kind built on the islands.

Since the last visit of Vancouver an estrangement and separation had occurred between *Kamehameha* and his wife, *Kaakumanu*, occasioned by what appears to have been an unfounded jealousy of *Kaiana*, and she was now living with her father, *Keeaumoku*. Through the good offices of Vancouver a reconciliation was effected and the royal pair made happy. But as a strange instance of the manners of the time, even in high life, Vancouver narrates that, before quitting the ship where the reconciliation

<sup>1</sup> The principal of those foreign carpenters in *Kamehameha's* employ was named Boid.

took place, *Kaahumanu* insisted that Vancouver should exact a promise from *Kamehameha* not to whip her when they returned home.

We learn from Vancouver that at this time *Kaheiheimalie*, afterwards known as *Hoapiliwahine*, a younger sister of *Kaahumanu*, was still the wife of *Kamehameha's* brother, *Kalaimamahu*. Vancouver also mentions "a captive daughter of *Kahekili*," who was then residing at *Kamehameha's* court. The person referred to was either one of *Kahekili's* nieces and his sister *Kalola's* daughters, *Kalaniakua* or *Liliha Kekuiapoiwa*, or else *Kalola's* granddaughter, *Keopuolani*, which three ladies were brought from Molokai to Hawaii by *Kamehameha* after the death of *Kalola*, as related on page 238.

This may perhaps be the proper place to refer to some remarks of Mr. Jarves, in his "History of the Hawaiian Islands," touching events at this time.<sup>1</sup> He says, speaking of Vancouver's *séjour* at Kealakeakua Bay:—

"To confirm the general good-will and establish an amnesty for past troubles, *Palea*, the chief who stole the cutter of the "Resolution," was allowed to visit the vessels; *Kameeiamoku*, the murderer of young Metcalf and his crew, having humbled himself, and urged in justification of his revenge the harsh treatment he had received from the father, obtained permission to come on board. He arrived at the bay in great state, attended by a thousand men. This act does not appear consistent with Vancouver's previous inflexibility in obtaining justice upon the death of his countrymen at Oahu. In this instance the property was American, and the principal actor a high chief, whom it would have been difficult to secure, and whose death would have caused a hostility which would have led to dire revenge. Impunity for crime where wealth and rank are engaged is not peculiar to the savage."

When Mr. Jarves penned the above lines he knew<sup>2</sup> that

<sup>1</sup> Jarves' History, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.



the ungrateful and barbarous treatment of *Palea* by an officer of the "Discovery" was never apologised nor atoned for, and that his unselfish exertions, in saving the crew of the "Resolution's" pinnace from being stoned to death by the natives, had not been noticed or acknowledged by Captain Cook, though he was present on the scene shortly after the occurrence. The provocations given by the civilised and enlightened side, what could be expected from the barbarous and ignorant side? If *Palea's* summary settlement of his accounts with Cook, by abducting the cutter of the "Resolution," was not according to moral law, and contrary to the peace and dignity of His Majesty George III., yet Mr. Jarves might have done better justice to the memory of that injured chief than to brand him as a common thief, to be pardoned by the gracious amnesty of Vancouver. When Mr. Jarves speaks of *Kameeiamoku* in the same breath as of the murderers of Lieutenant Hergest, of the "Dædalus," he evidently makes no distinction between the wanton unprovoked murder for robbery's sake by those lawless Oahu brigands, and the cruel provocation that impelled *Kameeiamoku* to execute that vengeance on the tyrant Metcalf, which in his country, and from his point of view, was neither immoral nor illegal, the *Hoomauhala* being as cherished an institution with the ancient Hawaiians as the vendetta with some of the peoples in Southern Europe. And to such a mind, under such conditions, whatever belonged to Metcalf, from his child to his cat, would have been equally doomed to destruction in expiation for the wrong and the insult which *Kameeiamoku* conceived that Metcalf had inflicted upon him. We, writing in our peaceful parlours, whether in 1840 or in 1870, are naturally very much shocked at the killing of young Metcalf and his crew, and regret that the savage *Kameeiamoku* should have taken the law in his own hands; and perhaps we would have preferred that he should have gone and laid his complaint before *Kamehameha*, who at that very time was driving a lucra-

tive trade with the elder Metcalf at Kealakeakua, and meditating how to kidnap Metcalf's boatswain, John Young. But the candid historian will judge men according to the standard of the times in which they lived, and will certainly not place *Kameeiamoku* in the same category with the Oahu ruffians who killed Lieutenant Hergest.

And, finally, when Mr. Jarves accuses Captain Vancouver of inconsistency in admitting *Kameeiamoku* to his presence, and being so inflexible in "obtaining justice upon the death of his countrymen at Oahu," and intimates that "in this instance the property was American, and the principal actor a high chief," &c., Mr. Jarves writes as a partisan and not as a historian, and commits a gratuitous libel on the good name of Vancouver, than whom no more judicious, high-souled, or kind-hearted man, in his dealings with the barbarous tribes that he encountered, ever sailed the high seas. There is no shadow of justification for assuming that the nationality of the sufferers in the least influenced Captain Vancouver in his treatment of the offenders. There may be a question how far Vancouver would have been justified in taking up the quarrels of other governments than his own with native chiefs. Vancouver expressly relates his personal repugnance to meet *Kameeiamoku* on account of the murder of young Metcalf; but, as Mr. Jarves puts it, *Kameeiamoku* "having humbled himself," and urged the extenuating circumstances above referred to, Vancouver received him as he did *Palea*. Of Vancouver's sense of fairness there is abundant evidence in the trial of the Oahu culprits, where they and their witnesses were again and again interrogated as to whether the captain and crew of the "Dædalus" had in the least manner committed any act that could possibly have been construed as an injury or a provocation, but they all admitted that the attack on the captain and the astronomer was unprovoked, wanton, and solely for the sake of plunder.

Many and sage were the counsels that Vancouver gave

*Kamehameha* and his chiefs touching their intercourse with foreigners, and in due time much of it bore good fruit. One thing, however, weighed heavy on *Kamehameha's* mind and that of his chiefs. They had heard and learned that there were other peoples on the earth with ships of war as powerful as those of "*Pelekane*" (Britannia); they had seen the armed merchant ships of the United States of America, of Spain, and Portugal; they had seen the French La Perouse and his squadron; and whether the idea arose in their own minds or was instilled by the foreigners residing among them, they felt an apprehension that at any unlooked-for moment some one of those other powers might pounce upon and take possession of their island. Who so likely to protect them as that power which had discovered and made them known to the others, and whose present representative had, by his judicious, generous, and unselfish conduct, won their fullest confidence and respect? From this germ of ideas sprang what by some writers has been called the cession of the islands by *Kamehameha* to the English Crown. In Vancouver's "*Voyage*," vol. iii., may be read his narrative of the whole transaction from his point of view. While *Kamehameha* and his chiefs became willing to acknowledge King George as their suzerain, in expectation of his defending them against foreign and outside foes, they expressly reserved to themselves the autonomous government of their island in their own way and according to such laws as they themselves might impose. It is not evident that Vancouver did or could hold out to the Hawaii chiefs anything more than the probability of such protection, the cession, from even his point of view, requiring the acceptance and ratification of the English Government, which it never received. That *Kamehameha* and his chiefs did not understand the full meaning of the word cession is plain from the reservations which they made. As it was, the so-called cession of the island of Hawaii was no doubt entered into by Vancouver with the

very best intentions for the protection and advancement of the Hawaiians, and by *Kamehameha* and his chiefs with undisguised expectations of receiving material aid in their wars with *Kahakili* and *Kaeo*, and of certain commercial advantages not very well defined. The cession, however, was never accepted or ratified by the English Government, and no steps were taken by emigration or colonisation to make good use of the friendly disposition of the chiefs, and to secure by stronger ties the suzerainty thus loosely acquired. The disturbed state of Europe and the wars and troubles incident to this period diverted the attention of England, and a cession that might have become to Hawaii what the treaty of Whanganui fifty years later became to the New Zealanders quietly went by default and was lapsed by non-user.

To make the above cession as imposing and stately as possible, Vancouver sent Lieutenant Paget ashore to formally take possession and to hoist the English colours over the land that thenceforth was to have acknowledged King George IV. as its lord of lords—its protecting Numen, when badgered by insolent trading captains, or when bullying its own neighbours of the Leeward Islands. This ceremony was performed on the 25th of February 1794, and the parties present<sup>1</sup> on Vancouver's ship, who discussed and consented to the cession, were *Kamehameha*, his brothers *Keliimaikai*, and *Kalaimamahu*, the latter of whom Vancouver styles a "chief of Hamakua;" *Keeau-moku*, chief of Kona; *Kearweaheulu*, chief of Kau; *Kaiana*, chief of Puna; *Kameeiamoku*, chief of Kohala; and *Kalaiwohi*,<sup>2</sup> who is styled a half-brother of *Kamehameha*.

On February 26th, 1794, Vancouver left Kealakeakua, and on March 3d he left Kawaihae for the Leeward Islands.

<sup>1</sup> Vancouver, vol. iii. p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> I know of but one *Kalaiwohi* of that time, and he was the son of *Kalanikauleleia'iwi II.*, who was a half-sister of *Keawemauhili* of Hilo, their common mother being *Kekau-*

*like-a-Keawe*. According to modern ideas of relationship he would have been called a second cousin of *Kamehameha*. *Kalaiwohi's* daughter, the venerable chiefess, *Kaunahi*, died in Lahaina, 1875, at a very advanced age.

After the departure of Vancouver nothing seems to have disturbed the tranquillity of Hawaii during the balance of the year 1794, though the Leeward Islands were profoundly moved by the events transpiring there. The death of *Kahekili*; the war between *Kaeokulani* and *Kalanikupule* on Oahu; the defeat and death of *Kaeo*; the seizure by *Kalanikupule* of the English vessels, "Jackal" and "Prince Le Boo," and the murder of their captains; the preparations for an invasion of Hawaii and its sudden frustration; the recapture of the vessels by their crews; all those events narrated on pages 268, &c.; each in its measure and each in due order, led up to the final act of Hawaiian ancient history, the consolidation of *Kamehameha's* empire, and the unification of the island group under one head, one will, and one system.

According to Hawaiian sources of information, the two recaptured vessels, after putting *Kalanikupule* ashore and leaving Oahu, made the Hawaii coast and acquainted *Kamehameha* with the state of affairs on Oahu, and, in exchange for refreshments and other trade, having delivered to him the guns, ammunition, and arms which *Kalanikupule* had collected and stored on board for the invasion of Hawaii. Acting on this intelligence, and having been thus fortuitously reinforced with warlike stores, *Kamehameha* and his chiefs determined that the time had come for the final struggle with the Maui dynasty for the possession of the group. Messengers were despatched to the great feudal lords to muster with their contingents of canoes and armed men.

The strength of *Kamehameha's* army, with which he invaded Oahu, has never been definitely stated by native historians. That it was not only unprecedentedly large, but also organised and armed according to all the latest instructions of Vancouver to *Kamehameha*, may be taken for granted. In the month of February 1795 *Kamehameha* left Hawaii with a fleet of canoes which, when it arrived at Lahaina, Maui, is said to have occupied the

beach from Launiupoko to Mala. Refreshments alone being the object of stopping at Lahaina, the town was plundered, after which the fleet proceeded down the channel and came to at Kaunakakai, Molokai, being distributed along-shore from Kalamaula to Kawela.

For some time previous to this great enterprise a coolness, that at any moment might become an open rupture, had been growing between *Kaiana* and *Kamehameha* and his aged chiefs and supporters. The latter were offended at the airs of superiority which *Kaiana* gave himself on the strength of his foreign voyages and foreign knowledge, and they were jealous lest his influence with *Kamehameha* should overshadow their own; while *Kamehameha*, on his part, deeply mistrusted the loyalty of *Kaiana*, whose ambition he measured with his own, but who had hitherto lived too circumspect to give an open cause to fasten a quarrel upon him and precipitate his ruin. *Kaiana*, on the other hand, had for some time been painfully aware that his influence was waning in the council of *Kamehameha*, and that his conduct was watched by no friendly eyes. His proud spirit chafed at his owing fealty and allegiance to *Kamehameha*, whom he looked upon as no greater chief than himself, a cadet of the younger branch of the royal house of *Keawe*, whom the fortune of Mokuohai and the, for the times, unexampled constancy of the great Kona chiefs had placed at the head of affairs on Hawaii. Still, when the summons was issued for the invasion of Oahu, *Kaiana* appeared at the rendezvous with his contingent of canoes, of warriors, and arms, as numerous and as well equipped as those of any other district chief. If he meditated defection or treason that was not the moment to show it. He knew full well that it might have delayed the expedition, but it would have ensured his utter and complete ruin to attempt single-handed to fight *Kamehameha* and the combined forces of the rest of Hawaii. And so *Kaiana* sailed with the other fleet to Lahaina and to Molokai.

What additional or later provocations *Kaiana* may have given to *Kamehameha* are not known; but after the arrival of the fleet at Molokai, at the very first council of war or of state that *Kamehameha* held at Kaunakakai with his chiefs to discuss and arrange the plans of the campaign against Oahu, it is certain that *Kaiana* was not invited to attend.

To a man like *Kaiana* this omission was not only a slight, that might be explained and forgiven, but an actual omen of danger, that must immediately be attended to and met or averted. He felt morally certain that his own death was as much a subject of discussion as the invasion of Oahu. Restless and annoyed, *Kaiana* left his quarters at Kamiloloa and went to Kalamaula, passing by Kaunakakai, where the council was held. Calling at the house occupied by *Namahana*, the mother-in-law of *Kamehameha* and the wife of *Keeaumoku*, *Kaiana* was invited in. After the usual salutations *Kaiana* said, "I have called out of affection for you all to see how you are, thinking some of you might be unwell after the sea voyage; and as I was coming along I find that the chiefs are holding a council, and I was considerably astonished that they should do so without informing me of it." *Namahana* replied, "They are discussing some secret matters." "Perhaps so," *Kaiana* said, and the subject was dropped; but *Kaiana* knew the men and their temper too well, and knew also that the only secret matter for their deliberation, to which he could not be a party, would be a question affecting his own fate.

Returning from Kalamaula, as he was passing Kapaakea, where *Kalaimoku's* quarters were, he heard a voice calling, "Iwiula E! Iwiula E! Come in and have something to eat." Recognising the voice of *Kalaimoku*, *Kaiana* entered and sat down.

The better to understand the relation of these two chiefs, it may be well to bear in mind that *Kalaimoku's* father, *Kekuamanoha*, was at this time still on Oahu, and

supporting the interest of his nephew *Kalanikupule*; and that *Kalaimoku*, having visited Hawaii in the train of *Kalola*, his aunt, and of *Kiwalao*, on their return from Maui, about a year or more before the death of *Kalaniopuu*, had remained at the court of *Kiwalao* until the battle of Mokuohai, when he was taken prisoner by the *Kamehameha* party; that his life having been spared by the intercession of *Kamehameha*, he became firmly attached to the latter, who had taken a great liking to him, had employed him on many occasions of responsibility and trust, and on this very expedition had confided to him the command of a large portion of the invading army. On the other hand, *Kaiana*, though on his father's side a grandson of *Kearve* of Hawaii, appears to have set greater value on his connection with the Maui royal family, of which his mother was a near and prominent relative. Only by bearing this in mind can we rightly understand the peculiar yearning with which *Kaiana* accosted his Maui relatives, and the full drift of the conversation that occurred between him and *Kalaimoku* on this occasion.

Of that conversation, and the allusions therein occurring, I have been unable to obtain a very exact and reliable sketch, though it has been referred to by more than one native writer; but from what has been reported, it appears that *Kaiana* had made some appeal to *Kalaimoku*, on the strength of their common kindred to the Maui royal family, and that he had received evasive and unsatisfactory answers. So much was *Kalaimoku* impressed with the manner and purport of *Kaiana's* discourse, that, fearful lest some one should have betrayed the resolutions of the council to *Kaiana*, he went to Kaunakakai, as soon as the latter had gone, and informed *Kamehameha*, who, however, treated the matter with apparent indifference.

From his interview with *Namahana* and with *Kalaimoku*, it was now clear enough to *Kaiana's* mind that his ruin and death had been determined upon by the chiefs, and when he returned to his own quarters he informed



his brother *Nahiolea* of the state of affairs, telling him that if they remained with *Kamehameha* they would surely be killed secretly and suddenly; but that if they joined the forces of *Kalanikupule*, the son of their brother, as he called *Kahekali*, they might fall in battle, if so should be, but they would die like men and like chiefs, with their faces to the foe, and with numbers to accompany them in death.

Whatever may have been the resolution of *Kamehameha's* council as to the time and manner of despatching *Kaiana*, its execution was apparently deferred, and the invading fleet left Molokai in the same order and high spirit as it had arrived.

*Kaiana's* resolution, however, had been taken, and his plans formed. When that portion of the fleet which carried the wives and daughters of *Kamehameha* and the principal chiefs was ready to start, *Kaiana* goes to the canoe, where his wife *Kekupuohi* was sitting, and, bidding her a tender farewell, tells her of his intention to secede from *Kamehameha* and join *Kalanikupule*. She expressed some astonishment, but said that she preferred to follow her chief (*Kamehameha*), and that thus, in case of unforeseen events, both their interests might be best subserved.

It has never been stated if the whole of *Kaiana's* contingent to *Kamehameha's* army, or what portion of it, followed him in his defection. The number must have been considerable, however, including his own and his brother's immediate friends and retainers. Neither has it been stated whether the passage across the channel was made in the night or in daytime. Certain it is, however, that during the passage *Kaiana* and those who adhered to him separated from the main fleet and landed on the Koolau side of Oahu, whence, crossing the mountain, they joined *Kalanikupule*.

In the meantime *Kamehameha* landed his fleet and disembarked his army on Oahu, extending from Waialae to Waikiki. Consuming but a few days in arranging

and organising, he marched up the Nuuanu valley, where *Kalanikupule* had posted his forces, from Puiwa upwards, occupying Kaumuohena, Kapaeli, Kaukahoku, Kawananakoa, Luakaha, Kahapaakai, Kamoniakapueo, and Nuuanu. At Puiwa the hostile forces met, and for a while the victory was hotly contested; but the superiority of *Kamehameha's* artillery, the number of his guns, and the better practice of his soldiers, soon turned the day in his favour, and the defeat of the Oahu forces became an accelerated rout and a promiscuous slaughter. Of those who were not killed, some escaped up the sides of the mountains that enclose the valley on either side, while a large number were driven over the pali of Nuuanu, a precipice of several hundred feet in height, and perished miserably. *Kaiana* and his brother *Nahiolea* were killed early in the battle. *Koalaukani*, the brother of *Kalanikupule*, escaped to Kauai. *Kalanikupule* was hotly pursued, but he escaped in the jungle, and for several months led an errant and precarious life on the mountain-range that separates Koolaupoko from Ewa, until finally he was captured in the upper portion of Waipio, killed, brought to *Kamehameha*, and sacrificed to the war-god "Kukailimoku."

This battle, known as the battle of Nuuanu, after making all necessary allowances for preparations, journeys, and delays, could not possibly have been fought much earlier than the middle of April 1795. It made *Kamehameha* master of Hawaii, Maui, Kahoolawe, Lanai, Molokai, and Oahu, and though the acquisition of Kauai was delayed for several years, yet from this battle and the conquest of Oahu dates the unification and consolidation of the Hawaiian group under one government. It is the closing scene in the ancient history of the Hawaiian Islands. Though many things of the ancient regime survived for years, yet they were doomed to perish in the glare of the new era which that battle inaugurated. Of the transition period that followed—and which can hardly yet be said to

have been passed—from feudal anarchy and general lawlessness to personal despotism and stringent repression, and from that to a constitutional monarchy; from social barbarism to a degree of civilisation that is unexampled in the history of mankind considering the time that has elapsed; from the most cruel and oppressive idolatry to the spontaneous repudiation of the idols and adoption of Christianity; of this period, which the battle of Nuuanu rendered possible, there are ample and documentary evidences to guide the candid and impartial historian. It forms the modern era of Hawaiian life—political, social, and religious—and as such has a history of its own, and formed no part of my design when I undertook to unravel the past of this people and, by critically collecting their legends and traditions, preserve the knowledge that they had of themselves, their origin, their migrations, their settlements, their national life, and its various episodes during ancient times.

If I have succeeded in showing that the Hawaiians had a history of their past, and a history worth preserving, my labour will not have been in vain. The dark shadows which flit across its pages are dark indeed, but they are no darker than those which, under even more favourable circumstances, have stained the annals of many a proud nation that formerly stood, or now stands, in the foremost rank of civilisation. I think it is Emerson who has said “that no nation can go forward that has no past at its back.” The aphorism is pertinent, is one of the deepest lessons of humanity, and, if rightly used, a stimulus that leads to progress.



## APPENDIX.

### No. I.

#### PRAYERS TO LONO (*Vide* page 63).

(1.)

*Ua lewa mai ka Lani ;*

*Ua haule o Makakulukahī ;*

*Ke kau mai la na onohi i ka lewa.*

*Pili aku la na kapuai o Kahiki ;*

5 *Nahae na lala Kamahēle o ke Akua ;*

*Helelei-kia ka pohaku Eleku ;*

*Lele ka mamala i Haehae,*

*O komokomo kini o ke Akua*

*Haule ke kino o Lono i ka Hiwa.*

10 *Kapu Kanawao i ka naele ;*

*Ku ke kino oia laau iloko o Lani wao ;*

*Ua kau ka Aha kapu o Lono iloko a ka iuiū kapu.*

*Kapu ka leo o ke kanaka !*

*Eia kahoaka iloko o Kulu-wai maka-lani,*

15 *O kahoaka iloko o ka iwi laumania o ke Akua.*

*Eia ka hoailona kapu o ka Aha ;-*

*Poha mai ka leo o ka hekili ;*

*O mai ka maka o ka uwila ;*

*Nauwe mai ke olai i ka honua ;*

20 *Iho mai ka alewalewa me ka anuenuē ;*

*Hele ino ka ua me ka makani ;*

*Wili ka puahiohio ilalo a ka honua ;*

*Kaa ka pohaku-pili o ke kahawai ;*

*Iho ka omaka wai ula i ka moana.*

25 *Eia ka wai-pui-lani ;*

*Ke hiolo nei ka pae-opua i ka lani ;*

*Huai ka wai-punai ka pali.*

- Akahi maka o ke Akua ;  
 Alua, aha maka, i lele pono ka ike ma ka kua.  
 30 Hoano nui ka leo o kou Akua i ka lani.  
 Hahano o mai iloko o Papa-iakea,  
 Noho mai iloko o ka Makakolukolukahi.  
 Hoi ke kapu o Lono i Kahiki.  
 Hoi aku la e kulai i ke kapu o Kahai,  
 35 Kau i ka lele ke kapu o Kahai,  
 Hina e hio iloko o ka pilikua.  
 Make ka ia, moe i ka nahoto ;  
 Hina kikepakepa iloko o Kahiki ;  
 Hoolale Kahai i ka paka o ka ua ;  
 40 Hahau Kahai i ka papa o ka moku.  
 Eia Lono ka iwi kaola a ka Hiwa ;  
 Ka iwi kau iloko o ka alaneo.  
 Pae mai ka leo o ke Akua,  
 Pae mai iloko o ka nalu alo kahi ;  
 45 Ua hanau-mano kou Akua ;  
 Hanau-mano iloko o Hinaiaelele.  
 E ola au i kau waihona-pule !  
 E ola i ka Alana ola !  
 E ola i kau pulapula !  
 50 Ia oe e ke Akua !
- Unstable are the heavens ;  
 Fallen has Makakulukahi ;  
 The stars still stand in the upper space.  
 Approaching are the footsteps of Kahiki ;  
 5 Broken are the Kamahale branches of the god ;  
 Shattered is the brittle stone ;  
 Strewn are the pieces in Haehae,  
 And attached are they to the host of spirits ;  
 Turned has the body of Lono into glory.  
 10 The Kanawao grows in the moist earth ;  
 The body of that tree stands where the gods reside ;  
 Established is the holy assembly of Lono in the far-  
 off sacred place.  
 Forbidden be the voice of the native !  
 Here is the spirit within Kulu-wai maka-lani,  
 15 The spirit within the smooth polished bones of the god.  
 These are the sacred signs of the assembly ;  
 Bursting forth is the voice of the thunder ;  
 Striking are the rays (bolts) of the lightning ;  
 Shaking the earth is the earthquake ;

- 20 Coming is the dark cloud and the rainbow ;  
 Wildly comes the rain and the wind ;  
     Whirlwinds sweep over the earth ;  
     Rolling down are the rocks of the ravines ;  
     The red mountain-streams are rushing to the sea.
- 25 Here the waterspouts ;  
 Tumbled about are the clustering clouds of heaven ;  
 Gushing forth are the springs of the mountains.  
     One eye has the god ;  
     Two, four eyes, that he may see clearly behind him.
- 30 Greatly revered be the voice of my god in heaven.  
 It has been inspired into Papa-iakea,  
 And it dwells with Makakolukolukahi.  
 The-tabu of Lono has passed to Kahiki.  
     It has passed thither and overthrown the tabu of  
     Kahai,
- 35 The tabu of Kahai has been sacrificed on the altar,  
 It has fallen and tumbled into confusion.  
 Dead are the fish, fallen in their flight ;  
 Fallen disfigured all through Kahiki ;  
 Kahai is stirring up the heavy rainstorm ;
- 40 Kahai is beating the surface of the land.  
 Here is Lono, the bone of salvation and glory ;  
 The bone set up in the serene sky.  
 Indistinct (softly) comes the voice of the god,  
 Indistinct through the one-billowed surf ;
- 45 My god has assumed the shape of a shark ;  
 Has assumed the shape of a shark in the month of Hina-  
 iaelele.
- May I be saved through my fulness of prayer !  
 Saved through my health-offering !  
 Saved through my devotion !
- 50 By you, O god !

## (2.)

- Kiekie e mai nei hoi ua Lani nei,  
 O ua Lani nei hoi keia ke hemo nei ka manawa o ka Lani ;  
 Ke haluku nei ka piko i lalo ;  
 He api nei ka halo, ka maha, ka poo o ka honua ;*
- 5 *Uwa mai kini, ka mano o ke Akua.  
 Huli aku la ke alo o ke Akua i ka lewa ;  
 Huli aku la e keehi ia Kahiki.  
 O mai ka hoano kapu a Lono ;  
 O mai iloko o Kahiki a hoano.*

- 10      *Oilili mai ke kino lau o Lono ;  
          Kahuli mai ke kino aka o ke Akua,  
          Kahuli mai iloko o Maewa-lani ;  
          Kani ka poo iloko o Papa-ia-mea.  
       *Ua neoneo ka lani ;**
- 15      *Ua ikea mai e Kahiki na maka o Lono.  
       O mai na kukuna o ka malama ;  
       O Ikuā la, o Makalii,  
       O Hinaiāielele, la, o Hilinehu,  
       O Kaelo la, O Kaaona, ka malama.*
- 20      *Ua hó iloli mai o Lono ;  
          Ua haakokohi mai ka malama,  
          Oili ka inaina,  
          Hemo ke kuakoko iloko a Hinaiāielele,  
          Nauwe ka eha o Papa-ia-mea.*
- 25      *Helelei ke kino lau o Lono ;  
       Ua kau ke aka o Lono i ka molia,  
       Ku, a hina i ka mole o ka moku ;  
       Opaipai lalo o ka Hiwa ;  
          Wahi ke Akua i ka lani ;*
- 30      *Ua paa ia lani.  
          Wahi ke Akua i ka papa o ka honua.  
          Uina ka leo o ka Alae iloko o Kanikawi ;  
          Uina ka leo o ka hekili ;  
          Uina iloko o ke ao polohiwa ;*
- 35      *Naha ka umaka pali o lalo ;  
          Hoi ke Akua, noho i ka hanono ;  
          Hele ke Akua, noho i ka pilikua ;  
          Hoi ke Akua, O Lono, noho i ka naele.  
       *Kani ke ka leo o ka pupu ;**
- 40      *Kani kaualele ka leo o ke kahuli ;  
       Kani halale ka leo o ka manu ;  
       Uwi ka leo o ka laau i ka nahele ;  
       Eia ko kino manu, E Lono !  
       Ke wili nei ka la i ka lani ;*
- 45      *Lele na maka o Lono i lele o Hoomo ;  
       Ke noho mai la i ka wa o ka moku.  
          Kupu ke kino a kiekie i ka lani,  
          Haule na kikeao makini mua,  
          Na makahiapo o Hinaiāielele.*
- 50      *E ola au ia oe, e Lono, káu Akua !  
       E ola i kalele pule !  
       E ola i ka wai oha !  
       E ola i kanaenae ia oe, e ke Akua !  
       Eia kanaenae la, he mohai leo.*



- Strangely lofty indeed is this heaven,  
 This very heaven which separates the seasons of heaven ;  
 Trembling is the lowest point ;  
 Moving are the gills, the fins, and the head of the earth ;  
 5 Exclaiming are the hosts, the multitudes of spirits,  
 Turned is the bosom of the god to the sky ;  
 Turned and treading on Kahiki,  
 Extended be the sacred worship of Lono ;  
 Extended through Kahiki and worshipped,  
 10 Budding are the leaves of Lono ;  
 Changing is the image of the god,  
 Changing within Maewa-lani ;  
 Sounded has the shell in Papa-ia-mea.  
 Silent are the heavens ;  
 15 The eyes of Lono have been seen by Kahiki,  
 Extended be the rays of the light ;  
 There is Ikua and Makalii,  
 There is Hinaiaelele and Hilinehu,  
 There is Kaelo and Kaaona, the months.  
 20 Pregnant has Lono become ;  
 The light has been taken with the pains,  
 The foetus is coming,  
 The birth is made in (the month) of Hinaiaelele,  
 Trembling with pains is Papa-ia-mea.  
 25 The leaves of Lono are falling ;  
 Doomed is the image of Lono to destruction,  
 Standing it falls to the foundation of the land ;  
 Bending low is the glory.  
 Covered is the god by the heaven ;  
 30 Fastened up is that heaven.  
 Covered is the god by the shell of the earth.  
 Squeaking is the voice of the Alae inside of Kanikawi ;  
 Cracking is the voice of the thunder ;  
 Cracking inside of the shining black cloud ;  
 35 Broken up are the mountain springs from below ;  
 Passed away has the god, he dwells in the clefts ;  
 Gone is the god, he dwells in obscurity ;  
 Passed has the god Lono, he dwells in the mire.  
 Sounding is the voice of the shell-fish ;  
 40 Sounding increasingly is the voice of the snails ;  
 Sounding excitingly is the voice of the birds ;  
 Creaking is the voice of the trees in the forest ;  
 Here is your body of a bird, O Lono !  
 Whirling up is the dust in the sky ;  
 45 Flying are the eyes of Lono to the altar of Hoomo ;

And he dwells here on the land.

Growing is the body high up to heaven ;  
Passed away are the former blustering winds,  
The firstborn children of Hinaiaelele.

- 50 May I be saved by you, O Lono, my god !  
Saved by the supporting prayer !  
Saved by the holy water !  
Saved by the sacrifice to you, O god !  
Here is the sacrifice, an offering of prayer (words).

## No. II.

## THE CHANT OF OHAI KAWILIULA (page 118).

O ke alialia liu o Mana,  
 Ke uhai la no.  
 Ke uhai la ka wai ;  
 Ke uhai la ka wai a Kamakahou.  
 5 Wai alialia,  
 Wai o Mana.  
 Mehe kai la ka wai,  
 Mehe wai la ke kai ;  
 Mehe kai la ka wai o Kamakahou.  
 10 O ka aina ko áu i ai a kiola, haalele,  
 Hoi aku a mua,  
 Hoohewahewa mai,  
 Hoi ana i ke kua, i ke alo.  
 O ka Iliau loha i ka la,  
 15 Puolo hau kakahiaka.  
 Hele ke alia o Aliaomao,  
 Hele kanu kupapau,  
 O ke kaha i Nonohili.  
 Halala na niu i kai o Pokii,  
 20 Hoakua wale la o Makalii.  
                     &c.                      &c.

In English it would read as follows :—

The salt-pond of Mana  
 Is breaking away.  
 Breaking away is the water,  
 Breaking away is the water of Kamakahou.  
 5 Salt is the water,  
 The water of Mana.  
 Like the sea is the water,  
 Like water is the sea,  
 Like the sea is the water of Kamakahou.

- 10           The land which I enjoyed and rejected and forsook  
               It has gone before,  
               It is forgotten,  
               It has gone, both back and front.  
               The Iliau bush has faded in the sunlight,  
 15           (As) the plentiful dew of the morning.  
               Passed by have the emblems of the god of the year ;  
               Gone to bury the dead,  
               (On) the barren sands of Nonohili.  
               Bending low are the cocoanut trees seaward of Pokii,  
 20           Doing reverence to Makalii.  
                                   &c.                   &c.

NOTES.—*Verse 1.* *Mana* is a land on the south-west side of Kauai, celebrated for its salt-pond producing very perfect and really beautiful mirages.

*Verse 15.* "*Puolo hau*," lit. "a bundle of dew;" a rather violent trope, but not uncommon.

*Verse 16.* "*Ke alia*." The two staffs or wands, dressed with feathers, which were carried in procession before *Lono*, the god of the year,

during the festival at the close of the year.

*Verse 18.* *Nonohili* or *Nohili*. Known as "the singing sands." A number of sandhills along the shore of Mana towards Poli-hale, which produce a soft, rather plaintive sound when a person slides down the hill, or in a similar manner disturbs the sand.

*Verse 20.* The cocoanut trees at Pokii and adjoining land are represented as bending low in homage to the new year—*Makalii*.

## No. III.

## DISCOVERY OF THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

(page 158).

1. *From the "North Pacific Pilot."* By W. H. ROSSER.  
London, 1870.

DISCOVERY OF THE ISLANDS, AND PROGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.—  
In the old Spanish charts taken by Anson from the Manilla galleon there is a group of islands called Los Majos, the different members of which are termed La Mesa, La Desgraciado, Los Monjes, Rocca Partida, La Nublada, &c. ; and they are placed between lat.  $18^{\circ}$  and  $22^{\circ}$  N., and between long.  $135^{\circ}$  and  $139^{\circ}$  W. ; but their existence in that position—at least as regards longitude—was disproved by the subsequent voyages to the Pacific of La Perouse in 1786, of Portlock and Dixon in 1786, and of Vancouver in 1793. The Spanish word *Mesa*, however, signifies *table*, and is sufficiently indicative of the island of Hawaii, the mountains of which do not, like most volcanoes, rise into peaks, but are "flat at the top, making what is called by mariners *tableland* ;" while other points of coincidence—such as an island-group extending through four degrees of latitude and longitude, the position as regards latitude nearly correct, &c.—would seem to refer to what is now called the Hawaiian Archipelago. The discrepancy as regards longitude (nearly twenty degrees) counts for little where *dead-reckoning* was the means employed to determine that element ; as great an error was made by the Hon. East Indian Co.'s ship "Derby" in 1719, proceeding from the Cape of Good Hope to India, when the islands off the west coast of Sumatra were thought to be the Maldives.

The positions given above are, according to various authorities, those in which the Spaniards placed the islands of Los Majos ; but from a note, p. 116, in the second volume of "Voyage de La Perouse autour du Monde, redigé par M. L. A. Milet Mureau," published in Paris in 1797, it appears that Gaetano, in 1542, sailed from Navidad on the west coast of Mexico (lat.  $20^{\circ}$  N.) ; he steered a due-west course for 900

leagues, when he discovered a group of islands inhabited by savages nearly naked; the islands were fringed with coral, and grew cocoanuts and other fruit; there was neither gold nor silver; he named them Isles del Rey; the island twenty leagues more to the west he called Isle de las Huertas. It is also stated that the Spanish editor of Gaetano's account placed the islands between  $9^{\circ}$  and  $11^{\circ}$  N., a clerical error for  $19^{\circ}$  and  $21^{\circ}$ . Now Navidad is in lat.  $19^{\circ} 10'$  N., long.  $104^{\circ} 40'$  W.; 900 leagues in lat.  $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  in  $28^{\circ} 64'$  diff. long. (or  $47^{\circ} 44'$ ), which added to the long. of Navidad gives  $152^{\circ} 24'$ , or  $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  short of the long. of the nearest point of Hawaii, but  $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  short of the long. of Oahu; and the next island, Kauai, is sixty miles, or twenty leagues, distant. Thus, if the information conveyed in the note to La Perouse's "Voyage" is correct, it is more than probable that Gaetano *did* visit the Sandwich Islands; but it is extraordinary, as Cook observes, that, considering their favourable position, the Spanish galleons did not visit them.

2. *Copy of the Official Communication from the Government of the Marianas Islands, and from the Colonial Office, Spain.*

[Translated from the Spanish.]

GOVERNMENT OF THE MARIANAS ISLANDS,  
AYANA, January 27th, 1866.

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's esteemed communication of the 24th of April, ult., informing me that you had not yet received the notifications referring to the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands by Spanish navigators. It gives me great pleasure to transmit to you, here-in enclosed, said notifications translated into the English and French languages, obtained from the archives of Spain, by order of Her Catholic Majesty. These documents will satisfy you that this long-contested discovery took place in the year 1555. These notifications reached me at the same time as your letter.

I am much gratified to comply with your desire on this subject, and I should be happy to have some other occasions to be agreeable to His Hawaiian Majesty, and to strengthen the ties of our good relations.

May God keep you in His guard.

(Signed) FELIPE DE LA CORTE.

To His Excellency the Minister of Foreign  
Affairs of His Hawaiian Majesty.

COLONIAL OFFICE, No. 64.

SIR,—The Marine Department communicated to this office on the 28th January, instant, that which follows. As there do not exist in the archives of this office any records whatever bearing dates previous to the year 1784, when all those of dates anterior to it were transmitted to the Archives Simancas, the Royal order of the 4th instant, communicated by your Excellency to this office, was referred to the Hydrographical Department, for obtaining particulars respecting the discovery of the Hawaiianas or Sandwich Islands, in order to ascertain whether there were to be found records that could elucidate in any way the date of that discovery, and the name of the discoverer. On the 25th instant the Chief of that Department replied as follows :

“SIR,—In fulfilment of the Royal order dated the 7th instant, for the purpose of ascertaining the historical information extant in this office regarding the discovery of the Hawaiianas or Sandwich Islands, I have the honour to send your Excellency the result of the investigations made with the diligence recommended to me in that Royal order. By all the documents that have been examined, it is demonstrated that that discovery dates from the year 1555, or 223 years before Captain Cook surveyed those islands ; and that the discoverer was Juan Gaetano or Gaytan, who gave names to the principal islands of that archipelago. It is true that no document has been found in which Gaytan himself certifies to this fact, but there exist data which collectively form a series of proofs sufficient for believing it to be so. The principal one is an old manuscript chart, registered in these archives as anonymous, and in which the Sandwich Islands are laid down under that name, but which also contains a note declaring the name of the discoverer and date of the discovery, and that he called them ‘Islas de Mesa’ (Table Islands). There are, besides, other islands, situated in the same latitude, but 10° farther east, and respectively named ‘La Mesa’ (the Table); ‘La Desgraciado’ (the Unfortunate); ‘Olloa,’ or ‘Los Monges’ (the Monks). The chart appears to be a copy of that called the chart of the Spanish galleon, existing long before the time of Cook, and which is referred to by all the national and foreign authors that have been consulted, such as the following :—‘Batavian geography, 2d vol. of the geographical atlas of William Blaen, Amsterdam, 1663.’ In the first map, entitled ‘America Nova Fabula,’ the neighbouring island, ‘La Desgraciado,’ and those of ‘Los Monges,’ are placed towards the 21st degree of north latitude, and 120° west of the meridian passing through the island of Teneriffe. ‘Geographical Atlas of D’Auville, published in 1761, and revised and improved in 1786 by Barbie du Bocage.’ In the second map, and in the

hemisphere of the Mappa Mundi, the islands 'Desgraciado,' 'Mesa,' 'Olloa,' and 'Los Monges,' are found in the 20th degree of north latitude, and about 17° farther east than the Sandwich group, augmented by Barbie in this chart. James Burney, in the chronological history of the discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean, cites the atlas of Artelius, entitled 'Theatrum Orbis,' in which the same islands are found, and placed in nearly the same position. 'Alexander Findley's Directory for the Navigation of the Pacific Ocean, edition of 1857.' In the second part of this work, page 1120, the author expresses and recapitulates the ideas already brought forward respecting this matter by Mr. Flurien in his description of Marchand's voyage, and by Mr. Ellis in his voyage around Hawaii; and conceives strong suspicions that the true discoverer must have been one of the Spanish navigators of the sixteenth century, because of the iron articles found by Cook in those islands, one of them being a fragment of a wide sword, whose existence there he could not satisfactorily account for. The author most explicit in regard to these surmises is the said Fleurien, who, on the 422d page of the first volume, says, 'By taking from Captain Cook the barren honour of the first discovery of the Sandwich Islands, I do not endeavour to diminish the glory he so justly merited;' and he continues, on page 423, 'Lieutenant Roberts, who constructed the chart of the third voyage of the English navigator, in which are traced his three voyages round the world and towards both poles, has preserved the Mesa group of the chart of the Spanish galleon, and has placed it with its centre 19° east of Owhyhee, and in the parallel of the latter island. He doubtless thought that by preserving the group found by the Spaniards, none would dare dispute with the English the first discovery of the Sandwich Islands. But Arrowsmith, in his general chart of 1790, and in his planisphere of 1794, sacrificing his *amour propre* to the evidence, only lays down one of the two groups. Since 1786, La Perouse, desirous of ascertaining if such islands really existed to the eastward of Sandwich, passed over in the same parallel, 300 leagues from east to west, and in the whole of this expanse he found neither group, island, nor any sign of land; and did not doubt that the island of Owhyhee, with its arid mountain in the form of a table, was "La Mesa" of the Spaniards;' and he adds, at page 125, 'In the charts, at the foot of this archipelago, might be written: "Sandwich Islands, surveyed in 1778 by Captain Cook, who named them, anciently discovered by the Spanish navigators."' Perfectly in accord with this opinion, and strengthening it by an evident proof, is the log of the corvettes 'Descubierta' and 'Atrevida,' on their voyage from Acapulco



to Manilla, which manuscript is preserved in this office, and apropos to this case, states, at folio 25, 'With a sea so heavy from N.W. and N., that while the rolling of the ship increased, and with it the irksome interruption of our internal duties, the speed decreased, with considerable delay to our voyage; scarcely by noon of the 20th could we consider ourselves to be at  $72^{\circ}$ , in the meridian of Owhyhee, about  $55^{\circ}$  longitude and  $13^{\circ}$  latitude; nevertheless we had not, according to our calculation, an error of less than  $7^{\circ}$  to the eastward, which, considering the long log-line we made use of, and that that error ought not necessarily to be the maximum to which it should be circumscribed on the voyage, strongly supported the suspicion that the Sandwich Islands of Captain Cook were Los Monges and Olloa of the Spanish charts, discovered by Juan de Gaytan in 1555, and situated about  $10^{\circ}$  to the eastward of the new position fixed upon by the English.' We thus see that the presumptive or circumstantial evidence as to the true discoverer of the Sandwich Islands is indubitable; having on its side the opinions of distinguished men, among whom figure countrymen of Cook himself, men who prefer justice and reason to a vain national pride. The last observation to be considered is the difference in the dates given to the first discovery. Foreign authors say that it took place in 1542, in the expedition commanded by General Rui Lopez de Villalobo; while the Spanish chronicles denote 1555. The latter date should be the more correct one, for Juan Gaytan wrote the narrative of the voyage of 1542, and mentions nothing respecting those islands, while he gives an account of Rocca Partida (Split Rock), and Amblada (Cloudy Island), and of all those he discovered on that expedition. To complete and terminate, therefore, these investigations, there is only wanting the narrative of Gaytan corresponding to the voyage in which he made that discovery; though in my opinion it is not required to make clear the truth of this fact. I have the honour to transmit this to your Excellency by Royal order, so that you may communicate the preceding information to the Government of the Sandwich Islands, and as being consequent to your Excellency's letter, No. 864, dated the 18th July ultimo. God guard your Excellency many years.

SEYAS.

"MADRID, 21st February 1865.

"To His Excellency the Superior Civil Governor  
of the Philippines.

"It is a true copy.

JOSE FELIPE DEL PAN,  
"Acting Colonial Secretary.

"Es traduccion Inglesa

"FLORENCIO LAEN DE VIZMANO."

The remarks of La Perouse upon the effect of the westerly currents in the North Pacific, as regards the longitude of places discovered by the earlier Spanish navigators, are well worthy of attention by those who deny the discovery and identification of the "Los Majos" with the Hawaiian group. His remarks may be found in "Voyage de la Perouse autour du Monde," Paris, 1797, pp. 105-17. In coming up from the southward he found the current between the latitudes of  $7^{\circ}$  and  $19^{\circ}$  N., setting west at the rate of three leagues in twenty-four hours, so that when he arrived off the island of Hawaii, he found the difference between his observations and his dead-reckoning amounting to five degrees. Thus, by the latter alone the longitude of Hawaii would have been five degrees to the eastward of its proper place. Bearing this in mind, one has no right to be astonished that the early Spanish navigators, who calculated their longitude by dead-reckoning alone, should after crossing the Pacific from Mexico westward, have placed the island they discovered and named "Los Majos" some ten degrees too far to the eastward. And speaking of those very islands, La Perouse says, p. 106, "Mes differences journalières en longitude me firent croire que ces îles" (the Hawaiian group), "étaient absolument les mêmes" (as the Los Majos).

Vancouver, "Voyage," vol. iii. p. 3, remarks "that his dead-reckoning, on making the islands, coming from the American coast, was  $3^{\circ} 40'$  to the east of the actual position of Hawaii."

## No. IV.

Page 179, Note 1.

I HAVE been led to offer a few remarks upon the etymology of the Polynesian word *Akua*, *Atua*, *Etua*, *Ötua*—dialutial variations of the same word—from noticing what so eminent a philologist as Professor Max Müller says on the subject in the November number, 1878, of “Nord und Lüd,” a German periodical, published in Berlin, in an article headed “Ueber Fetischismus,” p. 160. Professor Müller says:—

“Nichts ist schwieriger als der Versuchung zu widerstehen, eine unerwartete Bestätigung unserer Theorien, die wir in den Berichten von Missionaren und Reisenden finden, für einen Beweis zu halten. So ist das Wort für Gott im östlichen Polynesian *Atua* oder *Akua*. Da nun *Ata* in der Sprache der Polynesian Schatten bedeutet, was könnte natürlicher erscheinen, als in diesem Namen für Gott, der ursprünglich Schatten bedeutet, einen Beweis zu finden, dass die Vorstellung von Gott überall aus der Vorstellung von Geist entsprang, und die Vorstellung von Geist aus der Vorstellung von Schatten? Es könnte wie blosse Streitsucht aussehen, wollte man Einwendungen dagegen erheben oder zur Vorsicht rathen, wo Alles so klar scheint. Glücklicherweise hat aber das Studium der Polynesianischen Sprachen in der letzten Zeit schon einen mehr wissenschaftlichen und kritischen Charakter angenommen, so dass blosse Theorien die Probe der Thatsachen bestehen müssen. So zeigt denn Mr. Gill (‘Myths and Songs from the South Pacific,’ p. 33) der zwanzig Jahre in Mangaia gelebt hat, dass *Atua* nicht von *Ata* abgeleitet werden kann, sondern dass es mit *fatu* im Tahitischen und Samoanischen zusammenhängt, und mit *Aitu*, und dass es ursprünglich das Mark eines Baumes bedeutete. Nachdem es nun zuerst Mark bedeutete, wurde es später, etwa wie Sanskrit, *sāra* zur Bezeichnung von Allem, was das Beste ist, bezeichnete die Stärke eines Dinges, und schliesslich den Starken, den Herrn. Das aublautende *a* in *Atua* ist intensiv, so das also *Atua* für einen Polynesier die Bedeutung von dem innersten

Mark und Lebenssaft eines Dinges hat, und hieraus entwickelte sich bei ihnen einer der vielen Namen für Gott.

“Wenn wir mit einem Manne von wirklichem Wissen zu thun haben, wie Mr. Gill ist, der fast sein ganzes Leben unter einem Stamme der Polynesier verlebt hat, so können wir uns wohl auf seine Darstellung verlassen.”

The Rev. Mr. Gill, in the work above cited, says :—

“The great word for God through Eastern Polynesia is ‘Atua’ (Akua). Archdeacon Maunsell derives this from ‘Ata’ = *shadow*, which agrees with the idea of spirits being *shadows*, but, I apprehend, is absolutely unsupported by the analogy of dialects.

“Mr. Ellis (Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 201) regards the first *a* as euphonic, considering ‘tua’ = ‘*back*,’ as the essential part of the word, misled by a desire to assimilate it with the ‘tev’ of the Aztec and the ‘deva’ of the Sanskrit. Occasionally, when expressing their belief that the divinity is ‘the essential support,’ they express it by the word ‘wi-mokotua’ = *the back-bone*, or vertebral column; *never* by the mere ‘tua’ = back.

“That the *a* is an essential part of the word is indicated by the closely-allied expressions ‘atu’ (‘*fatu*’ in Tahitian and Samoan) and ‘aitu;’ in the latter the *a* is lengthened into *ai*.

“A key to the true sense of ‘atua’ exists in its constant equivalent ‘io,’ which (as already stated) means the ‘*core*’ or ‘*pith*’ of a tree.

“Analogically, God is the pith, core, or life of man.

“Again, ‘atu’ stands for ‘lord, master,’ but strictly and primarily means ‘core’ or ‘kernel.’ The core of a boil and the kernel of a fruit are both called the ‘atu’—*i.e.*, the hard and essential part (the larger kernels are called ‘*katu*’). As applied to a ‘master’ or ‘lord,’ the term suggests that his favour and protection are essential to the life and prosperity of the serf. By an obvious analogy, the welfare of mankind is derived from the divine ‘Atu’ or ‘Lord,’ who is the core and kernel of humanity. In the nearly-related word Atua = God, the final *a* is passive in form but intensive in signification, as if to indicate that He is ‘the *VERY* core or life of man.’”

I am ready to accord all credit and praise to Mr. Gill’s exceedingly valuable contribution to a better knowledge of Polynesian archæology, through its “Myths and Songs;” and I regret very much that I did not become acquainted with his work before the first volume of my own was sent to the press; but, in his analysis and explanation of the word *Atua*, I believe that his religious feelings have biased his judgment, and led him to a

conclusion "absolutely unsupported by the analogy of dialects" and the hard matter of facts.

I entirely concur with Mr. Gill that the word *Atua* is neither referable to the Polynesian *Ata*, shadow; nor to the *Tev* or *Deva*, the Aztec and Sanskrit for God. But when he asserts that "the *a* is an essential part of the word, from the analogy of '*Atu*' and '*Aitu*,'" I would call his attention to the following considerations, which, I think, will be fully borne out by "the analogy of dialects," which Mr. Gill invokes in defence of his analysis.

Mr. Gill is aware that in the Hervey group (Rarotonga, Mangaia, &c.) the letters *H. F. S.* are not sounded; in fact, in that respect the Herveyans are the Cockneys of the Pacific. Now the Mangaia *Atu* occurs with the same or similar meaning in, I believe, all the other Polynesian dialects. Haw. *Haku*, "a hard lump of anything, a bunch in the flesh, ball of the eye;" with *po* intensive, *po-haku*, "a stone." Sam. *Fatu*, "seed, the heart of a thing, stone." Niua, Fakaafo, *Fatu*, "a stone." Tahit. *Fatu*, "gristly part of oysters, core of an abscess." Marquesan, *Fatu*, "breast of a woman," also "stone." N. Zeal. *Whatu*, "a nail," "*Ko-whatu*, "a stone," also *Patu* and *Patu-patu*. Figi, *Vatu*, "stone, rock;" *Vatu-ni-taba*, "shoulder-blade;" *Vatu-ni-balawa*, a whale's tooth put in the hands of a dead person. Tonga, *Fatu*, "the stomach." While in the Sam. Tong. *Fatu-titili*, Marqu. *Fatutii*, N. Zeal. *Watitiri*, Tah. *Pa-tiri* means thunder, probably thunderbolt or meteoric stone. Now in all these dialects the Mangaian *Atu* commences with a consonant, *F, H, V, Wh, or P*, which are more or less interchangeable, thus showing that the word originally was *Fatu, Haku, Whatu, &c.*, and that the omission of the consonant *H* in the Hervey dialect is as much a later corruption of the original word, as the omission of the *L* or *R* in the Marquesan dialect is a later corruption of the original forms of the words containing them. If we now go to the Polynesian congeners in the Indian Archipelago, we find that the Sunda has *Batu*, "stone;" Amboyna (Liang), *Hatu-aka*, "belly;" Burn. (Wayapo), *Ulun-fatu*, "head," all showing that even there the word commences with a consonant similar to that of the Polynesian dialects.

Now if we look at the Polynesian word *Atua, Etua, Otua*, the first current in Samo. Tah., Rarot., Haw., Marqu., the second in Mangaia, the last in Tonga, there is no trace or indication that it ever commenced with either of the consonants that form the initial letter of the word *Fatu, &c.* There is no such word as *Fatua, Fetua, Fotua*. And as *Atua* is not a modern word,

to be derived from the Hervey Islands' dialect, which is an historically late compound of the Samoan and Tahitian dialects, I see no possible ground for deriving the universal Polynesian *Atua* from the exceptional Mangarian *Atu*.

Neither do I see any good reasons for holding that *Aitu* is a lengthened form of *Atu*, or, as Mr. Gill says, that "a is lengthened into *ai*." I question whether Mr. Gill can produce another word from the whole Polynesian language where the *a* has been lengthened into *ai*. It is true that in the Samoan and Tahitian, and in some from those derived dialects, *Aitu* means "spirit, god, supernatural being;" but in Hawaiian, where *Aiku* does not occur in that sense, we have *Iku*, one of the oldest royal appellatives of the highest tabu chiefs, thus showing what was its primary and simplest form before the euphonic *a* was added to it. In the Paumotu or Taumotu group this word with the meaning of "spirit" occurs in the form of *Maitu*, composed of the augmentative or intensive prefix *Ma* and *Itu*.

I do not deny, and think it very probable that both forms of the word, *Aiku* and *Itu*, were current at the same time in the Polynesian dialects; and as there is no instance in the language, so far as I know, of the diphthong *ai* being shortened to *i*, I am forced to conclude that the initial *a* in *Aitu* is merely euphonic, a euphonism of too frequent occurrence in all the dialects, and which at this time should be too well known to mislead a comparative philologist. To what root and to what language the original form of *Itu* should be referred, and what may have been its primary sense, are questions for abler philologists than myself to settle; and also whether the Hawaiian sense of "royalty and highest tabu" was anterior or posterior to the South Pacific sense of "spirit, god," or whether both were the outgrowths, in different directions, of an older, once common, then underlying, and now obsolete idea. On page 41 of the first volume of this work I have ventured to suggest a solution, and until a better is found I shall adhere to it.

In regard to *Atua*, as it cannot, as above shown, be referred to *Fatu*, *Haku*, &c., which undoubtedly are the original forms of the Mangarian *Atu*, I am inclined to hold with Rev. Mr. Ellis that the initial *a* in *Atua* is also euphonic. It is probable that the simple form *Tua* originally served to express a family relation. In the Indian Archipelago we still find it lingering in certain places. In the Sula Islands and in parts of Borneo *Tua* means "lord, master, husband." In Malay, *Tuan* or *Tuhan* means "god," and *Orang-tuan* a "grandfather." In the Fiji group, where so much of the archaic sense and forms of Polynesian speech still survives, *Tua* and *Tuka* means "grandfather]

very old, immortal ;" *Tua-na*, "elder brother or sister." In the Samoan *Tua'a*, in the N. Zeal. *Tuakana*, Tahit. *Tuaana*, Hawaiian *Kai-kuaana*, we have a "brother's elder brother," or a "sister's elder sister." In the Sam. and Tonga *Tua-fafine*, Tahit. *Tua-hine*, we have a word expressive of a brother's sister.

From this showing it is fair to infer that the word *Tua* was originally used to express a sense of age, strength, and superiority between the members of a family; and as men's thoughts travelled further beyond the narrow home circle, it came to express the ideas of "lord," "master," and "god." As the initial *a* in *A-tua*, or its equivalents, is common to the entire Polynesian family, it must have been adopted as a distinguishing sign of the supernatural, incomprehensible *Tua* from the ordinary family *Tua*, at a time when the Polynesians yet were a comparatively united and compact people, long before their exodus to the Pacific.

I think Mr. Gill is fully justified, "by the analogy of dialects," in considering the final *a* in *A-tu-a* as an intensive suffix; and the examples he quotes could be multiplied ad infinitum from every dialect of the Polynesian. That conceded, there remains *Tu* as the root of the words *Tua* and *Atua*. Does the meaning of *Tu* explain the derivation of *Tua*? In all the Polynesian dialects *Tu* or *Ku* means primarily "to rise up, to stand, be erect." In N. Zeal. *Tu-mata* was the name of the "first son, born of heaven and earth;" in Saparua and Ceram *Tu-mata* means "man;" in Fiji *Tu* is used interchangeably with *Ta*, to express the sense of a father when spoken to by his children. As I think there are many reasons to hold that the Polynesian language, deducting its many admixtures, was originally a form of Arian speech in Vedic or pre-Vedic times, I would refer to the Vedic verb *Tu*, "to be powerful, to increase;" a word occurring also in the Zend with similar meaning, whence *Tu-i* (Ved.), "much;" *Tavas* (Skrt.), "strong." From this root Benfey and Ad. Pictet derive the old Irish *Tuad*, *Tuath*, the Cymr. and Armor; *Tut*, *Tud*, the Goth; *Thuida*, the Lettic *Tauta*, all meaning "people, race, country."

As the Polynesian *Atua*, if I am correct, cannot be derived from *Fatu* or *Atu*, nor from *Aitu* or *Iku*, Mr. Gill's explanation, that the word refers to the "Lord, who is the *core and kernel of humanity*," and that it indicates that He is the *very* "core or life of man," cannot be maintained as a correct analysis and etymology. I think it more probable that men's ideas developed gradually from things natural to things supernatural, adapting the phraseology of the former to the exigencies of the latter, for

the sake of distinction, and that thus from the original *Tu*, "to be erect, powerful, increasing, superior," were derived the expressions of *Tu* and *Tua* for "man, father, elder brother," subsequently "husband, lord, master;" and finally the Polynesian *A-tua*, "god, spirit," anything of a supernatural or incomprehensible character.

It is with some hesitation, and not without regret, that I have thus felt called upon to correct Mr. Gill's etymology and analysis of the Polynesian word *Atua*, and at the same time enter my protest against Professor Müller's endorsement of such an analysis. The Professor will again experience the sad truth of his own dictum, that "Nichts ist schwieriger als der Versuchung zu widerstehen, eine unerwartete Bestätigung unserer Theorien, die wir in den Berichten von Missionaren und Reisenden finden, für einen Beweis zu halten." The remedy, however, against such temptation ("Versuchung"), as regards the Polynesians, lies in a critical study of their language, which does not always come within the sphere or the ability of "missionaries and travellers;" and I may be permitted to refer Professor Müller to his own words in the same paragraph, where he says:—"Glücklicherweise hat aber das Studium der Polynesischen Sprachen in der letzten Zeit schon einen mehr wissenschaftlichen und kritischen Charakter angenommen, so dass blosser Theorien die Probe der Thatsachen bestehen müssen."



## No. V.

## KA INOA O KUALII (Page 279, Note 1).

- He eleele kii na Maui,  
 Kii aku ia Kane ma,  
 Laua o Kanaloa, ia Kauakahi,  
 Laua o Maliu.  
 5     Hano mai a hai a hai i ka puu  
       Hai a holona ka puu o Kalani.  
       Ka Makau nui o Maui,  
       O Manaiakalani,  
       Kona aho, hilo honua ke kaa.  
 10    Hau hia amoamo Kauiki ;  
       Hania Kamalama.  
       Ka maunu ka Alae a Hina  
       Kuua ilalo i Hawaii,  
       Ka hibi kapu make haa,  
 15    Kaina Nonononuiiakea  
       E malana iluna o ka ili kai.  
       Huna o Hina i ka eheu o ka Alae,  
       Wahia ka papa ia Laka,  
       Ahaina ilalo ia Kea,  
 20    Ai mai ka ia, o ka ulua makele,  
       O Luaehu kama a Pimoe, e Kalani e.  
       O Hulihonua ke kane  
       O Keakahuililani ka wahine,  
       O Laka ke kane, Kapapaiakele ka wahine,  
 25    O Kamooalewa ke kane,  
       O Nanawahine kana wahine,  
       O Maluakapo ke kane,  
       O Lawekeao ka wahine.  
       O Kinilauamano ke kane,  
 30    O Upalu ka wahine.  
       O Halo ke kane, O Koniewalu ka wahine.  
       O Kamanonokalani ke kane,  
       O Kalanianoho ka wahine.

- O Kamakaoholani ke kane,  
 35 O Kahuaokalani ka wahine.  
 O Keohokalani ke kane,  
 O Kaamookalani ka wahine.  
 O Kaleiokalani ke kane,  
 O Kaopuahihī la ka wahine.  
 40 O Kalalii la ke kane,  
 O Keaomele la ka wahine.  
 O Haule ke kane, O Loaa ka wahine.  
 O Nanea ke kane, O Walea ka wahine.  
 O Nananuu ke kane, O Lalohana ka wahine.  
 45 O Lalokona ke kane,  
 O Lalohoaniani ka wahine.  
 O Hanuapoiluna ke kane,  
 O Hanuapoilalo ka wahine.  
 O Pokinikini la ke kane,  
 50 O Polehulehu la ka wahine.  
 O Pomanomano la ke kane,  
 O Pohakoikoi la ka wahine.  
 O Kupukupunuu ke kane,  
 O Kupukupulani ka wahine.  
 55 O Kamoleokahonua ke kane,  
 O Keaaokahonua ka wahine.  
 O Ohemoku ke kane, O Pinainai ka wahine.  
 O Makulu ke kane, O Hiona ka wahine.  
 O Milipo mea ke kane,  
 60 O Hanahaniau ka wahine.  
 O Hookumukapo ke kane,  
 O Hoao no ka wahine.  
 O Lukahakona ke kane,  
 O Niau ka wahine.  
 65 O Kahiko ke kane,  
 O Kupulanakehau ka wahine.  
 O Wakea la ke kane, O Papa la ka wahine.  
 Hanau ko ia la lani he ulahiwa nui.  
 He alii o Pineaikalani, ko Kupunakane ;  
 70 Hanau ka lani he alii ;  
 Hua mai nei a lehulehu ;  
 Kowili ka hua na ka lani ;  
 Lele wale mai maluna  
 Ka lōina a ka lani weliweli.  
 75 He alii pii aku, koi aku, wehe aku,  
 A loaa i ka lani paa ka ke alii.  
 E Ku e, he inoa,  
 Ina no ka oe, i o'na.

- 80 O Ku, o ke koi makalani !  
 Kakai ka aha mau-eleka, na Ku !  
 Kohia kailaomi e Ku !  
 Kai Makalii, kai Kaelo,  
 Kao ae Kaulua.  
 Ka malama hoolau ai a Makalii
- 85 O ke poko ai hele, ai iwi na  
 Ka pokipoki nana i ai ka iwi o Alaka—poki—e  
 O ka makua ia o Niele o Launieniele  
 O kanaka o ka wai,  
 O Ku, ke Alii o Kauai.
- 90 O Kauai mauna hoahoa,  
 Hohola ilalo o Keolewa  
 Inu mai ana o Niihau ma i ke kai—e.  
 O Kiki ma ka-kai Keolewa.  
 O Kalaaumakauhi ma ka-kai luna—e—
- 95 O Hawaii.  
 O Hawaii, mauna kiekie.  
 Hoho i ka lani Kauwiki ; .  
 Ilolo ka hono o na moku,  
 I ke kai e hopu ana.
- 100 O Kauwiki.  
 O Kauwike ka mauna i ke opaipai,  
 E kalai na a hina, Kauwiki—e—  
 O Kauai
- 105 O Kauai nui Kuapapa,  
 Noho i ka lulu o Waianae,  
 He lae Kaena, he hala Kahuku,  
 He kuamauna hono i ke hau Kaala,  
 Noho mai ana Waialua ilalo—E—  
 O Waialua-ia.
- 110 O Mokuleia, Kahala, Ku ipu  
 Ka loko ia mano lala walu  
 Hui Lalakea o Kaena  
 Mano hele lalo o Kauai—E—  
 Olalo o Kauai, kuu aina,
- 115 O Kauai.  
 Ke holo nei Ku i Kauai—e—  
 E ike i ka oopu makapoko o Hanakapiai.  
 Ke hoi nei Ku i Oahu-e-  
 I ike i ka oopu kuia, ia
- 120 Hilahila o Kawainui  
 Elana nei iloko o ka wai.  
 A pala ka hala, ula ka ai—e—

- He hailona ia no Ku,  
 Ua pae mai la  
 125 O Kauai.  
 O Kauai nui moku Lehua,  
 Moku panee lua iloko o ke kai,  
 Moku panee lua ana Kahiki,  
 Halo Kahiki ia Wakea ka la,  
 130 Kolohia kau mai ana Kona i ka maka,  
 Hooulu ilalo Kumuhonua,  
 Makeke ka papa i Hawaii-akea,  
 O Kuhia i ka muo o ka la.  
 Ke kau la ka la i Kona, ke maele Kohala,  
 135 O Kahiki ; ia wai Kahiki ?  
 Ia Ku.  
 O Kahiki, moku kai a loa,  
 Aina a Olopana i noho ai.  
 Iloko ka moku, iwaho ka la ;  
 140 O ke aloalo ka la, ka moku, ke hiki mai.  
 Ane ua iko oe ?  
 Ua ike.  
 Ua ike hoi a'u ia Kahiki.  
 He moku leo pahaohao wale Kahiki.  
 145 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 ;  
 150 Hookahi o Kahiki kanaka,—he Haole ;  
 Me ia la he Akua,  
 Me a'u la he kanaka ;  
 He kanaka no,  
 Pai kau, a ke kanaka hookahi e hiki.  
 155 Hala aku la o Kukahi la o Kulua,  
 O Kukahi ka po, o Kulua ke ao,  
 O hakahana ka ai ;  
 Kanikani ai a manu-a !  
 Hoolono mai manu o lanakila !  
 160 Malie, iawai lanakila ?  
 Ia Ku no.  
 Ilaila ka ua, ilaila ka la ;  
 Ilaila ka hoku Hiki-maka hano he Alii.  
 O Kaulukahi ka la,  
 165 O Kaupukahi ka la,  
 O Puna, o Hooilo, o Hana, o Lanakila,

- O Hooilo, ua ino Pele.  
 O ka makani ; ia wai ka makani ?  
 Ia Ku no.
- 170 Puhia ka makani a Laamaomao  
 Ke ahe Koolauwahine ka makani olalo.  
 O Kauai ka'u i ike,  
 O ke kiu ko Wawaenohu,
- 175 O ka hoolua ko Niihau,  
 O ke Kona ka makani ikaika,  
 O ke Aoa ka makani ino,  
 Ka makani halihali wai pua Kukui,  
 I lawea ia la e Lonomoku,  
 Pa ilalo o Hana—e—
- 180 Oia Koolauwahine olalo o Kauai  
 Ke pa la ka i Wailua la  
 O ka hoku, iawai ka hoku ?  
 Ia Ku no.
- 185 Iluna ka ua o Puanalua  
 Ku i ke Kao-Maaiku—hoolewa  
 Ka wae o ke kaina,  
 Oiliili lupea na hoku mahana elua.  
 Heua Kona me ka makani  
 Ku i ke Kao-Maaiku—hoolewa
- 190 Ka wae o ke kaina,  
 O ka ua ; ia wai ka ua ?  
 Ia Ku no.
- 195 I moea ka ua i Kunaloa,  
 I pakakahi ka ua i ka ili,  
 I liki ka ua i Kananaola,  
 Pahee mahiki, ke ka la,  
 Ua lusia ka ua e Hina,  
 Haalulu ai lalo o Maheleana.  
 O ka punohu o ka ua kai Kahalahala.
- 200 O ka pokii o ka ua,  
 E ua ka i ka lehua la,  
 O ka la, ia wai ka la ?  
 Ia Ku no.
- 205 I puka ka la ma Kauwiki,  
 Hawewe ka la i ka Upilialoula,  
 Ke kohokoho la kamalii,  
 Ke na'una'u la ka la,  
 Ka la kieke pua o Hilo,
- 210 O ke kua o ka la kai hulihia iluna,  
 O ke aloalo o ka la kai lawea ilalo,  
 O ka malu o ka la kai kaa iloko,

- O ke aka o ka la kai hele iwaho,  
 O ka mahana o ka la ke hele nei  
 Maluna o ka aina—a  
 215 Kau aku i Lehua la.  
 O ke kai ; ia wai ke kai ?  
 Ia Ku no  
 I nui mai kai-i Kahiki,  
 I miha kai i ka aina,  
 220 I lawea kai i ka lima,  
 I kiki ke oho i ke kai,  
 I ehū ke oho i ke kai liu,  
 I pala ke oho i ke kai loa,  
 I lelo ke oho i ke kai kea.  
 225 He kai kuhikuhinia ko ka puaa,  
 He kai lihalaha ko ka ilio,  
 He kai okukuli ko ka moa,  
 He kai ala ko ka anae,  
 He kai hauna ko ka palani,  
 230 He kai heenalua ko Kahaloa,  
 He kai hului ko Kalia,  
 He kai hele kohana ko Mamala,  
 He kai au ko ka puuone,  
 He kai kaha nalu ko Makaiwa,  
 235 He kai ka anae ko Keehi,  
 He kai alamihī ko Leleiwi,  
 He kai awalau kee Puuloa,  
 He kai puhi nehu, puhi-lala,  
 He kai o Ewa e noho i ka lai nei,  
 240 Na Ewa nui a Laakona,  
 Ku i ka alai ka ua o ka lani,  
 Kai apukapuka Heeia,  
 Ke kai o hee ko Kapapa,  
 He kai oha i ke Kualoa,  
 245 He kai aai ko Kaaawa,  
 He kai ahiu ko Kahana.  
 I wehe kai ia Paaō,  
 Ikea Paaō i ka wai—hi,  
 Ikea ka hiwa mai lalo Kona,  
 250 O ka Hiwa ia mai lalo Kona,  
 He au, he koi, he aha, he pale,  
 E kii, e hoa, e lanalana,  
 E kua i kumu o Kahiki—e,  
 O ua mai Hilo.  
 255 Ke kuee nei na opua ua o Maheleana—e,  
 Oua mai kanaka

- Ilaila ka ua a malie,  
 He lala loa i ka makani,  
 Haiki ka make o ka ua,  
 260 Haakookoo ana Mahiki i ka pukalea,  
 Aia Mahiki, ke ka mai la.  
     O Opukahonua, O Lolomu, O Mihi,  
     O Lana ka wahine,  
     Noho Wakea noho ia Papa,  
 265 Noho ia Kananamukumamao,  
     Hanau ka Naupaka,  
     Ku i ke Kahakai,  
     O Ohikimakaloo ka wahine,  
     O Hoopio, O Hulumaniani,  
 270 Ku i Kaena, ana-iá i lalo.  
     O Mehepalaoa,  
     O Naholo,  
     Mehe kai olohia a Manu,  
     Oia alakai honua Ku.  
 275 O Lanipipili, O Lanioka,  
     O Lanikahuliomealani,  
     O Lono, O Hekili kaaka,  
     O Nakoloailani,  
     O Kailolimoana, O Waia,  
 280 O Hikapoloa,  
     O Kapoimuliwaa,  
     O Kane,  
     O Ahulukaaala,  
     O Kanei Kamakaukau.  
 285 Alua ana hulu wau ia oe e Ku—e ;  
     E ka'u Alii.  
 Eia ka paia ai o Kapaau,  
 He kanaka o Wawa-Kaikapua.  
 Keapua ko o Hawi,  
 290 Eia ke puhi kukui ai o Kukuipahu,  
 Ka wahine waha ula  
 Ke ai i ka ina o Makakuku,  
 Eia ke kanaka pii pali  
 Haka ulili o Nanualolo,  
 295 Keiki kia manu—e—  
 Kau kiakia manu o Lehua.  
     O Kuku, O Aa, O Naio,  
     O Haulamuakea ke koi ; O Hinaimanau ;  
     O Paepae  
 300 O Manau ka wahine,  
     Hanau ka Naenae noho kuamauna

- Ka Hinihini kani kuaola,  
 Hakina iho i ka wae mua o ka waa.
- 305 O Molokai ua naha ke'na,  
 Haalele aku Kanaloapuna,  
 Kanaloa a Waia ;  
 O make holo uka, O make holo kai,  
 Hoonalulu ana Luukia,  
 Hoopailua i ka ilolo,
- 310 I ke kauhua o ke kamaiki  
 Hanau ka Ieie hihi i ka nahele,  
 O Makaaulii kana wahine.  
 Hanau ka Lupua me ka Laulama,  
 Ku i ke opu o Lono.
- 315 O Kapolei ka wahine,  
 O Kukaikaina i hope ka lanalana,  
 O Kukonaihoae, O Ku,  
 O ke kai mahuehue,  
 Mehe kai e haa aku ana Ku.
- 320 Eia ka wahine peeki  
 Uhi lepo o Keaau,  
 Ka umeke hoowali na lepo,  
 Mehe hako la ke ala,  
 Eia ka huakai hele
- 325 Alanui ka kanaka.  
 Wali ai ka lepo o Mahiki,  
 I ka pa'ala a ka wawae.
- O Kapapaiakea,  
 O ka nalu o ka inaina,
- 330 O Kauhiihihi kana wahine,  
 Hanau Koawaa ku i ka nenelu,  
 Kalaia ka ipu i ke kai aleale,  
 Kalaia o Hinakapeau,  
 Loaa mai o Ukinohunohu la,
- 335 Ukinaopiopio,  
 O Moakueanana,  
 O Kalei,  
 O Keelekoha,  
 O ke 'kua maka holo lalo,
- 340 O ke kau iluna Kahualewa,  
 Ako Lipoa o Kanamuakea,  
 O ke kai akea  
 O ka moana akea.  
 O Hulukeeaea
- 345 O Hauii, O Hauee,  
 O Hauii-nui naholoholo,



- O Hauii kai apo kahi,  
 Kai humea mai ko malo o Ku.  
 No Ku ka malo i ke kaua, haa oe.  
 350 Oia i lua ka umu mehe awai la.  
     Eia ka uhuki hulu manu,  
     Kau pua o Haili,  
     Na keiki kiai pua,  
     Ka lahui pua o lalo.
- 355 Eia ka wahine ako pua,  
 Kui pua lei pua, kahiko pua o Paiahaa,  
 Ke uhai mai nei i ke 'kua,  
 A pau mehameha Apua.  
 360 Kau ia ka makani, hiamoe—la—e  
 Moe ua makani, hiamoe la la—e—  
 I ka papa o Kukalaula.  
     O Uliuli, O Maihea,  
     O Kahakapolani ka wahine,  
     O Kaukeano, O Mehameha,  
 365 O po ka lani i ka ino ;  
 He ino ka lani, ke wawa nei ka honua,  
 I ka inaina o kalani.  
     Hoonaku, hookaahea, hoowiliwili,  
     Hoonahu, hoomamae,  
 370 Hookokohi ana iloko o Hinaiaelele,  
 Hanau ka maua ku i ka nahele,  
 Hanau ka ouou kani kuaola,  
 Puka ke kama-hele  
     Ku i ke alo o ka hakoko,  
 375 He pukaua, na ke Alii, he kaua,  
 He wai kaua, o Ku no ke Alii,  
 He kaua na Ku,  
     E uhau ana iluna o Kawaluna.  
     Ihea, ihea la ke kahua,  
 380 Paio ai o ke koa—a ?  
     I kahua i Kalena,  
     I manini, i hanini,  
     I ninia i ka wai Akua,  
     I ko hana, i Malamanui  
 385 Ka luna o Kapapa, i Paupauwela,  
 I ka Hilinai, i ke Kalele,  
     Ka hala o Halahalanui-maaua,  
     Ke kula Ohia, ke Pule—e,  
     Ke 'kua o Lono o Makalii  
 390 Ka lala aala o Ukulonoku,  
 No Kona paha, no Lihue.

- No ka la i Maunauna,  
 No ka wai i Paupauwela,  
 I ulu Haalilo i Nepee,  
 395 A ka hau'na o Aui.  
 Kikomo kahuna i kakua laau,  
 Komo ku i kona ahuula,  
 Ka wela o ka ua i ka lani,  
 Ka la i Kauakahi-hale,  
 400 Ula ka lau o ka Mamane,  
 Ke koaie o Kauai ;  
 Ke pili kai ihi ia e Ku,  
 Ka alo-alo o Kamaile,  
 Ka nalu kakala of Maihiwa,  
 405 Pani'a ka wai i Kalapo,  
 Ka naha i lalo o Eleu.  
 Huki ka ua a moa i ka lani,  
 Mehe hee nui no kuahiwi ;  
 Ka hee'na o Hilo ia Puna,  
 410 Aia ma Hilo Peahi ;  
 Ula ka wai i Paupauwela,  
 Ka Kilau o Malamanui,  
 Ka moo Kilau i Kapapa.  
 Kui ka lono ia Haalilo,  
 415 Haua aku la ko kaina ;  
 Hahaki Haalilo i ka manawa ;  
 I kai muku kahuna ia Ku ;  
 I laa ka manawa ia Ku,  
 I Keiki a Haalilo.  
 420 Eia Malanai-haehae,  
 Kama a Niheu-Kalohe,  
 Ke pani wai o Kekuuna,  
 He mee nei no ke kanaka,  
 Ke pu nei i ka aahu,  
 425 Ke lapa nei i ka laau,  
 Ka laulau o ka palau,  
 Eia Haalilo—e !—  
 O Ku no he Alii.  
 Aloha Kukui peahi i na leo Paoa ;  
 430 Ua oa ka maka o ka ilima make,  
 Nonu i ka malama o Makalii ;  
 Ia Makalii la pua ke Koolau,  
 Pau i ke hau o Maemae.  
 He mae wale ka leo o ke kai olalo,  
 435 Hoolono wale o Malamanui,  
 Ia ai Ku i ka uwala,

- Kawewe Kupukupu ala o Lihue.  
 Kupu mai nei ka manawa ino e Ku—e—  
 Hanau mai, a me kalani wale la ;  
 440 O Ku no he Alii.  
 He pu hinalo no Ku i Kamakoa,  
 Oi lele Ku i ka pali,  
 Mai pau Ku i ke ahi,  
 O ke aha la kau hala—e Ku ?  
 445 O ke kua aku i ka laau,  
 O ka luukia ana o ka pau,  
 O ke ahina ana o ke oa,  
 O ko Ku ia o Kona hoa—hele  
 I ka ua, i ka la.  
 450 A ai ai Ku i ka unahi pohaku,  
 Ola Ku i ka ipu o Lono  
 I ka ipu a Kupaka,  
 O Ku no he Alii.  
 O Kailua makani anea oneanea,  
 455 Makani aku a Hema,  
 He mama wale ka leo ke uwalo mai—e—  
 E o ia nei, o ka lahui-makani,  
 E ku mai oe i ka hea i ka uwalo,  
 Mai hookuli mai oe ;  
 460 O ke kama hanau  
 O ka leo kai lele aku la i waho,  
 Kai noa iwaho ka paio,  
 Pale aku la ilaila ;  
 Hoi mai i ka hale liliia,  
 465 Mehe leo la ko ka aha,  
 Ke kaunuia la ka moena,  
 Ke kapa me ka aahu,  
 Ke hea wale la i ka uluna—e—  
 Aole ia he kanaka.  
 470 O maua no na kanaka.  
  
 Ao ole i like i ka Hala wili,  
 Ke naio laau kekee,  
 Ka aukaahihi ku makua ole,  
 Ke kawakawa i keekeehia,  
 475 Ka hinahina i ka makani  
 Hele ana e hio, e hina la—  
 Aole i like—Ku.  
 Ua like paha ka Ohia,  
 Ka lehua i ka wao-eiwa,

- 480 Ka laau hao wale Ku i nahelehele,  
Aole i like—Ku.  
Aole i like i ka ekaha,  
I ka ekaha Ku i ka moena,  
Me ke kiele, me ke ala,
- 485 Me ka Olapa lau kahuli,  
Me ka pua mauu kuku,  
Hina wale—hina wale la—  
Aole i like—Ku.  
Aole i like i ka naulu,
- 490 Ia ua hoochali kehau,  
Mehe ipu wai i ninia la,  
Na hau o Kumomoku ;  
Kekee na hau o Leleiwi,  
Oi ole ka oe i ike
- 495 I ka hau kuapuu.  
Kekee noho kee, O Kaimohola,  
O Kanehili i Kaupea—la—  
Aole i like—Ku.  
Aole i like i ka Lipoa,
- 500 Ka Nanue, ai a ka ia,  
Ka Lipahapaha o Waimea,  
Ka limu kau i ka laau,  
Ka elemihi ula i ka luna o Kaala—la—  
Aole i like—Ku.
- 505 Aole i like i Kukui,  
I Kukui ili puupuu,  
Ili nakaka i ka la,  
Mehe kanaka iuu i ka awa la,  
Ka mahuna o Kukui o Lihue la,
- 510 Aole i like—Ku.  
Aole i like i ke Aalii,  
Ka poho lua laau ala,  
Ka Malie hoe hoi i Maoi,  
Ke Kaluheha o Kawiwii—la,
- 515 Aole i like—Ku.  
Aole i like i ke Kokio,  
I ka hahaka pua maolia,  
Ke kahuli pua i ka papa la.  
Aole i like—Ku.
- 520 Aole i like i ke Kawau,  
I ke Kalia ku ma ka waha,  
Ai mai ka mahele he kanaka,  
He moku, he au, he aina la,  
Aole i like—Ku.

- 525 Aole i like ka Naia,  
I Kona ihu i kihe i ke kai,  
Kona kino i kai ; O ka mano—la  
Aole i like—Ku.
- 530 Aole i like i ke hokii,  
I ka hawana ai pua Lehua,  
Ka Oo, Manu o Kaiona—la  
Aole i like—Ku.
- 535 Aole i like i ka paaa,  
I ka weke lao a ke Akua,  
Ka Ulu kanu a Kahai ;  
Oi ole ka oe i ike,  
Ka wahine pau mao  
I ka luna o Puuokapolei—la  
Aole i like—Ku.
- 540 Aole i like i ka Wiliwili  
Kona hua i kupee ia  
Ka oiwi ona i hee—a,  
Kona kino i kai o ka nalu la—Heenalu,  
Aole i like—Ku.
- 545 Aole i like i ka pa a ka makani,  
E nu ana i ke kuahiwi,  
Kakoo ana ka hale o Koolau,  
Lawalawa ana a hina i ka makani,  
Ka mokoi hoolou a ka lawaia,
- 550 Ka pa o Manaiakalani—la,  
Aole i like—Ku.
- Aole i like i ka Mamaki,  
I ka hialoa maka o ka nahele,  
Ka maka kohikohi laalaa ;
- 555 Ke a maka-ulii, maka-ehu,  
I ehū i ke alo o Kuehu,  
I ke ala ihi, i ke alaloa,  
I ke alaloa e hele ia la—la,  
Aole i like—Ku.
- 56c Aole i like i na laki,  
I ka laki-pala o Nuuanu,  
I hehe ia e ka ua, e ka makani,  
A helelei,  
Ka laki-pala i ka luna i Waahila la
- 565 Aole i like—Ku.  
Aole i like i ka ua o Waahila,  
Ia makani anu o Kahaloo,  
E lu ana i ka pua Kou,  
E kui ana a paa ia,

- 570 E lei ana i ke kai o Kapua—la,  
Aole i like—Ku.  
Aole i like i ke Kamaniula,  
Ma ke kia ula o na manu—la,  
Me ka pa lei o ka hala—la,
- 575 Me ke pua o ke kaa,  
Lau kani o Ku—la  
O Ku no ke Alii  
Aole i like—Ku.  
Aole i like i ka makole,
- 580 Ia laau Kewai nui,  
E hihi ana e ka lihilihi—la  
Aole i like—Ku.  
Ua like ; aia ka kou hoa e like ai,  
O Keawe-i-Kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku,
- 585 O Keawe, haku o Hawaii la.  
He awaawa hoi ko ke kai,  
He mananalo hoi ka wai,  
He welawela hoi ko ka la,  
He mahana hoi ko kuu ili
- 590 No kuu kane o Nininini ke wai  
O Pulele la. Ua like ?  
Aolo i like—Ku.  
Aole i like nei Lani,  
I ka hoohalikelike wale mai ;
- 595 He kanaka ia,  
He Akua Ku,  
He ulele Ku mai ka lani,  
He haole Ku mai Kahiki,  
He mau kanaka ia eha,
- 600 Ewalu hoi nei kanaka,  
O Ku, o Lono, o Kane, o Kanaloa,  
O Kane-makaiahuwahine,  
O Haihaipuaa, O Kekuawalu—la,  
Ua like.
- 605 O Kona la, ua wela ka papa,  
Ua ku ke ehū o ka la,  
Ua wela ka hua o Unulau,  
O Kalanipipili, o Hoolilo,  
E a'e e puka ae ka la,
- 610 Ka mana o Ku-leonui,  
Haawiia mai ai ka la  
Mahana ai na Lii aua o Kona.

Following is the English translation.

## THE CHANT OF KUALII.

A messenger sent by Maui to bring,  
 To bring Kane and his company,  
 (Him) and Kanaloa, and (to bring) Kauakahi,  
 (Him) and Maliu.

5        To praise and to offer, to offer up prayer,  
           To offer and decree the fortune of the chief.

The great fish-hook of Maui,  
 Manaiakalani,  
 (And) its line, naturally twisted is the string that ties  
           the hook.

10        Engulfed is the lofty Kauwiki,  
           (Where) Hanaiakamalama (dwelt).

The bait was the Alae of Hina,  
 Let down upon Hawaii,  
 The sacred tangle, the painful death,  
 15        Seizing upon the foundation of the earth,  
           Floating it up to the surface of the sea.

(But) Hina hid the wing of the Alae,  
 Broken up was the table of Laka,  
 Carried away below (was the bait) to Kea ;

20        The fishes ate it, the Ulua of the deep muddy places.

          Luaehu, child of Pimoe, eh Kalani eh !

          O Hulihonua the husband,

          O Keakahuilani the wife.

          O Laka the husband, Kapapaiakele the wife.

25        O Kamoolewa the husband,

          O Nanawahine his wife.

          O Maluakapo the husband,

          O Lawekeao the wife.

          O Kinilauamano the husband,

30        O Upalu the wife.

          O Halo the husband, O Koniewalu the wife.

          O Kamanonokalani the husband,

          O Kalanianoho the wife.

          O Kamakaoholani the husband,

35        O Kahuaokalani the wife.

          O Keohokalani the husband,

          O Kaamookalani the wife.

          O Kaleiokalani the husband,

          O Kaopuahihhi the wife.

- 40 O Kalalii the husband,  
 O Keaomele the wife.  
 O Haule the husband, O Loaa the wife.  
 O Nanea the husband, O Walea the wife.  
 O Nananuu the husband, O Lalohana the wife.
- 45 O Lalokona the husband,  
 O Lalohoaniani the wife.  
 O Hanuapoiluna the husband,  
 O Hanuapoilalo the wife.  
 O Pokinikini the husband,
- 50 O Polehulehu the wife.  
 O Pomanomano the husband,  
 O Pohakoikoi the wife.  
 O Kupukupunuu the husband,  
 O Kupukupulani the wife.
- 55 O Kamoleokahonua the husband,  
 O Keaaokahonua the wife.  
 O Ohemoku the husband, O Pinainai the wife.  
 O Makulu the husband, O Hiona the wife.  
 O Milipomea the husband,
- 60 O Hanahaniau the wife.  
 O Hookumukapo the husband,  
 O Hoao indeed the wife.  
 O Lukahakona the husband,  
 O Niau the wife.
- 65 O Kahiko the husband,  
 O Kupulanakehau the wife.  
 O Wakea the husband, O Papa the wife.
- Born to that chief was a great purple fowl—  
 A chief was Pineaikalani, your grandfather.
- 70 The chief begat a chief ;  
 Prolific he was, abundantly ;  
 Intertwined is the seed of the chief ;  
 Towering up on high  
 Is the rank of the dreaded chief.
- 75 A chief ascending, pushing, breaking through,  
 And reaching the solid heaven of the chief.  
 Eh ! Ku eh ! (here is) a name,  
 If it is you in that place.
- 80 O Ku, the axe with heavenly edge !  
 Following is the train of clouds after Ku !  
 Drawn (down) is the horizon by Ku.  
 The sea of Makalii, the sea of Kaelo,  
 The rising sea of Kaulua.  
 The month that increases the food of Makalii ;



- 85 The worm that eats crawling, eats to the very ribs,  
The sea-crab that eats the bones of the shipwrecked,  
That is the father of Niele and Launieniele,  
The people of the water ;  
O Ku, the chief of Kauai.
- 90 O Kauai with the ragged mountains,  
Spreading out below is Keolewa ;  
Niihau and its neighbours are drinking the sea,  
O Kiki, and those, following Keolewa ;  
O Kalaaumakauahi and those, following upwards.
- 95 O Hawaii !  
O Hawaii with the lofty mountains,  
Shooting up to heaven is Kauwiki ;  
Below is the cluster of islands ;  
In the sea they are gathered up.
- 100 O Kauwiki !  
O Kauwiki, mountain bending over,  
Loosened, almost falling, Kauwiki—eh !—  
O Kauai !  
O Kauai, great and peaceful,  
105 Situated under the lee of Waianaë.  
A cape is Kaena, (full of) hala is Kahuku ;  
A mountain ridge reaching up to the cold is Kaala ;  
Waialua is situated below :  
Oh, that is Waialua.
- 110 O Mokuleia, (with its) Kahala fish (and its) gourds,  
(Its) fishpond of sharks to be roasted on coals.  
The tail of the white shark is Kaena,  
The shark stretching away under Kauai eh—  
Below Kauai, my land,
- 115 O Kauai !  
Ku is travelling to Kauai—eh—  
To see the short-faced Oopu of Hanakapiai.  
Ku is returning to Oahu—eh,—  
To see the slow-moving Oopu,  
120 The shameful fish of Kawainui,  
Floating about in the water.  
When the Hala is ripe the neck becomes red—eh :  
That is a sign of Ku.  
He has landed now.
- 125 O Kauai !  
O great Kauai, island (filled) with Lehua,  
Island stretching out into the sea,  
Island stretching out towards Kahiki.  
Kahiki looking at Wakea, the sun ;

- 130 Creeping along, Kona stands forth to sight ;  
Lifting up below is Kumuhonua ;  
Shaking is the foundation of Hawaii—akea,  
Pointing to the rising rays of the sun.  
The sun stands over Kona, Kohala is in darkness.
- 135 O Kahiki ; for whom is Kahiki ?  
For Ku.  
O Kahiki, land of the far-reaching ocean,  
Land where Olopana dwelt.  
Within is the land, outside is the sun ;
- 140 Indistinct is the sun, and the land, when approaching.  
Perhaps you have seen it ?  
I have seen it.  
I have surely seen Kahiki,  
A land with a strange language is Kahiki.
- 145 The men of Kahiki have ascended up  
The backbone of heaven ;  
And up there they trample indeed,  
And look down below.  
Kanakas (men of our race) are not in Kahiki.
- 150 One kind of men is in Kahiki—the Haole (white man) ;  
He is like a god,  
I am like a man,  
A man indeed,  
Wandering about, and the only man who got there.
- 155 Passed is the day of Kukahi and the day of Kulua,  
The night of Kukahi and the day of Kulua.  
By morsels was the food ;  
Picking the food with a noise like a bird.  
Listen, bird of victory !
- 160 Hush ! with whom the victory ?  
With Ku indeed.  
There is the rain, there is the sun,  
There is the star Hiki-maka-hano, the chief.  
O Kaulukahi the sun,  
165 O Kaupukahi the sun ;  
O Puna, O Hooilo, O Hana, O Lanakila ;  
The winter season, very bad (has) Pele (become).  
And the wind ; for whom is the wind ?  
For Ku indeed.
- 170 Blown is the wind of Laamaomao ;  
The gentle breeze of Koolauwahine, the wind from be ow  
Kauai—(as) I have known it ;  
The north-west wind of Wawaenohu,  
The north wind of Niihau ;

- 175 The Kona is the strong wind ;  
 The howling Aoa, a bad wind,  
 The wind scattering Kukui blossoms  
 That have been brought by Lonomoku  
 And arrested below Hana—eh—.
- 180 Such is Koolauwahine below Kauai,]  
 When it is stopped at Wailua.  
 And the stars ; for whom are the stars ?  
     For Ku indeed.  
 Above is the rain of Puanalua,  
 185 Reaching up to Kao—Maaiuku bringing along  
 The drifts of low-hanging clouds.  
 Stretching out as eagles are the two twin stars ;  
 There is rain in Kona and there is the wind,  
 Reaching up to Kao—Maaiuku—bringing along
- 190 The drifts of low-hanging clouds.  
 The rain ; for whom is the rain ?  
     For Ku indeed.  
 Low-lying is the rain of Kunalooa ;  
 Pattering is the rain on the skin ;  
 195 Pelted is the rain of Kananaola ;  
 Slippery is Mahiki, it causes (one) to fall ;  
 Poured out about is the rain by Hina ;  
 Causing (great) fear (when) below Maheleana ;  
 The storm-clouds of rain are at Kahalahala ;
- 200 The younger children of the rain (the fine rain)  
 Are raining on the Lehua (forests).  
 The sun ; for whom is the sun ?  
     For Ku indeed,  
 Comes forth the sun at Kauwiki ;  
 205 A humming sound (makes) the sun at Upilialoula ;  
 Challenging each other are the children  
 To hold their breaths at the sun-(set).  
 The sun is a net of flowers at Hilo ;  
 The back of the sun is turned above ;
- 210 The changing face of the sun flits about below ;  
 The comfort of the sun takes effect within ;  
 The image of the sun is moving about outside ;  
 The heat of the sun is now passing  
 Over the land—eh—
- 215 And rests upon Lehua.  
 The sea ; for whom is the sea ?  
     For Ku indeed.  
 Great is the sea to Kahiki,  
 Rippled is the sea by the land.

- 220 Taken up is the sea in the hand,  
 Painted white is the hair by the sea,  
 Reddish (becomes) the hair by the very salt sea,  
 Softened is the hair in the great sea,  
 Brownish is the hair in the foaming sea.
- 225 Delicious is the soup of the (cooked) hog.  
 Fat is the soup of the dog,  
 Satiating is the soup of the fowl,  
 Savoury is the soup of the Anae,  
 Strong smelling is the soup of the Palani.
- 230 A sea for surf-swimming is Kahalooa,  
 A sea for net-fishing is Kalia,  
 A sea for going naked is Mamala,  
 A sea for swimming is Kapuuone,  
 A sea for surf-swimming sideways is Makaiwa,
- 235 A sea for catching Anae is Keehi,  
 A sea for crabs is Leleiwi,  
 A sea of branching crooked harbours is Puuloa,  
 A sea for the Nehu eel and the Lala eel  
 Is the sea of Ewa, basking in the calm ;
- 240 The great Ewa (lands) of Laakona  
 Surrounded by the rain of heaven.  
 A deceitful sea is Heeia,  
 A sea for spearing Hee is Kapapa,  
 A sea for nodding is Kualoa,
- 245 A sea of heavy surf is Kaaawa,  
 A sea for the Ahiu wind is Kahana.  
 Let loose was the flood by Pao,  
 Seen was Pao in the waterfall,  
 Known were the sacred things from below Kona ;
- 250 Oh, the sacred things from below Kona,  
 A handle, an axe, a cord, a sheath,  
 Take it, tie it, wind it around ;  
 Cut down the foundations of Kahiki—eh,  
 While Hilo is raining.
- 255 Contending are the rain-clouds of Maheleana—eh,  
 While it rains on the people.  
 There is the rain until it stops ;  
 A long day in the wind ;  
 Cramped (is he) who is (half-) dead with the rain ;
- 260 Mahiki is obstructing the great passage way ;  
 There is Mahiki, striking one down.  
     O Opukahonua, O Lolomu, O Mihi,  
     O Lana the wife,  
     Wakea dwelt with Papa,

- 265 Dwelt with Kananamukumamao  
 Born was the Naupaka  
 That grows by the sea-shore.  
 O Ohikimakalao the wife,  
 O Hoopio, O Hulumaniani,
- 270 Stood at Kaena (and) were precipitated below.  
 O Mehepalaoa,  
 O Naholo,  
 Like the (ever-) rolling sea of Manu,  
 Over which the proper guide is Ku.
- 275 O Lanipipili, O Lanioaka,  
 O Lanikahuliomealani,  
 O Lono—O the rolling thunder.  
 O Nakoloailani,  
 O Kailolimoana, O Waia,
- 280 O Hikapoloa,  
 O Kapoimuliwaa,  
 O Kane,  
 O Ahulu Kaaala.  
 O Kaneikamakaukau.
- 285 Twice ten days I have been with you, O Ku—eh ;  
 O my chief.  
 Here is the pearl-shell fish-hook of Kapaau ;  
 A man is Wawa-Kaikapua,  
 A sugar-cane arrow is Hawi.
- 290 Here is the torch-lighter of Kukuipahu,  
 The woman with the red mouth,  
 Who eats the sea-eggs of Makakuku.  
 Here is the man who climbs the mountains,  
 The ladder of Nanualolo,
- 295 The child catching birds—eh—  
 Reaching up the bird-catching pole on Lehua.  
 O Kuku, O Aa, O Naio.  
 O Haulanuiakea, the axe ; O Hinaimanau,  
 O Paepae,  
 300 O Manau the wife.  
 Born was the Naenae who dwells on the mountain,  
 The Hinihini chirping on the hillsides,  
 (Fed with) crumbs on the first division of the canoe ;  
 O Molokai that has been torn in sunder,
- 305 Deserted by Kanaloapuna,  
 Kanaloa and Waia ;  
 It is death to go landward, death to go seaward.  
 Suffering by headache is Luukia,  
 Qualmish from her pregnancy

- 310 From her pregnancy with the child,  
 Born is the tangled Ieie in the forest,—  
 O Makaaulii is its wife,—  
 Born is the Lupua and the Laulama,  
 Placed on the stomach of Lono,—
- 315 O Kapolei was the wife,—  
 O Kukaikai 'na behind the spider,  
 O Kukonaihoae, O Ku,  
 O the rising sea,  
 As if the sea were dancing for Ku.
- 320 Here is the woman sent in haste  
 To speak the dirt of Keaau.  
 (With) a calabash of mixed dirt.  
 (Straight) as a sugar-cane leaf is the road ;  
 Here is the travelling company ;
- 325 The great road of the people.  
 Mixed is the dirt of Mahiki,  
 Beaten up by the feet.
- O Kapapaiakea,  
 O the roaring surf of angry feelings,
- 330 O Kauhiihi his wife ;  
 Born was Koawaa of the muddy places,  
 Fashioned was the bowl for the billowy sea ;  
 Fashioned was Hinakapeau ;  
 Thus was obtained Ukinohunohu,
- 335 Ukinaopiopio,  
 O Moakueanana,  
 O Kalei,  
 O Keelikoha,  
 O the god with the downcast eyes,
- 340 O the turned-up (eyes of) Kahualewa ;  
 Gathering Lipoa is Kanamuakea ;  
 O the wide sea,  
 O the open ocean,  
 O Hulukeeaea,
- 345 O Hauii, O Hauce,  
 O Hauii-nui the swift running,  
 O Hauii the sea-encircling,  
 Sea where your girdle is put on, O Ku.  
 When Ku puts on his girdle of war, you are humbled ;
- 350 He has scattered the oven like the (rush of) a watercourse ;  
 He is the picker of bird feathers,  
 (Of birds) lighting on the flowers of Haili,  
 The young ones watching the flowers,  
 The multitude of flowers below.

- 355 Here is the woman gathering flowers  
Stringing flowers, making garlands, putting on the flowers  
of Paiahaa,  
So as to drive away the spirits  
And destroy the solitude of Apua.  
Fallen has the wind, it is sleeping—eh—
- 360 Resting is the wind, sleeping indeed—eh—  
On the flats of Kukalaula.  
O Uliuli, O Maihea,  
O Kahakapolani the wife,  
O Kaukeano, O Mehameha,
- 365 O dark is the heaven by the storm,  
Stormy is the heaven, noisy is the earth,  
Because of the labour-pains of the chief.  
Trembling, crying, struggling,  
Travailing, shrinking (at the touch),
- 370 Lowering were the clouds in the month of Hinaia-  
eleele.  
Born was the Maua (tree) standing in the forest,  
Born was the Ouou (bird), singing on the hillsides ;  
Brought forth is the child,  
It stands before the face of the travailing (mother),
- 375 A chief of warriors for the king—a battle—  
A bloody battle ; Ku indeed is the chief,  
A battle for Ku,  
Fought on the heights of Kawaluna.  
Where, where was the field
- 380 (On which) the warriors fought ?  
Lo ! the field is at Kalena ;  
Scattered about, overflowing,  
Poured out is the godly fluid  
By your work at Malamanui,
- 385 Above Kapapa, at Paupauwela,  
At Hilinai (and) at Kalele.  
The Hala trees of Halahalanui-maanea,  
The upland Ohia trees, the strange prayer  
The spirit of Lono (and) of Makalii,
- 390 The fragrant branch of Ukulonoku.  
For Kona perhaps, for Lihue.  
For the day at Maunauna,  
For the waters at Paupauwela,  
That Haalilo's name may flourish at Nepee,
- 395 All the scourging of Aui.  
Enter the priests to dress the idol ;  
Ku is putting on his feather cloak ;

- The rainbow (stands) in the heaven ;  
 The sun is over Kauakahi's mansion ;  
 400 Reddish are the leaves of the Mamane tree ;  
 And the Koaie tree of Kauai ;  
 The long grass has been removed by Ku,  
 The waving (grass) of Kamaile ;  
 The toppling surf of Maihiwa ;  
 405 Dammed up are the waters at Kalapo,  
 Bursting out (are they) below Eleu,  
 Drawn away are the rain-clouds and dried up, in  
 the sky,  
 Like a great land-slide from the hills,  
 The falling of Hilo upon Puna,  
 410 Here in Hilo—Peahi.  
 Red are the waters of Paupauwela,  
 The Kilau of Malamanui,  
 The Kilau ridges at Kapapa.  
 Comes the report to Haalilo,  
 415 That your younger brother has been whipped ;  
 Troubled (broken up) is the mind of Haalilo ;  
 At the quarrelling of the priests with Ku ;  
 For the want of sympathy with Ku,  
 With the son of Haalilo.  
 420 Here is the Malanai-haehae,  
 Descendant of Niheu-kalohe,  
 The water-dam of Kekuuna,  
 A prodigy here among the people,  
 He is tying up his clothing,  
 425 He is swinging about his weapons,  
 The bundle of daggers ;  
 Here is Haalilo—eh !—  
 Ku indeed is the chief.  
 Love to the Kukui trees wafting the voices of Paoa ;  
 430 Shattered are the buds of the withered Ilima,  
 Wilted in the month of Makalii ;  
 In Makalii blossoms the Koolau plant,  
 Wet with the dew of Maemae.  
 Faintly comes the sound of the sea below,  
 435 Heard only (perhaps as far as) at Malamanui,  
 Where Ku ate the potato,  
 Covered (in baking) with the sweet Kupukupu of Lihue.  
 Rising are bitter thoughts in the mind of Ku—eh—  
 They are born and with the chief they rest.  
 440 Ku indeed is the chief.  
 A bunch of Hala blossoms for Ku at Kamakoa ;



- While Ku was leaping down the pali  
 Ku nearly perished in the fire ;  
 What could have been your fault, O Ku  
 445 (Was it) the cutting down of the trees,  
 The girdling on of the woman's garment,  
 The throwing down of the spear  
 That belongs to Ku and is his companion  
 In the storm and in the sunshine ?  
 450 Ku is reducing to powder the scales of the rock ;  
 Ku draws life from the bowl of Lono,  
 From the bowl of Kupaka.  
                     Ku indeed is the chief.  
 O Kailua with the hot and desolating wind,  
 455 The wind (coming over) from the south ;  
 Feeble is the voice that is calling out for help ;  
 When that one is calling the winds are answering ;  
 Stand up at the call, at the cry ;  
 Don't you turn a deaf ear,  
 460 The child is born.  
 The sound has gone forth abroad ;  
 Surely the struggle is outside,  
 And there is the delivery.  
 Return to the hated house ;  
 465 Vociferous becomes the company ;  
 Provoked to anger is the mat,  
 The covering cloth and the dress ;  
 He calls in vain to the pillow—eh—  
 He is not a man ;  
 470 We too are the men.

- Not like the twisted Hala,  
 (Nor) the crooked Naio tree,  
 (Nor) the Ahihi standing motherless inland,  
 (Nor) the deep pools trodden (by bathers),  
 475 (Nor) the Hinahina in the wind,  
 Moving, leaning, falling ;  
                     Not like these (is) Ku.  
 Perhaps like the Ohia,  
 (Like) the Lehua on the mountain side,  
 480 (Like) the big trees standing in the jungle ;  
                     Not like these (is) Ku.  
 Not like the Ekaha fern,  
 The Ekaha put on to mats,  
 With the Kiele, with the Ala,  
 485 With the Olapa of the changing leaves,

- With the flower of the Kuku grass,  
 Falling hither, falling thither.  
     Not like these (is) Ku.  
 Not like the Naulu (shower),  
 490 The rain that brings the land breeze,  
 Like a water-bowl that has been poured out,  
 The land breezes of Kumomoku,  
 The land breezes coming round to Leleiwi.  
 Truly, have you not known  
 495 The mountain breezes, that double your back up,  
 (That make you) sit crooked and cramped, the Kaimohala,  
 The Kanehili at Kaupea ?  
     Not like these (is) Ku.  
 Not like the Lipoa seaweed,  
 500 (Or) the Nanue weed, food for fishes,  
 (Or) the Lipahapaha weed from Waimea,  
 (Or) the weed that clings to the trees,  
 (Or) the red crab on the top of Kaala.  
     Not like these (is) Ku.  
 505 Not like the Kukui tree,  
 The Kukui with the rough bark,  
 Bark that is cracking in the sun,  
 Like (the skin of) a man drinking awa ;  
 The scaly-(barked) Kukui trees of Lihue.  
 510 Not like these (is) Ku.  
 Not like the Aalii tree,  
 (Or) the Poholua, sweet-scented tree,  
 (Or) the Maile, causing one to pant on Maoi,  
 (Or) the flowering Kaluhea from Kawiwi.  
 515 Not like these (is) Ku.  
 Not like the Kokio tree,  
 With the many branches and wilted flowers,  
 Dropping the flowers on the ground.  
     Not like these (is) Ku.  
 520 Not like the Kawau tree,  
 (Or) the Kalia (which), placed in the mouth,  
 Consumes into morsels the people,  
 The island, the district, the land.  
     Not like these (is) Ku.  
 525 Not like the porpoise  
 With his nose that spouts up the sea,  
 While his body is in the sea, (and) the shark.  
     Not like these (is) Ku.  
 Not like one with the asthma,  
 530 The wheezing (bird) that eats the Lehua blossoms ;

The Oo, bird of Kaiona.

Not like these (is) Ku.

- 535 Not like the rind of the banana,  
 (Or) the tattered sugar-cane leaves of the gods,  
 (Or) the breadfruit tree planted by Kahai;  
 Truly, have you not known  
 The woman with the faded garment  
 On top of Puuokapolei?

Not like these (is) Ku.

- 540 Not like the Wiliwili tree,  
 Of whose fruit bracelets are made,  
 Whose trunk is gliding away,  
 Whose body is in the sea of the rollers surf-riding.

Not like these (is) Ku.

- 545 Not like the blast of the wind  
 Moaning over the hill-tops,  
 Causing to be tied down the houses in Koolau,  
 Fastened down lest they fall by the wind;  
 The tricky hook of the fisherman,  
 550 The fish-hook of Manaiakalani.

Not like these (is) Ku.

- Not like the Mamaki shrub,  
 With its long tangling shoots in the forests,  
 The choicest buds of all shrubs;  
 555 With its fine mesh-like covering  
 Like spray of the surf on the breast of Kuehu,  
 On the sacred road, on the long road,  
 On the long road that must be travelled (by all).

Not like these (is) Ku.

- 560 Not like the leaves of the Ti plant,  
 (Or) the leaves of the Wiliwili in Nuuanu,  
 Which wilt in the rain and the wind  
 And fall off.  
 The Wiliwili leaves on the top of Waahila.

- 565 Not like these (is) Ku.

- Not like the rain of Waahila,  
 (And) the cold wind of Kahaloa,  
 Scattering the Kou blossoms  
 That have been strung and fastened up,  
 570 And worn as wreaths on the sea of Kapua.

Not like these (is) Ku.

- Not like the Kamaniula tree,  
 The bright catcher of birds,  
 (Or) like the garlands of Hala nuts,  
 575 (Or) like the blossoms of the Kaa vine,

- The musical (singing) leaves of Ku.  
 For Ku is the chief.  
 Not like these (is) Ku.
- 580 Not like the Makole tree,  
 That tree of great moisture,  
 Which gathers thick on the eyelashes.  
 Not like these (is) Ku.  
 He is like ; here is thy mate, thy equal,  
 O Keawe-i-Kekahi-alii-o-ka-moku,
- 585 O Keawe, Lord of Hawaii.  
 Bitter is the salt water,  
 Sweet is the fresh water,  
 Very hot is the sun,  
 Warm is my skin,
- 590 From my husband, Nininini (comes) the water.  
 O Pulele,—Is it like ?  
 Not like these (is) Ku.  
 Not like these is the chief,  
 Under any comparison.
- 595 That was a man,  
 A god is Ku,  
 A messenger is Ku from heaven,  
 A Haole (foreigner) is Ku from Kahiki,  
 He is (equal to) four men,-
- 600 Yes (to) eight men ;—  
 O Ku, O Lono, O Kane, O Kanaloa,  
 O Kane-maikai-ahua-wahine,  
 O Haihaipuaa, O Kekuawalu la.  
 To these he is like.
- 605 There is Kona, hot is its surface,  
 Rises the steam from (the heat of) the sun,  
 Warmed are the offspring of Unulau,  
 The rainy season and the winter,  
 Ascending, coming forth is the sun,
- 610 The glory of great-voiced Ku ;  
 Given (to us) is the sun,  
 To warn the selfish chiefs of Kona.

NOTES.—*Verses 1-6* contain the introduction, or invocation, to the great gods acknowledged by the composers of the chant. It will be noticed that even so late as *Kualii's* time the original Hawaiian gods, "*Kane* and his company," *i.e.*, *Ku* and *Lono*, took the lead of the southern gods, *Kanaloa*, *Kauakahi*, and *Maluu*, introduced during the migratory period

referred to in the first portion of this volume.

*Verses 7-21* give the Hawaiian version of the southern legend of how the earth was fished up from the ocean by the demigod *Mauu*. The hook was called *Manaiakalani*; it was baited with the *Alae*, the mud-hen sacred to *Hina*, the daughter or wife of *Kanaloa*, who hid one of the

wings of the bird and thus defeated the purpose of *Maui*, so that "the table of *Laka*"—the bottom of the sea—was broken up into pieces and only came to the surface in the shape of islands. *Verse* 10.—"Lofty *Kauwiki*" refers to a prominent hill in the district of *Hana*, island of *Maui*, where *Hanaiakamalama*, the reputed mother of the Hawaiian *Maui*, dwelt. The introduction of "*Kauwiki*" and "*Hanaiakamalama*" in this connection shows the confusion in which the legend had fallen at this time, and the attempts of Hawaiian bards and priests to localise a notoriously southern legend on Hawaiian soil. *Verse* 15.—"*Nonononuiakea*," the great wide place full of holes or gulfs—*Poet.*: the very foundation of the earth, the sea bottom.

*Verses* 22-67 contain the celebrated "*Kuauhau Kumuuli*," the *Kumuuli* genealogy, referred to in vol. i. p. 184.

*Verses* 82-83.—The months of "*Makalii*, *Kaelo*, and *Kaulua*" were noted for high tides, "*Kaikoo*," and rough seas. According to the generally received Hawaiian calendar, these months would correspond to January, February, and March. The reference to the "*Poko*" worm, which generally appears in the months of February and March, shows that the most ancient mode of computing the year was followed in this chant. At the same time there were other modes of

computing in vogue both on *Oahu* and elsewhere on the group, some making the year commence at the vernal equinox, and calling "*Welehu*" the first month of the year; while others, commencing at the same time, called "*Nana*" the first month of the year.

*Verse* 117.—"*Oopu*," a small fish found in ponds and streams.

*Verses* 137-161.—The import of this portion of the chant has already been commented on, p. 285.

*Verse* 170.—"*Laamaomao*" was the Hawaiian *Æolus* who kept the winds imprisoned in his calabash or "*ipu*."

*Verse* 185.—"*Kao-Maaiiku*." *Kao* was the Hawaiian name for the star *Antares* in the horns of the constellation *Taurus*. "*Alaaeku*" is evidently an epithet and a compound word, though its exact meaning has now been forgotten.

*Verse* 187.—"*Na hoku mahana*." The twin stars; referring to *Castor* and *Pollux*, also known by the name of "*Nana-mua*" and "*Nana-hope*."

*Verse* 196.—"*Alahiki*." The road from *Waimea* to *Waipio* on *Hawaii*.

*Verse* 243.—"*Hee*," the squid.

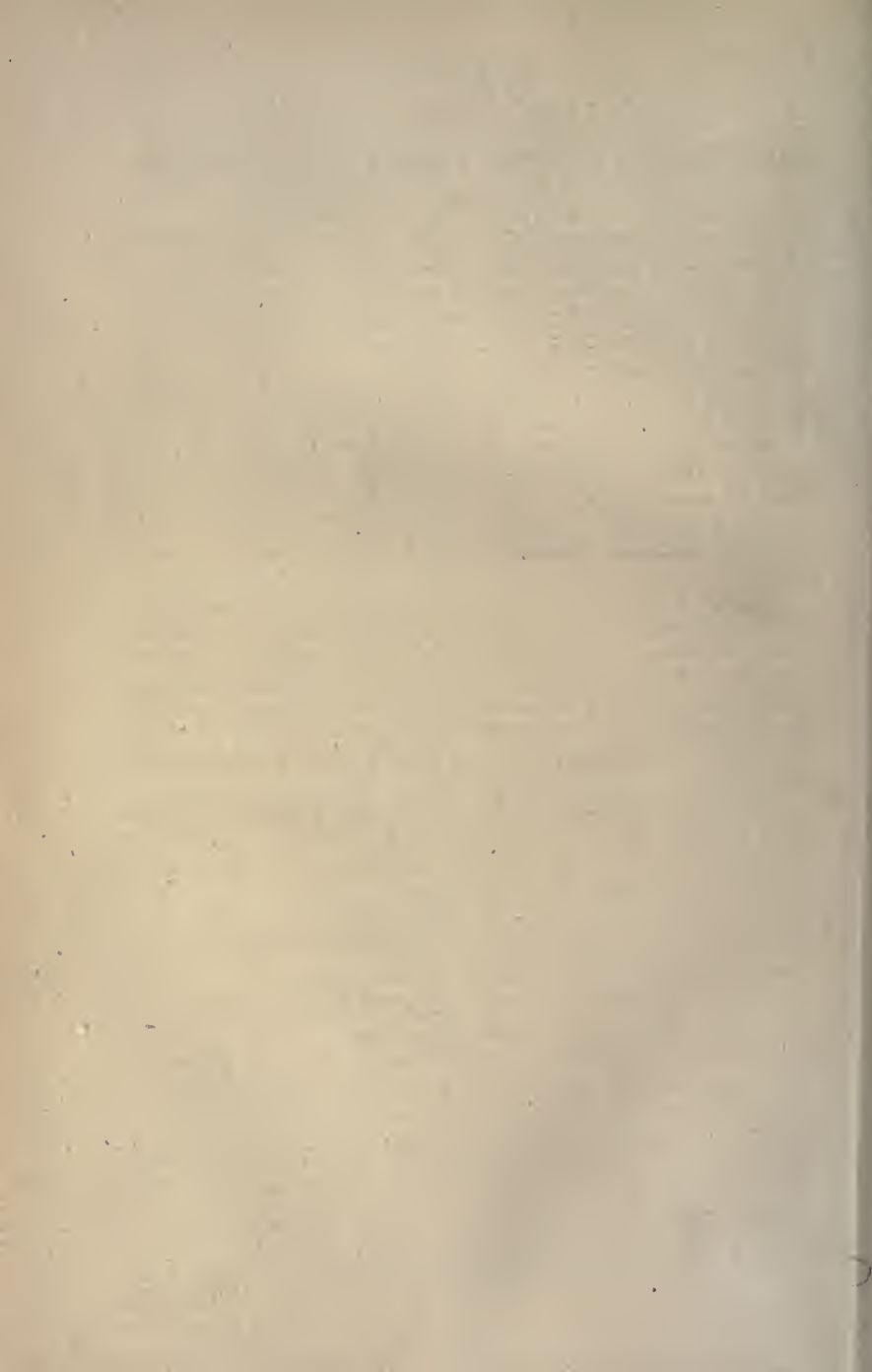
*Verses* 263-284.—Names of *Aumakua* or deified ancestors.

*Verses* 328-347.—Names of more *Aumakua*s.

*Verses* 362-365.—Still more *Aumakua*s.

*Verses* 378-419.—Describing the battles of *Kualii* with the *Ewa* chiefs.

THE END.



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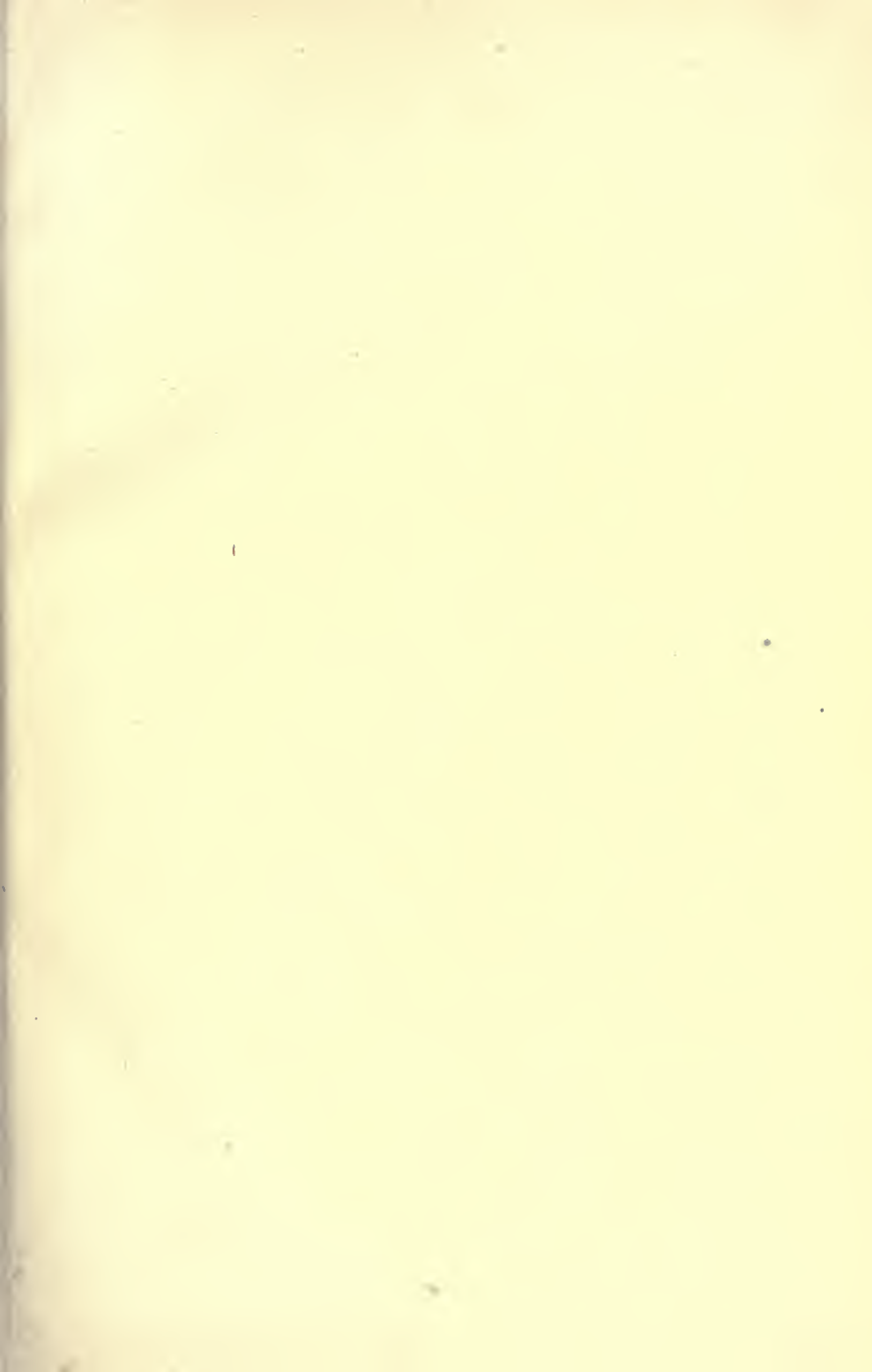
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## PREFACE.

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HAVING been invited by Hon. A. Fornander to contribute a few introductory remarks to this third volume of his work on the Polynesian race, although feeling myself unworthy of such a compliment, I can at least bespeak for his work a fair hearing and an impartial verdict. It is a truly monumental work, and gives ample proof of the indefatigable industry and critical acumen of the author.

Probably there is no race upon earth which, in proportion to its numbers, has been the subject of so much interest and of such minute investigation as the Polynesian. This is owing not only to the interesting character of the race, but also to the mystery, as yet unsolved, which shrouds their origin, and to their extreme isolation. The evidence both of language and tradition points unmistakably to the East Indian Archipelago as at least a stage in their eastward migration. Few, if any, will accept Dr. Lesson's theory that they are autochthons of New Zealand.

And yet the intervening region of Melanesia is occupied by races entirely dissimilar, which separate them by thousands of miles from their nearest congeners, the brown tribes of the Moluccas.

It is, however, generally admitted that the great work of Wilhelm von Humboldt, "Ueber die Kawi Sprache," has established on an impregnable basis the fundamental relationship between the Malagasy, East Indian, and Polynesian groups of languages, to which we can now add the Micronesian.

Still it was certainly an unfortunate mistake to apply the term "Malayan" to this vast family of languages, in view of the fact that the West Malayan tribes are comparatively late invaders of the Archipelago, having been previously largely Mongolised by mixture with the Indo-Chinese races, to a greater degree than their language alone would indicate. The Malagasy in like manner has acquired many African and some Arabian elements in its distant home.

Undoubtedly the Polynesian, as it is the most remote, is the purest and most typical representative of the family.

Many considerations combine to prove the great antiquity of the epoch when the Polynesians left the East Indian Archipelago.

Humboldt observed a large class of Sanskrit words existing in the Malay proper, the Javanese, and the Bughis, but wanting in the other languages of this stock. Hence it is evident that such words must have been introduced *after* the separation of the Malagasy and the Polynesian group from the other branches of the Oceanic family. But this period must have been very remote, since these Sanskrit words are pure and genuine in form, and free

from the corruptions which the modern Indian languages present. Now the Sanskrit was a dead language 300 B.C. The Javanese mythology, and the style and decorations of the magnificent ruins of the Javanese temples, all prove the great antiquity of the Indian civilisation of Java, of which the Polynesians show little if any trace.

But besides the comparatively late infusion of Sanskrit words just mentioned, Humboldt held that there was a second class of Sanskrit words extending to remote dialects, such as the Tagala, Polynesian, and Malagasy. The wide diffusion of these words he attributed to an older form of the Sanskrit, or a "pre-Sanskrit" language.

This idea was taken up by the illustrious Professor Bopp, who published his views on the subject in 1841. His hypothesis was that the Polynesian is but the degraded remains of a once highly organised language like the Sanskrit.

As the modern languages of the South of Europe grew up out of the ruins of the Latin language, whose grammatical structure had crumbled to pieces, so he imagined that this great family of languages had arisen out of the wreck of the Sanskrit. But the dissolution of the grammatical structure of the Sanskrit in the Oceanic languages had been much more thorough than that of the Latin in its daughters, which preserve much of the old system of conjugation, and have wholly abandoned it only in their treatment of the nouns. These Oceanic dialects, he said, "have entirely forsaken the path in which their Sanskrit mother moved; they have taken off the old garment and

put on a new one, or appear, as in the islands of the Pacific, in complete nudity.”

On the other hand, M. Gaussin has clearly shown from internal evidence the extremely primitive character of the Polynesian language. He has shown that most of its words express sensations or images, while most abstract terms are wanting. He demonstrates the primitive character of its grammar, and proves that some of the formative particles have even yet hardly ceased to be independent words. Everything about this language shows that it is in its childhood, so to speak, and that instead of having lost its inflections, it has never had any to lose. Having been at a very early period separated from the rest of the human race, destitute of metals or beasts of burden, and deprived of nearly all the materials and incentives which develop civilisation, the Polynesians seem to have remained nearly stationary, and their language to be still in its infancy as regards its degree of development.

Judge Fornander has taken up the question again from a different point of view. Assuming that the monosyllabic, agglutinative, and inflected systems of grammar are three successive stages of development, through which all inflected languages have passed, he concludes, with Professor Sayce, that there must have been once a time when the supposed ancestor of the Aryan languages was in the same stage of grammatical development as the Polynesian of to-day. It was at that distant period “in the night of

time" that the ancestors of the Oceanic race separated from the Aryan stock somewhere in Central Asia.

As in Iceland the old Norse tongue has been preserved with little change, so, according to his view, the Oceanic languages have remained in a state of arrested development as a survival of the primeval language of the Aryans; as, in fact, a "living specimen" of that ancient form of speech.

His extensive knowledge of Polynesian languages has given him a great advantage over Professor Bopp in the treatment of this subject.

It must be admitted by his opponents that he has fairly stated the objections made by leading philologists to his method of comparing languages of widely differing morphological structure by means of their roots.

It must also be admitted that he has made out a strong case for the existence of an Aryan element in Polynesian, whether inherited or obtained by mutual intercourse.

Among the more striking coincidences may be mentioned the first four numerals, the pronouns, and a number of common nouns, such as *ra*, the sun = Sanskrit *ravi*, and the Assyrian and Egyptian god Ra; *kuri*, a dog = *Kuri*, an Aryan dialect of the Hindu Kush; *vai*, water = Sanskrit *vari*; *afi*, fire = Sanskrit *agni*, &c.

It may be supposed that, at that immensely remote epoch to which our author refers, the distinctions between the principal races were just beginning to be formed, and the Aryan tribes just assuming a distinct character from the other Turanian communities.

If we believe, with Quatrefages, in the original unity of the human species, then all distinctions of race are simply comparative, and merely signify a greater or less degree of consanguinity.

This much will probably be conceded by most ethnologists, that the Oceanic family, and its Polynesian branch in particular, stands in a much nearer relation to the Aryan family, both in respect to language and physical traits, than any of the Mongoloid races, or even the Dravidians.

At the same time we find all South-Eastern Asia occupied at present by Mongoloid races, speaking monosyllabic, tonic languages, and all traces of preceding populations are well-nigh obliterated.

It is certain, however, even from historical records, that the present occupants of Farther India are not the first settlers of those countries, but have for many centuries been moving southward, absorbing or driving out the aborigines. In like manner the Aryans or Sanskrit-speaking race had previously descended into Hindostan from the north-west, and subdued the original inhabitants.

According to Mr. Hodgson and the late Mr. Logan of Singapore, South-Eastern Asia was originally occupied by brown races allied to the Bhotiya tribes of Northern India and the Karens of Burmah. Displaced by the pressure of the Mongoloid tribes from the north, they emigrated into the Malaysian Archipelago, where in their turn they drove the black aborigines into the interior of some of the

islands and peninsulas, and entirely expelled them from others.

The foremost wave of this migration of the brown race was probably composed of Polynesians, who in the opinion of our author were to a certain extent allied to the Aryan races both in blood and language.

Mr. A. H. Keane imagined that he had found a remnant of the Polynesian race in the Khmers of Central Cambodia; but, as Judge Fornander has ascertained, there is not the slightest resemblance between their languages.

He has examined the Dravidian languages of Southern India with no better success.

Messrs. Logan and Hodgson discovered remarkable, and, as they believe, conclusive analogies between the languages and customs of the Bhotiya races and those of South-Eastern Malaysia and Polynesia.

The researches of our author, however, as he believes, have tracked the footsteps of the first Polynesian emigrants still farther to the highlands of South-Western Asia, and revealed the impress of the ancient Cushite civilisation in their religion and customs.

To conclude, it is to be hoped that the discussion of this subject may serve to throw new light on certain disputed questions relating to the history of language, viz., whether languages in their historical development proceed from the simple to the complex, from monosyllables to polysyllables, and from an analytical to a synthetic grammatical structure, or the contrary; and whether, beginning

with few and simple sounds, they tend to acquire new consonants, to enlarge their alphabet, and become harsher as they grow older; and finally, whether languages of radically different types necessarily pass through the same order of development or not.

W. D. ALEXANDER.

HONOLULU, *Sept. 8, 1884.*



ORIGIN AND MIGRATIONS  
OF  
THE POLYNESIAN RACE.

—♦—  
*COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY OF THE POLYNESIAN  
AND INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.*

INTRODUCTION.

IN the first volume of my work, "An Account of the Polynesian Race, its Origin and Migrations," I have, among other suggestions, referring to an Aryan origin of the Polynesian family, advanced the proposition that the Polynesian language was fundamentally a branch of the great Aryan family of languages, and, so far as yet is known, probably the oldest still surviving. That proposition has been denied, ridiculed, and scoffed at by some, and treated with, I venture to say, unmerited silence by others, whose good opinion and co-operation in elucidating this subject it would have been my highest ambition to obtain. But, bearing in mind what Professor A. H. Sayce so wisely says, that<sup>1</sup> "all new things are sure to be objected to by those who have to unlearn the old," I have endeavoured to work out my problem alone, with the satisfaction, however, of knowing that, if it fails, no one else is inculpated in its failure.

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to the Science of Language," ii. 267.

To Franz Bopp, of world-wide philological fame, I am indebted for the first idea of comparing the Polynesian and Aryan languages with a view of establishing their common origin. In his "Ueber die Verwandtschaft der Malayisch-Polynesischen Sprachen mit den Indisch-Europäischen" (Berlin, 1841), he endeavoured to establish the proposition which I have now resumed. With that marvellous intuition which characterised Bopp's genius, he perceived that there was a connection between the Polynesian and the Indo-European, but he failed to demonstrate it; not so much from disregard of his own method of proceeding with other languages, as some writers advance (A. H. Sayce, B. Delbrück), as from the fact, as I believe, that he started from incorrect premises. Bopp assumed, what almost all literary men of his day admitted as a fact, and which John Crawford alone denied—and was treated as an ethnological heretic—viz., that the Polynesians were the descendants, the degenerate and brutalised *rejetons*, of the Malay race or family. Having found a large number of Sanskrit words, in a more or less well-preserved condition, in the Malay and Javanese, and having found the same and other Sanskrit words in the Polynesian, in, as he thought, a less well-preserved condition, Bopp argued that the Malay was a corrupted daughter of the Sanskrit, and the Polynesian a still worse corrupted grand-daughter. Bopp intuitively recognised the true ring of the Aryan metal in both Malay and Polynesian, but he failed to discriminate between younger and older, and failed to detect, what in the course of this work I hope to establish, that the Aryan element in the latter—the Polynesian—was genuine and inborn, and in the former—the Malay—was adventitious and imported.

Let us glance for a moment at the appreciation which Bopp has received from those who now lead the van in philological and ethnological studies.

Professor A. H. Sayce, in his "Introduction to the Science of Language," vol. i. p. 49 (London, 1880), says:

“But even Homer nods at times; and, as if to warn us against following too implicitly any leader, however illustrious, Bopp sought to include the Polynesian dialects in his Indo-European family, and thereby violated the very method that he had himself inaugurated.”

B. Delbrück in his “*Einleitung in das Sprach-Studium*,” p. 23 (Leipzig, 1880), speaking of Bopp’s attempt to compare the Malayo-Polynesian with the Indo-European, says: “Es wird jetzt, so viel ich weiss, von den Kennern durchweg angenommen, dass diese Sprachen mit den Sanskritischen Sprachen nichts zu thun haben. Bopp aber empfing den Eindruck, dass sie zum Sanskrit in einem töchterlichen Verhältniss stünden, und suchte die Verwandtschaft in derselben Weise zu erhärten, wie die der indo-germanischen Sprachen in seiner Vgl. Gr., so weit der Charakter dieser Sprachen, welche eine totale Auflösung ihres Urbauens erfahren haben, es gestattet.”

Professor W. D. Whitney, in his “*Language and the Study of Language*” (3d ed., 1870), p. 245, says: “Even those who are most familiar with its” (Comp. Philol.) “methods may make lamentable failures when they come to apply them to a language of which they have only superficial knowledge, or which they compare directly with some distant tongue, regardless of its relations in its own family, and of its history as determined by comparison with these.” And in a note to this the Professor says: “Thus, as a striking example and warning, hardly a more utter caricature of the comparative method is to be met with than that given by Bopp, the great founder and author of the method himself, in the papers in which he attempts to prove the Malay-Polynesian and the Caucasian languages entitled to a place in the Indo-European family.” On the next page the Professor says: “No man is qualified to compare fruitfully two languages or groups who is not deeply grounded in the knowledge of both;” and that “no language can be fruitfully compared with others which stand, or are presumed

to stand, in a more distant relationship with it, until it has been first compared with its own next of kin."

Thus the leaders, while souls of lesser note have taken up the slogan. But without arrogating to myself either deeper knowledge or clearer ideas of the requirements of comparative philology, I may be permitted to add to Professor Whitney's maxim above quoted, that "no man is qualified to *criticise* fruitfully" a comparison of two languages or groups "who is not deeply grounded in the knowledge of both."

Granted that Bopp's knowledge of the Malayo-Polynesian was greatly inferior to his knowledge of the Indo-European; that it was "lamentably," though perhaps excusably, insufficient to establish what he proposed; and that, however correct his perception of a relation between the two groups, yet his performance was a failure;—granted all this, are his critics who condemn him better qualified than he was, by being "deeply grounded in the knowledge" of both groups of languages? I think that few Polynesian scholars will hesitate to say that they are not, and thus, by Professor Whitney's own formula, are disqualified to pass judgment on Bopp, or rather the cause he advocated.

As between Bopp and his critics, the "tu quoque" retort might suffice, if not to justify himself, at least to silence their strictures until the last word has been spoken. But for my part, I am too conscious of my own shortcomings, defects, and possible mistakes to seek to avoid my responsibility by impeaching the jurisdiction of the tribunal. The judges are too much my masters in other things, if not in Polynesian lore, and I have too much need of their evidence in numerous details, that I could forego their good opinion; for my effort shall be to induce them eventually to acknowledge that Bopp was right in the main point, though his method of showing it might have been better.

Ethnologists of all shades of opinion are now beginning

to agree, with better data in their hands and after a more thorough study of the subject, that the Polynesians are not descendants of the Malays; and not a few, among whom I notice such men as De Quatrefages, A. H. Keane, A. R. Wallace, Dr. A. Lesson—however widely differing on other points—positively deny any relationship, either proximate or ultimate, between the Malay and the Eastern Polynesians. There are a few who still maintain a sort of middle-ground of thought, and hold that if the Polynesians are not the descendants of the Malays, they are at least descended from the same proximate ancestor, and are, in fact, either brothers or cousins to the Malays. I differ from these, and think that, tested by every ethnological, and even linguistic method, the Polynesians have no inheritance and no kindred in the Malayo-Javanese race or culture.

That a very large number of Polynesian vocables may be found in the Malay language I believe no one now will deny. But, so far from proving the derivation of the former from the latter, the very reverse is now considered to be the fact; and to any one conversant with both languages, it is evident that almost all such words, in their process of adoption by the Malays, have been loaded with terminations and modes of pronunciation entirely foreign to the idiom and genius of the Polynesian language. Mr. A. H. Keane, in his excellent little treatise "On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages,"<sup>1</sup> has shown how in all probability this adoption and adaptation of Polynesian words by the Malays came about; and the absence of Malay words in the Polynesian is a proof that the latter had left the Indian Archipelago before the former had invaded it, or before they had become so far the dominant race as to affect the language of those Polynesian tribes who still remained in the Archipelago, whether in a free or a subject condition, and from whom, through mutual

<sup>1</sup> "Journal of Anthropol. Instit. Great Britain and Ireland," Feb. 1880.

intercourse, hostile or peaceful, the Malays obtained the Polynesian vocables which for so long have misled philologists and ethnologists.

As to the words in both languages referring themselves to an Aryan origin, I think the critical and candid inquirer will find that the Malayo-Javanese words of that character refer themselves almost exclusively to Sanskrit and Sanskritoid sources, whereas the Polynesian words of similar character refer themselves to a pre-Vedic period of Aryan speech, before the terminations and casus-endings of nouns or the inflections of verbs had been yet fully developed or finally established.

That the Polynesian is an agglutinative, and the Indo-European an inflectional language, is admitted; and that, for that very reason, there is apparently a great gulf between them, which no philological *tour de main* can bridge over, is also admitted. The Indo-European stands on the hither side of that gulf, in all the conscious, even if at times arrogant, pride of its flowers and fruits, its development and its flections.<sup>1</sup> The Polynesian still remains on the other side of that gulf, in a semi-nude condition, and with progress and development arrested by

<sup>1</sup> How some philologists of deep research and of growing fame look upon the so much boasted-of inflections in speech may be gathered from "Språkels makt öfver tanken" ("The Power of Language over Thought"), by Professor Esaias Tegnér, Stockholm, 1880, who says, p. 49, "In the inflectional languages, in so far as they are inflectional, is the fusion of the elements of flexion and the stem complete, so that they cannot be separated from each other. But in place of calling the fusion 'organic'—an expression to which we are wont to attach the idea of something of higher standing—it may just as well be called 'amalgamation,' a muddle, or such like. We might then see the conditions from another point of view, and the flections would then appear

to us as a decay and a falling down from a purer and more perfect form of speech. . . . The Danish *vindue*, the English *window*, do not give us the impression of something more 'organic' than our old Northern *vind-öga*, but rather the contrary. Why then, for instance, should the obscuration of suffixed pronouns, through which the Indo-European verbal flections are thought to have arisen, be set forth as being especially praiseworthy? . . . And if flections, as a higher form of speech, stand in any connection with a higher civilisation, how explain the case that all the principal cultivated languages at present show a decided tendency to replace flections with turns of expressions which rather belong to the class of isolated or agglutinated languages?"

separation and isolation. Yet both these languages once stood together on that farther Aryan plateau, and well-known calls from the Indo-European camp received well-known answers from the Polynesian.

But although it seems the fashion for Indo-European savants to look upon the Polynesian, not as a chip of the same block, as a member of the same family left behind in the race, but as an alien and a stranger, whom, for the convenience of classification, it has been the custom these last hundred years to stick into the Malay pocket, yet, for all that, to use a familiar saying, "blood will tell," and the day will come when the kindred will be recognised.

To aid in the accomplishment of that event, to assist in clearing the jungle which hides the stepping-stones by which the Indo-European Aryans passed from yonder side the gulf to this, will be the object of this work. I offer no excuse for the boldness of my undertaking. The consciousness that I am right will be my answer and my apology. But though it is in vain, and alas! too late, yet it is human to wish that to my acquaintance with Polynesian subjects could have been added the advice and co-operation of those master-minds in Europe and America who are the ornaments of this age, and will be the rulers and guides of future ages in scientific research.

In retracing the steps of the Indo-European languages, the first question arises, have they always been inflectional, in contradistinction from the so-called agglutinative? From the days of Franz Bopp and W. von Schlegel, I believe that question, though not without certain demurrers, has been answered in the negative, and the majority of distinguished philologists now concede that there was, and must have been, a time when the Indo-European branches of the Aryan were still in an agglutinative condition, when the casus- and verbum-endings, and other now fossilised forms of accretion to roots and stems, were still independent, living, sense-bearing words, agglutinated

to others for the purpose of greater emphasis and precision, and to distinguish the relation of the various members of a sentence. That such is the *resumé* in fewest words, and the final decision of modern research, I gather from the "Introduction to the Science of Language," by A. H. Sayce, *passim*, and more especially in vol. ii. p. 149, and from "Einleitung in das Sprach-Studium," by B. Delbrück.<sup>1</sup> With the history of the flecational developments within the Indo-European branches, I, of course, have no concern in this treatise. But it is to the period of Aryan speech, when, as Professor Sayce informs us, "the cases were not as yet sharply defined," and "when as yet an Aryan verb did not exist," when the relations of nouns were indifferently expressed by prefixes or suffixes, when people said "love-I," instead of I love, *ama-yo*, contracted *amo*, *φη-μι*, "speak-I," &c., as the Polynesians express themselves to this day: *lofa-áú*, "love-I," *fai-áú*, "say-I," *fai-ma*, "say-we," &c., that I wish to call the reader's constant attention in the following pages.

As I have referred to Professor Sayce's "Introduction to the Science of Language," and every well-informed student has probably read the work, I feel in candour bound to state the explicit condemnation which Professor Sayce puts upon just such an attempt at comparison as I am now undertaking. The Professor says (vol. i. p. 136, &c.):—

"Unless inscribed monuments are hereafter brought to light, or comparison with the Malayan dialects results in

<sup>1</sup> P. 75: "In unendlicher Ferne hinter aller Ueberlieferung liegt die Zeit, in welcher die indo-germanische Flexion noch nicht existierte, in welcher man, sagen wir, *da* gebrauchte, um geben, Geber, u. s. w. auszudrücken. Als dann etwa *dami* ich gebe, *datar* der Geber, u. s. w. entstand, war damit die Wurzel *dā*, als solche aus der Sprache entschwunden." And on p. 98: "Schon bei der Erörterung des Begriffes Wurzel hat sich herausgestellt, dass

wir in der Geschichte des indo-germanischen zwei Perioden zu unterscheiden haben, nämlich: die vorflexivische oder die Wurzelperiode und die flexivische. . . . Aber auch die Flexion kann sich nicht auf einen Schlag vollzogen haben, sondern muss in verschiedenen Akten vor sich gegangen sein, so dass die flexivische Periode wieder in Unterabtheilungen zerfallen muss."



the recovery of a common parent-speech, the condition of the Polynesian languages a thousand years ago must remain unknown. Much, no doubt, may be effected by comparing the scattered relics of these languages together, by showing that a sibilant, for instance, has been preserved in Samoan which has become a simple aspirate elsewhere, or that a guttural is retained between two vowels in Maori which has been dropped in most of the other Polynesian settlements; but to assert that some thousand years back they resembled another language to which they bear little similarity at present, would be to argue without data, and to violate the fundamental principles of comparative philology." And again, vol. ii. pp. 31-32, the Professor says: "The genealogical classification of languages, that which divides them into families and sub-families, each mounting up, as it were, to a single parent-speech, is based on the evidence of grammar and roots. Unless the grammar agrees, no amount of similarity between the roots of two languages could warrant us in comparing them together and referring them to the same stock."

Unfortunately no "inscribed monuments," in Polynesia or elsewhere, have been discovered to attest the condition of the Polynesian language a thousand years ago; and "a comparison with the Malayan dialects" would be worse than useless, seeing that the latter, in so far as they resemble the Polynesian, are of comparatively younger date, and would thus only mislead, as they misled Bopp. Failing these aids, however, some traces of a former condition of Polynesian speech may be recovered by comparing the various dialects of the Polynesian itself, and by critically examining its ancient chants and prayers, which have been handed down—orally, it is true, but with wonderful correctness—and which are now historically, though approximately, estimated to be some six to seven hundred years old—many doubtless much older. We thus find that, substantially, the Polynesian language was at

that time the same as it is now, that its structure and grammar, its stunted development and half-accomplished flexions, were the same then as now; and there is no reason to believe, no evidence to show, that such as it was seven hundred years ago, it may not have been three, five, or seven times seven hundred years ago.

This comparison, in the line that Professor Sayce intimates—the dropping of the gutturals in some and the changing of sibilants in others of the Polynesian dialects—I am constrained to say does not bear on the question of age at all. That the Hawaiians, Tahitians, Tongans, and others employ the aspirate *h* instead of the Samoan *s*, is no proof that the Samoan is the older form of a word. On the other hand, that the Samoans, Hawaiians, Tahitians, and others frequently drop the guttural, which is retained in the New Zealand and other dialects, is no proof that the latter is older than the former. In fact, these and some other differences of pronunciation must be referred back to a period immeasurably anterior to the arrival of the Polynesians in the Pacific, probably to the time before their separation from the other members of the Aryan stock, with whom these differences were apparently as much *en règle* at that time as they are this day in Polynesia, and with remarkable resemblance in detail. For instance, the Polynesian dialectical use of *h* in some and *s* in others, has its parallel in the conversion of the Sanskrit, Latin, Gothic *s* into the Iranian, Greek, and Old Welsh aspirate. The conversion of *k* and *p* within the Polynesian area has its parallel in the Greek and Latin, the Zend and Sanskrit. The interchange of *l* with *r* and sometimes *n*, so common within the Polynesian circle, finds its counterpart in the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin. The conversion of Greek and Latin gutturals into Gothic aspirate and Slavonic sibilant is not unknown to, and finds examples within, the Polynesian dialects. The conversion of the Sanskrit, Zend, Latin, and other nasal *ng* into the Slave *n* has its counterpart in the

Samoan, New Zealand, and other *ng*, and the Hawaiian, Tahitian, and other *n*. Even the hardening of this *ng* into the guttural Greek  $\gamma$  shows itself in the Marquesan conversion of *ng* into *k*. The change of the Sanskrit and Zend *v* into the Greek  $\phi$ , and the Old Irish *f* has its parallel in the Hawaiian *w*, the New Zealand *wh* becoming in the Samoan, Tongan, Tahitian, and others *f*. No one now claims that the Indo-European languages are descended from the Sanskrit; and I hope that hereafter none will claim that the principal Polynesian dialects are descended one from the other. If, according to Professor Sayce, the retention of the sibilant in the Samoan would indicate that it is the older branch of the Polynesian, the dropping of the guttural would indicate that it is the younger. It cannot be both at the same time; and thus the Professor's criterion for determining the relative age of Polynesian dialects cannot be the correct one. Professor Sayce would hardly advance that the conversion of the Sanskrit, Latin, Gothic *s* into Zend, Greek, Old Welsh aspirates, is an evidence that the former were the older, more genuine, modes of utterance, and the latter were younger corruptions. So far as the alphabets of the Indo-European and Polynesian dialects will admit of a comparison, the phonetic changes in both are remarkably similar, and would seem to indicate a common starting-point.

If we now pass from sound to sense, it will be seen that in the majority of the Indo-European and Polynesian words which I have compared together the primary archaic sense has been better preserved in the latter than in the former, the material, underlying, sense retained in the one, and frequently lost in the other.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Professor W. D. Whitney, in his "Language and the Study of Language," p. 111, says on this subject: "Among the examples already given, not a few have illustrated the transfer of a word from a physical to a spiritual significance.

This method of change is one of such prominent importance in the development of language, that it requires at our hands a more special treatment. By it has been generated the whole body of our intellectual, moral, and abstract vocabu-

But we are told by Professor Sayce, and doubtless correctly, that "no amount of similarity between the roots of two languages" (in sound and sense) "could warrant us in comparing them together—unless the grammar agrees."<sup>1</sup> Where, then, is the grammar of the ancient pre-Vedic Aryan language to be found? the grammar of the period, "when the flections had not yet been evolved, and when the relations of grammar were expressed by the close amalgamation of flectionless stems in a single sentence-word;"<sup>2</sup> when "there was as yet no distinction between noun and verb," and "the accusative and genitive relations of after-days did not yet exist;"<sup>3</sup> when "the cases were not as yet sharply defined, when the stem could be furnished with a number of unmeaning suffixes, and when these suffixes could be used indifferently to express the various relations of the sentence;"<sup>4</sup> "when as yet an Aryan verb did not exist, when, in fact, the primitive Aryan conception of the sentence was much the same as that of the modern Dyak;"<sup>5</sup> when, "apart from the imperative, the verb of the undivided Aryan community possessed no other tenses or moods;"<sup>6</sup> when "the Aryan language, or rather the ancestor of that hypothetical speech which we term the Parent-Aryan, was once itself without any signs of gender;"<sup>7</sup> when, in short, the ancestor of the Indo-European languages stood in the same semi-nude, undeveloped condition as the Polynesian of to-day still stands.

There was then, apparently, a time when the Indo-European languages,—or the dialects of a common parent-speech from which they developed themselves,—were

lary; every word and phrase of which this is composed, if we are able to trace its history back to the beginning, can be shown to have signified originally something concrete and apprehensible by the senses: its present use is the result of a figurative transfer, founded on the recognition of an analogy be-

tween a physical and mental act or product."

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 301.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 431.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i. p. 405.

not possessed of a system of inflections, and when their grammatical relations were expressed by separate particles and "the close amalgamation of flectionless stems," or, in other words, they were an agglutinative language making its first steps towards becoming inflectional. It is to that period of the Indo-European languages, it is with the Aryan speech of that time, that I wish to refer and compare the Polynesian.

August Schleicher thought that that primitive Aryan speech ("Indo-Germanische Ursprache") might be recovered by comparison and analysis. The procedure was probably correct, but the result failed to be demonstrated, because there were no ancient historical remains, no accessible living specimen—that philologists then were aware of—of that ancient Aryan speech, wherewith to compare it. His efforts, therefore, became simply tentative and the result hypothetical, and has been treated as such by later philologists.

With reverent hands I now take up the thread which slipped from the hands of Bopp and eluded the grasp of Schleicher, and propose the Polynesian as a living specimen of that ancient Aryan speech, that "Indo-Germanische Ursprache," as one of the doubtless many dialects into which Aryan speech had already begun to diverge ere the flections had been definitely developed or generally adopted, and while that speech was still substantially agglutinative.

Professor Sayce tell us<sup>1</sup> that "we may catch glimpses, indeed, of a time when the cases were not as yet sharply defined," &c. Let us follow those glimpses, and see how the probable Aryan of that period and the Polynesian would agree.

What was the alphabet of that early Aryan speech? What letters, and how many, served them to express those colloquial words which were common to all their branches before their adoption of inflections, and before

<sup>1</sup> See p. 12 *supra*.

their still later separation? What was the nature and extent of their alphabet while yet they were agglutinative and stood on a par with the Polynesians? No "inscribed monuments" remain to tell. But it is well known that most, if not all, the Indo-European languages, when first reduced to writing, had fewer letters in their alphabets than they have at present. How many or how few letters served their purpose at that time may perhaps never be known. Professor Whitney tells us that the "earliest Indo-European language" contained only three vowels and twelve consonants: *a, i, u*, vowels; *l, r*, semi-vowels; *n, m*, nasals; *h*, aspirate; *s*, sibilant; *g, d, b, k, t, p*, mutes; "all others are of later origin."<sup>1</sup> From the inter-convertibility of several of those consonants it may reasonably be inferred that at a still earlier period than that referred to by Professor Whitney even fewer consonants served the purposes of colloquial intercourse. The best developed Polynesian alphabet, the Samoan, contains fifteen letters, ten consonants, and five vowels; the New Zealand and Easter Island, fourteen letters; the Tahitian and Marquesan, thirteen letters; the Hawaiian, twelve letters. To the peculiar convertibility of different letters common to the Indo-European and the Polynesian dialects I have already referred on page 10.

In regard to the Polynesian vowels,—not feeling competent to solve the question which occupied the attention of men like Bopp, Grimm, Schleicher, Pott, and others, who, arguing from Sanskrit and Gothic, held that the primitive Aryan had only three vowel sounds, *a, i, u*, or whether, conformably to Greek, Latin, and others, it contained five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*,—it is sufficient to state that the Polynesian, like the latter, possessed the same five vowels. The latter may be a development of the primitive three, but if so, it must be very ancient indeed, and with the Polynesians they are of the very substance

<sup>1</sup> "Language and the Study of Language," p. 265.

of the language. Consonants, through dialectical peculiarities above referred to, may change or be elided, but, except in very rare and comparatively modern instances, the vowels are permanent. The *a* of immemorial time is the *a* of the present day, in whatever stem or root occurring, throughout the purely Polynesian dialects. And so with *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*. Hence I think it will be found, on future inquiry and comparison, that the Polynesian pronunciation of a word that can be fairly assumed to be of Aryan origin will be a valuable guide in determining the earlier, if not original, pronunciation of that word within the unbroken Aryan circle, before the flections began to affect the vowel sounds, the modulation of the voice.

In regard to the morphology of the Polynesian and Indo-European languages, their construction of sentences, there are several points of contact and comparison which invite the attention of the philologist.

The article, whether definite or indefinite, invariably precedes the noun: *he hale*, *ka hale*, "a house, the house," *une maison*, *la maison*, *εἰς δῶμος*, *ὁ δῶμος*.

In Polynesian the attributive adjective follows the noun, the predicative precedes it: *he hale ula*, "a red house;" *ula ka hale*, "red (is) the house;" *he waa loloa*, "a long boat or vessel;" *loloa ka waa*, "long (is) the boat;" *he makua alii*, "a noble parent;" *alii ka makua*, "noble (is) the parent," &c. Professor Sayce, in his valuable work so often referred to, calls attention to the fact that the Aryan (Indo-Europ.) languages, with the exception of the Romance branches of the Latin, placed the adjective before the noun "unless it implied a sentence of predication."<sup>1</sup> But as it is admitted that there was a period of Aryan speech when the inflections were not yet formed and exercised their influence on the current of thought and the position of words in a sentence; when the nude words which gave expression to the speaker's

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. i. pp. 434-435.

thoughts must have stood side by side in the same order that those thoughts arose in the speaker's mind,—at which period, perhaps little later, the Polynesians separated from the Aryan stock,—it is possible, nay, probable, that the thoughts of the Aryan, *par excellence* the Indo-European of that time, followed the same order as that of his disowned Polynesian brother, as that of his immediate neighbours the Accadian—an agglutinative language—and the Semitic—an inflectional language. Professor Sayce<sup>1</sup> justly remarks that “in the primitive sentence the object would have come first, then the attribute and verb, and lastly the subject.” To that natural and “primitive” order of thought in the Aryan's mind and manner of expressing it the Polynesian bears witness. The *hale*, the *waa*, the *makua* (house, ship, parent), in the examples quoted above, were the objects of the speaker's thoughts; the *ula*, *loloa*, *alii* (red, long, noble), were the attributes, the adjectives that described and qualified the object. And the same order of thought and expression held good in compound words.

I would not venture to contradict so eminent a philologist as Professor Sayce when he states, as a rule, that the earlier Aryan, through all its branches, placed the adjective, the qualifying word, the attribute, before the noun. But the question may innocently be asked, how early, or when, did the Aryan depart from that “primitive order of thought and expression in the primitive sentence” to which I have just referred on Professor Sayce's own authority? If such was the order of the Aryan “primitive sentence”—and that it was such the Polynesian attests, from my point of view—then the placing the adjective before the noun, the object, must have been a subsequent, a later change, in which the Polynesians did not participate, as they did not in the inflectional development. The “altered position of the adjective in the Romance languages” would then be

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 436.



simply a return to the "primitive" order of a sentence, brought about under peculiar conditions—the loss or corruption, perhaps, of some of the inflections.

As regards compound words, Professor Sayce refers to the Latin *credo*, "I believe," which has the same origin as the Sanskrit *śrad-dadhāmi*, "heart-placing-I." The Polynesian offers numerous instances of similar compounds: *ke-manao-lana-nei*<sup>1</sup> *a'u*, "I hope," literally, *ke*, article, indicating pres. ind.; *manao*, "mind;" *lana*, "floating, buoying up;" *a'u*, "I;" *lihi-launa*, "arriving at," lit. "edge-reaching;" *waha-hee*, "to lie, to falsify," lit. "mouth-slipping," &c.

Again, Professor Sayce remarks, that "at the time when an Aryan syntax was first forming itself, there was as yet no distinction between noun and verb"<sup>2</sup> As the Aryan was then, so has the Polynesian remained up till now. *Noho*, s. is "a seat;" *noho*, v. "to sit;" *nono*, s. "a red purple colour;" *nono*, v. "to be red in the face from exertion;" *kilo*, v. "to gaze earnestly;" *kilo*, s. "a star-gazer;" *opu*, v. "to expand;" *opu*, s. "a protuberance, belly;" *hewa*, s. "error;" *hewa*, v. "to be wrong;" and numerous others. The prefixed article alone distinguishes the one from the other, as it probably did with Aryan words at that early time when "the Aryan syntax was first forming itself."

In the forthcoming work I have endeavoured to heed Professor Sayce's warning, that "in comparing languages<sup>3</sup> we have first to compare their grammars, not their vocabularies. It is in the sentence, not in the isolated word, that languages agree or differ, and grammar deals with the relations that the several parts of the sentence bear to one another. Single words may accidentally resemble each other in both sound and sense, and yet belong to languages which have nothing in common." But in

<sup>1</sup> *Nei* is an article, expressing "here, now, at present."

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 431.

<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. i. p. 148.

order to institute a just comparison, the two things to be compared must stand on an equal footing. One does not compare a full-grown man with a child, nor the grammar of a highly inflectional language with a grammar that is "first forming itself." I have endeavoured to show that the Polynesians must have separated from their Aryan congeners during some pre-Vedic period when the syntax of the latter was still in its infancy. It is, therefore, with Aryan speech as it was then, with the order of words in a sentence that then obtained, that the Polynesian must be compared. It is to be regretted that so little of that ancient Aryan speech and mode of expression has been preserved. But Professor Sayce has kindly furnished not a few illustrations, which I have sought to utilise and combine. It is true that "single words may accidentally resemble each other both in sound and sense, and yet not belong to a common language." But when, in addition to similarity of grammar, so far as such can be pointed out and identified, not a few "isolated" words, but a host of words, including articles and numerals, as well as words of primary necessity to express thought, are found in two languages, however far separate their geographical position,—their resemblance in sound and sense must be something more than "accidental," and I think we are justified in seeking a common origin for both. And as ethnologists now are beginning to discern and acknowledge that the Polynesians owe nothing to the Malays ethnically, it may not perhaps be too great a heresy to seek the origin of their language outside of the Malays.

But "language," we are told by Professor Sayce,<sup>1</sup> "is no test of race, merely of social contact, and so, too, the possession of a common stock of myths proves nothing more than neighbourly intercourse." And in another place he says: "Language belongs to the community, not to the race; it can therefore testify only to social

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. p. 267.

contact, never to racial kinsmanship. Tribes and races lose their own tongues and adopt those of others. . . . Language is an aid to the historian, not to the ethnologist. So far as ethnology is concerned, identity or relationship of language can do no more than raise a presumption in favour of a common racial origin. . . . If ethnology demonstrates kinship of race, kinship of speech may be used to support the argument; but we cannot reverse the process, and argue from language to race. To do so is to repeat the error of third-hand writers on language, who claim the black-skinned Hindu as a brother, on the ground of linguistic relationship, or identify the whole race with the speakers of Aryan tongues.”<sup>1</sup>

There is undoubtedly much sound wisdom in the above utterances. The English or Spanish speaking Negro in North or South America has no ethnic kinship with the Goth or the Latin or their Aryan forefathers. There is in that case a palpable ethnic dissimilarity which no appropriation of a foreign language can hide or explain away. But when not only language—not merely a number of vocables, but the grammar and the foundation of grammar—but also the ethnic and physical characteristics point in the same direction, then they mutually support each other, and what at first may have appeared dark and dubious in one receives light and confirmation from the other. Professor Sayce admits that identity or relationship of language “raises a presumption in favour of a common racial origin,” but no more. It was this identity or relationship that raised a presumption in Bopp’s mind, and which presumption subsequent inquirers have strengthened by ethnological and historical data. It was probably this “presumption” which caused Professor Max Müller to write: “No authority could have been strong enough to persuade the Grecian army that their gods and their hero-ancestors were the same as those of King Porus, or to convince the English soldier that the

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* vol. ii. pp. 315-317.

same blood was running in his veins as in the veins of the dark Bengalee. And yet there is not an English jury now-a-days which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindu, Greek, and Teuton. . . . Though the historian may shake his head, though the physiologist may doubt, and the poet scorn the idea, all must yield before the facts furnished by language."<sup>1</sup> Even so cautious and reliable a writer on this subject as Professor W. D. Whitney, after indicating the various objections to language as a racial or ethnic test, sums up by saying that "it still remains true that, upon the whole, language is a tolerably sure indication of race." And in another place he says that "language shows ethnic descent, not as men have chosen to preserve such evidence of their kindred with other communities and races, but as it cannot be effaced without special effort directed to that end."<sup>2</sup> It is not usual, I believe, to class Professor Max Müller or Professor Whitney among "third-hand writers on language," and yet the positivism on the one side is perhaps as instructive as the positivism of the other, and I and others may be excused for seeking a *via media* between the two.

Let us now more closely, and so far as it can be done, compare the grammars, the component parts of a sentence, of the Polynesians and Indo-Europeans, such as it presumably was when the former separated from the latter. I have shown by the testimony of the ablest Indo-European savants of the present day that there was a time when the Indo-European languages were in a transition state from being agglutinative to becoming inflectional, and that their grammar must have corresponded to the linguistic requirements and intellectual

<sup>1</sup> "The Languages of the Seat of War in the East," p. 29. See also "India: What can it Teach us?" by same author, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> "Language and the Study of Language," p. 374 and p. 51.

status of that period. What causes, what motives, what pressure, induce a people whom an agglutinative form of speech has satisfied for unnumbered ages, to change that form—however gradual that change may come about—for an inflectional, is beyond my power to state. It is enough for my purpose that that fact is acknowledged. Nor yet is it relevant to my object whether that change be an improvement, a development for the better, indicating higher culture, a certain mental superiority, as some assert and others doubt. It is enough for my purpose that, whether for better or worse, such a change was in operation within the Aryan family of speech at or about the time that the Polynesian branch broke off from the parent stock. No “inscribed monuments,” no surviving specimen among the Indo-European branches, exists to attest the condition and appearance of the Aryan tongue previous to or during that transition period. When first historically known to us, their transition period was passed, and we only know them as emerging from the profoundest obscurity with a most wonderful wealth and symmetric arrangement of inflections, from which they, each and all, have in subsequent ages been receding, and, as it were, returning to a less complicated mode of expressing men’s thoughts. Professor Tegnér in the essay quoted on p. 6 says: “Flections have their real source, not in the thought of man, but in his tongue; they rise, not from thinking quicker, but from speaking quicker; not from thinking more correctly, but from speaking more incorrectly.”<sup>1</sup> But whatever the origin of flections, whether from decay or from growth, they were not the primary mode of expression of the ancient Aryan race. Of that primary mode we can only “catch glimpses” by analyses which reveal to us that there was a time, as Professor Sayce has told us, when there was no distinction between an Aryan verb and an Aryan noun, when the casus-endings had not yet been developed, when even

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 54.

genders were unknown, and, apart from the imperative, the Aryan verb had no moods nor tenses. We have here a tolerably good outline of the condition of the Polynesian of this day, with this addition, that a few flections had already crept into the latter before separation and isolation arrested their further development.

Bearing in mind what Professor Whitney says, that "the boundaries of every great family, again, are likely to be somewhat dubious, there can hardly fail to be branches which either parted so early from the general stock, or have, owing to peculiar circumstances in their history, varied so rapidly and fundamentally since they left it, that the tokens of their origin have become effaced almost or quite beyond recognition;"<sup>1</sup> bearing this in mind, let us now compare the different parts of speech which present themselves for comparison within the Polynesian and Indo-European branches.

#### ARTICLES.

It is said by Professor Whitney<sup>2</sup> that the articles in the Indo-European branches of the Aryan are of "a decidedly modern date; the definite article always growing out of a demonstrative pronoun, the indefinite out of the numeral one." Such order of genesis in the evolution of speech is probably correct; but if "modern" in relation to the growth of language, it is still old enough to have been shared in by the Polynesian branch of the Aryan stock before its separation.

Within the Polynesian area the indefinite article is expressed by: Samoa, Fakaafo, *se*; Tonga, New Zealand, Hawaiian, *he*; Tahiti, Rarotonga, Mangarewa, Marquesas, *e*; ex. gr. *se mata*, "an eye;" *he ilio*, "a dog;" *e wahine*, "a woman." This refers to Sanskrit *sa*, "originally one" (Benfey), and probably reappears in the Greek *ἐ-εις*, the

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* p. 290.

*Loc. cit.* p. 276.

Epir. for εἷς, "one;" in the Greek ὁ, ἡ, οἱ, αἱ; in the Gothic *sa, se*; A. Sax. *se, seo*; Latin *hi-c, hæ-c, ho-c*.

The definite articles in Polynesian are: Hawaii, *ka* and *ke*; in South Polynesia generally *te*: *ka hale*, "the house;" *ke kumu*, "the reason;" *te tapa*, "the cloth." The Samoan definite article *le* must have been of very recent adoption, for it is not found or used in groups that were professedly, and known to be, peopled from the Samoas. To this article corresponds the Sanskrit *ta-d*, the Greek ὁς, ἡ, το (Liddell and Scott infer an original τος, τη, το, from the Homeric gen. τοιός), the Latin *-te, -ta, -tud*, in *iste, ista, istud*; Goth. *thata, thai*; Sax. *the, thæt*.

#### NOUNS.

The nouns in Polynesia are not distinguishable in appearance from the verbs. Numbers are marked by prefixes or duplications. Genders, as an inflection, are unknown, but marked by suffixing "male" or "female" terms. Casus-endings are also unknown. In short, the Polynesian noun is as nude as was the Aryan noun at the time referred to on pp. 11, 12.

#### PRONOUNS.

Among the Polynesian pronouns there are some that force themselves on our attention by their apparent, and, I venture to say, undoubted connection with Indo-European words of the same character. The principal pronouns in Polynesia are:—

1st pers. sing., Samoa, Hawaii, Marquesas, Tahiti, Hervey Group, Easter Island, *a'u*, emphatically, *o-a'u, owa'u, wa'u*; New Zealand, *ahau*, but in the possessive, *n'aku*; Javanese and Malay, *aku*, Mentawei Islands, *aku*; Tagal, *aco*; Celebes (Garontalo), *wau*; Malgasse, *aho, zaho*.

2nd pers. sing., Polynesia (*ubique*), *koe*, 'oe; Java and Malay, *ang-kau*, *kau*, *kweh*, "thou."

3rd pers. sing., Polynesia (*ubique*), *ia*, "he, she, it;" Malay, *dia* or *iya*; Sumatra (Singkel), *ieja*; Pulo Nias, *iaija*. The Polynesian *la* or *ra* and *na*, now only occurring in compounds forming demonstratives and possessives, were doubtless at some previous period independent pronouns of the 3rd pers. They now occur as *te-ra*, *ke-la*, *te-na*, *ke-na*, *lo-na*, *o-na*, *ko-na*, *ka-na*, *a-na*, "that, its, his, her."

No trace can be found in the Polynesian of a form of 1st pers. sing. in *ma*, yet *ma* is the base of the 1st pers. dual and plural, and as such retained pure in the Samoan and Tongan. In all other dialects coupled with *lua* in the dual and with *tolu* in the plural. 1st pers. dual, *ma'ua*, "we two;" 1st pers. plur. *ma-to'u*, or in Tonga *ma-tolu*, "we three, we all;" 2nd pers. dual, *ou-lua*, *ko-lua*, *o-lua*, "you two;" 2nd pers. plur. *kou-to'u*, *ou-to'u*, *ou-ko'u*, "you three, you all;" 3rd pers. dual, *la'ua*, *ra'ua*, *na* and *na'ua* (Tong.), "they two;" 3rd pers. plur. *la-ko'u*, *ra-to'u*, *nau* and *nau-tolu* (Tong.), "they three, they all."

Of the two forms, *aku* and *ma*, which the Polynesian retains, one in the 1st pers. sing. and the other in the 1st pers. dual and plural, the West Aryan dialects offer the following relatives: Gothic, *ik*, *mis*, *mik*; A. Saxon, *ic*, *me*; Greek, *ἐγώ*, *με*, *μου* *ἡ-μεῖς*; Æol. *αμ-μεῖς*; Latin, *ego*, *me*, *mihi*; Sanskrit, *as-ma*, *mā*, *mat*, different cases of *aham*.

The New Zealand *ahau* stands alone among the Polynesian dialects, but its relation to the Malgasse *aho* cannot well be doubted. How far both refer to, and retain an older form of, the Sanskrit *aham*, I leave to those more conversant with Sanskrit than myself to determine, though I strongly believe in the relation until disproven.

As the Gothic 1st pers. plural and dual, *weis*, *wit*, with



an apparent base of *wi*, have no kindred, so far as I know, within the Indo-European dialects, it may be possible that a similar permutation of *w* for *m*, as is not unknown in Polynesian as well as in the Indo-European branches,<sup>1</sup> may have taken place here, and thus *wi* represents an older *mi*, akin to the Polynesian *mā*, Sanskrit *mā*, Greek *μῆ*, &c.

Of the Polynesian 2nd pers. sing. and plur. I find no well-preserved relative or analogue within the Indo-European branches, unless the Sanskrit *yu*, *tu*, *tva*, pronominal bases of 2nd pers. and preserved in Latin *tu*, Greek *τυ*, *σν*, *ὶ-μεις*, Gothic *tu*, *yus*, A. Saxon *eow*, eventually refer themselves to what Mr. Gaussin ("Du Dialecte de Tahiti," 1853, p. 157) calls the second form of the 2nd pers. sing. of Polynesian personal pronouns, viz., *u*, and which now never appears except in the possessive pron. *ta-u*, *to-u*, *na-u*, *no-u*, "thine, your."

To the Polynesian 3rd pers. sing. I find related the Gothic *ija*, "she, they," *iains*, "yon, that," Germ. *iener*. If the Latin *is*, *ea*, *id*, is connected with the Polynesian *ia*, the primary base of both must have been *i*, which Benfey offers as a pronominal base of the Latin and Gothic, as well as the Sanskrit *i-d* and *i-dam*.

Indo-European relatives of the Polynesian 3rd pers., *la*, *ra*, *na*, "he, they," I find none, unless the Sanskrit *na* in *a-na*, *e-na*, "this," be one.

Among the interrogative Polynesian pronouns are found the forms of *wai*, *hai*, *ai*, "who," *aha*, *ha*, *a*, "what," *fe*, *fea*, *hea*, "how, which, where," the two latter frequently accompanied with a prefix, *pe*, whose original meaning is now lost. To these forms probably ally themselves the Greek *πῶ*, Ionic *κοῦ*, "where," *ποι*, "whither," *πῆ*, Ionic *κῆ*, Doric *κα*, "how," Latin *quis*, *qua*, *quod*, *qualis*, &c.; Gothic *hwas*, *hwo*, *hwa*, "who," *hwan*,

<sup>1</sup> In New Zealand, *kumara*, Greek *ἀ-μαξα*, "vehicle, cart;" "potatoes;" Hawaii, *wuala*, id. Sanskrit, *vaha*, *vahja*, id. Greek, Samoan, *male*, "to hawk and *μαλλος*; Latin *vellus*. Greek, *μαντις*; spit;" Hawaii, *wale*, "spittle." Latin *vates*.

“when,” *hwaiwa*, “how,” &c.; Sanskrit *ka*, *kas*, “who,” *kva*, “where,” &c.

#### COPULATIVES AND CONJUNCTIONS.

In this category may be noticed *akā*, *atā*, 'a (Haw., Marqu., Samoa), “but, as, if.” I would refer them to the Gothic *ath-than*, *ak*, *akei*, “but, however;” to the Latin *at*, “but,” perhaps also *ac*; to Sanskrit *atha*, “but, if.”

#### ADVERBS.

Among the Polynesian negative adverbs we meet with the Tahitian *ai-ta*, *ai-ma*, *ai-na*, *ai-pa*, “not, no,” used with the past only, and *ei-ma*, *ei-na*, *ei-ta*, used with the future; Marquesas, *ai-e*, “no, not;” Tonga, *i-kai* and *tai*, “no, not;” Fakaafo, *ai* with suffix *ala*, e.g., *ai-ala*, *tai-ala*, “no, not;” Rotumah, *inke*, *indi*, “no;” Malay, *ti*, *tia*, *tiada*, “no, not;” Sunda, *ente*, id.; Malgasse, *tsi*, id. I would consider all these different forms as merely dialectical variations of a common and original negative, whose form was probably *i*. By analysing the Tahitian forms I arrive at that conclusion. The last syllables, *-ta*, *-ma*, *-na*, are suffixes, making the negative more or less emphatic, but whose original meaning I am unable to state. The *-pa* in *-ai-pa*, however, is known to imply a qualification, and to “include an idea of doubt or contingency,” and is probably a contraction of the general adverb *paha*, “perhaps.” Remains therefore the *ai*, which we find alone in the Fakaafo dialect, and nearly so in the Marquesan *ai-e*, some of the other dialects having prefixed a *t* or *k*, as the Tonga. But the *a* in *ai* is as much euphonic as the *a* in *a-ole*, that other Polynesian negative current in the Hawaiian and other groups; and its euphonic prefixal character is moreover evidenced by its being changed into *e* when the negative is applied to the future, *ai-ta* becoming *ei-ta*, &c. There remains, then,

only the original *i* as an expression of negation, which we find reproduced in the Tonga *i-kai* and the Rotumah *i-nke*, and which probably meets us with prefixed *t* or *ts* in the Malay *ti* and the Malgasse *tsi*, "no, not."

Among the Indo-European languages it is often difficult to ascertain which vowel-sound in a common root or stem was the primary or original one. Hence, though the Sanskrit and Greek have their *a* privativum, expressing an idea of negation, which in the former becomes *an* before vowels, yet the Latin and Gothic express the same idea with *in* and *un*, the Scandinavian with *o*; the absolute negative particle in Greek is *οὐ*. In all these the simple vowel was the original sign and expression of negation; but was that vowel *a*, *i*, *u*, or *o*? If I am sustained in considering the Polynesian as an older branch than either of the above, I should hold that the Polynesian *i* was the primary form, from which itself as well as the others have deviated; for not only do traces remain of this original *i* in the Latin *in*, but also in the Scandinavian *ej*, *inte*, *icke*, adverbs of negation, and *ingen*, "none."

Another Polynesian negative deserves consideration. It is *mai* (Haw.), *u-moi* (Marqu.), with a prohibitive sense used imperatively, "do not;" *mai hele oe*, "do not go you;" *mai hana*, "don't do it." It corresponds in sense and use as well as sound to the Greek *μη*, the Sanskrit *mā*, the Latin *ne*, "do not, no."

Some of the Polynesian affirmatives also proclaim their affinity to the West Aryan branches. Thus in Tonga, Samoa, Fakaafo, *io*, "yes," Hawaii, *io*, "truly, verily;" Fiji, *io* and *ia*, "yes;" Malgasse, *ie*, Malay, *ija*, Sunda, *nja*; all which show a remarkable family likeness to the Gothic *ja*, *jai*, "yes, yea," the Scandinavian *ia*, *jo*, *ju*, id.; perhaps the Greek *εἶα*, Latin *eia*, *eia vero*, "very well." The other Polynesian affirmative, *e*, *o-e*, *io-e*, Pulo Nias, *eh*, "yes," probably refers itself to the Greek *ἦ*, "in truth, verily."

## VERBS.

The Polynesian present participial ending, verb active, Hawaiian *-ana*, New Zealand *-ana*, *-enga*, is by some philologists classed as a verbal particle, but is none the less a pure inflection, whose original meaning when standing alone or merely agglutinated can no longer be explained. It corresponds to the Indo-European participial endings in : Latin *-ans*, *-ens*, Greek *-ων*, Gothic *-ands*, *-onds*, Sanskrit *-ana*, and others. And I find that the manner of converting a verbal participle into a noun substantive, by help of this flection or particle, is the same in the Polynesian and the Sanskrit and other Indo-European branches. Thus in Polynesian, *hanau*, "to bring forth;" *hanau-ana*, "birth;" *moe*, "to sleep;" *mo'-ena*, *moe'-nga*, contracted from *moe-ana*, "a sleeping place, mat, or mattress;" and numerous others. Compare Sanskrit *kānch-ana*, "gold," from *kanch*, "to shine;" *krodhāna*, "anger," from *krudh*, "be wroth;" *gam-ana*, "gait," from *gam*, "to go;" *budh-ana*, "teacher," from *budh*, "to understand;" *yudh-ana*, "enemy," from *yudh*, "to fight;" and so throughout the Indo-European branches down to the English *hear-ing*, *see-ing*, *fight-ing*, *bleed-ing*, &c., used substantively.

The sign of the passive voice of the verb throughout Polynesia is *-ia*. It is frequently for euphony's sake preceded by a consonant, such as *t*, *h*, *l*, *m*, *s*, *ng*, *f*, and sometimes contracted to *a* alone. Whatever its meaning as an independent word might have been has been lost; but though generally suffixed to the verb and incorporated with it as a flection, either by the additional consonant or by the loss of its own first vowel, or pure and simple, its place is not yet so fixed but that it admits frequently a qualifying adverb between the verb and itself, and thus shows a transition period from an independent verbal particle, bearing a sense and form of its own, to a fixed meaningless flection. Ex. gr., *hana-ia na mea a pau*,

“done were all things ;” *ike-a na olelo a Ku*, “understood were the words of Ku ;” *auhuli-hia ke aupuni o Lono*, “overturned is the government of Lono ;” *kau-lia ka paku*, “hung up is the curtain ;” *kini-tia*, “pinched ;” *sii-tea*, “lifted up ;” *fau-sia*, “bound together ;” *tao-fia*, “held ;” *tanu-mia*, “buried ;” *hana-ole-ia*, “not done ;” *holo-mua-ia*, “gone before,” &c.

This verbal particle, if such it be, this sign of the passive Polynesian verb, just hovering on the verge of becoming a pure inflection, seems to me to belong to that class of words from which the Indo-European branches in after-times developed some of their passive inflections and signs of different stages of their passive verbs. I find the participle of the future passive in Sanskrit formed of a verbal ending or inflection in *-ya*, in *chush-ya*, “to be sucked ;” *abhi-nand-ya*, “to be rejoiced ;” *a-pur-ya*, “not to be satisfied ;” *yaj-ya*, “to be offered,” &c. I find the Greek pass. aor. ending in *-εις* and *-θεις*, the Gothic past part. pass. ending in *-iths* and *-aiths*, the Sanskrit ending in *-ita*, the Latin in *-tus*. Now all these verbal endings are merely agglutinated words, like the Polynesian *-ana*, *-enga*, *-ia*, *-hia*, *-tia*, &c., whose original meaning has been lost, and whose original form it would be difficult to say where best preserved. The similarity of form and the similarity of purpose indicated in these Indo-European and Polynesian agglutinated verbal endings, particles, or flections, active and passive, seem to me to proclaim a common origin, and that, at the time of the Polynesian separation, the Aryan language had reached that stage of development.

“Apart from the imperative,” says Professor A. H. Sayce in his “Introduction to the Science of Language,” vol. ii. p. 156, “whose second personal singular sometimes ended in *-dhi* (*-θi*), sometimes in *-si* (*δος*, Vedic *mā-si*), sometimes had no termination at all, the verb of the undivided Aryan community possessed no other tenses or moods. It was left to the separate branches of the

family each to work out its verbal system in its new home and in its own way, adding new forms, forgetting others, now amalgamating, now dissociating." With due respect for so great authority, yet, from the foregoing comparison, I think it passably evident that "the undivided Aryan community," at the time when the Polynesians separated from it, already had a part. pres. act. and a pret. pass. in common throughout its various branches, and had arrived so far together in the development of their verbs. If the termination indicating the imperative was developed and common property of the undivided Aryan, it has been lost in the Polynesian, as it has been lost in some members of the Gothic branch and in some of the Romance descendants of the Latin; or else it was developed subsequent to the pres. part. act. and pret. pass. terminations above referred to, and after the separation of the Polynesians.

Again, speaking of the formations of case-endings of nouns, the same author says:<sup>1</sup> "We can trace the history of the verb with far greater completeness and certainty than we can the history of the noun. The history of the noun is one of continuous decay. We may catch glimpses, indeed, of a time when the cases were not as yet sharply defined, when the stem could be furnished with a number of unmeaning suffixes, and when these suffixes could be used indifferently to express the various relations of the sentence. But long before the age of Aryan separation, the several relations in which a word might stand within a sentence had been clearly evolved, and certain terminations had been adapted and set apart to denote these relations. The creative epoch had passed, and the cases and numbers of the noun had entered on their period of decay. But with the verb it was quite otherwise. Here we can ascend to a time when as yet an Aryan verb did not exist, when, in fact, the primitive Aryan conception of the sentence was much the same as

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.* ii. pp. 145-150.

that of the modern Dyak. Most verbs presuppose a noun, that is to say, their stems are identical with those of nouns. The Greek *μελαίνω* for *μελαν-γω* presupposes the nominal *μελαν*, just as much as the Latin *amo* for *ama-yo* presupposes *ama*." If "glimpses" can be caught of a time when the cases were not as yet sharply defined, &c., that time must have been synchronous with or posterior to the separation of the Polynesians; for in their language no glimpses can be caught of either meaning or unmeaning suffixes wherewith to express the cases and numbers of nouns. Their relations of a sentence were invariably expressed by prefixes, a mode of expression not devoid of precedent within the Indo-European branches.

#### PREPOSITIONS.

Some of the Polynesian forms of prepositions are probably the older. The Polynesian *a* and *o*, "of," seem to me the primary, because the simpler, forms of the Latin *a*, *ab*, the Greek *ἀπο*, Sanskrit *apa*, Gothic *af*, English *of*.

The Polynesian *e*, "by, from, through means of," calls up the Latin *e*, *ex*, Greek *ἐκ*, *ἐξ*.

The Polynesian *i*, "in, at, to," calls up the Latin *in*, the Greek *ἐν*, the Gothic *in*, Celtic *en*, *yn*, Old Norse, Swedish, and Danish *i*, all with same or similar meanings, and governing the same cases of a noun. The fact that the Old Norse of the Eddas and Runes, which cannot well be called a deteriorated scion of the Gothic, has retained the form of this proposition in *i*, seems to favour the view that the final *n* in the other Indo-European branches was a dialectical variation of a primary form in *i*, of which the Polynesian and the Old Norse alone retained the vestiges.

#### INTERJECTIONS.

These, being mostly onomatopoeian in all languages, may not afford the best means of comparison; yet I would

offer one interjection not commonly current in other families of language. The Polynesian *ue* and *au-we*, I think, claims kindred with the Latin *vae*, the Saxon *wa*, the Gothic *wai*, the Greek *o'vai*. In the Malay it has been preserved under the forms of *wah* and *wayi*, "alas."

#### NUMERALS.

In the first volume of "The Polynesian Race," &c., pp. 144 *et seq.*, I have shown that the first four numerals of the Polynesian, 1, 2, 3, 4, are of undoubted Aryan origin, and that the undivided Aryan family had arrived so far in its numeral system when the Polynesian branch broke off and developed the rest of its numeral system under different, and, so to say, foreign associations. I there express the opinion that, when adopting the quinary system of computation, the Polynesians were already beyond the influence of the parent stock, inasmuch as their term for five (*lima*), though an Aryan word, was not the term which the other still united Aryan tribes gave to that number. I have there, also, intimated that the higher Polynesian numerals, from five to ten, were drawn from probable Dravidian, possibly Cushite or Accadian sources, or perhaps both.

I have thus in a measure endeavoured to justify my boldness in instituting a comparison between the Polynesian and Indo-European languages, in order to show their linguistic relationship. It was a link in the chain of reasoning which made me conclude that the Polynesians were originally a branch of the Aryan stock—whatever incidents might have befallen that branch in after-life through admixture with others, and through isolation—and that link had to be taken up to the best of my ability.

Since publishing the first volume of my work on "The Polynesian Race, its Origin and Migrations" (1878),



I have come into possession of three works which, had I known them sooner, would have been of great assistance to me in filling certain gaps in the mythological references made by me, and in giving me greater assurance in asserting the non-Malay origin of the Polynesian family.

I refer to "Myths and Songs of the South Pacific," by Rev. W. W. Gill (London, 1876), a work on which too much praise cannot be bestowed for its many merits as a most valuable contribution to the knowledge of ancient Polynesian thought and life.

I refer to "Les Polynésiens," by Dr. A. Lesson (Paris, 1880-82), which, however much I may differ from the conclusions arrived at, is a most unrivalled work of reference on nearly every one of the Indonesian and Polynesian groups.

And I refer to Mr. A. H. Keane's treatise "On the Relations of the Indo-Chinese and Inter-Oceanic Races and Languages," in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (February 1880), which is a clear, outspoken protest against the misleading habit of representing the Polynesians as descendants, or even kindred, of the Malays. Mr. Keane, moreover, seeks the origin of the Eastern Polynesians in a "white Caucasian" race, of which remnants are still to be found in the Khmêrs of Cambodja, from which direction he thinks they arrived in the Indian Archipelago anterior to the appearance there of the Mongoloid Malays. I go entirely with Mr. Keane in deriving the Polynesians from a "white, Caucasian, Indo-European" Aryan race, and their priority in the Indian Archipelago; but I differ somewhat as to the locality whence they entered the Archipelago.

The perfect physical resemblance of those Cambodjan Khmêrs to the Polynesians is admitted; that the speech of both is polysyllabic and *recto tono* is also admitted, but that the Khmêr language, as represented in E. Aymonier's "Dictionnaire Khmêr - Français" (Saigon,

1878)—the only exponent of said language in my possession—has any appreciable resemblance in its vocabulary to any of the dialects of the Eastern Pacific Polynesians, I think admits of considerable doubt. And the “peculiarly distinctive feature,” which Mr. Keane lays great stress upon as marking the linguistic connection between “the Khmêr and Malaysian tongues,” viz., “the use of identical infixes,” is entirely unknown to the Eastern Polynesians, whom Mr. Keane classifies as pure Caucasians as the original Khmêrs.<sup>1</sup>

If life is spared, I may review more fully Mr. Keane’s opinion as set forth in the said treatise. It is sufficient for my present purpose that he emphatically supports me in maintaining the independence and non-relation of the Eastern Polynesians to the Malays, as well as asserting their descent from “a fair, a Caucasian, an Indo-European,” or Aryan race. As to the divergence of opinions between Mr. Keane and me regarding the Asiatic home of the Polynesians, I would be willing to make the following compromise:—If, what I believe the majority of European savants still uphold,<sup>2</sup> the valleys abutting on the plateau of Pamir in Central Asia were the “Berceau des Aryas,” it is not improbable that two streams of migration may have left for lower latitudes; one going to the south-west, crossing the Hindu-Kush, and, following the<sup>3</sup> affluents of the Indus, landing in

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Keane refers to the Mentawey Islanders, off the coast of Sumatra, as the purest specimen of Khmêr immigrants still remaining in Malaysia, and he looks upon them as the clearest link connecting the Polynesians with the Khmêrs. He refers to their dialect as being decidedly Polynesian. So it is, to a great extent; but the question here, it seems to me, is: are the Mentawey words which Mr. Keane quotes also Khmêr words? Of the ten Mentawey words, taken from H. von Rosenberg’s “Der Malayische Archipel-Land und Leute,” I can

only recognise three as having any claim to Polynesian kindred, although out of the whole list of eighty-two words put down by Herr von Rosenberg nearly one-fifth—16 to 82—are good Polynesian, either simply or as compounds. Are the other four-fifths Khmêr or Mongol?

<sup>2</sup> I am aware that from the days of Latham several honoured names, like Geiger, Spiegel, Benfey, Poesche, and latterly Penka and Schrader, are committed in defending an European, in opposition to an Asiatic, origin of the Indo-Europeans. But I am no convert to their theory.

Deccan; the other going in a south-easterly direction, descending the river systems of the Irawaddy, Salwen, and Mekong, landing in Laos, Yunnan, and Cambodja, both streams of migration eventually meeting in the Indian Archipelago ages before the arrival there of the Mongol or Mongoloid Malays.

There is no more historic evidence for the Polynesians debouching in the Archipelago from trans-Gangetic India than from cis-Gangetic, and they may certainly have come from both directions. But until it is shown that the Khmêr and Polynesian languages are closely related, and that the creeds, legends, and customs—the peculiarly Polynesian folk-lore—which the Polynesians either picked up *en route* or developed in the Archipelago, and brought with them as a prehistoric heritage into the Pacific, are shared in by, or at least not unknown to, the Khmêrs, I think myself justified in believing that the immigrants coming from the north-west, from Deccan, were the preponderating majority, and absorbed into themselves those who came from the north and north-east, from Further India. *En attendant*, I am grateful to Mr. Keane for the destructive portion of his treatise, unsparingly destructive of the long-cherished “Malayo-Polynesian” error.

# COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY

OF

## POLYNESIAN AND INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

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A'E, *v.* Haw., to pass over, morally or physically, from one condition or place to another; to assent, to permit; to embark, as on board a ship; to mount, as on a horse; to raise or lift up, as the head with joy; to vomit, as in sea-sickness. *A'e*, *adv.* yes. Tah., *a'e*, to ascend, to mount. Mangar., *ake*, up, upward, over. New Zeal., Rarot., *kake*, to ascend, to mount. Tong., *hake*, up, upward; *hahake*, eastward, windward (*i.e.*, up). Sam., *a'e*, to go up, ascend; *sasa'e*, the east. Fiji., *cake*, upward. Malgass., *ma-kate*, to get up, to mount. Mal., *atas*, up, upward.

Sansk., *ak*, to wind or move tortuously; *akhu*, a rat, a mouse; *akheta*, hunting.

AI, *v.* Haw., to eat; *s.* food, vegetable food, in distinction from *ia*, meat; *ai-na*, for *ai-ana*, eating, means of eating, fruits of the land; hence land, field, country. New Zeal., *kai*, to eat; *kainga*, food, meal, home, residence, country. Tong., *kai*, to eat. Sam., *'ai*, to eat; *ainga*, family, kindred. Marqu., *kaika*, *kainga*, food, meal. Tagal., *cain*, to eat.

Zend., *gaya*, life; *gaetha*, the world; *gava*, land, country. Vedic, *gaya*, house, family (A. Pictet). Sanskr., *ghāsa*, food; *ghas*, devour.

Greek, *aia*, *γαια*, *γη*, different forms occurring in

Homer, land, country, cultivated land; *γειος*, indigenous; *γειτων*, a neighbour; *ἦμα*, provisions for a journey.

Goth., *gawi*, *gauja*, country, region.

Germ., *gau*.

Lat., *ganea*, eating-house; *ganeo*, glutton.

Lith., *goyas*; Ant. Slav. and Russ., *gai*, "past-rage,"  
nemus.

Polish, *gay*, id.

Mr. A. Pictet, in his "Les Origines Indo-Europ.," vol. ii. p. 15, says that the Vedic and Zend *gaya* "n'ont surement aucun rapport avec le grec *γαῖα*." This assertion evokes a doubt, inasmuch as, as late as in Homer's time, two other dialectical variations of this word existed in the Greek, viz., *αἶα* and *δα* or *δη*, in *δη-μητηρ*, contracted from some ancient form in *δαα*, as *γη* and *γα*, from *γαα*. As neither of these can be supposed to be derived from, or be a phonetic corruption of, the other, it seems to me that they must have come down abreast from primeval times, thus indicating that the original root was differently pronounced by various sections of the still united Aryan stock; and I believe that this root, in its archaic forms, still survives in the Polynesian *ai* and *kai*, to eat. The Sanskrit *go*, land, the earth, from which Benfey derives a hypothetical *gavyā* and a Greek *γαφια*—by elimination *γαα*—is probably itself a contraction from the Vedic and Zend *gaya*, as the Greek *γη* and *γα*, as the ancient Saxon *gā* and *gō*, pagus, regio, and the ancient Slav. *gai*, nemus, are contractions from derivations of that ancient root still found in Polynesia. The above derivatives in sound and sense certainly refer themselves better to some ancient *ai* or *kai*, food, the fruits of the forest or the roots of the field, than to the Sanskrit *go*, bull, cow, cattle; for the Aryan family undoubtedly had one or more names for eating and for food before its various divisions applied themselves to the herding of cattle. The Sanskrit *ghas*, *ghāsa*, the Latin

*ganea, ganeo*, point strongly to the underlying original sense of eating and food.

According to Professor A. H. Sayce, in "Introduction to the Science of Language," vol. ii. p. 19, it is probable that the Latin *edere*, to eat, is a compound word = *e-dere*, like *ab-dere, con-dere, cre-dere*, and others, thus leaving *e* as the root.

How far that *e* may have been a dialectical variant or a phonetic decay of an older form more nearly allied to the Polynesian *ai, kai*, I leave to abler philologists to determine.

AO, *s.* Haw., light, day, metaph. the world. Sam., *aso*, day. Tong., *aho*, id. Tah., *ao*, light, day. Rotuma, *aso, as*, day, sun; *asoa*, white men. Marqu., *ao-mati*, the sun. Bugui, *oso*, day. Gilolo (Galela), *osa*, moon. Malg., *azo-horo*, the moon; *azo-hali*, Jupiter (planet); *azan*, clearness, brightness.

Sansk., *aha, ahan*, a day. Ved., *ahá*, id.; *aho-rátra*, lit. day and night, a day of twenty-four hours. In the Hindu-Kush dialects, Gilgit (Shina), *ácho*, to-day; *dazo*, mid-day.

'AU<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to swim, to float, convey as on a raft, primarily to stretch out, reach after; *au, v.* to long after, be wholly bent on; *s.* current in the ocean, the action of the mind; ex. gr., *ke au nei ko'u manao*, my mind is exercising. Sam., *a'au*, to swim; *au*, a current at sea; *v.* to reach to. Tong., *kau*, to swim; *kakau*, id. New Zeal., *kau-kau*, id. Deriv., Haw., *au-a*, to think so much of a thing as not to part with it; to be stingy, keep back, refuse, forbid. New Zeal., *kau-a*; Sam., *au-a*; Tong., *ou-a*; Tah., *au-aa*, desist, forbear. Fiji, *katu*, to stretch, as the arms; a fathom.

Sansk., *ao*, to be pleased, desire, take care, excite affection, obtain, embrace.

Greek, *áω* (comp. Liddell and Scott), to satiate.

Lat., *aveo*, desire earnestly, to long for, to crave; *avidus*, desirous, eager, covetous.

It is possible, until a better etymon is found, that *avis*, bird, refers itself to a primary, material sense of *aveo*, as stretching out, reaching after, akin to the Polynesian *au*. If so, the compounds *au-gur*, *au-ger*, *au-ceps*, *au-cupium*, recall the ancient form of *avis*.

AU<sup>2</sup>, s. Haw., handle of an axe, staff, or spear. Sam., 'au, handle, stalk of a plant; 'au-'au, the ridge-pole of a house.

Greek, *av̄s* (Lacon. and Cret.), an ear, a handle; *ov̄s*, Att., id.; Mod. Greek, *av̄τιον*, id.; Dor., *ὠs*, id.

Lat., *auris*, the ear; *audio*, to hear; *aus-culto*, to listen, hear.

Goth., *auso*, ear; *hausjan*, to hear. Sax., *ear*. Germ., *ohr*, ear. Lith., *ausis*, ear.

The application of this word to designate ear occurs also in the Polynesian: Tah., *pepe-i-au*, the ear; Haw., *pepe-i-ao*, composed of *au*, *ao*, whose primary meaning seems to have been a protuberance of anything, a projection, and of *pepe*, broken, flattened down, bent, pliable. Hence, literally, the flattened protuberance or handle, scil. of the face or head. The same word occurs in another compound, *maki-ao* or *ma'i-ao*, nails of fingers or toes, hoofs of animals, claws of birds; from *maki*, to fasten, hold on to, and *ao* = the protuberance that fastens to or holds on to a thing.

AU<sup>3</sup>, s. Haw., time, period of time, lifetime, season; *au-ae*, to spend time idly, be lazy; *au-a-nei*, present time, now, soon; *au-makua*, ancestors; *au-moe*, midnight. Tah., *au-hā*, an aged person. Sam., *au-anga*, to continue to act, to live on; *au-fua*, to begin. Marqu., *au-hi*, later, by-and-bye.

Sansk., *āyus*, life, lifetime; *cata-āyus*, a centenarian, very old; *avuka*, ancestor, parent (Pictet).

Lat. *avum*, *ætas*, age, lifetime, life; *avus*, grandparent; *avia*, grandmother; *avitus*, ancestral.

Greek, *ἀει*, *αἰει*, ever, always; *αἰων*, lifetime, age, space of time.

Goth., *aiws*, time, a long time, age; *aiw*, continually, ever; *awo*, grandmother. Sax., *awa*, *aefre*, ever. Icel., *ae*, *ei*, ever; *afe*, grandfather. O. H. Germ., *ewa*, eternity, habit, custom, law; *ewig*, eternal. Dutch, *eeuwig*, id.

Welsh, *ewa*, uncle. Lith., *awynas*, uncle (maternal).

A. Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., ii. 349) derives the Sanskr. *avuka* and its West Aryan congeners from the Sanskr. *av* "tueri, juvare," and the Vedic *éwa* (course of time, custom, usage) from the root *i*, to go (ibid., p. 429). Benfey (Sansk.-Engl. Dict.) refers the Latin *ævum* and its Gothic relatives to the Sanskr. *áyus*, life. I would have accepted Pictet's derivation of *avuka* from *av*, had not the Hawaiian *au-makua* indicated an application of the Polynesian *au* to family relations, as well as to time generally. The Sanskr. *av* offers a plausible solution, but only to one-half of the derivatives referred to, whereas the Polynesian *au* satisfactorily accounts for its derivatives in both directions.

It might be interesting to ascertain, if possible, whether the *y*, *i*, and *e* in the Sanskr., Lat., Greek, and Goth., after the first *a*, was an original factor in the root from which those words sprang, and then was elided from *avu-ka*, *av-us*, *aw-o*, *aw-a*, *aw-ynas*, or whether they were comparatively later and dialectical additions, as in the Sanskr. *váyus* (wind), Goth. *wajan* (blow), Slav. *veja* (breathe), which Liddell and Scott and Benfey refer to a root *fa*, *va*, or, as Benfey indicates, "originally *av-á*." Benfey gives no root to *áyus*, and Liddell and Scott give *aiF* as the root of *áei*, *áyus*, &c.; but *aiF*, whose original sense is not given, and is simply hypothetical, if it explains *áei*, *áíon*, *áyus*, and *aiws*, does not explain the form or the sense of *avuka*, *awo*, *avus*, &c., unless we assume its original form to have been *au*, as in the Polynesian, with a subsequent *y*, *i*, or *e* inserted.

AUI, *v*. Haw., to decline, as the sun in the afternoon, turn aside, vary; *auina* (scil. "ka la" = the sun), afternoon. Tah., *auí*, to the left. Sam., *m-aii*, to fall down,



to subside, ebb as the tide; New Zeal., *mawi*. Marqu., *moui*. Rarot., *kawi*, left, left hand. Fiji., *yawi*, *yakawi*, *kajawi*, evening; *yawa*, far off, distant. Malag., *an-kawi*, to the left; *avi-ha*, left hand.

Sanskrit., *ava*, away, off, down, below; *awara*, posterior, inferior, behind, occidental, western; *avama*, low; *avanati*, setting of the sun.

Pers., *iwar*, *aywar*, evening. Kurd., *evar*, id.

Irish, *iwar*, *iar*, west.

AHA, *s.* Haw., a company or assembly of people for any purpose; *aha-aha*, *adv.* sitting squarely, uprightly. Malg., *mi-ahan*, to stop; *foha*, be seated.

Sanskrit., *ās*, to sit, stay; *āsana*, seat.

Greek, *ἦμαι*, to be seated, be still.

This word, so common in the Hawaiian group, either single or in compounds, appears to have become lost or obsolete in the other Polynesian groups. In Fiji alone I find *yasa*, signifying a place, a part of a land, a district.

AHI, *s.* Haw., fire. Sam., Tong., *afi*, id. Rarot. and Mangar., *a'i*, id. Tah., *auahi*, id. New Zeal., *ahi*, id. Mal., *api*, id. Ceram. (Ahtiago), *yaf*, id. Matabello, *efi*, id. Sumatra (Singkel), *agie*, id. Banjak Islands, *ahé*, id. Teor, *ahi*, id. Goram, *ahi*, id. Malg., *af*, id. There is another series of words in the Polynesian family, expressing the sense of fire and its derivatives, which probably is allied to the former class, though uniformly distinct in the last vowel. This uniform distinction I am inclined to consider as arising from a very ancient dialectical variation of a common root, or else the two classes of words proceed from two nearly similar roots. That second class is: Tah., *ahu*, *v.* to be burnt or scalded; *s.* heat, fever. Sam., *asu*, smoke. Tong., *ahu*, id. Haw., *m-ahu*, smoke, steam. Tidore, *afu*, fire. Tagal, *apuy*, id. Buru, *ahu*, id. Ceram. (Tetuti), *yafu*, id. Gilolo (Gani), *iaso*, smoke.

The former class I would refer to:—

Sanskr., *agni*, *agira*, *angate*, fire. Bengal., *agin*, *aag*, id. Shina (Gilgit), *agár*, id. Kurd., *agher*, *aghri*, id.

Lat., *ignis*, fire.

Slav., *ogni*, fire; Lith., *ugnis*, id.

Cymr., *engyl*, fire.

The latter class I would refer to:—

Sanskr., *açira*, fire, heat. Ved., *áshtrí*, hearth, cooking-place. Belut., *ás*, fire. Pers., *ásh*, cooked.

A.-Sax., *ast*, fireplace, oven.

Irish, *asaim*, to light a fire.

Lat., *asso*, to roast; *assus*.

A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Europ.) seeks a common root for the first family of words (West Aryan) in the Sanskr. *ag*, *angh*, to move tortuously, to move, to hasten, “de la mobilité de cet élément,” and he thinks the second family derives from the Sanskr. *aç*, “edere, vorare;” fut. partep. *ashtá* and *açitá*. Benfey (Sansk.-Engl. Dict.) derives *agni* and its congeners “probably from *ahj* in its original signification to shine;” and the same authority makes no reference to any derivations from *aç*, to eat, consume, as signifying fire.

In this uncertainty, and with such unsatisfactory solution, it evidently becomes necessary, if possible, to go higher than the Sanskrit in search of some form or forms around which all these dialectical variants of a once common speech may rally themselves as around a common ancestor. I believe the Polynesian *afi* and *asu* or *ahu* offer such ancestral forms. *Afi* rallying to itself the Aryan variants in *g*, *agni*, *ogni*, *ignis*, &c., and *asu*, *ahu*, those in *s* and *ç*, *ás*, *açira*, *asso*, *asaim*. It must be admitted, however, that *afi*, *ahi*, and *asu*, *ahu*, are themselves but variants of some still older, but now forgotten, form or forms. They stand abreast in Polynesian speech, and the one is not a derivation or corruption of the other.

There are some other words in the West Aryan tongues whose relationship to the foregoing family seems to me

preferable to that which eminent philologists have hitherto assigned them. The Sanskr. *asta*, "home," the Greek *ἄστυ*, "town, city," have been referred, the former by A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, ii. 243) to Sanskr. *as*, "esse, to be;" the latter by Liddell and Scott (Greek-Engl. Dict.) and by Benfey (Sansk.-Engl. Dict.) to a root *fas*, Sanskr. *vas*, "to dwell." I may be permitted to ask under what circumstances the digamma in the supposed *fastu* has been lost without being replaced by an aspirate? That *ἔστια*, like the Lat. *vesta*, refers itself to a root in *fas* or *vas*, is evident enough, but not so with *ἄστυ*. There is another Greek word, *ἑσ-χάρα*, with the sense of "the hearth, fireplace," which has no etymon assigned it by Liddell and Scott, but which I should consider a relative of *ἄστυ*; for both doubtless go back, like the A.-Sax. *ast* and the Belut. *ás*, to the same root as the Polynesian *asu*, the Vedic *ashtrî*, the Latin *asso*, *assus*. To this family may also be referred the Sax. *as-ca*, the Goth. *az-go*, "ashes, cinders." Benfey refers the Sanskr. *asta* to *as*, but does not indicate whether to *as*<sup>1</sup>, "to be," as Pictet has it, or to *as*<sup>2</sup>, "to shine." The first seems rather too forced an etymology; the latter, if such be the inference from Benfey, would bring it in harmony with *ἑσ-χάρα*, with *ast*, *ás*, *asu*, and *ἄστυ*. There is little doubt in my mind that, in the early savage or nomadic life of the Aryan, wherever he stopped to dress his fire, by day or night, there was his home for the time being. Hence *asta*, "a home, dwelling," where the fire was lighted; hence *ἄστυ*, "a town," a congeries of dwellings or homes.

AHO, *s.* Haw., breath, met. spirit, courage; *i nui ke aho*, let the breath be long, *i.e.*, be patient. Tah. and Marqu., *aho*, breath. Rarot., *ao*, id.

Sansk., *asu*, the five vital breaths of the body, life; *asura*, eternal.

Zend., *ahû*, *aihu*, spirit, life, God, the world.

Commenting on Dr. Spiegel's derivation of the Persian *Ahura*, as a name of the Deity, from the root *ah*, the San-

skrit *as*, "to be," Professor Max Müller, in his "Chips from a German Workshop," i. 156 (Scribner's ed.), says: "The root *as* no doubt means to be, but it has that meaning because it originally meant to breathe. From it, in its original sense of breathing, the Hindus formed *asu*, breath, and *Asura*, the name of God, whether it meant the breathing one or the giver of breath."

AHU, *v.* Haw., to collect, gather together, pile up, cover up, to clothe; *s.* assembly, collection of things, clothing; *ahua*, an elevated place, a raised pathway, sandbank formed at the mouth of a river. Tah., *ahu*, to pile up, throw things together; *ahu-api*, cloth doubled together, a quilt; *ahu-arui*, a raised pavement for the king; *ahu-mamau*, old garment; *ahu-ena*, property; *ahu-pare*, a fort. Sam., *afu*, a wrapper of cloth (Siapo); *afu-loto*, bed-clothes. Tong., *kafu*, id. New Zeal., *kahu*, *kakahu*, clothes. Marqu., *kahu*, id. Fiji., *qavu*, to clasp with the two arms; *s.* property, goods, what can be clasped in the arms.

Sanskrit., *aj*, to drive, direct; *aji*, battle; *ajman*, id.; *ajira*, a field; *ajira*, a court.

Greek, *ἄγω*, to bring, bring together, to carry, conduct; *ἄγων*, a gathering, an assembly, struggle, combat; *ἄγυια*, a street, public place; *ἄγυρις*, *ἄγορα*, assembly, crowd, place of assembly, market; *ἄγρα*, a catching, hunting, booty, prey; *ἄγρος*, an estate, a field; *ἄγος*, a leader, chief; *ἄγειρω*, to gather, collect, bring together, assemble; *ἄγελη*, herd, flock, company; *ὄγμος*, a furrow, a row, a path, orbit.

Lat., *ago*, to drive, collect, carry away, to lead; *agmen*, multitude, crowd, motion; *ager*, land, field.

Irish, *agh*, battle; *aighe*, valiant.

Goth., *akrs*, a field; *akran*, fruit; *aigan*, to possess, own; *aigis*, property, possessions. O. Norse, *aka*, to drive. Swed., *öka*, increase, augment.

It may be noticed that the application of this word to clothing, so prevalent in the Polynesian branch, is wholly wanting in the West Aryan branches. It may have been supplanted by the latter with other synonyms, or it may

have been adopted by the former after its separation from the common stock.

AKA<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., knuckle-joint, protuberance of the ankle, vertebræ of the back. Tah., *ata*, the tops, buds, or shoots of plants. Fiji., *gata*, sharp, as of a knife or a point, sharpness, peakedness; when of a country, hilly; *yaka*, to sharpen.

Sansk., *aç* vel *ço*, to sharpen; *açri*, edge, corner; *aç-man*, a stone; *açani*, Indra's thunderbolt.

Greek, *ἀκη*, point, edge; *ἀκανθα*, thorn, vertebræ; *ἀκαζω*, to point, sharpen; *ἀκονη*, whetstone; *ἀκίς*, point, barb of a hook; *ἀκρος*, topmost, highest.

Latin, *acus*, a needle; *acuō*, to point, sharpen; *acumen*, *acies*.

Goth., *ahs*, an ear of corn; *ahsa* or *amsa*, shoulder. Germ., *achsel*, shoulder. Sax., *ecg*, point, edge.

Lith., *akmu*, stone.

Welsh, *awc*, point, edge. Irish, *aicde*, needle.

AKA<sup>2</sup>, *adv.* Haw., now used only in compounds, "with care;" *aka-hele*, carefully; *aka-hai*, gentle, modest. New Zeal., *ata-whai*, kindly, with pity. Sam., *ata-mai*, *v.* to understand, be clever; *s.* the mind. Tah., *ata-ma*, wise, intelligent. Malg., *ata-he*, caresses; *ata-hets*, to pacify; *ata-rien*, generosity.

Greek, *ἀκα*, *ἤκα*, quietly, gently; *ἀκαλος*, peaceful, still; *ἀκην*, *ἀκεων*.

O. Norse., *akta*, to make account of. Swed., *akt*, care, heed; *akta*, to consider, take care of. North Engl., *ack* to heed, regard.

AKA<sup>3</sup>, *v.* Haw., to laugh, deride. South Polynes., ubiquitous, *ata*, *kata*, id. Mentawej Isl., *gah-gah*, to laugh.

Sansk., *kakh*, *gaggh*, to laugh.

Greek, *καχαζω*, to laugh aloud.

Lat., *cachinno*, id.

O. H. Germ., *hōh*, sneer.

AKA<sup>4</sup>, *conj.* Haw., but, if not; generally expressing strong opposition of idea. Marqu., *atia*, but. Tong., *ka*, but. Sam., *'a*, but.

Sanskrit., *atha, atho, conj.* but.

Greek, *αταρ*, but.

Lat., *at*, but.

Goth., *ak, akei*, but.

AKA<sup>5</sup>, *s.* Haw., the shadow of a person; the figure or outline of a thing; likeness; dawn or light of the moon before rising; *v.* to light up, as the moon before rising; to go up and down, as on a hilly road; *akaka*, to be plain, clear, intelligible; *adj.* lucid, bright, as the moon; *kakahi-aka*, dawn of day, morning, lit. breaking up the shadows, scil. of night. Sam., *ata*, a shadow, reflected image, a spirit, the morning dawn; *ata-ata*, the red sky after sunset; *ata-e-ao*, when it is morning, to-morrow; *atangia*, to glisten, become evident; *ata-lii*, a son, *i.e.*, a little image. Tah., *ata*, cloud, shadow, twilight; *a'ahi-ata*, dawn of day; *ata liilii*, the great morning clouds. Marqu., *ho-ata*; Tonga, *tio-ata*, a mirror. Mangar., *ata-riki*, the eldest son. Fiji., *matata*, to clear up, be plain; *mataka*, morning; *yata-yata*, move about tremulously or as a thing near dying.

Sanskrit., *at*, to go, move continuously; *atasa*, wind, spirit; *âtman*, breath, soul, intelligence, a person, one's self; *âtma-ja*, a son = one's own born.

Greek, *ἀτμος, ἀτμη, ἀτμῖς*, vapour, exhalation, steam, smoke; *ἀταλος*, tender, tremulous.

The Sanskrit *âtman* seems to have had a variety of etymons assigned it. Referring to it in "Orig. Indo-Europ.," ii. 541, Mr. Pictet says:—"Le sanskr. *âtman*, souffle, âme vitale, intelligence, puis la personne, le soi, est encore obscur, quant à son origine. Pott (Et. F., i. 196), présume une contraction de *â-vâtman*, rac. *vâ*, flare, et compare *αὔτμην*, souffle. Benfey (Gr. W. L., i. 265), part d'une racine hypothétique *av = vâ*. Bopp (Gl. Scr.) pense à la rac. *at*, ire, d'où dérive *atasa*, vent et âme; mais ailleurs (Veogl. Gr., i. § 140) il incline vers la racine *ah*, parler et reconnaître, et compare le goth. *ahma*, âme. Enfin, le Dict. de Pétersbourg recourt à la rac. *an*, spirare,

mais sans s'expliquer sur la formation de *âtman*, dont le *t* resterait énigmatique.

“ On voit que les hypothèses ne manquent pas, mais, d'après l'observation de Max Müller (Anc. Sanskr. Littér., p. 21), elles tombent toutes en présence du védique *tman*, Zend *thman*, qui remplace souvent *âtman*, et où l'élosion de l'*â* ne saurait être expliquée. Toutefois Müller ne tente aucune conjecture nouvelle.”

As Mr. Pictet adopts none of the foregoing hypotheses, it is but just to give his own explanation of this crucial word. He says, in continuation of the foregoing :—

“ Je décomposerais le mot en question en *â-tman*, pour le rattacher à la rac. *tam*, étouffer, suffoquer, perdre le souffle, d'où *tamaka*, *tamana*, oppression, asthme. Ce sens, au premier abord, paraît le contraire de celui que l'on exigerait, mais il passe aisément à la signification de respirer fortement, *anhelare*, ce que l'on fait quand on étouffe. Nous pouvons d'ailleurs nous appuyer d'un rapport tout semblable entre l'anc. slave *duhati*, spirare, *dusha*, anima, et le russe *dushiti*, suffoquer, *dushenie*, suffocation, *dushniku*, soupirail, &c. ; ainsi qu'entre le lith. *duzzia*, âme, *dausa*, air, souffle, et *dusti*, respirer avec effort, *dusas*, respiration difficile, *dusulys*, asthme, &c. La transition de sens est ici manifeste. Les autres acceptions de la racine *tam*, confici mœrore, languescere, desiderare, cupere (cf. *tamata*, désireux, avide), s'expliquent par le double sens d'être oppressé, et d'*aspirer* à quelque chose, et *tama*, *tamas*, désigne l'obscurité en tant qu'elle produit un sentiment d'anxiété. Ainsi *âtman* pour *â-taman*, de *â-tam*, et le védique *tman* pour *taman*, par une contraction analogue à celle de *dhmâ*, flare, pour *dham* peut-être primitivement allié à *tam*, signifierait proprement une respiration forte et agitée, puis secondairement l'âme active et passionnée, de même que le grec *θυμος* vient de *θυα* = Sanskr. *dhû*, agitare.

“ La rac. *tam* et ses dérivés, surtout ceux qui expriment l'obscurité, ont beaucoup de corrélatifs européens qu'il serait hors de propos d'énumérer ici. Je me borne à

remarquer que le sanskr. *átman* trouve son équivalent presque complet dans l'anc. saxon *athom*, ang.-sax. *aedhm*, anc. all. *ádum*, *átum*, halitus et spiritus, all. mod. *odem*, *athem*, souffle, respiration, &c. Je ne sais si l'on peut y rattacher l'irlandais *adhm*, connaissance, science, *adhma*, peritus, que donnent Lhuyd et O'Reilly, et dont le sens serait plus abstrait. Quant au grec *ἀϋτμήν* et *ἀτμός*, *ἀτμή*, souffle et vapeur, fumée qui suffoque, ils paraissent composés avec le préfixe *ava* au lieu de *á*."

Liddell and Scott (Gr.-Engl. Dict.) refer *ἀτμος*, -η, -ις, to *áω*, to blow, and that to a root, *Fa* = to Sanskrit *vá*.

In this conflict of opinions it may not, perhaps, be presumptuous in me, in view of the Polynesian *ata* and its various meanings, if I concur with Bopp in referring *átman* to the Sanskrit *at*, to go, to move continuously, which may possibly be related to *ak*, to wind, move tortuously, and its derivative *ákáca*, ether, sky, open air, and which latter has an unmistakable family likeness to the *atasa*, wind, spirit, referred to by Pictet. If I am right, this would bring *átman*, *atasa*, *ákáca*, *en rapport* with the Fiji. *yata-yata*, the Haw. *aka*, the Sam. and Tah. *ata*, the Greek *ἀτμος* and *ἀταλος*. The Polynesian vocabularies certainly offer a much less forced explanation than the process of deriving breath, life, soul, from choking, darkness, and death.

AKÉ<sup>1</sup>, s. Haw., liver; name of several internal organs, according to the qualifying compound. South Polynes., *ate*, id. Malg., *ate*, *aten*, *atine*, heart, liver, pith, marrow or middle of a thing. Jav., *ati*, heart, in the sense of affections. Fiji, *yate*, liver.

Greek, *ἦτορ*, the heart, as a part of the body, as a seat of feeling; *ἦτρον*, the part below the navel, abdomen.

Liddell and Scott give no etymon to *ἦτορ*. By separating the substantive termination, however, there remains as stem or root *ἦτ* or *ατ*, which strongly points to the same root as the previous, *ata*, *aká*<sup>5</sup>. With that remarkable intuition, which so seldom made default, though he could not always prove himself right, Bopp refers the



Polynesian *ate* to the same root from which the Sanskrit *âtman* sprang ; but he looked upon the former as a corrupted form of the latter.

AKE<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to tattle, blab, slander, lie. Sam., *ati*, speech, oration. Marqu., *atia*, in truth, certainly.

Sanskrit., *ah* (" *h* for *gh*," Benfey), say, speak, pronounce, specify.

Lat., *ajo* (" for *agjo*," Benfey), to say, affirm ; *ad-ag-ium*, proverb ; *ne'go*, deny.

Greek, ἦχη ; Dor., ἀχα, sound, noise, roar ; ἦχος, ἦχω, echo, sound.

A.-Sax., *agu*, jay, magpie.

AKI, *v.* Haw., to bite, bite in two ; meton. to revile, backbite. Tong., *achi*, to pierce. Sam., *ati* ; Tah., *ati*, to bite, bite through. Rarot., *kati*, to bite. New Zeal., *kati*, sufficient, enough, *i.e.*, bitten through. Ceram. (Awaiya), *aati*, a chopper. Malg., *fatsi*, sting, goad, thorn.

Sanskrit., *ac*, to pervade, penetrate, attain to ; *aksh*, id. ; *âci*, fang of a serpent.

A. Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., i. 500) refers the Sanskrit *ahi*, a snake, serpent, to a Vedic root, *ah*, amplecti, pervadere, " d'où *ahi* celui qui enserre sa proie, comme fait le serpent, le constrictor. De là aussi, avec une nasale intercalée comme souvent, les dérivés *añhu*, étroit, serré, *añhas*, anxiété, malheur, péché, &c. La forme primitive de cette racine a dû être *agh*, *angh*, à en juger par *agha*, mauvais, dangereux, mal, douleur, péché, *angha*, *anghas*, péché = *añhas*." And he says further, " Ces deux formes, *agh* et *angh*, se retrouvent d'ailleurs avec une foule de dérivés, et des transitions du sens matériel au moral, dans toute la famille arienne. Elles se maintiennent souvent à côté l'une de l'autre, et suivent fidèlement les variations phoniques du nom du serpent." Benfey, also (Sanskrit.-Engl. Dict.), refers *ahi*, snake, to *añhas*, and *añhas* to " a lost verb, *ângh* = to the Greek ἀγγω." And both these eminent philologists refer, among numerous other derivatives and correlatives, the Greek ἐχis, viper, snake, serpent, and ἐχινος, hedgehog and sea-urchin, to this Sanskrit *ahi*

and its Zend equivalents *azi* and *aji*; while Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 454), in accounting for the derivation of *ἔχιδνα* from *ἔχιδνα*, says: "On ne s'étonnera pas que le hérisson soit comparé à un reptile, car il rampe plutôt qu'il ne marche."

With due respect for so eminent authorities, I would remark that the snakes, and serpents, and vipers with whom the early Aryans came in contact in their primitive homes, in Bactria and beyond, were probably not of the "constrictor" kind; but that their knowledge of them, gained from sad experience, came from being bitten or stung by them. Granted that the dialectical forms of *ah*, *ac*, and its desid. *aksh*, signify to penetrate, pervade, attain to, occupy (*vid. Benfey*), in West Aryan tongues, yet the Polynesian dialects have retained what was probably the oldest meaning of the original word in the sense of biting, piercing, stinging. While the Hawaiian retains the form of *ac*, *ak*, in *aki*, to bite, and, going "from the material to the moral sense," to revile, to backbite, the Tahitian has retained the form of *ah* in *ahi-ahi*, to be wounded, a wound, the transition from which to a moral sense is found in the Hawaiian *ahi-ahi*, to complain falsely, to slander, defame, *synon. with ake*. In view, therefore, of the light which the Polynesian forms and meanings throw upon this subject, it would seem to me preferable to trace the Sanskrit *ahi*, the Zend *azi*, *aji*, the Greek *ἔχιδνα*, to this primal form in *ah*, *ac*, or *ak*, with its primal sense of biting, piercing, stinging, and thus render *ahi* as the biter, the stinger, rather than the constrictor, the strangler. With such a rendering, the derivation and appropriateness of *ἔχιδνα* from *ἔχιδνα* becomes plain and intelligible. Mr. Pictet's explanation of the derivation of *ἔχιδνα* seems to me wholly untenable, as neither *ah*, *ac*, or *ak*, nor *ah*, *agh*, or *angh*, have been shown to mean to crawl (*rampet*). Under these considerations it seems to me proper to separate the former family of words from the latter as represented by the Sanskrit *āgh*, the Latin *ango*, the Greek *ἀρχω*, and their West Aryan relatives and derivatives. We shall

find their kindred and equivalents under the Polynesian *ana*, quod vide. The remaining relatives of the former family I find in—

Icel., *eglivir*, snake, adder. A.-Sax., *igil*, hedgehog. Act. Germ., *ecala*, *egala*, leech.

Welsh, *asg*, a splinter. Gæl., *asc*, a serpent.

ALA<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to anoint; *adj.* perfumed, spicy; *a'ala*, fragrant odour. Tong., *kakala*, fragrant, a flower wreath. N. Zeal., Mangar., *kakara*, fragrant. Marqu., *kakaa*, id., odoriferous. In Tah. the word seems lost, unless retained in *ara-nua*, name of an odoriferous shrub = the fragrant "Nua." (In Sam. *nua-nua* is the name of a shrub.)

Sansk., *al*, adorn.

Benfey (Sansk.-Engl. Dict.) gives no derivatives from *al*, unless *sutra-āli*, a necklace; apparently composed of *sūtra*, the thread or string, and *āli*, probably representing the ornaments—flowers or other things—which are held together by the *sūtra*, and thus form the necklace. Another Sanskrit word for which no etymon is given may refer itself to this *al* or Polynesian *ala*. It is *ara-vinda*, a lotus. Perhaps *alaka*, a curl, may also refer itself to *al*, in the sense of an ornament.\*

ALA<sup>2</sup>, *adj.* Haw., dim-sighted, as old people, blind; fair-eyed, but staring, as if unable to distinguish. Tah., *ara-ara*, glaring, as the eyes of animals. Sam., *alafa*, shining, phosphorescent, a kind of fungus.

Greek, *ἄλαος*, blind; *ἄλαιος*, *ἦλεος*, crazy, distraught; referred by Liddell and Scott to *ἀλη*, *ἀλαομαι*, wandering, roving, straying. If so, probably akin to the next.

ALA<sup>3</sup>, *s.* Haw., smooth round stones worn by water; a road, a path. Tah., *ara*, road, path; *ara-poa*, the throat, the gullet. Sam., *ala*, stone worn smooth by water, path, road, a division of a village. Marqu., *aa*, road. Tong., *hala*, a road. Fiji., *sala*, road, path.

Sansk., *sri*, to flow, to blow, to go, extend; *sal*, to go =

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Greek *ἀρωμα*, spice, to Sanskrit *ghrā*, to smell; Max sweet herb, on whose origin philologists are divided, may connect with Müller to *ἄρωα*, to plough, the smell of a ploughed field. Vid. Liddell and Scott (Gr.-Engl. Dict.)

*sri*; *saranî*, path, road; *çarani*, id.; *kshar* and *kshal*, to stream, pass away.

Greek, *ἀλαω*, *ἀλημι*, to wander, rove. Perhaps *σωλην*, a channel, gutter.

ALA-EA, s. Haw., also *ala-ula*, red earth, from which, according to the legends, mankind was made; *ala-alai*, argillaceous earth, clay; *alaa*, to cultivate, dig off the greensward. Tah., *ara-ea*, red earth; *maraea*, id.; *marari*, to clear off land, cultivated; *arâia*, one's own place of birth, native soil. Marqu., *kaaea*, red ochre.

Sanskrit., *ira*, *ila*, *ida*, earth; *âra*, oxide of iron.

Greek, *ἔρα*, earth.

Goth., *airtha*; H. Germ., *era*, earth. Icel., *eyri*, gravelly.

A.-Sax., *ora*, *ore*, mineral.

Gæl., *ar-gyll*, quasi *ara-Gæl*, the land of Gæl. Irish, *iris*, bronze.

Pehlwi, *artâ*, land, field.

A. Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., ii. 75) derives the Greek, Sanskrit, and Gothic words from a Sanskrit root, *r*, *ri*, *ir*, *ar*, with the general sense of *lædere*, and the words *ἄρω*, *aro*, *arjan*, &c., in Greek, Latin, and Gothic, to the same root, and explains the derivation of earth, "en tant que labourée, c'est-à-dire blessée, déchirée." The transition of sense from *r*, *ar*, *ri*, and *ir*, *lædere* (sc. *terram*), to *ἄρω*, *arjan*, &c., and their derivatives, to dig, plough, cultivate, and from these again to land as a cultivation, plantation, Greek *ἀγ-ουρα*, Lat. *arvum*, Lith. *arim-mas*, Armor. *aor*, Erse *iom-air*, *im-ir*, is intelligible and natural; but that *ira*, *ἔρα*, *airtha*, *âra*, *ora*, *iris*, signifying earth, mineral, oxides, and even bronze, should derive from that Sanskrit *r*, *ar*, *ri*, or *ir*, in any of its various senses, is not so clear, especially in view of the positive Polynesian *ala*, *ara*, earth, clay, soil, ochre, and possibly the Samoan *ele*, *ele-ele* (other Polynes. dial. *kele*), earth, soil, dirt. And it certainly must be supposed that the Aryans had some general archaic name for the earth, soil, and dust beneath their feet long before they attempted to utilise it by cultivation. The Sanskrit *r*, *ar*, *ri*, and *ir*, in the sense

of to rise, to meet, to move, to raise, to deliver, and restore, and even to hurt, lædere, have evident relatives in the Polynesian *ala*, *ara*, to wake, to rise up, and with the Caus. *hoo*, to lift up, to raise, to excite, stir up, to deliver, to repair. Even the Sanskrit *arus*, *irma*, wound, *irina*, a notch, a furrow, have their kindred and analogies in the Polynesian *ali*, a scar; *alina*, scarred, badly burned, spotted; *s. alina-lina*, a mark, a sign, a low servant, a slave. But the direct application of this root *r*, *ar*, &c., to cultivation and planting, which the Sanskrit lacks or has lost, while it remains in all the European branches, is found also in Polynesian *eri*, *eli*, *keli*, to dig, *quod vide*, and thus supports A. Pictet's argument against those who hold "que l'agriculture ne s'est développée de part et d'autre que postérieurement à l'époque de l'unité primitive et de la vie pastorale."

ALALA, *s.* Haw., the cry of young animals, crying, squealing, weeping. Tah., *arara*, hoarse through much calling or speaking. Sam., *alanga*, to shout; *alalanga*, a shout. Marqu., *aaka*, to growl, complain.

Greek, *ἀλαλη*; Dor., *ἀλαλα*, a loud cry; *ἀλαλαζω*, to cry aloud, shout; *ἀλαλαι*, exclamation of joy.

Liddell and Scott refer this *ἀλαλη* to *λαλεω*, to talk, prop. to chatter, prattle, chirp, opp. to articulate speech, and they refer to Lat. *lallo*, Germ. *lallen*, as relatives. They are probably right, and we shall find another Polynesian relative under the sect. *Lelo*, tongue. The identical development, however, in both directions, of the Polynesian *alala* and the Greek *ἀλαλα*, or their retention by each from the hoariest antiquity, when either branch shouted to the other in intelligible speech, is, to say the least, remarkable.

ALANA, *s.* Haw., a sacrifice, offering, present. Tah., *ara*, to importune the gods with prayers or presents.

Greek, *ἀρα*, a prayer, a curse; *ἀραομαι*, to pray, vow, invoke. No reference given in Liddell and Scott.

ALANGA, *s.* Sam., shoulder or leg of an animal. Tong., *alanga*, a haunch, a limb. Haw., *alaea*, the fore-part

of the thigh. Sunda., *lengen*, the arm. Malg., *elan*, a wing.

Sanskrit., *ara-tni*, the elbow.

Greek, ὀλενη, elbow, and arm from elbow down.

Lat., *ulna*, elbow.

Goth., *aleina*, a cubit. Sax., *elne-boga*, elbow.

Benfey intimates that *aratni* is composed of *ara* and a verb *tan*, to draw, spread out, extend. Doubtless correctly; but what was the original sense of *ara*? From the Polynesian suffixes *nga* and *na*, I should judge the root or stem was *ala*, *ara*, whose primary sense was probably a limb generally; for in Samoan we find the kind of limb designated by a compound; *a-langa-lima*, the shoulder, the fore-quarter of an animal; *ala-nga-vae*, the leg, the hind-quarter.

Benfey refers the first compound of *aratni* to that immensely prolific Sanskrit root *ri* or *ar*. I am not competent to decide. I think, however, that the Sanskrit *aratni* and the Polynesian *alanga* have come down through the ages abreast, from the time when *ara* signified a limb generally, a joint, without particular specification.

ALANI, s. Haw., a timber tree used in fitting up canoes. The Polynesians of the archaic, pre-Pacific period must have had some generic name for wood, trees, forest, like *ara* or *ala*. We thus find in Hawaiian, besides the foregoing, *ala-hee*, name of a tree, very hard, from which the instruments for digging the soil (*oo*) were made; *alahii*, the bastard sandal-wood; *ala-ala-wai-nui*, a large tree whose fruit was used in dyeing; *ala-ala-puloo*, a shrub with yellow blossoms. In Sam., *alaa*, the name of a tree; in Tah., *ara*, branches, twigs; Malg., *ala*, wood, forest.

Sanskrit., *aranî*, wood used for kindling fire by attrition; *aranya*, a forest.

ALE<sup>1</sup>, s. Haw., wave, billow, crest of the sea, undulation of water; met. the sea. Tah., *are*, wave, billow. Rarot., Mangar., *kare*, id. N. Zeal., *kare*, reflection of light from running water, flashing, glancing. Sam., *ua-ale*, shower of

rain. Malg., *mare*, a torrent. Ceram. (Gah.), *arr-lehu*, a river; *arr*, water.

Sansk., *ârdra*, wet, moist, fresh.

Greek, *ἄρδω*, to moisten, to water, to irrigate; *ὄρος*, watery part in milk, blood, &c.

Armen., *alîk*, a wave.

Liddell and Scott submit *ῥαίνω*, to sprinkle, as related to *ἄρδω* and *ârdra*, and propose *ard* as a root. Benfey gives no root to *ârdra*. I leave the question to be settled by abler hands than mine; but Sanskrit scholars may yet find that *ârdra* is a compound word, of which *âr* is the subject and *dra* the attribute, whether the latter may connect with *drâ*, to run, or with *dhara*, bearing, holding. The *ar* thus left falls easily in line with the Polynesian *ale*, the arm, *alîk*, and the Greek *ὄρος*.

ALE<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to swallow, to drink, to gulp down, absorb; also to well up, as tears in the eyes. Sunda., *ngale*, to drink; probably allied to the foregoing.

Lith., *alus*, a kind of native beer.

Anc. Slav., *olovina*, Sicerca.

A.-Sax., *eala*, *alodh*, ale.

Irish, *ol*, a drink; *olaim*, to drink.

Sansk., *alî*, some kind of spirituous liquor, referred to by Pictet (*loc. cit.*, ii. 320), who adds: "la racine primitive est incertaine."

ALI, *s.* Haw., a scar on the face; *ali-ali*, to be scarred; *aali*, a small, low place between two larger or higher ones; *pu-ali*, a place compressed, a neck of land, an isthmus; *pu-ale*, a ravine. N. Zeal., *pu-are*, a hollow, open place. Tah., *ari*, a great deep or hollow; *adj.* empty, as the stomach; *v.* to scoop out, to hollow; *ari-ari*, thin, worn-out.

Sansk., *arus*, a wound; *îrma*, id.; *îrina*, notch, furrow.

Swed., *ärr*, scar.

ALII, *s.* Haw., a euph., a king, a chief. Rarot., Paum., *ariki*, id. Fakaafo, *aliki*, id. Mangar., *akariki*, id. Tong., *eiki*, id. Marqu., *aiki*, *hakaiki*, id. N. Zeal., *ariki*, chief and high-priest. Tah., *arii*, chief. Sam., *alii*, chief.

Sansk., *riḡ* (for primitive Vedic *rāj*, to govern, Benfey), to stand or be firm, be strong; *rāj*, *rājan*, king.

Goth., *reiki*, dominion; *reiks*, king, chief. Sax., *rik*, noble; *rici*, dominion, state. Icel., *rikr*, in compounds as *ul-rikr*, *e-rikr*. Swed., *rik*, rich; *rike*, kingdom.

Irish, *riḡh*, king; *airiḡh*, chief. Welsh, *-rix*, a frequent suffix in the names of nobles.

Zend, *raḡi*, kingdom (A. Pictet).

Lat., *rex*, king; *rego*, *rectus*.

ALO, *v.* Haw., to pass from one place to another, to dodge, skip; *alo-alo*, turn this way and that. Tong., *alo*, to hunt; *kalo*, to dodge, parry, elude; *alo-alo*, to fan. Sam., *alo*, to fan, to paddle; *rdpl.* to avoid, dodge. Tah., *aro*, wage war, to fight. Mal., *alih*, to shift, change. Malg., *mi-valik*, turn about.

Sansk., *ara*, rapid (Pictet, *loc. cit.*, i. 456, *r*, *ar*, to go, to move); *arṇa*, agitated, impetuous. Ved., *arṇava*, ocean.

Greek, *ἔλαω*, *ἐλαυνω*, to drive, urge, beat.

Lat., *alā*, wing; *ala-cer*, swift.

Goth., *ara*, eagle. A.-Sax., *earn*, id. Act. Germ., *aro*, id.; *ilan*, to hasten.

Lith., *eris*, eagle. Illyr., *ora*, id.

Irish, *allaim*, *ailim*, to go, move; *allach*, activity.

Doubtless related to *alo*, as a phonetic variation, is the Haw. *alu-alu*, to pursue, chase, persecute; the Sam. *alu*, to go backward and forward; *alu-alu*, to drive, chase; Tah., *aru-aru*, to hunt, pursue. Perhaps the Greek *ἀλης*, *άλις*, throng, crowd, connect with the same root as the Polynesian *alu*.

AMA, *s.* Haw., the outrigger of a canoe; *amana*, two branches crossing each other, the crotch of a tree; *adj.* crossing. Tah., *ama*, outrigger; *amaa*, branches of trees, division of a subject; *ama-ha*, a split, a crack. Sam., *ama*, outrigger. Rotum., *sama*. Tong., *hama*. Fiji., *cama*, id.; *amo*, *v.* ubiquitous, to carry on the shoulder. Sam., *amonga*, a burden, also name of Orion's belt in that constellation.



Sanskr., *aṁs*, to divide, to break asunder; *aṁṣa*, a part, share; *aṁsa*, the shoulder.

Lat., *ansa*, handle, haft, ear of vessels; *ames*, a pole or fork for spreading nets with; *humerus*, shoulder.

Greek, *ἀσιννα*, a yoke for the shoulders to carry with; *ὤμος*, the shoulder; *ὤμια*, corner, side.

AMI-AMI, *v.* Tah., to be in dread or fear; to wink the eyes as if apprehensive of a blow; to move the lips quickly, as if panting for breath.

Sanskr. (Ved.), *am*, to be ill; *am-īva*, pain; *am-aya*, sickness.

ANA<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to measure, in any manner or direction, to set aside, set back, restrain, be satiated, have enough; *s.* a measure; *ana-aina*, lit. a circle for eating purposes, a congregation of people for any purpose, provided a space be left in the centre, a congregation; *ana-aina*, land-surveying; *ana-hua*, *kana-hua*, bending over, stoop-shouldered; *ana-na*, a fathom, to measure. Tah., *aa*, to measure; *aa-mau*, twenty fathoms in length. Mangar., *anga*, a fathom measure. Sam., *anga*, a span. Fiji., *canga*, a span, a stretch of the fingers. The Sam. *anga*, to move or turn oneself in this or that direction, to turn towards or turn from, probably refers to this family.

Sanskr., *aṅg*, to go, to mark; *anga*, a limb, a part, a division; *aṅgula*, a finger's-breadth, as a linear measure; *aṅgulī*, finger; *aṅgulīya*, a finger-ring; *aṅga-da*, bracelet; *aṅka*, a hook, mark, the flank, the arm; *aṅkuṣa*, a hook; *aṅch*, to bend, curve. Perhaps *anas*, a cart.

Zend., *angust*, a finger-ring.

Welsh, *angw*, embrace, contain; *ang*, large, capacious.

Greek, *ἀγκλη*, the bent arm; *ἀγκη*, id.; *ἀγκας*, in the arms; *ἀγκων*, the bend or hollow of the arm, the elbow, any nook or bend; *ἀγκος*, bend, hollow, glen, valley; *ὄγκος*, a hook, barb.

Lat., *uncus*, bent, curved, a hook; *anulus*, a ring, a link.

Benfey refers *aṅgula* to a lost base, *aṅgu*, whose meaning is not given, however. A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 501) refers

the Welsh *angu* to the Sanskrit *agh*, *añgh*, "amplecti, pervadere." I see no reason why the one or the other should not refer itself in a nearer degree to this Polynesian *ana*, *anga*. Pictet's derivation, by contraries, of the Welsh *angu* and *ang*, "to embrace, contain, large, capacious," from the Sanskrit *añhu*, "étroit, serré," seems to me more ingenious than satisfactory in view of the Polynesian word with its primitive meaning, "to measure in any direction," straight or circular. The original differentiation of meaning in the kindreds and derivatives of the Sanskrit *agh* or *añgh* I thing best displayed in the Polynesian forms *aki* and *ana*.

Though the West Aryan branches generally have lost of this word the sense of to measure, or supplanted it with other synonyms, it is probable that the Persian word *âγγαρος*,—a messenger, a courier kept ready at regular stages throughout Persia to carry royal despatches,—and adopted by the Greeks, may recall the original sense of "measuring a distance."

ANA<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to suffer, be grieved, troubled; *s.* grief, sadness, sorrow; *ana-ana*, to practise witchcraft, procure the death of one by sorcery, also to be in a tremor, agitated; *s.* contraction of the muscles; *ana-anai*, to be angry. Tah., *anae*, anxiety; *anau*, sorrow, grief, regret. N. Zeal., *kanga*, to swear, curse. Sam., *ana-ana*, to go into danger; *ana-gofie*, easily perished, perishable.

Sansk., *agha* (fr. *a v. añgh*, Benfey), sin, impurity; *âgas*, crime, fault; *añhas*, pain, sin. Ved., *añhu* (Pictet), narrow, light; *añhas*, anxiety, misfortune.

Lat., *ango*, press together, choke; *angustus*, narrow, close; *angor*, *angina*, sore throat, anguish, vexation, trouble; *anguis*, a snake, serpent; *anxietas*.

Greek, *ἀγγω*, press tight, strangle, choke; *ἀγγι*, near, close by; *ἀχος*, grief, pain, distress; *ἐγγυς*, near, nigh.

Goth., *aggvus*, narrow, straight; *agis*, fright; *agan*, to fear. Sax., *ange*, vexed, troubled; *enge*, narrow strait; *angst*.

Irish, *agh*, fear; *ang*, *ing*, peril, danger. Welsh, *ing*, narrow strait.

Lith., *anksztis*, narrow; *angis*, serpent.

I have followed Benfey and Pictet in these comparisons and derivations. It may appear as if the Hawaiian *ana-ana*, contraction of the muscles, to be in a tremor, agitated, did not fully correspond to the idea of nearness, closeness, which seems to be the primary and prominent sense of the West Aryan vocables. The original material sense of *ana* is no longer to be found in any of the Polynesian dialects, so far as I can ascertain, but some of them have preserved two vocables nearly akin to *ana*, which express that idea of nearness, closeness, and compression. The one is *ane*, *v.* Haw., to be near, to be almost; *adv.* nearly, scarcely, with difficulty; *ane-ane*, *adv.* nearly, almost; *s.* a vacancy, compression of the stomach for want of food or from sickness; *adj.* be exhausted, faint, feeble; *v.* to be near doing a thing, be almost at a place. The other is *ene*, Haw., *v.* to creep along, draw near an object; Tah., *ene*, to approach; *ene-ene*, to press upon, insist upon. With these words supplementing the material sense lost in the Polynesian *ana*, *anga*, its relation to the Sanskrit Vedic *añhu*, the Greek *ἀγχι*, the Saxon *enge*, the Welsh *ing*, cannot well be called in question.

ANA<sup>3</sup>, *s.* Haw., cave, hollow, cleft in the rocks, the hollow part of the mouth. Sam., *ana*, cave, a room, a cabin. Tah., *ana*, cave; *ana-ana*, indented; *ana-pape*, the bed of a river. *Quære*, *tanga*, Sam., a shark's stomach, a bag; *tanga-ai*, the crop of birds.

Sanskrit., *añjali*, the cavity formed by putting the hands together and hollowing the palms, this cavity as a measure, two handfuls (Benfey); *ánana*, i.e. *an-ana* (Benfey), the mouth, face; *ánaka*, a drum.

Benfey refers *ánana* to *an*, to blow, breathe, but gives no reference for *añjali* and *ánaka*. It is possible, but, in view of *añjali* and *ánaka*, hardly probable. There doubtless was a primary *ana*, with the sense of cavity, hollow, to which *ánana* and *ánaka* refer themselves as well as

*añjali*. There is a composite of *ánaka* in Sanskrit which seems to me inexplicable unless on the assumption that the primary sense of *ánaka* embodied the idea of hollowness, cavity. That word is *çata-ánaka*, lit. a hundred drums, but conventionally a cemetery. With the primary sense of cavity resting in *ánaka*, one can understand that a hundred graves, caves, or holes, might conventionally be called a cemetery, but not otherwise.

The Lat. *inguen*, the groin, the abdomen, possibly goes back to this primitive *ana* for its root.

The Greek *άντρον*, Lat. *antrum*, of which Liddell and Scott give no etymon, may also be referred to the same root. Perhaps also Sanskr. *antar*, within; Lat. *inter*.

ANI, *v*. Haw., to pass over a surface as with the hand, to draw, to wave, beckon, blow softly; *s*. a gentle breeze; *ani-ani*, to cool, refresh, blow gently; *ma-kani*, wind, breeze, air in motion; *ane-ane*, blow gently. Rarot., Mangar., *angi*, gentle breeze. Sam., Tong., N. Zeal., *ma-tangi*, wind; *angi*, to blow. Tah., *matai*, wind. Marqu., *metani*. Fiji., *cangi*, air. Nias, *angi*, id. Teor., *anin*, id. Malg., *anghin*, air, wind; *angats*, spirit, phantom.

Sansk., *an*, to breathe, blow as wind, to live; *anila*, wind; *anas*, a living being; *apána*, the anus; *prána*, breath, wind.

Greek, *άνεμος*, wind, breath; *ήνεμοεις*, Dor. *άνεμοεις*, windy, airy.

Lat., *anima*, air, breath, soul; *animus*, animal, *inanis*, and *anus*.

Goth., *anam*, to breathe; *uz-ana*, expire. O. H. Germ., *un-st*, storm. Swed., *ande*, breath, spirit; *andas*, breathe.

Gael., *anam*, breath, soul; *anaíl*, respiration, puff. Welsh, *en*, soul, spirit; *en-vil*, a being. Armor., *ane-val*, animal.

Pers., *an*, intelligence.

The Greek *ένης*, soft, gentle, kind; *προς-νης*, Dor. *προς-ανης*, and *ποτανης*, with the same meaning, *άπνης*, harsh, rough, unkind, of whose root lexicographers are in doubt, probably refer to this family of words, and seem

to coincide with the Polynesian sense of a soft, gentle breeze.

ANO, *s.* Sam., the innermost substance of a thing, the kernel. Tong., *kano*, id., seeds; *kano-o-he-mata*, eyeball. Haw., *ano-ano*, seeds of fruits, the semen, descendants, children; *onohi*, the eye, the pupil of the eye, centre of things. N. Zeal., *kanohi*, the eye. Marqu., *kakano*; Mangar., *kanokano*, seeds, kernels. Tah., *ano-ano*, id.

Sanskrit., *kana*, grain, broken rice, a drop, a spark, a little bit; *kanika*, seed; *kanîgaṃs*, very small.

This reference is strengthened by several pre-Malay terms for "small, little," viz., Amboyna (Battumerah), *ana*; Ceram. (Teluti), *anan*; Ceram. (Ahtiago), *anaanin*; Salibabo, *anion*; Matabello, *enena*.

APO, *v.* Haw., to catch at, to span, encircle, receive, contain, apprehend intellectually; *s.* a hoop, a band, a ring; *apo-apo*, to snatch, seize. Sam., *sapo*. Tong., *habo*, to catch, materially or mentally; 'apo, take care of, attend to, to cling to. Tah., *apo*, to catch; *apu*, the shell of nuts, seeds; and *apu-rima*, the hollow of the hand. Fiji., *kabo-ta*, take hold of with something in the hand that it may not burn or dirty; take up food with a leaf; akin to Haw., *apu*, a cup; Rarot., *kapu*, id.; Mangar., *kapu*, to enclose, contain, a cup; Marqu., *kapu-kapu*, take up water with a cup; Sam., 'apu, a cup or dish made of a leaf; Mal., *tang-kap*, to catch; Sund., *tjap*, a ring.

Sanskrit., *ap*, to attain, obtain; *adj.* fit, trusted, near; *apas*, work, diligent, active. Ved., *apnas-vant*, efficacious.

Lat., *apto*, to fit, from obs. *apo*, *aptus*, joined, fastened to, fit; *apiscor*, reach, get; *opus*, *copia*.

Greek, ἀπτω, fasten to, cling to, touch; προεπω for προεπω, be becoming, to suit; ἀφη, touch, laying hold, grasping.

Welsh, *hap*, *hab*, luck, chance, what comes suddenly; *hafaw*, snatch; *hapiaw*, happen.

The Latin *capio*, *capto*, *capax*, &c., doubtless refer themselves to this family of *apo*, as well as *capulus* and *capsa*,

though Benfey refers them to the Caus. of Sanskr. *chi* = *chapyāmi*, to arrange, to heap, collect; and the Sax. *hæftan*, to seize, *hæft*, a handle, haft, claim, also kindred to the same.

AWA<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., harbour, cove, creek, channel; *awaa*, to dig as a pit, a ditch; *awawa*, a valley, space between two prominences, space between the fingers or toes. Tah., *ava*, a harbour, channel. Sam., *ava*, a boat-passage, opening in the reef, anchorage; *v.* be open, as a doorway. Marqu., *ava*, interval, passage.

The Malgasse *ava*, a rainbow, may refer to this family, in the sense of an arch, a bay, a hollow, curved space on the firmament.

Sansk., *avata*, a pit; *avata*, a well; *avatas*, below, in the lower regions; *ava-kāṣa*, space, interval; *avama*, low, opp. to high, probably all referring themselves to *ava*, prep. with the primary sense of "down, below, away, off," as its derivatives plainly indicate.

AWA<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., fine rain, mist. Tong., Sam., *afa*, storm, hurricane; *afu*, a waterfall. N. Zeal., *awa*, a river. Fiji., *cava*, a storm. Mal., *awap*, mist, dew. Sangvir Island, *sawan*, a river. Rotti, Ofa, id. Tagal., *abo-abo*, rain. Malg., *zav*, mist, fog.

Sansk., *ap*, *apas*, water.

Lat., *aqua*; Romain, *ava*, water, rain-water.

Goth., *ahwa*; O. H. Germ., *ouwa*, water. Germ., *au*, *au*, brook. Swed., *å*, id.

Irish, *abh*, water; *abhan*, river. Welsh, *aw*, fluid.

Pers., *āw*, *āb*, water.

A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 137) refers the Celtic and Persian forms to a Sanskrit root *av*, "ire," whence *avana*, rapidity, *avani*, river; and he refers the Latin and Gothic forms to a Sanskrit root *aç* or *ak*, "permeare, occupare," from which spring a number of derivatives expressive of "le mouvement rapide, la force pénétrante" (ii. p. 552). In view of the Polynesian forms, Haw., Sam., Tagal., and their meanings, I prefer to follow Benfey and Bopp in referring the West Aryan as well as the Polynesian forms to the

Sanskrit *ap*, whether that be the original form itself or a contracted modification of it.

It seems to me to have been in the very nature of language that men in the olden times should have commenced by giving distinct and instantaneous names to objects around them, and to natural phenomena, before they invested those objects with names derived by after-thought and reflection from this or that quality characteristic of those objects. Many, if not most, of such original names were doubtless lost in the course of ages, and supplanted by synonyms derived from and expressive of some quality or other in the objects named; but many still survive to baffle the analysis of philologists, and to assert their claims to priority over synonyms that must necessarily have been of later formation.

AWA<sup>3</sup>, s. Haw., Sam., Tah., name of a plant of a bitter taste, but highly relished throughout Polynesia—"Piper Methysticum"—from which an intoxicating drink is made; the name of the liquor itself. Tong., N. Zeal., Rarot., Marqu., *kawa*, id. Haw., *awa-awa*, bitter. Sam., *a'awa*, id. Tong., N. Zeal., *kakawa*, sweet.

Sanskr., *av*, to please, satisfy, desire (Benfey); *ava*, nourishment (Pictet).

Pers., *âwâ*, nourishment; *abâ*, bread.

Lat., *aveo*, crave after, long for; *avena*, oats. See AU<sup>1</sup>.

E, *adv.* and *ppr.* Haw., from, away, off, by, through, means of; also, adverbially, something other, something strange, new; *adj.* contrary, opposed, adverse, other, foreign. Sam., *e*, *ppr.* by, of; *ese*, other, different, strange. Tah., *e*, *ppr.* by, through, from; *adv.* away, off; *adj.* different, strange, distant; *ee*, strange. N. Zeal., *ke*, strange, different. Malg., *eze*, of, by.

Greek, *ἐκ*, *ἐξ*, from out of, from, by, of; *ἐκει*, in that place, opp. to *ἐνθαδε*, in some other place than that of the speaker, thither; *ἐκας*, afar, afar off.

Lat., *e*, *ex*, out of, from.

Liddell and Scott (Gr.-Engl. Dict., s. v.) say: "The

root of *έρ-ερος* is said to be the same as Sanskr. *ant-aras*, Goth. *auth-ar*, Germ. *and-er*, Lat. *alt-er*, *aut*, French *aut-rui*, our *eith-er*, *oth-er*, *itara = alius*, also in Sanskrit." Whatever the root of *ant-aras*, *auth-ar*, *alter*, it seems to me that *έκας* shows nearer kindred to the Polynesian *e*, *ke*, *ee*, *ese*, *eze*, than to forms so developed as *ant-ar*, *ant-ara*, &c.

EHA, *v.* Haw., be hurt, sore, painful; *s.* pain, suffering, affliction. Tah., *eha-eha*, to be spoiled, as of food kept too long. Probably the Haw. *che-che*, to cough, to hack, and Tah. *ma-che*, withered, scorched by the sun, are connected with this word.

Sanskrit., *ej*, to stir, tremble, quake.

Greek, *έπ-εργω*, press upon, urge, drive; *αίγυς*, a rushing wind, a storm; *αίσσω*, dart, shoot, force; *αίγυειπος*, the poplar tree.

Lat., *æger*, sick, suffering, troubled.

In the Polynesian form of *eha*, nothing remains of the probably primitive sense of rapid motion, pressure, trembling, as retained in the Sanskrit *ej*, the Greek *έπ-εργω*, *αίγυς*, and *αίγυειπος*, though the forms in *che-che* and *che* may in a measure recall it. But the Polynesian *eke*, with its variants, which doubtless also goes back to a Sanskrit or older *ej*, has well preserved that original sense, as well as the later derivative one of pain or distress. We thus have: Haw., *e-ke*, to start away as in fear, to shrink from, the motion of the hand when one has burnt his finger, to twinge or writhe with pain; *eke-eke*, to brush off, as a fly or insect; *s.* a piercing, stinging pain; *ekeke*, the wing of a bird (from its fluttering rapid motion). Tah., *ete*, to flinch, shrink back; *ete-ete*, shocked, ashamed.

ELE, *v.* Haw., be dark, black; *adj.* dark-coloured, black, blue, dark-red, brown; *ele-ele*, id. Tah., *ere-ere*, dark, black, blue. Rarot., *kerekere*, id. Marqu., *kekee*, id.; *kee-vo*, darkness, gloom.

The application of this word to colour is doubtless derivative from the Polynes. Haw. *kele*, mud, mire (*quod vide*), Tong. *kele-kere*, earth soil, dirt, Sam. 'ele and 'ele-ele, red



earth, dirt, rust; *lea*, Tong., *kelea*, rusty, dirty; probably all akin to *ala*, *ara*, in *ala-ea*, earth, clay (vid. pp. 51, 52).

Jav., *iran*, black. N. Celebes (Kema), *hirun*, id.

In the following Greek words the first constituent proclaims their affinity to the Polynesian *ere*, *ele*:—

ἔρεβος, darkness of the grave, the dark passage from earth to Hades; ἔρεβεννος, dark, gloomy; ἔρεμνος, sync. fr. previous word, black, swarthy; ἔρεφω, to cover; ὄρφνη, darkness of night; ὄρφνος, dark, dusty; ὀροφή, roof of a house.

Sanskrit, *aruna*, tawny, dark, red; s. the dawn, the sun; *arunīta*, made red.

Benfey refers the Sanskrit word to *arus*, a wound. Liddell and Scott refer the Greek words to ἔρεφω, to cover. They are plausible; but are they the true roots or stems, in view of the Polynesian *ele*, *ere*? Dr. J. Pickering, in his Greek Lexicon, derives ἔρεβος “from ἔρα (the earth) or ἔρεφω (to cover).” The former seems to me the better reference.

ELE<sup>2</sup>, *prefix*. Haw., an intensitive added to many words, imparting a meaning of “very much, greatly;” *ele-u*, alert, quick; *ele-ma-kule*, old, aged, helpless; *ele-mio*, tapering to a point; *ele-ku*, easily broken, very brittle; *ele-hei*, too short. Tah., *ere-huru*, encumbered, too much of a thing.

A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, ii. 757) says, apropos of the derivation of the word *Erin*: “L’irlandais *er* comme adjectif magnus, nobilis, paraît être identique à l’*er* intensitif de l’irlandais et du cymrique, considéré comme une particule inséparable, et qui serait ainsi proprement un adjectif. Il est à remarquer en confirmation, que le zend *airya* = sanskr. *arya* avec l’acception de bon, juste, est également devenu *ér* dans les composés du Pârsi, comme *ér-maneshu* bon esprit, *er-tan*, bon corps (Spiegel, *Avesta*, i. 6). De là à un sens intensitif, transition était facile.” Why not widen the philological horizon by admitting the Polynesian *ere*, *ele*, to consideration as well as the Irish, Welsh, or Parsi? And why may not the O. Norse *ar*,

early, first; *aerir*, messengers; the Sax. *er*, before, in time, go up to the same root as those others?

ELI, *v.* Haw., to loosen or break up earth, to dig in the ground. Tah., *eri*, *eru*, id. Tong., N. Zeal., Fiji., *keri*, *keli*, id. Sunda, *kali*, *ngali*, to dig.

Sansk., *ar*, to plough; Lat., *aro*; Greek, ἀρω; Irish, *arain*; Goth., *arjan*, and their numerous derivatives.

EMU, *v.* Haw., to cast away, throw away; *emi*, to decrease, subside, retire, despond, to ebb as the tide. Mangar., *kemi*, to depart, disappear. The Haw. *emo*, to put off, delay, is probably but a phonetic variation.

Greek, ἐμεω, to vomit, throw up.

Sax., *aemti*, *aemtian*, to evacuate, be vacant, idle; *aemta*, ease, leisure. Engl., *empty*.

Benfey and Liddell and Scott refer the Greek ἐμεω to the Sanskr. *vam*, to vomit, spit out; Lat., *vomo*, id. It may be so; but why is not the Sanskr. *v* represented by the digamma or the aspirate in Greek? Benfey further refers the Greek ἐμεω to the Goth., *wamm*, a spot, *ga-wamms*, spotted, tainted; but W. W. Skeat, in Mæso-Goth. Glossary, derives *wamm* from *wimman*, to blemish. In this uncertainty I think the Polynesian etymon the preferable.

I<sup>1</sup>, *prep.* Haw., to, towards, in, at, unto; *iho*, a verbal direction implying motion downward, succession; *v.* to descend from a higher to a lower level; *io*, *v.* to flee, hasten away; *s.* a forerunner, a herald. In the S. Polynes. dialects, *i* and *ki*, *prep.* to, towards, at, in, on. Sam., *ifo*; Tah., *iho*; Tong., *hifo*; Mangar., Rarot., *io*, down, downward, to descend. Sam., *ifu*, to run away. Tah., *ihu*, be lost, go astray. Fiji., *civo*, downwards. Buru., *iko* and *wiko*, to go. Ceram, (Teluti), *itai*, id. Amboyna, *oi*, id.

Sansk., *i*, to go, to go to; *ay*, id.; *it*, id.; *yâ*, id.

Greek, εἶω, εἶω, ἰημι, εἶμι, and their numerous forms retaining the original *i*, denoting motion, to go, to pass; ἵρος passable; ἵθμα, a step, motion.

Lat., *eo*, *ire*, to go; *iter*, journey, road; *itio*, &c.

Goth., *iddja*, I went.

I<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw. and Tah., to speak, to say. Sam., *i*, to cry. Mangar., *ki*, id. N. Zeal., Rarot., *ki*, to say, to answer. Tong., *ki*, to whistle. Fiji., *gi*, to squeak, shrill voice. Haw., *ii*, rejoice with audible voice. Sam., *ii*, a prolonged scream.

Sansk., *id*, to implore, to praise; *ida*, speech; *iti*, calamity.

Greek, *ia*, a voice, cry; *ἰων*, shout, clamour; *ἰαζω*, cry aloud.

IA<sup>1</sup>, *pron.* Polynes., ubiquitous, he, she, it. Malay., *iya*, id. Malg., *isi*, id.

Lat., *is*, *ea*, *id*.

Goth., *is*, *si* (acc. f. *ija*), *ita*. (See Introduction.)

IA<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., Tah., Sam., fish. Tong., N. Zeal., Marqu., *ika*, id. Mal., *ikan*; Pulo Nias, *iah*, id. Gilolo (Galela), *ian*, id. Saparua, *ian*, id. Teor., *ikan*, id.

Greek, *ἰχθυσ*, fish.

In the earlier pre-historic residence of the Greeks on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, there must have been in the language which then obtained such a word for fish as *ika* or *icha*. One of the ancient names of Sardinia was *Ἰχνοῦσα*, evidently a composite word, from *νοῦσα*—a word which, whatever its original derivation, prevailed extensively at one time with the signification of “island,” from the Pillars of Hercules to the Straits of Gilolo, and from thence was borne into the Pacific—and *ἰχ*, for which Greek lexicographers offer no explanation or etymon. Pausanias, Pliny, and Silius Italicus refer the name of *Ἰχνοῦσα* to the Greek *ἰχνος*, vestigium, a track of the human foot, from its apparent shape; but C. Ritter (“Die Vorhalle Europ. Völker-Geschichten”) has, in a measure, upset that theory, though his own is hardly more probable, and neither the one nor the other will account for the termination of *-νοῦσα* in the names of numerous other islands; and thus, in the case of *Ἰχνοῦσα*, the first syllable still remains unexplained. There is another Greek word in which I recognise the existence of this

ancient ἰχα or ἰχ: it is *ταριχος*, "salted or pickled fish," "smoked or dried fish or meat," "a mummy." No etymon is given by Liddell and Scott. The first component of this word possibly refers to *ταρασσω*, or the stem upon which *ταρασσω* was formed, with the sense of "to stir up, to mix, to agitate, to trouble," with a probably conventional or understood sense of "to prepare pickle (by stirring, mixing), to pickle, to cure." The second component I claim as that ancient ἰχ or ἰχα which gave its name to Sardinia. The etymology of the name of Ἰκαρος, an island off Samos in the Ægean Sea, has, I believe, not yet been satisfactorily settled. According to Anthon (Class. Dict.), Bochart inclines towards a Phœnician derivation, and assigns as the etymology of the name *i-caure*, *i.e.*, "insula piscium," the island of fish. In support of this explanation he refers to Athenæus, Stephanus Byzantinus, and others, according to whom one of the early Greek names of the island was Ἰχθυοεσσα, *i.e.*, "abounding in fish." The reference to "fish" as the foundation of the name rather confirms my opinion that ἰκα, ἰχα, was an ancient name of that class of animals, but had become obsolete before the adoption of the comparatively later and composite ἰχθυς; and, under previous considerations, it is fairly probable that the city of Ἰχνη, mentioned by Herodotus (vii. 123) as "near the sea," in the neighbourhood of the river Axius, which divided the territories of Mygdonia and Bottiæis, is another memento of the original long-forgotten name of fish, ἰχα, ἰκα, ἰα.

A. Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., i. 509), after rejecting Benfey's etymon of the Latin *piscis*, and the connection of ἰχθυς thereto, says: "Quant à Ἰχθυς, qui est tout-à-fait isolé, la question est beaucoup plus obscure. C'est là, peut-être, un composé purement grec, où *θυς* me paraît se lier à *θυω* = sanskr. *dhu*, agitare, commovere, et ἰχα, un ancien nom de l'eau dont la trace est restée dans ἰκμας, humidité. Cf. *aqua*, Goth. *ahva*, Anc. All. *aha*, Cymr. *ach*, Irlande *oiche*, eau, &c., et les rac. sanskr. *ak*, volvi, *ac*, permeare, &c. Cet *ik* hypothétique, identique à sa racine comme

beaucoup d'autres noms, se serait changé en  $\iota\chi$  devant le  $\theta$  de  $\theta\upsilon\omega$ , et  $\iota\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ , signifierait ainsi *qui agite l'eau*, épithète bien adaptée au poisson." There can be little doubt of the latter syllable deriving from  $\theta\upsilon\omega$  or  $\theta\upsilon\upsilon\omega$ , but whether the hypothetic  $\iota\kappa$  of Mr. Pictet ever existed in the Greek language with the sense of water—*aqua*—may admit of a doubt, even though the Greek  $\iota\kappa\mu\alpha\varsigma$ , moisture, would seem to favour the conjecture. Its association in  $\iota\chi\text{-}\nu\upsilon\sigma\alpha$   $\tau\alpha\rho\text{-}\iota\chi\oslash\varsigma$ ,  $\iota\chi\text{-}\nu\eta$ , perhaps  $\Delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\text{-}\iota\chi\iota\omega\nu$  of Homer (ii. 625), cannot thus be explained, but becomes readily intelligible if we admit the Polynesian  $\iota\kappa\alpha$  to membership in the Aryan family.

IA<sup>3</sup>, s. Haw., name of the galaxy or milky way;  $\iota\alpha\oslash$ , s. name of the planet Jupiter when morning-star.

If in former ages this word and its associations with the Polynesians were invested with any divine character, it has so long been lost or superseded that no trace thereof can now be found.  $\iota\alpha$  and  $\iota\alpha\oslash$  now represent only a particular star or a cluster of stars. The stellar worship has been obliterated, but the to them now unmeaning name still remains to attest their former intimate relation to those peoples who, starting with common names for individual stars or cluster of stars, retained the names to designate the Author and Maker of "the hosts of heaven." The Chaldean, Syro-Phœnician  $\iota\alpha\eta$ , the Greek  $\iota\alpha\omega$ , of whom the Clarian oracle said, as reported by Macrobius, " $\Phi\rho\alpha\zeta\epsilon\omega$   $\tau\omega\nu$   $\pi\alpha\nu\tau\omega\nu$   $\upsilon\pi\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$   $\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\mu\mu\epsilon\nu$   $\iota\alpha\omega$ ," attest the existence of the name in that part of the world. The Polynesians, in their development from stellar worship to the conception of individual deity, employed other words to express that conception, and to them  $\iota\alpha$  and  $\iota\alpha\oslash$  conveyed only the primary material sense of a star or cluster of stars. The Chaldeans and Greeks (and the latter probably borrowed from the former) in their development retained the name but forgot its original sense, and sought for etymons that seem to me more profound than conclusive.

IA<sup>4</sup>, v. Tah., to pitch, to daub;  $\iota\alpha\text{-}\iota\oslash\alpha$ , v. Haw., to embalm

by perfuming or otherwise; *s.* a dead body embalmed and preserved.

This word probably refers itself to the Greek *ἰαίω*, to heat, melt, warm, cheer; *ἰαομαι*, to heal, cure; *ἱατρῆρ*, a surgeon, a healer; *ἱάμα*, remedy, medicine.

IELE, *s.* Haw., a chief, a king. Tah., *ieieere*, consternation, amazement, awe.

Greek, *ἱερός*, holy, hallowed, magnificent, vast, awful; *ἱερεὺς*, a priest; *ἱερεία*, sacrifice, festival; *ἱεραξ*, a hawk, sacred to Apollo.

Liddell and Scott after Curtius, and A. Pictet after Kuhn, refer *ἱερός* to the Sanskr. *ishira*, strong, lively, vigorous, robust, mighty, and hence divine, sacred; and Pictet suggests that the suppression of the *sh* is compensated by the initial spiritus asper. It may be so; but then, in view of the parallel Polynesian *iele*, the phonetic decay of *ishira* must be of an enormously ancient date.

Professor Max Müller, in "Chips from a German Workshop," i. 133 (Scribner's edition), says: "It is easy again to see that *ἱερός* in Greek means something like the English sacred. But how, if it did so, the same adjective could likewise be applied to a fish or to a chariot, is a question which, if it is to be answered at all, can only be answered by an etymological analysis of the word. To say that *sacred* may mean *marvellous*, and therefore *big*, is saying nothing, particularly as Homer does not speak of catching big fish, but of catching fish in general." If Homer spoke of "fish in general" (Iliad, xvi. 407), why use the epithet *ἱερός*? Whatever may be the etymology of *ἱερός*, whether it refers itself to the Sanskrit *ishira*, or to the Polynesian *iele*, or both, it seems to me, under correction, that the sense of the word in Homer's time invariably conveyed the idea of something select, something remarkable, beyond ordinary things and persons, for its superior excellence, grandeur, solemnity, power, beauty, or elegance, thus reconciling its varying application, from a chariot, *ἱερός διφῆρος* (Il. xvii. 464), up to the darkness,

κνεφας ἱερον (Il. xi. 194), and to the day, ἱερον ἡμαρ (Il. viii. 66). And hence I infer that the ἱερος ἰχθυσ, to which Homer refers, was not "fish in general," but some particular kind of fish known in his time by that epithet. Liddell and Scott quote Aristotle in explanation that the ἱερος ἰχθυσ meant the fish otherwise known as the ἀνθιας.

The Tahitian *ieieere*, though somewhat corrupted in form, has probably retained the earlier sense of the word, and corresponds closely to the Greek senses of ἱερος, viz., wondrous, marvellous, extraordinary.

IO, *adj.* Haw., true, real; *adv.* truly, verily. Sam., *io*, *ioe*, yes. Tong., Fakaafo, *io*, yes. Fiji., *ia* and *io*, yes. Malg., *ie*, yes.

Goth., *ia*, *iai*, yes, verily. Swed., *ia*, *io*, yes, an affirmative.

IU, *adj.* Haw., prohibited, sacred; *iuiu*, to be afar off, high up, to live in some sacred place; *s.* a place supposed to be afar off or high above the earth, or beneath the ocean, sacred to the dwelling-place of God. *Ke akua noho i ka iuiu*, the God dwells afar off; *i ka welau o ka makani*, at the farther end of the wind (Andrew's Dict.); *po-iu*, afar off, at a great distance, very high up, grand, solemn, glorious; *koiuiu*, far off, at a great height; *ko-iu-la*, to ascend as smoke, to float in the air as a cloud. Tah., *ioio*, handsome, brilliant. Haw., *io-lani*, the high, upper heaven.

Sanskrit, *dyu*, *dio*, heaven, day; *deva*, god, deity, perhaps properly "the heavenly;" *dyāvā-prithivi*, heaven and earth; *dyāus*, heaven personified; *diu-pate*, lord of heaven.

Greek, *dios*, divine; *ἐνδιος*, in the open air; *Zeus*, Æol. *Δευσ*, gen. *Διος*, chief of the Olympian deities; *Διωνη*, mother of Aphrodite; *ἐν-δια*, fair weather.

Lat., *divum*, *dium*, the sky; "*sub diu, sub divo*," in the open air; *Ju-piter* = Sanskrit *Dyu-pitar*, gen. *Jo-vis*, in Oscan *Dio-vei*; in the Iguvine tables *Juve-pater* = "in heaven the father" (Pictet); *Ju-no*, the wife and sister of Jupiter; *deus*, God; *dies*, day.

Goth., *tius*, gen. *tivis*; A.-Sax., *tiu*; O. Nors., *tyr*, gen. *tys*; A. Germ., *ziu* or *zio*, the most ancient of the Teutonic gods, and a personification of heaven (Pictet, *loc. cit.*, ii. 664).

It will be seen from the above comparison that the Polynesian *iu* and its composites have retained what was probably the very earliest sense of this word, as well as of its subsequent developments of sense. The idea of "high up," "far away," is not retained in the West Aryan tongues, except impliedly, as *diu* or *dio*, the heaven, in *dium*, the sky, in *ἐν-διος*, in the open air.

I have purposely omitted reference to the Greek *θεος*. Philologists seem to differ. Professor Sayce, in "Introduction to the Science of Language," ii. 136, says: "In spite of every effort that has been made to connect the Greek *θεος* with the common Aryan term that we meet with in the Latin *deus*, it still stands obstinately alone, and favours the view of Herodotus and Rödiger, that the Greek looked upon the gods as the 'placers' or 'creators' of that divinely arranged universe to which he afterwards gave the name of *κοσμος*, or order." Liddell and Scott (Greek-English Dictionary, *s. v.*) say: "We cannot admit the Greek derivation given by Herodotus<sup>1</sup> (2, 52), *ὅτι κοσμοθέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον*, or that of Plato (Crat., 397, c.), from *θέειν*, to run, because the first gods were the sun, moon, &c." In his notes to Herodotus, touching the passage above quoted, George Rawlinson justly remarks: "Both these derivations are purely fanciful, having reference to the Greek language only, whereas *διὸς* is a form of a very ancient word common to a number of the Indo-European tongues, and not to be explained from any one of them singly." In this dilemma the Polynesian *iu* offers a solvent for the forms in *dyu*, *iu*, &c., which we recommend to the above philologues. As to the *θεος*, vide Polynesian ΚΕΟ, *post*.

ΙΗΑ, *v.* Haw., be intent upon, desire strongly, persevere; *iha-iha*, strained, firmly drawn as a rope. Tah., *iha*, displeasure, grief, trouble; *iha-iha*, to palpitate from heat or

<sup>1</sup> Referred to by Professor Sayce, *vide supra*.



exertion. Sam., *isā*, exclamation of anger, contempt, indignation. Fiji., *isa*, interj. expressing disapprobation.

Sanskrit., *ish*<sup>2</sup> (Benfey), to wish, cherish, approve; *ishti*, wish; *ih*, to aim at, desire; *n.* exertion; *īhā*, exertion, desire.

Greek, *ίμερος*, desire, longing, and *ίοτης*, will, desire, interest in, are both referred to Sanskrit *ish* by Benfey and Liddell and Scott. They are probably correct, and the Greek shows no other correlatives; but in the following branches the Sanskrit and Polynesian connection is certainly more apparent.

Zend., *ishud*, prayer.

Anc. Slav., *iskate* (pres. *ishta*), to seek, to ask.

Goth., *āhtron*, to desire, to beg. A.-Sax., *aescian*, to seek, ask, inquire.

IHE, *s.* Haw., a spear, lance. Tah., *ihe*, id.

Sanskrit., *ish*<sup>1</sup> (Benfey), to throw, direct, send; *ishu*, an arrow; *ishkka*, a reed.

Greek, *ίος* (contr. fr. *ίοςος*), arrow, shaft; *ίς*, nerve, strength, force, and its composites.

Liddell and Scott refer *ίς* to the Latin *vis*.

IHI, *adj.* Haw., dignified, majestic, sacred; a title applied to high chiefs. Tah., *ihi*, skill, wisdom, dexterity.

Sanskrit., *ίε*, to possess, be master, be able; *ίεα*, proprietor, master, ruler; *Ιεάνα*, a name of Çiva; *ίείν*, a governor.

Greek, *ίφι*, splendidly, mightily, with might; *ίφιος*, excellent; *ίφια μέλα*, fat sheep.

Liddell and Scott refer *ίφι* to the Greek *ίς*, power, strength, &c. But in view of the Polnes. *ihi*, the Sanskrit. *ίε*, the primary sense of both of which doubtless was that of excellence, superiority, I think the particularised Greek sense of *ίφι*, "with might," is rather secondary and conventional than primary. The *ίφια μέλα* of Homer indicate excellence as the underlying sense, and not strength. Benfey refers the Goth. *aigan*, *aihan*, to own, possess, A.-Sax. *agan*, O. H. Germ. *eigan*, to the Sanskrit. *ίε*.

IKE<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to see, perceive, know. Tah., *ite*, id. Mangar., Tong., N. Zeal., *kite*, id.

Sanskrit., *iksh*, to look, behold, perceive, mind. Benfey calls this a desideratum of a lost verb analogous to *aksha*. That verb must then have been *ik*, which brings us near to the Polynesian form.

IKE<sup>2</sup>, *v.* N. Zeal., to beat, to bruise the bark in making tapa. Marqu., Mangar., *ike*, name of the club or wooden mallet with which the bark is beaten out. Haw., Tah., Sam., *i'e*, id.

Lat., *ico*, strike, beat, hit ; *ictus*, a blow, a stroke.

ILA, *s.* Haw., a dark spot on the skin. Sam., *ila*, a mother's mark, a mark in the skin, a defect ; *ila-ila*, marked, spotted. Tah., *ira*, a mole or mark on the skin. N. Zeal., *ira*, id. Tong., *ila*, id.

Greek, *ἰλος*, mud, slime, dirt. Liddell and Scott think that *ἰλος* comes "probably from *εἰλωω*, *ἰλλω*," to roll, fold up, to cover. If so, the connection in sense is so very distant, that it will perhaps be safer to connect *ἰλος* with *ila*, as "mud" will make "spots" on the skin, whereas it is not evident that "rolling" or "folding" necessarily produces mud.

ILI<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., *ili-ili*, smooth, water-worn stones or pebbles. Tah., *iri-iri*, id. N. Zeal., *kiri-kiri*, id. Sam., *'ili-'ili*, gravel, pebbles, small stones. Flores (Ende), *keli*, mountain. Mal., *karang*, rock.

Sanskrit., *çila*, a stone, rock ; *çilîndhra*, hail ; *çaila*, stony, rocky.

Armen., *kil*, slung-stone.

Lat., *silex*, flint.

It may be noted as an idiomatic correspondence, that as the Sanskrit *açman* and *açani*, rock, stone, are also applied as names for the thunderbolt ; and as the Greek *κεραυνος*, which Pictet derives from *καρυς*, *καρνον*, the nut or stone in fruit, has also become thunder and thunderbolt ; so by a similar process the Polynesian Haw. *he-kili*, thunder ; Tah., *pa-tiri*, id. ; N. Zeal., *wha-tetiri*,

id.; Tong., *te-kili*, lightning; Sam., *fatu-tetili*, thunder, have received their applications.

The Sanskr. *giri*, a mountain, may possibly refer itself to this Polynesian *iri*, *ili*, *kiri*. Benfey says, *s. v.*, that *giri* stands "for original *gara* ; cf. Slav. *gora*, *òpos*, from *gur* for *gar*." But see p. 85, *s. v.* OLO.

ILI<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., skin, bark, surface. Tah., *iri*, id. Tong. Fakaaf., *kili*, id. N. Zeal., Rarot., *kiri*, id. Sam., *ili-ui*, dark-skinned ; *ili-ola*, the outer skin ; *ili-ti-tai*, the bed of the sea (Haw., *ili-kai*, the surface of the sea) ; *ili*, a fan. Malg., *ulitz*, skin, bark. Sula Isl., *koli*, id. Amboyna, *uliti*, id. Teor., *holit*, id. Matalullo, *aliti*, id.

Sanskr., *chîra*, bark, a vesture of bark, a rag, a cloth. Benfey considers this word "a syncope perhaps of *chîvara*," which he derives from *chî*, to arrange, collect, to cover. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 203) refers this word to a primitive root *kr*, *kr̄*, "dans le sens de secare, lædere." In this dilemma I think it safer to refer it to its kindred Polynesian *ili*, *kiri*, and to look upon it as one of those ancestral words which have been retained by different sections of a common stock, but whose analysis it is impossible to determine because of our ignorance of the primitive form under which this word passed current. And certainly the early Aryans must have possessed some name for the bark of the trees and the skin of the animals before they adopted new words from the processes of obtaining them ; *kritti*, hide, from *krit*, to cut off, divide, &c. The following possibly also belonged to the same family :—

O. Norse., *gera*, skin.

Lat., *ilîa*, flanks of the body, loins.

The Haw. *hili*, general name for barks used in colouring and dyeing ; *hili-koa*, koa bark ; *hili-kolea*, &c., is probably but a dialectical transition from *kili* to *ili*.

ILIO, *s.* Haw., dog.

Greek, *λῆς*, lion, (Ep.) gen. *λῆος*, acc. *λῆν*, *λεων*, dat. pl. *λειουσι*, lion.

Lat., *leo*, lion.

Anc. Slav., *lisu*, *lisitsa*, fox.

Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 223) refers the Greek *λεων* to an ancient form, *λεφων*, and that to the Sanskr. *lā*, to cut off, destroy, whence *lavya*, secandus; and claims a purely Semitic origin for *λις* in the Hebr. *lais*, Arab. *lays*, and Chald. *laih*. To me the Semitic origin of *λις* seems more phonetic than real. So far as known, *λις* is as old a name for lion in the Greek language as *λεων*; they both occur in Homer's Iliad. The casus-endings of *λις* indicate that *λι* was its root, as well as the root of the Haw. *i-li-o*, where, as I consider, the initial *i* is euphonic.

It is somewhat singular, perhaps, that the Hawaiian word for dog has not, so far as I can learn, been retained in any of the other Polynesian dialects, in all of which the word *kuri* or *kuli* designates dog, except in the Marquesan, where *niche* stands alone as another remnant of former synonyms. The application of the word to a lion in one direction, and to fox and dog in other directions, but strengthens the presumption that it was one of the early generic names for that class of animals.

In regard to the root of this word, *λεων*, *lisu*, or *i-lis*, I think we must ascend higher than the Sanskrit *lavya*, a derivative or an inflection of *lā*; for it is almost certain that the Aryans were acquainted with and had named that class of animals long before the inflections of their language had developed themselves. Let us look to that earlier stage of the Aryan speech which the Polynesian has preserved, and we will find in the Haw. *li*, *v.* to be afraid, shrink back with dread; *li-o*, to fear, start suddenly; *adj.* fearful, affrighted; *li-o*, or *lei-o*, *v.* to open the eyes wide as a wild or affrighted animal, to act wildly or ferociously as an untamed animal, to bristle up as a wild hog. Hence *lio*, *s.* the name given to the horse when first introduced in the Haw. group. In the Sam. we find *lia-lia*, be afraid of; *lei-leia*, be frightened. In Tah., *riai*, be afraid.

On the fact that the West Aryan names for lion, and, I may add, the Polynesian (Haw.) name for dog, have no corresponding term in Sanskrit, Mr. Pictet very justly observes: "L'absence de ce nom de lion en sanscrit et en persan, ne

prouve pas qu'il n'ait jamais existé en Orient. Les animaux qui frappent vivement l'imagination de l'homme, reçoivent incessamment de nouvelles dénominations caractéristiques. Les Aryas de l'Inde, en contact journalier avec le lion, lui ont donné de cinquante à soixante noms descriptifs, et au milieu de cette profusion, quelques-uns des plus anciens ont pu facilement se perdre."

IMO, *v.* Haw., to wink, as the eye, twinkle as a star; *imo-imo*, *v.* to wink fast; *adv.* very high up, very far off, *i.e.*, it makes the eyes wink to look. This word is probably akin, and but another, perhaps the earlier, form of *amo*, with exactly the same meanings, singly or doubled. Tong., *kame*, to wink; *kema*, *id.*; *kemo*, the eyelash; *kimoa*, a rat, mouse. Sam., *emo*, to wink the eye, to flash as lightning; *imoa*, a rat. Tah., *amo*, to wink, twinkle, flash. N. Zeal., *kakamo*, to wink. Tikopia, *kakamo*, flash of lightning. Marqu., *amo*, to twinkle; *kamo*, to steal. Malg., *ambou*, *ambon*, on high, in the air, superior; *tan-ambon*, a mountain.

Sanskrit, *jihma*, oblique, squinting; *jihma-ga*, a snake; *jimāta*, a cloud, a name of the sun. Benfey, it is true, refers *jimāta* to *jihma*, and this to "*hvri*, probably for primitive *jihvri*, *i.e.* redupl. *hvri-a*." With due deference, it seems to me that the Polynesian forms offer an easier solution.

Greek, *σιμος*, snub-nosed, bent upward like the curved slope of a hillside; *τα σιμα*, epithet applied to mountains, "ardua acclivia." Liddell and Scott give no etymon for *σιμος*.

Whether the Icelandic Old Norse *himin* and the German *Himmel*, both signifying heaven, and of which the latter was anciently a name applied to mountains, are not allied to the Polynesian *imo*, I am not prepared to say, but think it probable, in the absence of other or better etymology. The German *Sims*, *Ge-sims*, a cornice, mantel, or shelf, would also seem to ally itself to the Greek *αἰσιμαί*, the ends of a lyre, parts of the cornice.

INU, *v.* Haw., to drink. Tah., and all other Polynesian

dialects, id., except Rotuma, *imu*, to drink. N. Guinea (Motu or Port Moresby), *inua*, to drink. Tagal. and Sunda, *inum*, *nginum*, *minum*, to drink. Malg., *minim*, *minon*, id.

Sansk., *ino*, *inu*, to please, satisfy ("in the Vedas especially"—Benfey).

Greek, *αἰνῶμαι*, to take hold of, to enjoy, feed on.

Probably the earliest craving of human nature was thirst, and the earliest satisfaction experienced was that of drinking when thirsty. Hence the name given to the act of drinking became also the name for the sentiment experienced from the act. The transition from the material to the moral sense of the word seems perfectly intelligible. The Polynesian branch has preserved the former, the Sanskrit and Greek the latter.

INO, *v.* Haw., to hurt, injure, be worthless; *adj.* bad, vile, wicked. Sam., *ino-ino*, bad, hateful. Tah., *ino*, bad, sinful. N. Zeal., Rarot., Mangar., Marqu., *kino*, bad, evil.

Zend., *eno*, sin.

Greek, *αἶνος*, dread, grim, horrible. Liddell and Scott refer this to *αἶ*, interj. of affright. It may be, but the Zend and Polynesian would indicate otherwise.

IWI, *s.* Haw., bone, midrib of a leaf, cocoa-nut shell, rind of sugar-cane, boundary-stones, broken materials, remnants; fig. descendants, near kindred; *v.* to turn aside, be curved, crooked. Tah., *ivi*, bone; *wahine-ivi*, a widow. Sam., *ivi*, bone. N. Zeal., Mangar., *ivi*, bone, also a family, a clan. Rarot., *ivi* and *iwa*, bone. In compds., Haw. *poo-hiwi*, N. Zeal. *poko-hiwi*, the shoulder; Haw. *kua-hiwi*, Sam. *tua-siwi*, Tah. *a-ivi*, backbone, ridge of a mountain; Fiji., *siwa*, a fish-hook.

Closely allied to this, if not a mere dialectical variation, is the Haw. *kiwi*, *v.* to bend, to crook; *adv.* side-ways; *s.* anything crooked, a sickle, a horn. Fiji., *tiwi-tiwi*, side-ways; *s.* a hatchet; *tibica*, to bend sharply.

Sansk., *ibha*, elephant. Ved., *ibha*, family, household; *ibhya*, wealthy.

Greek, *ἰβος*, crooked.

Lat., *tibia*, shin-bone; *gibbus*, *gibba*, a hunch on the back.

Irish, *ibh*, country, tribe.

Anc. Germ., *eiba*. Lombard, *aib*, used in compounds of names of places, as *Wetar-eiba*, *Wingart-eiba*, indicating a district or territory. Perhaps the Goth. *ib-dali*, descent, refers also to the Ved. *ibha*, the Irish *ibh*, and the Polynes. *iwi*.

The Sax. *iw* or *cow*, the yew tree, from which archers' bows were made, the Icel. *ivr*, *yr*, a bow to shoot with, and the Germ. *eibe*, the yew tree, as well as the Welsh *yw*, *ywen*, the yew tree, doubtless ally themselves to the primary forms and sense of *iwi* and *kiwi*.

Benfey and Pictet refer the Greek *ἰφι*, *ἰφίος*, to the Sanskr. *ibhya*. (On p. 73 I have given my opinion.) The Sanskr. *ibha*, elephant, was no doubt so called from its prominent tusks, and thus indicates a close and primary relation to the Polynesian *iwi*, as doubtless does also the Latin *ebur*, ivory.

A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 230), following Kuhn, refers the Saxon and Celtic names for the yew tree to the Sanskr. Ved. *éwa*, "cours (de temps), cours habituel, coutume," analogous to the Anc. Germ. *éwa*, eternity, *ewin*, *ewig*, eternal, &c.; on account of its remarkable longevity. I think the hypothesis untenable in view of the Polynesian *iwi* and its various developments, which seem to offer a better solution of the origin of these terms, either in regard to the use made of the yew tree for making bows, or in regard to its strength and durability, the former connecting it with *iwi* through its sense of curvature, the latter through its sense of hardness and strength; and in the absence of other etymons, I would also refer the Saxon *ifig*, the ivy, to some near, but to me unknown, relation of *iwi*.

OAKA, *v.* Haw., *owaka*, *hoaka*, to open suddenly, as the eyes or mouth, to open as a flower, to shine, to glisten; reflection of the sun on a luminous body, glimpse, glance,

brightness, glory, the crescent or hollow of the new moon, the lintel or arch over a door. This word is probably allied to or derived from *aka*, to light up as the moon before rising, dawn of light (vid. p. 46); but in the ancient dialect of Kauai (Hawaiian group), *aka* means eye, and *aka-lapa-lapa*, large brilliant eyes. In Tah., *oata* is the hole or meshes in a net, the hole in a calabash, a central hole, the monkey's eyes on a cocoanut; *vata*, an opening, a rent. Fiji., *waqa*, to burn; *waqa-waqa*, hot, fiery, of anger, or of the eyes flashing.

The existence in a Hawaiian dialect, now obsolete, of the word *aka*, with an undoubted specific meaning of eye, with the derivative forms and their significations quoted above, will doubtless throw some light upon the descent of the Sanskr. *aksha*, *akshi*, the Greek *ὀκκος*, *ὄσσε*, the Lat. *oculus*, the Lith. *akis*, the Russ. *oko*, all designating eye, and each one coeval with, if not a development from, the Polynesian *aka*.

Among the tribes of the Hindu-Kush, the Gilgit dialect of the Shina has *achi*, eye; the Chiliss has *ache*, id.; Torwalak, *ashi*, id.; Bushgali, *achen*, id.

A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 553) rejects in a rather scornful manner the proposition of those philologists who claim relationship for the Goth. *augo*, the Sax. *ægh*, *eag*, &c., eye, with the Sanskr. *akshā*, and he proposes for them a Sanskr. root *āh*, animadvertere, intelligere, and says that *āh* "semblerait avoir eu dans l'origine la signification de voir, puis de faire attention, considérer, &c." Benfey, however, refers the Goth. *augo* to the Sanskr. *akshi*, and, I think, with greater probability of being correct.

Or<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to project over, be more in any way, exceed, be better; *s.* excess, superiority, the sharp edge or point of a weapon; *adj.* first, greater, more excellent, sharp pointed; *oi-e*, an ancient name or epithet of the god Kane. Tah., *oi*, sharp, as the edge of a tool; *oioi*, rapid, swift.

Sanskr., *oj*, be strong, to live; *ojas*, strength, light, splendour.



Lat., *augeo*, make great, increase, strengthen; *augustus*.

Greek, *αῦρη*, bright, light, radiance, any light or gleam; *αὔραι*, the two eyes.

Icel., *auka*, to increase. Sax., *eacan*, id. Swed., *öka*, id.

s. v. *αῦρη*, Liddell and Scott hesitate whether to refer it to "the same root as Lat. *oc-ulus*, Germ. *aug-e*, i. e., Sanskr. *ic*, *videre*, or from the same root as *ἄως*, *αὔως*, *aurora*." s. v. *ὄψ*, the eye, they refer that as well as the Lat. *oculus*, the Goth. *augo*, the Sanskr. *aksham* (eye), *iksh* (to look), and several others to a root *οπ*, from which all those referred to are but "dialectical forms."

It ill becomes me to criticise my masters; but in such uncertainty it may be well to acknowledge the Polynesian as an elder dialect of Aryan speech, and take the aid it offers.

Or<sup>2</sup>, v. Haw., to approach, draw near to. Tah., *oi*, *adv*. nearly, almost, Tong., *ofi*, near, to approach. Sam., *ofi*, to enter, to fit in, to cover, of the male animal. N. Zeal., *awi*, to approach, draw near.

Sanskrit., *abhi*, towards, to, on, over; *abhi-tas*, on both sides, from every side, round about, near, towards; *abhi-gama*, approaching, visit, sexual intercourse.

Greek, *ἀμφι*, on both sides, on, about, over, at, by, near.

Lat., *amb-*, as in *amb-ire*.

O. H. Germ., *umpi*. Goth., *bi*, at, by, near.

OHANA, s. Haw., a family, brood of birds, a litter, offspring, tribe. Tong., *ohana*, husband or wife, a spouse; *iiena*, a person. Sam., *ofanga*, a nest; *fanganga*, a herd. N. Zeal., *kohanga*, a nest. Tah., *ofaa*, id.; v. to nestle close, to brood. All these are derivatives of a once common word, whose primary meaning was "to bear, bring forth young, to breed," and the simple form of which no longer exists, but appears in compounds like the following: Haw., *hana-u*, to bear, to bring forth, breed; *hanau-na*, relations, generation; *hana-i*, to feed, to nurse. Sam., *fana-u*, bring forth young, be born; s. offspring, children; *fafanga*, to feed; *fanga-moa*, a hencoop. Tong., *fanga*, a brood, flock, family; *fafanga*, to feed, nourish. Tah., *fana-u*, be born;

*fanau-a*, an infant. Buru (Cajeli), *anai*, child. S. Celebes (Bouton), *oanana*, child. Malay and Jav., *anak*, child. Malg., *zana*, *zanak*, *zanaka*, children, offspring.

Sanskrit, *jan*, to bring forth, produce, be born, to grow, to be caused, become; *jana*, creature, mankind, a person; *jani*, a woman; *jan-aka*, a father, producer; *jana-ta*, mankind, household servants, subjects; *jâte*, *i.e.*, *janti*, birth, life, tribe, kind.

Zend, *zan*, to beget; *zantu*, tribe.

Greek, *γενω*, am born, made, become; *γενεα*, birth, origin, race, family; *γυνη*, a woman; *γυνη*, produce, offspring; *γενναω*.

Lat., *geno*, *gigno*, bear, bring forth; *genus*, birth, descent, race, family; *gens nascor*, *i.e.*, *gnascor*, be born, begotten; *natus*, *nata*, son, daughter, pl. children.

Irish, *genim*, *geanaim*, bring forth; *ginel*, *cine*, family, race. Welsh, *geni*, be born; *gan*, *genid*, birth.

Goth., *keinan*, to germinate, spring up, grow; *kuni*, kin, race, generation, tribe; *kwens*, *kweins*, a woman, a wife; *kwino*, woman.

Anc. Slave, *jena*, woman.

See further articles "Kanaka," "Kino."

OKA, s. Marqu. (Nuk.), the rafter of a roof. Haw., *o'a*, rafters of a house, timbers of a boat or ship; *oka-na*, a district or division of country. Tah., *oa*, the ribs or timbers of a vessel. Sam., *o'a-o'a*, a stake or pile stuck in the ground.

Sanskrit, *oka*, *okas*, house, dwelling-place.

Lith., *ukis*, a rustic dwelling; *ukininkas*, landed proprietor, paterfamilias.

Benfey (Sanskrit-Engl. Dict.) and Pictet (*loc. cit.*, ii. 243) derive the Sanskrit *oka* from *uch*, to like, be accustomed to, suitable. It is at best an hypothesis.

OKI, v. Haw., to cut, sever, end, finish, cease from doing. Tong., *oki*, to end, complete; *koki*, to cut off, as hair. N. Zeal., *oti-oti*, to rest. Fiji., *koti*, clip, shear; *otia*, to finish; *oti-oti*, end, conclusion. Sunda, *ukir*, to cut, engrave.

Lat., *occo*, to harrow ; *otium*, leisure, rest, exemption from business.

Greek, *ὄξυς*, sharp, keen, piercing ; *ὠκυσ*, swift, quick, sharp.

This word is doubtless a phonetic variation of *ak'i*, q. v. p. 49.

Oko, *adj.* Marqu. (Nuk.), strong, vigorous. Haw., *o'o*, ripe, mature, full-grown. Sam., *o'o*, id. Mangar., *oko*, hard, firm.

Sansk., *okh*, be able.

OLA, *v.* Haw., be saved from danger, recover from sickness, to live ; *s.* means of life, life itself, living, period of life. Sam., *ola*, to live, recover from sickness ; *s.* life, prosperity ; *ola-ola*, to flourish, to thrive. Other S. Polynes. dialects : *ora*, id. Fiji., *bula*, life, to live, recover from sickness, sound, either of body or mind, healthy, flourishing. Malg., *velon*, life, to live, healthy, sound.

Greek, *ὄλος* (the older Epir. and Ion. form, used by Homer and Hesiod), *όλος*, whole, entire, sound, safe ; *ὄλω*, be whole or sound ; *ὄλε*, a salutation like the Lat. *salve*. To the later Greek *όλος* refer themselves probably the Lat. *salus*, *salvus*, *solus* (?) ; the Goth. *hails*, hale, sound ; Sax., *hal*, id. ; *hæl*, health.

OLE<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to speak through the throat, guttural, or through a trumpet ; *s.* name of a large sea-shell ; *ole-ole*, talk thickly or indistinctly, as one angry or scolding, to grin like the idols ; *olo*, be loud, as a sound, as a voice of wailing ; *olo-olo*, intens. to roar, rush, as the sound of waters. Sam., *ole*, to ask, beg ; *olo*, to coo as a dove ; *faa-olo*, to whistle for the wind. Tah., *oro-io*, to grieve to death ; *ta-oro-oro*, make a noise, rumble at the bowels. Tong., *kole*, to beg. Fiji., *kodraui*, to squeal ; *qolou*, to shout. Mal., *lulong*, to shout, howl.

Lat., *os*, *oris*, mouth ; *oro*, speak, utter, pray ; *ululo*, howl, yell ; *ulula*, an owl.

O. Norse, *ós*, mouth or opening of a river or lake. O. Engl., *ouse*, id. A.-Sax. and O. H. Germ., *úla*, an owl.

Greek, *ὄλολυζω*, to cry aloud to the gods ; *ὄλολυγη*, any

loud cry; *ὄλολυγων*, the croaking of frogs; *ὕλαω*, to bark, bay, howl.

OLE<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., the eye-tooth, name of a fish; *ole-ole*, *v.* to make notches in anything, to dovetail two pieces together. Tah., *ore-ore*, the teeth of sharks or of the ono fish.

Greek, *ὄρυξ*, a pickaxe, or any sharp tool for digging; *ὄρυσσω*, to dig. *Ὅρυξ* was also the name of a species of antelope or gazelle, so called from its "pointed horns" (Liddell and Scott); also the name of "a great fish, probably the narwhal; Lat. *orca*" (ibid.) Liddell and Scott, *loc. cit.*, refer *ὄρυσσω* to *ἀρασσω*, to strike hard, or to *ῥησσω*, to break. I believe neither etymon is the correct one—*ὄρυσσω* is evidently a denominative of *ὄρυξ*, but *ὄρυξ* has three distinct meanings, all converging to one common origin, of which the two latter, as given by Liddell and Scott, probably suggested the first one. The Polynesian *ole*, *ore*, eye-tooth, shark's teeth, gives the key to the Greek *ὄρυξ*, narwhal and sharp-horned antelope, and the Latin *orca*, grampus.

OLI, *v.* Haw., *oli-oli*, id.; to sing, be glad, exult; *s.* joy, exultation, gladness, a song. Sam., *oli*, *oli-oli*, joy, joyful; *faa-oli-oli*, to rejoice, to quiet a child by walking about with it. Tah., *ori*, to dance, to shake, to ramble about; *ori-ori*, to gad about; *faa-ori*, get up a dance. Rarot., *taoriori*, to stir up, excite. Sunda, *ulin*, to play, romp.

Greek, *ὄρω*, *ὄρυνμι*, raise, stir up, of bodily movements, urge, incite; *ὄρυνω*, id., agitare; *ὄρουω*, rush violently; *ὄρνις*, a bird.

Lat., *orior*, rise, get up, appear; *origo*.

Liddell and Scott refer the Greek *ὄρω*, &c., and Benfey refers the Latin *orior* to the Sanskr. *ri*, *ri-nōmi*, to go, to rise, &c., &c. For my part, I should consider that the Polynes. *ole*<sup>1</sup>, *olo*, and *oli* refer themselves for their primary meaning, as well as the Greek and Latin words quoted above, to the Polynes. *olo*, *oro* (Haw., Sam., Tah.), to rub, grate, saw, vibrate, swing; and I would endorse Judge Andrews' remark in his Haw.-Engl. Dict., *s. v.*: "It is

not easy to see the connection between *olo-oloolo*, to sound, as the voice of wailing, and *olo-oloolo*, to swing, vibrate, &c., unless the latter be the radical meaning, and the voice of wailing be so expressed on account of the vibratory motion of the voice in mourning and wailing."

OLO, *s.* Haw., the simple form is obsolete. In compound words it serves mostly as a synonym for mountain. We thus have *Olo-kui*, name of a mountain on Molokai; *Olo-mana* and *Olo-ku*, mountain peaks on the island of Oahu, Haw. group; *Oro-hina* and *Oro-tou*, mountains on Tahiti; *Oro-singa*, one of the Samoan islands. In Sam., *olo* means a place of refuge, a fortress; in Rarot., *koro* means a wall, enclosure; in Haw., *olo-alu* means a safe place where the property of the chief was stored; in Tah., *oro-matua* means lit. the skull of a parent, secondarily the spirits of dead relations, analogous to the Haw. *au-makua*. In the Motu dialect of New Guinea (Port Moresby), *ororo* means mountain. A dialectical form in *ulu* is common in Polynesia. Sam., *ulu*, head of man and animal, head of a club, the knob of a stick; *ulu-la*, the top edge of a Samoan mat-sail; *ulu-poo*, the skull; *ulu-tula*, bald-headed. Tah., *uru*, skull. Marqu., *u'u*, club. Fiji., *ulu*, head; *ulu-mate*, wig. Throughout Polynesia *ulu* is also the name of the bread-fruit, doubtless from its shape and resemblance to a human head. Among the Malay Islands both forms prevail. Tagal, *olo*, head. Buguis, Batta, Banjak Island, Engano, Amboyna, Saparua, Ceram, *ulu*, *uru*, id. Sunda, *huru*, id. Buru, *olum*, *olun*, id.

Greek, *ὄρος*, mountain, hill, height; Ion. *ὄρος*, id.; *ὄρογχοι*, mountain tops.

Liddell and Scott, without giving their own opinion, state that "Curtius connects this word with Sanskr. *giris*, Zend. *gairis*, Slav. *gora*, all of the same signification." Unfortunately I do not possess the works of Mr. Curtius, and do not know to what root he refers *giris* and *gora*. But Mr. A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 122) refers them to a Sanskrit root, "*gr* (*gar*), effundere, conspergere, à cause des eaux qui descendent des hauts lieux et des montagnes

neigeuses." Mr. Pictet, however, refers the Greek *ὄρος* to the Sanskrit *varāha*, mountain, *ὄρος* for *ῥορος*, and allied to *vāra*, a heap, a pile, a multitude, and quotes the Irish *fair*, *faire*, hill, eminence, as analogous. Because *vāra* and *varāha*, *fair* and *faire*, indicate the presence of a digamma, and *giri* and *gora* the presence of an initial guttural, I do not see that it necessarily follows that *ὄρος* must have lost either a primary digamma or a primary guttural. Its two forms, *ὄρος* and *ὄυρος*, have their exact counterparts in the Polynesian *oro*, *ulu*, with the same primary meaning of hill, height, tallness, mountain, &c. I have no desire and still less ability to contend with so eminent philologists as Curtius, Pictet, &c., but I simply wish to present the claims of the Polynesian to recognition by European savants as a primitive member, however much "weather-worn and travel-stained," of the great Aryan stock, and call their attention to the fact that in this language may be found the solution of many an etymological riddle in the Aryan family of speech. I hold, therefore, that not only are *olo* and *ὄρος* related, but are also far older names for mountain than their synonyms *varāha* or *giri*, inasmuch as the idea of altitude, prominence, in relation to mountains, must necessarily have struck the beholder before the more complex ideas of covering and protection, or the effusion of rain from lofty mountains. The Polynesian *olo* and *ulu* were no doubt only dialectical variations of a primary word conveying the idea of tall, high, lofty, prominent, applied to head and mountain, like the Celtic *pen*.

ΟΡΕ, *s.* Haw., bundle; *v.* to bundle up; *opi-opi*, to tie up tightly, to fold up as a cloth. Tah., *ope*, to collect, to bring together; *ope-ope*, property, things of all descriptions, which in the rage of war had been thrown into the rivers, then carried to the sea, and afterwards thrown on shore again; *opi*, *oopi*, to shut together, to close as the leaves of a book. Marqu., *kopi*, to close, shut up, as the hand. Fiji., *ovi-ca*, to gather the young under her wings, as a hen; *ovi-ovi*, a nest. I consider these as dialectical variants of

another Polynesian form : Haw., *api*, to gather together, as people to one place, to bring into a small compass, as baggage. Sam., *api*, to lodge ; s. residence, lodging. Tong., *abi*, home, habitation. Rarot., *pu-api-nga*, property, possessions. Tah., *api*, folds of cloth ; v. to join together, to confederate, be filled, as a place ; *api-a*, closed, as oyster-shells ; *api-piti*, altogether ; *api-api*, crowded, as a road.

Lat., *ops*, *opis*, means, riches, wealth ; *Ops*, the goddess of earth, as the source of fruitfulness and riches ; *opimus*, fruitful.

Greek, ἀφεινος, wealth, abundance.

Lith., *apstas*, riches, abundance.

Benfey and Pictet refer the Latin *ops*, *opes*, to the Sanskrit *āp*, to attain to, obtain, to fit, whence the Latin *apto*, to fit ; *opus*, work, &c. Liddell and Scott, following Curtius, refer ἀφεινος to Sanskrit *apnas*, income, property, and allied to Latin *ops*, *opulentus*, *copia*. With due deference, I think that *ops*, ἀφεινος, *apsta*, show a greater affinity to the Polynesian *opi*, *api*, than to the Sanskrit *āp*, which, on the other hand, certainly connects better with the Polynesian *apo*, q. v., p. 61.

Whence came the suffix *-ops*, *-opes*, which so many different peoples, or rather tribes of the same race, inhabiting the coasts of the Mediterranean in ancient times, shared in common, whatever their patronymic distinction ? We read of *Pel-opes*, *Mer-opes*, *Dry-opes*, *Dol-opes*, *Cere-opes*, *Aithi-opes*, *Opisci* (contracted *Osci*), and others. It has been generally referred to the Greek ὀψ, the voice or manner of speech, or to the Greek ὀψ, the eye, look, and appearance, and in course of time to have become a collective word for people, nation, tribe. It seems to me that neither ὀψ, the eye, nor ὀψ, the voice, fully satisfies the etymological demands of this word. If the former may apply to the *Pel-opes* or *Aithi-opes*, it certainly cannot apply to the *Mer-opes* or *Dol-opes*, nor can the latter apply with any greater appropriateness to the *Pelopes* and *Aithiopes*. A swarthy or sunburnt voice would be as unintelligible an expression as a wooden or articulated eye ; and hence the

Greek  $\delta\psi$  failing to be equally applicable to all the words in which it occurs as meaning a nation, people, or tribe, we must look outside the Greek among kindred tongues for an etymon that will render an intelligible meaning to all the cases where occurring, and will justify its application in expressing the idea of a people or a tribe. Such a word I find in the Polynesian *ope*, *api*. It may have existed in the Greek in far pre-Homeric times, indicating a collection, a gathering of men or things, and thus been applied to a people or tribe, as the Scandinavian *thiod* in Svithiod or Gauthiod indicated the Svea or Gota people; but no trace of its primary meaning remained in Homer's time, except perhaps in  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , whose derivative meaning has been retained also in the Latin *opes*, the Lithuanian *apsta*, as well as in the Polynesian *ope-ope* and *pu-apingā*.

U, v. Haw., to protrude, rise up, draw out, to ooze or drip, as water, to drizzle, to weep, to be tintured, impregnated, soaked; s. the breast of a female, pap, udder. Tah., *u*, to run against a thing, to touch, to be damp, wet; s. the breast of anything that gives milk. Sam., *u*, direct towards, turn to. Marqu., *u*, swell up, as boiling water, proceed out, breast of woman, milk; *uu*, proceed. Fiji., *ua*, to flow, of the tide, a wave; deriv. Haw., *uha*, the thigh, the ham of a hog, the lap of a woman, the rectum. Sam., *ufa*, the rectum, posteriors. Tah., *ufa*, females of beasts, the thigh. N. Zeal., *uwa*, id. Marqu., *pufa*, the thigh. N. Zeal., Tah., Marqu., *uma*, breast. Tong., *uma*, the shoulder. Haw., *umauma*, breast. Paum., *kouma*, heart. Sam., *uma*, a wide chest.

As this word is evidently either a primary form or a dialectical variation of the Polynesian *hu*, *su*, with almost identical meanings, I refer the reader to that for further remarks. But there are a few West Aryan words which seem to me to ally themselves nearer to the form *u* than to that of *hu*, *su*, and I here submit them.

Sansk., *u-dhar*, udder.

Greek,  $\omicron\upsilon\theta\alpha\rho$ , udder.



Lat., *uterus*, womb; *uber*, teat, breast, udder; *uvidus*, wet; *udus*.

A.-Sax., *uder*, udder. Engl., *ooze*? Swed., *udde*, point, projection, cape; *udda*, odd, not even.

Benfey (Sansk.-Engl. Dict.) refers the Sanskrit *ūdhar* to an original (so supposed) *vad-dhant*; but as no such word as *vad* answering to that purpose is found in the Sanskrit, I may be permitted to refer the first component to its Polynesian kindred *u*, and the second to the Sanskrit verb *dhā*, to grant, confer. And when that agglutination of *u* and *dha* took place among the West Aryan branches, *u* must still have been a living, independent word, with the secondary meaning of milk, moisture, that it still retains in the Tahitian.

U<sup>2</sup>, *v*. Sam., to emit a hollow sound, to roar, as the waves on the reef; *faia-u*, to cry with a loud moaning voice. Haw., *uō*, cry out, to bellow, roar. Tong., *uō*, to crow, as a cock. Tah., *uā*, to scream.

Sansk., *u*, to sound.

UA, *s*. Haw., rain; *v*. to rain. Sam., Tah., N. Zeal., Marqu., id. Tong., *uha*, rain. Rotoma, *usa*, id. Sunda, *hua*, to rain. Sulu Isl., *huya*, rain. Ceram. (Camar), *ulani*, id. Gilolo (Gani), *ulan*, id.; (Galela), *hura*, id. Mentawej Isl., *urat*, id. Teor, *uran*, id. Tagal, *olon*, id. Malg., *oran*, id. Ceram. (Gah), *u'an*, id. Timor (Brissi), *oū*, water. Savn., *u iloko*, id. Rotti., *oe'e*, id. Fiji., *uca*, rain.

Sansk., *udan*, water; *und*, to wet, moisten; *uksh* (Ved.), to wet, sprinkle.

Lat., *unda*, wave.

Icel., *und*, a spring of water, wave. O. Norse, *yda*, to flow together; *ūr-van*, a cloud, from *ūr*, pluvia (Grimm's Teuton. Myth., i. 332).

Whatever the meaning of the qualifying suffixes *-dan*, *-nd*, *-ksh*, *-r*, to the above West Aryan words, it is evident that the common base of those words was an original *u*, as it is in the Polynesian *u-a*, *u-ha*, *u-sa*, *u-ran*, *u-lan*, of which we find an almost literal reproduction in that old

and half-forgotten member of the Iranian branch, the Ossetic, where *ua-ran* signifies "to rain."

I think it very probable that the Sanskrit *abhra*, a rain-cloud, Latin *imber*, rain, shower, *umbra*, shade, Greek *ὄμβρος*, thunderstorm, heavy rain, which lexicographers point out as closely related, without, however, giving an etymon, will, when properly analysed, be found to dissolve themselves into this primary Old Aryan *u*, meaning "water, moisture," and some common Aryan form of the Sanskrit *bhri*, to bear, to hold. Probably also the Latin *u-ber* refers itself to the same formation.

I have said nothing of the Greek *ἴδωρ* or the Latin *sudor*. Authorities differ. The initial aspirate and sibilant indicate their connection with the Polynesian *hu*, *su*, *q*, *v*., and which was probably a later form, though with similar meaning, than that in *u*.

In regard to the Gothic *wato*, water, whose base, *watan*, Benfey says, "represents the organic form of the verb *und*," I fear it will be found to have no relation to *u*, *ud*, *und*, whatever. My reasons will be shown s. v. WAI.

UILA, *s*. Haw., also *uwila*, *u* prefix or euphon., lighting. Sam., *u-ila*, and in most of the Southern dialects, *u-ira*, lightning. In Tong., *u-hila*, lightning, we approach the original form of the word, which we find in the Sam. *silā*, *s*. an extremity of the rainbow, *v*. to be ashamed. Haw., *hila-hila*, blushing of the face, quick suffusion of blood, shame. Tah., *hira*, bashfulness. Fiji., *cila*, to shine, of the heavenly bodies. Malg., *helet*, lightning. Sunda, *gelap*, lightning; *gilap*, to shine, glitter; *sirab*, streak of lightning; *ira*, shame. Malay, *kilat*, lightning. Celebes (Goront), *ilata*, id.

Sanskrit, *hīra*, Indra's thunderbolt, a diamond; *hirana*, gold; *hrinīya*, be angry, ashamed, bashful.

Greek, *σελας*, flash of lightning, light, brightness; *σεληνη*, moon; *έλη*, the heat or light of the sun; *έλανη*, a torch; *ήελιος*, *ήλιος*, sun, daylight. Liddell and Scott refer the Greek *σειριος*, scorching, and the Sanskrit *sūra*,

*sūrya*, sun, *sol*, to the same family. It may be so, but it may be "faute de mieux."

Germ., *helle*, clearness, brightness, brilliancy.

UKA, s. Haw., the country inland from the sea, up towards the mountains. S. Polynes., *uta*, id. Motu (N. Guinea), *uta*, forest. Mal., *utan*, wilderness, forest, jungle; *utara*, north. Bisayan (Phil. Isl.), *yuta*, earth, land.

Sanskrit., *ud*, up, upward, out; *udañch*, upper, northern; *uchcha*, high; *uttara*, superior, northern, *i.e.*, upper region.

Welsh, *uc*, high, elevated.

Goth., Sax., *ut*, *uta*, out of, from.

In Polynesian the *uta* corresponds exactly to the Sanskrit *ut-tara*, the inland, higher country, in contradistinction from the lower, coast land. The Malay *utara*, north, is probably an importation in after-ages of the Sanskrit *uttara*, which itself, doubtless, only became indicative of a northern region after the Aryans had descended from the Hindu-Kush, and when to go northward was equivalent to going upward. In no part of Polynesia proper does the sense of north connect with the word *uta*. It means simply up from the lowlands, or inland from the seaboard, whatever point of the compass one starts from. When the Polynesians left the Aryan stock, the Vedic Aryans had apparently not yet descended from the mountains which afterwards formed their northern barrier.

ULA, *adj.* Haw., red as a blaze, purple, scarlet, name of a lobster. Tah., *ura*, flame, to blaze, be red; *ura-ura*, red. Sam., *ula*, red; *ula*, lobster. Mangar., *ura*, blaze, flame. Tong., *ula*, id.; *kula-kula*, red. N. Zeal., *kura*, red. Marqu., *kua*, id. Fiji., *kula-kula*, red. Sunda, *wrung*, flame. Ceram. (Awauja), *ausa*, fire. Pulo Nias, *auso*, yellow. Matabello, *ululi*, red. Tidore, *kur-achi*, yellow. Gilolo (Galela), *kur-achi*, gold.

Sanskrit., *ush*, to burn, and its numerous derivatives; *ulkā*, a firebrand, meteor, fireball; *ulmuka*, id.

Lat., *uro*, burn, *ustus*, *ustio*; *aurum*, gold; *aurora*, the redness of the dawn, dawn.

Greek, *αἶω*, kindle, light a fire; *ἦως*, *ἀως*, *αὖως*, for *ἀφως*, the morning red, dawn; *αὔριον*, to-morrow; *αὔρον*, gold; *εὔω*, to singe.

Irish, *ur*, fire. Welsh, *ysu*, burn; *aur*, gold. Corn., *eur*, id.

Lith., *auksas*, gold; *auszra*, the dawn. Anc. Pruss., *ausis*, gold.

Zend, *ushâ*, *ushô*, *usâ*, morning, dawn.

O. Norse, *usli*, fire. A.-Sax., *ysli*, a live coal. Anc. Germ., *usil*, yellow.

Benfey refers the Sanskrit *ulka* to "probably" *jval*, to blaze, burn. Again it is possible; but is it so in face of the Latin, Greek, and Polynesian congeners?

In the Dravidian, Canarese, and Tulu occurs the word *ur-i*, signifying to burn.

The same tendencies to commute *r* and *s* are as apparent in the Polynesian family as in the Indo-European.

ULI, *s.* Haw., the blue sky; *adj.* blue, cerulean, green; *uli-uli*, verdure; *adj.* green, dark-coloured, black. Sam., Tong., Fak., *uli*; Tah., *uri*, blue-black, any dark colour.

I find no application of this word in the West Aryan dialects, unless it forms the component part of the Latin *cœr-ula*, *cœr-uleus*, the blue colour of the sky, dark-blue, dark-coloured; *cœr* or *coer* being a contraction of *cœlus* or *coelum*, *r* and *l* commuted.

ULE, *v.* Haw., to hang, to swing, to project; *s.* the genitals of male animals, the tenon for a mortise; *ule-ule*, pendulous, projecting; *uli*, *v.* to steer a canoe; *hoc-uli*, a rudder, a steering oar or paddle; *ulili*, a ladder, a bamboo whistle. Fiji., *uli*, the steering oar of a canoe. Tah., *uri*, the pilot-fish, the dog.

Greek, *οὔρα*, the tail of an animal, the rear; *ὄπος*, *ὄρπος*, tail, rump, bottom; *ὄρνα*, a sausage; probably *οὔρον*, urine, *οὔρεω*.

Lat., *urina*, urine; *urinator*, dive under water; *urinator*, a diver; possibly so named from the action, if the process was diving head foremost; probably akin to *οὔρια*, a water-bird.

Sanskr., *ūru*, the thigh; *uras*, the breast; *ura-ga*, a snake; *urmi*, a wave. Benfey refers the three first to *vri*, to guard, screen, cover, conceal, and the last to *hvri* ("orig. *dhvri*"), to bend, be crooked. Under correction, I believe that the Polynesian *ule*, *uli*, pendulous, swinging, would be a safer and more satisfactory etymon, as to original sense and subsequent derivatives, than either *vri* or *dhvri*.

ULU, *v.* Haw., to grow up as a plant, to increase, be strong; *ulu-ulu*, grow up thick, collect, assemble. Sam., *ulu*, a grove of trees; *ulu-ulu*, foliage, bushy, umbrageous; *ulu-ia*, be increased, as property. Tah., *uru*, a thicket of wood, also of coral; *uru-hi*, *uru-pa*, id., growing rapidly.

Sanskr., *uru*, large; *urvi*, the earth.

Zend, *uru*, *urva*, grand, large; *urvara*, a tree.

Greek, *εὔρος*, wide, broad, spacious, far-spreading.

Lat., *oleo*, to grow; *ad-oleo*, *sub-oles*.

In Dravidian, *uru* signifies "to be strong;" *uru-di*, strength. Vid. Drav. Gram., Caldwell.

UMA, *v.* Haw., to screw, press, grasp; *ume*, to pull, draw out; *umi*, to press upon, choke, to crowd; *mea-ume*, something drawing, attractive, the mistress of a lover. N. Zeal., Mangar., *kumi*, to squeeze, press; *kume*, to pull, draw out. Tah., *uma*, to pinch; *ume*, to pull, draw. Tong., *uma*, a kiss, salutation by pressing noses; *omi*, to draw out; *kumi*, to search, explore. Sam., *umi*, to lengthen out.

Sanskr., *chumb*, to kiss; *chumb-aka*, a loadstone.

UNU<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to prop up, help, hold up; *s.* small stones for propping up and sustaining larger ones, prop, wedge; *unu-unu*, to pile up; *unu*, also a place of worship, temple, Heiau. Tah., *unu*, an ornament in the Marae, the crest on a cock's head. Mal. and Sunda, *gunung*, mountain; *guna*, profitable, useful.

Greek, *ὀννημι*, aor. 2, *ὄνημην*, to profit, help, aid, support. Liddell and Scott give a root *ov*, but without stating what its primary material meaning may have been. *Ὀνειράφ*, what helps or strengthens.

UNU<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Tah., to pass away as a season or an age;

*unuhi*, to draw out as a sword, to withdraw, depart, as the soul at death, to swoon, to subtract. N. Zeal., *unu*, to take off, draw out. Marqu., *unuhi*, to take away, reduce. Sam., *unusi*, to pick out, select.

Sanskr., *ûna*, lessened, inferior, wanting.

Greek, *ἐνυς*, bereft of, bereaved.

Goth., *wans*, waning, lacking, wanting. O. H. Germ., *wenag*, few.

Lat., *vanus*, empty, void; *vanesco*, to vanish, disappear; *unde* (?), whence, from what quarter.

Benfey (*loc. cit.*, s. v.) refers *ûna* to "*va-na* from *van* = Goth. *van*, *vans*," &c. It may be so, but I do not find in the Sanskrit *van*, either 1st or 2nd, as given by Benfey in his Sanskr.-Engl. Dict., any sense or meaning that could possibly connect it with the sense of loss or privation, which apparently underlies, and probably was the original sense of the Sanskr. *ûna*, the Goth. *wans*, the Polynes. *unu*. Liddell and Scott give no etymon to the Greek *ἐνυς*.

UPENA, s. Haw., et ubique, a net, a snare. Tong., *kobenga*; N. Zeal., *kupenga*; Sam., *upenga*, id. Tah., *upea*, id.; *ufene*, to be filled, crammed, to compress, squeeze; *ufeu*, abundant. In Sam. *upeti* is the braided frame used for printing native cloth.

The Polynesian words are evidently derivatives of some ancient form in *upe* which no longer exists in the language, unless the Fiji. *ube*, "again, repeatedly," with an underlying sense of going to a place and returning, "to go and hurry back," leads us to the sense of net-making, knitting, weaving, in one direction, and to cramming, filling, compressing, in another.

Sanskr., *ubh*, *umbh*, to fill (Ved.), to compress (properly "to incurvate," vid. Benfey, Sanskr.-Engl. Dict., s. v. *Kuvinda*, a weaver).

Greek, *ὑφή*, *ὑφος*, a web; *ὑφαω*, *ὑφαινω*, to weave.

Zend, *ubdaēna*, what is woven, a web.

Liddell and Scott refer *ὑφή* to Sanskr. *ve*, to weave, caus. *vāpaya*. Benfey says it may be allied to *ve*, but refers it to *ubh*. A. Pictet, following Aufrecht (Or. Ind.-

Eur., i. 521, and ii. 168), refers  $\acute{\upsilon}\phi\eta$  to a lost Sanskr. root,  $vabh = ubh$ , to which the A.-Sax. *wefan*, to weave, and its congeners ally themselves. It is possible that the Greek  $\acute{\upsilon}\phi\eta$ , the Zend *ub-da*, the Sax. *wef-an*, &c., are all reminiscences of a causative form of an original root in *ve* or *va*, but of which form no traces now exist in the Sanskrit, for the *vápaya* referred to is purely hypothetical, according to Benfey's own admission. It may be permitted, therefore, to suggest that  $\acute{\upsilon}\phi$ -, *ub*-, and *wef*-, refer themselves to a root of which the form and the primary sense have been retained in the Sanskr.  $ubh = vabh$ , and the Polynes. *upe*, *ufe*, *ube*.

UPU, *v.* Haw., also *upo*, 'to desire strongly, covet, to swear, make a vow; *kupua*, sorcerer, wizard. Marqu., *kupu*, to curse. Tah., *upu*, invocation to the gods, prayer. N. Zeal., *kupu*, word, language. Sam., *upu*, word, speech, language; *upuia*, to be reproved, found fault with; *upuoina*, to be cursed; *upu-tu'u*, tradition.

Sanskrit., *kup* (1), become excited, angry; *kup* (2), to speak, shine (Benfey).

Lat., *cupio*, to desire, long for.

UWALA, *s.* Haw., sweet potato (*Convolvulus batatus*). N. Zeal., *kumara*; Tah., *umara*; Sam., *umala*; Sunda, *kumeli*, id.

Sanskrit., *kumará*, name of several plants; *kuvala*, the water-lily.

Lat., *cu-cumis*, *cu-cumeris*, a cucumber. The genitive seems to indicate an earlier form in *cumer*.

HA<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., a trough for water, a water-pipe, a ditch. Tah., *fa-a*, valley, in compounds. Tong., *ma-ha*, a crack, rent, fissure. Sam., *ma-fa*, pudendum muliebri. Fiji., *ma-ga*, id. Haw., *ma-ha*, to rend, make a hole, tear in two; *na-ha*, to split, crack open; *no-ha*, id.; *ha-iki*, a narrow passage, pinched, scant; *ha-wale*, lying, deceitful, lit. "mouth only." Marqu., *fa-fa*, an opening generally, mouth; *ha-ake*, to separate, divide. N. Zeal., *wha-iti*, a narrow passage. Rarot., *o-iti*, id. Sam., *fa-nga*, a bay, a fish-trap.

Intimately connected with the above, and probably originally only a dialectical variation, is the general Polynesian word *wa*, "the space between two objects in space or in time," the different derivations of which interlace and confound themselves, in sound and sense, with those of *ha*. Vid. s. v. WA.

Sansk. *hā*<sup>1</sup> (Ved.), to give way; *hanū*, the jaw.

Greek, *χαος*, primary meaning, doubtless, space, expanse, applied also to time, the nether abyss, any vast gulf or chasm, also applied to the gaping jaws of the crocodile; *χαζομαι*, *χαινω*, *χασκω*, to give way, recede, relinquish; *χαττω*, to open the mouth; *χασμα*, a yawning hollow, the open mouth, any gulf or wide expanse; *χηρα* (Liddell and Scott), widow, relict; *χωρις*, separately, asunder. Liddell and Scott admit the radical connection of these words with the Sanskr. *hā*. *Γενυς*, the under-jaw; *γενειον*, the upper-jaw, also the chin; *γναθος*, the jaw, mouth; referred by Liddell and Scott and by Benfey to the Sanskr. *hanū*, jaw.

Lat., *gena*, cheek, perhaps *cedo*, go away, leave (Liddell and Scott). *Hio*, to open, gape, yawn, is also referred by lexicographers to the Sanskr. *hā*. *Fauces*, a narrow passage, the gullet.

Goth., *kinnus*, the cheek. Sax., *cinne*, chin; *ceoca*, cheek.

HA<sup>2</sup>, v. Haw., to breathe strongly, a forced breath, breathe out, breathe upon, puff, blow, expire; *ha-u*, to swallow, gulp down, inhale, snuff up, snort. Tong., *fa*, breathe strongly, strong expiration of the breath. Mangar., *a*, id. Sam., *fa*, *fafa*, hoarse, hoarseness. Tah., *fa-o*, speak through the nose, a snuffler.

From these roots and stems we have the following derivatives:—Haw., *ha-nou* and *ha-nō*, the asthma, a wheezing breath; *ha-nu*, *ha-no*, to breathe, the natural breath; "na mea hanu," the breathing things, i.e., the people; *ha-nu-hanu*, to scent, to smell, as a dog following a track. Tong., *fa-fango*, to whisper; *fango-fango*, to blow the nose, play on the nose-flute. Sam. *fangu-fangu*, a flute;



*fano*, to die, perish. Tah., *faa-fano*, to go out, as the spirit of one possessed, as the spirit or breath of one dying. N. Zeal., *whango*, to groan.

Sanskrit., *van, van, ban*, to sound; *vāna*, a pipe, a flute; *vānī*, speech, voice (?). Perhaps *bhash*, to bark; *bhasha*, dog; *bhastrā*, a bellows, as well as *bhāsh*, to speak, refer themselves to the same root as the Sanskrit *van, van*, the Polynesian *hano, fano*.

As I have found no adequate etymon for the Latin *halo*, to breathe forth, exhale, I refer to it here, *n* and *l* commuted, a not uncommon occurrence in several of the Aryan branches.

In regard to the Sanskrit *van*, Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., ii. 474) says: "Au sanskrit. *vāna*, flûte, pipeau, de *van, van*, sonare (Dhatup), répond peut-être directement, par le changement de *n* en *l*, comme dans *ἄλλος*, alius = sanskrit. *anya*, le grec *αῦλος*, flute (cf. Z. S. X., 246. note). Il faudrait alors le séparer de *αῦω, ἄω* = sanskrit. *vā*, flare, bien que les rac. *vā, van, van*, puissent être primitivement alliées. Cf. aussi *vēn, ven*, organum musicum canendi causa sumere, fidibus canere, *vēna*, musicien, *vēnu*, flûte et roseau, et peut-être *vīnā*, le luth indien. La rac. *van*, sonare, se retrouve dans l'irlandais *fonnaim*, chanter, *fonn*, chant, *fonnmhar*, mélodieux, et, sous la forme *vin*, dans l'anc. all. *weinōn*, ejulare, flere, ululare, scand. *veina*, lamentare, angl. *whine*; cf. anc. all. *winisōn*, murmurare, &c."

ἩΟΑ, *adj.* Haw., hot, burning, as the sun or fire, pungent, bitter, heart-burn; s. the fierce heat of summer. Tah., *fa*, to appear, come in sight. Celebes (Buton), *wha*, fire. Buru, *bā-na*, id. Saparua, *hao*, id. Ceram. (Camar.), *hao*, id.; (Wahai), *aow*, id.

Sanskrit., *bhā*, to shine, be bright, to appear; *bhā*, a star; *bhā*, light, the sun; *bhā-tu, bhā-lu*, the sun; *bhās*, &c.

Greek, *φαω*, to light, shine; *φαος*, light; *φαίνω*, &c.

Lat., *fax*, a torch; *focus*, hearth, fireplace; *foveo*, to warm, keep warm; *febris*, fever.

Connected with *hao-a* is doubtless the Hawaiian word

*hao-le*, which, so far as I know, does not occur in any other Polynesian dialect. Its meaning is "white," and was generally applied to hogs with white bristles. It was also applied to foreigners—"white people"—and occurs as such in the celebrated chant of *Kualii*, which was composed and recited long before Captain Cook visited the Hawaiian group.

HAKA<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to stare, look earnestly at, to contend, quarrel; *haka-ka*, *id.*, to fight. Marqu., *hakata*, a mirror.

Greek, *ἀσση*, wonder, awe, envy, malice; *ἀγαμαι*, to wonder, be astonished, feel envy, be angry; *ἀγαιομαι*, be indignant.

HAKA<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., a ladder, *i.e.*, a pole with cross sticks, the hole or opening between the sticks, a hole generally, also an artificial henroost; *adj.* full of holes or crevices; *haka-haka*, be hollow, empty. Sam., Tong., Tah., Marqu., *fata*, shelf, a litter, scaffold, loft, altar. N. Zeal., *whata*, *id.* Tah., *fata-fata*, open, not enclosed, empty. Niua, *fata*, the chest, breast. Tong., Sam., *fata-fata*, *id.* Marqu., *fata*, to spread out, raise up; *fata-a*, staging, shelf, bed, altar. Fiji, *vata*, loft, shelf, a bedstead. Malg., *fata*, fire-place, hearth; *fatan*, crowfoot, pan, warming-pan.

Sanskrit., *pach* (2), *pañch*, make evident, state fully, to spread—*vid.* Benfey; the latter meaning probably the primary one; *vakshas*, breast, bosom.

Lat., *pectus*, breast; *pecten*, comb; *pecto*, to comb, hackle, card.

Greek, *πεκω*, to comb, card.

It will be seen that the primary underlying sense of these references is "to expand, to spread out," and that the sense of hollowness, chest, breast, must be a secondary, but still extremely ancient, application of the word, occurring as it does in Sanskrit, Latin, and Polynesian.

For further Polynesian connections to Sanskrit *pach* (2), see *s. v.* PAKA, *post.*

HAKA<sup>3</sup>, *s.* Marqu., in compounds, *haka-iki* (for *Haka-riki*), chief, lord. Sam., *'ata*, a hero, a strong man; *sata-'alaua*, a name of respect given to the Tongans. Fiji.,

*saka*, equivalent to "Sir" in addressing a person, probably allied to *haku*, q. v.

Sanskr., *cak*, to endure, be able; powerful; *çakti*, strength, power; *Çakra*, name of Indra, a king; *çakune*, a bird, the Indian kite; *çāka*, power.

O. Norse, *hawk*, a hawk, falcon; *hagr*, the right hand, dexter.

HAKI, *v.* Haw., also *ha'i* and *ha'e*, primary meaning to break open, separate, as the lips about to speak, to break, as a bone or other brittle thing, to break off, to stop, tear, rend, to speak, tell, bark as a dog; *hahai*, to break away, follow, pursue, chase; *hai*, a broken place, a joint; *hakina*, a portion, part; *ha'ina*, a saying; *hae*, something torn, as a piece of kapa or cloth, a flag, ensign. Sam., *fati*, to break, break off; *fa'i*, to break off, pluck off, as a leaf, wrench off; *fai*, to say, speak, abuse, deride; *sae*, to tear off, rend; *mā-sae*, torn. Tah., *fati*, to break, break up, broken; *fai*, confess, reveal, deceive; *fai fai*, to gather or pick fruit; *haea*, torn, rent; *s.* deceit, duplicity; *hae-hae*, tear anything, break an agreement; *hahae*, id. Tong., *fati*, break, rend. Marqu., *fati*, *fe-fati*, to break, tear, rend; *fai*, to tell, confess; *fefai*, to dispute. The same double meaning of "to break" and "to say" is found in the New Zealand and other Polynesian dialects. Malg., *hai*, *haik*, voice, address, call.

Lat., *seco*, cut off, cleave, divide; *securis*, hatchet; *segmentum*, cutting, division, fragment; *seculum* (sc. temporis), *sector*, follow eagerly, chase, pursue; *sequor*, follow; *sica*, a dagger; *sicilis*, id., a knife; *saga*, *sagus*, a fortune-teller.

Greek, ἀγγυμι, break, snap, shiver, from root *Fay* (Liddell and Scott); ἀρη, breakage, fragment; ἕκας, *adv.* far off, far away.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Liddell and Scott consider ἕκας akin to ἕκαστος, each, every, "in the sense of apart, by itself," and they refer to the analysis of Curtius of "ἐ = εἰς, ἐν, and -καστος, &c., comparing Sanskrit *kas*, *kā*, *kat* (quis, qua, quid), who of two, of many, &c." Doubtless ἕκας and ἕκαστος are akin "in the sense of apart, by itself," but that sense arises from the previous sense of separating, cutting off, breaking off, and thus

Sanskrit, *sach*, to follow. Zend, *hach*, id. (Vid. Haug, "Essay on Parsis.")

I am well aware that most, perhaps all, prominent philologists of the present time—"whose shoe-strings I am not worthy to unlace"—refer the Latin *sequor*, *secus*, even *sacer*, and the Greek *ἔπω*, *ἔπομαι*, to this Sanskrit *sach*. Benfey even refers the Greek *έκας* to this *sach*, as explanatory of its origin and meaning. But, under correction, and even without the Polynesian congeners, I should hold that *sach*, "to follow," in order to be a relative of *sacer*, doubtless originally meaning "set apart," then "devoted, holy," and of *έκας*, "far off," doubtless originally meaning something "separated," "cut off from, apart from," must also originally have had a meaning of "to be separated from, apart from," and then derivatively "to come after, to follow." The sense of "to follow" implies the sense of "to be apart from, to come after," something preceding. The links of this connection in sense are lost in the Sanskrit, but still survive in the Polynesian *haki*, *fati*, and its contracted form *hai*, *fai*, *hahai*, as shown above. I am therefore inclined to rank the Latin *sequor* as a derivative of *seco*, "to cut off, take off."

Welsh, *haciaw*, to hack; *hag*, a gash, cut; *segur*, apart, separate; *segru*, to put apart; *hoc*, a bill-hook; *hicel*, id.

A.-Sax., *saga*, a saw; *seax*, knife; *haccan*, to cut, hack; *sægan*, to saw; *saga*, speech, story; *secan*, to seek. Anc. Germ., *seh*, *sech*, a ploughshare. Perhaps the Goth. *hakul*, A.-Sax. *hacele*, a cloak, ultimately refer themselves to the Polynes. *hae*, a piece of cloth, a flag.

Anc. Slav., *sieshti* (*siekā*), to cut; *siekrya*, hatchet.

Judge Andrews in his Hawaiian-English Dictionary observes the connection in Hawaiian ideas between "speaking, declaring," and "breaking." The primary idea, which probably underlies both, is found in the Hawaiian "to open, to separate, as the lips in speaking or about to

more naturally connects itself with the Latin *sec-o*, *sac-er*, and that family of words and ideas, than with such a forced compound as *eis* and *kas*.

speak ;" and it will be observed that the same development in two directions shows itself in all the Polynesian dialects, as well as in several of the West Aryan dialects also.

HAKU<sup>1</sup>, s. Haw., lord, master. Tah., *fatu* ; Rarot., *atu*, id. I am not aware that this word, in this, probably the full form, occurs in the other Polynesian dialects with that meaning. We find it, however, in Pulo Nias, off Sumatra, where *batu* is an epithet and name of deity. The Sumatra, Bali, and Tagal *batara*, *bathala*, as a name for God, may possibly refer to the Sanskrit *bhattāra*, venerable, derived from *bharṭri* and *bhṛi*, but I think it doubtful. In all the Polynesian dialects, however, occurs a contracted form of *haku*, *fatu*, *k* or *t* elided, viz., Sam., *sau* ; Tong., *hau* ; Tah., *fau*, king, chief. Principal, Haw., *hau*, a title of chief, a noble, a descendant of kings ; Rarot., Mangar., *au*, kingdom, government. The verbs follow the same forms : Haw., *haku*, to dispose, arrange, rule, compose, as a song ; *hahau*, *hava*, to whip, chastise. Sam., *fatu*, to make a girdle, to plait, to compose a song ; *fatufatu*, to fold up, to lay up words, commit to memory ; *fatu-pese*, *fatu-siva*, a poet ; *fau*, to tie together, to build ; *fau-manu*, to hold firmly, be obstinate ; *sausau*, to build up, repair ; *saua*, cruel, despotic. Tah., *fatu*, to braid, plait ; *fatu-pehe*, a composer of songs, poet ; *fau-faua*, to make straight, arrange ; *fafau*, to tie together. N. Zeal., *whatu*, to weave by hand, to braid, as a mat ; *whaka-hau*, to command. Tong., Marqu., *fatu*, to fold, roll up.

This word is doubtless related to, or another form of, the Marqu. *haka*—vid. p. 198.

Greek, ἔχω, ἔξω, to have in hand, to hold, to rule, keep, check, keep on, with a sense of present duration ; ἔκτωρ, holding fast, epithet of Zeus ; also applied to anchors, a prop, a stay, a proper name ; ἔχυρος, strong, secure ; ὄχυρος, id. ; ἔχυα.

A.-Sax., *seg*. Scand., *seggr*, vir fortis, miles, strenuus, illustris ; *seigr*, firmus ; *sigi*, *sege*, victory. Goth., *sigis*, id.

Irish, *seighion*, warrior, hero.

The Greek forms are referred by both Benfey and Liddell and Scott to the Sanskrit *sah*, to bear, endure, be able, and the Teutonic forms by Benfey and Pictet to the same Sanskrit root, and the latter quotes the Vedic *sahuri*, victorious (Or. Ind.-Eur., ii. 197). It seems to me quite probable that the Sanskrit *sah*, *sagh*, and *çak*, with precisely similar meanings, are but dialectical forms of a once common word, whose primitive sense has been best retained in the Polynesian and in the Greek.

To the same primitive sense of holding fast, being strong, I think may also, with good reason, be referred :

HAKU<sup>2</sup>, s. Haw., a hard lump of anything, a hard bunch in the flesh, the ball of the eye. With *po* intens. *po-haku*, general name of stones, rocks, pebbles, &c. Sam., *fatu*, seed, the heart of a thing, stone; *adj.* hard; *fatufatu*, stony; *fatu-ngao*, the kidneys. Tah., *fatu*, the core of an abscess; *fatu-rei*, the stones at the bottom of a fish-net. Marqu., *fatu*, stone, teat. Nina, Fakaafo, *fatu*, stone. N. Zeal., *watu*, hail; *ko-watu*, stone. Mang., *atu*, seed; *po-atu*, stone. Fiji., *watu*, stone, rock; *watu-ni-balawa*, a whale's tooth; *watu-ni-taba*, the shoulder-blade. Sunda, *batu*, stone. Pulo Nias, *batu*, id. Engano, *paku*, id. Aru. Isl. (Wammer), *fatu*, id. Amboyna (Liang), *hatu-aka*, the belly. Malg., *watu*, stone. Timor. Laut., *watu*, id.

Lat., *saxum*, rock, crag. Probably *satum*, which has been sown, the seed, the grain; *satus*, *sator*, also refer to a form equally akin to *saxum* and the Polynesian *haku*.

Greek, *σηκος*, a weight in the balance; certainly a very distant, if any, relation to *σηκος*, a pen, a fold. Liddell and Scott give no etymon to either. *Σηκος*, weight, no doubt represented originally a stone or some hard substance conventionally used as a weight; perhaps *σιτος*, grain, corn, wheat. The correspondence of the Greek *σιτος* and Sunda *siki*, seed, kernel, may be accidental; and yet I think it a fair inference that *σιτος* refers itself to *σηκος* within the Hellenic group, as *siki* does to *haku* within the

Polynesian group, and that both *σηκος* and *haku* had a common Aryan origin.

In the valleys of the Hindu-Kush the old form is still retained. We find in Gilgit (Shina), *but*, stone; Chiliss, *bât*, id.; Torwalak, *bâd*, id.; Gowro., *bât*, id.; Narisati, *wutt*, id.; Kowar, *bôt*, id.

Professor Sayce, in "Introduction to Science of Language," vol. ii. p. 132, speaking of the early Teutonic family in Europe, says: "Gold, silver, and bronze were the three metals known, though implements of stone still continued in use; and even after their arrival in Europe we find the Teutonic Aryans naming the 'dagger' *seahs*, from the stone (Lat. *saxum*) of which it was made."

**HALA**, *v.* Haw., to proceed, pass on or over, to miss the object aimed at; *s. hala*, transgression, trespass, offence; *adj.* sinful, wicked. Sam., *sala*, *adj.* wrong, incorrect; *s.* punishment, fine; *v.* to lop, cut off; *sasala*, be diffused as a perfume, to spread about; *ma-sala*, great, in any way; *tu-sala*, stand in the wrong place. Tah., *hara*, sin, transgression, guilt; *adj.* unequal, not hitting the mark; *v.* to deviate, be wrong (the word is also pronounced *hapa* in Tahitian); *hahara*, to divide unequally. Marqu., *haa*, offence, aversion, anger. Sunda, *sala*, fault. Malg., *hala*, hate, to hate; *halak*, pain, confusion; *hala*, withdraw, retire; *mi-hala*, to leave, to let; *halet*, punishment.

Sanskrit, *char*, to move, to go through, over, or along, to behave; with *ati-*, to overstep, trespass, offend; *chal*, to tremble, to move, go away, swerve, be troubled; *chhala*, fraud, deceit; *skhal*, to stumble, fall, err, fail; *çal*, to shake, tremble. Benfey refers *chal* to *char*, and *char* to a hypothetical *cchar*, and *chhala* to *skhal*. I am inclined, in view of the Sanskrit *çal* and the Greek *σαλος*, *σαλα*, not to mention the Polynesian affinities, to consider the simplest form of the word as the oldest. The guttural additions may have grown up as dialectical variations on an earlier, more simple, and more diffused root or stem.

Greek, *σαλος*, any unsteady tossing motion, the swell

of the sea, restlessness, distemper, perplexity; *σαλα*, distress, anguish; *σαλευω*, to shake, to rock; *ζαλη*, the surging of the sea; pl. storms, distresses; *ἀλλομαι*, *ἀλεσθαι*, inf. to spring, leap, bound; *άλμα*, *άλσις*, &c. Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*, indicate that an old form was *φαλλομαι*. That would only show that within the West Aryan branches the permutation, in ancient times, of *s*, *h*, and *f* was as common an occurrence as within the Polynesian group.

Lat., *salio*, to leap, jump; *saltus*, *salto*, *salum*, the open sea, tossing at sea; *scelus*, a wicked action, crime, sin, disaster. Benfey refers *culpa*, guilt, fault, blame, to the Sanskr. *skhal*; Pictet refers it to *kljrp*, *kalp*.

Goth., *skulan*, to owe; *skula*, debtor; *sair*, sorrow. A.-Sax., *sar*, pain, grievous; *scyld*, debt, offence.

Lith., *skilti*, *skelēti*, to owe; *skóla*, debt.

HALAU, *v.* Haw., to extend, stretch out, be long; *s.* a shed for keeping canoes in. The word occurs in the old Hawaiian legends with the meaning of a large canoe or vessel, but that sense is now obsolete. Tah., *farau*, a long shed generally, canoe-shed. Tong., *felau*, *folau*, canoe, fleet, voyage, navigating. Sam., *folau*, large vessel, ship; *v.* go on a voyage. Fiji., *bola*, war-canoe from another land. N. Celebes, *bolata*, boat. Ceram. (Wahai), *polutu*, id. Mal., *praau*, id. Malg., *paraho*, "embarcation, barque;" *alou*, a shed. Sunda, *parahu*, boat.

Sansk., *pri*, to bring over (Ved.); *para*, distant, opposite, beyond, exceeding; *pára*, the opposite bank of a river; *pára-ga*, crossing, passing over; *para-tua*, length, of distance and of time.

Zend, *pere*, to bring over. Pers., *parídan*, to fly, to traverse the air; *parandah*, boat, vessel, bird.

Greek, *περαν*, on the other side, across = trans. *περα*, beyond, over, farther = ultra; *περαω*, to pass over, to cross over; *παρων*, a light skiff or boat; *πορος*, a ford, a ferry.

A.-Sax., *faer*. Scand., *far*, a ship, a vessel. Goth., *faran*, *farjan*, "ire, vehi (nave, curru);" *fiord*.

Lith., *paramas*, a raft.



Anc. Slav., *pariti*, to fly.

Logan, in his "Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands," part ii., pp. 146-147, derives the Polynesian *falau* from the Dravidian (Telugu) *pada-va*, boat. But whatever the Polynesians may owe to their contact with the Dravidian, it is evident from the varying applications of the word *falau* that it is not a borrowed or imported word, but a legitimate development of the verb "to extend, stretch out, be long," as much so as the Pers. *parandah*, the Greek *παρων*, the A.-Sax. *faer*, the Lith. *paramas*.

I am inclined to consider this word as a derivative of the previous *hala*, "to proceed, pass on or over," and should thus be written *hala-u*. It certainly is not a contraction of the Dravidian *pada-va*. Had it been a borrowed word, it would have been adopted entire, according to the phonetic laws which govern Polynesian speech.

HALE, s. Haw., house, habitation, dwelling-place. Sam., Tong., *fale*, id. Tah., *fare*, id. Marqu., *fae*, id. N. Zeal., *whare*. Fiji., *vale*, id. Salebabo, *barch*. Sanguir, *bali*, id. Tidore, *folo*, id. N. Celebes, *bore*, id. Aru (Wammer), *balei*, id.

Sanskrit, *vri* or *vrî*, to conceal, to screen, to cover, surround; *varana*, enclosure, raised on a mound of earth, what screens or covers; *varanda*, a portico; *vâra*, a gate; *vala*, enclosure.

Zend, *ware*, enclosure. Pehloi, *ware* or *ouar*, fortified enclosure. Pers., *wârah*, house, dwelling. Kurd., *war*, house for winter.

A.-Sax., *war*, fence, enclosure. O. Norse, *ver*, a home-stead.

Irish, *forus*, dwelling-place. Erse, *bhaile* or *vaile*, a town.

I am not aware of the application of this word, or rather its root or stem, in Greek or Latin to designate a dwelling, habitation, house, unless the Greek *ῥπιον*, a mound, barrow, tomb, refers to it. This has by some been referred to *ἔρα*, the earth; but Liddell and Scott say that it was "a raised mound," and that "it has the digamma in Homer."

The Latin *foris*, gate, like the Sanskrit *vāra*, gate, may perhaps derive from the same primitive word and conception.

HALI<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to bring to and fro, carry, bear, convey.

Sanskrit., *hri*, to bring, carry to or away, convey, fetch, take, seize; *hāra*, taking, seizing; *harana*, the hand, the arm; *hary*, to take (Ved.); *hara*, a co-heir; *hartri*, a robber.

Greek, *χειρ*, hand, arm; *αἶρω*, to take by the hand, grasp, catch.

Latin, *heres*, heir, possessor; *hir*, hand.

HALI<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., obj. *pu-hali*, stinginess, covetousness, name of a delicate little sea-shell. Sam., *sali*, to scrape, scoop out, pluck out, take away, rake out, as embers of a fire. Fiji., *salia*, to dig a channel for water; *n.* the entrance or channel through a reef; *sedre*, a bowl, large or small. Malg., *sary*, a case, a sheath; *hadi*, hole, cave; *hadiu*, to dig a hole.

Greek, *σairo*, draw back the lips and show the teeth, grin like a dog; hence to gape like an open wound, to sweep off, to clean up; *σηραγξ*, a hole, hollow, cleft; *σηλια*, a flat tray or board with a raised edge; a sieve, the hoop of a sieve; *σηλιον*, a small vessel used by bakers.

The original word is lost or obsolete in the Hawaiian, but its derivative, *pu-hali*, stingy, covetous, corresponds well, in its conception, to the Greek conception of *σairo*, a dog grinning over a bone; while the Samoan *sali*, to scrape, scoop out, probably represents the primitive sense, as retained in the Greek *σηραγξ* and *σηλιον*.

HAMO, *v.* Haw., to stroke with the hand, to rub, besmear with blood or lime, anoint with oil; to bend or crook the arm as in doing the foregoing, bend round, be circular; *hamole*, *adj.* round, smooth, as the edge of a board; *hamo-hamo*, to rub the hand over a surface, to touch. Sam., *sama*, to rub and colour the body with turmeric; *amo*, to rub the fibres of a cocoa-nut husk so as to separate them; *amo-amo*, to repaint black native cloth. Fiji., *sama-ka*, to

rub with the hands, to anoint, rub oil on the body; *yamo-ca*, to feel for a thing with the hand, to run the hand over.

Greek, ἀμη, ἀμη, a shovel, mattock, harrow, sickle, bill-hook; ἀμαω, to reap, gather, cut off; ἀμαλλα, a bundle of ears of corn, a sheaf.

Lat., *hamus*, hook; *hamulus*, id. and angle; *hamatus*, crooked, bent like a hook.

HAMU, *v.* Haw., to eat fragments of food; *s.* the refuse of food. Sam., *samu*, to chew, crunch; *samu-samu*, to eat the remains of food. Tah., *amu*, to eat; *amu-amu*, eat a little at a time; *hamu*, gluttonous. N. Zeal., Mang., *amu*, eat fragments. Malg., *homau*, to eat. Mal., *djamu-an*, a feast, a meal.

Sanskrit., *jam*, to eat, to chew.

O. H. Germ., *gawma*, a meal. Germ., *gawm*, palate. A.-Sax., *goma*, the gum.

Lat., *gumia*, a glutton.

Greek, γαμφαι, the jaws; γομφιος, a grinder-tooth, a molar.

HANA<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to do, to work, labour, produce; *s.* work, labour, calling, trade; *hana-hana*; *v.* to be severe, to be hard, to afflict, as a famine, to be fatal or deadly, as a sickness; *adj.* disagreeable, offensive, stinking. N. Zeal., *anga*, to work, &c. Sam., *sanga*, *adv.* continually, without intermission; *s.* the dowry or property given by a woman's family at her marriage; *v.* to face, be opposite; *anga*, to do, to act; *s.* conduct. Tong., *anga*, custom, habit. Marqu., *hana*, to work. Tah., *haa*, to work, operate in any way. Fiji., *onga*, engaged, employed; *yanga*, to do, act, use, useful. Malg., *angan*, to do, to make; *fanau*, *fanganon*, custom, usage, habitude.

Sanskrit., *han*, to strike, to peck ("probably from original *dhan*," Benfey); *dhan*<sup>1</sup>, to put in motion, to bear or produce grains, &c.; *hanana*, multiplication (sc. increase); *hatnu*, i.e., *han + tnu*, sickness; *hataka*, miserable; compare Tah., *hana*, fatigued, mournful; *ghana* ("i.e., *han + a*," Benfey), firm, hard, solid; *ghat* ("akin partly to *han*, partly to *ghatt*," Benfey), to endeavour, to work; *dhana*, property

of any description, abundance; *dhanus*, *dhanvan* ("i.e., probably *han*+*vant*," Benfey), a bow, a desert.

Goth., *ginnan*, *du-ginnan*, perf. *gann*, to begin, undertake. Sax., *ginnan*, id.

Greek, I will not refer to *θανατος*, *θνησκω*, *θεινω*, which Benfey refers to Sanskr. *han*, but to which Liddell and Scott give different roots. But the Greek *εὐ-θεινω*, *εὐ-θηνια*, to flourish, prosper, abundance, may probably maintain their relation to the Sanskr. *dhana*.

HANA<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., mostly used in frequ. and compounds; *hahana*, to be warm; *hanahana*, warm, heated; *koe-hana*, *ma-hana*, id.; *mehana*, heat, generally of the sun or the weather, sometimes warmth arising from exercise. Sam., Tong., *ma-fana*, hot, warm; *faa-fana*, warm up food. Tah., *ma-hana*, the sun, day; *ma-hana-hana*, hot, warm; *hana-hana*, bright, glorious. Marqu., *fana*, warm, ardent, materially and mentally. Paum., *hana*, the sun. Jav., *panas*, warm. Sunda, *hanet*, id. Tagal., *banas*, id. Buru (Waiapo), *hangat*, sun. Ceram. (Gah), *mo-fanes*, hot. Malg., *fan*, *ma-fan*, hot, be warm.

Sansk., *bhā*, to shine, appear, the sun, light, splendour; *bhānu*, *bhāma*. Vid. p. 97, s. v. HAOA.

Greek, *βαννος*, furnace, forge; *βανναστος*, working by the fire, mechanical, a mechanic, an artisan. Liddell and Scott refer these to *αὖω*, to light, to kindle a fire; but whence the *β* and the *βαν*?

HAWA, *v.* Haw., to be daubed, defiled; *hawa-hawa*, filthy, dirty; *hawawa*, rude, ignorant, awkward; *hau-kai*, filthiness; *haumia*, to defile, pollute; *hau-na*, strong, offensive smell; *haunaele*, be in confusion, as a mob, riotous. Sam., *sava*, filth, ordure; *v.* to be daubed with filth; *faua*, spittle; *v.* to drivel. Tah., *haua*, scent of any kind; *fau-fau*, vile, filthy, base; *hava*, dirty, filthy; *auava*, slovenly done. N. Zeal., *haunga*, bad smell.

Sansk., *cav*, to alter, change, destroy; *cava*, a dead body, carcass; *cāva*, dead, deadly; *cāvāra*, low, vile, fault, sin, wickedness; *cavala*, spotted.

Greek, *σανκος*, *σανχμος*, *σανσαπος*, easily rubbed to

pieces, brittle, dry; *σαυλος, σαυνος*, mincing in gait, conceited, affected. Liddell and Scott refer the first three to *αἶω*, to kindle, burn. I think the Polynesian *hau, sav, fau*, offers a better etymon.

Lat., *sævus*, excited, raving, cruel; *saucius*, wounded, weak, hurt, debilitated.

I am inclined to consider the Polynesian sense of *hawa, sava*, "bedaubed, defiled," as the primary sense of the Sanskrit *cav*, which reappears nearly in *cāvāra*, but more plainly in *cavala*, "spotted, variegated in colour, brown, yellow, brindled," as would be the effect of being daubed with mud, filth, ordure. From *cav*, to "change, destroy," the transition is easy and intelligible to the Greek *σαυκος*, &c., and the Latin *saucius*.

Benfey considers the Sanskrit *carvarā*, night, "as akin to *κερβερος*, and derives it from *εῖ*, to hurt, wound." Prof. Max Müller, in "Chips from a German Workshop," ii. 180, considers *cāvāra* "as a modified form of *carvāra*, in the sense of dark, pale, or nocturnal," and as akin to the Greek *κερβερος*. It is not for me to gainsay so high authorities, but neither of them was probably aware of the existence of the Polynesian *sava* and its kindred to the Sanskrit *cav*.

Following the researches of the most eminent philologists whose works have come under my notice, and comparing the same with the genius and idiom of the Polynesian language, it becomes apparent to me that the early Aryan in pre-Vedic times designated the left, left hand, left side, with words whose primary sense implied defect of 'some kind, inferiority, shortcoming, or opposition. Proceeding on that assumption, I would include the Sanskrit *sav-ya*, rendered by Benfey as "left, left hand,<sup>1</sup> southern, south, backward, reverse, contrary," among the derivatives of *cav*, although Benfey gives it no etymon,

<sup>1</sup> Benfey gives *savya* as "south, southern," as well as "left, left hand." A. Pictet in "Orig. Ind.-Europ.," ii. 495, plainly states that *savya* signified the north, and refers it to the Slave *Sieveru, Boreas*, Illyr.

*Siever*, id. Having no other works of reference at hand, I am unable to reconcile the two, and am forced to conclude that the "south" of Benfey is a misprint.

and refers it to the Greek *σκαίος*, the Latin *scævus*, and "probably also sinister." Pictet, *loc. cit.*, ii. 493, refers *σκαίος* and *scævus* to Sanskr. *sku*, tegere, to cover. Liddell and Scott refer *σκαίος* to *savya* and *scævus*, and the Engl. *skew*. With this difference of opinion between such eminent authorities I am not concerned; *scævus* and *σκαίος* may refer to Sanskr. *sku*, tegere, or to *sku*, "to go by leaps," irregular motion, and I am inclined to favour the latter; but *savya* hardly refers to *sku* for its origin, nor yet to *su*, "to beset, bring forth, to express as juice," and with *abhi*, "to sprinkle," as Pictet assumes, *ibid.*, p. 490. I have no reason to doubt the fact which Pictet refers to in the place just cited; but so far from explaining the meaning of *savya* with "*manus purificanda abluendo*," I think the natural and primary meaning was simply "*manus immunda*," the unclean, filthy hand. Certes it was the sense of deficiency, weakness, impurity which gave the designation to the left hand, not *vice versa*, nor the necessity of cleaning it after the operation it had performed.

Within the Polynesian area proper, I am not aware of any designation of "the left" that can be fairly traced to this *sava*, *hawa*, or *çav*, the Tahitian *avi*, "left," and its Malgasse correlative *aviha*, *havia*, "left, to the left," probably referring themselves to the Polynes. (Haw., Sam.) *avi*, *avi-a*, to decline as the sun, be slender. Some other Polynes. designations for the "left," the N. Zeal. *mawi*, the Marqu. *moui*, and others of that class, refer themselves to the Polynes. (Sam.) *maui*, to diminish, subside, to fall; while still others, like Haw., Tong., Hema., Mang., Ema., Fiji, *sema*, "left," refer themselves to the Tah., *hema*, be deceived, imposed upon; Haw., *hema-hema*, awkward, destitute, wanting; Sam., *sema*, to beg.

HE, s. Haw., a grave, sepulchre; *heana*, corpse, carcass. Tah., *hea*, name of various diseases; *mahea*, be pale, from fear; to cease, of rain. Marqu., *heaka*, a human victim. Sam., *senga-senga*, to be yellowish from disease; *senga-vale*, shine dimly, as the sun through a mist, be pale from fear; *sengi-sengi*, twilight; *se-se*, nearly blind.

Sanskr., *sāya*, end, evening. Benfey refers this word to *so*, to destroy, to finish. Pictet is in doubt whether to refer it to *so* or *sā*, as Benfey has done, or to *si*, to bind, whence *sīman*, limit, boundary. Both Benfey and Pictet, however, refer the Lat. *serus*, late, and *serum*, evening, to the Sanskr. *sāya*.

In the Dravidian (Tamil) *sā* and (Tulu) *sei* signify "to die."

HELE<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., *hele-hele*, to cut up, divide asunder, as with a knife; *mahele*, *v.* divide, cut in pieces, separate. Sam., *sele*, to cut, a bamboo-knife; *sele-sele*, to cut in pieces, to shear. Tong., *hele*, to cut, a knife; *mahele*, to cut, gash. Tah., *pa-here*, to pare the rind of fruit. Fiji., *sele*, bamboo-knife; *sele-ta*, sword. Malg., *fer*, a cut, a sore.

Sanskr., *crī*, to hurt, wound, be broken, split to pieces; *çara*, *çaru*, an arrow, any weapon; *çari*, hurtful; *çiri*, a sword, a murderer.

Greek, *κλαω*, to break, break off, break in pieces; *κλημα*, a cutting, a slip; *κλαδος*, id.; *κληρος*, lot; *κρινω*, to pick out, assort, choose, decide.

Lat., *cerno* (orig. to separate), to distinguish, know apart, to decide; *certo*, to contest, strive together; *certamen*, fight; *cribrum*, a sieve; *crimen* (orig. sentence).

Goth., *hairus*, sword. A.-Sax., *hyrt*, hurt, wounded, struck.

The analogy of the Latin *cerno*, to separate, and the Greek *κρινω*, to pick out, which lexicographers refer to Sanskrit *krī*, to cast, to scatter, seems to indicate that *krī* and *çrī* were but different forms of an older word, whose primitive meaning, as retained in the Polynesian, the Latin, and the Greek, was "to sunder, to separate," and that the conception of "to hurt, to wound," and the derivatives based upon that conception, were subsequent and secondary to the former meaning, and incident to the act of "sundering, separating."

To this family of words, rather than to the next, belong the Haw. *helei*, to open, spread open, as the legs, to straddle;

*helelei*, to throw away, to scatter, to fall, as seed sown. Sam., *selei*, to cut, slash.

HELE<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to move in any way, to walk, to go; *haele*, id. Tah., *haere*, to go, to come. N. Zeal., *haere*, id. Sam., *sacle*, to swing the arms in walking.

Sanskrit., *sel* or *çel*, to go or move.

This word seems to have no derivation in the West Aryan branches. In Dr. Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, I see that in Tamil *sel* is "to go, proceed." Is the word Aryan in itself, or did the Hindus as well as the Polynesians receive it from their intercourse with the Dravidians after entering India?

HELE<sup>3</sup>, *v.* Haw., a noose, a snare for catching birds; *pa-hele*, id.; also deceit, treachery. Tong., *hele*, snare, noose; *nau-hele*, to snare. N. Zeal., *here*, to tie, bind; *where-where*, to hang, suspend. Rarot., *ere*, id. Sam., *sele*, a snare, to snare. Tah., *here*, a snare, cord; *v.* to entangle.

Greek, *εἶρω*, fasten together, string, plait; *ἐρματα*, ear-rings; *ὄρμος*, cord, chain, necklace; *εἶρεπος*, bondage, slavery; *εἶρμος*, a series, a train; *σειρα*, cord, string, rope, noose.

Lat., *sero*, *serui*, to bind, tie, connect, entwine; *series*, a row, series; *serta*, wreath, garland; *servus*, a slave.

A.-Sax., *serian*, to set in order.

Anc. Slav., *u-seregu*, *u-serezi*; Russ., *seriga*, ear-ring; *sherenga*, series, row.

Armen., *sarich*, a cord.

HELU, *v.* Haw., to scratch the ground as a hen, to dig or scratch the ground with the fingers, to paw, to count, compute, to tell, relate. Tong., *helu*, to comb. Sam., *selu*, a comb, to comb; *seselu*, comb the hair with the fingers, to praise. N. Zeal., *heru*, comb. Tah., *heru*, scratch as a hen; *pa-heru*, id., search thoroughly; *tu-feru*, id. Marqu., *feu*, to rub, scrub. Fiji., *seru*, a comb. Mal. and Sunda, *sisir*, comb.

Lat., *sero*, *sevi*, scatter as seed, sow. Benfey refers this word to the Sanskrit *sri*, to flow, blow, go, in caus. to extend. But the Latin *sero* evidently does not derive



from the Sanskrit causative form, and is possibly as old a word in its own dialect as the Sanskrit word, with the retention of the earlier sense "to scatter," apparently lost in the Sanskrit *sri*, if ever it had it. Pictet, following Bopp, refers *sero* to a Sanskrit *sâ*, *san*, "donner, répandre," in order to find a place for the Gothic *sarian*, A.-Sax. *sâwan*, to sow, and the Greek *σᾶω*, *σηθω*, "cribler, c'est-à-dire répandre." The Latin *satum*, the Greek *σηθω*, the Gothic *seths*, &c., may probably refer to a root in *so*, *sâ*, or *san*; but the Latin *sero*, in my opinion, has no more etymological connection with *satum* than *fero* has with *latum*. The sense of "scattering," though not retained in the Polynesian in connection with planting or sowing, is yet manifest in two other directions, viz., numbering, counting, and combing, unravelling the hair. I am therefore inclined to refer the Polynesian *hele*<sup>1</sup>, *helu*, the Latin *sero*, and the Sanskrit *çrî*, to a common root, whose primary meaning was "to scratch," and, in so doing, in one direction "to wound," *çrî*, in another "to scatter," *sero*.

HEMA, *adj.* Haw., left, the left hand, south, southern; *hema-hema*, left-handed, awkward, destitute, needy. Tong., *hema*, left. Mang., *ema*, id. Tah., *hema*, to be deceived; *faa-hema*, a deceiver. Sam., *sema*, to beg for various things. Fiji., *sema*, the left hand. Malg., *simis*, be in need, to fail.

Greek, *ζημια*, loss, damage, penalty; *ήμερος*, tamed, quiet, gentle; *ήνια*, bridle, reins; ἐφ *ήνιαν*, wheeling "to the left," the bridle-hand being the left hand. Benfey refers these three words to Sanskrit *yam*, to restrain, to tame. Liddell and Scott refer *ζημια* to Sanskrit *dam*, *damyâmî*, to tame; they refer *ήμερος* to *ήμαι*, to sit down, and *ήμαι* to Sanskrit *âs*, *âsmê*, "sedeo," and they give no etymon of *ήνια*.

In this uncertainty I may be permitted to doubt if *ήνια* belongs to the same family as *ήμερος* and *ζημια*. The underlying sense of the former is that of strength, power, restraining, governing; the underlying sense of the two latter is that of loss, deficiency, weakness, want. Hence the former may be allied to the Sanskrit *yam*, as Benfey

suggests, but hardly the two latter. Of these, however, *ἡμερος* may doubtless refer through *ἡμαι* to Sanskrit *ās*, although the primary sense of *ās* is not one of weakness, deficiency, but rather of strength and freedom of action: "I sit, I stay, I abide, I perform." *Ζημια*, again, as Liddell and Scott intimate, may refer, through the Cretan *δαμια*, to Sanskrit *dam*, to tame, "coercere," and *dam-a*, chastisement, fine; but in this case I think it possible that the analogy of sound may have produced an analogy of sense, *ζημια*, *δαμια*, when the result in both was "loss, damage." There is this difference, however, between the two, as I think, that in *ζημια* the sense of loss, &c., seems to be inherent in the thing or person referred to, whereas in *dam-a*, *δαμια*, *damnum*, the sense of loss seems to arise from an imposition *ab extra*, the sense of inherent loss, weakness, defect, cropping out in expressions like *φανερὰ ζημια*, lit. evident loss, good-for-nothing, worthless, &c. I would therefore seek the connection of *ζημια*, *ἡμερος*, and the Polynesian *sema*, *hema*, in the Sanskrit *çam*, whose "original signification," Benfey says, is "to get tired," then to cease, to be quiet, meek, humble.

I remarked, p. 110, that the designation of the left could generally be traced to a sense of weakness, inferiority, defect; and to name the left hand "the quiet, the still," &c., sc. hand, in contradistinction from the right hand, is a correct analogy to *sav-ya*, whether that be interpreted "manus immunda" or "manus purificanda abluendo."

The Hawaiian is the only Polynesian dialect which has retained *hema* to designate south as well as left, and the origin of that designation arises from the fact that the Polynesians looked to the west when designating the cardinal points.

To the Sanskrit *çam* Benfey refers the Greek *καμνω*, to work oneself weary, be tired, ill, to suffer; *καματος*, toil, trouble, distress.

Liddell and Scott refer to the German *sanft* in connection with *ἡμερος*, as related to *ἡμαι*. I know not the etymology of *sanft*, but if it is related to *ἡμερος*, I think

it better to refer it to the Sanskrit *cam* and its derivative *cantva* = *cam-tva*, conciliating, mild.

HENE, *v.* Haw., *hene-hene*, to laugh at, to mock, deride, despise. (Not found in other Polynesian dialects.)

Goth., *hauns*, humble, base, contemptible; *haunjan*, to humiliate. A.-Sax., *hynan*, to humble. Germ., *hohn*, scorn, derision, scoff; *höhnen*, to deride, to scoff at. Swed., *hån*, derision, mockery, scorn.

Lat., *hinnio*, to neigh. Comp. latter part of *cachinnus*.

HI, *v.* Haw., to flow away, as evacuations, to blow out with force from the mouth, as liquids, droop, be weak; *s.* purging, dysentery, a hissing sound, as the rapid flow of a liquid. Tong., *sisi*, to hiss; *ifi*, to blow with the mouth. Sam., *si*, semen emittere; *sisi*, to make a hissing sound, as green wood burning, to trickle down. Tah., *hi*, to gush out, as water, to flux. Deriv., *hio*, Haw., eructatio ventris; *hio-hio*, to draw in the breath, as if eating something hot; *hiohio*, to blow, rush violently. N. Zeal., *whio*, to whistle. Mang., *vivio*, id. Paum., *hiohio*, id. Tah., *hio*, to puff, as out of breath, to whistle.

Sansk., *hi*, to go, send, discharge, as an arrow, dispatch, jacere, projicere; *sich*, to sprinkle, discharge, effundere; *çik* or *sik*, to sprinkle; *çikara*, drop of water, thin rain, spray.

Greek, *σιζω*, to hiss, the sound of frying in a pan; *σικχος*, squeamish, sickening; *σικχασια*, nausea; *σιγμος*, a hissing; *σιξις*, id.; *ζεω*, to boil, seethe; *ζεστος*, boiling hot; *ζυμη*, leaven; *ζυθος*, beer. Liddell and Scott refer the four last to Sanskrit *yas*, to make strenuous exertions, to endeavour, and they refer *σιγη*, silence, to *σιζω*.

A.-Sax., *hysian*, *hiscan*, to hiss, to whiz, whence Engl. *hist*, a word of attention, commanding silence; *sythan*, *seathan*, to seethe, boil; *seoc*, sick; *sife*, *syfe*, a sieve. O. H. Germ., *sihan*, to strain, sift; *seihjan*, mingere. Goth., *siukan*, be sick, be still.

Lat., *sibilo*, hiss, whistle.

Lith., *setas*, a sieve; *sijoti*, to sift.

HIA, *v.* Haw., der. of an obsol. *hi*, to entangle, to catch,

as in a net; *hiki*, duplicate form of the original root, to branch, spread out, as vines or limbs of trees, grow thick together; *adj.* spreading, creeping, entwining; *hihia*, be perplexed, entangled; *s.* difficulty, trouble, a thicket of forest, a snarl. Tong., *fhi*, *fhihifihi*, to entangle, entwine. N. Zeal., *wivi*, rushes, also entangled; *ta-wivi*, to ensnare. Mangar., *vi*, ensnaring. Marqu., *fifi*, to envelop. Tah., *fifi*, entangled, intricate, a chain; *hi*, to fish with hook and line, angle; *hiki*, rays of the sun, whiskers of a cat or mouse. Fiji., *vivi-a*, to roll up, to coil. Malg., *a-fehai*, to knot; *a-fiezi*, to tie, to make fast; *fheho*, bound.

Sansk., *si*, to bind; *sita*, bound; *sīma*, *sīman*, boundary, limit, nape of the neck.

Greek, *ίμας*, a thong, strap, rope, girdle, latch-string.

O. Sax., *simo*, bond.

HIo, *v.* Haw., to lean over, to slant, to swing to and fro, to lean upon, trust in, to wander about; *hikio*, to sleep, fall asleep, to dream; *hiohiona*, the gait and personal appearance of a person. Sam., *sioa*, wearied, exhausted. Marqu., *fio*, to rove about.

Sansk., *çī*, to lie, as on the ground, lie down, repose, sleep; *çaya*, asleep, sleep, a snake, a tiger; *çayyā*, a bed.

Greek, *κειω*, *κεω*, *κειμαι*, to lie, be laid, lie asleep, repose; *κοιμαω*, to lull or hush to sleep, fall asleep, lie down, have sexual intercourse, keep watch at night; *κωμα*, deep sleep; *κωμη*, an unwalled village; *κοιτη*, bed, couch; *κοιτος*.

Lat., *quies*, rest, cessation of labour, repose; *cio*, *cico*, to put in motion, to move, stir, shake; *civis*, a citizen, member of a village or tribe. Liddell and Scott refer the Greek *κυπτω*, to bend forward, stoop down, as akin to the Latin *cubo*, to lie, recline; and they refer *cubo* to Sanskrit *çī*. For my reasons for differing from such analysis, vid. *s. v.* KUPA.

Anc. Slav., *po-citi*, quiescere; *po-koi*, quiet.

Lith., *kiemas*, village; *kaimynas*, neighbour.

Goth., *haims*, a village; *haithi*, a field, heath; *hethjo*, a sleeping-place.

HIKI, *v.* Haw., to come to, arrive at, to happen, be able;

*hikina*, i.e., *hiki-ana* (sc. *a ka la*), the rising of the sun, the east. Tah., *hiti*, id.; *hitia*, sunrise, east. Nuh., Fak., Sam., *fiti*, id. N. Zeal., *witi*; Rarot., *iti*, to rise, as the sun, appear, to come.

Greek, *ικω*, *ικανω*, *ικνεομαι*, to come, come to, reach to, approach, befall, befit; *ικανος*, befitting, sufficient, able, strong. Liddell and Scott give no Indo-European relatives of this word. Benfey refers *ικω*, &c., to the Sanskrit *vic*, to enter, enter in, begin; with *pra*, to appear; and also intimates the relation of the Gothic *waihts*, a whit, a thing, a slight appearance.

HILI, *v.* Haw., to braid, plait, twist, turn over, spin; *wili*, id.; *wili*, *s.* a ribbon, a roll; *wili-wili*, to stir round, to mix; another dialectical variation is *hilo*, to twist, turn, spin. Sam., *filī*, to plait, as sinnet; *filo*, to mix, *s.* twine, thread; *vili*, a gimlet, a whirlpool. Marqu., *fau-fi*, twist, braid. N. Zeal., *wiri*, id. Rarot., *iro*, id. Tah., *firi*, id.; *hiro*, id. Fiji., *siri*, askew, not nicely in a row, wrong, in error. Tagal and Bisaya, *hilig*, a woof.

Greek, *ειλω*, to roll up, to press together, pass to and fro, to wind, turn round; *ελισσω*, turn round or about, roll, whirl; *ελιξ*, *adj.* twisted, curled; *s.* anything of a spiral shape, twist, curl, coil; *ιλλω*, to roll, of the eyes, to squint, look askance; *ιλλος*, squinting; *ιλλας*, a rope, band; *ιλυξ*, a whirlpool.

Sanskr., *vel*, *vehl*, to shake, tremble; *vellita*, crooked; *anu-vellita*, a bandage. To this Sanskrit *vel* Benfey refers the Greek *ειλω*, the Latin *volvo*, and the Gothic *walo-jan*. Liddell and Scott also incline to connect *ειλω* and *volvo* with the same root. To me it would seem as if the Sanskrit *vrij*, whose "original signification," Benfey says, is "to bend," and the Sanskrit *vrit*, whose "original signification," Benfey says, is "to turn," were nearer akin to the primary form from which the Greek *ειλω*, *ιλλω*, and the Polynesian *hili*, *wiri*, descend: that primary form being *vri*, now lost to the Sanskrit, with a primary sense of to bend, twist, turn over, braid, and of which *vel*, *vell*, or *vehl*, is possibly another secondary and attenuated form. With

such a Sanskrit *vri*, surviving in *vrij* and *vrit*, the derivation of the Latin *filum*, thread, as twisted, spun; of the Latin *varus*, bent asunder, parting from each other, *varix*, crookedness; of the Saxon *wile*, deceit; of the Swedish *willa*, confusion, error, *wilse*, astray, becomes easy and intelligible.

HILU, *adj.* Haw., still, quiet, reserved, dignified, glorious.

Sanskrit., *cil*, to meditate, adore, worship.

Greek, *ἰλαω*, *ἰλασκομαι*, to appease, propitiate; *ἰλαος*, gracious.

Lat., *sileo*, be still, silent.

HINA<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to lean from an upright position, to fall, fall down, tumble over, to fall morally as well as materially, to offend. Tong., N. Zeal., *hinga*, id. Paumotu, *hinga*, dead, *i.e.*, fallen. Tah., *hia*, to fall. Sam., *sisina*, to drop down. Marqu., *hika*, to fall, slide, lean, to die; *hina*, id. Malg., *tsinga*, to lean to, incline. Malay., *tiggelam*, to sink.

Lat., *sino*, let down, lay down, suffer, permit; *pono* = *po-sino*, put down; *sinus*, a bending, a curving; *sinuo*, *sinister*.

Goth., *siggkwan*, to sink, to set, of the sun. A-Sax., *sigan*, fall; *sincan*, sink.

HINA<sup>2</sup>, *adj.* Haw., grey, hoary, as hair or beard; *hina-hina*, id., withered as fruit; *poo-hina*, grey-haired, aged; *po-hina*, white, whitish, silvery, grey; *ma-hina*, moon. Sam., *sina*, white or grey, of the hair; *faa-sinasina*, to whiten, whitewash; *ma-sina*, the moon. Tong., *hina*, grey, white; *ma-hina*, moon. Mang., *ina*, white, grey; *ma-ina*, moon. Tah., *hina-hina*, grey hairs. Marqu., *hina*, white; *ma-hina*, moon. N. Zeal., *hina*, grey, white, of hair. Fiji., *sika*, grey-headed; *singa*, the sun, day; *singa-singau*, white. Sunda and Mal., *sinar*, a ray of light, sunbeam. Sulu Isl., *fa-sina*, the moon. Tagal, *quinas*, to shine; *quinan*, a glance. Malg., *fassin*, grey; *hina*, *hign*, an oyster; *hinign*, the flash of a gun.

Lat., *senex*, old, aged, hoary-headed; *seneco*, *senesco*.

Goth., *sins*, old.

I have not found any Sanskrit root that may refer to the Polynesian *sina* or *hina* in its application as white, bright, shining, or its further application as a name for the moon. Yet I find *siṃhala*, tin, brass, cassia-bark; *siṃhana*, rust of iron, the mucus of the nose; *ciṅghāṇa*, froth, foam, the mucus of the nose, rust of iron, a glass vessel, all which certainly indicate their connection with a root conveying the sense of whiteness, brightness, &c.

HINAI, s. Haw., a braided container, a basket. Sam., *sina*, gourd, calabash. Tong., *hina*, gourd, bottle. Tah., *hinai*, a sort of basket. Fiji., *sinai*, full; *sinai-ta*, do up the mouth of a basket. Malg., *sini*, vase, pot.

Lat., *sinum*, a large, round drinking vessel.

Anthon, Lat. Dict., s. v., refers *sinum* to *sinus*, a bend, a curve. If so, it derives from *sino*, as the Haw. and Tah. *hinai* may derive from *hina*<sup>1</sup>.

HINI, adj. Haw., *hini-hini*, *u-hini*, small, thin, feeble, speaking in a small, thin voice, whispering. Tah., *uine*, to chirp as chickens. Malg., *hinti*, to tinkle.

Sansk., *cinj*, to tinkle; *cinja*, tinkling, a bowstring.

HINU, s. Haw., ointment; v. to anoint, besmear with oil or grease, be smooth, shining. Tah., N. Zeal., *hinu*, oil, grease. Rarot., *inu*, id. Marqu., *hinu*, ointment, ink, tincture from the tutui nut. Tikop., *sinu*, cocoa-nut oil. Fiji., *sinusinu*, id. Ceram. (Camariau), *wai-li-sini*, oil Saparua, *wa-ri-sini*, id.

Sansk., *cyāṇa*, *çina*, thick, viscous, adhesive; *prate-çina*, melted, fluid.

HIWA, adj. Haw., dear, valued, beloved, precious; applied mostly to that which was used in sacrifice to the gods, in which the black colour was preferred, as a black hog, a black kapa, a black cocoa-nut, &c.; hence black, clear black. Sam., Fak., *siwa*; Tong., *hiwa*, song, dance, festivity. Tah., *hiwa*, family, company; *hiwa-hiwa*, abundance, plenty.

Sansk., *çiva*, prosperous, happy, complacent, well-being;

name of one of the Sanskrit Triad, distinguished by his black or blue-black neck.

I note, but leave to abler hands to explain, the coincidence, if such it be, of the Tah. *hiwa*, family, company, clan, and the A.-Sax. *hiwa*, family; O. Germ., *hiwa*, a wife, &c., which latter Benfey refers to the Sanskrit *çī*, to lie down, while he refers *çiva* to a root *çvi*, to swell, increase. Benfey also refers the Sanskrit *çeva*, happiness, to *çī*. Why not *çiva* also, or the Polynesian *hiwa*?

HO, *v.* Haw., to cry in a clamorous manner, to shout, cry out for fear or distress, breathe hard; *hoho*, id., to snore; *s.* asthma, lowing of cattle. Tah., *ho*, a war-shout of triumph or rejoicing.

Sansk., *hve*, Ved., *hā*, to call, to name, invoke, challenge; *hrāna*, a cry; *gu*, to sound; *guy*, to buzz; *ghu*, *ghur*, *ghush*, id., to proclaim.

Greek, *βῆν*, loud shout, cry; *βοῶν*, to roar, howl, call aloud; *γῶος*, wailing, lamentation; *γῶα*, to wail, groan, weep.

Lat., *re-boo*, resound; *voveo*, to vow, promise; *hoi*, *interj.* oh, alas!

Goth., *gaunon*, mourn, lament. A.-Sax., *hveop*, to cry, call out; *wepan*, to weep.

HOA, *v.* Haw., to tie, bind, wind round; *s.* companion, friend, assistant; *hoai*, mix, unite two things; *s.* union, suture, as of bones; *hoai-manawa*, coronal suture, &c. Sam., *soa*, companion, friend. Tikop., *soa*, id. Tong., *nga-hoa*, a pair. N. Zeal., *hoa*, to help. Tah., *hoa*, friend; *faa-hoa*, make friends. Fiji., *so*, to assemble; *soso*, an assembly; *sota*, to meet, meet accidentally. Malg., *zokhe*, friend, comrade, brother.

I am induced to believe that the form *hoa* is a contraction of an original *hoka*, which occurs in a duplicated form; Haw., *hokahokai*, to mix, as two ingredients. The Fiji. *so* probably represents the primary root, now obsolete in Polynesia, but with the primary sense retained in the Hawaiian *hoa*, *v.*, which probably underlies the formation of the



Lat., *socius*, a companion, partner; *sodalis*, friend, comrade, assistant.

HO'O, HA'A. Haw., a causative prefix to verbs. Tah., *ha'a*, *fa'a*, id. Marqu., *haa*, *faa*, and *haka*; Sam., *faa* and *faka*; N. Zeal., *whaka*, id., to cause to be or do a thing. Paum., *faka*; Rarot., *aka*, id.

Lat., *facio*, imp. *fac*, pret. *factum*, do, make, cause to be; *facies*, figure, face, shape. Benfey refers *facio* to Sanskrit *bhū*, to become, to be; but I am not aware of any West Aryan forms to explain the transitions.

So far as I know, none of the West Aryan branches make use of a causative prefix to verbs, the Zend and Vedic alone expressing the causative by suffixes, which have already lost their primary sense and become mere unmeaning flexions. It would be interesting, therefore, to know if any trace of a causative prefix can be found within the Indo-European lines. Was the prefix, as found in the Polynesian, an older form of expressing the causative, which afterwards, for reasons now unknown, became obsolete and was replaced by suffixes, or was it a form of speech acquired and adopted by the Polynesians from long and intimate intercourse with the Cushite-Chaldeans? But if the Polynesian causative prefix has no analogy in Sanskrit or Iranian, it has an undoubted Aryan relative in the Latin *facio*, and that *facio* was certainly used at times as a causative, and, though it was not agglutinated to the verb which it governed, but stood apart, yet it preceded it, and did not follow it, like the Sanskrit or Zend causative suffixes. The Greek, Latin, and Gothic did not use causative suffixes, but expressed that sense, as their descendants do to-day, by what I may call auxiliary verbs, independent in form and sense, placed *before* and not *after* the verb which they affected, and in so far the construction of their sentences, their idioms, corresponds to the Polynesian. I think, therefore, that I may be permitted to infer, from the absence of causative suffixes in such prominent branches of the Aryan stock as the Greek, Latin, Gothic, and Polynesian, that such suffixes were of

later development and adoption in some of the other branches.

**HOKA**, *v.* Haw., to squeeze, press, take hold of, to search, examine into, to strike, attack, be destitute, fail, be disappointed. Sam., *so'a-so'a*, *soso'a*, to spear a thing, to husk cocoa-nuts. Tah., *hota*, to cough. N. Zeal., Mangar., *hoka*, a sharp-pointed instrument. Tong., *hoka*, to stab, thrust. Fiji., *voca*, to strike against. Malg., *hota*, fault, vice, defect; *hota-lela*, to stutter. Sunda, *suker*, in trouble, difficulty.

Sansk., *sūch*, to point out, indicate, betray, espy; *sūchī*, piercing, a needle, indication by signs; *sūcha*, piercing, gesticulation; *sūchana*, information, piercing, gesticulation, wickedness.

Goth., *sokjan*, to seek, desire, question with, dispute; *sakan*, pt. *sok*, to rebuke, strive, dispute; *sakjis*, a brawler, a striker. Engl., *sake* in *forsake*; Swed., *för-saka*; Germ., *such* in *versuchen*; Swed., *för-söka*.

**HOLA**, *v.* Haw., to open, spread out; *hola-hola*, id., to smooth; *hohola*, id., unfold; *mohola*, to open, expand, unfold, as leaves of plants or flowers, blooming; *po-hola*, id. Sam., Tong., *fola*, *fofolā*; N. Zeal., Tah., *hora*, *hohora*, to spread out, unfold; *ma-hora*, developed, clear, explicit. Related to these as dialectical variations are doubtless the Hawaiian *mo-halu*, clearness, fulness, as the full moon; *holi*, to commence, the first appearance of a thing. Tah., *po-hori*, new shoots, buds. Tong., *foli*, to spread, expand, as vegetation. Marqu., *po-hoe*, living things; and the ubiquitous *hala*, *hara*, *fala*, *fara*, the Polynesian name for the pandanus. Fiji., *volā*, to make a mark, to mark; *volā-bongi*, evening or midnight star; *volā-singa*, morning star. Malg., *fala* or *folā-tangh*, the open hand, the palm; *folā-tombuk*, plante de pied; *felan*, blossom.

Sansk., *phal*, to burst, to produce, to bear fruit; *phulla*, blown, expanded, as a flower, opened, as the eyes with pleasure; *phalin*, bearing fruit; *phalya*, a flower; *phull*, to blossom. Benfey considers *phal* as derived from an older form in *spar*, *sphar*, and *sphur*, to tremble, palpitate,

flash. In view of the Polynesian and of the Latin, Greek, and Gothic, quoted below, the *s* is more likely to be a subsequent prosthetic than an original constituent of the word.

Lat., *folium*, leaf; *flos*, flower.

Greek, *φυλλον*, leaf, foliage, flower.

Goth., *bloma*; A.-Sax., *blom*, bloom, blossom.

Liddell and Scott refer *φυλλον* and *folium* and *flos*, &c., to a root represented by the Greek *φλω*, *φλω*, *βλω*, to gush, swell up, overflow. Benfey, however, refers *flos* and *bloma* to the Sanskrit *phal*. Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., i. 205 sq.) refers both *φυλλον* and *φλω*, with all their derivatives and correlatives, as well as *folium*, *flos*, and *bloma*, to the Sanskrit *phal* and *phull*, which brings us back to the Polynesian forms in *folā*, *holā*, *fala*, and *hala*, &c.

It may be interesting to observe with Pictet that the various European names for apple refer themselves back to either of those two forms in *phul* or *phal*; Welsh, *afal*; Irish, *abhal*, *ubhal*; A.-Sax., *appel*; Anc. Germ., *aphul*; Lith., *obolys*; Anc. Slav., *jabulko*.

The name of a festival in Deccan, of very ancient date, to celebrate the vernal equinox and the return of spring, and called *holi*, does singularly enough associate itself to the Hawaiian *holi*, the first appearance of a thing, to commence, and to the Tongan *foli*, to spread, expand, as vegetation.

HOLO<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to move swiftly, to run, to flee; *hoo-holo*, to stretch out, reach forth, as the hand, to slip, slide; *holoi*, to wash, to scrape, brush, wipe, blot out, to clean; *holoholoi*, to rub with pressure and quick motion, rub off dirt, rub down, smooth; *holo-ke*, to run or rub against some opposing object. Sam., *solo*, to slide, fall down, pass along, to wipe, as after bathing; *s.* a towel; *adj.* swift; *soloi*, to wipe, to break gradually, as a wave fit to glide on; *solo-solo*, to slip away, as a landslip; *sola*, to run away, to flee. Tong., *hola*, *id.*; *holoi*, to chafe, to wipe; *hoholo*, to grind, sharpen. N. Zeal., Tah., *horo*, to run; *s.* a landslip; *horohoro*, swiftly, quickly; *horoi*, to wash, cleanse.

Fiji, *solo-ta*, to rub or grind, to wipe or dry oneself after washing. Malg., *sora*, *tsora*, a file, a hedgehog.

Sanskrit, *kshar*, to stream, pass away, to let escape, to yield; *kshal*, to purify, make clean, remove; *kshālana*, washing.

Greek, *σαρος*, broom; *σαρω*, *σαιρω*, to sweep, clean.

Lat., *sarrio*, to rake, hoe.

Russ., *soru*, sweepings, offal. Pol., *szor*, *szur*, detritus, alluvium; *szorowach*, nettoyer, froter. Lith., *szlota*, broom.

Pers., *sharīdan*, to flow, run, pour out; *shār*, flood, flux; *shārāf*, broom.

Goth., *skiuran*, to scour; *skura*, a shower.

To the Sanskrit *kshar* Benfey refers the Latin *scortum*, a whore, and the Gothic *hors*, a whoremonger.

Holo<sup>2</sup>, s. Haw., a bundle. Fiji, *sole*, *sole-sole*, a bundle, package.

Greek, *σωρος*, a heap, a pile; *σωρακος*, a basket, box; *σοπος*, a vessel for holding anything, a container.

HONU, s. Haw., flat land, in distinction from the mountains, the bottom of a deep place. Marqu., Tah., *fenua*, land, country. N. Zeal., *whenua*, id. Tong., *fonua*. Sam., *fanua*, id. Paum., *henua*, id. Fiji., *vanua*, id. Malay., *benua*, id.

Goth., *fani*, clay, mud. Sax. and O. Engl., *fen*, lowland, moor, boggy.

HOPE, s. Haw., the end or beginning of a thing, termination, result, consequence; *adv.* behind, after, last. Tah., *hope*, the tail of a bird, the hair of a man tied behind; *v.* to be finished, ended; *hopea*, the end or extremity of a thing. Sam., *sope*, lock of hair left as an ornament. Rarot., Mang., *ope*, end, extremity. Marqu., *hope-hope*, the buttocks, rump. Fiji., *sobe-ta*, to cleave to, to ascend or descend, as by a rope.

Greek, *ὀπις*, the consequence of things, good or bad, retribution, vengeance, favour; *ὀπισθεν*, behind, at the back, after, in place or time; *ὀπισω*, behind, hereafter. Liddell and Scott are in doubt whether to refer *ὀπις* to *ὀψομαι* or to *ἔπω*, *ἔπομαι*. But *ἔπω* has been referred by

them and Benfey to Sanskrit *sach*, Latin *sequor*. Why not refer *όπις* and *hope* to Sanskrit *sap*, *sev*, connect, follow ?

HOPO, *v.* Haw., to shrink back through fear, be afraid, agitated, troubled. Sam., *sopo*, step over, pass over; *sopo-sopo*, id., transgress. Tong., *hopo*, to jump, to caper. Marqu., *hopo*, to fear, tremble.

Greek, *σοβω*, to scare or drive away, to shake, beat, to walk pompously, strut; *σοβας*, a kind of dance; *σοβη*, horse's tail; *σοβησις*, agitation, excitement. Liddell and Scott consider *σοβω* akin to *σενω*, to hunt, chase. I think the connection doubtful. They refer, moreover, to the Old German *sweif* (*schweif*), a tail, a train, which seems a more probable connection.

Sax., *hoppan*, to leap, jump. Icel., *skopa*, to leap, spring. Engl., *skip*, *hop*, *hobble*.

HU, *v.* Haw., to rise or swell up, effervesce, to rise up, as a thought, to overflow, run over, to shed or pour out, to ooze quietly, to appear, *i.e.*, to heave up in sight, as a ship at a distance, to whistle, as the wind (Germ. *brausen*, *sausen*); *hu*, *s.* a rising, swelling, a top; *hu-kani*, a humming-top; *huhu*, be angry, scolding, storming; *hua*, *v.* to swell, foam, to sprout, bud, bear fruit, grow, increase; *s.* fruit, offspring, production, froth, an egg, a kidney, seed, as of grain, human testicles; *huai*, to open, as a native oven, as a windbag, as a grave; *hua-huai*, to boil up, as water in a spring. Tong., *hu*, to boil a stew; *hua*, general name for liquids; *huai*, to pour out; *huhu*, the nipple of the breast; *fua*, fruit. Sam., *su*, *susu*, wet; *susu*, the breast, teats of animals; *sua*, liquids; *fua*, to begin, to start, *s.* fruit. N. Zeal., *hua*, to sprout, grow, *s.* fruit; *ko-hua*, to boil; *huka*, foam. Tah., *hu*, wind on the stomach; *hua*, grain, particles; *hu'a*, testicles; *huaa*, ancestors; *huai*, to open an oven; *huhua*, top of a mountain. Marqu., *hu*, break wind; *huaa*, people, family; *huhua*, to swell up. Rarot., *ua*, fruit. Mang., *uai*, to begin. Fiji., *su*, the water in which food has been boiled, soup; *sua-sua*, wet, moist; *susu*, be born, bring forth young, to suck, suckle; *vu*, to cough; *vua*, fruit, produce, *v.* to bear fruit, to over-

flow; *vua*, family, tribe; *vusa*, tribe genealogy; *vuso*, froth, foam. Timor Laut., *susu*, the breast. Sunda and Malay., *buah*, fruit. Jav., *wowoan*, id. Buru, *fuan*, id. Amboyna, *hua*, id. Ceram. (Gah.), *voya*, id. Malg., *vua*, *voa*, id.; *sosoa*, potage, bouillon. Motu. (N. Guinea), *huahua*, fruit.

Sanskrit, *su* and *sū*, to beget, bear, bring forth; *sūna*, born, produced, blown, as a flower; *sūnu*, a son; *sū*, *s*, birth, bringing forth, yielding; *sūma*, milk, water; *sūti*, birth, offspring, source; *sūtin*, father; *suma*, a flower; *sūsh*, *cūsh*, to bring forth, bear; *hu*, to sacrifice; *homa* (for *huma*), oblation; *home*, fire, clarified butter, water. Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., ii. 702) thinks the Sanskrit *hu* is wrongly compared with the Greek  $\theta\upsilon\omega$ , and that its primitive sense might have been "projicere, effundere, et libare." He is probably correct, and the sacrifice contemplated consisted in the "pouring out" of the clarified butter or the soma juice as a libation. If so, it brings the Sanskrit still more *en rapport* with the Polynesian form and primary sense. The Sanskrit *sūnu*, son, which is retained in the Goth. *sunus*, Lith. *sunus*, Anc. Slav. *synu*, with almost identical form, has its exact counterpart in the Polynes. Haw: *hunona*, child-in-law; Tah., *hunoa*; N. Zeal., *hunaonga*; Rarot., *unonga*, id. Fiji., *vungona*, son or daughter in law, or father or mother in law; N. Zeal., Marqu., *hungoni*, a parent-in-law.

Greek,  $\upsilon\omega$ , to wet, to water, to rain;  $\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , rain;  $\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , a son;  $\upsilon\sigma\mu\alpha$ , rain;  $\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ , womb;  $\upsilon\delta\eta\eta\varsigma$ , watery, moist, nourishing. Benfey refers  $\upsilon\omega$  to Sanskrit *su*, but Liddell and Scott refer it to  $\upsilon\delta\omega\rho$ , while they admit that Curtius will not connect  $\upsilon\delta\omega\rho$  with  $\upsilon\omega$ . At the same time they refer  $\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  to Sanskrit *su*, generare. The primary sense of "to rise, swell up, to bear or bring forth," had evidently become obsolete in Greek when  $\upsilon\omega$  was reduced to writing, though indications of such a form remained in  $\upsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ , son,  $\upsilon\varsigma$  or  $\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$ , swine, probably in  $\upsilon\lambda\eta$ , a wood, forest,  $\upsilon\sigma\gamma\eta$ , a shrub.

Lat., *humor*, moisture, liquid; *humidus*, *humectus*, *sucus*

juice; *sugo*, to suck; *sumen*, *sugmen*, udder, teat; *fundo*, *fudi*, pour out, shed, spread, bring forth, produce; *fuse*, copiously.

Goth., *giutan*, to pour out; *Guth*, God; according to Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., ii. 660), he to whom libations are poured out = Ved. *huta*.

Zend, *zu*, to sacrifice.

Afghan, *sui*, son.

Irish, *soth*, progenitor.

Alban., *sua*, race, family.

Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. 194) inclines to refer the Greek  $\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$  and the Latin *sylva* to Sanskrit *sāla*, tree, through some obsolete or hypothetical form, *sālava*; but the Sanskrit *sāla* or *çāla* is fully and correctly represented in the Polynesian *hala*, *fala*, the Pandanus odorif., and  $\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$  and  $\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\gamma\eta$  doubtless connect themselves with  $\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  in some of its primary but forgotten meanings, as much as  $\acute{\upsilon}\iota\omicron\varsigma$  and  $\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ .

I have purposely not referred to the Greek  $\chi\upsilon\omega$ ,  $\chi\epsilon\upsilon\omega$ ,  $\chi\epsilon\omega$ , to pour out, scatter, &c., and its numerous derivatives. Benfey and Pictet refer it to Sanskrit *hu*, but Liddell and Scott to  $\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , *ιημι*. The connection of the Polynesian *hu* with the other Aryan branches is sufficiently established without it.

H $\ddot{U}$ <sup>2</sup>, s. Tong., a royal appellation.

Welsh, *Hu*, name of a solar deity, also called *Huon* and *Huan*.

Zend, *Hu*, the sun.

Sansk., *surana*, *sāta*, *sānu*, sun, from root *su*, to beget, bring forth—vid. *supra*.

Greek,  $\acute{\upsilon}\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ , title of Bacchus, as the god of fertilising moisture—vid.  $\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , Liddell and Scott.

Goth., *sunno* and *sunna*, sun.

HUALI, *adj.* Haw., bright, clean, pure, white, glittering, shining. A synonym of this word, but of the same formation, is the Hawaiian *huaka*, clear, as pure water, bright, white, shining. *Huali* is composed of *hu* or *hua*, froth, foam, bubble (obsolete as liquids), and *ali* or *aliali*, white, as snow, or paper, or salt; Tah., *ari-ari*, transparent.

*Huaka* is composed of *hu* and *aka*, to be light, as moonrise or morning; *akaka*, clear, transparent, as glass or a liquid.

Greek, *ύαλος* or *ύελος*, any clear, transparent stone; in later times glass, said by Jablonski to be an Egyptian word, but by others to be derived from *ύω* (vid. Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*), *ύακιθος*, a precious stone, perhaps the amethyst, also a flower of that name. The Hawaiian correlatives will afford a satisfactory analysis of both *ύαλος* and *ύακιθος*, without going to Egypt. Another kindred word, the Latin *vaccinium*, a kind of plant, the whortleberry, confirms the Aryan home-growth of this branch of derivatives. The Latin *succinum* or *sucinum*, amber, and the Greek *σουχιον*, id., like *vaccinium*, *ύαλος*, and *ύακιθος*, probably also go back to the same formation as the Polynesian *hu-ali*, *hu-aka*.

HUI<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to unite together, to mix, to add one to another, to assemble, meet; *s.* cluster, collection of things; *huihui*, a bunch, cluster; *huiuna* (for *huiana*), a seam in a garment; *la-hui*, collection of people, a nation. Sam., *sui*, to dilute, to add ingredients to a thing; *sui*, to sew, to thread beads; *susui*, to mend, repair; *susuia*, to fasten the ridge-pole of a house. Tong., *hui*, mingle, mix, join; *fufui*, a flock of birds. N. Zeal., *hui*, *huhui*, to gather, mix, unite; *ra-hui*, a company; *ka-hui*, a herd, a flock. Tah., *hui*, a collection of persons, a company; *huihui-manu*, flock of birds; *hui-tara-wa*, Orion's belt. Marqu., *huhui*, a bundle of taro.

Sansk., *yu*, to bind, join, mix; *yuj*, to join; *yuga*, a yoke, a pair, a couple; *yāti*, mixing; *yātha*, flock of birds or beasts.

Greek, *ζευγνυμι*, to join, put to, yoke up, bind, fasten; *ζευγος*, a yoke of beasts, pair, couple; *ζυγον*, the yoke; *ζωνη*, belt, girdle.

Lat., *jugum*, a yoke; *jugo*, bind up, tie together; *jungo*, bind, join, unite.

Goth., *juk*, a yoke. A.-Sax., *geok*, id. Scand., *ok*, id.

Armen., *zugel*, attach together, yoke up; *zoyghē*, a couple, a pair. Pers., *yāgh*, a yoke.



Irish, *ughaim*, harness. Welsh, *jow*, yoke.

Let., *jûgs*, yoke. Anc. Slav., *jgo*, yoke. Bohem., *gho*, id. Lith., *jungas*, id.

A singular coincidence of application, if it has no nearer connection, by the Polynesian and the Latin of this word to similar purposes, occurs in the *huhui* and *hui-tarawa* of the former and *jugulæ* of the latter. In Hawaiian *huhui* designates a constellation generally, but especially that of the Pleiades; in Tahitian *hui-tarawa*, lit. the transverse or horizontal cluster, designates the stars generally called Orion's belt, and in Latin *jugulæ* represents the very same stars in the constellation Orion.

HUI<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to ache, be in pain; *s.* bodily pain; *niho-hui*, the toothache; *hui*, *huihui*, cold, chilly, as morning air or cold water; *hukeki*, *hukiki*, cold, shivering on account of wet. N. Zeal., *huka*, cold. Tah., *hui*, *hui-hui*, to throb as an artery, twitchings in the flesh.

Sansk., *çuch*<sup>1</sup>, to be afflicted, grieve; *çuch*<sup>2</sup>, to be wet, fetid; *çuch*, *s.* sorrow, grief; quære *sucîma*, cold? To this Sankr. *çuch* Benfey refers the Goth. *hiufau*, to mourn, lament, and the O. H. Germ. *huvo*, an owl.

HUKA, *s.* Haw., a term used in calling hogs.

I am not aware that this word is used for that purpose in any of the other Polynesian groups, nor that any of those groups have a name for hogs or swine that will ally itself to this Hawaiian *huka*, unless we find it in the Fijian *vonga*, a sow, which has the appearance of a foreign word in Fijian speech, and as a remnant from the time when the Polynesians sojourned in Fiji. But this Hawaiian *huka* has doubtless a lingual affinity to the following Indo-European terms used in calling hogs:—

Let., *çhûka*, a hog; *chuck-chuck*, a term for calling hogs.

Russ., *chushka*, pig; *chu-chu*, a call to hogs.

Sax., *chuck*, a term used in calling hogs, probably in more ancient times a name for swine, as we find it still retained in the word "*wood-chuck*." The Welsh *hwch*, a pig, from which we have the English *hog*, according to

Pictet, makes the relation still plainer, whether *chuck*, *hwch*, or *huka* refer themselves to the Sanskrit *su* or Polynesian *hu*, or, as Pictet prefers, are onomatopoeitic.

HULI, *v.* Haw., to turn generally in any way, to turn over, roll over, search, change. Sam., *fuli*, turn over, roll along. Tah., *huri*, turn over, roll as a cask; *huri-ea*, to deliberate, turn a subject over in one's mind. N. Zeal., *huri*, turn. Related to this is the Haw. *hula*, the Tah. *hura*, to bend over, fall over, move from place to place, shake, tremble, dance, dancing, dancing and singing, a Polynesian chorus, an expression of joy. Fiji., *voli*, to go round about. Sunda, *buled*, to be round. Malg., *mi-holak*, to turn round; *hulik*, *holak*, a turn; *vola*, *bola*, *huri*, round. Malay., *guling*, to roll, turn.

Sansk., *ghárṇ*, to reel, move to and fro, roll, as the eye; *ghárṇa*, vacillating, shaking, staggering; *ghurn*, to whirl; *guda*, *gola*, a ball; *gulpha*, the ankle.

Pers., *gúli*, *góli*, a pill; *garuhak*, a ball.

Greek, *γυρος*, round, crooked, a ring, a circle; *γυρω*, to round, to bend. No etymon *s. v.* by Liddell and Scott. *Xopos*, the movement of dancers in a ring, a dance, dancing with singing; *χορωνος*, a crown.

Lat., *curvus*, crooked, bent.

HULU, *s.* Haw., feathers of birds, hair of other animals. Tah., *huru-huru*, hair, wool, feathers. Tong., Sam., *fulu*, hair, feathers. Marqu., *huu*, id. In all other Polynesian groups, *fulu*, *huru*, *uru*, hair, fur, feathers. Fiji., *vulua*, hair about the privates, a tabu word; *vulu-vulu-ka-nimata*, eyelashes. Mal., *bulu*, feather; *bulu-kambing*, wool; *burong*, a bird. Malg., *vulu*, hair. Amboyna, *huru*, feather. Buru, *fulun*, *folun*, feather; *folo*, hair. Ceram. (Tobo), *ulon*, hair; *fulin*, feather. Amblaw, *ol-nati*, hair; *boloi*, feathers.

The West Aryan connections of this word, as designating hair, feathers, are not many nor very apparent. The application to express a quantity, at first indefinite and conventionally adopted as ten, within the Polynesian area, might lead us to refer it to the Sanskrit (Ved.) *pūru*—

which Benfey derives from *prî*—"much, many, exceeding." But its limited use as a quantitative expression alongside of its synonyms, as well as the total absence of the application of this word to other matters conveying a sense of quantity, leads me to infer that the quantitative sense of *fulu*, as used singly or in compounds to express the numeral ten, is secondary and derivative of the original sense of hair, feathers, and has no connection with the Sanskrit *pîru* or *prî*, unless it can be shown that these latter are themselves derivative, in sense at least, if not in form, from some older word with a primary meaning of hair or feathers. I find, however, I think, a relative of *hulu*, *fulu*, &c. in the

Greek *ιουλος*, down, the first growth of beard, the down on some plants. Liddell and Scott refer *ιουλος* to *οὔλος*, iv. (vid. Greek-Engl. Dict., s. v.) It may be so; both words occur in Homer. But I notice that Homer always uses *οὔλος* as an adjective, an attribute of *θριξ*, *κομη*, *καρηνον*, &c., whereas he uses *ιουλος* as a substantive having its own well-defined meaning. *Οὔλος*, conveying the sense of "stout, thick, strong, crisp," may appropriately apply to hair, beard, wool, and the like, but its application to *ιουλος* would be destructive of the sense, and I therefore consider that there is no connection in root or derivation between them.

HUNA, v. Haw., to hide, conceal, protect, defend. N. Zeal., Tah., *huna*, id. Rarot., Mang., *una*, id. Sam., *funa*, conceal; *funai*, id. Fiji., *vuni*, hid, concealed. Derivs. Haw., *huna*, s. the private parts, pudenda; *huna-huna*, caves in mountains or underground where people took refuge in time of war. Fiji., *vuni-langi*, the horizon. Malg., *a-vuni*, to conceal, secrete. The root of this word is doubtless found in the Tong. *fu-fu*, with same meaning, "to conceal," and in the Sam. *fu*, with a derivative meaning, "vagina, pudendum;" perhaps also in the Tah. *huhu*, to close the mouth of a bag, to brail up a sail.

Sanskrit., *guh*, to conceal, hide; *guhya*, hidden, a secret, pudendum; *guhâ*, a cave, the heart; *guh*, to cover,

referred by Benfey to *kuh*, surprise, deceive; *kuh-aka*, a juggler; *kuh-ara*, a cavern, cave.

Greek, *κευθω*, cover up, hide.

Sax., *hydan*, to hide. O. H. Germ., *hutta*, a hut; vid. Liddell and Scott, *s. v.* *κευθω*. Quær. Swed. *gynna*, to favour, befriend, protect; *gunst*, favour?

HUNE, *adj.* Haw., anciently it signified a collection of people, a class, tribe, or nation, as shown from the compound *Mene-hune*, the people of Mene. When that signification became obsolete, its meaning became equivalent to "a poor man, destitute, poor," with two derivatives, *ma-hune*, *ili-hune*, both meaning poor, destitute. Sam., *songa*, a chief's upper servant, exempt from the precautions of the tapu. N. Zeal., *hunga*, the common people, those who were not "Ariki" or "Rangatira." Rarot., *unga*, the tenants of the chiefs, labourers. Tah., *mana-hune*, the common people. In Haw. occurs also the simple form *hu*, designating a class of the common people, nearly synonymous with "Makaainana," the farmers.

The probable primary meaning of the Haw., Tah., *hune* and *hu*, N. Zeal., *hunga*, as a collection of men, a people or class of people, connects this word with the Polynes. *hwi* in its etymon, *q. v.* p. 128.

HUPE. *s.* Haw., mucus from the nose, snot, slime. Tah., *hupe*, mucus, night-dew; *hupe-hupe*, dirty, despicable, mean. Sam., *sofe-sofe*, native dish of yam cooked in juice of cocoa-nut. Fiji, *sove*, *ka-sove*, soft, muddy, of earth. Akin to

Sansk., *sūpa*, broth, soup, sauce.

Goth., *supon*, *sukwon*, to season, as with salt. Sax. *sipan*, *supan*; O. H. Germ., *supan*, *saufjan*, to sup up, drink greedily, as beasts. All referable to the Sanskr.-Polynes. *su*, *hu*, and its family of derivatives.

Greek, *ὄπος*, juice, vegetable juice.

Possibly Lat. *sapa*, thickened must, new wine boiled down, connects itself with the foregoing.

HUPO, *adj.* Haw., savage, ignorant, barbarous.

Sansk., *yup*, to confuse, to trouble.

KA, *v.* Haw., to strike, dash, radiate, overthrow, finish, to curse, be angry, to doom. Tah., *ta*, to strike, to tattoo, repeat, relate. Sam., Marqu., *ta*, id., to reprove. Fiji, *ta*, to chop, cut lightly; *ca*, evil, bad, destroyed, spoiled. This word is the root of numerous derivatives, which will be referred to as they occur. I am not aware that this root has been preserved in any of the West Aryan tongues, though its duplicated and derivative forms are abundant.

In Hawaiian *ka* is also an interjection of surprise and strong disapprobation. The Fijian *caca*, plural form of *ca*, is probably the nearest Polynesian correlative of

Greek, *κακος*, bad, evil. No etymon assigned by Liddell and Scott. In "Or. Ind.-Eur.," ii. 110, A. Pictet suggests that *κακος* is derived from Sanskrit *kak*, be unstable, vacillate, and that its primary meaning was "lâche, tremblant." But Sanskrit *kak* is probably itself a derivative or duplicated form of the original, and in the Polynesian preserved *ka*, in the sense of radiating, striking; whereas the Hawaiian *ka*, in the sense of to curse, be angry, and the Fijian *ca*, *caca*, bad; *ca-ta*, to hate, intr. *caca*, id., certainly correspond better with the Greek *κακος*.

KA'A,<sup>1</sup> *v.* Haw., to radiate, as rays of light from the sun, as cinders from a red-hot iron, to turn round, roll over, as a wheel, to pass off, away, from, to remove. Tong., *taka*, to go round, turn, roll. Sam., *ta'a*, to go at large, as animals and fish. Tah., *ta'a*, to fall, to remove; *tata*, to strike, to beat. Marqu., *tata*, to grind, triturate. Mang., *po-taka*, go round and round. Tong., Fak., N. Zeal., Tah., *takai*, *ta'au*, to bind round, to tie up; *s.* a ball. Sam., *ta'ai*, to wind round, to circle round, as smoke. Haw., *ka'ai*, to bind round, to girdle. In Tah., *ta'a* is also the chin of the face, a circular piece of wood under the rafters of a native house, separated, *i.e.*, struck off, cut off. In Haw., *ka'a* is a branch of a vine, a strand of a cord. Fiji., *qata*, surround, enclose.

Sanskrit, *kak*, be unsteady; *kaksha*, a spreading creeper, the side or flank; *kakshâ*, armpit, end of the lower garment tucked into the waistband, a girdle, enclosure; *kakshya*, a

girdle, an enclosed court, the cup of a balance; *chakra*, a wheel, a circle, a discus.

Pers., *chak*, a cart.

Greek, *κυκλος*, a ring, circle, wheel, a circular motion, a sphere, globe; *κιρκος*, a falcon or hawk that flies in circles or wheels, a circle; *κιρκωω*, to hoop round, secure with rings. Vid. Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*

Lat., *circus*, circle; *circino*, to round.

KA'A<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., also *ka'ao*, a tradition, a legend. Tah., *ta*, to repeat, relate; *ta'a-raa*, explication, separation; *ta'o*, *s.* a word, speech; *v.* to speak, address, bid, command. Tong., *ta'anga*, song, poetry. Sam., *ta*, to strike with a stick, beat as a drum, play on an instrument with the hands, to reprove, to tattoo; *ta'a-nio*, a roundabout way of speaking. Marqu., Mang., *takao*, to speak, tell, a word, information. Fiji., *tata*, speak indistinctly; *s.* an order, command. Malg., *tata*, acknowledgment, profession; *takho*, echo; *takon*, secret, mystery.

Sansk., *ḥath*, to tell, announce, declare, converse, command; *kathā*, a tale, a speech, discourse; *katth*, to boast, praise, blame.

KA'I<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to lift up the hand and carry, to lift up the foot and walk, to lead, guide, direct, bring, take in hand; *ka'i-ka'i*, to lift up, as the hands or the eyes, to take up, carry off, carry tenderly, as a child; *kaka'i*, to go in company, travel together, follow; *s.* a family, including servants, dependants, &c. Marqu., *taki*, to take, seize, remove. Fak., Tong., Mang., *taki*, to convey, bring along, lead, direct. Sam., *ta'i*, *ta'i-tai*; Tah., *ta'ita'i*, *id.* Rarot., *ta'i-ta'i*, a leader, conductor. Malg., *tak*, a gift, portion, settlement; *taten*, to bring along, apporter. Fiji., *taki-va*, carry water or food on a tray.

Sansk., *tak*, to start (Ved.); *taksh*, to slice off, cut off, prepare, form (Ved.); *takshan*, a carpenter; *dagh*, to attain (Ved.)

Greek, *τασσω*, to arrange, put in order, to form; *ταχυσ* comp. *θασσων*, sup. *ταχιστος*, quick, swift, fleet; *τικτω*, to bring into the world, to beget; *τεχνη*, art, skill, craft;

τοσσαις, Dor. aor. part. of an unknown pres., to happen, to be; τεκτων, a carpenter, craftsman; δεχομαι, to take, accept, receive.

Lat., *tango*, *tactum*, to touch, take, reach, arrive at; *tignum*, building materials; *texo*, to put together, make, frame, weave.

Goth., *tecan*, pt. t. *taitok*, to touch. Sax., *tæcan*, to take. Swed., *taga*, id. O. Norse, *tegia*, touch lightly, to tap. Sax. *teogan*, to pull, draw. Goth., *tiuhan*, pt. t. *tauħ*, to tow, pull, draw, hence to lead, to guide; *mith-gatiuhan*, carry away; *bi-tiuhan*, to lead about. Swed., *tåg*; Germ., *zug*, expedition, procession, march, passage.

For other relatives vid. s. v. ΚΑΗΑ.

ΚΑΙ<sup>2</sup>, s. Haw., sea, salt water, brine, pickle, in opp. to *wai*, or fresh water. Tah., *ta'i*, id. Sam., *tai*, the sea, the tide. Tong., *tahi*, the sea, sea-water. Marqu., *tai*, id. Fiji., *taci*, the sea. Malg., *taikh*, the sea. In the pre-Malay dialects of the Indian Archipelago this word is applied to both sea and salt, as in Ceram. (Ahtiago), *tasi*, the sea; *tai-sin*, id.; *teisim*, salt. Matabello, *tahi*, the sea. Amboyna, *tasi*, salt. Saparua, *tasi*, id. Sunda, *tjai*, *tjahi*, water.

Sanskr., *kāc*, be visible, to shine; *kācita*, resplendent; *kācin*, shining; *kāsāra*, a pond.

The formation of a word to express sea and salt from a root conveying the sense of "shining, resplendent," has strong analogies throughout the Aryan family, and is as legitimate a process, and perhaps older in conception, as the Sanskr. *mīra*, Lat. *mare*, from *mṛi*, to die; as the Lat. *vastum*, desert; Sanskr., *vasra*, death; *vasu*, dry, sterile; *vasuku* and *vacira*, sea-salt, from Sanskr. *vas* or *vast*, interficere, occidere, according to Pictet (*loc. cit.*, i. § 16). The sense of "shining, brightness," as applied to the Polynesian *taci*, *tahi*, or *ta'i*, is nearly obsolete, but lingers still in some of the composites, as in the Tah. *tai-ao*, dawn (brightness of the day or sky); as in the Marqu. *tai-tai*, proper, neat, bright; perhaps also in the Haw. *ai-ai*, bright, as moonlight, fair, white. The Sanskr.

*kāsāra*, pond, from *kaç*, to shine, is doubtless due to a similar conception, and confirms the Polynesian relation of *tai* or *kai*. In the Sunda dialect, alongside of *tjahi*, water, occurs *tjahaya*, to shine, to blink: there also the Sanskrit form and analogy of application are manifest.

KAO-KAO, *v.* Haw., be red. Root and primary meaning obsolete in Haw. Sam., *tao*, to bake. Marqu., *tao*, bake, roast, sacrifice. Tah., *tao*, baked, boiled, cooked.

Greek, *καίω*, Old Att. *καω*, to light, kindle, burn, scorch. According to Liddell and Scott, Pott refers *καίω* to Sanskrit *cush*, be dry, but Curtius rejects this.

In Dravid. (Tamil), *kay*, to be hot, burn.

KAU, *v.* Haw., to hang up, suspend, to tie or gird on, to put or place a thing, to fall upon, to put on, as a burden, to set or fix, as boundaries of a land, or a decree, to promulgate, as a law; in a neuter sense, to light down, as a bird, as a spiritual influence; *adj.* a setting of the sun, a resting, a roost for fowls; *kau-a*, to hesitate, be in doubt, suspense, to beg off; *kau-o*, to draw, as a load; morally, to endure, to incline to, to pray for some special blessing; *kau-oha*, a dying charge, bequest, covenant, commission, command; *kau-kai*, to wait for an event, to expect; *kau-kau*, to take counsel, to resolve, to chide, to reprove, to explain, make clear; *kau-la*, a rope, cord, tendon, a prophet, a seer; *kau-la-i*, to hang up, put up in the sun; *kau-lana*, fame, report, renown; *ma-kau*, be ready, prepared; *akau*, the right hand (dexter), to the right, to the north, north. In the Southern dialects we find: Tong., *tau*, to hang, overhang, impend, extend to, fit, be suitable; *ma-tau*, the right hand; *ta-tau*, equal, like (balanced); *tau-la*, a cable; *tau-ranga*, an anchoring place. Sam., *tau*, to rest on, light on, fall on; *faa-ta-tau*, to compare; *tau*, what is proper and right; *tau-au*, to tend towards, either decline or increase; *tau-me*, stretch up the hand and not reach, to desire and not obtain; *tau-i*, reward, payment, revenge; *tau-la*, an anchor, to anchor, the priest of a god; *tau-la-i*, to hang up to; *tau-langa*, a sacred offering, an anchorage; *tau-lalo*, let the



hands drop in fighting, be conquered; *tau-tau*, to hang, hang up; *ma-tau*, right-hand side, an axe; *faa-tau*, equally, alike; *v.* to buy, barter, sell; *faa-tau-oa*, a merchant. Marqu., *tau*, to carry on the back; *tau-tau*, suspended, hung up; *ta-tau*, to count, reckon; *tau-a*, a rope, a priest; *a-tau*, *ka-tau*, an anchor. N. Zeal., *tau*, besides previous meanings, to meet; *ma-tau*, expert, dexterous, shrewd, Tah., *tau*, to hang upon, an anchor; *tau-ai*, to hang up, spread out, as clothes to dry; *tau-i*, price, cost, to exchange, buy; *tau-ra*, cord, a troop, crowd, be inspired, a prophet; *tau-e*, a swing, see-saw; *tau-piri*, tail for a kite; *tau-mata*, a visor, a mask; *tau-mi*, a breastplate, plastron; *a-tau*, right hand, to the right. Fiji, *tau*, to fall, as of rain, to fall upon; *tau-ca*, to place or put down a thing; *tau-nga*, a swinging shelf. Malg., *mang-hatau*, *mana-tao*, to place, put.

Sanskrit, *kavi*, a wise man, a poet; *kāv-ya*, coming from old sages, a bard, a poem; *kavi-tā*, poetry, wisdom. Benfey refers this word to *kā*, to cry, sound. Pictet, on the other hand (*loc. cit.*, ii. 480) remarks: "D'après le Dict. de Pétersbourg, l'origine de *kavi* est probablement la même que celle de *ākūta* ou *ākūti*, intention, motif, ce qui conduirait à une racine *kā* ou *ku*, perdue en sanskrit, mais conservée dans plusieurs langues européennes avec le sens de voir, prévoir, connaître, &c. Ici, sans doute, le grec *κοεω*, *κοαω*, pour *κοφεω*, connaître, ainsi que *ἀκούω*, entendre—*ἀκοη*, audition, &c. Ensuite de latin *caveo*, prendre garde, être prudent, d'où *cautus*, *cautio*, &c.; l'anc. slave *čute*, cognoscere, *cutiē*, cognitio, *po-cuvati*, custodire, &c.; et, enfin, avec *s* prosthétique, l'ang.-sax. *scawian*; anc. all. *scawōn*, mod. *schauēn*, conspiciere, considerare, intueri, speculari, &c. La vraie signification de *kavi*, sage, prudent, et proprement voyant, explique comment ce nom, ainsi que *kavā*, est devenu en zend celui du roi, dont l'office est de prévoir, de surveiller, de diriger avec sagesse et prudence. De là *kāvya*, royal, et le persan *kay*, grand roi, héros, et noble, &c. C'est ce qui empêche de rattacher, avec Benfey (*Samav. Gl.*), *kavi* à la rac. *ku*, sonare

canere, qui expliquerait bien le sens de poète, mais non pas celui de sage et de roi.”

May not that *ku* or *kū*, “perdue en sanskrit,” be only a contracted and dialectical form of the still living Polynesian *kau*, *tau*, in its moral and secondary sense, “to be in doubt, to deliberate, to endure, to wait, take counsel, explain, a prophet, a seer, a priest?”

While thus the root, as well as the derivatives of this word, in its moral sense, have been retained and diffused throughout the Aryan family east and west, the analogies to the material and primary sense, so widely adopted in the Polynesian branch, seem to be totally wanting, or at least very deficient, in the West Aryan branches. I find, however, the following words, which may perhaps be classed in that category, and whose etymons are as yet doubtful or unsatisfactory:—

Sanskrit, *kavaka*, a mushroom; *kavacha*, mail-armour; *kavara*, a braid of hair; *kavan-dha*, *kaban-dha*, a cloud, vapour; *kaulika*, a weaver. Of the last Benfey says, “i.e., probably *kula-ika* ;” but *kula*, a herd, flock, multitude, family, conveys no idea from which the name or occupation of a weaver can be derived. The other words stand in Benfey’s Dictionary without any reference whatever.

Lat., *cautes*, a crag, peaked rock, as overhanging?

Greek, *καυκαλις*, an umbelliferous herb; *καυαξ*, *κηυξ*, a gull, a seamew; *καυκαλιας*, a kind of bird—probably both so called from the floating, suspended character of their flight.

КААА<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to cut, hew, as timber, cut open; *kahe*, cut longitudinally, to slit; *kahi*, to cut, shave, slit, comb, rub gently. These three forms doubtless proceed from the same root. Sam., *tafa*, to cut, gash, scarify; *tafi*, to brush, sweep, shave. Tah., *taha*, a side; *taha-hu*, to skim, bale, ladle; *taha-taha*, declining, as the sun, wandering, as the eye; *tahi-tahi*, to brush with the hand, weed, wipe off, separate. Marqu., *kahi-kahi*, thin, slender, mince. Fiji., *tasi*, a razor; *tasi-a*, to shave; *tava*, to cut generally;

*tavi-a*, to brush the head with the hand, to slap a thing. Malg., *katsa*, incisions; *tatatch*, scarification. Timor, *taha*, a cleaver. Ceram. (Ahtiago), *tafim*, a chopper.

Sanskr., *taksh*, to slice wood, cut to pieces, to wound, to prepare, form; *takshan*, a carpenter; *tvaksh*, to produce, to work, to pare.

Zend, *tash*, to cut, fashion, to make, smoothe.

For other relatives see s. v. KA'I, TAKI, p. 135. I therefore only refer to—

Greek, *τυκος*, a hammer or pick; *τυκωνη*, instrument for thrashing.

A.-Sax., *thixl*, *thisl*; O. H. Germ., *dishila*, *desha*, axe, adze.

Lith., *taszyti*, to cut with an axe; *taisyti*, arrange, prepare. Anc. Slav., *tesati*, to cut. Pol., *tasak*, cutlass.

It is very probable that the Polynesian N. Zeal. *toki to i*, *koi* (Sam. and Haw.), adze, hatchet, refers itself to this same family and its kindred forms expressive of the instrument of cutting.

It may be interesting to note in the development of language that the original root of this was probably subject to a twofold pronunciation, a guttural and a sibilant, of which some dialects have retained one, others the other, and some both. For instance:—Ved., *tak*; Zend, *tash*; Sanskr., *taksh*; Greek, *τασσω*, *τεραχα*; Lat., *tago*, *tactum*; Slav., *tesati*; Goth., *tekan*; Polynes., *taki*, *toki*, *tasi*, with sub-dialects *tafi*, *tahi*.

KAHA<sup>2</sup>, s. Haw., the crack, as of a whip; the report, as of a pistol. Tah., *tafa*, sonorous, loud-sounding.

Sanskr., *kac*, to sound; *kaça*, *kashá*, a whip.

KAHE, v. Haw., to run, as water, to flow, as a stream, to spill, pour out, drop, trickle. Sam., Tong., *tafe*; Tah., *tah*, id. Malg., *tazun*, run out, leak, flow.

Sanskr., *çac* (*ças*), jump, to move irregularly by leaping.

Irish, *casaim*, move about crookedly and rapidly; *cais*, a stream; *cas*, rapid, agile.

Aarmor., *kas*, quickness, speed.

To the Sanskrit *çac*, *ças*, or, as Pictet suggests, a still

older *kas*, refers the Sanskrit *çaca*, a horse, a rabbit; the O. H. Germ. *haso*, Mod. Germ. *hase*, Eng. *hare*, and Germ., Scand., Eng., *hast*, *haste*, *hasten*.

**KAHU**, *v.* Haw., to kindle or make fire, to burn, as lime in a pit, to cook, bake. Tah., *tahu*, id., to conjure, act as a sorcerer. Marqu., *tahu*, light fire, to cook. Sam., Tong., *tafu*, make up the fire; *tafu-la'i*, a large fire; *tafu-tafu*, an oven of lime. Rarot., *tau*, make fire. N. Zeal., *tahuna*, id. Fiji., *taou-na*, to broil, roast, set on fire; *tavu*, *s.* charred sticks; *tavu-cawa*, a steam-bath; *tavu-tavu*, to burn down, to clear the ground for planting; *tavu-teke*, a frying-pan. Perhaps the Malg. *tsembuk*, smoke, vapour, incense, refers itself to this family.

Sanskrit., *tap*, to warm, to heat, to burn up, consume, mortify oneself; *tapā*, heat, hot season; *tapas*, fire, penance, mortification; *tapana*, warming, tormenting, the sun.

Zend, *tap*, to become warm; *tafnu*, burning. Pers., *taftan*, to burn.

Greek, *θαπτω*, perform funeral rites. Those rites in early times were performed by burning the body and burying the ashes; hence, doubtless, the original sense of the word was to burn. *Ταφος*, funeral, place of burial; *τεφρη*, ashes. Liddell and Scott remark that *θαπτω* is a "strengthened form of a root, *ταφ*, which appears in the fut. and aor. 2 pass., and in *ταφος*." They are probably correct, and that brings the Greek more in accord with the Zend *trafnu*, the Polynes. *tafu*, and the A.-Sax. *thesian*.

Lat., *tepeo*, be warm; *tepidus*.

A. Sax., *thesian*, æstuaire.

Irish, *teboth*, heat.

Anc. Slav., *teplu*, *toply*, warm.

Scyth., *Tabiti*, the fire-goddess. Vid. Rawlinson's "Herodotus," iii. 160.

To this Polynesian *kahu*, *tafu*, refer themselves two words in a derivative sense, as a reminiscence of the times when the making and procuring fire was the greatest art discovered. One is Haw. *kahu*, *s.* an upper servant,

guardian, nurse, feeder, keeper. Marqu., *tahu*, a cook. N. Zeal., *tahu*, a husband. The other is Haw. *kahuna*, a general name of an artificer exercising some trade or profession, and in a special sense applied to the priesthood. Tah., *tahua*, an artificer, a workman; *tahu-tahu*, a class of priests, a sorcerer. Sam., *tufunga*, a carpenter, a tattoo-marker. N. Zeal., *tohunga*, a workman, artificer. Marqu., *tuhuka*, skilful, a priest. Probably also the Malg. *ampi-tahe*, a doctor, medicus.

KALA<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., only used in dupl. and comp. forms; *kalakala*, rough, sharp, scraggy, knotty, harsh; *kakala*, be rough, sharp; *s.* the breaking of the surf, the point of a needle, the spur of a cock; *hookala*, to sharpen, to whet; *fig.* to sharpen the tongue, to speak injuriously of one. Tong., *tala*, thorn; *tala-tala*, thorny, rough, prickly. N. Zeal., *tara-tara*, *id.*; *tara*, the upright poles in a fence. Tah., *tara*, thorn, sharp point, cock's spur; *to-tara*, the sea-urchin, echinus. Sam., *tala*, a thorn, the barb of a spear; *tala-tala*, prickly, rough. In all the foregoing, *tara*, *tala*, and *kala* also mean the gable end of a house. Fiji., *karo*, prickly. Matabello and Teor, *gala-gala*, a spear. Biaju, *ti-kala*, a post. Malg., *tolan*, adze, angle, fish-bone, bone.

Sanskrit., *kara*, the tip of the hand or of a ray; *karkata*, a crab; *karkara*, hard, firm, harsh, cruel; *karj*, to pain; *káraná*, torture; *kárá*, jail, prison; *khara*, solid, sharp, hoarse, *s.* an ass; *kharij*, to creak; *cháraka*, prison.

Pers., *charas*, prison, pain, torture.

Greek, *καρβος*, a beetle; *καρκινος*, a crab, a pair of tongs; *καρκαρον*, prison; *καρδος*, a thistle; *καρις*, lobster; *καρχαρος*, sharp-pointed, jagged; *χαραξ*, a pointed stake; *καρχαριος*, a shark; *χαραδρα*, a mountain torrent.

Lat., *calx*, heel; *calcar*, spur; *carcer*, prison; *cancer*, crab; *horreo*, stand on end, as hair, bristle, be rough, shiver.

A.-Sax., *hearm*, damage, injury; *harrow*, *v.* and *s.* *hallus*, rock, stone. Goth., *kara*, care, anxiety. Swed., *kärf*, rough, rude, harsh.

Anc. Slav., *karati*, to quarrel. Russ., *kara*, punishment. Lith., *kora*, id.; *kaline*, prison.

KALA<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to loosen, untie, separate from, put off, absolve, spare; *kala-i*, to hew, cut, pare, divide out, apportion. Sam., *tala*, to loosen, untie; *tatala*, id., release from contract or obligation; *tala-to*, to undo, to let go a thing; *tala-i*, to adze, chip off; *tala-ia*, be relieved, freed. N. Zeal., *tara*. Tah., *tara*, *tatara*, untie, set free; *tara-i*, to chop or adze, as a piece of timber; *tara-e-hara*, expiation, forgiveness of sin. Marqu., *taa-i*, to cut off, chop, chip; *taai-taai*, to carve. Fiji., *tala*, to send off, a messenger; *tala-voka*, a landslide. Sunda, *tulun*, to loosen, unbind. Tagal., *tolon*, to help. Malg., *hala*, take off, remove from; *mang-hala*, to steal, pillage, divest; *mang-hala-mifant*, release from an oath (= Sam., *tatala*), *mi-hala*, to leave, quit.

Sansk., *kart*, to loosen; *kartriká*, a hunter's knife; *kṛit*, to cut down, cut off, extract; *karhtarí*, scissors.

Greek, *χαλαω*, to slack, loosen, rend, let go, be indulgent, to pardon; *χαλ-ειμας*, loose-robed, ungirt, of the Bacchantes; *κλαω*, break off, break in pieces; *κλασις*, fracture. Perhaps *κειρω*, cut short, as hair, to shave, shear, cut or hew out, to ravage, pillage. This latter word Liddell and Scott refer to Sanskrit *ḥri*, to hurt, wound, be broken, while they give no etymon for *χαλαω*, nor for *κλαω*. Benfey, however, refers *κλαω* to *ḥri*. I think more probable that *κλαω* is but a contraction of *χαλαω*. To *kart* and *kṛit* Benfey refers the Lat. *culter*, Sanskr. *kartriká*, but Liddell and Scott refer *culter* to Sanskr. *ḥri*, Greek *κειρω*. The Polynesian offers an easier, and, I venture to say, an older etymon to all these varying forms, even to *ḥri*, if wanted.

Lat., *clades*, breaking, breakage, damage, loss; *classis*, a division, a class; *talea*, a cutting, branch, stake, any small piece cut off; *colo*, with perhaps a primary sense of "to break," to till, to cultivate; *culter* a ploughshare, a knife generally; *cortex*, back, rind.

Irish, *tallan*, cut off. Welsh, *toli*, separate.

Icel., *talga*, hew, chip off, smoothe. Swed., *tälja*, to cut, chip, carve. A.-Sax., *scearan*, to share, divide. In Norse and N. Engl. *scar*, a cut off, precipitous rock, retained in names of places, as “*Scar-borough*,” &c. Swed., *skär*, broken, scattered rocks off a coast.

To this Polynesian *kala*, *tala*, in the sense of separating, dividing, apportion, I think may justly be referred the Sanskrit *kalá*, a small part, a portion, a division of time, as well as *kála*, time period. Benfey refers *kalá* to *kṛi*; but the compounds *nish-kala*, undivided, and *sa-kala*, whole, as well as *kalá-pa* (vb. 2. *pá*), a bundle, totality, imply a root indicating previous separation, division, &c., rather than “making, doing, performing,” the primary sense of *kṛi*. In the Polynesian (Haw.) *kala* is also applied to time, but always accompanied with a negative, as “*aole e kala*,” not lately, some time ago, long ago; and from its conventional use it is evident that time was not its primary sense, any more than it is of the Sanskrit *kalá* or *kála*. Probably in the same way that the English *tale*, *tally*, and *score*, derived from the same root, were applied to numbers, so *kala* was applied conventionally to time, and the Haw. “*aole e kala*,” lit. “not to be scored,” while preserving the primary sense, came to signify time past and long gone. Outside of the Polynesian and Sanskrit I am not aware that this word in its application to time has any analogues in the other Aryan branches.

Another derivative, probably, is the Hawaiian *kalana*, to strain, filter, as through a cloth or the fibres of the cocoa-nut husk, to separate; s. a strainer, filter. Its correlative, I think, is the Latin *colum*, a strainer, *colo-are*, to strain, purify. Pictet (Or. Ind.-Eur., ii. 286) refers *colum* to the Sanskrit *chal*, to move, tremble, shake, and *chálani*, a sieve. Though the result may be the same, yet it seems to me that there is a great difference in the underlying sense of a “sieve,” that must be shaken, and a “strainer” or “filter,” that must be squeezed or perform their function while at rest, in order to separate the good from the worthless. The Latins—so far as my reading goes—did

not use the words *colum* and *cribrum* interchangeably. One represented one method of separation, the other another. I prefer, therefore, to ally the Latin *colum* to the Polynesian *kala* and *kalana*.

KALA<sup>3</sup>, *v.* Haw., to proclaim, cry, publish, call out, invite, send for; *ku-kala*, id.; *s.* a public crier. Tong., *tala*, to speak, tell, bid. Sam., *tala*, to tell, relate, a narrative, news; *tala-i*, to proclaim; *tala-a-lelo*, to lie; *tala-u*, to make a noise, as a number of people talking together; *tala-tala*, converse, relate; *tala-tala-o*, to cackle as a hen, to scold. Mang., *tala-u*, to call. N. Zeal., *karanga*, to call. Malg., *talakh*, *talak*, public, regard, evidence.

Greek, *καλεω*, to call, invite, invoke, to name; *κλεος*, rumour, report, fame; *καλανδρα*, a lark.

Lat., *calo*, to call, call out, convoke; *calator*, *calendæ*, *clamo*.

Icel., *tel*, to call, to name. Scand., *tala*, to speak, say, tell. Swed., *kalla*, to call, to name; *tolka*, to interpret, explain.

Sanskrit., *kal*, to sound, to count; *kala-kala*, confused noise; *kala*, dumb (Ved.), indistinct, confused, low-voiced; *kalaha*, a quarrel.

KALI, *v.* Haw., to wait, to tarry, to stay, expect, hesitate; *s.* slowness, hesitancy of speech, the edge of a board, leaf, &c.; *kakali*, to wait, be detained; *kali-kali*, to fall behind, be not quite even with something else. Sam., *tali*, to wait for, to answer, to receive, *adv.* nearly; *tatali*, to wait for. Tah., *tatari*, to wait, expect, delay. N. Zeal., *tatari*, id.

Lat., *tardus*, slow, tardy.

Germ., *harren*, to stay, wait for, delay, tarry. Swed., *dröja*, stay, tarry, stop.

I know not what Zend or Sanskrit word may be akin to Latin *tardus*, but, until a better one is found, I think myself justified in referring it to the Polynesian *kali*, *tari*. It may be noted that, according to Dr. Caldwell's Comp. Gram. Dravid. Lang., in the Tamil *tari* signifies "to remain." Have the Dravidians borrowed it from pre-



Vedic Aryans, or have the Polynesians borrowed from the Dravidians ?

KALO, s. Haw., one of the class of gods called "*Akua noho*," the fixed or stable gods ; *kalo-kalo*, to pray to the gods. Tah., *taro-faro*, id. Sam., *talo-sanga*, *talo-talonga*, a prayer, praying. Fiji., *kalo-kalo*, a star ; *kalo-u*, a god, also a falling star, which the natives take for a god. Malg., *terak-afu*, feux-follets, météores ; *terak-anru*, dawn, day-break ; *terak-hal*, twilight. This word, with the meaning of "a star," perhaps also of "sun," still survives in several of the pre-Malay dialects of Asonesia. S. Celebes (Bouton), *kati-popo*, a star. Buru (Massaratty), *tolo-ti*, id. Ceram. (Tobo), *tol*, id. Gilolo (Gani), *be-tol*, id. Matabello, *tolu*, id. Biajau, *kuli-ginta*, id. Salibabo, *alo*, the sun. Celebes (Salayer), *mata-alo*, id.

Sansk., *târa*, a star, the pupil of the eye ; *târâ*, a meteor, a shooting star, the name of deities.

Greek, *τερεα*, the heavenly constellations, signs ; *τεpas*, a sign, wonder, omen, signs in the heaven, star, meteor.

Benfey refers *târa*, a star, to an "original *stâra*, cf. 3 *stri*," and refers this 3 *stri* to "probably 2 *as* + *tri*," a shooter, from 2 *as*, to throw. Max Müller and others refer *târa* to original *stâra*, from 1 *stri*, to spread, expand, to strew. Liddell and Scott, after Curtius, refer Sanskr. *staras*, *târâ*, Zend *açtar*, *çtar*, Greek *τεπος*, *τεpas*, Lat. *astrum*, *stella*, &c., to a root *âστρ* ; but s. v. *τεπος* they seem to doubt its connection with *âστρη*, *staras*, *târâ*. Without presuming to decide between such authorities, it seems to me that the existence of the cognate Polynesian terms in *kalo*, *kali*, *terak*, *tolo*, *kuli*, as names for stars and meteors, would indicate an older and a common formation of *târâ*, *τεpas*, *τεπος*, and the Polynesian terms from some root other than the comparatively later *stri* or a supposed compound like *as* + *tri*. Whether the Polynesian, Sanskrit, and Greek forms connect themselves in preference to Sanskrit *trî* (*taritum*, inf.), to pass over, to hasten, or to *tur* (Ved.), to hasten, or to *tvar*, make haste, be swift, I leave abler men to decide, though probably all go back to

some primary form from which they diverged with different shades of meaning. The employment of the Sanskrit *tārā* as "a name of deities," and of the compound *Turā-sāh* as a name or epithet of Indra and Vishnu, brings it *en rapport* with the Polynesian *kalo*, *kalo-u*, a class of gods, a god.

The Fijian, where so much Polynesian archaic lore was deposited, seems to be, in this case, the connecting link between the Asonesian (pre-Malay) and Sanskrit primary conception of the word as a star, a meteor, now lost in Polynesia proper, and the secondary conception of it as a deity and a religious performance.

KAMA<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., first husband of a wife; *kama-i*, to play the whoremonger for hire; *kama-kama*, to practise prostitution; *hoo-kama-kama*, *s.* a prostitute; probably akin to Marqu., *kami-kami*, to desire; Fiji., *kami kami-ca*, sweet, agreeable, pleasant.

Sanskrit., *kam*, to love, to desire; *kām-ya*, agreeable; *kāma*, wish, desire, love, the god of love; *kāma-tva*, love of pleasure; *kāma-rasika*, libidinous; *kāmātman*, voluptuous, sensual; *kāmin*, desiring, having sexual intercourse, a lover; *kānti* = *kam + ti*, beauty.

Lat., *carus* = *kam-ra*, beautiful, charming; *amo*, to love; *amœnus*, agreeable (Benfey).

KAMA<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to bind, tie, make fast, tie up, as a bundle, to lead, direct; *kama-kama*, to bind, tie on. With Caus. *hov-*, to adopt as a child; "*keiki-hookama*," an adopted child. Fiji., *tama-ta*, tame, domesticated.

Connected with this probably primary sense of "to tie, fasten, connect, direct," is the Polynesian word *kama*, *tama*, as expressing a family relation, mostly that of children, sometimes of the father, as in the Sam. and Fiji. *tamā*, and Tong. *tamai*; Malg., *tamaha*, tamed, a domestic; *taman*, habitude, custom, tamed, a heifer.

Sanskrit., *dam*, to tame; *dam-ana*, subduing; *dam-pati*, master of a house. Ved., *dam*, *dama*, house, dwelling. Zend, *demāna*, house.

Greek, *δαμαζω*, *δαμαω*, to tame, break in, bring under

the yoke ; *δμως*, a slave ; *δητηρ*, a tamer ; *δαμαλης*, a subduer ; *δαμαλις*, a heifer, a girl ; *δομος*, a house ; *δομη*, a building ; *δεμω*, to build.

Lat., *domo*, to tame, subdue ; *domitus*, *dominus*, *domus*, *domicilium*.

Irish, *damh*, *daimh*, house, family ; *damh*, cattle ; *domhan*, a young bull.

Pers., *dam*, any tame beast.

Armen., *dohm*, house, family.

A.-Sax., *tam*, tame ; *tamjan*, to tame ; *team*, family, race. Goth., *ga-tamjan*, to tame ; *ga-timan*, to suit, agree with. O. H. Germ., *zamon*, to tame. Germ., *zaum*, bridle. Mod. Eng., *team*, two or more animals harnessed together. Swed., *töm*, reins to a bridle ; *tam*, tame ; *tomt*, a house, lot.

I cannot better explain the relation of the words signifying "house, family," to those signifying "to tame, to subdue," than by quoting from A. Pictet (Orig. Ind-Eur., ii. 237) :—"La racine en sanskrit est *dam*, *domitum*, *mitem esse et domare*, et le Dict. de P. voit dans *dama*, non pas la maison matérielle, mais le lieu où règne et domine le chef de la famille, ce qui résulterait d'ailleurs de l'emploi de ce mot dans les Védas. Il y est ajouté que, d'après cela, il faudrait séparer le grec *δομος* de *δεμω*, construire, ce qui semble cependant fort difficile. Le grec pourrait bien ici, comme le pense Lassen (Anthol. Sans. Gloss.), avoir conservé, mieux que le sanskrit, le sens primitif de la racine *dam*, qui doit avoir été celui de lier. Cf. *δεω*, qui serait à *δεμω*, comme le sans. *dâ*, ligare, à *dam*, et comme *gâ*, ire, à *gam*. On conçoit, en effet, que, de la notion de lier, soient venues secondairement, d'une part celle de dompter, de même que l'allemand *bandigen*, vient de *band* et de *binden*, et de l'autre celle de construire. La première est restée attachée au sanskrit *dam*, en accord avec plusieurs autres langues ariennes, grec *δαμω* (auquel on ne saurait rapporter *δομος*), lat. *domo*, cymr. *doſi*, armor. *doñva*, goth. *tamjan*, &c. ; la seconde ne s'est maintenue que dans le grec *δεμω*, car le goth. *timrjan*, *ædificare*, que l'on a

comparé, est probablement tout différent (Cf. I. i. p. 209). Si *dama* et *δομος* dérivent en réalité de *dam* dans son acception la plus ancienne, ces noms auraient désigné la maison en tant que construction dont les parties sont *liées* entr'elles, ce qui peut s'entendre à la lettre du mode tout primitif de construire avec des bois et des branches entrelacées. Dans l'état de la question, une décision finale n'est guère possible." But the preservation of the primitive sense "to bind, tie on," in the Polynesian *kama*, *tama*, may greatly aid in arriving at that "decision;" and the family relation expressed in the Polynesian *kama*, *tama*, child, children, lit. qui connexe sunt, as well as the Caus. *hoo-kama*, to adopt as a child, lit. to cause to be connected, scil. with another, clearly indicate a very ancient mode of transition of sense, which I think may be recognised also in the A.-Sax. *team*, family, progeny, a word springing, doubtless, directly from some ancient form in *tam*, with the same sense of binding, connecting, as the Polynesian *kama*, *tama*.

Apropos of this A.-Sax. *team*, it is interesting to note how, in the evolution of language, words frequently, after centuries of service in secondary and derivative senses, return gradually and imperceptibly to the primitive sense, the root idea. The English *team* no longer signifies "family, progeny, race," but two or more animals harnessed together, because of their being bound or fastened together; and the Swed. *töm*, *tömmar*, the Germ. *zaum*, reins, bridle, no longer represent their immediate ancestors, the O. H. Germ. *zâmon* and the Goth. *tamjan*, to tame, subdue, but the far older and long-disused sense of to tie, to fasten, bind, connect.

The Fijian *tama-ta*, tame, domesticated, is especially valuable as showing the transition from the primitive sense of "to tie, to bind," to the West Aryan sense of "taming, subduing," in *δαμαω*, *tamjan*, *domo*, &c.

KAMA<sup>3</sup>, *adj.* Fiji., burnt, fired; *kama-ca*, to burn, set on fire. Tah., *tama-u*, tinder on which to catch sparks of fire; *tamau-o*, keep burning, as a firebrand for the night.

Sam., *tamata*, to burn dimly, as the fire of an oven. Probably the Haw. *amau*, *amaumau*, fern, brake, used as tinder to catch the fire from the fire-sticks.

Greek, *καμινος*, oven, furnace, kiln; never an open fire.

Sansk., *tāmra*, coppery-red colour, copper; *tāmarasa*, a lotus.

Liddell and Scott suggest that *καμινος* is derived "perhaps from *καιω*, *καω*," to light, to kindle, to burn, and indicate that *καιω*, *καω*, are altered forms of *καρω*. Benfey refers *tāmra* to Sanskrit *tam*, Ved. to choke, *tamas*, darkness, gloom, night, and gives no etymon to *tāmarasa*. I think both those references are not well chosen. Liddell and Scott themselves seem to doubt the correctness of their reference. If *καρω* is an older form of *καιω*, *καω*, would not that indicate a connection with *ταφος*, *θαπτω*, Sanskr. *tap*, Zend *tafnu*, Polynes. *tafu*, *kahu*, *q. v.*? In regard to the reference of *tāmra* by Benfey from *tam* and *tamas*, it is difficult to trace the connection and transition of sense from "to choke, to be dark, be night," to the "red colour of copper" and "the lotus." I hold, therefore, that there must have been, in more ancient times, a form in *kam* or *tam* corresponding in sense to the Polynesian "to burn" or "to be of a reddish colour," like fire, with which the Sanskrit *tāmra* and *tāmarasa* are connected, lost in Sanskrit but preserved in Polynesian.

KAMAA, s. Haw., shoes, sandals, any covering for the feet, made of kapa-cloth, rushes, or other materials, when travelling over scoria or other rough ground. Tah., *tamaa*, id. Rarot., *tamaka*, id.

Illyr., *zamaa*, boots. According to Pictet (*loc. cit.*, ii. 302), derived from the Persian *sham*, *shamam*, *shamal*, id. But what is the ancient form and the ancient meaning of the Persian; and why should the Illyrians have borrowed from the Persians? May not the Siapôsh *kamis*, cloth, stuff, Old Irish *caimmse*, covering, garment, Welsh *camse*, chemise, suggest an older form and an older sense, and thus lead back to the Polynesian *kama*, to tie up, bind on

(*vide supra*), in the same way that the Sanskrit *upā-nah* leads back to a similar meaning—"what is tied under," scil. the foot?

A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, p. 300), speaking of the Siapôsh *kamis*, says: "Ce terme intéressant offre une preuve nouvelle de l'origine orientale de l'anc. irl. *caimmse*, vestis, cymr. *camse*, chemise, corn. *kams*, surplis, armor. *kamps*, aube, d'où Zeuss fait provenir le bas-latin *camisia*, &c. (Gr. Celt. 749). Cf. ags. *comes*, du celtique ou du latin, et, pour les langues néo-latines, Diez, Roman. Spr. V. cit. L'arabe *gamie*, vêtement de dessous, qui n'a pas d'étymologie sémitique, paraît à Diez importé d'Europe, mais il pourrait l'être de la perse, si le mot Siapôsh venait à se retrouver dans les langues iraniennes. On a comparé, non sans raison peut-être, quant à la racine, le goth. *hamôn*, vetir, ags. *hama*, *homa*, peau, chemise, scand. *hamr*, *hams*, peau, anc. all. *hemithe*, *hemidi*, chemise, &c., mais les corrélatifs orientaux manquent jusqu'à présent." The Polynesian offers those "correlatives."

KAMALA, s. Haw., a booth, temporary house or shed; v. to thatch with uhi-leaves for a temporary house; *adj.* temporary, as such thatching or covering. Perhaps Malg., *tamanga*, tomb.

Sansk. *kmar*, to be crooked. Perhaps also *kamatha*, a tortoise, whose relation to *kam* (to love), under which it is placed in Benfey's Sansk.-Eng. Dict., is certainly not very apparent, but which might be related to *kmar* on account of its "crooked" and vaulted back.

Zend, *kamere*, vault. Persian, *kamar*, id. Armen., *gamar*, id.

Greek, *καμαρα*, anything with an arched cover, a vaulted chamber, a covered carriage or boat; *καμαρωσις*, vaulting, arching over; *καμαρος* or *καμμαρος*, a kind of crab or lobster.

Lat., *camera*, a vault, an arched roof or ceiling.

KANA, s. Haw., only used in compounds. A prefix to numerals indicating a multiplier by ten, as *kana-kolu*, *kana-ha*, *kana-lima*, &c., ten times 3, 4, 5, *i.e.*, 30, 40, 50,

&c. Its original meaning was doubtless equivalent to a score, a tally, a total, a given conventional amount. In view of the Fijian *canga*, a span, the stretch of the fingers, I have no doubt that it is but a dialectical variation of *kano*, the bones of the fore-arm, a cubit measure, *q. v.* If so, a remarkable instance of early idiomatic affinity between the West Aryan and the Polynesian presents itself in the Haw. *kana-lua*, doubt, uncertainty, hesitation, lit. "two measures, two scores, two hands;" for the Lat. *dubius*, *dubito*, the Sax. *tweon*, *tweogan*, Goth. *tweifs*, the Germ. *zweifeln*, the Swed. *twifla*, bespeak the same origin in mode of thought and expression.

Liddell and Scott, *s. v.* *ἑκατον*, one hundred, "often loosely for very many," refer it to Sanskrit *catas*, which they say "is a link between *ἑκατον* and *centum*." But *cata*, like *daça*, must originally have been but a conventional word to express a more or less definite number, having a previous meaning of its own, now perhaps lost, or at least doubtful. The presence of the *n* in the Latin *centum* and the Gothic *hund* are as likely to indicate the earlier form of this word as its absence in *ἑκατον* and *cata*. Granted that both are dialectical variants of an older form, are there any traces still to be found in the West Aryan branches that might lead us to the primary meaning of that older form before it settled down into the conventional signification of one hundred? Such meaning almost certainly was connected with the conception of a "hand-full," "an arm-full," a "capacity to hold or contain a certain quantity," or with the conception of "plenty, abundance," suggested by some natural object. Let it be borne in mind that the Sanskrit does not always convey the oldest form of a given word. The other West Aryan branches contain more or less vocables of older date and form than their relatives met with in the Sanskrit. Hence it is often difficult to decide whether such or such a word has retained its original, or at least most ancient, form, or been strengthened by subsequent addition or weakened by elision; as in this word now

under consideration. Was *n* in *centum* a subsequent strengthening of an original or more ancient form, or was its absence in *çatau* a weakening of the older form? In the Gothic and its congeners we find *hund*, hundred; *hinthan*, pft. *hanth*, pp. *hunthans*, to catch with the hand; *handus*, the hand; *hunths*, captivity; *hansa*, a company, a multitude, perhaps originally "a hand-full." Sax., *hund*, hundred; *hond*, *hand*, hand; *hentan*, to seize, take. Perhaps the German *ganz*, entire, all, total, full; Welsh, *cant*, a hundred, a complete circle, a hoop, a wheel. In Greek, *κοντα* in *τριακοντα*, *τεσσαρακοντα*, thirty, forty, &c., seems to be a multiplier by ten like the Polynesian *kana*, and was doubtless as old as *çata*, *centum*, or *hund*. In "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," ii. 570, this subject is fairly treated, though I must differ from Mr. Pictet as to the derivation of the different forms—*çat*, *çan*, *κατο*, *κοντα*, *çem*, *cent*, &c.—to which he refers. He traces them to Sanskrit "*çam*, de *kam*, d'où dérive un nom de la main *çama*, pour *kama*. Au transitif au causatif *çamay*, cette racine signifie sedare, quietare, et *çama* désigne la main qui apaise en caressant. . . . Le sens primitif semble avoir été celui de passer doucement la main sur quelque chose." I do not think it correct to derive the name of the agent from the act, in every instance at least, and especially in this. The ancient Aryans undoubtedly had some primary word or words wherewith to designate hand, foot, &c., without reference to what particular and varying uses these earliest objects of man's knowledge and consciousness may be put. I hold, therefore, that some primary word, common to the entire Aryan family in its earlier days, and with a general well-defined sense of "the hand," underlies the formation of such numerals as the Sanskr. *da-çan*, the Goth. *tai-hun*, *te-hund*, *ti-gus*, *ti-guns*, the Lat. *-ginti*, *-ginta*, in *vi-ginti*, *tri-ginta*, &c., the Greek *-κοντα* in *τρια-κοντα*, &c., the Javan. (Basa Krima) *gan-sal* (5), the Sunda *gan-ap* (6), the Sulu Isl. *gane* (6), the Polynes. Haw. *kana* (10). That primary word with its primary sense nearly intact I find in the Malg. *tang*, *tangh*, hand, arm, claw, paw



wing; Iawau. and Malay., *tangan*, hand; *tangkap*, to grasp, to catch with the hand; Mysol., *kanin*, hand; *kanin-pap*, foot; Fiji., *canga*, the stretch of the fingers, a span; Sam., *tenga*, upper part of the arm, also the thigh; *tango*, to touch, take hold, to feel; Haw., *kano*, the two bones of the lower arm, a cubit in measure, the handle of an axe, shovel, &c.; Marqu., *tano*, to catch, grasp; N. Zeal., *tango*, take in the hand; Timor Laut., *tanu-var*, fore-arm; Deriv. Greek, *χαρδανω*, to take in, hold, contain; Lat., *hendo* in *pre-hendo*, to catch, grasp.

KANA<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., the outside of the neck; *kani-ai*, the throat, the windpipe, the Adam's apple. Sam., *tanga'ai*, the crop of a bird, the stomach. Fiji., *tanga*, a bag, pocket; *tanganga*, the neck, the head of a mast.

Sanskrit., *kánana*, the throat; *kandhara*, the neck.

KANA<sup>3</sup>, *v.* Haw., to see, appear, get sight of. Sam., *tanga'i*, to look-out for; *tanga-tangai*, to look about, to look-out for. Probably related to this is the Polynesian *Kane*, *Tane*, the name of one of the oldest of their gods, the *deus deorum* among those tribes who retained his worship. From numerous prayers, legends, chants, and astronomical applications of the name, it is evident that it primarily represented a lingering reminiscence of planet-worship, and was a synonym for sunlight, the opposite to darkness and its associate ideas.

Sanskrit., *kan*, to shine; *kanaka*, gold; *chand*, to shine; *chandana*, sandalwood, saffron, the moon; *chandra*, the moon.

Lat., *canus*, bright, clear, white, grey; *candeo*, be shining white; *caneo*, be white or grey; *candela*, a wax-taper, candle; *accendo*, set on fire, light up; *scintilla*, a spark.

Greek, *ξανθος*, golden yellow, bright yellow. Liddell and Scott say it is akin to *ξουθος*, tawny, yellowish, and derive this from *ξεω*, *ξυω*, to plane, smoothe, polish, scrape. Scraping, polishing, may produce a "shining" surface, but why that sheen should necessarily be of a yellow or golden colour, more than of green, blue, or black, I fail to see.

Benfey refers both ξανθος and ξουθος to *chand*, to shine; σπινθηρ, a spark.

Welsh, *can* or *cain*, bright, fair, white. Irish, *cann*, full moon.

To the same family of words and their etymon doubtless refer themselves the Greek *Zav*, the Latin *Janus*. *Zav* was the older, the Doric appellation of *Zeus*, and Italy knew no older god than *Janus*. On Cretan coins *Zav* was written *Tav* (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*)

KANAKA, *s.* Haw., man, human, mankind, a common man in distinction from chiefs. Sam., N. Zeal., Tong., *tangata*, id. Tah., *taata*, id. Marqu., *enata*, *enana*, id. Malg., *zanak*, *zanaka*, children, offspring. Javan., Sunda, Malay., S. Celebes, Sanguir, *anak*, child. Matabello, *enena*, id. Sula Isl., *ninana*, id. Bouton (Celebes), *oanana*, id.

Sanskrit., *janatā*, mankind; *janaka*, a father, a producer; *janana*, id.; *jana*, creature, mankind collectively, and individually a person; *jantu*, a creature, a man, from *v. jan*, to bring forth, produce, be born, to grow.

Zend, *zan*, nasci, oriri; *zantu*, a tribe.

Lat., *genus*, *gens*, *gigno*, old form *geno*, &c.

Greek, γένος, race, stock, family, offspring; γιγνομαι, γενεσις, γονη, &c.

A.-Sax., *cyn*, race, stock. Goth., *kuni*, sex. Swed., *kön*, id. O. H. Germ. *kind*, child; *kuning*, king.

To the Sanskrit *janaka* Benfey refers the Greek ἀναξ, in Homer *Favaξ*, lord, master. Liddell and Scott give no etymon to ἀναξ.

KANA-LOA. Haw., one of the ancient gods from the time of chaos; in most of the Southern Polynesian groups considered and worshipped as the creator of the world, and superior to other gods; in Hawaiian mythology sometimes, though rarely, considered the equal of *Kane*, *Ku*, and *Lono*, but in the older legends referred to as god of the infernal regions, sometimes distinct from, sometimes the same as, Milu. Sam., N. Zeal., *Tangaloa*; Tong. *Tanaloa*; Marqu., *Tanaoa*; Tah., *Taaroa*. It is a compound word—*Tana* and *loa*, “the great, large Tana.” In,

a Marquesan legend of the creation it is said that before light (*Atea*) and sound (*Ono*) were evolved or stepped forth from the primeval night, chaos (*Po*), *Tanaoa*, and *Mutuhei*—which are explained to mean “darkness” and “silence”—ruled supreme. So far as I know, but one Polynesian word is now current signifying “darkness” or its cor-relatives, that may be considered akin to *tana*, and that is the Marquesan *tano*, *tanzo*, *tako*, “shade, shadowy, obscure.” It was a tabu word, and, as such in many other instances, fell out of use and became obsolete for common uses in the vernacular. In the West Aryan branches this word is not frequent. I find, however, Latin *tenebræ*, darkness, gloom, a composite word like *fune-bris*, *lugu-bris*, &c. Benfey refers *tenebræ* to the Sanskrit *tamas*, darkness, gloom, and also the Anglo-Saxon *dun*, *thystre*. I think the Saxon *dunn*, a dark, black-brown colour, the English *tan*, *tawney*, the Swedish *dunkel*, gloomy, dark, *dåna*, to faint, swoon, *dån-ögd*, dim-eyed, ally themselves to the Latin and Polynesian group.

KANE, *s.* Haw., a man, a male, a husband; S. Polyn. ubique, *tane*, id. Refers doubtless to the same root as *kanaka*, viz., the Sanskrit *jan* or the Zend *zan*, vid. p. 154. It was held by some of the Hawaiian priesthood that man was called *kane*, after his maker, the god *Kane*; but that is apparently a priestly gloss in comparatively later heathen times.

KANI, *v.* Haw., to make a noise, to hum, sound, cry, to strike, as a clock, to rumble, as thunder, to squeak, as shoes, to crow, as a cock; *s.* a singing, ringing sound, with numerous compounds. Tah., *ta'i*, to cry, to lament, to sound as an instrument. N. Zeal., Tong., Sam., *tangi*, to cry, to weep, to chirp, to roar, to sing. Marqu., *tangi*, *taki*, make noise, hum, sound, howl. Fiji., *tangi*, cry, weep, lament, to sing as birds.

Sanskrit., *tan* 2 (Ved.), to sound; *tāna*, a musical tone; *tāntra*, instrumental music; *stan*, to sound, sigh, thunder; *stanana*, groaning. Benfey refers Sanskrit *tan* to *stan*, as being “akin,” and refers the Latin *tono* and the A.-Sax

*thunor* to both. Liddell and Scott, following Curtius, refer *tono* and A.-Sax. *thunjan* to the Greek *τεινω* and Sanskrit *tan* 1, to draw, to spread. In view of the Polynesian affinities, I prefer to follow Benfey, and, considering *s* in *stan* as a prosthetic merely, I would refer *tono*, *tonitru*, and *thunjan*, *thunor*, to *tan* 2, and to the Polynesian *tangi*, *kani*. Also,

Icel., *stynja*, to sigh, groan; Germ., *stöhnen*, id., *donner*, thunder.

Greek, *στενω*, to groan, lament.

Lat., *cano*, to sing, cry, sound; *tono*, to thunder, and their derivatives.

Welsh, *can*, a song; *canu*, to sing; Armor., *cana*, *canein*, id.

KANU, *v.* Haw., to cover up in the earth, to plant, to bury, as a corpse. Sam., N. Zeal., Tah., S. Polyn. *ubique*, *tanu*, id. Javan. and Malay., *tanam*, to bury; *tanaman*, to plant.

Sansk., *khan*, to dig, pierce, inter.; *khani*, a mine; *khanaka*, a digger; *khanitra*, a spade.

Pers. *kandan*, to dig; *kân*, excavation. Armor., *kân*, canal, tube, valley.

Lat., *canalis*, groove, gutter.

KAPA<sup>1</sup>, *adj.* Haw., rustling, rattling; *s.* cloth made of bark, cloth of any kind. Sam., *tapa*, to beckon with the hand, to demand; *s.* the white border of a siapo; *tapa-au*, mat made of cocoa-nut leaf. Tong., *tapa*, id.; *kapa-kapa*, to flap with a noise as wings of birds. Marqu., *tapa*, bark cloth. Tah., *tapa-ie*, envelop in leaves; *apa*, the lining of a garment; *apa-a*, thick cloth made by men, not by the women; *'apa'apa*, to flap as a sail or the wings of a bird. Fiji., *kava*, a roll of sinnet; *kaba*, to climb. Motu (N. Guinea), *kava*, bark girdle for men. Biaju, *tepoh*, a mat. Salayer (Celebes), *tupur*, id. Malag., *komba*, a monkey. Kawi, *kapala*, a horse.

Sansk., *kamp*, to move to and fro, to tremble; *chapala* ("i.e., *kamp-ala*," Benfey), trembling, unsteady, giddy; *châpala*, quickness; *kapi* ("i.e., *kamp-i*," Benfey), a monkey. Perhaps *kambala*, a woollen blanket.

Greek, *καμπη*, bending, winding, as a river, turn, trick, sudden change.

A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., i. 347-348) derives the Greek *καβαλλης*, a nag, and other kindred West Aryan forms for horse and its varieties, as well as *καπρος*, a wild boar, and *caper*, a buck, from the Kawi or obsolete Sanskrit application of the original sense, "to tremble, rustle, flap," found in the Sanskrit *kap*, *kamp*, and the Polynesian *kapa*, *tapa*.

ΚΑΡΑ<sup>2</sup>, s. Haw., a bank, shore, side, as of a river, lake, wood, or the like. Rarot., *tapa*, id. Tah., *apa'apa*, one side of a thing when divided, the side of a house. Sam., *tafa*, the side of a hill; *v.* to turn on one side; *tafa-fa*, four-sided; *tafatafa*, the side; *tafa-tasi*, one-sided; *tafa-to*, perpendicular, steep as seen from above; *tafa-tu*, id., as seen from below. Marqu., *tapa-hai*, coral; *kapa-i*, on the side of the sea. Fiji., *taba*, wing, shoulder, branch, one side. Malg., *taf*, *tafo*, the roof of a house; *tambon*, above.

Welsh, *tab*, *tav*, an extended surface, a spread; *tob*, *top*, top, crest; *cop*, summit. Irish, *capat*, head. Armor., *kab*, id.

Lat., *tabula*, board, plank, table; *caput*, head.

Sansk., *kapala*, skull, head, either half of an egg; *kapola*, cheek, the temples of the head. Pers., *kabah*, elevation, eminence; *tabrak*, *tabák*, table, flat.

Greek, *κεφαλη*, head, top, upper end.

Goth., *haubith*, head. Sax., *heafod*, id.; *hafala*, *hafula*, head, casque. Anc. Germ., *haupit*, head; *hufela*, the temples. Germ., *kopf*, head.

A. Pictet (*loc. cit.*, ii. 273) refers the Persian *tabrak* and the Latin *tabula* to Sanskrit *sthá*, or perhaps *stabh*, *tabula*, for *stabula*, and (i. 308) he says, speaking of the Sanskrit *kapala* and its West Aryan relations:—"J'y trouve un composé de *pála*, protecteur, avec l'interrogatif *ka*, dans le sens laudatif. Quel (bon) protecteur! on ne saurait mieux caractériser le rôle naturel du crâne. Or *kapât* et *kapá* ou *kapa* auraient la même signification; car *pât*, *pá*, *pa*, à la fin des composés, sont synonymes de *pála*, et dérivent également de la racine *pá*, tueri."

Under correction, the "quel bon protecteur" of Mr. Pictet appears to me a singular and fatal misnomer of the most prominent and most exposed part of the body. The original meaning of the Polynesian word was probably something raised, spread out, obtruding, projecting, beyond or above the common level of things. Hence such compound words in the Polynesian as *kapa-au*, Haw., the raised place in the Heiau (temple), where the image of the god stood and offerings were laid; 'apa-'au, Sam., a wing; 'apa-'apa, the fin of a fish; *apa-ta*, to clap the wings. The West Aryan forms: Lat., *cap-ut*, *cap-pilus* (*capillus*); the Irish *cap-at*, alongside of *ceap* and *cap*; the double forms in the Goth. and Sax., *haub-ith*, *heaf-od*, and *hafa-la*, *hofu-la*, seem to indicate a different composition and root for themselves, as well as the Sanskrit and Greek, than what Mr. Pictet offers. And the probable primary sense of "elevation, eminence," in the root-word has survived in the Persian *kabah*, the Armorican *kab*, the Welsh *tob* or *top*.

KAPU, *v.* Haw., to set apart, restrict, prohibit, interdict, make sacred. S. Polynes., ubiquitous, *tapu*, id. Fiji., *tabu*, *tambu*, id. Sumatra (Pessumah), *dempu*, sacred. Tagal, *cabunian*, *cambunian*, general name for god, divinity, sacred, holy.

I am not aware of any West Aryan word that can be positively classified as akin to the Polynesian *kapu* or *tabu*. In the Cingalese, however, where so many old and obsolete Sanskrit words have been preserved, I find the word *kapu* as the name of a scarlet string tied round the arm or wrist, to indicate that the wearer is engaged in a sacred cause and will not be interrupted. I note the coincidence, but I leave to abler philologists to trace out the relation, if any. In so doing, it may be well to bear in mind that one of Siva's names is *Çambhu*, which Benfey derives from *çam* and *bhā* (a happy being), but which derivation may admit of question in view of the Tagal, Sumatra, and Fijian forms of the word, where doubtless the primary sense of the word is "to restrict, prohibit, interdict," as it is in the

Polynesian. In Tahitian the rainbow is called *tapu-tea*; in Samoan the evening-star is called *tapu-i-tea*.

KEA, *adj.* Haw., also *keo*, *keo-keo*, white, lucid, clear; *a-kea*, openly, public; *au-akea*, at noon, midday. Sam., *tea-tea-vale*, be pale; *ao-atea*, forenoon; *atea-tea*, wide, spacious. Tah., *tea*, white; *teo-teo*, pride, haughtiness; *atea*, clear, distinct, far off. Marqu., *tea*, *atea*, white, broad daylight, also name of the principal god; light generally, as opposed to darkness. Fiji., *cea-cea*, pale, deathlike; *cecea*, daybreak, light of morning. Malg., *tziok*, brilliant, snow-white. Ceram. (Mahai), *teen*, a star.

Greek, *θεος*, m. *θεα*, f. god, goddess, divinity generally. In Greek, *θεος* signified no god in particular, but was applied to almost all the gods, though perhaps more often to the sun. As the first gods were the sun, moon, &c., their brilliancy and whiteness were the underlying sense of the names given them. That primary sense was apparently lost in the Greek and the other West Aryan branches, though in the Polynesian both the primary and derivative sense has been preserved, as in the Marqu. *atea*, both god and light, in the Tah. *tapu-tea*, the rainbow, and the Sam. *tapu-i-tea*, the evening star, mentioned in previous article.

Liddell and Scott give no root nor reference to *θεος*.

KE'E, *v.* Haw., to bend, crook, oppose; *keke'e* and *ke'eke'e*, id., also to strive, contend, obstruct; *hau-keke*, shivering with cold. Sam., *tete*, to shake, quake, as with fear or cold; *tete-e*, to refuse, reject, oppose; *faa-tetetete*, to quaver, as the voice; *tete-mu*, to tremble; *nga-tete*, tremble, be troubled. Haw., *na-keke*, move back and forth, to rattle, shake to and fro. Fiji., *keke*, be pained in the back, go stooping. Malg., *tetez*, a bridge.

In Sanskrit two forms present themselves, either or both of which I refer to the Polynesian. Benfey gives them in his Dictionary, but without root or reference: (1.) *cheta*, slave, servant; *chit*, to send off; (2.) *cik-ya*, the string suspended from either end of a pole to receive burdens, the strings of a balance.

Lat., *catena*, chain, fetter.

Germ., *kette*, chain.

**KELA**, *v.* Haw., to exceed, go beyond, project, be more ; *kele*, *v.* to slip, slide, glide, sail out to sea ; *kele-kele*, to sail about, to ride the surf in a canoe. Tah., *tere*, spread out, extend, advance, sail, slide. Sam., *tele*, large, great ; *tele-a'i*, run quickly ; *tele-tele*, to step out, be quick ; *fa'a-tele*, to enlarge, increase. Marqu., *tee*, to be off, depart. Rarot., *tele*, a fleet of canoes. Fiji., *cere*, *cecere*, high, hight ; *vaka-cere-a*, to lift up, make high. From the Haw. *kela* comes the intensitive *kela-kela*, to boast, brag, enlarge one's desires. From the Sam. *tele*, the intensitive *fa'a-teletele-ai*, be oppressive, overbearing. Malg., *tera*, proud, haughty = Sam., *tela-tela*, bad-tempered.

Lat., *cello*, obsolete root of *ex-cello*, to surpass, exceed ; *celsus*, high, lofty ; *culmen*, summit ; *celer*, swift ; *celox*, a light swift vessel ; *pro-cello*, throw down, cast away ; *pro-cul*, afar off, away from. Probably *pro-cerus*, long, high, tall ;<sup>1</sup> *pro-ceres*, nobles, leading men, chiefs.

Greek, *κελλω*, to drive on, to urge on, to run a ship ashore ; *κελομαι*, to urge on, exhort ; *κελης*, a courser, a light vessel.

Sanskr., Liddell and Scott and Benfey refer the Latin *cello*, *celer*, *celox*, and the Greek *κελλω*, *κελης*, to a root *kal*, to impel, to drive ("akin to *krî*," Benfey), to pour out, to cast ; *kali*, a die.

O. H. Germ., *halôn*, *holên*, to haul, to drag with force (Benfey).

Though the Polynesian forms in *tere*, *tera*, *kele*, *kela*, may be akin to the Sanskrit *kal*, yet I think them closer allied to the Sanskrit *tri*, to pass over, beyond, to hasten, accomplish, conquer, with its numerous and varied kindred in the West Aryan dialects.

Dr. Caldwell (Dravid. Gram., p. 480) suggests that the Greek *κελλω*, *κελης*, are related to the Sanskrit *sel*, *cel*, to

<sup>1</sup> Benfey refers *pro-cerus* to Sanskrit *krî*, to pour out, to cast, to cover. I fail to see the connection in sense ; at least the Polynesian offers a better.



go, to move, and its affinity to the Drav. (Tamil) *sel*, to go, to proceed. I note the suggestion, but, in view of the formation of the West Aryan comparatives, prefer to connect *kela*, *kele*, *tere*, with the Sanskrit *tri*.

KELE, *s.* Haw., mud, mire, fat of animals, grease. Tong., *kele*, earth, mould, mud. Fiji., *qele*, earth, soil. (Vid. 'ELE, p. 64.) Sunda and Malay., *gala-gala*, tar, pitch.

Greek, *κηρος*, beeswax, mixture, impurity; *κεραω*, to mix; *κεραμος*, potter's earth, clay; *κηρ*, corruption, decay, death, goddess of death or doom; *κηρα μελαιναν*, Il. v. 22; *τελμα*, standing water, pool, pond, the mud of a swamp, mud for building, mortar; *τελμις*, mud, slime; Liddell and Scott give no etymon; *κηλις*, stain, spot, defilement; *κελαινος*, black, swarthy.

Sanskrit., *kāla*, dark blue, black; *kalanka*, rust, iron rust, a spot; *kalusha*, turbid, impure, dirt; *kalmasha*, dirt, sediment, a spot.

Lat., *caligo*, vapour, mist, fog, obscurity; *cera*, wax; *squalor*, dirtiness, filth (Liddell and Scott after Curtius).

Sax., *keld*, a spring, fountain, stagnant oily water in still places of lakes or rivers; *tare*, *tyr*, *tar*. O. Norse, *kelda*, wet, marshy place. Swed., *kan*, id.; *tjara*, tar.

KENA, *s.* Obsolete in Polynesia except in the Paumotu group, where we find *tena*, signifying land, district. The two divisions of the island Mature-wa-wao are called *tena-raro* and *tena-runga* = the leeward and windward district. It is possibly akin to the Tongan *tonga*, plantation, property, and Samoan *tonga*, a grove, a plantation. N. Zeal., *taonga*. Tah., *taoa*, property, possessions. Malg., *tan*, land, country, district; *tane*, id.; *tana-a*, a village; *tong-tonh*, place, residence. Sunda, *taneh*, land. Mal., *tanah*, id.

Greek, *χθων*, the earth, the ground, especially the level surface of it, gen. *χθονος*; *θις*, *θιυ*, *θην*, a heap, beach, sea-shore, deposit of sea or rivers. Liddell and Scott refer *χθων* to *χαμαι*, with *θ* inserted, analogy *χθαμαλος*, on the ground, low, and they refer *θιυ*, *θην* to the same root as the Germ. *dünen*, Engl. *downs*.

Irish, *tan*, region, country, territory; *tanaiste*, a chief possessor of land.

Icel., *tuna*, a town, village; *tana*, a cave, hollow place, valley. Sax., *tun*, garden, enclosure, village; *dun*, a sandy, barren tract.

KI, *v.* Haw., to squirt water, as with a syringe, to blow from the mouth, to sift, strain, make fine by separating the coarse. Tong., *ki*, to throw, toss, cast off. Deriv. Haw., *ki-i*, to go after a thing, to bring, to fetch. Tah., *ti-i*, id. N. Zeal., Rarot., Mang., *tiki*, to fetch, to go for, to seek. Haw., *ki-ai*, to watch over, to guard. N. Zeal., Rarot., Marqu., *tiaki*, id. Tah., *ti-ai*, wait, keep watch; *ti-ahi*, expel, drive away. Tong., *ti-aki*. Sam., *ti-ai*, throw away, reject, separate. Haw., *ki-ee*, *ki-ei*, look into, scrutinise, peep at, to watch. Tah., *ti-ei*, to reach over and look, to turn the head to look; *ti-o-mata*, to stare, gaze at; *ti-ao*, to search, seek out. Tong., *ki-o*, to stare, look, peep; *ki-ata*, looking-glass, mirror. Sam., *ti-o*, sharp-looking, of the eyes; *ti-o-ata*, a glass. Haw., *ki-u*, to spy. Sunda, *ti-angan*, to seek.

The Polynesian root *ki* or *ti* alone retains the primary, material sense of "sifting, straining, separating," which apparently has been lost in the

Sansk. (Ved.), *ki*, to know; *chi* 2 (Benfey), to search; *chit*, to perceive, and their West Aryan kindred,  $\tau\omega$ ,  $\tau\omega\omega$ ,  $\tau\mu\eta$ , *timeo*, &c.

KIA, *s.* Haw., pillar or inner post of a house supporting the roof, any kind of pillar or post, a mast of a vessel; *kia-aina*, a supporter of the land, a governor of a province. Marqu., *tia*, id. Sam., *ti'a*, the stick used in *tanga-tia*, a man's head (abusively); *tia-pula*, taro-tops cut off for planting. Sunda, *tihang*. Mal., *tiang*, a pillar.

Greek,  $\kappa\iota\omega\nu$ , a pillar, support of the roof, the identical sense of the Polynesian usage of the word. Liddell and Scott give no etymology or connections of  $\kappa\iota\omega\nu$ .

KIHEI, *s.* Haw., a loose garment, mantle thrown over the shoulders, wrapper, coverlet. Marqu., *tifa*, *tiha*, to close together, a covering. Tah., *tifa*, to join together,

dovetail; *tifa-i*, a patch, to patch, mend; *tihī*, a sort of petticoat, a large quantity of cloth wrapped round the waist; *tihī-ura*, a native shawl with stained borders. Sam., *tifī*, to adorn.

Sansk., *chīv*, *chīb*, or *chīy*, to cover; *chī-vara*, the tattered dress of a mendicant.

KIKO, *v.* Haw., to reach after, pluck, peck, break the shell as chickens in hatching; to mark; *s.* a dot or point, marks made in tattooing; *adj.* spotted, speckled, striped; *kiko-kiko*, to nibble as fish. Tah., *tito*, to peck as a fowl, to fight as cocks, go softly on tip-toe as a thief. Marqu., *tito* and *tito-tito*, to dart, fall headlong, peck, nibble. Sam., *tito*, *id.* Sanskr., *tij*, be sharp (Ved.); *caus.* to sharpen, stir up; *tīkshṇa*, sharp, hot, energetic.

Greek, *κιχημι*, *κιχανω*, to reach, hit, or light upon; *κικω*, *ἐκιξα*, cause to go away, shake or blow off; *κικυσ*, strength, vigour; *κικκος*, a cock; *στιζω* (*s.* prosth.), to mark with a pointed instrument, to prick; *στικτος*, pricked, punctured; *στιγμα*, &c.

Lat., *-stinguo*, *-stinctus*, *-sti(g)mulus*, *stilus*, *in-stigo*, *et al.*; perhaps *cica-trix*, scar, mark of a wound.

Goth., *stiggan*, *stikan*, to sting, stick, prick; *stiks*, a point, a moment (of time). Probably Engl. *tick*, to beat, as a watch, to beat, pat, *tickle*.

Welsh, *ys-tigaw*, to stick, prick, mark.

KILA, *adj.* Haw., strong, stout, able; *lana-kila*, *id.*, victorious; *kila-kila*, *id.*, an expression of admiration, equivalent to "long may it flourish," "long live the king." Tah., *tira*, the mast of a vessel, a pole stuck up in the Marae; *tira-tira*, to put up a high house, to invest a person with authority; *raa-tira*, an inferior chief, a freeholder. Sam., *tila*, sprit of a sail, mast of a vessel; *ma-tila*, a fishing-rod. N. Zeal., *ranga-tira*, a chief. Fiji., *kila*, wild, as animals.

Sansk., *kīla*, a stake, a pillar; *Kīla-kīla*, a name of Siwa, a cry expressing joy. Benfey, Sansk.-Engl. Dict., refers *çiras*, head, top of mountain or tree, a chief, to an original *çaras*; cf. Zend. *çara* and *çârsha*. It seems to me

that because *çara* and *çırsha* are synonyms in the Zend, it does not necessarily follow that *çırsha* in Zend or *çiras* in Sanskrit are weakened forms of *çara* or *çaras*.

KIMU, *v.* Obsolete in Haw.; in Sam. *timu*, rain; *v.* to rain; *timunga*, great continued rain. Tah., *timutimu*, also *timatima*, be lost in obscurity, obscured by distance. Marqu., *kimi*, to pour out, spill, shed.

Sansk., *tim*, *tīm*, *stim*, be wet; *timita*, *stimita*, wet, benumbed; *s.* moisture; *timira*, dark, darkness. Benfey considers the latter as akin to *tamas*, perhaps for original *tam* + *ira*. I think not, in view of the Polynesian, which has so well preserved the connection between rain and obscurity, the latter so frequently being a result of the former.

KINA<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., blemish, sin, error, any untoward or troublesome event. Sam., Fak., *tinga*, *s.* pain, trouble, distress; *v.* to be in pain or distress.

Sansk., *kīndāca*, a poor labourer, a poor man.

In the Greek I find a number of composite words whose first constituent would seem to indicate a relation, from early times, with the Polynesian; *e.g.*, *κίνα-βευμα*, a knavish trick; *κίνα-βρα*, the rank smell of a he-goat; *κίνα-δος*, a Sicilian word for a fox, generally a beast, a monster; *κίνα-βρευματα*, stinking refuse; *κίναϊδος*, a lewd fellow; *κίνα-δυνος*, risk, hazard, danger. Benfey intimates a relationship of *κίναδυνος* to Sanskr. *khid*, *khinad*, *khinna*, be afflicted, despair, tired. Liddell and Scott merely note the origin of *κίναδυνος* as "uncertain."

KINA<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to drive on, to urge, oppress. Sam., *tina*, to split; *s.* a wedge; *titina*, to strangle, choke. Tah., *ti'aia*, strike the foot against something, to stumble; *faa-ti'aia*, to touch with hand or foot, to push against.

Greek, *θεινω*, to strike, beat, dash upon or against.

Lat., *fendo* in *offendo*, to strike against, &c. (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.* *θεινω*).

KINANA, *s.* Haw., a hen that has hatched chickens. Sam., *tina*, a mother. Tong., *tina-manu*, a sow that had a litter. Tah., *ti'a*, the lower part of the stomach, below the

navel. Fiji, *tina*, mother; *tina-tina*, mother of inferior animals. N. Zeal., *tinana*, the buttocks, trunk, body.

This word, with somewhat varying but not far separate meanings, I am inclined to consider as related to the

Goth., *kwens*, *kwino*, a woman; *kwina-kunds* and *kwineins*, female; and possibly *kwithus*, the womb, the stomach, if that is a syncope of an original *kwinthus*.

Greek, *γυνή*, woman; according to Professor A. H. Sayce, who, in "Introduction to the Science of Language," vol. i. p. 298, says that "the primitive Aryan speech must have possessed a row of labialised or 'velar gutturals,' *kw*, *gw*, *ghw*, of which the Latin *qu* and our own *cw*, *qu*, are descendants. . . . So far back as we can go in the history of Indo-European speech, the two classes of gutturals exist side by side, and the groups of words containing them remain unallied and unmixed. *Γυνή* and *queen* (*quean*) must be separated from *γενος*, *genetrix*, *kind*, and other derivations of the root which we have in the Sanskrit *janāmi*, the Greek *γεννομαι*, &c." Professor Sayce may probably be correct as regards the relationship of West Aryan dialects *inter se*, but whether the "primitive Aryan speech," in its primitive condition, was loaded with those velar gutturals I think may admit of a question. From the simple to the complex I think was the rule of development in language as well as in other things. "There is nothing to show," says Professor Sayce, "that these velar gutturals were ever developed out of the simple gutturals." But how can that be shown when the history of Indo-European speech only goes back some three thousand years, and then already presents itself in its full-fledged inflectional condition? Where is the history of its childhood? I think it right, but on other grounds, to say that the Gothic *kwino* and the Latin *quies* are not related to the Sanskrit *jan* or the Greek *κειμαι*. But to say that they could not possibly be related on account of the velar gutturals in the one set and simple gutturals in the other, seems to me to be assuming too much.

I know not how philologists derive or affiliate the

Scandinavian *kona, kone*, female. If, as I am inclined to believe, it is related to the Gothic *kwens, kwino*, it either shows the return of a velar guttural to a simple guttural, or that both are but dialectical variations of a still older word, whose oldest known form may be found in the Polynesian *kina*.

KINA, *s.* Haw., an indefinitely great number; specifically equal to 40,000, or 10 *manu*; a train of followers; *kini-kini*, *s.* a multitude; *na kini akua*, innumerable spirits. N. Zeal., *tini*, many, a crowd, 10,000. Tah., *tini*, innumerable. Sam., *tino*, ten in counting men; *tino-lua*, twenty. Marqu., *tini*, much, many times, multiplied. Fiji., *tini*, ten. Ceram. (Camarian), *tinein*, ten.

In view of the permutation of *l* and *n*, not uncommon in the Greek as well as in other Aryan branches, it is possible that this Polynesian word refers itself to *χιλι-as*, a thousand, generally an indefinite but large number; *χιλι-oi*, a thousand, of which lexicographers give no etymon, and which seems to stand alone without kindred in the West Aryan dialects.

KEPA, *v.* Haw., turn aside from a direct path, turn in and lodge, turn off, as water in watering a field. Sam., *tipa*, to glide, move on one side, rebound. Malg., *kiban*, a bed.

A.-Sax., *scyftan*, to diverge, decline, distribute, shift. Goth., *skiuban*, push, shove. Germ., *schieben*, id., to slide, move out of place. Engl., *skip*, leap, bound. Dan., *kipper*, id. Swed., *kippa*, slip, slide, bound, rebound; *skifta*, change, distribute; *skipa*, distribute, dispense, administer.

KO'E-KO'E, *adj.* Haw., wet and cold, cold from being wet; *s.* dampness, chilliness. N. Zeal., *ma-toke*, cold, chilly; *hau-toke*, winter. Rarot., *toke-toke*, cold, chilling. Tah., *to'e-to'e*, id.

Sansk., *tue*, to sprinkle (Ved.); *tushara*, cold, mist, thin rain, dew, frost, snow; *tuhina*, mist, dew, snow.

Goth., *twahan*, pt.t. *thwoh*, to wash. A.-Sax., *thwean*, id.; *deau*, dew.

KOI, *v.* Haw., to flow, rush, like water over a dam;

*koi-ei-ei*, a rapid current; *koi-ele*, to overflow. N. Zeal., *toi*, to dip in water, to duck. Iaw., *toya*, water.

Sanskrit., *toya*, water. Apparently there is no etymon for this word in Sanskrit or Vedic, for Benfey suggests that it derives "perhaps from *tu*." But the primary, at least the Vedic, meaning of *tu* is "to be all-powerful." Taking the New Zealand term as the best-preserved among the Polynesian dialects, it certainly offers a better etymon to the Sanskrit *toya* than the Vedic *tu*.

KOLE, *v.* Haw., be red, raw, skinned, shaved, as the head; *adj.* red, like raw meat raw, inflamed, sore; *kole-kole*, *s.* 'red earth, reddish; *o-kole*, rump, anus. Tah., *tore*, checkered, striped; *v.* to grow, as proud flesh in a sore. Sam., *tole*, *s.* clitoris. Marqu., *to'e*, id., rump, buttocks.

Sanskrit., *kravya*, raw flesh; *krāra*, sore (Ved.), cruel, harsh; *krudh*, be wrathful, wrath. Perhaps *kruc*, to cry out, to revile.

Greek, *κρεας*, raw flesh, flesh, meat, a cadaver; *κραυρα*, a scrofulous disease.

Zend, *khruvi*, cruel.

Lith., *kraujas*, bloody. Illyr., *karv*, id.

Irish, *cear*, blood; *cru*, bloody; *cruadh*, harsh, severe; *cruas*, cruelty.

Goth., *hraiiv*, a carcass.

Lat., *cruor*, blood from a wound, blood generally; *caro*, flesh; *cruentus*, blood-stained, blood-red, red; *crudus*, raw, unripe; *crudelis*, unmerciful, cruel.

Liddell and Scott (Gr.-Engl. Dict.), by referring the Latin *cruor* to both *κρεας* and *κρυος* (icy-cold, frost), seem to indicate that they all spring from the same root. The same authorities refer *caro* to *κρεας* and *kravya*. A. Pictet denies the relation, but does not explain why so. The Illyrian *karv*, however, seems to confirm the relation of *caro* to this family of words, of which the Polynesian term is but one of many varieties.

KOLI, *v.* Haw., to pare, shave off, cut, trim, whittle; *s.* something moving through the air, a meteor; *kolii*, to diminish, taper off, grow less. Sam., Tong., *toli*, to gather

fruit from high trees; *toli-u*, to burst inwardly, as an abscess. Fiji, *toro-ya*, to shave; *toro-i*, a razor; *coronga*, a grater; *kure*, shake the fruit of a tree. Mal., *chukur*, a razor; *kukur*, a rasp; *kurang*, to diminish; *churie*, to sever, separate.

Sanskrit., *khur*, to cut, to break; *kshur*, to cut, scratch, make furrows; *kshura*, a razor.

Greek, *κολος*, docked, stunted; *κολουω*, cut short, curtail, clip; *κολαζω*, curtail, dock, prune. Perhaps *σκυλλω*, to skin, flay, strip off; *σκυλον*, *σκυλα*, what has been stripped off, as skins of animals, arms of enemies, spoils of war. Benfey refers *ξυρος*, razor, to Sanskrit *kshur*. Liddell and Scott refer *ξυρος* and *ξυω*, to scrape, plane, to *ξεω* with similar meaning, and quote Aufrecht as comparing it with "the (Vedic) Sanskrit to whet." They cannot both be right. In the absence of the Polynesian it might be an open question. Liddell and Scott give *κολος* as "akin to *κυλλος*, crooked, crippled," and derive *κυλλος* from ("prob") *κυεω*, to have in the womb, and refer that to *κυω*, to hold, contain, and both to Sanskrit *çvi*, to swell, increase. I may be charged with fanciful comparisons, but, under correction, I fail to see the connection between *çvi*, *κυω*, to swell, increase, and *κολος*, docked, stunted.

Lat., *calvus*, bald, hairless; *curtus* (perhaps), though Liddell and Scott refer it to *κειρω*.

Armen., *sur*, knife, sword.

Russ., *gol*, bald, naked; *goleyu*, stripped. In Drav. (Tamil), *kuru* is short, brief; *kuru-gu*, to diminish.

KOLO<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to creep, crawl, shoot sideways, as plants, to penetrate downwards, as roots. Sam., *tolo*, to push forwards, as a fish-net with the feet, to keep back, to stir round the hot stones in an oven; *totolo*, to crawl, creep. Marqu., *toto'o*, humpbacked, crawling, feeling around in the dark, commit adultery. Tah., *toro*, to creep, stretch out, as roots. N. Zeal., *kolo-pupu*, to boil, to simmer. Malg., *kora-kora*, a snail, insect, a screw. Fiji., *dolo*, to creep, move as snakes.



Sanskrit, *char*, to move, to graze, go through, over, along ; *chal*, to tremble, go away, swerve.

Greek, *κορος*, a shoot, sprout, scion of a tree, a boy, lad ; -*κολος* in *βου-κολος*, a herdsman, cowherd, derived from *κολεω*, "a word which only occurs in compounds ; cf. Lat. *colo*" (Liddell and Scott).

Lat., *colo*, to till, tend, cultivate.

A further connection may be found in the Latin *torqueo*, to turn, distort, twist ; Sanskrit *tarku*, a spindle ; Greek *ἀ-τρακτος*, a spindle ; *ἀ-τρεικης*, true, just, strict, *i.e.*, not crooked or warped. Liddell and Scott, after Curtius, refer *torqueo* and *ἀτρακτος* to Greek *τρεπω*, to turn, turn round. Benfey refers them to Sanskrit *tark*, to suppose, find out, reflect. Neither of these "suppositions" seem to me plausible with the Polynesian *kolo*, *tolo*, before us.

KOLO<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Obsolete in all the Polynesian dialects except in Sam., *tolo*, to singe, to kindle a fire by rubbing sticks together ; *tolo-i*, smoky to the taste. Fiji., *coro-ya*, to singe, scorch. Malg., *horu*, a burn, a scald. Mal., *chulor*, a scald. Celebes (Gerontalo), *tulu*, fire.

Sanskrit, *kāl*, to singe ; *chār*, to burn.

KONI, *v.* Haw., to throb, beat, as the pulse, to try, taste ; *koni-koni*, to nibble, as fish ; *ki-koni*, to smooth off and finish, as a canoe after it is dug out ; *hi-koni*, a slave marked on the forehead. Tong., Sam., *tongi*, engrave, carve, to peck, as a fowl, to throw or cast, as a stone ; *totongi*, to peck, nibble, as a fish, to drive of, as a hen her chickens.

Greek, *κεντεω*, to prick, goad, urge on ; *κοντος*, a pole, shaft of a pike ; *τενδω*, *τενθω*, to gnaw, nibble, eat daintily ; *τενθενομαι*, eat greedily ; *τενθης*, a gourmand, a dainty eater. No references given to either of these words by Liddell and Scott.

KU, *v.* Haw., to rise up, stand, let go, let fall, hit, strike against, resist ; *ku-e*, to oppose, resist ; *ku-i*, to pound, beat, knock ; *ku'-u*, let go, loosen, put down ; *ku-ku*, to strike, beat, stand up, be high, excel ; *ku-a*, to strike horizontally, to cut down, as trees, to fell, throw away. N. Zeal., *tu*, stand ; *tuki*, beat, knock ; *tuku*, allow, permit.

Sam., *tu*, stand up, arise, to take place, come to pass; *s.* a custom, habit; *tu-i*, to thump, beat, pound; *s.* a blow with the fist, a curse; *tu'ia*, to strike, as the foot against a stone; *tu'i-fao*, a blacksmith (mod.), lit. a pounder of nails; *tu'u*, to place, appoint, permit, let go, set free, cut down, desist. Tah., *tu*, stand erect, to fit, agree; *tu-a*, to cut, to rest or wait; *tu-e*, to impel, strike with the foot, hit against; *tu'e-tu'e*, to oppose; *tu-i*, to butt, strike, smite; *tutu*, to strike, beat; *tu'u*, let go, dismiss, yield. Fiji, *tu*, to stand; *tuki*, beat, knock; *tuku*, let go, slack up. Sunda, *tutut*, loose, slack.

The same dialectical variations in form and sense obtain through all the Polynesian groups. Two original conceptions seem to have attached themselves to the Polynesian root-word *ku, tu*, viz., (1.) "To rise, stand, be prominent;" (2.) "To strike, put down, let go." The West Aryan relatives of this Polynesian *ku, tu*, appear to have confined themselves to the second conception of the word, "to strike, put down, let go," although the probably oldest of these forms, the Vedic *tu*, bears the general sense "to be powerful." To mention but a few of those Aryan correlatives, we find—

Sansk., *tu* (Ved.), be powerful, to increase, to hurt; *tuy* and *tunj*, to strike, push, abide, give or take; *tud*, to strike, sting; *tund*, be active; *tup, tump, tumbh*, to hurt, kill; *khud* (Ved.), *kshud*, to push, to pound.

Lat., *cudo*, strike, beat, sting; *incus*, an anvil; *tundo* (*tutudi*), to beat, strike, pound; *tussis*, a cough; *tueor*, guard, watch, keep; *tutus*, safe; *tuber, tumor, tumulus*; *stupeo*, be stunned, benumbed.

Greek, *τυπος*, a blow; *τυπτω, ἐτυπον*, to beat, strike; *τυλη, τυλος*, a knot or callus, a lump, hump, knob, a cushion; *τυλιγμα*, a wheal, swelling. Liddell and Scott refer this latter to Sanskrit *tu*.

Goth., *stautan*, to strike, smite. Germ., *stossen*. Dutch, *stooten*.

Benfey (Sansk.-Engl. Dict.) s. v. *Tud*, considers that the Gothic has retained an original *s*, which the Sanskrit and the other dialects have lost. With all due deference

to so great authority, yet, if Professor Max Müller is correct, that the oldest forms of Aryan speech consisted of open syllables of one consonant and one vowel, or of one vowel, and judging from the analogy of the Polynesian, I should look upon all prefixes and suffixes to a simple root or stem as of later growth, and hence that the *s* in question, like the *s* in *stupeo*, indicates a later period than that when *tu* or *tup* were used to express the sense of striking, beating, stunning.

Anc. Slav., *kuti* or *kovati*, a smith. Lith., *kujis*, a hammer; *kauti*, to fight.

To this Vedic and Polynesian root *tu*, "to be powerful, increase, rise up," refers itself, doubtless, a word expressing family relation throughout Polynesia, but which in its simple form has become almost obsolete, except in Fiji. In the Polynesian groups proper it always occurs in composites, sometimes with the other family designation, *kai*, prefixed, sometimes with the intensive prefix *ma*, sometimes without either. That word is—

KŪA, *s.* Haw., *obsol.* Fiji., *tuka*, a grandfather; *tua*, word used by children to their grandparents; *tuaka*, an elder brother or an elder sister. Sam., *tua'a*. N. Zeal., *tuaka-na*. Tah., *tu-a'ana*. Haw., *kai-kua'ana*. Marqu., *tuakana*, *id.* Sam., *tuangane*, a woman's brother. Haw., *kai-kunane*, *id.* Tah., *tuaane*, *id.* Marqu., *tuanane*, *id.* Sam., Tong., *tuafafine*. Haw., *kai-ku-wahine*. N. Zeal., Tah., *tuahine*; Marqu., *tuehine*, the sister of a man. Sam., Tong., N. Zeal., Haw., *ma-tua*, *ma-kua*, a parent. Rarot., Tah., *metua*, *id.* Mangar., *mo-tua*, *id.* It also signifies full-grown, old, elderly. In Tah., *oro-ma-tua* means ancestor. In Sam., *ulu-ma-tua* means the first-born, while *tua* simply means the child next to the oldest. In the Indian Archipelago this word meets us under analogous circumstances. Sula Islands, *tua*, husband. Malay., *tuan*, *tuhan*, master, lord. Pulo-Nias, *ira-matua*, husband. Kei Islands, *eb-tuan*, old. Malg., *tump*, *tumpu*, master, the top of a thing; *tupun*, *id.*, chief of an expedition; *tu-vuan*, seed, increase; *tuku-tan*, a hill, rising ground.

Sanskrit, *toka*, offspring, child. Ved., *tuch*, offspring.

Greek, *τοκας*, she who has just brought forth, a mother ; *τοκος*, birth, offspring, child.

Liddell and Scott refer these words to *τικτω*, to beget, bring forth, and *τικτω*, after Curtius, to one of three roots, *τεκ*, *τυκ*, *τιχ*, each one equivalent to the Sanskrit *taksh*, to prepare, form. Under correction again, it does appear to me that if the Greek *τικτω* and its derivatives and variants refer themselves to the Sanskrit *taksh*, certainly the Vedic *tuch* does not descend to the same origin, but, on the contrary, allies itself with a better reason to the Zend *tuchm*, germ, seed, the Sanskrit *toka*, the Greek *τοκας*, the Polynesian *tuka*, whose common root would be the Vedic and Polynesian *tu*, prevalere, crescere, erigere. I am well aware of the frequent and often inexplicable permutation of vowels, not seldom leading to false analogy, in words descending from the same root, but, at the risk of making false analogy myself, I believe that, in the majority of cases, the Sanskrit nouns in *o* have their roots in *u*, and hence the Sanskrit *toka* may, with perfect propriety and almost absolute certainty, be referred direct and primarily to *tu*.

In Tahitian alone among the Polynesian dialects, so far as I know, this word, derived from *tu*, has retained a sense which brings it into close relation with some of the West Aryan tongues. In Tahitian, *tua*, *s.* means also "a company of people, a flock, a herd." Its Indo-European correlatives will be found in—

Irish, *tuath*, *tuad*, people.

Welsh, *tut*, people, nation.

Umbr., *tota*, *oscau*, *touto*, precinct of a town, primarily people or tribe (A. Pictet).

Lett., *tauta*, people, country.

Goth., *thiuda* ; A.-Sax., *theod*, people. For my remarks on the relation of the Polynesian word *atua*, god, spirit, supernatural being, to *ku* vel *tu* and *tua*, see my work, "Polynesian Race," &c., vol. ii. p. 365.

KULA, *s.* Haw., the open country back of the sea-shore,

a field, uncultivated land. Sam., *tula*, bald, destitute of trees, a habitat, locality. Tong., *tula*, id.

Sansk., *kāla*, a slope (Ved.), a bank.

Greek, *χωρα*, *χωρος*, place, space, region, country, tract of land. Liddell and Scott refer these words and *χωρις* to *χαιω*, *χαιδανω*, *καζομαι*. A more natural relationship, it seems to me, is to be found in the Sanskr. and Polynes. *kāla*, *kula*, which may, but possibly do not, refer themselves to any root in *χα* or *hā*.

Irish, *cūl*, the back, tergum, dorsum.

KULE, *adj.* Haw., this word, in the simple form, does not appear in any of the Polynesian dialects that I am aware of, but in compounds we have in Haw. *ele-ma-kule*, *adj.* old, aged, decaying, in which *ele* and *ma* are two intensives, according to L. Andrews (Hawaiian Dictionary), and correctly so. In Sam. we find *tule-fena*, *tule-moe*, to be wearied, to be sleepy, drowsy; *tule-i*, to be sick, to vomit; *tule-sisila*, with the eyes fixed, as in dying; *tule-soli*, to vex, torment, as a conquered party; in all which *kule*, *tule*, convey a primary sense of old age, decrepitude. We also find the duplicate form of Haw., *kukule*, dumpish, loth to move; Sam., *tutule*, the end, conclusion of a night-dance. In Malg. we find *kuru*, old, when speaking of things, not of persons.

Sansk., *jūr*; Ved., *jur*, be old. According to A. Pictet, *jūr* signifies also an old woman. *Jujurva*, a grandparent. Benfey also gives *ghūr*, to become old.

Zend, *zaurva*, old age.

KULI<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., the knee; *kukuli*, to kneel. Sam., *tuli*, an outside corner, the knee; *tuli-lima*, the elbow; *too-tuti*, to kneel. Tah., *turi*, knee. N. Zeal., *turi*, id. Fiji., *duru*, the knee. Sunda., *tuur*, knee. Timor. Laut., *turad*, knee. Ke. Isl., *ead-tur*, id.

Sansk., *kora*, a flexible joint, as of fingers; *kār-para*, the elbow.

Anc. Slav., *koliēna*, knee.

KULI<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., be stunned with noise, be deaf, be silent; *adj.* and *s.* deaf, deafness. N. Zeal., *turi*, deaf.

Marqu., *tui*, id. Tah., *turi*. Sam., *tuli*, id. Fiji., *tule*, ear-wax; *adj.* deaf; *kuru*, to thunder. Malg., *tuli*, deaf. Sunda, *torrik*, id. Malg., *duru-duru*, taciturn; *mi-dola*, noise.

Sanskrit., *kur*, to sound; *ghur*, to sound, be frightful.

Welsh, *tol, tolo*, loud noise, din. To this word and its primitive meaning of making great noise probably refers itself the Polynesian.

KURI, *s.* N. Zeal., Rarot., Mang., dog. Sam., *uli*, id. Tah., *uri*, id. Gilolo (Gani), *iyor*, dog.

Sanskrit., *kurkura, kukura*, dog, perhaps also *kola*, a hog; *kola-hala*, a great and confused noise, screaming.

Irish, *gyr*, dog; *erse cuilean*, a young dog.

Greek, *σκυλαξ*, a young dog. Mod. Gr., *κουλουκι*, a little dog. Comp. A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., i. 378).

Pers., *gholin*, small dog.

A. Pictet, *loc. cit.*, inclines to refer the Irish, Greek, and Persian names to the Sanskrit *kula*, family. Liddell and Scott refer *σκυλαξ* to *σκυλλω*, to rend, to tear, But, in view of the Sanskrit and Polynesian analogies, *σ* may be prosthetic.

Goth., *gauris*, mourning, grief; probably akin to Sanskrit. *ghur, ghora* (Benfey).

KULO, *v.* Haw., to continue doing a thing, persevere, wait long. Probably akin to *kulu-iki*, to endure, be constant, persevere, and Sam., *tulu'i*, to endure, lasting.

Sanskrit., *kul*, to proceed continuously, to accumulate.

KULU<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., a drop of any liquid, a globule; *v.* to drop, as water, to leak, to flow, fall down, tumble over. Sam., *tului*, to drop into, as lotion in the eye; *tulu-vao*, drops from trees after rain; *tulu-tulu*, the eaves of a house; *tutulu*, to leak, as a house, to weep. Tah., *tuturu*, to drop, as rain from a house. N. Zeal., *maturu-turu*, to drop, as rain. Fiji., *turu*, drop, as water; *s.* eaves of a house, a drop of water. Malg., *kuala*, canal, water-course.

Sanskrit., *kulyā*, a rivulet, a canal; *kālinī*, a river. Perhaps *guda, gola*, a ball.

In Dravidian (Tamil), *tūru*, means to drizzle, scatter, spread about.

KULU<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., sleep little, doze, dream, be in a trance; *kulukulu*, id. Jav., *turu*, sleep. Sunda, *kulem*, id. Malg., *ma-turu*, id. Tagal., *tolog*, id.

Icel., *dura*, sleep little, doze; *durnin*, sleepy. Sax., *dol*, wandering in intellect, stupid; *dwolian*, to wander, rave. Engl., *dolt*. Goth., *dvals*, foolish. Swed., *dwala*, trance.

KULU<sup>3</sup>, *v.* Haw., *obsol*; *kukulu*, *v.* to set up, erect, to build. Tah., *turu*, prop, side-post of a house; *tuturu*, *tauturu*, to support, help, assist. Marqu., *tutu'u*, id. Paum., *turu*, a prop, post to support the roof. Mang., *turu*, id. Malg., *zurru*, column, support. Fiji., *duru*, the shorter posts of a house, on which the wall-plate rests.

Sansk., *tul*, to lift, to weigh, ponder, attain; *tul-ana*, lifting; *tulā*, balance; *dul*, to raise, to swing; *dolā*, a swing.

Lat., *tollo*, *tuli*, to lift, raise, elevate; *tolero*, to bear, endure.

Greek, *τλαω* (*ταλαω*), to take upon oneself, to bear, suffer; *τολμαω*, to undertake, hold out, endure; *ταλαντον*, a balance; *ταλαρος*, a basket; *τελαμων*, a strap, belt; *Ἄτλας*, a mountain in Africa, supposed to support the heavens; *ὄτλος*, suffering, distress.

Goth., *thulan*, to tolerate, suffer; *ga-thlahan*, take in the arms, caress.

KUMU, *s.* Haw., bottom, foundation of a thing, cause, beginning, root, stump, end, stalk. Marqu., *tumu*, id. Sam., *tumu*, be full; *tumu-tumu*, top, summit; *tumua'i*, crown of the head. Tah., *tumu*, root, origin, cause, foundation. N. Zeal., *tumu-ake*, crown of the head, upper part of a tree. Fiji., *kumu*, to collect, gather together. Ceram. (Wahai), *tamun*, root. Sunda, *tumbuk*, stump, foundation. Malg., *tumutch*, heel; *v.* squat down; *tombuk*, foot.

Lat., *humus*, earth, soil; *humi*, on the ground.

Greek, *χαμαι*, on the earth. Liddell and Scott, without giving an etymon for *χαμαι*, merely remark that the root is *χαμ-*, and that it is akin to *humus*, *humi*, &c. Lith.,

*zeme*, earth. Slav., *zembja*, id. But if *humus* and *χαμαι* are akin, which has preserved the primary vocalisation of the word? The first man, or set of men, who expressed the underlying conception did not certainly pronounce that word in two ways. That difference must have arisen after the first name-givers had parted company and had no further opportunity to correct their pronunciation by reference to what was once the common mother-language. In such cases of dialectical divergence a *tertius medius* would be a welcome solvent of the difficulty. Such solvent the Polynesian offers; and although the vowel sound within the Malaysian area of the dialects of this branch also differs from *u* to *a*, yet it is evident from the uniformity of the dialects of the Pacific area that *u* was the older sound, which brings the Latin and Polynesian nearer in accord.

KUNI, *v.* Haw., to kindle, to light, burn, blaze; *kukuni*, id. N. Zeal., *tungi*, id. Rarot., *tutuni*, id. Tah., *tutui*, id. Fiji., *tungi*, id. Jav., *guni*, fire. Celebes (Menado), *pu-tung*, id. Sangvir Island, *pu-tun*, id.

Welsh, *cynnen*, to kindle; *sindw*, ashes, scoria of a forge.

Lat., *cinis*, ashes, cinders.

Greek, *kovis*, *kovia*, dust, ashes, sand.

Goth., *tundnan*, *tündnan*, to burn; *tandjan*, to kindle, to light. Sax., *tendan*, *tynan*, to kindle. Germ., *zünden*. Swed., *tända*.

KUNU, *v.* Haw., blow softly, to cough; *kunu-kunu*, to groan, complain. Marqu., *tono*, sorrow, dislike, pain. Mal., *kuntut*, break wind.

Sansk., *dhá*, *dhánu*, &c., to shake, shake out, off, &c., blow, as the wind, remove; *dháma*, smoke.

Greek, *θω*, to rush on or along, of any violent motion, to storm, rage; *θυελλα*, storm, hurricane; *θυιας*, frantic; *θυμος*, soul, life, breath (physically), strength; *θυνω*, to rush along, to dart along.

Lat., *fumus*, smoke.

Goth., *dauns*, odour. O. H. Germ., *tunst*, storm. Germ., *dunst*, vapour, steam.



Slav., *dunati*, to breathe; *dyma*, smoke.

Throughout the Polynesian dialects this word *kunu*, *tunu*, has another meaning, which, granted its kindred to the Sanskrit *dhā*, makes the transition of sense from the Greek *θω*, "to rush, storm," &c., to the Greek *θω*, "to offer, to sacrifice," intelligible and consistent. That meaning is Haw., "to roast meat on the coals;" Tong., "to singe;" Tah., "to roast or boil;" Sam., "to roast, toast, fry, or boil;" Marqu., "to roast, cook;" N. Zeal., "to roast;" Fiji., *tunu-tunu*, *adj.* "warm," *v.* "to warm up cold food." If, as Liddell and Scott intimate, after Curtius, the two *θω* in Greek refer themselves to the Sanskrit *dhā*, the latter must have lost the meaning developed in the Greek *θω*, "to offer, to sacrifice." They give the earlier sense of *θω(α)* as "to offer part of a meal as first-fruits to the gods, especially by throwing it on the fire." The Polynesian *kunu*, *tunu*, has retained the probably older and more material sense of "roasting," "broiling on the coals or embers of the fire."

I am unable, I confess, to apprehend the connection which led our forefathers to invest the conceptions of "to storm, rage," and "to offer sacrifice," or those of "to blow" and "to roast" in the same word, whether *θω* or *tunu*. I am therefore inclined to think that *θω*, "to rush along as the wind, to storm," and *kunu*, "to blow softly, to cough," are derived from one root and akin to Sanskrit *dhā*, "to shake, blow as wind," leaving *θω*, "to offer" by throwing the offering on the fire, and *kunu*, to roast on the coals, though evidently related *inter se*, without a referee in the Sanskrit or other Indo-European tongues, and without a known root so far.

KUPA, *v.* Haw., to dig out, hollow out, as a canoe or a trench; *kupa-paku*, a place deep down in the ground. Tah., *tupa*, to dig out, hollow out, scoop out. Fiji., *cupa*, to stoop, bow down. Mal., *kubur*, grave, tomb. Sunda, *tumpuk*, a hook, a staple.

Sansk., *kūpa*, a well, a pit; *kūpa-kara*, a well-digger; *kub-ja*, humpbacked, crooked; *kumbha*, a pot, jar. Benfey

(Sansk. Dict.) refers the two latter to a lost verb, *kubh*, with an original signification of "to be crooked." He offers no etymon, however, for *kāpa*, well, pit. The Polynesian reconciles the two. The Sanskrit *kāpa* finds its kindred in the Hawaiian and Tahitian *kuapa*, and the Sanskrit *kumbha*, *kub-ja*, and *kubh*, with a primary sense of "to be crooked," refer themselves to the Fijian *cuva*, "to stoop, low down," a sense now lost within the Polynesian dialects proper.

Pers., *kuftan*, *kaftan*, to dig, cleave; *kuft*, *kāf*, fissure. Armen., *kuṛ*, pit, cistern.

Greek, *κνπτω*, to bend forward, to stoop down; *κνφος*, humpbacked; *κνμβη*, a cup, a boat, a wallet; *σκνφος*, a cup; *κνφελη*, any hollow vessel.

Lat., *cubo*, lie, recline; *concumbo*, *incumbo*; *cupa*, a vat, cask.

Goth., *kumbjan*, lie down, recline; *hups*, the hips, loins. A.-Sax., *cop*, a hollow vessel, cup.

Anc. Slav., *kārona*, a goblet. Russ., *kopati*, to dig; *kopāni*, a cistern.

Welsh, *cwb* or *cwpan*, a hollow place, kennel, or cote. Gael., *tubag*, tub.

KUPU, *v.* Haw., to grow, increase, sprout, as plants. Marqu., Tah., *tupu*, id. Sam., *tupu*, id.; *s.* presiding chief, king. Fiji, *kubu*, to bud, as flowers or leaves; *tubu*, spring up, increase. Mangar., *tupua*, high-priest, Polynes. ubiquitous, *tupuna*, *tupuanga*, *tubuna*, ancestors, forefathers, grandparents. Mal. and Jav., *tumbu*, to grow. Bisayu., *tubu*, id. Malg., *tuvu-an*, id.

Benfey in his Sansk.-Engl. Dict., *s. v.* *Ḷvi*, mentions a "Vedic pteple. of the red. pf." in *ḷvivaṁs*, with the meaning of "large." Benfey calls it "anomalous." No doubt it is anomalous to the verb *ḷvi* but it indicates the existence at one time of a verb in *ḷv*, older than, or at least synonymous with, *ḷvi*, with the sense of "to increase, grow large." To the Sanskrit *ḷvi* Benfey as well as Liddell and Scott refer the Greek *κνεω*, *κνω*, *κνμα*, "to be pregnant, be big, swell of the sea," and their derivatives,

also the Latin *cumulus*, *cuneus*, *cavus*, *caulis*, *cælum*, *cilia*, &c. How far the family connection of all these words with the Sanskrit *çvi* can be proven I do not pretend to say, but I would be inclined to think that before Homer's time there may have been a digamma in *κνεω* between *ν* and *ε*, and that more anciently the word was *κνφεω*, placing it *en rapport* with the Vedic *çuv*, as made manifest in the still remaining participle *çuçuv-ams*. And it is further possible that the Latin *cumulus* may come from an older form in *cumbulus*, thus establishing for both of those words their kindred with not only the Sanskrit *çuv*, but also the Polynesian *tuvu*, *kubu*, *tupu*, *tumbu*. The Sanskrit *çopha*, "a swelling," refers itself better, I think, to the Vedic *çuv*, than to the Sanskrit *çvi*.

LA, *s.* Haw., sun, light, day. N. Zeal., *ra*, sun, day. Marqu., *a*, id. Sam., *la*, id. Deriv.: Haw., *lae*, be light, clear, shining; *lai*, shining as the surface of the sea, calm, still; *laelae* and *lailai*, intens. Sam., *lelei*, something very good; *lala*, to shine; *lalangi*, to broil. Fiji., *rai*, to see, appear; *rai-rai*, a seer, a prophet. Teor., *la*, sun. Aru Islands, *lara*, id.; *rarie*, bright, shining. Amblaw., *laei*, sun, day.

Irish, *la*, *lae*, day.

Laghmani (Cabul), *la'e*, day.

Sanskrit., *laj*, *lanj*, to appear, shine; *ráj*, to shine. Ved., to govern; *s.* a king. If, as Benfey intimates, the Sanskrit verb *bhráj*, to shine, to beam, is "probably *abhi-ráj*," an already Vedic contraction, then the Polynesian root-word *la* and *lae* will reappear in several of the West Aryan dialects. Lat., *flagrare*, *flamma*, *flamen*. Greek, *φλεγω*, *φλοξ*. A.-Sax., *blac*, *blæcan*, &c.

Probably the universal Polynesian *lani*, *langi*, *rangi*, *ra'i*, *lanits* (Malg.), designating the upper air, sky, heaven, and an epithet of chiefs, refers itself to the same original *la*, *lai*, *lanj*, referred to above, to which may also be referred

Welsh, *glan*, clean, pure, bright, holy.

Sax., *clæne*, clean, pure.

Swed., *ren*, clean, pure; *grann* (?), fine, elegant.

It may be noted in connection with this word, either as a coincidence or as an instance of ancient connection, that in the old Chaldean the name of the sun and of the Supreme Deity was *Ra*, and that in Egypt the sun was also named *Ra*.

LA<sup>2</sup>, s. Haw., Sam., Tong., *ra*. N. Zeal., the sail of a canoe; abbreviated from, or itself an older form of, the Fiji. *laca*, a sail, also the mats from which the sails were made. Sunda., Mal., *layar*, sail. Malg., *laï*, sail, tent, flag.

Sanskrit., *lāta* (Pictet), a cloth; *latā* (Benfey), a creeper, a plant; *lak-taka*, a rag. As mats and clothing in primitive times were made of bark or flexible plants, the connection between the Sanskrit *latā* and Polynesian *laca*, *la*, becomes intelligible.

Armen., *lōtig*, a mantle.

Lat., *lodix*, a blanket.

Irish, *lothar*, clothing.

LAU, s. Haw., to feel for, spread out, expand, be broad, numerous; s. leaf of a tree or plant, expanse, place where people dwell, the end, point; sc. extension of a thing; the number four hundred; *lau-kua*, to scrape together, to gather up from here and there confusedly; *lau-la*, broad, wide, extension, width; *lau-na*, to associate with, be friendly; *lau-oho* (lit. "leaves of the head"), the hair. Tong., *lau*, *low*, spread out, be broad, exfoliate; s. surface, area; *lau-mata*, eyelash; *lo*, a leaf; *lo-gnutu*, the lips (lit. "leaves of the mouth"). N. Zeal. and Mang., *rau*, spread, expand; *raku-raku*, to scratch, scrape. Sam., *lau*, leaf, thatch, lip, brim of a cup, breadth, numeral hundred after the first hundred; *lau-a*, to be in leaf, full-leafed; *laua-ai*, a town, in opposition to the bush; *lau-ulu*, the hair of the head; *launga-tasi*, even, level; *lau-lau*, to lay out, spread out food on a table; *lau-tata*, a level place on a mountain or at its foot; *lau-le-anga*, uneven; *lau-talinga*, the lobe of the ear, a fungus; *lau-tele*, large, wide, common, of people.

Tah., *rau*, a leaf, a hundred; when counting by couples, two hundred; many indefinitely; *rau-rau*, to scratch. Fiji., *lou*, leaves for covering an oven; *longa*, a mat, a bed for planting; *drau*, a leaf; *drau-drau*, leaves on which food is served up, also a hundred. Saparua., *laun*, leaf. Mal., *daun*, id.; *luwas*, broad, extended. Sunda., Rubak., id., Amboyna, *ai-low*, id. Malg., *rav*, *ravin*, leaf; *ravin-tadign*, lobe of the ear; *lava*, long, high, indefinite expression of extension; *lava-lava*, eternal; *lava-tangh*, a spider.

The word *lau*, in the sense of expanse, and hence "the sea, ocean," is not now used in the Polynesian dialects. There remain, however, two compound forms to indicate its former use in that sense: *lau-make*, Haw., lit. the abating or subsiding of water, *i.e.*, drought; *rau-mate*, Tah., to cease from rain, be fair weather; *rau-mate*, N. Zeal., id., hence summer. The other word is *koo-lau*, Haw., *kona-rau*, N. Zeal., *toe-rau*, Tah., on the side of the great ocean, the weather side of an island or group; *toe-lau*, Sam., the north-east trade wind. In Fiji. *lau* is the name of the windward islands generally. In the Malay and pre-Malay dialects that word in that sense still remains under various forms: *laut*, *lauti*, *lautan*, *lauhaha*, *olat*, *wolat*, *medi-laut*, all signifying the sea, on the same principle of derivation as the Latin *æquor*, flat, level, expanse, the sea.

Welsh, *llav*, to extend; *lled*, breadth.

Armor., *blad*, flat, broad.

Lat., *latus*, broad, wide, spacious.

Greek, *πλατυς*, wide, broad, flat; *πλατη*, broad surface, blade of an oar; *πλακος*, broad, flat.

Pers., *lâtû*, blade of an oar, oar.

Lith., *platus*, flat.

Sansk., *prath*, be extended, to spread.

Goth., *laufs* or *laubs*, a leaf. Icel., *laug*, bath; *lauga*, to bathe; *lögr*, the sea, water, moisture.

Bearing in mind *l* and *n* are convertible in the West Aryan as in the Polynesian dialects, we might refer to the following as original relatives of the Polynesian *lau*:—

Sanskrit, *nau*, boat, ship; *sná*, and its connections, "to bathe."

Greek, *ναω*, to flow, float; *ναω*, *νεω*, to swim, to spin; *νευσις*, s. swimming; *ναυς*, ship, &c.

Lat., *no-are*, to swim, float; *neo*, to spin; *navis*.

O. H. Germ., *nacha*, a boat. A.-Sax., *naca*, id. O. Norse, *snäcka*, a shell, sobriquet of boats and vessels. Perhaps the Gothic *snaga*, a garment.

Liddell and Scott and also Benfey refer the Greek *νεω* and Latin *neo*, "to spin," to the Sanskrit *nah*, "to bind, tie." With due deference, I would suggest that the underlying sense of "to bind" and "tie" is "to shorten, contract, to knit"—*necto*, *nodus*—and that the original conception of "to spin" was one of extension, lengthening, as represented in the Polynesian *lau*.

LAHA, *v.* Haw., to spread out, extend laterally, to make broad. With caus. *hoo-laha*, to spread intelligence, to promulgate; *laha-laha*, to open, as the wings of a bird in order to fly; *laha-i* and *lahalahai*, to hover over, fly, light upon, as from a flight. Tong., *lafa*, flat. Sam., *lafa*, a ringworm; *lafa-lafa*, level top of a mountain. N. Zeal., *raha*, to show, exhibit. Tah., *pa-raha*, name of a broad, flat fish. Fiji., *rava-rava*, a spade. Buru (Cajeli), *lehavi*, large. Ceram. (Awaya), *ilahe*, id. Matabello, *leleh*, id. Malg., *reff*, *refi*, a fathom, measure of length.

Sanskrit, *rach*, to arrange, prepare, to string, as flowers; *rachandá*, orderly arrangement, dressing the hair, stringing of flowers, suspending garlands, arrangement of troops; perhaps *drágh*, to lengthen, extend, stroll.

Lat., *latus*, wide, spacious; *brachium*, the arm. Benfey refers the Latin *locare* to Sanskrit *rach*.

Irish, *legadh*, to lay. Armor., *lacquat*, id.; *raigh* or *brac*, an arm.

Goth., *lagjan*, to lay, put, place; perhaps *lofa*, the palm or flat of the hand. Swed., *lofwe*, wrist. A.-Sax., *laga*, *lah*, law, statute; *logian*, to place.

Russ., *loju*, place, locus.

LAKA, *v.* Haw., to tame, as a wild animal; *adj.* tame,

well fed, gentle; *pa-laka*, remiss, neglectful. Sam., *lata*, be near, be tame, be at home; *adj.* tame, domesticated. Tah., *rata*, tame. N. Zeal., *rata*, id.

Sanskr., *rād̄h*, make or be merciful, favourable, gracious, to conciliate.

Greek (according to Benfey), *ἱλασκομαι*, *ἰληκω*, to appease, conciliate; *ἱλαος*, gracious, kind, gentle.

LAKO, s. Haw., supply, sufficiency, property, household stuff; *v.* to possess, be supplied; *adj.* rich, prosperous. Tah., *nato-nato* (*n* for *l*), to be well provided. Fiji., *rako*, *v.* to embrace; *s.* a grasp of the arms.

Sanskr., *rāk̄h*, *lāk̄h*, to suffice, adorn. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 400) refers to Sanskrit *rād̄ha*, "riches," from *rād̄h*, "prosperari, perfici," and gives the following West Aryan connections:—

Anc. Germ., "*rāt*, opes, proventus, fructus. A.-Sax., *ræde*, phaleræ, apparatus. Anc. Sax., *râde*, *ge-ræde*, propriété mobilière (Grimm, D. R. A., 566). Mod. Germ., *ge-räthē*, utensils; *vor-rath*, provision, &c." Whether Pictet be right in referring the above Old German *rāt*, &c., to Sanskrit *rād̄h*, I think the

Greek *λαχη*, *λαχος*, an allotted portion; *Δαχσις*, goddess of fate; *λαχανω*, obtain by lot, refer themselves better to Sanskrit *rāk̄h*, *lāk̄h*, than to Sanskrit *rād̄h*. Liddell and Scott give the root as *λαχ*; but when we consider that such words as *λαχανον*, "garden herbs, vegetables, greens;" *λαχνη*, "soft, woolly hair, down, nap;" *λαχεια*, "well tilled, fertile," also claim descent from *λαχ*, it is hardly possible that the first or earlier conception expressed by *λαχ* was that of drawing lots or obtaining by lot or by chance. In this dilemma, it seems to me that the Polynesian will give the keynote to the different Western Aryan conceptions, and perhaps the Fijian *rako*, "a grasp of the arms, an armful," embodies by far the older conception, from which the others, as it were, have radiated.

LALA, s. Haw., the limb or branch of a tree, or of an animal; in Anc. Haw., a rib of men or animals. Sam., *lala*, small branches; *v.* to stand out like branches. Tah.,

Mang., *rara*, branch. N. Zeal., *rara*, a rib. Fiji., *rara*, a board. Malg., *raa*, branches. Comp. Tah., *pu-rara*, scattered, dispersed.

Sansk., *rad*, to split, divide, dig; *rada*, splitting, a tooth.

Lat., *radius*, rod, staff, pole; *rado*, to scratch, scrape.

Welsh, *rhail*, bar, bolt.

LALO, *adv.* and *prep.* Haw., below, down, under; *adj.* low, base. Sam., *lalo*, id. Tah., N. Zeal., *raro*, id. Marqu., *a'o*, id. Fiji., *ra*, below, west point of heaven, the leeward islands generally. Malg., *lale*, *lalen*, deep, beneath; *tagal*, *lalim*, abyss. Mal., *darah*, *dalam*, deep, depth. Sunda., *djero*, id.

Sansk., *a-dhas*, underneath, low down; *a-dhara*, lower, inferior.

Goth., *un-dar*, under; *dalath*, down; *dal*, dale, valley, ditch.

LAMA, *s.* Haw., name of a forest tree of hard wood, torch of any material, specially of kukui-nuts, light by night; *malama*, light from sun or moon, a month; *pu-lama*, a torch; *au-lama*, to give light. Sam., *lama*, the candle-nut tree, a torch made of the nuts; *v.* to watch for; *malama*, moon, light, lamp; *v.* to be light. Tong., *mama*, torchlight, sunlight; fig. the world, society at large. Marqu., *ama*, light, the candle-nut tree (*Aleurites*); *maama*, daylight, light. Tah., *rama*, torch; *marama*, the moon, a month; *maramarama*, light. Fiji., *rarama*, light; *rama*, to enlighten, cast light upon, as from a blazing fire. Stewart Islands, *mirima*, moon. Ceram. (Ahliago), *melim*, moon; *matalima*, day. Mal., *malam*, night. Celebes (Bouton), *maromo*, id.

Greek, *λαμπας*, a torch, a faggot, the name of a nettle; *λαμπω*, to give light, be bright, shine; *λαμπρος*, bright, brilliant; *ραμνος*, kind of thorn or prickly shrub.

Lat., *limpidus*, clear, transparent; *lamium*, dead or blind nettle; *ramus*, a bough, branch. According to Professor Mommsen, "*Roma*" or "*Rama*" was equivalent to Anglice "*Bush-town*," and its oldest inhabitants were the tribe known as *Ramnes*.



Goth., *lauhmoni*, lightning, Sax., *leoma*, ray of light.  
O. Engl., *leme*, id. Mod. Engl., *gleam*, &c.

Irish, *laom*, flame.

The Rev. W. W. Skeat, in his "Moeso-Gothic Glossary" (London, 1868), refers the word *lauhmoni* to *liuhan*, "enlighten." It is possible, but the Saxon and Irish parallelisms of *leoma* and *laom* would seem to indicate the existence of a radical *m*, although Grimm in his "Teut. Mythol." (vol. i. p. 178) seems to favour a derivation from *lauhatjan*, "to lighten, to shine as lightning."

When we are told that the island of Lemnos (*Ἀἴμνος*) in the Ægean Sea was especially sacred to Hephaistos on account of its volcanic fires (Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*), and that it was there he found rest when kicked out of heaven (Il. i. 593), and when we are told that its still older name was *Æthalia* (*Ἄιθαλη*), "the burning or blazing," it is fair to assume that the two names were synonymous, and that *ἄημνος* in some measure still retained the sense expressed in *ἄιθαλη*, pointing to the same root from which *λαμπας* sprang, and thus strengthens the position I take of its connection with the Polynesian *lama*.

In tracing this word back to its origin, from light to torch, from torch to faggot, we see that the Polynesian, Greek, and Latin have retained a reminiscence of a once common name for the material of which the faggot was composed, though in after-ages applied to special objects. The development of the idea of light from torches, night-light, and its application to the moon, is peculiar to the Polynesian family, and must have taken place after its separation from the Aryan stock.

LANA, *v.* Haw., to float on the water or in the air, to swing, drift about; in ancient chants, *nana*,—*l* and *n* convertible. It formerly had some now obsolete sense of extension, place, as shown in the compound *lana-nuu*, "the raised *lana*, stage or place," where the idols were set in the *heiau*; also in *ku-lana*, lit. "stopped floating," a place where many things were collected, a village, a garden; *lana* and *a-lana*, light, floating, easily buoyant. Marqu.,

*ana* and *aka*, light, not heavy. Tah., *a-raa*, id., to be raised or lightened, as a vessel in the water, Sam., *langa*, to raise up, to rise up, to spring up, as troops from ambush. Fiji, *langa*, lifted up. Mal., *ringan*, light, not heavy.

Another application of this word, and apparently connected with its primary sense, is the Haw. *lana-lana*, also *nana-nana*, the long-legged spider, also a spider's web; *u-lana*, to weave, plait, braid. N. Zeal., *ranga*, id. Tah., *rara'a*, id. Sam., *lalanga*, to weave, braid, also a fine mat.

Probably the Polynesian word for the common house-fly derives from the same original conception of "floating, light, buoyant, agile." Sam., *lango*; Tong., *id.*; Tah., *ra'o*; N. Zeal., *ngaro*; Haw., *nalo*; Marqu., *nao*; N. Celebes, *rango*; Sanguir, *lango*, fly.

Sansk., *lañgh*, to jump, step over, surpass, ascend; *laghu* ("i.e., lañghu," Benfey), light, not heavy, quick, young; *laghat*, wind.

Greek, *λαγως*, a hare; *ἐλαχυς*, small, little, insignificant; *ἀραχνης*, a spider.

Lat., *aranea*, a spider, cobweb. Perhaps *rana*, a frog, with the underlying conception of "jumping."

LANO, s. Sam., a lake; *lalano*, deep, of water. Tong., *ano*, a lake. Tah., *ra'o*, a fleet at sea. Fiji, *drano*, lake or piece of standing water. N. Celebes, *rano*, water. S. Celebes (Bolanghitau), *rano*, id.; *bo-rango*, the sea. Borneo (Dayak-Idaan), *danau*, water. Pulo-Nias, *idano*, water. Mal., *danau*, lake. Malg., *ranu*, the sea. N. Guinea (Motu), *rano*, water; (Kirapuno), *rana*, id.

Sansk., *dhanv* (Ved.), to run, flow.

I leave to abler hands to determine the possible connection of the compound in such river-names of the Indo-European branches of the Aryan family as *Eri-danus*, *Rho-danus*, *Danubis*, (*Δανουβις*), &c., with the Sanskr. *dhanv*. Whether the Polynesian or the Vedic be the older form, they are evidently related.

LANU, s. Sam., colour; *v.* to wash off salt water, to oil the body all over. Fiji, *dranu*, fresh water; *v.* to wash off in fresh after bathing in salt water.

Sansk., *ran'j*, to dye, to colour.

Greek, *ῥαινω*, to sprinkle, be sprinkled; *ῥανις*, a drop, a spot; *ῥαντηριος*, sprinkled, spotted, defiled; perhaps also *ῥαξ*, a grape, and *ῥεγευς*, a dyer; *λεγωνο*, the coloured edging or border of a garment.

A.-Sax., *ge-regnan*, to colour.

LAPA, *v.* Haw., to jump, spring about; *s.* a ridge between two depressions, a protuberance; *lapalapa*, *v.* to rise or stand up, as water-bubbles in boiling, to protrude, as a flame; *s.* flame, blaze, an undulating, rolling country; *adj.* flat or square, where the corners are prominent. Sam., *lapa*, to be flat; *lalapa*, flat, compressed. Tah., *rara*, the blade of a paddle or oar; *raparapa*, *orapa*, any square piece. Fiji., *laba*, to strike or smite, as water against a canoe, as fish with their tails, to kill treacherously. N. Zeal., *raparapa*, the sole of the foot. Malg., *mi-repak*, to creep (ramper), prostrate oneself; *mi-reperip*, volatile, inconstant; *mi-raverav*, to lean over, to totter, vacillate; *lavu*, fall, to fall, ready to fall; *lapats*, squint-eyed. Sunda., *lumpu*, lame, limping; *lumpat*, to leap; *lamboe*, lip.

Lat., *labo*, to totter, be on the point of falling; *labor*, to slip, glide, fall; *lapsus*, any quick motion, slip, fall; *a-lapa*, a slap in the face; *lambo*, to lap.

Greek, *λαπτω*, to lap with the tongue; *λαιλαψ*, a hurricane with clouds and thick darkness, whirlwind sweeping upwards; *λαιψηρος*, light, nimble, swift.

Welsh, *llabiaw*, to slap; *llab*, a stroke; *llapiaw*, to lap, lick; *rhamp*, to rise, reach over, rising up, vaulting.

Sax., *lappian*, to lap, lick; *rem-pend*, headlong; *lorpe*, a flea; *ge-limpan*, to happen, befall. Possibly such English words as *flap*, *slap*, *slope*, are connected with this family.

Sansk., *lamb*, to fall, to set as the sun, to hang downward. Perhaps *labh*, to throw, to direct; *reb*, *rev*, to go by leaps, to flow.

The Sax. *lippa*, Swed. *läpp*, Lat. *labium*, *labrum*, and the Sunda. *lambee*, lip, probably refer themselves better to the Polynesian *lapa*, "protuberance," than to *λαβω*,

λαμβάνω, whether in the sense of "to take" or "receive."

LAPU, s. Haw., ghost, apparition of some one dead, night-monster; *lapu-lapu*, v. to collect together in small heaps, to pick up, as sticks for a faggot; *lapu-wale*, lit. "only a ghost," nothing substantial, foolish, worthless; *akua-lapu*, a spectre. N. Zeal., *rapu*, to search for. Tah., *rapu*, *ta-rapu*, to mix together, squeeze, scratch, be in confusion. Fiji., *ravu*, to kill, smash, break.

Sanskrit., *ribhu*, i.e., *rabh-u* (Benfey), name of certain deities; according to Pictet, good spirits in the Vedic mythology; *rabh*, to seize, to take; *rabhas*, zeal.

Lat., *rabies*, rage, frenzy.

Welsh, *rhaib*, fascination; *rheibus*, a sorcerer, a witch.

Touching the Sanskrit *rbhu*, Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 607), says: "Leur nom comme adjectif, signifie habile, adroit, inventif, et, comme substantif, artisan habile surtout à forger et à construire des chars. Il dérive de la rac. *rabh*, *temere*, *agere*, avec â préf., ordiri, incipere. Cf. *rbhva*, *rbhvan*, hardi, entreprenant, adroit.

"Lassen, le premier, a rapproché de *rbhu* le grec *Ὀρφεύς*, tout en avouant que les traditions relatives au chantre thrace n'offrent aucun rapport avec celles du *Rigvéda*. Kuhn adopte ce rapprochement, en cherchant dans les Elfes de la Germanie, grands amateurs de musique et de chant, un chaînon qui relie Orphée aux *rbhus* de l'Inde.

"Si l'on part, en effet, d'une forme *arbh* = *rabh*, dont le dérivé *rbhu* serait un affaiblissement, il devient facile d'y rattacher, avec Kuhn, le scand. *älfr*, ags. *ælf*, anc. all. *alp*, &c., nom d'une classe d'esprits qui tiennent une grande place dans la mythologie du Nord, et les superstitions populaires de l'Allemagne et de l'Angleterre. Leurs attributs sont plus variés que ceux de leurs confrères de l'Inde, et leur sphère d'action est plus étendue. Ils se divisent en plusieurs classes, les blancs, les noirs, les gris, les bruns, suivant leur caractère bon ou malin; les uns beaux et gracieux, les autres laids et difformes. Ces derniers se confondent plus ou moins avec les

nains, *dvergar*, qui se rapprochent des *ꝛbhús* par leur habileté comme artisans et forgerons. D'un autre côté, les Alfar lumineux qui habitent l'air, et qui se plaisent à la musique et à la danse, ressemblent mieux aux *Maruts* indiens, génies de l'air qui, à leur tour, s'identifient par plusieurs points avec les *ꝛbhús*. On voit ainsi qu'un fond commun de croyances, simple à son origine, s'est développé plus tard dans plusieurs directions chez les Indiens et les Germains." And also with the Polynesians.

LATU, *s.* Sam., head-builder, chief constructor; word not found in the other Polynesian dialects. Fiji., *ratu*, equivalent to Master, Sir. Jav., *ratu*, chief, noble. Sulu Isls., *datu*, id. Mal., *datoh*, chief, head-man.

Zend, *ratu*, head, chief. See M. Haug's Essay on the Parsis, p. 175, n. 1.

LAWA, *v.* Haw., to work out, even to the edge or boundary of a land, *i.e.*, leave none uncultivated, to fill, suffice, be enough. Sam., *lava*, be enough, to complete; *adv.* indeed, very. Tah., *rava-i*, to suffice. N. Zeal., *rava-kore*, lit. "not full," poor. Fiji., *rawa*, accomplish, obtain, possess.

Sansk., *labh*, *lambh*, to obtain, get, acquire, enjoy, undergo, perform; *lábha*, acquisition, gain; *rabh*, to seize, to take.

Lith., *loba*, the work of each day, gain, labour; *lobis*, goods, possessions; *pra-lobti*, become rich; *api-lobe*, after work, *i.e.*, evening.

A. Pictet refers the Lat. *labor*, work, to this same family, as well as the Irish *lobhar* and the Welsh *llafur*. He also, with Bopp and Benfey, refers the Goth. *arbaiths*, labour, work, to the Sanskr. *rabh* = *arb*, as well as the Anc. Slav., *rabu*, a servant. Russ., *rabota*, labour. Gael., *airbhe*, gain, profit, product.

This Polynesian *lawa* is doubtless akin to

LAWE, *v.* Haw., to carry, bear, take from out of; *lawe-lawe*, to wait upon, to attend on, serve, to handle, to feel of; *adj.* pertaining to work. Tah., *rave*, to receive, to

take, seize, lay hold of; s. work, operation; *rave-rave*, a servant, attendant. Rarot., Paum., *rave*, id. Sam., *lave*, to be of service; *lave-a*, to be removed, of a disease; *lavea'i*, to extricate, to deliver. Fiji., *lave*, to raise, lift up. Malg., *ma-lafa*, to take, seize; *rava*, pillage, destruction. Sunda., *rampok*, theft. Mal., *rampas*, *me-rabut*, take forcibly. Motu (N. Guinea), *law-haia*, to take away.

Sansk., *labh*, *rabh*, see previous word, "*Lawa*."

Greek, λαμβανω, ελαβον, take hold of, seize, receive, obtain; λημμα, income, gain; λαβη, λαβις, grip, handle.

Lat., *labor*, work, activity; perhaps also *Laverna*, the goddess of gain or profit, the protectress of thieves; *rapio*, *rapax*.

Goth., *raupjan*, to reap, pluck; *raubon*, to reave, rob. Sax., *reafian*, take violently.

Pers., *raftan*, to sweep, clean up; *robodan*, to rob.

Lith., *ruba*, pillage; *rūbina*, thief,

LE'A, s. Haw., *le'a-le'a*, gladness, merriment, pleasure, joy; *v.* to delight in, be pleased; as an intensitive, perfectly, thoroughly, very. N. Zeal., *reka*, be gay, joyful. Tah., *re'a-re'a*, id. Marqu., *eka-eka*, id. Sam., *tau-le'a-le'a*, a young man. Tong., *tau-leka-leka*, id., handsome. Fiji., *leca*, good, satisfactory; *vaka-leka*, to be happy. Malg., *reta-reta*, flattering. Mal., *lezat*, pheasant.

Lat., *lætus*, glad, joyful; *delecto*, *deliciæ*.

Goth., *laikan*, to skip, leap for joy; *laiks*, sport, dance; *ga-leikan*, to please. Sax., *lician*, id. Swed., *leka*, to play, sport.

LEO, s. Haw., voice, sound; *leo-leo*, to wail, as for the dead; *leo-leo-a*, to curse, bawl. Sam., *leo*, s. voice, sound; *v.* to watch, to guard; *leo-leo*, a watchman; *leo-leo-a*, loud talking, clamour. Marqu., *eo*, voice, speech. Tah., *reo*, id. Tong., *leo*, id. N. Zeal., *reo*, id. Paum., *reko*, id., language.

Greek, ῥέω, ἔρω, to speak, talk; ῥήμα, word, saying, &c.; ῥητος, said, spoken.

Lat., *reor*, *ratus*, to believe, think, judge; *prex*, entreaty, prayer; *precor*.

Goth., *rathjan*, to speak, tell; *rodjan*, id.; *redan*, to

counsel, provide for, think of. Sax., *ræd*, speech, discourse, counsel; *reord*, speech, language. Perhaps Goth. *larian*, to reprove, revile. A.-Sax., *lean*.

LELO, Haw., also *a-lelo*, *e-lelo*, the tongue; *o-lelo*, to speak, talk. Probably connected with *lale*, the name of a chattering bird. Sam., *a-lelo*, tongue. Tah., *a-rero*. id., small slips, pendant parts of a maro or girdle-cloth; *o-rero*, speech, oration, orator, to speak. N. Zeal., *ko-rero*, speech, rumour. Tong., *elelo*, tongue. Marqu., 'e'o, id. Fiji., *lali*, a native drum, a bell. Malg., *lela*, tongue; *ma-lela*, orator. Mal., *lidah*, tongue. Sunda. and Jav., *ilat*, id. Macassar, *lelah*, id. Biajau, *delah*, id.

Sansk., *lal*, *lad*, to sport, dally; *lalana*, lolling the tongue.

Greek, *λαλεω*, to talk, chat, babble, chirp; *λαλη*, *λαλαξ*, &c.

Lat., *lallo*, sing a lullaby.

Welsh, *lloliaw*, to prattle, babble.

Russ., *leleyu*, to dandle, fondle.

LEMU, *v.* Haw., be slow, lag behind; *lemu-lemu*, walk hesitatingly, go slowly; *lemu*, *s.* the buttocks, underpart of a thing. Sam., *lemu*, *adv.* quietly, privately, slowly; *lemu-lemu*, *v.* to draw the finger across the nose, a sign of having had illicit intercourse. Tong., Fiji., *lemu*, the buttocks. N. Zeal., *remu*, the skirt of a garment. Malg., *lamus*, back, loins.

Sansk., *ram*, to rest, to like to stay, be delighted, rejoice, have sexual intercourse.

Greek, *ἡρεμα*, gently, quietly, slowly; *νω-λεμες*, without pause, constantly; *νω* for *νη* priv. Benfey refers this to the Sanskr. *ram*.

Goth., *rimis*, rest, quietness.

LENA, *v.* Haw., to bend, strain, as in drawing a bow, to aim, as in shooting. To pull or stretch, as clothes for drying or ironing, to strain the eyes, squint. Sam., *lelena*, to spread out in the sun, smooth down, straighten out, as new siapo (cloth), distend. Marqu., *ena*, id. Tah., *re'a*, a fathom measure.

O. Norse, *glenna*, to distend, in the sense of opening the eyes wide. Swed., *glänt*, half-opened, ajar, as a door. Perhaps Sax. *grinnian*, to grin, show the teeth.

Lat., *ringor*, to open the mouth wide, show the teeth.

LEPA, *s.* Haw., a fringe, something waving, flowing, pendant, a flag; *v.* to roll up the eyes, stand up, as a cock's comb, to move or cut obliquely; *ki-lepa*, *ka-lepa*, to wave or flutter, as a flag; *fig.* to peddle, hawk about goods. (In heathen times those who had goods to sell set a flag as a signal.) Another form is *lepe*, a cock's comb; *adj.* diagonally. Tah., *repa*, the edge of a garment; *ta-repa*, to shake, flap; *repe*, the comb of a fowl. Marqu., *epe-epe*, *id.* Fiji., *reva*, to shake, flap.

Sansk., *srip*, to creep, to move; *sarpa*, a sliding motion, a snake; *drápi*, Ved. (*vid. Pictet, Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 229*), mantle, clothing.

Zend, *dráfsha*, banner, flag, turban.

Lith., *dribti*, to wave, hang loosely; *drobi*, cloth; *drapanos*, under-garment; *virpu*, to waver.

Greek, *ῥεπω*, to incline, sink, fall, shift about, to happen; *ῥοπη*, inclination downwards; *ῥοπτρον*, the knocker of a door; *ῥαβδος*, rod, wand, switch; *ἔρπω*, to creep, crawl; *ἔρπετον*, a reptile, snake.

Lat., *repo*, to creep, crawl; *serpo*, *id.*; *serpens*, reptile, worm.

Welsh, *serfu*, to vacillate, have the vertigo; *sarff*, a serpent. Irish, *searpan*, the swan.

LEPO, *s.* Haw., dirt, dust, earth, ground; *v.* to be dirty, defiled, turbid. N. Zeal., *repo*, mud, swamp. Marqu., *epo*, *id.* Tah., *repo*, earth, dirt, filth. Sam., *lepa*, pond, stagnant water, muddy; *lepu*, to be stirred up, as water. Tong., *lepa*, a well. Fiji., *lobolobo*, soft, muddy; *rebu*, to stir up the water by splashing when fishing. Malg., *lembuk*, gust; *levuh*, corruption; *rhomba*, balsam. Mal., *lumpor*, mud; *lumbut*, soft.

Sansk., *lip*, to anoint, smear, stain; *lepa*, mortar, plaster, stain, spot.

Greek, *λιπα*, *λιπας*, *λιπος*, grease, fat, tallow; *λιπαρος*,



fatty, unctuous; *λιπαρης*, persistent (sticky); *ἀλειφω*, to anoint with oil, daub, plaster.

Lat., *lippus*, bleary-eyed, running, dropping; *liqueo*, be liquid, fluid; *gleba*, a lump of earth, clod, a field.

Welsh, *lypan*, soft, smooth.

Pol., *lep*, glue. Slav., *liepiti*, to glue.

Lith., *limpu*, *lipti*, to stick.

LEWA, s. Haw., the upper air, region of clouds; *v.* to swing, float in the air, move back and forth; *hoo-lewa*, to vibrate, float in the air, carry between two persons, as a corpse, a funeral. Tah., *rewa*, the firmament, an abyss; *rewa-rewa*, to fly about, as a flag. Mangr., *rewa*, the overhanging firmament, a tent, a flag. N. Zeal., *rewa*, the eyelid. Marqu., *ewa*, to suspend; *s.* the middle. Sam., *leva* (of time), long since; *v.* be protracted. Fiji., *rewa*, high, height; *vaka-rewa*, to lift up, to hoist, as a sail. Malg., *lifa*, *v.* to fan oneself, *s.* flight; *rafraf*, a fan.

Goth., *luftus*, the air. Sax., *lyfti*, air, arch, vault. O. Engl., *lift*, air.

Lat., *limbus* (?), fringe, flounce.

Sansk., *dev*, *div*, primarily "jacere, jaculare," according to A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 466), subsequently "to play at dice," play generally. The permutation of *d* and *l* may be observed in the Latin *levir*, brother-in-law (the husband's younger brother) = Sanskr. *devri*, *devara*, id.

If *dev* or *div* has derived the sense of "throwing dice" from an older sense "jacere, jaculare," to throw, to hurl, that sense may be a derivative from a still older one, "to lift up, swing about, be suspended" = the Polynesian *lewa*, *rewa*, "to be suspended, to vibrate." And thus we can also understand the origin of the Goth. *luftus*, the Sax. *lyfte*, the O. Norse *loft*, Swed. *lowera*, *lofwa*, Engl. *luff*.

LI, *v.* Haw., to hang by the neck, to strangle, to furl, as a sail, to see, observe, fear, shrink back with dread; *adj.* trembling, shaking, as from an ague fit; *li-a*, to ponder, think, start suddenly, as a dog at a fly; be cold, shiver; *li-ki*, to gird, tie up tightly, to throng, be troubled,

be hustled, as by a crowd, be stiff, as a limb. Sam., *li*, to set firmly together, as the teeth; *s.* a sinnet fastening; *li'a*, a chief's dream; *li'anga*, a giddy height; *li'a-li'a*, to be afraid of; *lia'i*, to whirl round; *lialia'i*, to shake the head. Tah., *ri*, to hang, suspend; *ri-a*, a vision, phantom; *ri'ai*, be seized with fear; *ria-ria*, horror, disgust; *ri-ta*, the spasm or convulsions in lockjaw; *v.* to bite, gnash the teeth; *rita-mata*, to sparkle, glisten, as the eyes in a rage. Tong., *li*, to toss; *li-ti*, throw away; *lia-lia*, disagreeable, abominable. Rarot., *ri-ti*, to tie on. Fiji., *lia-lia*, foolish, crazy. Malg., *man-ri*, to strangle, compress. Mal., *lilit*, to coil, curl.

Greek, *έγγεω*, to shudder with fear, to shiver with cold; *έγος*, cold, frost; *φρισσω*, be rough, to bristle, to shiver with cold; *φρικη*, a rippling as of water, a shivering with fear or cold, cold, frost; *φριξ*, id.

Lat., *rigeo*, be stiff, hard, benumbed, as with cold; *rigidus*; *frigeo*, be rigid with cold, benumbed; *frigus*, cold, frost.

Sansk., *rej*, to tremble (Ved.)

Goth., *reiran*, to tremble; *reiro*, earthquake.

LI'I, *adj.* Haw., *obsol.*; *li'il'i*, small, little. Tah., *ri'i*, id. Mangr., *riki*, id. N. Zeal., *riki-riki*, id. Marqu., *'iki'iki*, id. Sam., *li'i*, to be small; *li'il'i*, ripples; also *ni'ini'i*, small, minute. Sunda., *letik*, small.

Sansk., *lic*, be small; *leca*, smallness, a little.

Greek, *όλιγος*, small, little, few.

Goth., *leitils*, little. Sax., *lytel*, id.

To the same root, with the sense of "being small, little," refer themselves probably the following:—

LIHA<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., a nit, the egg of a louse. Tah., *riha*, id. Sam., Tong., *lia*, id. Tagal., *lisa*, id.

Sansk., *likshā*, a nit, young louse, a poppy seed; *rikshā*, a nit, a mote in a sunbeam.

Lat., *ricinus*, a tick.

LIHA<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., be sick at the stomach, nauseate. Sam., *lifa*, be thin, wasted, as the belly from disease; *malifa-lifa*, a hollow, sunken place in the ground; *faa-lifa*, draw in,

as the abdomen, be sloping, as a road. Malg., *mi-lefa*, to flee away, to leave a place.

Sansk., *rich*, to evacuate, to leave, ptcpl. pf. pass.; *rikka*, empty, purged, free from; *rechana*, purging, evacuation, looseness.

Lat., *linquo*, to leave, forsake; *re-lictus*, *re-liquus*.

Greek, *λικμος*, *λικνον*, a winnowing-fan.

Anc. Slav., *riesheti*, to dissolve, to cause to pass away, deliver.

I do not refer to the Greek *λειπω* or the Gothic *laiba* and *af-lifnan*, which Benfey refers to the Sanskrit *rich*. It may be so; but there is enough without them. The Greek *λικ-μος*, *λικ-νον*, have no etymon assigned them in Liddell and Scott.

LIKE, *adj.* Haw., be like, similar, resemble. N. Zeal., *rite*, equal. Rarot., *arite*, id., like. Malay., *litjien*, be even, like.

Goth., *ga-leiks*, like; *ga-leikon*, to liken. Sax., *lic*, like, similar.

LIKO, *v.* Haw., to swell, expand, be fat, shine, glisten; *s.* the shining white in the eyes; *li'o-li'o*, bright, shining; *ma-li'o*, first light of the morning. N. Zeal., *rito*, a bud. Tah., *rito*, to swell, as buds of leaves or flowers. Sam., *li'o*, a circle; *li'o-fingota*, a halo round the moon; *ma-li'o*, a land-crab. Fiji., *liso*, to glisten, be fiery, as of the eyes. Malg., *likouk*, eclat, splendour, glare, brightness.

Sansk., *rich*, to shine; *riksha*, a star, also a bear. Pali, *ikka*, id. Beng., *rich*, id. Marath., *risa*, id.

Greek, *Ἄρκτος*, a bear, the constellation Ursa Major, a kind of crab; *ἀρκηλος*, a young panther.

Lat., *glisco*, to swell, grow fat, increase, spread; *glesum*, amber; *ursus*, a bear; *Ursa*, name of a constellation. French, *lisse*, smooth, glossy.

Goth., *glit-munjan*, to shine, glitter, glisten. Sax., *glite-nan*, *glisnian*, to shine, sparkle.

LIMA, *s.* Haw., arm, hand. Sam., *lima*, id., fore-leg of an animal. Tah., Rarot., *rima*, id. Tonga., *nima*, id. Marqu., *ima*, id.; and through all the Polynesian dialects

this word signifies the number "five." Even the New Zealanders, while using the form *ringa* for hand, express the number five with *rima*. Among the Polynesian congeners in the Malay Archipelago, as well as their Malay successors, this word is of universal usage, either as an expression for hand, arm, or for the number five. Celebes, N. and S., *lima*, *rima*, hand and five. Sanguir, *lima*, id. Sulu Island, *lima*, id. Buru (Cajeli), *limamo*, hand; *lima*, five. Amblau, *lemanatia*, hand; *lima*, five. Amboyna, *lima*, *rimak*, hand. Saparua, *rimah*, hand. Ceram. (Ahtiago and Tobo), *niman*, hand; *lima*, five. Ceram. (Gah), *numo-niña*, hand; *lim*, five. Ceram. (Wahai), *mimare*, hand; *nima*, five. Teor., *limin*, hand. Goram., *imah-nin*, hand; *liem*, five. Malg., *dimi*, *limi*, five. Mal. and Jav., *lima*, five.

Some uses of this word occur in the Polynesian which may enable us the better to recognise its West Aryan relations. Thus in Haw., *lima-lima*, *v.* to handle, employ the hands; *hoo-lima-lima*, to hire, to bargain for work to be done; *lima-lau*, to carry on the hips; *lima-iki*, to fall upon one, as a robber, to assassinate. In Sam., *lima-lima*, *v.* to do quickly, to be clever at all work; *lima-la'u*, a boaster; *lima-mulu*, slow of hand, stingy; *faa-lima-lima*, snatch covetously at things being distributed. Tah., *rima-haa*, a greedy, dishonest person, one who snatches at everything; *rima-hera*, *rima-io*, a generous, liberal person.

Goth., *niman*, to take, take away, receive; *anda-nem*, *anda-numts*, a receiver. Sax., *neman*, to take. O. Engl., *nimmer*, a thief; *nimble*, lively, swift, applied chiefly to motions of hands or feet. Probably Sax. *lim*, limb; Icel. *limr*; Swed. *lem*, id.

Greek, *νεμω*, to deal out, distribute; Mid., to hold, manage; *νεμησις*, distribution; *νεμετωρ*, dispenser of rights, avenger; *νομευς*, a dealer out, distributor; *οἱ νομεις*, the ribs of a ship, also the rigging; *νομη*, division, distribution.

Lat., *numerus*, number, a part of a whole, a member; *numellus*, rigging of a vessel; *numella*, fetters, stocks. Quære' *mem-brum*, a limb, member of the body? Benfey

(Sansk.-Engl. Dict.) refers *membrum* to Sanskr. *marman* a vital organ or member, a joint of a limb, and derives *marman* from *mṛi*, to die. It may be so, but I fail to see the application of the idea of death to express, or from which to deduce, the idea of a joint or a limb. Whatever the derivation of *marman*, I hardly think that the Lat. *membrum* originally sprang from the same root; the more so in view of the Ceram. (Wahai) variant—"mimare"—of the universal Polynesian *lima*.

Anc. Slav., *su-nimati*, to bring together, congregate. Russ., *s'nimati*, to take away; *vy-nimati*, to seize.

Though apparently one of the ancient forms by which the early Aryans expressed the sense of hand, arm, had become obsolete and superseded by other synonyms before the West Aryans left their primitive abodes, yet traces of the once common word are manifest, in sense and form, in *νεμω*, *νομευς*, *numerus*, *numellus*, *niman*, *lim*, *nimati*. The Greek, the Gothic, and the Slavonic pointing to the hand as "the taker, the distributor," and the sense of the Latin form indicating that the hand was also used as a counter, the "numerator," Mr. A. Pictet refers this family of words to the Sanskrit *nam*, to bow, bend, stoop. Benfey seems to favour the same derivation; but the argument by which Pictet supports his proposition (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 16 and 691) seems to me untenable in view of the direct Polynesian *lima*, *rima*, *nima*, of whose existence or application Pictet was apparently ignorant.

If Sanskrit offers no allied word to the Greek, Gothic, Slavonic, Latin, and Polynesian, it may be permissible to look to some of the tribes of the Hindu-Kush, if haply they may have preserved some reminiscence of this word. I find there, in the Gilgit dialect of the Shina, that *lam-oylci* signifies to "take hold;" *oylci* being the infin. inflection, leaves the radical *lam* to express the sense. Whether a corruption of some lost Sanskrit or Zend word, or itself some ancient variation of the primary word of the Gothic, Greek, and Polynesian, I am unable to say.

LIMU, *s.* Haw., sea-weed, sea-grass, moss; *limu*, *v.* to

turn, change, have various appearances; *limu-limu*, turning, whirling, curling, of the wind, instability of conduct, slippery, tricky; *limu-a*, a long rain, constant flow of water. Sam., *limu*, seaweed, moss; *limu-a*, moss-grown. Tah., *rimu*, seaweed, moss. Marqu., *imu*, id. Malg., *lemuk*, meadow, bottom-land. Sunda., *ha-limun*, moist, damp.

Lat., *limus*, s. slime, mire; *adj.* oblique, slanting.

Greek, *λιμνη*, salt marsh or firth, pool of standing water; *λιμην*, harbour, haven, creek; *λειμων*, moist, grassy place, meadow, holm. Perhaps *λημης*, humour, gum, rheum.

Sax., *lim*, a viscous substance; *ge-liman*, to glue; *slim*, soft, moist earth.

Pers., *limah*, mud.

Liddell and Scott refer the Greek words quoted above to *λειβω*, to pour, pour out, shed. I think the Polynesian offers a better reference.

LINA, *adj.* Haw., soft, yielding, tough; *lina-lina*, tough, adhesive, mucous; s. wet, clayey land; v. to adhere, stick to; *papa-lina*, the cheek. Tong., *linga*, male organ of generation; *talinga*, the ear. Sam., *talinga*, the ear. Tah., *ta-ria*, id.; *papa-ri'a*, the cheek. N. Zeal., *ringa*, the arm, hand; *ta-ringa*, the ear. Marqu., *papa-ika*, the cheek; *pua-ika*, ear. Fiji, *linga*, hand. Malg., *ta-linh*, ear. Pulo Nias, Celebes, *ta-linga*, id. Sulu Islands, Mal., *te-linga*, id. Amboyna (Liang), *te-rina*, id. Ceram. (Wahai), *te-nina-re*, id. Buguis, *un-ka-linai*, to hear. Sunda., *lengen*, arm. Through the Indian Archipelago generally, wax is called *lilin*.

Sanskrit., *li*, be viscous, be solvable, to melt, adhere to, cling to; ptcpl. pf. pass., *lina*. As Benfey gives no etymon of the Sanskrit *linga*, a mark, spot, the phallus emblem of *Śiva*, I may be permitted, in view of the above Polynesian relatives, to class them all as descendants of a root, *li* or *li*, alone retained in the Sanskrit. The Sanskrit *karṇa*, an ear, a rudder, one of the names of *Śiva*, deserves some attention in this connection. Benfey classes it

under a verb, *karn*, to pierce or bore, but intimates by the + that it has no authoritative references. Now, as it is probable that the ear had a name before it was bored, I would suggest that *karna* is a contraction of *ka-rina*, and if so, groups itself with the Polynesian *lina*, *ta-rina*, and the Sanskrit *linga*.

Greek, *ρῖνος*, the skin of a living person, the hide of a beast; *ρῖνον*, a hide. No etymon or reference given by Liddell and Scott. *Λινον*, anything made of flax, flax itself, a flaxen cord, fish-line, linen cloth.

Lat., *linum*, flax; *lens*, lentils, pulse; *lentitia*, toughness, flexibility; *lentiscus*, the mastich tree, the resin or oil from it; *lino*, to besmear, daub; *linea*, a thread, line, string.

Probably referring to the same family are the Haw. *lino*, *v.* to twist, as a string or rope, *s.* a rope; N. Zeal., *rino*, a rope; Marqu., Tah., *nino*, to twist, spin, a rope.

LIPI, LIPI-LIPI, *adv.* Haw., sharp, edge-like, as a mountain ridge or instrument for cutting; *s.* an axe. Sam., *lipi*, to die suddenly. Malg., *lef*, *lefo*, *ref*, a pike, an assegay.

Lat., *ripa*, shore, bank; *rupes*, a rock, cliff, crag.

Sax., *rib*, a rib. Icel., *rif*, id.

Russ., *ribro*, a rib.

LIPO, *s.* Haw., the deep water of the sea, also the south and south-west quarter of the heaven; *adj.* deep, shady, blue, black, or dark, as from the depth of the sea or from a cavern or a forest, dark, sombre. Malg., *rivut* (?), storm tempest.

Greek, *λιψ*, *λιβος*, the south-west wind. Liddell and Scott (Greek-Engl. Dict.) refer this word "probably from *λειβω*, because it brought wet." It may be so; but Africa, from the Great Syrtes to Egypt, was called *Λιβυη* by the Greeks. Now, if Libya was intended by the Greeks to mean the land from which the south-west wind blows, the word is apparently a misnomer, for the Cyrenaica bore from south to south-east of Greece, and not from south to south-west. But to the inhabitants of the Phœnician and Cilician coasts of Asia Minor *λιψ* would have been a

south-west wind, whether it brought wet or dry weather, and those inhabitants, at the time when the Greeks may be supposed to have become acquainted with the Mediterranean, were Phœnicians of the Hamitic, Chaldæo-Arabian race, and as they were by all accounts the earliest and the foremost navigators of ancient pre-historic times, it is fair to infer that the name for the south-west point of the compass may have been adopted from them by the early Greeks when they reached the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, as well as by the people occupying the Indian Archipelago, among whom the Cushite navigators introduced so much of their own folk-lore, arts, and probably language. It may not be worth much as a philological argument that the word  $\lambda\psi$  as a name for the south-west wind has no relation among the other Aryan branches, and was unknown alike to the Vedic invaders of India, to the Iranians, the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slaves; but it tends to support the presumption that, with both Greeks and Polynesians, it was a foreign word introduced by their early masters and teachers in navigation and commerce. To the Greeks of the southern and western coasts of Asia Minor it pointed across the sea to Libya and the frequent wet winds coming from that direction; to the Polynesians of the Indian Archipelago it pointed to the south-west monsoon and the deep dark-blue unfathomable ocean in that direction.

Of the other meaning of the word *lipo*, viz., "deep water, shady, dark colour," &c., no trace remains in the Greek, if ever any more than the mere technical expression for the south-west wind was adopted by them. If *lipo*, in the sense of "deep water, shady, dark," &c., was an Aryan word, I have found no relative or descendant of it, unless it underlies the sense of the Latin *Libitina*, the goddess presiding over funerals, and in whose temple the mortuary registers were kept. I know not the derivation of her name, but the sombre associations and trappings connected with death and an "iter ad inferos" may well suggest a derivation from a subsequently obso-



lete word, whose early form and sense corresponded with the Polynesian *lipo*, dark, sombre, &c.

Lo<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., a bug. Tah., *ro*, an ant. Tong., *lo*, id. Sam., *lo-ata*, the black ant; *lo-i*, an ant, Paum., *ro-i*, id.

Sansk., *lú-tá*, a spider, an ant.

Lo<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Obsol.; *lo-lo*, *s.* Sam., a flood; *v.* to overflow, be wet, of clothes; *lo-fia*, flooded; *lo-fu*, an obscene term; *lo-i-mata*, tears. Tah., *ro-i-mata*, tears; *ro-tu*, a heavy long rain; *ro-fai*, gust of wind with shower of rain. Fiji., *lo-lo*, a flowing tide.

Sansk., *ro-ma*, water; *lo-ta*, a tear.

LOHA, *s.* Haw., also *a-loha*, love, affection, gratitude, kindness, pity, mercy. Marqu., *aoha*, id. N. Zeal., Tah., *aroha*, id. Rarot., *aroa*, id. Sam., *alofa*, id. Tong., *'ofa*, id. Gilolo (Gablo), *ta-loha*, good.

Sansk., *lubh*, to court, to desire; *'lobha*, covetousness.

Greek,  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , free, gentle (vid. Benfey and Liddell and Scott,  $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ).

Lat., *lubet*, it pleases, is agreeable; *libet*, *liber*, *libido*.

Goth., *liubs*, dear, beloved; *ga-larubs*, precious, costly; *ga-lubs*, id.; *lubains*, hope; *lubo*, love. Sax., *lufian*, *lufian*, to love; *loef*, love. O. Norse, *lofa*, to praise, promise.

LOHI, *v.* Obsol.; *alohi*, *v.* Haw., *a*, euphon. to shine, be bright, sparkling; *alohi-lohi*, shine bright, as a light or fire. Tong., *alofia*, a volcano.

Sansk., *rohit*, the sun; *rohita*, red, the colour; *rohini*, lightning, blood; *lohita*, red, blood, saffron; *lohitaka*, red, a ruby, the planet Mars. Probably connected with the verbs *ruch*, *loch*, to shine; *rochis*, light, flame; *roka*, light; *ruch*, *s.* light, splendour, beauty.

Lat., *luceo*, shine; *lux*, light, &c.

Greek,  $\lambda\upsilon\chi\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , light, lamp, illumination;  $\lambda\upsilon\gamma\delta\omicron\varsigma$ , white marble.

A.-Sax., *leoht*, *lioht*, light. Perhaps also akin to the Lat. *russus*, *rosa*, *ruber*, *rufus*.

LOKO, *pr.* Haw., in, within, the inner part of persons and things; in compounds, temper, disposition; also a pond, a collection of water; *loko-ia*, a fish-pond. Tong.,

*loto*, the centre, middle, what is enclosed, also mind, temper, disposition; *lo-lotu*, deep, depth. N. Zeal., *roto*, within, a pool. Tah., *roto*, id., pond, lagoon. Sam., *loto*, in the midst, a deep hole, the interior, the heart, desire, will; *loto-a*, an enclosure; *loto-i*, be in the middle; *loto-nu'u*, love of country. Marqu., *oto*, within, bottom, interior. Fiji., *loco*, middle joint of the yard of a canoe.

Goth., *ga-lukan*, to lock, shut, enclose. Sax., *loc*, *loce*, an enclosed place. Swed., *lucka*, has the double sense of a shutter and of a gap, breach, chasm.

LOLE, *v.* Haw., also *loli*, turn over, turn inside out, to flay, skin, as an animal, to change, to alter. N. Zeal., *rori*, id. Tah., *rore*, to wrench or pinch; *rori*, to wash or cleanse; *ta-roria*, twisted about, as branches in a gale of wind. Sam., *lole*, to rub smooth.

Closely connected, if not a mere variant of the foregoing, is the Polynesian Haw., *lu e*, *luli*, to shake, vibrate, overturn; Tah., *rure-rure*, the trembling of the voice in chanting; *ruri*, to change, shift about, pervert.

Sansk., *lud*, *lul*, to agitate, shake, trouble; pteple. of pf. pass., *loḍita*, troubled, agitated; *lola*, shaking, tremulous; *lolā*, the tongue.

To this family doubtless refer themselves the English, German, and Swedish *roll*, *rollen*, *rulla*, as well as *troll*, *trull*, *stroll*; but I know not their Gothic or Saxon ancestors.

Welsh, *rholiaw*, *troliaw*, to roll, troll, whirl; *troll*, a roller; *truliaw*, to drill.

It may be interesting to note that in the Hawaiian, not only *lole*, *v.* signifies "to flay, to skin, as an animal," but *lole* is also a general name for "clothing, garments." As hogs and dogs are never flayed when cooked for food, and their skins were never employed for the purposes of clothing by any Polynesian tribe in the Pacific, the fact that the expression for flaying an animal was also used to designate clothing, garments, covering of the body, brings us back to the time when the Polynesians lived in places where the skins of animals were employed for clothing; beyond

the Pacific, beyond the Malay Archipelago, and probably in a clime where the skins of animals afforded warmth as well as covering for the body.

LOMA, *v.* Haw., be lazy, slow, awkward. Sam., *loma*, be quiet; *luma*, disgrace, reproach. Tah., *roma*, to shrink, become less; *ruma*, gloom, as of evening, sullenness, sadness; *ruma-ruma*, be dark, gloomy, sullen, sad. Fiji, *luma*, ashamed; *druma*, foolish, stupid.

Sansk., *rumra*, tawny.

Sax., *gloming*, twilight. Engl., *gloom*, *gloaming*, *glum*. Dutch, *lommer*, shade; *loom*, dull, heavy, slow. Swed., *loma*, to drag the legs in walking; *glämig*, wan, languid, lead-coloured, bleak; *glömma*, to forget.

LOMI, *v.* Haw., to rub, press, squeeze; *lumi*, *lulumi*, to gather in a small compass, to crowd, come together with a rush; *s.* a crowd of people. Tong., *lolomi*, to press down, defer, put off. Tah., *rumi*, to press, rub, wring as a cloth, to look away from a person or thing; *romi-romi*, to hide or conceal. Sam., *lomi*, to press on, knead gently, to press under, to suppress. Marqu., *omi*, to press, crush. Fiji, *rombo*, be full, filled.

Lat., *glomus*, a ball; *globus*, any round mass, lump, ball, crowd, as of people; *glomero*. Possibly *lumbus*, loin.

I know not the Gothic or Saxon forms of the English *lump*, *clump*, *plump*, though both sense and sound would seem to indicate their connection. But the Sax. *leoma*, utensils, Eng. *lumber*, useless and cumbersome things put away, doubtless refer themselves to the Polynesian *lomi* or some ancient equivalent form in *mb*, like the Fijian *rombo*, and of which the Latin *glomus* and *globus* are but differentiated expressions.

LONO, *v.* Haw., to hear, observe, obey; *pass.*, it is said, reported; *s.* report, fame, tidings. Sam., *longo*, to hear, report; *s.* sound; *longoma*, to hear; *longonoa*, be deaf; *longo-longoa*, be famed, renowned. Tah., *roa*, report, fame, notoriety; *pa-roo*, famous; *tui-roo*, id. Marqu., *ono* or *oko* (*k* for *ng*), sound, to hear. N. Zeal., *rongo*, to hear, to sound, report, news. Tong., *ongo*, sound, tidings. Fiji, *rongo*,

id. Iaw., *runu*, to hear. By the usual exchange of *l* and *n*, perhaps the Haw. *nana*, to bark, growl, and the N. Zeal. *nganga*, noise, uproar, refer themselves to this family.

Sansk., *raṇ*, to shout, to sound; *raṇa*, noise; *raṇa-raṇa*, mosquito.

Pers., *lānah*, cry, noise; *lāndan*, to cry, to bark; *ka-rānah*, a raven.

Irish, *lonach*, talkative, a babbler; *lon*, a blackbird; *r'an*, *ranach*, a cry, roarings.

Lat., *rana*, a frog.

A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., i. 474) refers the Greek *κορωνη*, a crow, a jackdaw, to the Sanskrit *raṇ*. Perhaps the Swedish *rōna*, to be aware of, to experience, apprehend, goes back to the Polynesian *lono* or the Sanskrit *raṇ*.

LU, *v.* Haw., to scatter, throw away, as small things, sow, as grain, shake, dive, plunge; *luu*, id., spill out, flow rapidly, rush, overturn; *luai*, to vomit; *lulu*, to shake, scatter; *luku*, destroy, slay, s. slaughter. Sam., *lulu*, to shake violently; *lu-e*, id.; *lutu*, to rattle, make a hollow sound in the water with the hand; *lu-ai*, spit out, vomit; *lu-o*, be rough, of the sea, be rainy, be in consternation. Tah., *ru*, to be in a hurry; *ru-ai*, to vomit; *ruru*, to shake, tremble; *rutu*, to beat, as a drum; Mang., *ruku*, to dive; *rutu*, to beat, as a drum. Marqu., *uku*, to dive; *utu*, to beat, strike. N. Zeal., *ruku*, to dive. Fiji., *lu*, to run or leak out; *lu-a*, to vomit; *lutu*, to fall or drop down. Malg., *luai*, vomit. Mal., *luka*, wound.

Sansk., *lā*, to cut, clip, destroy, wound; *lāni*, harvest, according to Pictet; rice, according to Benfey; *ru 2*, ferire, secare. Vid. A. Pictet, who in "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," ii. 202, refers *lōta* to *lā*, spoils, booty; but Benfey makes no mention of *lōta*, and refers *lotra*, stolen goods, booty, as a corruption of *loptra*, to *lup*, to break, destroy. The probabilities are that the derivatives of *lā* in *lup*, *lush*, *lumb*, &c., were formed in analogy with the derivatives of *tu* and similar monosyllabic roots. Thus, in this instance, from *ru*, to hurt, we have *rāksha*, rugged, rough; *ruth*, to strike, to fell; *rudh*, to obstruct, &c.

Greek, *λυω*, to loosen, unfasten, to dissolve, break up ; *λυη*, dissolution, separation ; *λυτηρ*, a deliverer ; *λυτρον*, price paid, ransom ; *λυμη*, outrage, ruin, destruction ; *ένω*, *ένσιον*, *ένσος*, &c.

Lat., *luctor*, to wrestle ; *luctamen* ; *lucrum*, gain, profit ; *solvo*, to loosen, separate, *so-lutus* ; *ruo*, to fall, tumble down, *ruina* ; *ructo*, to spit out, belch out ; *ruga*, wrinkle = Sanskr. *rāksha*.

Goth., *laus*, empty ; *lausjan*, loosen ; *fra-lusnan*, to perish.

Irish, *lot*, rapine.

Anc. Slav., *loviti*, to capture. Pol., *low*, booty.

LUA, *s.* Haw., a pit, hole, cave ; *v.* to dig a hole ; also in ancient times a process of killing a man by breaking his back or bones ; *lua-lua*, be flexible, pliant, soft, old garments, a road with many small ravines crossing it ; *lua-u* and *lua-ni*, a parent ; *lua-hine*, an old woman. Mang., *rué-ine*, id. Sam., *lua*, hole, pit ; *lua-o*, an abyss. Tah., *rua*, hole, pit ; *rua-rua*, to slander, to backbite ; *rufa*, worn out, as garments ; *rua-u*, old, stricken in years ; *s.* old man or woman. Tong., *luo*, hole. N. Zeal., *rua*, id. Fiji., *rusa*, decayed, perished. Malg., *loakh*, *luaka*, hole, cave, pierced.

Greek, *τρυω*, *τρυχω*, to rub down, wear out, waste ; *τρος*, toil, labour ; *τρυπα*, *τρυμη*, a hole ; *τρυπανον*, a borer, auger ; *τρυχος*, a tattered garment, rags ; *τρυφη*, softness, delicacy ; *θρυπτω*, break in pieces. Liddell and Scott refer these words to *τειρω*, to rub, rub away, as derivatives of it, wear out, and *τειρω*, to the Sanskrit *tri*, to pass over, hasten, fulfil, &c. Benfey also concurs in that derivation when he refers *τρυμα*, a hole, and *τρυτανη*, the tongue of a balance, to the same *tri*. With due deference to so great authorities, I would suggest that the above group of Greek words be referred to the Sanskrit *ru*, *lu*, *lædere*, *secare*, with the prefix *t* ; and they would thus at once fall into line with their Polynesian relatives, whose development of sense is perfectly analogous to the Greek group, though their development of form has been arrested. It may be

noted, moreover, as distinctive of the two roots, *tri* and *ru*, that while from the former—to pass over frequently, to rub, to smoothen—the idea of “young, fresh, a youth” (*taruua*), “soft, delicate” (*τερην*), “tender, soft, and childhood” (*tener*), were developed, the root *ru*, *lu*, gave birth to the idea of “old age, weakness, crumpled, flexible, as an old garment;” *lua*, *lua-u*, *τρυχος*.

Lat., *trua*, *trulla*, a tray, ladle, basin; *ruo*, to tumble down, but whose primary sense must have been “to dig,” as evidenced in the phrase “*ruta et caesa*,” and in *rutrum*, a spade, mattock. Quære *rus*, country, from *ruo*, to dig, cultivate?

Goth., *riurs*, mortal, corruptible. Scand., *ryc*; Swed., *rycka*, pull up, pluck out.

Anc. Slav., *ryti*, to dig; *ruvati*, to tear away.

Irish, *ruam*, a spade; *rumhar*, a mine; *ruamhar*, labour.

LU'I, *adj.* Haw., obsol.; *ko-lu'i-lu'i*, indistinct. Tah., *ru'i*, *adj.* be dark or blind, *s.* night; *a-ru'i*, id.; *ta-ru'i*, be black, as the sky, lowering, Paum., *ruki*, night.

Greek, *λυγη*, darkness, gloom; *ηλυγη*, shadow, darkness; *ηλυξ*, *adj.* id.

Irish, *loch*, dark.

LUHI, *adj.* Haw., tiresome; *v.* be fatigued with labour, oppressed with grief or a burden; *s.* fatigue. Tah., *ruhi*, sleepy, drowsy; *ruhi-ruhia*, aged; *tu-ruhe*, drowsy, sleepy. N. Zeal., *ruruhi*, feeble. Sam., *pulupulusi*, be sick, of a chief. Tong., *puluhu*, id.

Sansk., *ruj*, to break, to pain, afflict with disease; *s.* pain, sickness; *ruja*, id.

Greek, *λυγρος*, sad, gloomy, dismal; *λοιγος*, ruin, mischief, death; *λευγαλεος*, wretched, pitiful.

Lat., *lugeo*, to mourn, be afflicted.

The Polynesian *lu'i* and *luhi* may be variants, as *λυγη* and *λοιγος*, of the same root.

LUKA, *adj.* Haw., obsol.; *luka-luka*, the appearance of flourishing, thrifty vegetables; *nuka* (*n* for *l*), full, plump; *nuka-nuka*, fat, plump, smooth, as young animals or persons. To this probably refers itself the Haw. and Sam.

*lu'au*, the petals of a plant, the leaves of the taro plant, boiled herbs generally. Perhaps also the Tah. *rutu*, a mountain plantain. I refer this word and its underlying conception to the

Sansk., *ruch*, to shine, to please, be bright, sweet; *rochana*, splendid, pleasing, the name of several plants; *rochaka*, an onion, a plantain; *lochaka*, a plantain. In "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," i. 299, A. Pictet says: "Dans les langues européennes, c'est la forme *luk* qui domine, comme on le voit par *λευκος*, luceo; goth., *liuhath*, lux; irland., *loiche*; cymr., *lluch*, id.; anc. slav., *luc'a*, rayon, &c. Je n'hésite donc pas à rattacher à la même racine que *ro'cana* et *ro'caka*, les noms germaniques et lith. slaves de l'oignon et de l'ail; ang.-sax., *leac*; scand., *laukr*; anc. all., *lauh* (avec mutation régulière du *k* primitif); lith., *lu'kai*; anc. slav. et russe, *luku*, ail, et *lukovitza*, oignon; pol., *luk*, &c. Le laghmani (du Caboul) *ar'akh*, nous ramène à la forme *ruc*. Il est probable que l'oignon a été ainsi nommé de l'éclat caractéristique de ses pellicules."

LULA, *adj.* Haw., calm, as the wind, smooth, as the sea, lazy, indolent; *synon.* with, and probably a dialectical variation of, *lulu*, a calm place under lee of an island or precipice. Mang., *ruru*; Tah., *rurua*, shelter from the wind; *pa-ruru*, a veil, curtain, to screen. N. Zeal., *ruru*, close, hidden. Fiji., *ruru*, calm; *drudru*, dull, stupid.

O. Norse, *lura*, lazy, indolent. Swed., *lur*, a nap, light sleep. Engl. (Cumberland), *lurry*, to loiter.

LULU, *s.* Sam., owl. Tong., Fiji., *lulu*, id. Tah., *ruru*, name of albatross, also of a land-bird like the woodpecker. Haw., *nunu* (*n* for *l*), pigeon; referable perhaps to

Sansk., *ul'aka*, an owl.

Lat., *ulula*, id.

Sax., *ula*, *ule*, id.

LUPE, *s.* Haw., a kite; *lupe-a-keke*, the sea-eagle. Sam., Fak., *lupe*, pigeon. Tah., *rupe*, id.; *rupo-rupo*, be giddy, to reel, stagger. Fiji., *rube*, to hang up, suspend. Sunda.,

*lumpat*, to flee, to fly. Mal., *rebah*, to fall, to tumble down.

Sansk., *ropa*, an arrow; *ropanākā*, a bird (*Turbus salica*). Benfey refers these to *ruh*, to grow. I think that doubtful.

Greek, *ῥεμβω*, turn round and round; *ῥεμβη*, roving; *ῥομβος*, a spinning, whirling motion. Perhaps *κο-λυμβις*, a sea-bird, a diver, a grebe. Liddell and Scott give no etymon of this word.

Lat., *co-lumba*, a dove, pigeon; *pa-lumbes*, a wood-pigeon, a ringdove.

For a thorough examination, though with different result, see "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," by A. Pictet, i. 400. The variation in the prefixes *co* and *pa*, whatever their original meanings, evidently shows them to have been merely prefixes. But Pictet, like many others, ignored the Polynesian branch of the Aryan stock in looking for older forms of words.

LUPA, s. Not used in other dialects. Tah., *rupa*, a thicket of brushwood, also a thicket of branching coral; *nupa* (*n* for *l*), an impenetrable thicket of underwood or coral. Fiji., *rubu*, a kind of native basket. Perhaps Haw. *a-luka*, to jumble together, mix confusedly (*k* for *p*).

Greek, *ῥωψ*, low shrub, brushwood, brushes; *ῥιψ*, wicker-work, plaited osiers or rushes; *ῥιπις*, a fan for raising fire; *quære*, like the Haw. *peahi*, made of rushes? *τριφος*, a fishing-net or basket made of rushes.

MA<sup>1</sup>, *prefix*. Haw., implying a sense of fulness, solidity, increase. Sam., *ma*, prefix denoting ability. N. Zeal., *maha*, many, much. In the names of Polynesian places this word still remains in full, as *Maha-pu*, a district in Huahine, Society Group; *Maha-uli-puu*, a land in Koloa, Kauai, Hawaiian group. Malg., *ma*, *mah*, *maa*, *maha*, power, faculty to do or have, a prefix; as a verb to produce, be able, create. Malay. and Sunda., *maha*, great; *mahi*, enough.

Sansk., *mah*, to grow, increase, be powerful. (Accord-



ing to Benfey, orig. form *magh*); *maha*, great. In South Indian dialects contracted to *ma*, as *Ma-du* for *Maha-deo* (Sirwa); *Ma-vali-pura* for *Maha-bali-pura*, the name of a city.

Lat., *magis*, *magnus*, *major*, &c.

Greek, *μεγας*, great.

Sax., *ma-ra*, more; *ma-est*, most. Goth., *magan*, be able; *mahts*, might, power.

Irish, *mor*, great.

Pers., *mih*, to grow, increase.

MA<sup>2</sup>, ME, *prep.* and *conj.* Haw., at, by, together, with, in. Tah., *ma*, and, with, together. Sam., *ma*, for, with, from, on account of; *mo*, on behalf of. Marqu., *ma*, *me*, *mo*, id. Tong., *ma*, and, with, for; *mo*, id.; *be*, id. N. Zeal., *ma*, *me*, *mo*, and, with, for. Other dialects nearly similar. In the Kawi, *ma* in compound words means "with, in possession of," as *ma-gadha*, with a club. Malg., *a-ma*, *am*, *an*, with, and, among.

Sansk., *mith-as*, mutually, reciprocally, with one another; *mith-una*, a couple.

Greek, *μετα*, in the middle, among, for, with, by aid of, &c. Dor., *πεδα*.

Goth., *mith*, *mid*, with, amongst, together. Sax., *vit*; Germ., *mit*; Swed., *med*, with, by, &c.

Liddell and Scott, *s. v. μετα*, intimate that the radical sense was "in the middle." Neither the Gothic nor the Sanskrit seem to justify that conclusion, although they are developed forms of a root now alone preserved in the Polynesian. Neither *mith-as* nor *mith-una* give the radical sense of "in the middle," but rather the sense of one thing placed alongside of another, and these words are therefore later forms of an ancient copulative in *mi* or *ma*.

MA<sup>3</sup>, *v.* Haw., to fade, as a leaf, a flower, or colour from cloth, to blush, as one ashamed, to wilt, wear out. Sam., *ma*, *v.* to be ashamed, to be all destroyed; *adj.* clean, pure, bright; *ma-ma*, pale, clear; *s.* shame. Tah., *ma*, clean; *haa-ma*, to be ashamed. N. Zeal., *ma*, clean; *whaka-ma*,

bashful. Stewart Isl., *ma*, white. From this we have the following Polynesian derivatives:—Haw., *ma-e*, to blast, to wither; *mae-mae*, be pure, be clean, be dried. Tah., *ma-e*, to be abashed, confounded, thin, lean, withered, fermented, decaying; *ma-e-ma-e*, soft, as fruit or fish, over-ripe. Sam., *ma-e*, to be stale, as fish; *ma-mae*, to wither, fade.

Greek, *μασσω*, *ματτω*, to handle, touch, knead, squeeze, wipe; *μακτρον*, a towel; *μαγμος*, a wiping, cleaning; *ἀποσμαιω*, to wipe clean off. The Greek composite shows the primary root in *μα-ω*.

Sanskrit., *math*, *manth*, to churn, to agitate, to crush; ptepl. of pf. pass., *mathita*, churned, stirred, distressed, faded, agitated, destroyed; *mathin*, a churning-stick. The following words, to which Benfey gives no etymon, but which appear to be connected *inter se*, are probably also referable to some older or variant form of *math*, viz., *masi*, ink; *masina*, well ground; *masrina*, soft, unctuous, shining; *masrinita*, polished; *mantha*, the sun.

Lat., *macula*, spot, blot, blemish.

Lith., *minkau*, to pound, beat, thrash.

Slav., *maka*, flour, as pounded up in ancient mortars or ground in ancient querns.

A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 54) sees in the Latin *mane*, the morning, a contraction of a Sanskrit *manthané*, from *math*, *manth*, to churn, thus indicating to a pastoral people the time for making the butter, and he refers the name of the goddess *Matuta*, the goddess of daybreak or morning, to the same Sanskrit *math*. It may be that *mane* is a contraction from *matne*, and that the early Latins identified the morning with the churning-time and called the former by a name derived from the latter. It is a plausible hypothesis until a better is found. To me the Polynesian *ma* and *ma-e* would seem to answer all the requirements of roots to *math*, *macula*, *μασσω*, and the conjectural *μαιω* in *ἀποσμαιω*; and I am inclined to think that even *mane* and *matuta* derive with better propriety from *ma* and *mae*, in the sense of "blushing, bright, pure, clear, clean," than from the operation of churning.

MA<sup>4</sup>. (Obsolete, only in compounds. An ancient name for the moon.) Haw., *ma-uli*, the day between the old and new moon, in which the moon is not visible; lit. "the dark, obscured moon." By the lunar account it was the first day of the month or moon; by the Hawaiian calendar of thirty days to the month it was the twenty-ninth day. In Sam., *ma-uli* means simply "the moon," but *ma-una* means "the waning moon," from *una*, to pinch off, split off. Hence probably the *ma* in *ma-lama*, Haw., is not *ma* intens., but *ma* the moon, and thus lit. "moonlight;" and also the other Polynesian name for the moon, *ma-hina*, *ma-sina*, is a composite of a primary but now obsolete *ma*, and *sina*, *hina*, to shine, be white. This Polynesian *ma*, now only occurring in compounds, brings us in relation with the

Sansk. *mā*, to measure; *mās*, *māsa*, the moon, a month, and its numerous West Aryan congeners. Greek,  $\mu\eta\nu$ ; Dor.  $\mu\alpha\nu$ ; Ion.  $\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\mu\eta\nu\eta$  (moon). Lat., *mensis*. Goth. *mena*. A.-Sax., *mona*. Lith., *menesis*. Zend, *māo*, *mahya*. Pers., *māh*, *māhina*. Kourđ, *mah*, *meh*. Belout, *māhi*. Afghan, *miashta*. Osset., *mai*, *mei*. Arm., *amis*. Irish, *mis*, *mios*. Anc. Slav., *miesetsi*. There appears to have been three principal formations in early times upon the root *mā*, under which the above examples ranged themselves: that in *ma* simply, to which the Zend and Osset. with suffixes *o* and *i* belong; that in *maş*, to which the Sanskr., Pers., Kourđ., Belout., Afgh., Armen., Irish, Slav., and Greek ( $\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ) belong; and that in *māna* (*i.e.*, *mā* + *ana*, see Benfey), to which the Greek ( $\mu\eta\nu$ ,  $\mu\alpha\nu$ ), Lat., Goth., Lith., A.-Sax. belong. The contradistinction preserved in the Hawaiian and Samoan between the dark and waning moon, *ma-uli*, *ma-una*, and the bright or shining moon, *ma-sina*, *ma-hina*, confirms the inference that *ma* was a primary, original name for the moon in Polynesian, and nearest kin to the Zend and Osset. formations. This ancient form in *ma* or *mba* may still be detected in the Gilolo (Gani) *pa-i*, the moon, and the Sulu Island *fa-sina*, id.

MA'A<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., a sling; *v.* to sling, cast, throw away. N. Zeal., *maka*, to throw. Tah., *maa*, a sling, to sling stones, cloven, divided. Tong., *maka*, a stone; *makata*, a sling. Sam., *ma'a*, a stone; *ma'ata*, a sling; *ma'a'a*, hard, strong; *ma'a-i*, sharp, cutting, applied to tools, fire, words; *ma'a-u*, a biting stone, a poisonous stone; *ma'a-ma'a*, small stones, stony. Marq., *maka*, to fight.

Sanskrit., *makha*, a warrior, sacrifice, oblation; *makhas-yāmi*, I fight; *maksh*, to divide, to cut.

Greek, *μαχη*, battle, fight; *μαχομαι*, to fight, struggle; *μαχαιρα*, a large dirk or knife; *μακελον*, an enclosure.

Lat., *macellum*, a place where meat, &c., was sold, shambles, provision market; *maceria*, a wall, enclosure; *maeto*, to honour by sacrifice, to appease.

Irish, *machair*, combat.

Goth., *meki*, a sword. Sax., *mdki*, id. A.-Sax., *mece*, *mece*, id. Scand., *maekir*, id.

Anc. Slav., *mebi*, *miči*, glaive. Illyr., *mac*, id. Pol., *miecz*, id.

Pers., *mak*, *muk*, lance, javelin.

MA'A<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to accustom oneself, gain knowledge by practice; *s.* experience, manners gained by practice; *maka-u*, ready, prepared; *ma'a-lea*, cunning, crafty. Tah., *mata-u*, be accustomed or used to a thing; *mata-i*, skilful, dexterous. Sam., *mata-u*, to consider, to mark attentively. Fiji., *mata-i*, a mechanic.

Greek, *μανθανω*, aor. 2, *μαθειν*, to learn, to acquire a habit, be accustomed to; *μαθος*, custom; *ματος*, search; *μητις*, wisdom, cunning, craft.

Liddell and Scott, after Curtius, refer these Greek words to the Sanskrit *man*; Benfey refers *μανθανω*, *ματος*, to Sanskrit *math*, *manth*. The way is somewhat long in both cases. Either may be correct, but I think the Polynesian connection should not be overlooked.

MA'A<sup>3</sup>, *adj.* Haw., going about here and there, loitering, loafing. Tah., *ma'a-ma'a*, foolish, vain, useless. Marqu., *mama'a*, foolish. Fiji., *vaka-mamaka*, proud, buckish.

Greek, *ματη*, folly, fault; *ματαω*, be idle, loiter, dally;

*ματαιος*, foolish, useless, trifling. Liddell and Scott suggest that *ματη* is derived from *μαω*, to seek without finding.

**MAI**, *adv.* Haw., a word of prohibition, "do not," always used imperatively before verbs; *mai-hele*, *mai-hana*, "do not go," "do not do it." Marqu., *u-moi*, a similar imperative, negative, "do not," also simply "not;" *au-ma*, not at all, by no means.

Sanskrit, *mā*, a prohibitive particle, an imperative: "do not," a positive "no."

Greek, *μη*, no, not.

Latin, *ne*, prohibitive particle, related to *μη* and *mā*, according to Liddell and Scott and Benfey, permutation of *m* and *n*.

**MAIA**, *s.* Tah., midwife; *maia-a*, animal that has given birth.

Greek, *μαια*, good mother, nurse, midwife. In Dor., a grandmother. Liddell and Scott give no etymon or reference.

The existence of this word in the Tahitian and Greek seems to indicate that it was once common to the undivided Aryan stock. No other Polynesian, no other Indo-European branch has preserved it, though all have numerous variations of the original theme *ma*, as expressing a parent.

**MAITAI**, *adj.* Haw., good, beautiful, excellent, proper; *mai-au*, skill, ingenuity, wisdom; *mai-ele*, skill in using words. Tah., *maitai*, be well in any sense, good, holy, happy; *maiere*, to wonder, ponder, be surprised, deliberately, wary. Marqu., *mei-tai*; Rarot., *mei-taki*, good, handsome, proper. N. Zeal., *pai*, good. Amboyna (Lariki), *mai*, good; (Batumerah), *a-mai-si*, id. Ceram. (Camarian), *mai*, id. Mal., *bai*, *baik*, id. Malg., *mai-nou*, proper, neat, pure; *ma-mai*, good.

That the root of all these Polynesian and Indonesian forms is *mai* will probably not be contested, but *mai* with that ancient double-consonantal sound of *mb*, of which some of the tribes of the Aryan family retained one, others the other constituent element. Thus, in

course of time, the *m* sound prevailed with some, the *b* or its variant *p* with others; and thus the N. Zeal. *pai*, the Mal. *bai*, the Amboy. *mai*, retained in the Haw. and Tah. *mai-tai* and the Rarot. *mei-taki*, are originally one and the same word.

I have found no West Aryan relatives of this word except the

Sansk. (Ved.), *may-as*, enjoyment; *mayo-bhū*, yielding enjoyment; *mayākha*, light, splendour, beauty; *mayūra*, a peacock. Benfey gives no etymon.

Lat., *beo*, *beatu*s, may probably connect with this. At least they seem to have no relations with the Indo-European circle.

MA'U<sup>1</sup>, MA'U'U, *v.* Haw., to moisten, make wet; *s.* dampness, moisture; also a general name for green herbs, grass, shrubbery, &c. Sam., *ma'u'u*, grass, weeds. Tah., *mauu*, wet, damp; *mou*, coarse grass. Marqu., *mouku*, bulrushes. N. Zeal., *maku*, dampness, moisture; *makuku*, moist, fresh, cool. Malg., *muza*, wave, billow. Sunda., *mi-is*, damp, moist. Gilolo (Gani), *maku-fin*, cool, cold. Sanguir., *matuno*, id.

Sansk. (Ved.), *mad*, "originally to be wet" (Benfey), to get drunk; *madhu*, sweet, the season of spring, water; *madayitnu*, a cloud; *madhura*, agreeable, tender; *mād-hava*, spring, spirituous liquor, a large creeper (*Gærtnera racemosa*); *mādhura*, Arab. jasmine.

Greek, *μαδαω*, be wet, moist, to run off, as water, fall off, as hair; *μαδωνια*, the water-lily; *μεθη*, the drinking of strong drink; *μεθυ*, wine; *μυδος*, dampness; *μυδαω*, be wet, damp, clammy. Liddell and Scott refer *μυδος* to Sanskr. *mid*, viscidus fio, be unctuous, to liquefy. Its Vedic sense, however, according to Benfey, is "to rejoice," and he connects Sanskrit *mid* with the Greek *μειδαω*, to smile.

Lat., *madeo*, be wet, moist; *madidus*; *madulsa*, a drunkard; *mustus*, young, new, fresh; *matula*, a vessel to hold liquor.

A.-Sax., *mædewe*, meadow, low, watery, and grass-covered land; *medu*, mead or wine.

Russ., *motzu*, to wet; *makayu*, to dip, soak.

Illyr., *mas*, new wine.

Pers., *mast*, drunk.

Welsh, *mwydaw*, to wet.

While nearly all the West Aryan branches in some form or other have retained the sense "wet, moisture, dampness," none, as far as I know, has retained the sense of "green herbs, grass, shrubbery," unless the Sax. *meatta*, Lat. *matta*. Russ., *mat*, a mat, a texture of sedge, rushes, flags, &c., would indicate a connection.

MAU<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to continue, endure, be firm, remain perpetually, everlasting. Sam., *mau*, be firm, be fast, unwavering, to dwell. Marqu., *mau*, be firm, be assured, a law; *mau-ki*, to hold fast. Fiji., *mau*, sit still, be firm. In Haw., *mau*, *s.* means also the side of a mountain below the naked top, where people may live. In Mangar., *mou*, a hill, a mound. Derivs. Haw., *mau-na*, *s.* a mountain, highland; *adj.* large, swelling, extensive. Sam., *maunga*, a hill, a mountain, a dwelling-place; *mau-alunga*, high, tall, elevated; *mau-lalo*, low, deep; *mau-tu*, stand firm; *mau-mau-a'i*, be firm, unyielding. Tah., *maua*, *moua*, a mountain. N. Zeal., *maunga*, *id.*

A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., i. 127) refers the Latin *mons* and its West Aryan congeners — Irish, *moin*, *muine*, a mountain; Welsh, *mynydd*, *mwnt*, *id.*; Gael., *monadh*, *id.*; Armor., *mane*, *mene*, *id.*; Pers., *man*, a heap, a pile; Lith., *myni-a*, *id.* — from a root *man*, whence the verb *mánādan*, *māndan*, to remain in place, to dwell, and the *s.* *mān*, a resting-place, a dwelling, and whence also the Latin *maneo* and the Greek *μνω*, to stay, remain, stand fast. But Liddell and Scott, after Curtius, refer *maneo* and *μνω* to a root *μαω*, with a development into *man* or *men* akin to Sanskrit *man*, to think, that seems to me very bewildering. The Latin *maneo*, the Greek *μνω*, the Persian *mān*, and Zend *n-māna*, demeure, dwelling, cannot possibly, with a radical sense of "to stay, remain, be firm," refer themselves to the Sanskrit *man*, to think, or the Greek *μαῶ*, which Liddell and Scott see beyond it. I think that

there must have been another *μαω* or *μανω*, with the sense of "firmness, hardness, endurance," to which the Latin, Greek, Persian, as well as the Polynesian refer themselves.

MAHA<sup>1</sup>, s. Haw., an obsolete general name for fish, now only occurring in compound names of particular kinds of fish, as *maha-e*, *maha-ha*, *maha-mea*, *maha-moe*, *maha-wela*, all different species of fish. In Sam. the dolphin is called *masi-masi*; in Haw. and Tah., *mahi-mahi*.

Sanskrit., *matsya*, *matsa*, *mac'cha*, fish. Marath., *masa*; Bengal., *mach*; Singhal., *matsa*, *masa*, id.

Pers., *mahi*, fish. Kurd., *mahei*; Afgh., *mahai*, id.

Irish, *meas*, fish.

MAHA<sup>2</sup>, v. Haw., to hide a thing away, to steal; *maha-o*, the pith of a tree or vegetable, a soft or decayed place in the centre or body of a tree, a hole in a tree; *adj.* defective in the centre, rotten, hollow; *maha-oi*, impertinent, bold and immodestly forward. Marqu., *maha-e*, to forget; *maha-ti*, joy; *maho-a*, hidden. Sam., *masa*, be low tide, be sour, offensive, as the smell of putrefying things; *mase-i*, bad conduct, impropriety; *mase-pu*, id. Fiji., *masa*, asleep, as the feet or hands, to be silent; *masa-la*, the ebb-tide; *masa-lai*, corrupt, putrid, sour. Tah., *meho*, be hiding, a hiding-place.

Sanskrit., *mach*, *ma'ch*, *much*, *mu'ch*, to cheat, be wicked, to boast.

Pers., *mang*, fraud, deception, thief, gambling; *mugh*, a priest.

Greek, *μηχος* and *μηχαρ*, means, expedient, remedy; *μαγγανον*, means for charming and bewitching others; *μαγγανεια*, jugglery, trickery.

Lat., *mango*, a tricky merchant.

Irish, *mang*, fraud, trickery, ruse.

Lith., *maklote*, a deceiver; *manga*, a prostitute.

Sax., *mangian*, to negotiate.

Liddell and Scott refer the Greek *μηχος* to the same root as *μηδος* and *μητις*, *i.e.*, to *μαω*, to strive after, desire; and they refer *μαγγανον*, &c., to *μασσω*, to handle, touch, squeeze, knead. Under correction, I would suggest that



the Polynesian *maha* and the Sanskrit *mach*, *mañch*, offer better etymons than *μαω* or *μασσω*. I am aware Benfey and A. Pictet refer the Sanskrit *māya*, wisdom, a juggler, asura, fraud, deceit, trickery, magic, illusion, to a composite *man* + *ya*, from *man*, to think, and defend the derivation by referring to *gāya*, woman, from *gan*, *gignere*, and to *āyu*, living, from *an*, spirare; but apparent analogy is not always proof, as I have frequently experienced in this work, and it is therefore possible that *māya*, wisdom, is an ancient form of a Sanskrit *machya* or a Polynesian *maha*, before the former became a synonym for the perversion of wisdom, and while the latter designated wisdom as something concealed. Liddell and Scott indicate that the Greek *μαγος* is from the same root as *μεγας* = Sanskrit *mah*, *mahant*, great, powerful, honoured, and the same is intimated by A. Pictet. But the Persian Magi must have been wise before they became great and honoured—they certainly did not become, or were called, wise on account of their greatness. There were wise men in every family and every tribe before there was a college of wise men, a priesthood. Hence I think myself justified in referring the Greek *μαγος* to the Sanskrit *māya*, with the primary sense of wisdom, and to the Polynesian *maha*, with the perhaps still older sense of concealing, and to the Sanskrit *mach*, *mañch*, and their kindred, when wisdom had deteriorated into cunning, trickery and fraud.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Since writing the above I have read M. François Lenormant's interesting work "La Langue Primitive de la Chaldée," where, apropos of the word *μαγος*, on p. 367 I find the following: "Enfin doit trouver ici sa place le titre des docteurs chaldéens, *emga* or *imga*, dont la Bible a fait *יגד*. . . . C'est là le nom dont les Grecs ont fait *μαγος* quand ils plaçant des Mages en Chaldée. On a cherché d'abord à ce titre une origine sémitique et on l'a rapporté à la racine *מגד*. Mais dans ce cas il devrait revêtir le plus souvent, sinon constamment, la forme des nominatifs assyriens, en *emgu* pour

*emgu*, tandis que, dans le grand nombre d'exemples qu'on en possède, il est invariablement *emga* ou *imga*, présentant le suffixe des dérivés adjectifs en *ga* de l'accadien. C'est en effet certainement un mot de cette dernière langue, *em-ga*, 'glorieux, auguste,' pris très naturellement comme un titre sacerdotal ou doctoral." Thus then this *μαγος* has neither Sanskrit, Greek, nor Polynesian parentage, but is Accadian, *i.e.*, Turanian. Be it so. The Sanskrit *mach*, the Greek *μηχος*, still remain to claim kindred with the Polynesian *maha*, *masa*.

Benfey refers the Greek *μεγαρον, μαγαρον*, chamber, hall, cave, adytus, and the O. H. Germ. *ga-mah*, New Germ. *ge-mach*, to the Sanskr. *mah*, be great, to adore, honour. Liddell and Scott seem to doubt whether *μεγαρον, μαγαρον*, refers itself to *μεγας*, and thence to the Sanskr. *mah*. A. Pictet does not refer at all to it or its probable etymon. In this uncertainty, and in the absence of any Sanskr. descendant of *mah* designating "a chamber, hall, cave, house," &c., it may be permitted to refer the O. H. Germ. *ga-mah* and the Greek *μαγαρον* to the Polynes. *maha*, to hide, conceal.

MAHI, *v.* Haw., to dig the ground, till, cultivate; *s.* cultivation, planting; *adj.* strong, energetic, as a labourer; *moa-mahi*, a fighting cock. N. Zeal., *mahi*, to work; *kai-mahi*, a servant. Sam., *masi*, the pounded and fermented bread-fruit; *masi-masi*, the smart of a wound. Fiji., *masi*, to rub, to scour; *masi-masi-a*, bread-fruit in a certain state.

Sansk., *masina*, *adj.* well-ground; *mas-rina*, soft, polished. No etymon by Benfey.

Greek, *μογος, μοχθος*, toil, trouble, hard work, distress; *μαστιξ*, a scourge, plague, whip. Liddell and Scott refer this latter to *ιμας*, a leather strap or thong, and that to the Sanskrit *si*, to bind. I fail to see the cause for the elision of the aspirated iota, *i*, and therefore think that *μαστιξ* refers itself better to the same root as the Sanskrit *masina* and the Polynesian *mahi, masi*.

Lat., *macer*, lean, emaciated, careworn; *macero*, make soft or tender.

MAKA, *s.* Haw., eye, face, edge, shoot, bud, offspring; *maka-maka*, friend, intimate, relative; *maka* and *hoo-maka*, beginning, commencement. Sam., *mata*, eye, face, point, edge, source, spring; *mata-mata*, to look at; Faa., *mata*, to sharpen, have the appearance of; 'a-*mata*, to commence, begin. Tah., *mata*, eye, face, beginning, edge; *haa-mata*, to begin. Tong., *mata*, eye, face, &c.; *ma-mata*, to look. In nearly all the Polynesian dialects the compound *Mata-riki, Mata-r'i'i, Mata-li'i*, is a name for the con-

stellation Pleiades, lit. "the small eyes," and in Tahiti the name of a year was *mata-rii*, reckoned from the appearance of those stars above the horizon. Fijian, *mata*, eye, face, presence, origin; *mata-ka*, morning, the dawn. New Guinea (Matu), *mata*, eye.

The different applications of this ancient word in the kindred Asonesian dialects may be seen in the following table:—

Celebes . . .	<i>mata</i> , eye; <i>tau-mata-esen</i> , male appearance, man; <i>tau-mata-babine</i> , woman.
Sanguir . . .	<i>mata</i> , eye.
Amboyna . . .	<i>mata</i> , eye; <i>meka</i> , tongue.
Ceram . . . .	<i>mata</i> , <i>mata-mo</i> , <i>mata-colo</i> , eye.
Teor . . . .	<i>matin</i> , eye; <i>matin-olu</i> , face.
Biaju . . . .	<i>mata</i> , eye.
Saparua . . .	<i>mata</i> , eye; <i>tu-mata</i> , man.
Mentawej Island	<i>mata</i> , eye.
Banjak Island .	<i>mata</i> , eye.
Singkel . . . .	<i>mata</i> , eye.
Engano . . . .	<i>bahka</i> , eye.
Malay . . . .	<i>mata</i> , eye; <i>muka</i> , face.
Sunda and Java	<i>mata</i> , eye.
Malgasse . . . .	<i>mass</i> , <i>massu</i> , eye.
Tidore . . . .	<i>moda</i> , mouth.
Gilolo (Gani) .	<i>su-mut</i> , mouth.

Corresponding to the Polynesian *mata-ri'i* and *mata-ka*, we find the Sunda *mata-powi*, the Malay *mata-hari*, the Celebes *mata-alo* and *mata-rou*, the Engano *bahka-kaha*, the Banjak Island *mata-bolai*, the Amboyna *ria-mata*, the Malgasse *massu-andru*, also *mas-luk*, all signifying the sun.

Sansk., *mukha*, face, mouth, front, commencement, beak of a bird, tip, point of a thing; *añguli-mukha*, tip of the fingers; *maha-mukha* a crocodile (big-mouth). No etymon given by Benfey.

Lat., *maxilla* (?), chin.

Sax., *muth*, mouth. Goth., *munth*. id.

Examples of relationship are few among the Indo-European branches, and even *mukha*, *maxilla*, and *muth*

have either had no satisfactory etymons assigned them, or have been left standing in the cold awaiting further examination. Among the tribes of the Hindu-Kush, down whose slopes so many ethnic waves have tumbled on the world below, the application of this word in its Sanskrit and Gothic form to the "face" may still be found. The Shinas of Gilgit, and the Narisati and Khowaree of the Chitral Valley use *mūkh* or *mook* for face or cheek; the Chiliss and the Gaware of the Indus Valley use *mūn* for face or cheek; and, following the Sanskrit sense of "front, commencement," they present us with the further derivatives of *pu-muko* (Gilgil), first; *mutoh* (Chiliss), id.; *munsh* (Torwalak), id.; *pa-muk* (Bushgali), before. Even the Malays have adopted this sense in *kota-muka*, "a suburb;" *pangking-muka*, "an anti-chamber, a verandah."

MAKA'U, *v.* Haw., compound of *ma* intens. and *ka'u*, to fear, dread, tremble, hold in reverence. Sam., *mata'u*, to fear. Tah., *ma-ta'u*, id. N. Zeal., *ma-taku*, be afraid. Fiji., *taku-mogemoge*, to writhe, to struggle, as in pain; *taku-tibi-tibi*, the vibratory motion of light reflected on the water. Marqu., *me-ta'u*, to fear. Tah., *ma-ta'u*, fear, dread. Jav., Mal., *tacut*, fear. Tagal., *tacot*, id. Malg., *tahots*.

Sansk. (Ved.), *tak*, to start; *tañk*, *tang*, to live in distress, to stumble, shake.

Greek, *ταχυς*, quick, swift, sudden.

MAKE, *v.* Haw., to die, perish, suffer, as a calamity; *s.* death; *adj.* dead, hurt, injured, wounded. Sam., *mate*, to die, be extinct, be benumbed, cramped, to abate, as high wind. Tah., *mate*, to die, be ill, sick, or hurt. Polynes., ubique, *mate*, death. Fiji., *mate*, to die, be sick; *mate-mate*, sickly. Mal., Pulo Nias, Celebes, Aru and Key Isl., *mate*, *mati*, death, dead. Malg., *fati*, id. Jav., *pati*, id. Motu (N. Guinea), *mati*, dead. Allied to this is probably the Haw., Sam., Tah., et al. *ma'i*, sickness, disease, to be sick, ailing. Marqu., Rarot., *maki*, a sore, be wounded.

I know not what may be the Sanskrit equivalent of this word, unless it be *math*, in the sense of "to crush, hurt, kill, distress;" for I think it hardly probable that the concrete sense of "to churn" could have been the original sense of *math*.

Pers., *mat*, confused, astonished; *matkardan*, to make check, in chess-playing.

Goth., *ga-maids*, bruised, maimed. Sax., *ge-maad*, akin to Engl. *mad*. Germ. and Swed., *matt*, weak, feeble, languid. Swed., *smäkta*, to languish; *möda*, trouble, with pain.

The Malgasse and Javanese variants in *fate* and *pati* would seem to indicate a possible connection with the Greek *πασχω, παθειν*; the Lat. *patior*, to suffer, undergo, perhaps Sanskr. *badh*, to hurt, to trouble; *bi-bhatsa*, disgust, abhorrence, cruel; and the Polynes. *mate*, through some ancient and once common form in *mb*, softened to *f* in the one case, and hardened to *p* in the other.

MAKU, *adj.* Haw., full-grown, firm, hard, full-sized; *maku-a*, full-grown, of full age; *v.* to be large, to grow, to strengthen. Tah., *matu-a*, strong, vigorous, hard, fixed; *matua-u'u*, aged, time-worn; *matua-tua*, be vigorous, as an elderly person, settled. Sam., *matu-a*, full-grown, fit to pluck or dig up, elderly; *adv.* very, exceedingly; marks the superlative degree. Tong., *motu-a*, full-grown, ripe; *matu-a*, an old man. Fiji., *matu-a*, ripe, fit, mature; *adv.* strongly, vigorously. Mal., *tuwah*, old. Balta (Sumatra), *orang-batuah*, an old man.

Lat., *maturus*, ripe, right, proper, seasonable.

MALA<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., to swell, grow large, puff up; *s.* a swelling, enlargement, cultivated ground, a garden. Sam., *mala*, *adj.* soft; *s.* a new plantation; *malae*, open space for public meetings. Tah., *marae*, *adj.* cleared of wood, weeds, &c., as a garden; *s.* place of worship. Tong., *malai*, a cleared ground for public purposes. N. Zeal., *mara*, a garden; *marae*, a courtyard. Sunda., *melak*, *pelak*, to plant.

Sanskrit., *mala-ya*, a garden; *māla*, a field; *mālā*, a garland; *mālāti*, a bud; *māla-kara*, a gardener.

Greek, *μηλον*; Dor., *μαλον*, an apple, generally any tree-fruit, a girl's breasts, the cheeks, swellings under the eyes; *μαρη*, the fist; *μαρναμαι*, to fight, to box, do battle. Liddell and Scott as well as Benfey refer *μαρναμαι* to Sanskr. *mṛin*, to kill, *mṛi*, death, but give no etymon for *μαρη*, fist, hand.

Lat., *mala*, the puffed-out cheek, the jaw; *malus*, an apple-tree.

MALA<sup>2</sup> and MALAIA, *s.* Sam., calamity; *adj.* unfortunate, miserable. Haw., *mala-oa*, sad, sorrowful; *malai-lena*, bitter, acid, unpalatable. Tong., *mala*, misfortune. Tah., *mara*, an old name for Awa (*Piper meth.*); *maramara*, bitter, acid. Malg., *mara*, *marats*, bitter, sharp. Amboyna, *marino*, sour. N. Celebes, *mansing*, id. Fiji, *malai*, withered.

Greek, *μωλος*, toil, struggle; *μωλυσ*, feeble, sluggish; *μωλυομαι*, be worn out. Liddell and Scott give no etymon or reference to this class of words. Benfey refers them to Sanskr. *mai*. The Greek *μαραινω*, to quench, as fire, die out, waste, wither, would seem as nearly related to Sanskr. *mlai* and Polynes. *malaia*, as to Sanskr. *mṛi*, to which Liddell and Scott refer it. In Dravid. (Tamil), *mār* is to be confused, be lazy; *māl*, to die, to perish.

Sansk., *mlai*, grow weary, be faint, languid; *mlani*, decay, weariness.

Lat., *a-marus*, bitter, harsh, sharp; *marceo*, to wither, be faint, feeble; *mæreo*, to mourn, be afflicted; *mora*, delay, hindrance.

Goth., *mournan*, to mourn, be troubled.

MALALA, *s.* Sam., charcoal; *malala-ola*, live coals. Tah., *mara-ia*, black, dark colour, a dark native cloth, a negro or black man. Haw., *mala-o*, *obsol.*; *malao-lao*, twilight, between day and night.

To this word probably refers itself the Polynes. colour-expression, viz., Haw., *mele*, yellow; Sam., *melo-melo*, red; Tong., *melo*, yellow, brown, tawny; Amboyna, *mala*, blue; Ceram., *marah*, blue, *merah*, red; Mal. and Biajon, *merah*,

red; Celebes, *merai*, red, *moro-no*, blue, *moro-nago*, yellow, &c.

Sansk., *mala*, dirt, filth, defilement; sin. *malina*, dirty, black, obscure, bad; *mālin-ya*, blackness; *marāla*, cloud, lamp-black.

Greek, *μελας*, originally any dark colour, dark-red, dark-blue, swarthy, murky; *μολυνω*, to stain, sully, defile; *μορον*, the black mulberry.

Lat., *malus*, bad, &c.; *morus*, dark-coloured, black, a mulberry; *merula*, a blackbird.

Sax., *mæel*, *māl*; Germ., *mahl*, spot, mark, stain. Swed., *mål*, a cloud; *mulen*, cloudy, dark, sad.

MALI, *v.* Haw., also *mali-mali*, to beseech, beg, flatter, soothe; *malie*, still, quiet, soft, gentle. Tong., Sam., *malie*, well, agreeable, satisfied. Tah., *marie*, be silent. Fiji., *mamari*, apologise, excuse, flatter.

Sansk., *mṛij*, to rub, stroke, wipe, cleanse; *mārj*, id.

Greek, *ἀμελγω*, to milk, squeeze, press out; *ἀμεργω*, to pluck, pull out; *ὄμοργγυμι*, to wipe off.

Lat., *mulceo*, stroke, touch gently; *mulgeo*, to milk; *mulier*, a woman; *lac* (for *mlac*), milk.

Goth., *miluks*, milk. Sax., *meoluk*, id.

Lith., *milszti*, to rub with the hands.

MALO<sup>1</sup>, *s.* Haw., a strip of kapa or cloth tied around the loins of men to hide the sexual organs. Polynesian, ubiquitous, *malo*, *maro*, id., ceinture, girdle-cloth, breech-cloth.

Sansk., *mal*, *mall*, to hold; *malla*, a cup; *maltaka*, a leaf to wrap up something, a cup; *malā-mallaka*, a piece of cloth worn over the privities.

Greek, *μηρνομαι*; Dor., *μαρνομαι*, to draw up, furl, wind round. No etymon in Liddell and Scott.

MALO<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Haw., to dry up, as water in pools or rivers, be dry, as land, in opposition to water, to wither, as vegetables drying up; *maloo*, id., dry, barren. Tah., *maro*, dry, not wet; *marohi*, dry, withered. A later application of this word in a derivative sense is probably the Sam. *malo*, to be hard, be strong; *malosi*, strong; the Marqu.

*mao*, firm, solid; N. Zeal., *maroke*, dry; Rarot., Mang., *maro*, dry and hard, as land.

Sanskrit., *mṛi*, to die; *maru*, a desert, a mountain; *marut*, the deities of wind; *marka*, a body; *markara*, a barren woman; *mart-ya*, a mortar, the earth; *mīra*, ocean.

For the argument by which A. Pictet connects *maru* and *mira* with *mṛi*, see "Orig. Ind.-Eur," i. 110-111. It is doubtless correct. But in that case "to die" could hardly have been the primary sense or conception of *mṛi*. To the early Aryans the desert, the *maru*, which approached their abodes on the west, must have presented itself primarily under the aspect of "dry, arid, sterile, barren," a sense still retained in the Polynesian *maro*. Hence the sense of "to wither, to die," is a secondary one. Again, those ancient Aryans called the deity of the wind the *Marut*; and if that word, as it probably does, refers itself to the root or stem *mṛi*, the primary sense of that word was certainly not "to die," for the winds are not necessarily "killing," but they are "drying," and that is probably the original sense of their name.

Lat., *morior*, *mors*, &c.

Sax., *mor*, Eng., *moor*, equivalent to the Sanskrit. *maru*.

MALU, *s.* Haw., a shade, the shadow of anything that keeps off the sun; peace, quiet, secret, unlawfully. Sam., *matu*, shade, shelter; *adj.* cool, soft, gentle; *malu-malu*, overcast, cloudy. Tah., *maru*, shade, covert, soft, gentle, easy. Marqu., *mau*, shade, shelter. Mang., *moru* secret. Fiji., *malu-malu*, shade; *malua*, gently. Malg., *malu*, *maluts*, obscure, in the shade. Amblaw, *maloh*, soft. Amboyna, Saparua, Ceram, *malu*, *maru*, soft.

Greek, *μαλη*, the armpit; "ὑπο *μαλης*," under the armpit, secretly, furtively. Liddell and Scott give no reference; its etymon unknown. But it combines in a remarkable degree the two principal senses of the Polynesian *malu*, "shade and softness." Probably *μηρος*, the upper part of the thigh, the ham, is akin to *μαλη*, the conditions of that portion of the thigh corresponding to those of the armpit.



Lat., *ala*, armpit, shoulder, wing. According to Liddell and Scott = *μαλη*, "the  $\mu$  thrown off."

MAMO, *s.* Haw., children, descendants, posterity. Tah., Marqu., *mamo*, race, lineage. N. Zeal., *momo*, id.

Goth., *mammo*, flesh.

Sanskrit., *māṁsa* (?), flesh. No reference in Benfey's Sansk. Dict.

MANA<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., chew food for infants; *s.* a mouthful. Sam., *manga*, a mouthful of chewed awa; *faa-manga*, open the mouth, to gape. Tong., Marqu., *mana*, *manga*, chewed food. Tah., *maa* (*n* elided), food, provisions. Pulo Nias, *manga*, to eat. Celebes, *monga*, id.

Lat., *mando-ere*, to chew, masticate. Benfey refers *mando* to Sanskrit *mad*, originally "to be wet," then "to be drunk." It is possible, but is it so? Does the Sanskrit *mandura*, a stable, the Greek *μανδρα*, stable, fold, byre, enclosure for animals, and the Latin *mandra*, id., derive from the same root as the Latin *mandere*, to chew?

MANA<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., branch of a tree, limb of a body, the cross piece of a cross; *v.* to branch out, be divided; *mana-mana*, branching, projecting, fingers or toes, as coupled with *lima* or *vavae*; *manea*, the hoof of a beast, the nail of fingers or toes, the claw of beast or bird, the ball of a man's foot; *mana-halo*, stretch the arms and legs in swimming. Marqu., *menana*, fins of fish. Tong., *manga*, anything forked or straddling, barbed. N. Zeal., *manga*, a branch. Sam., *manga*, a branch, anything forked or curved; *manga-manga*, branched, forked. Tah., *maa*, cloven, divided; *mani-ao*, foot or toes. Amblaw, *wangan* (*w* for *m*), finger. Engano, *minu-afa*, finger (*afa*, hand).

Lat., *manus*, hand. Benfey refers this to Sanskrit *mā*, to measure. But as neither the Sanskrit itself nor any other West Aryan dialect has retained any application of this ancient *mā* to the hand, *manus*, as "the measurer," it may be permitted to seek a relative for the Latin *manus* in the Polynesian *mana*.

MANA<sup>3</sup>, *s.* Haw., power, energy, authority, intelligence; *manana*, be angry, displeased; *hoo-mana*, to worship,

reverence; *hoo-mana-mana*, use magical incantations, sorcery. Sam., *mana*, supernatural power; *mana-mana*, bear in mind, remember; *mana-tu*, to think; *mana-mea*, to love, desire. Tah., *mana*, power, might; *mana-a*, manageable. Tong., *mana*, thunder, omen. Fiji., *mana*, sign, wonder, miracle. Also used when addressing a deity or at the close of a prayer, equivalent to "Amen, so be it." Malg., *minai*, *mineh*, insane.

To the stem of this word or its root doubtless refers itself another series of Polynesian derivatives, viz.: Haw., *manawa*, *s.* feelings, affection, sympathy; the soft place in the heads of infants. Tong., *manawa*, breath, feelings, disposition. Sam., *manawa*, *v.* to breathe, to throb, pulsate; *s.* the belly, the anterior fontanelle of children; *manawa-si*, fearful. Tah., *manawa*, the belly, the interior of man; *manawa-fate*, be in bitterness of grief of mind; *manawa-nawa*, to think, to ponder; *manawa-rá*, eager desire. Marqu., *menawa*, belly, breathing, breath. N. Zeal., *manawa*, to breathe. Mangar., *manawa*, belly, disposition, temper.

Within the Polynesian area proper I have not found any derivative of this family used to express the sense of "man" or "mankind." The Asonesian, Sunda, Malay, Goram, Matabello, Sanguir, Ceram., *manusia*, *manusa*, *manesh*, evidently refer to later Sanskrit or Sanskritoid sources.

Sanskrit., *man*, to think, consider, desire, respect; *manas*, mind, intellect; *manu*, *manus*, man = "the thinker;" *mantri*, a wise man; *mán*, to honour, respect; *mántrika*, a scorcerer; *mantra*, holy sayings, prayer; *mánava*, human, mankind, a boy; *mávin*, *manavant*, proud; *mndá*, remember.

Zend, *manthra*, magic formula, incantation.

Greek, *μαντις*, a seer, a diviner, one who utters oracles; *μητις*, Dor. *μανις*, wrath, divine wrath; *μαινομαι*; *μενος*, might, force, strength, courage, temper; *μνημη*, memory.

Lat., *mens*, mind; *memini*, remember; *mentior*, to lie; *moneo*, to remind; *monstro*, point out, show; *monstrum*, an

unlucky omen, strange, &c. Perhaps *vates*, a prophet, seer (*v* for *m*).

Goth., *man*, I think; *manna*, man; *minan*, *munan*, think, consider; *muns*, mind, meaning. A.-Sax., *manian*, *munan*. O. H. Germ., *minnia*, love; *manen*, to put in mind; *meina*, meaning. Swed., *minne*, memory, mind; *munter*, cheerful.

Irish, *manadh*, incantation, divination, omen; *menar*, to think; *menone*, soul, mind.

Lith., *moniti*, to bewitch; *minti*, think; *pra-mona*, invention.

A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 546) says, "D'après toutes les analogies connues, le sens primitif de ces racines" (the abstract idea of thinking, reflection, mind, &c.) "doit avoir été plus ou moins matériel, mais il est souvent difficile à reconnaître." If the primitive material sense has been lost in the Sanskrit *man* and its West Aryan congeners (the Latin *manus* excepted), may not the Polynesian *mana*, limbs of body, claws of birds or beasts, &c., supply the missing link, and furnish that primitive material sense from which those of power, energy, will, feeling, thought, &c., were the facile and secondary developments?

MANAI, *s.* Haw., instrument for stringing flowers for wreaths. Sam., *manaia*, handsome, good-looking; *faa-manaia*, to adorn; *manongi*, fragrant. Rarat., *manea*. Marqu., *mainai*, handsome. Tong., *aka-manea*, to adorn. Tah., *monoi*, sweet-scented oil. Celebes (Bouton), *minak*, oil. Biajon, *mange*, id. Mal. and Sunda., *minyak*, id.; *ka-minian*, frankincense. Sula Isl., *mina*, sweet. Amblaw, *mina*, id. Teor., *minck*, id. Buru (Waiapo), *du-mina*, id. Mal. and Biajon, *manis*, id. Engano, *moneh-moneh*, id. Singkel Isl., *monde*, handsome.

Sansk., *mangh*, *mank*, to adorn; *mangala*, lucky, propitious, burnt-offering, turmeric; *mankura*, a mirror; *mani*, precious stone, a jewel, fleshy processes hanging from the neck of a goat; *manivaka*, a flower; *manava*, a necklace of sixteen strings.

Pers., *man-gôsh*, ear-jewel.

Anc. Irish, *maini*, precious. Armor., *maneag*, necklace.

Greek, *μανος* and *μανvos*, a necklace; *μανιακης*, a bracelet. Liddell and Scott refer this to *μανος*, porous, loose, evidently for want of a better etymon.

Lat., *monile*, necklace, collar; *mon-edula*, jackdaw (devourer of jewels); *manis* and *manus*, O. Lat. for *bonus*, good, gentle.

A.-Sax., *menas*, *pl.* collars; *hals-mene*, necklace. Anc. Germ., *menni*, *manili*, id.

Anc. Slav., *monisto*, necklace.

In "India, What can it Teach us?" pp. 135, 136, Prof. Max Müller refutes the assumption that *mana* was a Babylonian word borrowed by the old Vedic bards in "Rig-Veda," viii. 78, 2. If *mana* itself does not occur again in the "Rig-Veda," its derivatives doubtless show themselves in the Greek, Latin, Irish, Saxon, and Slave above quoted. The Polynesian evidently only retains a derivative sense.

MANO<sup>1</sup>, *adj.* Haw., numerous, many; *s.* the number four thousand; *mano-mano*, many-fold, many, thick together. Sam., *mano*, a myriad, a great number. Tah., *mano*, many, numerous, one thousand. Tong., *mano*, ten thousand. Marqu., id., numerous.

Goth., *manags*, many, much; *managei*, a crowd, multitude; *managnan*, to abound. Sax., *mæneg*, many.

Russ., *mnogei*, many; *mnoju*, to multiply.

MANO<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., fountain-head of a stream of water; *mano-wai*, channel of a brook or stream. The material heart, whence issues the blood as from a fountain; *ku-mano*, the head of a watercourse, a brook, or stream. N. Zeal., *manga*, a brook. Tah., *manu*, to float, be afloat, be adrift.

Sanskrit., *mangh*, move swiftly; *mangirî*, a boat.

Lat., *mano-are*, to flow, to run.

MANO<sup>3</sup>, *s.* Haw., a shark. Sam., *mangō*, id. Tah., *mao*, id. Marqu., *makō*, *mangō*, id.

Sanskr., *māni-kyā*, the house-lizard; *moṇa*, a crocodile.  
Hind. (Malabar), *mani*, crocodile, alligator.

MEKI, *s.* Haw., an ancient name for iron; the modern name is *hao*. Only found in Hawaiian dialect.

Hind. (Khol), *medh*, iron.

Slav., *miedi*, bronze.

That the Polynesians were acquainted with iron, and had names for it, before its introduction among them by Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, I believe is now admitted by competent Polynesian scholars. Among these names the Hawaiian *meki* calls our attention as one of widespread connections and great antiquity.

I think philologists will not now question the fact that, in naming and defining the various phenomena of nature, mankind commenced by giving general names to substances of the same nature before it distinguished the specific differences between those substances by particular names. Thus all metals probably received one or more generic names before their differences were noted by specific individual names. Thus with colours; thus with animals; thus with the body or the most prominent parts of the body; thus with trees and fruits, &c. Thus language grew from vague and general terms to specific and more definite, and as mankind dispersed in tribes and families, they carried with them these generic terms, subject to dialectical differences and phonetic corruption, and added to them or dropped from them such concrete and definite terms as their mental development and the circumstances of their new positions might require. And thus, in course of time, many or most of the originally generic and synonymous words became specific appellations with various tribes. Thus only can I account for the singular fact that in different sections or tribes of the same race the same word frequently signifies different objects or ideas, although, where a close analysis is possible, those objects will generally be found to have been, or were deemed to be, generically related.

Applying the foregoing observations to the word now

under consideration, it seems obvious to me that this word, under some ancient form,—whose nearest relative I will not presume to determine,—originally signified metal in general, without any specific reference to iron, gold, copper, silver, &c.

The following list will show its varied application:—Hind. (Khol), *medh*, iron. Slav., *miedi*, bronze. Haw., *meki*, iron. Jav. and Mal., *mas*, gold; *besi* (for *mbesi*), iron. Amboyna, *pisi-putih*, silver. Malg., *vih*, iron; *vi-futsi*, tin. Ceram. *masa*, gold. Sula Isl., *fa-maka*, gold. Scand., *messing* (*t* and *s* convertible), brass. Germ., *messer* (the metal instrument), knife.

Similarly we find the various applications of another ancient word, whose first and general sense doubtless was metal of any kind, then specialised to indicate this or that metal. That word is the Sanskrit *ayas*, metal generally, then applied specifically to iron, copper, and gold. Zend., *ayô*, iron, copper. Pers., *ayan*, iron. Lat., *æs*, copper. Goth., *aiz*, copper.

No Polynesian relative proper now exists among the Pacific groups, but among the Asonesian groups we still find the following:—Celebes (Bouton), *ase*, iron; (Menado), *wassy*, iron. Sanguir, *wasi*, iron. Sunda, *wadja*, steel. Malay, *tambadja*, copper; *badja*, steel.

I have purposely omitted the Greek *μεταλλον* and its apparent kindred in Latin, Welsh, and Irish, as its etymology seems not to be well established. Pott and Liddell and Scott refer it to the compound *μετα-αλλον*; A. Pictet, following Gesenius, thinks it is an Arab word, "*matala*, Hebrew *matal*, cudit, maxime ferrum," and that it was brought by the Phenicians to Greece. The *μετ-αλλα* theory is ingenious. It may be correct, but sounds too artificial, and does not satisfactorily explain the difference in sense between the Latin *metallum*, metal generally, gold and silver principally, and the Greek *μεταλλον*, a mine, trench, ditch, for any purpose, from a salt-pit to a gold-mine, with the specific object generally attached; *αλος μεταλλον*, a salt-pit; *χρυσεια μεταλλα*, gold-mines; *μαρμα-*

ρον μεταλλον, a marble quarry. Mr. A. Pictet considers the Slavic *miedi*, bronze, copper, to be related to the Sanskrit *madhuka*, tin. If so, it only confirms my proposition that, whatever may have been the earliest form of the word, its primary sense was that of metal generally. That proposition I think still further corroborated from the compound terms which meet us in the Amboyna *pisē-putih*, silver, lit. "white iron or metal," and the Malgasse *vih-futsi*, tin, lit. "white iron."

Among the Southern Polynesians iron was also known before its introduction by Europeans. The Raratongans called it *kurima*, but I am not positive as to its relationship. It may refer to the Gilolo word *kurachi*, the name for gold as well as for yellow. If, as I think, *achi* and *kur-achi* is a dialectical variation of the Celebes term *ase*, then the first syllable, *kura*, is a Polynesian and pre-Malay word for red, bright, yellow; and thus the compound word *kur-achi* becomes analogous to the Amboyna *pisi-putih*, and would signify "the red or yellow iron or metal."

When Bougainville visited Tahiti in 1768, he found the natives acquainted with iron, and says that they called it *a-ouri*. That *ouri* or *uri* and the Rarotongan *kuri* in *kurima* are but dialectical variations of the same word.

In the Samoan group *u'a-mea*, in the Tongan *uku-mea*, and in the Fijian *ka-uka-mea*, mean primarily metal of any kind, and conventionally iron; for when the Tongans speak of copper, they add the adjective *kula*, red, thus calling it "the red metal or iron;" and when they speak of silver they add *hina-hina*, thus making it "the white metal or iron." I know not whence this *uka*, the kernel or root of the above names for metal or iron, is derived or how related. It may refer to the Sanskrit *uchh*, to shine, and to the Pulo Nias *a-uso*, yellow.

The same manner of compounding is observable in the West Aryan branches. The Greek *ἀργυρος*, silver, comes from *ἀργος* or its root *ἀργ*, and the Aryan *īra*, *era*, earth = the white earth, ore, or metal.

MELE, *s.* Haw., song, chant; *v.* to sing, recite, chant. Tah., *mere*, *mere-mere*, the grief of parents at the loss of a child. Fiji., *mela*, *me-mela*, sounding, ringing, as metal when struck. Celebes (Gorontalo), *moloija*, to speak.

Greek, *μελος*, song, strain, melody; *μελω*, to sing and dance. No etymon by Liddell and Scott.

Old Norse, *mal*, song, recitation. Swed., *mäl*, speech, languages; *an-mäla*, announce, mention. Goth., *merjan*, announce, proclaim; *meritha*, fame, report.

Liddell and Scott and Benfey refer the Greek *μεριμνα*, *μεριμνα*, thought, care, trouble, as well as Gothic *merjan* and Latin *mora*, to Sanskrit *smṛi*, *smarati*. I think *merjan* and its kindred *mal* and *an-mālan* refer themselves better to the Greek *μελος* and the Polynesian *mele*, *mere*, while *μεριμνα*, &c., fall better in line with the Sanskrit *mlai* and the Polynesian *mala*<sup>2</sup> (*vide* p. 222). The Sanskrit *smṛi* has doubtless its kindred in the Sax. *smeortan*, Engl. *smart*, Swed. *smārta*, if, judging from the prosth. *s.*, they do not all come under the *mlai* and *mala* just referred to. It will be well to bear in mind the peculiar characteristics of the Old Norse *mal* and the Hawaiian *mele-inoa*. They both recited in metric form the power and glory of dead ancestors as well as of living heroes. As neither Norse nor Polynesian have borrowed from each other, that custom, and its name, of chanting the exploits of ancestors, must have been a common Aryan trait before even the first separation.

MELU, *adj.* Haw., soft, as fish long kept, swelling up, bad. Fiji., *midra*, rotten, bad. Sunda and Mal., *mura-ati*, soft-hearted, mild.

Greek, *ἀμαλος*, soft, weak, feeble; *μαλακος*, soft, meek; *μελι*, honey; *μαλθα*, mixture of wax and pitch; *μαλθακος*, *βλαξ*, *βλακος*, slack, stupid, lazy.

Lat., *mollis*, soft, weak, delicate; *mel*, honey. Liddell and Scott refer *mollis* and *mulco* to *μαλακος*, and *mulsum* to *μελι*. They were probably one family of words in the beginning.

Welsh, *mall*, soft, melting, insipid; *s.* malady, evil.



Goth., *milditha*, mildness; *milith*, honey.

I know not the etymology of the Latin *muli-er*, woman, but it may possibly refer to this family, and have its nearest kindred in the Sundan *mura-ati*. The Sanskrit *mallâ*, a woman, the Arabian jasmine, does not certainly refer to *mal* or *malla*, to hold, but refers itself better to the Greek  $\acute{\alpha}$ -*μαλος* and *μαλακος*. Probably all of these are akin to the Polynesian *malu*, q.v., p. 224. If so, the Hawaiian *melu*, soft, derivatively applied to spoiled fish, would indicate an adaptation or borrowing from the Marquesan or Tongan dialects, where the original *a* sound is not unfrequently changed to *e*.

MENE, *v.* Haw., to shrink, settle down, pucker up; *adj.* blunt, dull; *mene-mene*, to contract, shrink, to fear, have compassion; *adj.* fearful of, solicitous for; *menui*, contracted, blunted, shortened; *mino*, *mimino*, to wrinkle, curl up, fade, wither. Sam., *mene-mene*, small, of the breasts; *min-gi*, curly; *mingo-mingoi*, to wriggle about. Marqu., *mene*, blunt, dull. Tah., *mene-mene*, round, globular; *mimio*, wrinkled, furrowed; *mio-mio*, id. Mal., *memindik*, to shorten, to lessen.

Lat., *minuo*, diminish; *minor*, less; *minimus*; quære *minister* as opposed to *magister*?

Greek, *μινυθω*, to make smaller, to lessen, to curtail; *μινυθα*, little, very little; *μειων*, less.

Goth., *mins*, less. Sax., *minsian*, diminish.

Welsh, *main*. Irish, *min*, *mion*, small, fine.

Sansk., *mî*, *mindâ*, *minî*, to hurt; *a-mî*, to scrape off; *pra-mî*, to diminish.

MI, MIMI, *v.* Polynes., ubiquitous, to make water, void urine. Haw., *mi-a*, id. Sam., *mianga*, urine. Malg., *min-min*, foggy; *maman*, urine.

Sansk., *mîh*, to sprinkle, to urinate; *meha*, urine; *megha*, a cloud.

Lat., *mingo*, *meio*, to urinate.

Greek,  $\delta$ -*μιχεω*, to make water, urinate;  $\delta$ -*μιχλη*, mist, fog;  $\delta$ -*μιχμα*, urine.

Lith., *myzu*, make water; *migla*, mist.

Goth., *maihstus*, a dunghill. Sax., *miox*, *meox*, dung, excrement. Germ., *mist*, id., also fog. Engl., *mist*.

Benfey refers *μαινω* to stain, defile, and *μιαρος* and *μιασμα* to Sanskrit *mih*.

MIO, *v.* Haw., be pinched up, cramped, tumble about in water; sink out of sight, to move softly, noiselessly; to leer; *s.* pass or narrow channel where water passes through rapidly; *mio-mio*, to dive, swim, puff, breathe hard, as in swimming. Sam., *mio*, to wander about; *mimio*, be confused, as a current at sea; behave coldly to another.

Sanskrit, *mish* 2, to wink, contract the eyelids, look angrily, contend, resist.

Lat., *mico*, to quiver, beat, palpitate.

Benfey refers the Latin *miser* and the Greek *μισος* to Sanskrit *mish*.

MIKI, *s.* Haw., a pinch, what can be taken by the fingers; *v.* to pinch, snatch, hurry; *miki-miki*, to pinch, nibble as a fish. Sam., *miti*, to suck, sip, sniff; *mimiti*, to suck a wound, draw in, as a current. Tah., *miti*, to lick, lap as a dog. Marqu., *miti*, id., to touch, fumble.

Greek, *μικος*, *μικκος*, and *μικρος*, and *σμικρος*, small, little, petty.

Lat., *mica*, small bit, crumb, morsel.

MIKO, *v.* Haw., be seasoned, salted, entangled, mixed; *adj.* seasoned with salt, savory; *miko-miko*, tasteful, pungent, relishable. Tah., Mangar., *miti*, the salt water, sea, sauce. Amboyna, *mit*, *met*, the sea, salt water. Timor Laut, *meti*, sea.

Sanskrit, *micra* ("i.e., *mic* + *ra*, perhaps for *miksh*, desider. of *mih*, without red," Benfey, Sansk.-Engl. Dict., *s. v.*), mixed, mixings.

Greek, *μιγνυμι*, pf. *μεμιχα*, *μισγω*, to mix, mix up, mingle; *μιγας*, promiscuously; *μικτος*, mixed, compounded.

Lat., *misceo*, mix.

Sax., *miscan*, mix.

Benfey, referring the Sanskrit *micra* to a desider. of *mih*, seems to me rather forced. It is a derivative no doubt,

but its root or primitive form might be found more readily in the Hawaiian *miko*, did the *amour propre* of Indo-European philologists permit them to seek for lost roots outside the orthodox Indo-European boundary.

MILI, *v.* Haw., to feel of, handle, carry, look at, examine; *mili-mili*, *s.* a curiosity, a thing to be looked at; *adj.* desirable to be looked at, admirable. Sam., *mili*, to rub, rub in, as an ointment; *mili-pa'u*, to fondle, caress. Tah., *miri*, to embalm a corpse; *miri-miri*, to handle and examine a thing. Marqu., *mii*, to look at, admire. Mang., *miri-miri*, to view, handle, examine. Tong., *mili*, to rub, smoothe, stroke.

Lat., *miror*, to wonder, be astonished; *mirus*, wonderful, strange.

Corn., *miras*, to look.

Russ., *miryu*, to stop, allay, pacify; *za-mirayu*, be astonished.

. MOE, *v.* Haw., to lie down, fall prostrate, lean forward, lie down in sleep, to sleep, to dream. Sam., *moe*, to sleep, be congealed, to roost, to cohabit; *adv.* uselessly, in vain; *moenga*, sleeping-place, a hen's nest, cohabiting. Tah., *moe*, to sleep, lie down, to loose, forget. Tong., *mohe*, sleep; Rotumah, *mose*, sleep. Fiji., *moce*, sleep. Malg., *moket*, tired, weary.

Sansk., *muh*, be faint, lose consciousness, fail, be perplexed, confused, stupid; *caus.* *mohaya*, to perplex, to stupefy; *pra-mohita*, insensible; *mogha*, vain, useless; *moha*, fainting, loss of consciousness; *mohin*, bewildering, infatuating.

Irish, *muich*, *much*, stupor, fainting. Amor., *môch* (obsolete or not found, but existing in compounds, as *roz-môch*, a poppy, lit. the rose of sleep or of stupor; vid. A. Pictet, "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," i. 293).

Lith., *mēgote*, *mēgmi* (pres.), to sleep; *mēgo-zole*, the poppy, lit. the herb of sleep; *mēgas*, sleep.

Anc. Ger., *māgo*, poppy. Ger., *mohn*, id.; quære *mühe*, pain, trouble? Swed., *wall-mo*, poppy.

In Dravidian, Tamil, *mug-ir*, to fold up, as a flower its

petals; Canar., *much-ch-u* (mug), to cover up, shut in. In Tamil and Anc. Canar., *mugil*, a cloud (Caldwell's Drav. Gram.)

Mo'o, *s.* Haw., general name for all kinds of lizards. Tah., *mo'o*, lizard. Sam, *mo'o*, lizard; *v.* to be surprised.

Sanskrit., *mush*, to steal, rob, plunder; *muçalî*, a house-lizard; *mûsha*, rat, mouse; *mosha*, robbing.

Zend, *mûska*; Pers. and Bokhara, *mûsh*; Kurd., *meshk*; Afghan, *mukhak*; Arm., *mugn*; Osset, *misht*, rat, mouse.

Greek, *μυς*, a mouse.

Lat., *mus*, mouse, rat, marten, sable.

A.-Sax., O. H. Germ., Scand., *mûs*, mouse.

Anc. Slav., *myshi*; Illyr., *misc*, mouse.

MOKO, *v.* Haw., to pound with the fist, to fight, box. Sam., *moto*, strike with the fist. Marqu., *moto*, to compress, squeeze. Fiji., *moko*, to embrace, clasp round with the arms.

Greek, *μοθος*, battle, turmoil of battle.

Goth., *motjan*, to meet; Swed., *möta*, to meet, fall in with; *mot*, against, contrary, opposed to; *mota*, to stop, hinder.

Liddell and Scott refer the Greek *μοθος* to the Sanskrit *math*, to agitate, crush, kill, churn; and A. Pictet is of the same opinion. The Scandinavian *mot*, *mota*, would seem to offer an equally good, if not better, connection for the Greek *μοθος*; the more so as they evidently refer themselves with better sense to the Polynesian *moto*, in what was probably its primary meaning of "pressing together, to clasp, embrace," than they would to the Sanskrit *math*.

MOLA, *v.* Haw., to turn, be unstable, spin round. Only found in the Hawaiian among the Pacific Polynesians. Possibly akin to the Haw., Sam., *milo*, and N. Zeal. *miro*, to twist, as a string or rope, to make twine; *mi-milo*, a whirlpool. Fiji., *mulo*, to twist. Malg., *ma-mule*, to spin; *fa-mule*, a twisted string, twine.

Greek, *μύλη*, a mill; *μύλλω*, have sexual intercourse; *μύλλας*, prostitute.

Lat., *mola*, a mill; *molo*, to grind.

Goth., *malan*, to grind. A.-Sax., *mylen*, *myll*, mill.

Lith., *malti*, to grind; *malunas*, mill.

Russ., *melnitsa*, mill.

Welsh, *malu*, to grind; *melin*, mill.

Irish, *meitim*, to grind; *muillion*, mill.

A. Pictet refers the Indo-European forms to a lost Sanskrit root, *mal*, "a secondary form of *maṣ*, *mṣ*, in its active sense of destroying, killing, crushing" (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 119). But all the Indo-European references mentioned by Pictet imply a primary sense of twisting, turning round, whirling, as found in the Polynesian *mola*, *milo*, *mulo*, and not necessarily an underlying sense of destruction, killing, crushing. Until the Sanskrit root *mal* is found, perhaps the Polynesian *mola*, *milo*, will suffice.

MOLE, s. Haw., tap-root of a tree, bottom of a pit or sea, foundation, cause; fig. offspring, descendants from a root. So far as I am aware, only found in the Hawaiian dialect.

Sanskrit, *mūla*, root of a tree, the lowest part, origin, cause, commencement, near, proximate; *pāda-mūla*, sole of the foot.

Lat., *moles*, a mass, lump, heap, foundation, a dam.

Benfey refers the Sanskrit *mūla* to a "vb. *mah*," whose original form again was *magh*, to be great, powerful. I know not the process of such a derivation, but think it faulty in view of the Polynesian *mole* and the Latin *moles*.

MOLIA, v. Haw., to devote, to give up to good or bad, to bless or to curse, according to the prayer of the priest, to pray for, be sanctified, to worship, sacrifice, to curse. "*Molia mai e ola*," bless him, let him live; "*Molia mai e make*," curse him, let him die. Tah., *moria*, name of a religious ceremony after restoration from sickness; *mori-mori*, prayer at do. Sam., *molia-molia*, be disappointed, deceived. Marqu., *moi*; Fiji., *moli*, thanks. Sunda., *mulija*; Mal., *mulieja*, dignified, illustrious.

Anc. Slav., *moliti*, to pray; *moliva*, prayer.

Pol., *modlic*, to pray; *modla*, prayer.

Lith., *maldā*, prayer.

Irish, *molaim*, to praise; *moladh*, praise. Welsh, *mali*, to adore; *mawl*, *molud*, praise.

A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 701) refers the above West Aryan forms to the "Sanskrit *mad*, petere, rogare, in Vedic (Westerz), prop. exhilarare," though Benfey (Sansk. Dict.) says that the original meaning of *mad* was "to be wet," and that in the Vedas it means "to get drunk." And Pictet considers the *l* in the Anc. Slav. and Irish and Welsh as an exchange for an original *d* or *dl* as preserved in the Polish. We have no remains of Ancient Polish with which to compare the Ancient Slave or the Irish and Welsh; and I think, therefore, that the Polynesian offers a simpler and a better reference.

In Haug's "Essays on the Sacred Songs of the Parsis," p. 175, n. 2, he states that "for blessing and cursing one and the same word is used" in the Avesta—*āfrēnāmī*—which thus corresponded to the old Hebrew word *berek*, "to give a blessing and to curse." It strengthens the West Aryan connections shown above of the Polynesian *molīa* to find that the ancient Iranians also used a word expressing the same double sense.

MU<sup>1</sup>, *v*. Haw., to shut the lips, hold the mouth full of water, make an indistinct sound, to hum, be silent; *mu-mu*, id.; *mumule*, be dumb, silent, out of one's head; *mu-a*, to mumble food with the lips; *mua-mua*, drinking water and spitting it out again; *mui*, collect, assemble; *mu-i-mu-i*, id.; *mu-o*, to bud; *mu-o-mu-o*, to swell out, as the bud of a flower, original sense, to pout with the lips; *mu-u*, to collect, lay up in store; *mu-ki*, apply the lips or mouth to a thing, to kiss. After the introduction of tobacco, to light a pipe, take a whiff, to squirt water through the teeth; *mu*, *s*. a small black bug, a moth. Sam., *mu-i*, to murmur; *mu-mu*, be in swarms, as flies, small fish, or children; *mu-su*, be unwilling, indolent; *musu-musu*, to whisper. Tah., *mu*, a buzz or confused noise; *v*. to buzz, make noise or din; *mu-hu*, noise, din of talking; *mu-mu*,

same as *mu*, *mu-i*, to tie up, collect; *muta-muta*, to mutter without speaking out, generally of discontent. Marqu., *moto*, to compress, to shut; *mutu*, dumb, stupid. Rarat., *mu-teki*, *mu-rare*, silent, dumb. Fiji., *mu-mu*, to swarm, as flies or mosquitoes. Mālg., *mu-a*, dumb, foolish; *muk*, *mok*, mosquitoes. Ceram. (Wahai), *mumun*, fly. Mal., *nya-mok*, mosquito.

Sanskrit, *mā*, to bind, compress; *māka*, dumb; *s.* a fish; *maukya*, dumbness.

Greek, *μν*, a muttering sound made with the lips; *μναω*, to compress the lips in sign of displeasure; *μνω*, to close or shut, of the eyes or mouth; *μνζω*, to murmur; *μνγμος*, moaning, muttering; *μνεω*, initiate into mysteries; *μνια*, house-fly; *μνδος*, dumb; *μνδος*, *μνττος*, id.; *μν-ωψ*, blinking, short-sighted.

Lat., *mu* = *μν*, *v.* supra; *musca*, a fly; *musso*, to murmur, mutter; *mussito*, be silent, speak softly; *mutio*, murmur, mumble; *mutus*, mute, dumb, silent.

O. H. Germ., *mucca*; Sax., *myge*, midge, gnat.

A. Pictet (*l. c.*, i. 421) refers the Greek, Latin, Old German, and Saxon names for "fly," as well as the corresponding Slavoid names—Russ., *mucha*; Bahem., *maucha*; Illyr., *muha*; Lith., *musse*—to the Sanskrit root *mac*, to sound, to be irritated, and its relative *maksh*, whence the Sanskrit forms *makshikā*, a fly; *maçaka*, a gnat, a mosquito. Under correction, I would suggest the Polynesian *mu* as a better reference; or, if everything must be referred to the Sanskrit as a test of linguistic kindred, there are the Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin *mu*, with their derivatives of *μνζω*, *musso*, &c.

*MU*<sup>2</sup>, *v.* Sam., to burn, to glow, to redden; *mu-mu*, to burn brightly, as a fire; *adj.* red; *faa-mu*, to kindle a fire; *mu-litini*, fiercely hot, of the sun. Haw., *mu-kole*, red, sore inflamed of the eyes. Ceram. (Wahai), *mulai*, hot.

Greek, *μνδος*, any red-hot mass, especially of iron. No etymon given by Liddell and Scott.

*MUKU*, *v.* Haw., to cut short, cut off, to cease, to stop, as a sickness; *moku*, *v.* nearly identical in sense, to divide

in two, cut off, break asunder; *s.* a part of a country, a district, division, an island, a ship supposed to be floating islands, a piece of anything broken off. Tong., *mutu*, to break, separate; *motu*, small island. N. Zeal., *muku*, to break off, cease, fail, as a crop. Marqu., *motu*, to tear, break off; *s.* an island. Tah., *motu*, to tear, break; *s.* a low island; *motu-u*, to be stranded, as a rope; *fig.* mental weariness; *mutu*, be gone, vanished. Sam., *mutu*, to cut off, be defective; *motu*, be broken, severed, snapped asunder; *s.* an islet, a district. Fiji., *mudu*, to cut off, cause to cease; *musu*, cut crosswise, break off; *mucu*, blunt, of the edge. Mal., *mukim*, district.

Sansk., *mus*, *mush*, to break to pieces; *musala*, *mucala*, a pestle, club. Perhaps *much*, to let loose, dismiss, to leave, abandon, take away. Perhaps also—

Greek, *μυκης*, a mushroom, any knobbed, round body, the chape or cap of a sword's scabbard, the stump of a tree; *μυτιλος*, curtailed, maimed.

Lat., *mutilus*, maimed, mutilated.

MULI, *prep.* Haw., after, behind, in time or place; *s.* a successor, the last of a series, hindmost, the younger child of two; *muli-wai*, lit. the last of the water, the mouth of a river, a firth. Sam., *muli*, the end, the hindpart, bottom, rump; *adj.* the young, of men and trees; *muli-muli*, to follow after; *muli-a'i*, the last; *muli-vae*, the heel; *muli-vai*, mouth of a river. Tah., *muri*, behind, afterwards; *muri-a-pape*, the mouth of a river. Marqu., *imui*, after. N. Zeal., *muri*, behind, after, younger, tip end. Tong., *muli*, behind, abaft, foreign, strange; *mui*, young. Fiji., *muri*, to follow, go behind; *muri-muri*, the last. Sunda., *mulik*, to go behind. Mal., *burit*, the hinder-parts. Jav., *burit*, the last.

Liddell and Scott consider the Greek *μυριος*, numerous, infinite, incessant, &c., and the Latin *multus*, much, numerous, frequent, &c., are related, but give no etymon for either. I am induced to think that a still earlier sense of *μυριος* and *multus* was that of frequency, sequence, succession, and thus would bring them within



the family lines of the Polynesian *muli*, *muri*. Such expressions as *multo die*, late in the day; *multa nocte*, late in the night; *multum esse*, to be prolix, tedious, also to be frequent, of common occurrence, seem to be based upon an earlier conception, when the word indicated sequence, succession, one thing following another, which doubtless was the radical sense of the Polynesian *muli*.

On p. 223, s. v. *Mali*, I have followed Benfey in referring the Latin *mulier* to the Sanskrit *mṛij*, and the Latin *mulgeo*, analogous to Sanskrit *duhitri*. I now think it more appropriate to refer *muli-er*, woman, to the Polynesian *muli*, she "who follows, comes after" the man.

NA<sup>1</sup>, *art.* Haw., plur. prefix, they; *na hale*, the houses. In some South Polynesian dialects, *nga*, id.; *nga-lima*, the hands. Tagal., *ma-na*, they.

Sanskrit., *nānā*, various, different.

Irish, *na*, they; *na-lamha*, the hands. For an analysis of the Sanskrit *nānā*, in connection with the Polynesian and Irish *na*, see Fr. Bopp, "Über die Verwandtschaft der Mal. Polynes. Spr. mit d. Ind.-Eur.," p. 98.

NA<sup>2</sup>, NANA. Fiji, word used by children when addressing their mother; correlative to *ta* and *tata* for father; a familiar word for mother; *ngane*, a male's sister or a female's brother. Within the Polynesian area proper, *nana* is obsolete, and *ngane* or *nane* only remains in compounds, as *tua-ngane*, a woman's brother. Sam., *kai-kunane*, id. Haw., within the Indonesian circle of Polynesian relatives the word is still found. Celebes (Bouton), *i-nana*, mother; (Menado), *i-nany*, id. Sumatra (Singkel), *i-nanga*, id. Banjak Isls., *nenne*, id. Ceram. (Gah) and Matabello, *nina*, id. Buru., *neina*, id. Sunda, *neenee*, grandmother. Ke Isls., *nen*, mother.

Greek, *vevros* or *vavvas*, a mother's or father's brother, an uncle; *vavva*, aunt; *vivvη*, grandmother or mother-in-law. "*Nanā* = mother, is cited from the Rig-Veda by Aufrecht."—Liddell and Scott, s. v.

NAE, *adv.* Haw., truly, indeed; but Tong., *nai*, per-

haps, may be. N. Zeal., *nake*, but. Mang., *anake*. Tah., *anae*, only, merely, together, entirely.

Greek, *vai*, yea, verily.

Lat., *nae*, truly, indeed.

NA'Ō, *v.* Haw., to thrust in, as the hand or fingers into some unknown receptacle, to penetrate, as the mind, to think deeply; *na'o-na'o*, to thrust in the hand, to seize, steal, look earnestly at, contemplate; *adj.* deep down, as a pit; *ma-na'o*, to think, call to mind; *s.* thought, idea. Sam., *nga'o*, diligent, industrious; *na'o-na'o*, to feel for, as for fishes in holes by introducing the arm; *ma-na'o*, desire, wish. Tah., *nao*, to take up little by little, as food; *nanao*, to thrust the hand into a hole or aperture; *s.* the tattooed marks on the skin; *ma-nao*, to think, reflect; *pu-naonao*, take out of a bag or basket, to steal; *ti-nao*, put the hand in a hole. N. Zeal., Rarot., *ma-nako*, think, hope, remember. Sumatra (Singkel), *me-nangko*, to steal. Pulo Nias, *me-nago*, *id.* Sunda, Mal., *ing-ngat-an*, to remember, memory.

Probably related to this family of words are the Haw., *noo*, *noo-noo*, seek, search after, reflect; *no-i*, to beg, entreat, ask for; *no-ii*, to glean, gather up, as small things, collect one's thoughts; *noi-au*, wisdom, knowledge. Sam., *no*, *no-no*, to borrow; *no'o-i*, to answer back. N. Zeal., Rarot., *i-noi*, to beg, entreat. Tah., *no-u-no-u*, to desire, covet.

Sanskrit., *jñā*, to know, be intelligent, recognise, search, investigate; *jñāta*, known, thought; *jñā*, knowing. Zend, *jñā*, to know.

Greek, *γινωσκω*, *inf.* *γινωαι*, to perceive, mark, know; *γνωσις*, investigation, knowledge; *voos*, *vous*, mind, thought, sense; *voew*, to perceive, observe, think.

Lat., *nosco*, to know; *cognosco*; *notus*; *gnarus*; *gnavus*.

Goth., *kunnau*, to know. O. H. Germ., *knau*, to know. Sax., *cnawan*, to know.

Anc. Slav., *znati*. Lith., *zinoti*. Russ., *znayu*, to know.

Irish, *na*, soul, intellect; *gno*, known, famous; *gnas*, custom, habit.

The material and probably original sense seems to have been retained only by the Polynesian branches.

NAU, *v.* Haw., to chew, gnash the teeth, hold in the breath; *nau-nau*, to bite, as bitter plants; to chew, mince, to move the lips as in chewing, mumbling. N. Zeal., *ngau*, to bite. Tong., *ngau-ngau*, a talker, a braggart. Sam., *ngau*, to break, chew sugar-cane; *ngau-ngau*, to fold up. Tah., *a-nau*, to grieve, as a parent for his child. Allied to this is probably the Haw. and Marqu. *nahu*, to bite, snatch at, to gnaw, to bite off, to file, to rasp; *s.* pain of biting, colic, inward pains.

Greek, *κναιω*, *κναιω*, to scrape, scratch, tickle, itch; *κνηκος*, a kind of thistle.

Sax., *gnagan*, to gnaw, scrape, bite little by little. O. Norse, *naga*, *id.*; *nagga*, a quarrel. Possibly also Sax. *knægan*, to neigh as a horse, to whinny.

Irish, *enaoidhim*, to gnaw, consume; *enagh*, *enaoui*, consumption; *enuigh*, a maggot.

NAUA, *s.* Haw., noon; *adj.* cold, distant, angry, celebrating a chief's birth or residence. "*Owai kou naua?*" was often asked in olden times of unknown or doubtful pretenders to nobility, equivalent to "Where were you born? who were your ancestors?" So far as I know, this word only occurs with these meanings in the Hawaiian. In the Samoan we find *na'ua*, exceedingly, very; *nau-nau*, to be very great, to exceed. Tah., *nau-anei*, today. The primary sense of this word probably still lingers in the expressions "exceedingly," "distant," associating it on one side with the conceptions of zenith and noon, and on the other side with the birthplace of chiefs, who were considered not only as *πορφυρο-γεννητοι*, but also as *διοσδοτοι*, thus marking the distance (socially) between themselves and the commoners. Among the West Aryan relatives of this word probably the nearest is—

Welsh, *nawn*, noon, properly the summit of a thing, from *naw*, up, ultimate, what limits.

Sansk., *nabhas*, sky, atmosphere, ether; *nabhas-vant*, wind.

Greek, *νεφος, νεφελη*, cloud.

Lat., *nubes*, a cloud; *nebula*, mist, vapour.

A.-Sax., *ge-nip*, a cloud. O. H. Germ., *nibul*, mist, fog.  
O. Norse, *nifl*, id.; *Nifl-heim*, the Scandinavian Tartarus.

Anc. Slav., *Nebo*, heaven.

NAKA, *v.* Haw., to tremble, shake, be unsteady, be fearful. Probably *nake-ke*, to move back and forth; to rattle, rustle, as paper in the wind or as new kapa; to shake to and fro. Sam., *ngata*, a snake; *ngate-to*, to shake, tremble, be troubled. Marqu., *nganga, kaka*, the large house-lizard. Buru (Wayapo), *niha*, snake.

Sax., *snaca*, snake. O. H. Germ., *snecho*, snail; *snachan*, to crawl.

Irish, *sna'gaim*, to crawl.

Sanskrit, *nāga*, a serpent. Hind., *nag*, id. Cinghal., *nayā*, id.

Does the Gothic *snaga*, a garment, belong to this family of words, from the trailing, shaking, fluttering of a garment?

A. Pictet refers the Sanskrit *nāga* to a primary compound, *nā + ga*, what does not walk, "qui ne marche pas." With due deference, I think the earlier sense of *gā, gam*, is to go, to move, irrespective of the manner of going or moving. Hence the compound *na-ga*, which Benfey interprets as "immovable, a mountain, a tree." It is probable, therefore, that *nāga* is a word of so old adoption that its etymon and origin had been lost within the Sanskrit language. The Polynesian *naka* certainly offers a more reasonable explanation than the self-contradictory *nā-ga* of Pictet.

NALU, NANU (*l* and *n* convertible), *s.* Haw., surf, sea, wave, the slimy fluid on a new-born child; *adj.* roaring, surging. Sam., Tong., *ngalu*, a wave, a breaker; *v.* to break heavy, of the sea. Tah., *nanu*, the slimy matter on new-born infants; *nanu-miti*, flood-tide; *pa-nanu*, to flow as the tide; *nanu-nanu*, make a noise like a pigeon; Timor Laut, *noar*, river.

Sanskrit, *nad*, to sound, to roar; *nada*, a river; *nard*, to roar; *nāra, nīra*, water.

Greek, *varos, vηpos*, flowing, liquid, wet, damp.

Welsh, *nadu*, to cry. Irish, *naodhan*, spring, fountain.

Sax., *snora*, a snoring.

Tribes of Hindu-Kush (Torwalak), *nād*, a river; (Narisati), *neudi*, id.; (Bushgali), *nunni*, id.

Liddell and Scott refer *varos, vηpos*, &c., to the Sanskrit *snā*, to bathe; and so does Benfey. Such etymon may have been plausible while the Polynesian *nalu* was unknown, even were the *s* in *snā* not a prosthetic.

NAMU, *v.* Haw., to speak rapidly and unintelligibly, to mock by imitating another, to nibble, as a fish at bait; *s.* unmeaning talk, a person of foreign language, a rapid motion of the jaws. N. Zeal., *namu*, to grumble, murmur. Sam., *namu*, mosquito; *nanu*, to stammer, pronounce wrongly. Mangar., *nanu*, to curse. Tong., Tah., *namu*, mosquito. Fiji., *namu*, to chew.

Sansk., *nam*, to sound.

NANI, *s.* Haw., glory, beauty, splendour; *nanea*, pleasant, easy, cheerful, joy, comfort. Tah., *nani*, rich, having great possessions; *nani-nani*, well furnished, as a house. Marqu., *nani*, brilliant. Sam., *nanea*, be sufficient for a purpose.

Sansk., *nand*, be pleased, rejoice; *nandi*, joy; *nandana*, gladdening.

NAPA, *v.* Haw., to writhe, to spring, as timber, to bend, be tremulous, as the air under a hot sun; *adj.* crooked; *napai*, bent, warped, as a board; *napana*, the joints of limbs, as wrists, elbows, knees; *napa-napa*, to bend, to arch, be bright, shining; *nape, nape-nape*, to bend, yield, be flexible, vibrate rapidly. Sam., *ngape*, be broken, fragile. Tah., *anapa*, flash of lightning; *nape-nape*, active, vigilant.

Sansk., *nabh*, to burst, split, injure; *nābhe*, navel, nave for a wheel, centre.

Zend, *nafa, nāfō*, navel, nave, centre.

Greek, *ἀμβων, ἀμβη*, (Ion.) *ἀμβιξ*, anything rising, projecting, as a hill, lip, edge; *ὄμφαλος*, navel, button, knob, centre.

Lat., *umbo*, the boss of a shield, the elbow, cape, projection; *umbilicus*, navel; *napus*, turnip.

Sax., *nafa*, nave, hub of a wheel; *nafela*, navel; *hnepan*, to lean, nod. Goth., *hnuipan*, pf. *hnaup*, to knap, break. O. H. Germ., *naba*, *nabulo*, navel. O. Norse, *nabhi*, head; *knapp*, a rocky projection; *snapr*, a point, beak; *knefi*, the fist. Engl., *nape*, joint of the neck; *nap*, short sleep, a nodding; *snap*, to break short.

Irish, *cnap*, a round body; *neip*, a turnip.

NATU, *v.* Marqu., to mix, to wash clothes. Mangar., *natu*, to dip, soak. Tong., *natu*, to mix, to knead. Tah., *natu*, to scratch, pinch, press repeatedly, mash, mix. Haw., *naku*, to stir up, as water, to trouble, give pain, to root, as a hog, seek, search. N. Zeal., *ngatu*, to scratch, scrape. Sam., *ngatu*, the stick used in rubbing for fire.

Greek, *νασσω*, Att. *ναττω*, to press, to squeeze close, stamp down; *νακος*, a fleece; *νοτεω*, be wet, damp, drip; *νοτος*, south wind.

Goth., *natjan*, to wet, wash. Germ., *netzen*, to moisten, to soak, steep; *nass*, wet, humid, moist. Dutch, *nat*, id.

NE'E, *v.* Haw., to move along horizontally, hitch along by degrees; *ne'e-ne'e*, id., draw near, approach, crawl; *nei*, similar to *nee*, but with more energy. N. Zeal., *neke*, to move along. Tah., *ne'e*, to move, to crawl; *ne'e-ne'e*, move repeatedly; *a-nee*, to spread, extend. Marqu., *neke-neke*, approach, draw near. Sam., *ne'e*, to bear up, as a boat lifted up by the water.

Sansk., *naç<sup>1</sup>*, *naksh*, to approach, to attain, to reach to.

Lat., *nanciscor*, *nactus*, to obtain, reach.

The Greek *νεω*— $\beta$  (Liddell and Scott), to swim, inasmuch as it expresses a horizontal motion, would seem to ally itself better to the Polynesian *ne'e*, *neke*, than to the Sanskrit *snu*, to flow, distil, pour forth.

NEO, NEA, *adj.* Haw., desolate, empty; *v.* be desolate, still, silent; *v.a.* sweep off everything, to destroy; *nea-nea*, lonely, desolate; *neko*, filthy, bad-smelling. Rarot., *nea*, lonely, desolate. Tah., *neo-neo*, offensive in smell, putrid. Sam., *ngao-ngao*, deserted, empty, forsaken. Marqu., *neo*,

the hiccough. Fiji, *neke*, empty, of crabs after spawning.

Sanskrit, *naç²*, be lost, disappear, perish; *naça*, loss, destruction, death; *naçin*, perishable; *naçti*, ruin.

Zend, *naçu*, corpse, cadavre.

Greek, *νεκός*, *νεκρός*, dead body, corpse; *νοσός*, disease, sickness, distress.

Lat., *nex*, death, murder; *neco*, to kill, destroy; *noceo*, to harm, hurt, injure; *noxius*; *per-nicies*.

Goth., *naus*, a corpse; *nawis*, dead; *nauths*, need, necessity; *nauthjan*, to force, compel, constrain. Sax., *nead*, *neod*, need, want; *ge-neadan*, to compel.

In further correlation to the Sanskrit *naç* we have the Sam. *ngase*, *adj.* palsied, languid, lifeless; *v.* be languid, wane, as the moon, to die; Haw., *nahe*, soft, slow, weak, gentle; *nahe-nahe*, empty, as the bowels from fasting or sickness.

Ni'o, *v.* Haw., to sleep sitting and nod the head; *nio-lo*, sleep, drowsiness. Tah., *ni-nito*, to stretch, as when waking from sleep or when feeling weary.

Lat., *nico*, wink, make signs with the eyes. The Samoan *nengo* expresses exactly the same sense as the Latin *nico*; but in the absence of the ordinarily intermediate North Marquesan form, I will not venture to connect the Samoan with the Hawaiian or Tahitian.

Liddell and Scott, following Curtius, refer the above Latin *nico*, *nicto*, as well as *nuo*, *nuto*, *numen*, *con-niveo*, and the Greek *νεύω*, to nod, beckon; *νεύμα*, nod, sign; *νυσταζω*, to nod in sleep, to slumber, as relatives to an assumed root, *νευ*. There is no possibility of calculating the permutations of the West Aryan vowels, but while a Polynesian *ni'o*, *nito*, is to be had, it may be as well to separate the Latin *nico*, *nicto*, *con-niveo*, *-nixi*, from whatever root may have given birth to *nuo*, *nuto*, *νεύω*, &c. To such a root I would refer the Polynes. Sam., *ngulu*, to sleep; Marqu., *nou*, to wink the eyes; Fiji, *nu*, be stunned or asleep, as the head or feet; Sunda, *nun-du-tau*, to nod, be sleepy; perhaps Engano, *pa-nuko*, to sleep.

NIHA, *adj.* Haw., rude, rough, harsh, wild, unsocial. Tah., *nifa-nifa*, spotted, variegated. Sam., *lifa* (*l* for *n*), thin, wasted. Malg., *manidz*, cold. Ceram. (Wahai), *lifie*, cold. Biadju, *jer-nih*, cold.

Sanskrit, *niç*, *nica*, night; *nîla*, "i.e., *niç-la*" (Benfey), black or dark-blue; *nîhâra*, fog, frost, rime.

Greek, *νιφω*, to snow; *νιφας*, snowflake, snowstorm; *νξ*, night.

Lat., *niger* ("quasi *niç-va*," Benfey), black, dark, unlucky, ominous; *nix*, snow.

Zend, *çniz* or *çnij*, to snow.

Lith., *snigti*, to snow; *snegas*, snow. Anc. Slav., *sniegu*; Bohem., *snih*, to snow.

Goth., *snaiws*, snow. Sax., *snaw*, id.; *niht*, night. O. Norse, *nithing*, a villain, dastard, outlaw; *sniar*, to snow.

In confirmation of the above etymology, a similar formation may be observed in some of the pre-Malay dialects of the Indian Archipelago. Thus in Teor, night is called *po-gara-gara*, "the rough, rude, harsh night," while in the Ceram. (Gah) dialect night is simply called *gara-gara*, "the wild, the rough, unpleasant," scil. night; while the Ceram. (Awaija) *pepeta*, cold, meets us again in the Sunda, *petting*, night. Following the same analogy, the Sanskrit *nakta*; Vedic *nas* or *nak*, night, and its West Aryan relatives, *naths*, *nox*, &c., are generally derived from the Sanskrit *naç*, be lost, disappear, destroy. The Old Norse *nithing*, from *nith*, brings back the original sense of this word; and the Sanskrit *nîhâra* seems also to be in accord with the Polynesian *nihâ*.

NIHI, *v.* Haw., turn sideways on entering a house; *nihî-nihî*, *s.* anything standing on the edge, edgewise, the sharp ridge of a mountain; the corner of a table or square piece of timber; *adj.* difficult, strait, narrow, edged. Sam., *ma-nifi*, thin. Tah., *ma-nihî*, to slip or slide, as in climbing smooth trees. Tong., *ma-nifi*, thin, narrow. Malg., *ma-nifi*, thin, slender. Mal., *nipies*, thin.

Welsh, *nig*, straight, narrow.

Judging from analogy and the idiomatic character of



the language, there can be little doubt that the Polynesian *nihō*, *nifo*, tooth—also in Tah. horn, projection, and in Haw. *nihō-nihō*, rough, projecting, protuberance, teathed like a saw or a shark's mouth—is a dialectical variation of *nihī*, peculiar to the Pacific branch of the Polynesian family. Among its pre-Malay congeners in the Indian Archipelago both forms occur, signifying tooth; *ex. gr.*, Saparua, *nio*; Matabello, *nifoa*; Ceram. (Teluti), *lilico* (*l* for *n*), (Ahtiago), *nifau*; Celebes (Bolangh), *do-gnito*; (Buton) *nichi*; (Menado), *ngisi*; Sulu Isl., *nihī*; Buru, *nisi*; Amboyna, *niki*. Teor., *nifin*; Sanguir. Isl., *isi*; Malg., *nij*, *nifi*; Timor Laut, *nifat*.

I am inclined to believe that the Icelandic *nef*, Saxon *neb*, nib, bill, beak, and perhaps the Greek *νυσσα*, to prick with a sharp point, *νυσσα*, the turning-post at a race-course, originally refer themselves to the same root-word as the Polynesian *nihī*, *nifi*, *nihō*, *nifo*.

NIKI, *v.*, also NAKI. Haw., to tie, knot, bind, fasten, confine; *niki-niki*, a sheath, what confines. Tah., *nati*, to tie, bind; *na-nati*, *nati-nati*, id.; *niti-niti*, niggardly, close-fisted.

Sanskrit., *nah* ("for orig. *nadh*," Benfey), to tie, bind, fasten; *naddhi*, cord; *naha*, obstruction.

Lat., *necto*, knit, bind, join; *nexus*, *nodus*, knot; *nux*, nut.

Goth., *nati*, a net; *nethla*, a needle. Sax., *cynthan*, to knit, tie, fasten. O. H. Germ., *nahan*, *nawan*, to sew; *nat*, seam.

Welsh, *noden*; Arm., *neûd*; Irish, *snadh*, threads; *cnotadh*, a knot; *cnudh*, *cnô*, a nut.

NU, *v.* Haw., to sound, roar, groan, grunt; *s. nu-nu*, a dove; *adj.* moaning, grunting, cooing, sullen, dumb; *nunulu*, to chirp, as birds, to grunt, growl. Sam., *ngu*, to growl, murmur; *ngu-ngu*, dumb; *nunu*, be silent from anger. Tong., *ta-nguru*, to snore. Rarot., *nguru-nguru*, to groan, growl; *ma-ngu-ngu*, thunder. Paum., *nguru-nguru*, to grunt; *s.* a hog; Marqu., *nunu*, dumb.

Sanskrit., *nu*, *nâ*, to shout. Ved., *nâu*, voice (Pictet).

Pers., *nuwâ*, *nawâ*, cry, sound, voice.

NUKU, *s.* Haw., the bill of a bird, the snout of an animal, mouth, nose of a pitcher or person; *nuku-nuku*, *v.*

to find fault, complain, scold; *adv.* on end, edgeways. Sam., *ngutu*, the mouth of men, animals, bottles, &c., the beak of a bird; *ngutu-a*, talk impudently; *ngutu-ngutu*, to promise and not perform. Tah., *utu*, the lip, bill of a bird, edge of a thing, the long snout of some fishes; *utu-taa*, forward, perverse. Marqu., *ngutu*, *kutu*, bill, beak, mouth. N. Zeal., *ngutu*, id. Tong., *ngutu*, face, mouth; *lo-ngutu*, the lips. Gilolo (Gari), *us-nut*, nose. Kaioia Isl., *us-nod*, id. Ternati, *nunu*, id. Saparua, *nuku*, mouth. Mentawej Isl., *ngungu*, mouth. Buru (Cajeli), *nuum*, id. Engano, *oku*, id.

This word, so common among the eastern branches, has so far as I can learn, only two representatives in the west: the Persian *nôk*, *nawk*, point, angle, beak, and the English *snout*, the Dutch *snuite*, Swedish *snut*, *snytte*.

PA, *s.* Haw., anything with a flat surface, as a board, plank, table, smooth rock, a wall, fence, enclosure; *v.* to fence, enclose; *pa-pa*, smooth, flat, a board, plank, a row, rank, a company sitting or standing in a row, a storey in a building; *papa-lina*, the cheeks of the face; *pa-pohaku*, a stone fence; *pa-pa*, *v.* to erect a screen or shade to prevent the light or heat of the sun; *fig.* to prohibit, forbid. Tah., *pa*, a fence, hedge, enclosed place; *pa-pa*, board, seat, flat rock, stratum of rocks, shoulder-blade; *pa-ti*, rank of people standing in a row, range of mountains; *pati-a*, fence of upright sticks. Sam., *pa*, a wall; *pa-pa*, a rock, a floor-mat, a board; *adj.* plain, level, flat; *pa-o*, to stop, check, forbid, correct. Marqu., *pa*, fence, wall; *po-pa-hi*, to command under penalty. Fiji., *ba*, a fence to enclose fish; *ba-i*, a garden fence or village fence. Malg., *fa-fan*, a plank; *fahets*, stockade, fence.

Sansk., *pâ<sup>2</sup>*, to guard, preserve, protect, to govern; *pâ-tri*, a protector. Benfey (Sansk. Dict.) says that "the link between the signification of *pâ<sup>1</sup>*, to drink, and *pâ<sup>2</sup>*, to protect, is formed by the signification to nourish," and he refers to the Greek *παομαι*, to get, acquire; *πωμα*, a lid or cover; A.-Sax., *foda*; Goth., *fodjan*, to feed; Lat.,

*pasco*, &c. Under correction, it seems to me that the Polynesian conception of *pa* as a wall, fence, enclosure, and perhaps the still older conception of board, plank, flat rock, row, scil. of rocks or stakes as a fence, is as good, if not a better, origin of the Sanskrit *pā*, to guard, protect. This primary sense of the Sanskrit *pā* occurs again—and there only, I believe—in its derivative *pāli*, a line, row, bank, dike, boundary, to which I shall refer again under the Polynesian *pali*.

PA'A<sup>1</sup>, *v.* Haw., be fast, make fast, take hold of, hold on to, confirm, establish, secure, to finish as a work, to fix, hold back, detain, retain in memory, assert; *pa'a-kai*, salt, lit. hard, solid water; *pa'a-hao*, prisoner, lit. iron-bound. Marqu., *pa'a*, ripe, as fruit, mature; *pa'a-kaikai*, retain by heat, know; *paka*, circle, reunion; *patia*, to fasten, attach to. N. Zeal., *pa'a-tūtū*, hatchet, on account of its hardness. Tah., *pa'a-na*, strong, vigorous, healthy; *pa'a-ora*, a conqueror.

Sansk., *pac*, to bind; *pāca*, a tie, string, fetter, noose, net; *paçu*, cattle.

Lat., *pango*, to fasten, fix, drive into; *paciscor*, agree, contract; *pactum*, *pax*, &c.; *com-pesco*, keep in check, bridle, confine; *pagus*, village; *pecu*, *pecus*, cattle; *fascis*, *fascia*.

Goth., *fahan*, to catch, apprehend; *faihu*, cattle, property; *fatha*, a hedge; *fastan*, to hold fast, keep, observe; *faths*<sup>2</sup>, a leader, a chief. A.-Sax., *feoh*, cattle. Dutch, *pak*, a bundle. Engl., *pack*, to pack.

Lith., *pecku*, cattle.

Greek, *πηγνυμι*, *ἐπαγον*, to make fast, fix, make solid, construct, make hard, freeze; *πηγος*, firm, strong, solid; *παχυνη*, hoar-frost; *παχυς*, thick, large, stout; *παγος*, a firm-set rock, a peak, rocky hill; *πωῦ*, flock of sheep; *ποιμην*, a herdsman.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As an instance of idiomatic similarity, it may be interesting to notice that both Greeks and Polynesians formed their name for crabs or such shell-fish upon the root of this word. The Greeks called crabs by the general name of *παγ-ουρος*, lit. hard-tailed, hard-shelled. The Polynesians, Tah., call a small crab *pa'a-ica*; Sam., *pa'a*, general name for crabs; Haw., *parai*, crabs.

PA'A<sup>2</sup>, PA'A-PA'A, *v.* Haw., to burn, scorch, consume by fire; *adj.* scorched, burnt; *s.* dryness, thirst. N. Zeal., *paka*, anything dried in the sun. Rarot., *paka-paka*, burnt, scorched. Tah., *pa'a*, crust of bread-fruit, scales on the skin. Sam., *pa'a-a*, crisp, dry, as leaves. Marqu., *paka*, thirst.

Sanskrit., *pach*<sup>1</sup>, to cook, bake, roast, ripen; *pak-tri*, cooking, a cook; *pāka*, cooking, burning, baking, food.

Zend, *pach*, to cook. Pers., *pagî-dan*, id.; *pēcha*, fire; *pochton*, to cook. Affghan, *pachaval*, to cook. Arm. (*k* for *p*), *khoh*, kitchen. Osset., *fichin*, to cook. Shina (Gilgit), *puch-oyki*, be ripe. Khowaree (in Chitrat Valley), *pechi*, heat; *petch*, hot.

Anc. Slav., *peka*, heat; *pekari*, baker; *pectle*, to cook. Lith., *peczus*, oven, fireplace; *kepti*, *kepa* (by inversion), to cook, roast.

Lat., *coquo* (*c* for *p*), to cook; *culīna* (for *cuc-līna*), kitchen; *papīna*, restaurant, eating-house.

Greek, *πεπτω*, *πεπτω*, to cook, dress, bake; *πεπων*, sun-ripe, mellow; *ποπανον*, cake for sacrifices; *πεμμα*, pastry.

PA'I, PAKI (both forms), *v.* Haw., to strike with the palm of the hand, smite, spatter, dash; *pai-o*, to strive, contend, scold, strike to and fro. Sam., *pai*, to touch, reach to, arrive at; *pai*, to clasp the hands. Tong., *pai*, id. Tah., *pai-pai*, to drive evil spirits out of one possessed, done by clapping of hands and striking around wildly; *pai-o*, to arrange or adjust an affair in dispute; *pai*, start suddenly, jump, leap. Marqu., *pai-o*, dispute, quarrel.

Greek, *παιω*, to strike, smite, whether with the hand or a weapon, drive away, strike upon, correct, as a child; *παραπαιω*, strike on one side, strike falsely, fly off from, wander.

Lat., *pavio*, strike, beat, stamp, pave.

PAINA, *v.* Haw., to eat, to feed; to ring, squeak, sound, as in tearing or breaking a thing; *s.* a part separated or broken off, a meal, an eating. Tah., *paina*, a crashing noise, like the breaking of a stick.

Greek, *παιω*, to eat. Liddell and Scott consider this

word as a "modification in sense" of *παιω*, "to strike," and I think correctly so. The primary sense of "crashing, tearing, breaking," evidently here underlies the conception of "eating." The similar "modification in sense" of the Polynesian *pai-na*, from the root *pai*, strengthens the relation of the Greek and Polynesian.

PAU, *v.* Haw., be all, entire, complete, finished, ended, consumed, past. Sam., *pa'u*, to fall down, to set, as the sun; *pa-pa'u*, shallow, as the sea. Tah., *pau*, consumed, expended; *pau*, a shallow place of water; *pau-pau-te-aho*, be out of breath, short-winded. Marqu., *pau*, be all, ended.

Greek, *πανω*, to bring to an end, to cease, have done; *παυλα*, pause, rest, end; *παυρος*, little, small, few; *φauλος*, slight, mean, trivial.

Lat., *paucus*, *paulus*, few, little, small; *pauper*, poor, needy.

Goth., *faus*, *faws*, few; *fawizo-haban*, to lack, be short of. A.-Sax., *feava*, few.

Welsh, *peus*, place of rest, country.

Related to the above Polynesian *pau*, as root, are the following derivations:—

Haw., *pauku*, fraction, portion; *poko*, short, small; *pokole*, id. N. Zeal., *poto*, short. Sam., *poto-poto*, a small portion. Tah., *poto*, id. Vide s. v. *Pokii*.

PAHI, *s.* Haw., any cutting instrument, as reed, shell, knife, or stones; *v.* to cut thin, to stand up on edge. N. Zeal., *ta-pahi*, to cut. Tah., *ta-pahi*, a cleaver with which to split bread-fruit; *v.* to split, divide. Sam., *fasi*, to break, kill, split; *s.* a piece; *fasi-fasi*, split in pieces; *ta-fasi*, to split open, break off. Fiji., *vasi*, a shell or knife to scrape yams with. Buguis, *behi*, adze. Celebes (Menado), *pahegy*, knife. Malg., *bassi*, hatchet.

Sanskrit., *bash*, *vash*, to hurt or kill; *vas* (*s.* Benfey), to cut. No Sanskrit derivatives from either form appear to exist, at least I find none quoted by Benfey.

PAKA, *v.* Haw., to strike, as large drops of rain on dry leaves, making a noise, to strike, fight, make war, cut,

pare, fend off, slide; *paka-paka*, *v.* to drop, as large rain-drops; *s.* a heavy rain-shower, a pattering noise. N. Zeal., *pata*, a drop; *pakanga*, battle. Tong., *pata*, rough, coarse. Sam., *pata*, coarse, be lumpy, swollen, as the skin from bites of insects; *adj.* blustering, bullying; *parata*, anything done quickly.

Greek, *πασσω*, *παττω* (Att.), to sprinkle; *πατασσω*, to beat, knock; *πατατος*, clatter, crashing, sharp loud noise made by the collision of two bodies, the splash of waves, the rattling of wind.

Welsh, *fat*, a blow; *fatiau*, to strike lightly.

Engl., *to pat*, *to patter*, *to spatter*, whose Gothic or Saxon ancestors are unknown to me.

PAKAU, *s.* N. Zeal., wing of a fowl. Tong., *ta-pakau*, *id.* Sam., *a-pa'au*, *id.* Marqu., *pako*, a kite; *pekehu*, wing. Rarot., *peau*, *id.* Haw., *peheu*, *cheu*, wing of a bird, fin of a shark, flipper of a turtle, brim of a hat. Tah., *pehau*, fin of a fish. Gilolo (Gani), *ni-fako*, wing. Mysal., *ku-feu*, *id.* Tagal., *pac-pac*, *id.*

Sanskr., *paksha*, a wing, the feather of an arrow, a flank, side; *pakshi*, a bird; *pakshin*, winged, a bird; *pakshman*, an eyelash.

PALA, *adj.* Haw., soft, ripe, rotten; *v.* to daub, besmear, blot out; *pala-a*, any dark colour, as brown, purple, &c.; *pala-i*, blush, shamefacedness; *pala-hea*, daub, stain, be dirty, defiled; *pala-kai*, to wither, droop, be barren, fade, fail; *o-pala*, dirt, filth, refuse; *ka-pala*, *ha-pala*, stain, spot, mark, print; *pala-pala*, to paint, spot, stamp, as in painting, or printing the kapa cloth. Tah., *para*, ripe, as fruit, and other vegetables, manure, dung; *para-i*, to daub, blot, efface. Sam., *pala*, ripe, rotten, muddy, a black mud used for dyeing; *pala-ie*, old rotten cloth; *pala-pala*, mud, blood; *pala-si*, drop as ripe fruit, fall down. Mang., *para-u*, worn out. Sunda, *balah*, dirt, foulness. Allied to this is probably the Haw. *palu-palu*, Tah. *paru-paru*, weak, feeble, diseased.

Sanskr., *palala*, mire, mud; *pallala*, a small pond.

Greek, *παλαι*, long ago, of old; *παλαιος*, old, weak;

παλεω, be disabled ; παλυνω, to strew, sprinkle, besmear ; πελος, dark-coloured, dusky ; πελιος, dark, livid ; πηλος, clay, earth, mud, mire.

Lat., *pullus*, black, dark-coloured ; *fulvus*, deep yellow, reddish ; *fuligo*, soot ; *palus*, marsh, swamp, bog.

Goth., *fuls*, foul, stinking. Sax., *falū*, *fealo*, pale yellow, fawn colour ; *pol*, pool.

In Dravid. (Tamil), *paru* means old, become ripe ; *param*, a ripe fruit.

PALAOA, s. Haw., name of an ivory ornament made of the sperm whale's teeth, worn by chiefs ; ivory, a whale. N. Zeal. and Mangar., *paraoa*, id. Marqu., *paaoa*, id. Tah., *para-u*, the shell of the pearl-oyster ; *niho parau*, white teeth.

Greek, φαλος, white, shining ; φαλιος, φαλαρος, φαλαρις, φαλακρος, bald-headed ; φαλη or φαλλη, and φαλλαινα, a whale. Liddell and Scott refer φαλος to φαος, light, and φαω, to shine. It may be so ; but, under correction, it seems to me like deriving cheese from chalk because both are white and shining. Liddell and Scott offer no etymon for φαλλη or φαλλαινα, but consider them akin to Latin *balena* and Scandinavian *hval*, whale. To me the Greek φαλος and φαλλη, as well as the Polynesian *pala-oa* and *para-u*, refer themselves to some common primitive root, now lost, of which the Polynesian *pala*, in some of its meanings, the Sanskrit *palita*, grey, grey-haired, the Greek πολιος, grey, grisly, the Latin *palleo*, are the scattered but nearly related descendants.

PALE, v. Haw., to refuse, stand in the way, hinder, fend off, parry, resist ; s. what defends, a sheath, garment, curtain, covering ; *palena*, a border, boundary ; *papale*, hat. Tah., *pare*, a fort, place of refuge ; *pare-pare*, to defend, guard, entreat the deities for favours ; *pare-u*, a garment worn around the loins. Sam., *pale*, a head-dress, frontlet ; *faa-pale*, to bear patiently, be exempt from work. Marqu., *paē*, head-dress, a veil.

Cognate to this is probably the Haw. *pole*, *pole-pole*, to ward off, fend off, separate. Fiji., *bore*, to scrape or wash

the dirt off; to brighten up. Sam., *pole-pole-wale*, to palpitate, as the heart, be distressed in mind.

Greek, *φαρος*, a large cloth, cloak, or mantle, shroud; *παλλω*, to sway, swing, poise, toss; *παλμη*, a shield; *παλμος*, a quivering motion, vibration, palpitation; *πελτη*, a small shield; *πελεμιζω*, shake, make to quiver, drive away.

Lat., *pello*, to strike, beat, put in motion, to thrust away, push back, expel; *parma*, a shield; *palpo*, to tap, to stroke gently; *palpito*; *palla*, *pallium*, a covering, outer garment.

Armor., *pallen*, a covering, cloak.

Pers., *par*, a turban. Beluch, *phall*, id.

Liddell and Scott give no root, but refer *φαρος* to *palla*, *pallium*, as of probably same root. That reference, however, brings to light the connection of *φαρος* and *palla* with *παλλω* and *pello*, and their derivatives, as well as with Polynesian *pale* and *pole*. From these premises I am led to the conclusion that the Greek *φαρετρα*, a quiver, also belongs to this family, and not to *φερω*, to bear, as Liddell and Scott intimate. And though these gentlemen refer *βλεφαρον*, the eyelid, and *βλεφαρις*, the eyelash, to the verb *βλεπω*, to see, look, I would, in view of the foregoing *pale*, *παλλω*, *pello*, and their derivatives, consider these words as composite rather than as derivatives of *βλεπω*, and formed from *βλεπω* or *βλεμμα*, and *φαρος*, originally perhaps *βλεπ* (or *βλεω*-) *φαρος* = the covering of the eye.

A. Pictet (Orig. Ind-Eur., ii. 223) mentions that Kuhn refers the Sanskrit *phala*, *phalaka*, shield, to Sanskrit *phal*, to burst, findi, the primitive form having been *spal*, and from this derives the Greek *σφελας*, a footstool, and the Gothic *spilda*, a tablet, &c. While admitting the possibility of a similar derivation for *παλμη* and *πελτη*, Mr. Pictet adds:—"Tout fois, on trouve, en sanscrit, védique une rac., *spar*, sauver, protéger (cf. ang.-sax. *sparian*, scand. *spara*, anc. all. *sparón*, favere, parcere), qui donnerait pour le bouclier un sens bien approprié, et à laquelle *παρμη* pour *σπαρμη* se relierait mieux qu'à *phal*."



It would ill become me to argue with so eminent men as the foregoing authorities, but I may be permitted to suggest that the Polynesian *pale* comprises both the senses of *phal* or *spal*, findi, and *spar*, sauver, proteger, and this is the older form, from which the others have diverged by affixing prosthetic letters, the better to define the particular sense intended.

PALI, *s.* Haw., a cliff, precipice; *adj.* precipitous, rugged, full of ravines. Tah., *pari*, perpendicular cliffs by the seaside; *v.* to square or shape a piece of timber. N. Zeal., *pari*, precipice.

Sansk., *pāli*, the tip of the ear, edge of a sword, a line, row, raised bank or dike, boundary, margin.

Pers., *barin*, lofty, elevated, high in office.

Welsh, *par*, what shoots to a point, a spear; *yspar*, id.; *bær*, a spear, spit.

Icel., *fiáll*, *fell*, a mountain. Germ., *fels*.

PANA, *v.* Haw., to shoot, as an arrow, to snap, as with the fingers, spread out, open, excite, throw, to give a name (nickname); *s.* a bow; *pana-i*, *v.* to put one thing in place of another, substitute, redeem, fit, stitch together, graft; *s.* ransom, price, surety, substitute; *adj.* closing up an entrance, filling up a place, wanting; *pani*, *v.* with nearly similar meanings to *pana-i*; *s.* a door, shutter, gate, stopple. N. Zeal., *pana*, to push. Sam., *fana*, to shoot; *fanga*, a bag, a fish-trap; *au-fana*, a bow; *pa-pani*, the cross-poles of a scaffolding. Tong., *fana*, a bow, the prow of a vessel. Tah., *fana*, a bow; *pani*, *pa-pani*, to close, shut up, hide. Rarot., *panaki*, to repair, substitute. Marqu., *pana*, to buoy up, wave, shoot at; *s.* a bow. Fiji., *vana*, to shoot with a bow, to pierce. Sunda, *panah*, a bow; *panto*, a door. Malg., *fanank*, a bow.

Sansk., *pañch*, *pach*, to spread out, make evident, state fully; *pañchā*, spreading; *pañchan*, the number five; *pañkti*, five, also a line, row, multitude.

Pers., *panghah*, the spread-out hand, the spread-out talons of a bird, also hook, net, string; *pangh*, five.

Sax., *fang*, a tusk, talon, claw; *fengan*, to catch.

Under the sense of "extending, spreading," may be referred the Gothic *fana*, a cloth, flag. Sax., *panna*, any broad and somewhat hollow surface. O. Norse, *panna*, forehead; *spannan*, to span, as a measure from one thing to another; perhaps *spinnan*, to spin. Lat., *pando-ere*, to spread, throw open, &c., display; *vannus*, a winnowing machine, a fan; *pannus*. Greek, *πηνος*, *πηνη*, the thread on the bobbin in the shuttle, the woof; *pl.* the web; *πηνιζομαι*, to wind off a reel.

Under the sense of "shooting, throwing, exciting with violence," may be referred the Greek *φενω*, to slay; *φονος*, *φονη*, murder, slaughter. Goth., *banja*, wound, sore. Sax., *banu*, a murderer. Pers., *ban*, *banu*, reaping, harvest. Irish, *banaim*, throw down, carry off, pillage; *beanaim*, to reap, harvest.

Under the sense of "replacing, substituting, ransom, price," may be referred the Latin *venus*, *venum*, sale; *vendo* (*venum-do*), to sell. Probably also *pando-ere*, in the sense of unfolding, displaying, scil. the goods for sale.

Of the sense of "closing, shutting," and, by inference, "concealing," I have found no trace or reference in the other Aryan branches, unless it be the *Panis* mentioned in Vedic mythology, who were demons of the night, and stole the golden-haired cattle of Indra, and drove them to a hiding-place near the eastern horizon, and whose name may have had an etymological reference to this Polynesian *pāni*, though its mythical application may be of later origin. If so, its primary sense would be "the hiders, the concealers," scil. of Indra's cattle, "those who shut out the rays of the sun."

In "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," ii. 69-70, Mr. A. Pictet seems to refer the *pānis* to the Sanskrit word *pāṇi*, a merchant, for derivation and *raison d'être*. I think the philo-Sanskritism of Mr. Pictet has led him into error. If in the Vedic myths the *Pānis* were analogues and synonyms of *Vṛtra*, their etymology must be traced higher up than the Sanskrit *pāṇi*, a merchant; and as the older meanings of that word seem to be lost in the Sanskrit, the Polynesian fortunately

retains them, and enables us to find the correct rendering of the *Panis* as another term of *Vrtra*. The Greek version of the myth, referred to by Pictet, could therefore evidently only have arisen after the original sense of *pani* had become obsolete and forgotten.

PANI, *v.* Tonga., N. Zeal., to besmear, plaster over. Marqu, *pani*, cocoanut-oil for ointment. Sam., *pani*, to dye the hair with the juice of the *pani* tree. Haw., *pani-o*, to spot, paint in spots; *pani-ki*, colouring matter, a dye. Fiji., *pani*, to anoint the head.

Sanskrit.. *pánka*, mud, mire, clay, ointment. No root in Benfey's Sanskrit Dict.

Allied to this is probably the Samoan *panu-panu*, be smeared over, be daubed; *pa-panu*, be daubed with mud or with colouring matter. Marqu., *panu*, tarnished, dull, blue. Haw., *pano*, black, dark-coloured, thick, dense; *poni*, besmear, anoint. Tah., *pao-pao*, be bespattered with mud; *haa-pao-pao*, to make brownish or dark. Mangar., *pangu*, black, dark-coloured. N. Zeal., *mangu*, id.

PAPA, *s.* Haw., an ancestor some generations back, a race, a family. Sam., *papa*, a general name for titles of high chiefs. Tah., *pa*, term of reverence, used by children in addressing their father, and common people their chief; *pa-tea*, term of respect addressed to a mother or a woman of rank. Mang., *paum*, *papa*, id. Gilolo, Tidore, Jav., Mal., *bapa*, *baba*, father. Suls. Isl., *ni-baba*, id. Amboyna (Batumerah), *ko-papa*, id. Malg., *baba*, id. N. Zeal., *paapaa*, father.

Greek, *παππας*, father; *παππος*, grandfather.

Lat., *pappas*, foster-father, tutor, guardian.

PAWA, *s.* Haw., the blue sky, expanse of heaven, the dawn, breaking of daylight, a watch, period of time; also *pewa*, the dawn. Fiji., *bewa-bewa*, scud, light clouds. Sunda, *powi*, day. Gilolo (Gani), *fowe*, sun. Pulo Nias, Banjak Isl., *bawa*, the moon. Malg., *awa*, rainbow.

This word probably refers to Sanskrit *bhá*, to shine; *s.* light, splendour, the sun; *vi-bhata*, daybreak. Greek, *φοιβος*, pure, bright, radiant; a form approaching the

Polynesian *pawa*, *powi*, *fowe*, an epithet of the sun-god. Liddell and Scott refer ἠβη, Dor. ἄβα, youth, and ἄβρος, graceful, beauteous, splendid, to the same root, and *s. v.* φοιβος remark that Kaune considers φοιβος connected with ἠβη. If the aspirate indicates a lost digamma, *F*, the original form of ἄβα would have been *Faβα* = Polynesian *pawa*.

PE, *adj.* Marqu., bad, impudent, naked. Tah., *pe*, rotten, decayed. Sam., *pe*, be dead, as trees, extinguished, as fire, dried up, as water. Haw., *pe*, to crush, pound fine; *pepe*, broken, bruised, pliable, rotten, soft; *u-pepe*, weak, feeble, dry. Fiji., *be*, impudent, irreverent.

Benfey (Sansk. Dict.) refers the Latin *pejor*, *pessimus*, *pecco*, to a Sanskrit word, *pāpa*, evil, wicked, sinful. The Polynesian *pe* apparently offers a better and more direct root for *pejor*, *pecco*, &c. Benfey gives no root or etymon of *pāpa*, nor, if derived from *pā*, to protect, to guard, how the transition is made to wickedness, crime, sin. Here, as in so many other instances, the Polynesian supplies the missing-link in the Hawaiian verb *papa*, "to prohibit, forbid, rebuke, reprove," a derivative or duplicate of *pa*, "to fence, enclose, restrict." And thus the transition from the Polynesian *papa*, prohibited, forbidden, to the Sanskrit *pāpa*, sinful, wicked, becomes easy and intelligible.

PELA, *s.* Haw., putrid flesh, burnt bones, offal, filth; *v.* be unclean, to stink; *pela-pela*, id. Tong., *pela*, corruption. Tah., *pera*, filth, dirt, cadaver. Fiji., *vela-vela*, filthy, disgusting.

Sansk., *phela*, orts, leavings, droppings.

PENA, *v.* Marqu., to create, work, make, prepare. Sam., *pena*, to cut up, as a pig, to snare. Tah., *pena*, *penapena*, to bring up the rear of an army, to cover, protect the helpless.

Greek, *πενομαι*, to work, toil, prepare; *πενεστης*, a labourer, workman; *πενης*, id., a poor man; *πονος*, work, toil, drudgery; *πονειω*, work hard, to toil, suffer.

It may be for want of better etymology that the Latin *pæne*, *pene*, near by, almost; *penula*, a cloak, covering, outer

garment, refer themselves to this family of words, in some forgotten sense analogous to the Tahitian *pena*.

In the West Aryan branches, the derivative sense of "pain, suffering, want," was developed from the primary idea of "working, working hard," and found expression in words like—Greek, *πενια*, *πεινα*, *ήπανια*, &c.; Lat., *penuria*, *pœna*, *punio*; Sax., *pine*; Slav., *pina*; but seems to have been unknown to the Polynesians.

PENU, *s.* Paumotu, head. Tah., *penu*, a stone pestle.

Welsh, *pen*, head, summit. Gael., *ben*, id., top of mountains.

PI, *v.* Haw., to sprinkle, as water; to throw water with the hand; *pi-pi*, *ka-pi*, id. Sam., *pi*, to splash, slap, as fish in a trap; *ta-pi*, rinse with fresh water; *pisi*, to splash with water. Tah., *pi-pi*, sprinkle with water.

Sanskrit, *pi* = *pā*, to drink; *piv*, id.; *pinu*, to sprinkle; *pitha*, a drink, water; *pipāśā*, thirst.

Greek, *πινω*, to drink; *πιστρα*, a drinking trough, drink, water; *πιπισκω*, give to drink; *πωμα*, drink, liquor, &c.

Lat., *bibo*, to drink; *bibulus*, *potus*.

Slav., *pi*, *piti*, *pivati*, to drink.

The transition from the sense conveyed in the Polynesian to that in the West Aryan tongues will be intelligible to those who have observed the manner of drinking which probably obtained before cups or containers were used, and which is still very common among the Polynesians when travelling; it is by "throwing the water with the hand" from the spring or river to the mouth. That primary sense seems to have survived in the Sanskrit *pinu*, to sprinkle.

PIA-PIA, *adj.* Haw., the thick white liquid from sore eyes, dirty, watery, as the eyes; *pie*, *piepie*, slimy, slippery. Marqu., *pia*, blear-eyed. Tah., *pia-a*, fat, fleshy; *pia-pia*, the sweet gum in the banana blossoms, coagulated blood; *pie-e*, fat. Sam., *pia-pia*, the froth of the sea or of a pot boiling.

Sanskrit, *pyai* ("developed out of Vedic *pī*," Benfey), *pf.* pass.; *pyāna*, *pīna*, fat, bulky; *pīnatā*, fatness; *pīvān*,

fat, large; *pīnasa*, cold in the nose, catarrh, cough. Benfey thinks the last is "probably *apinas*." Under correction, the Vedic *pī*, with the sense retained in the Polynes. Haw. *pīa-pīa*, explains the compound *pī-nasa*, vulg. "snotty nose," much better than *apinasa*, "by, on, or with the nose." Benfey refers *pichchhila*, slimy, lubricous, to the Greek *πισσα* and the Latin *pix*—Perhaps.

Greek, *πιαν*, fat, plump; *πιαρ*, any fatty substance, oil, thick juice, cream; *πιμελη*, soft fat, grease, adeps; *πισσα*, pitch, pine-gum.

Lat., *pinguis*, fat, corpulent; *s.* oily fat in the flesh; *pix*, pitch, tar.

Pers., *pī*, *pīh*, *péd*, grease. Osset., *fū*, id.

Irish, *bith*, *bioth*, resin, gum.

A.-Sax., *faeth*; O. H. Germ, *feist*, fat.

PII, *v.* Haw., to strike upon or extend, as the shadow on the ground or on a wall; to ascend, go up. N. Zeal., *piki*, to ascend. Sam., *pī'i*, to cling to, to climb. Marqu., *piki*, to climb, ascend; *piki-a*, steps, acclivity. Tong., *piki*, to adhere to, to climb, ascend. Fiji., *bici-bici*, a peculiar kind of marking on native cloth.

Sanskrit., *pīn'j*, to dye or colour; *pīn'jara*, yellow, tawny.

Lat., *pingo*, to paint, represent, embroider.

The marking out or tracing a shadow on the ground or on a wall was probably the primary attempt at painting. In the Hawaiian alone the sense of an ascent, compared to the lengthening of the shadows, has been retained. As the sun descended the shadows were thought to ascend or creep up the mountain-side. The sense of "marking, tracing," seems only to have been retained in the Fijian, where so much other archaic Polynesian lore has been retained, and thus brings this word in connection with the Sanskrit and Latin.

PI'o, *v.* Haw., to bend, to curve, be vanquished, as an enemy, extinguished, quenched, as fire; *s.* captive, prisoner. Sam., *pī'o*, crooked, wrong, in a moral sense. Tah., *pī'o*, crooked, bent, wrong. Tong., *piko*, to bend, curve.

Sansk. (Ved.), *pīy*, to hate, hurt, destroy ; *pīyu*, *pīyant*, enemy, rascal ; quoted by Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., ii. 201), but not found in Benfey's Sansk. Dict. Pictet refers to Aufrecht, and connects with this word the

Goth. *fijan*, to hate ; *fjand*, enemy ; *fajan*, find fault with, blame ; *fjathwa*, hatred. Sax., *figan*, *feon*, to hate ; *feond*, enemy.

Irish, *fi*, bad ; *fiamh*, horrible ; *fiamhan*, crime.

To this Sanskrit *pīy* Aufrecht and Pictet refer the Latin *pejor*, *pessimus*, which Benfey refers to Sanskrit *pāpa*, and which I have referred to the Polynesian *pe*, vide p. 260, s. v.

PIKO, s. Haw., end, extremity, top, tip, navel ; *piko-piko*, dotted, spotted, variegated, like calm spots in the sea ; probably allied to *piki*, to cut off, to shorten ; *piki-piki*, be rough, as a chopped sea ; *piki-piki-o*, rough, lumpy, as the water in a cross-sea. Sam., *pito*, the end of anything, only used in compounds ; *pito-pito*, the anus. Marqu., *pito*, the navel. Tah., *pito*, id. ; *pito-a*, spotted ; *pito-pito*, a button. Tong., *pito*, navel, also full, i.e., filled to the top, brimful. Fiji., *vico-vico*, the navel.

Lat., *apex*, point, top ; *a-picatus*, mitred as a priest ; *spica*, ear of corn ; *picus*, woodpecker ; *pica*, a magpie ; *pug-nus*, fist ; *pungo*, *pupugi*, to prick ; *pugio*, a short sword, dagger ; *pugil*, a boxer ; *pugna*, fight.

Greek, *πυξ*, with the clenched fist ; *πυγων*, the elbow ; *πυγμα*, a fist ; *πυγη*, the rump, buttocks ; *πυκτης*, a boxer ; *πυγμαίος*, dwarfish.

Sax., *peac*, peak, top, point, end of anything ; *piic*, beak, bill, nib, anything ending in a point ; *fyst*, fist ; *feothan*, to fight. O. Norse, *fikta*, fight.

Pers., *paykân*, lance, pike.

Sansk., *pika*, the Indian cuckoo ; *pichchha*, a tail, feather of a tail, a crest.

Probably the Greek *πιθος*, a large wine-jar ; Lat. *fidelia*, id. ; *πιτυς*, a pine-tree, and *πευκη*, the fir ; Lat. *picea* ; also *πικρος*, pointed, sharp, are related to this family of words.

Liddell and Scott (Greek Lex., s. v. *Πευκη*) say, "Buttman makes it probable that the radical notion of *πευκη* is

not that of bitterness, but of sharp-pointedness, the fir being so called either from its pointed shape or from its spines. The same root appears in *πικρος*, Lat. *pungo*, *pupugi*, our *pike*, *peak*. . . . With *πενκη* come *πισσα*, *πιττα*, as the production of the tree, Lat. *pix*, Germ. *pech*, our *pitch*." The same authorities say of *πυγη*, *πυγων*, *πυξ*, that "the root is probably the same as the Sanskr. *bhuḡ*, Germ. *beugen*, to bow or bend," and to this they refer also the Lat. *pugnus*, *pugil*, and the O. H. Germ. *fust*, fist. A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., i. 231-233) refers the Lat. *picea*, as a deriv. of *pix*, from the Sanskr. *piç* = *pish*, conterere, grind, pound, and the Greek *πενκη*, to the Sanskr. *pū*, purificare, and the Greek *πιτυς* to the Sanskr. *pīta*, yellow.

In this uncertainty I may be excused for venturing to ally *pix* and *πισσα*, *picea* and *πενκη*, *πιτυς* and *πικρος*, to Polynesian words that offer as good, or better, an explanation of both the probably archaic meanings and forms of these words.

As regards the Greek *πυγη*, *πυγμα*, &c., which Liddell and Scott refer to the Sanskrit *bhuḡ*, and the Latin *pungo*, *pupugi*, which they refer to the same root as *picea*, *πικρος*, *peak*, I think the Polynesian *pito*, *piko-piko*, are better relatives to fall back upon for an etymological pedigree, inasmuch as they satisfactorily explain all the divergences of sense and sound which the West Aryan forms present for inquiry and solution. I fail to see wherein *pungo*, *pupugi*, *pugio*, differ from *pugnus*, *pugno*, *pugil*; yet the former are referred to the same root as *pike*, *picea*, *πενκη*, and the latter to *bhuḡ*.

PILI, *v.* Haw., to coincide, agree with, adhere to, belong to, be attached to; *s.* name for the thatching grass, general name of the belongings of a person, such as his property, children, family; *pili-alo* (lit. attached to the bosom), a friend; *pili-hua* (lit. words that stick, &c., to the mouth), wonder, sadness, trouble; *pili-kia* (lit. crowded posts), difficulty, trouble, want of room or want of means; *pili-koko*, blood-relations; *pili*, adj., joining, things adhering or coming in contact that ought not; hence, topsy-turvy,



helter-skelter, destitute, poor; *ka-pili*, to fit different substances together, repair what is broken, to plaster, besmear; *o-pili*, draw up, contract oneself, as with cold or with cramp. Tah., *piri*, adhere, stick to, be squeezed, confined, close; *adj.* adhesive, glutinous, narrow, confined; *s.* a wonder, a curiosity, a puzzle; *piri-ati*, *piri-rua*, a twin; *piri-taa*, a relation by consanguinity; *pipiri*, stingy, close; *piri-oi*, a cripple, lame; *ta-piri*, join things together; *o-piri*, confused, bashful; *o-piri-piri*, dribbling, as water, drop by drop; *piri-a*, the groin. Sam., *pili-pili*, be near, approach to; *pili-a*, be caught, be entangled, as trees falling together; *pipili*, a cripple; *pili*, a class of lizards; *faa-pili*, to bring near, to decoy; *ta-pili*, to fan the fire; *s. a.* fan. Doubtless a dialectical variation of this is the Samoan and Tongan *fili*, to choose, select, deliberate, be involved, intricate, search, guess, contend; *s.* an enemy, the chosen opponent in battle or in play. Tong., *fili-hi*, overturn topsy-turvy. N. Zeal., Rarot., Mangar., *piri*, adhere, stick to, close, near. Fakaafo, *pili*, near, adjoining. Malg., *fili*, choice, selection; *fili-mpuri*, the buttocks; *mi-fili*, or *mi-fidi*, to choose, select. Jav., Mal., *pilih*; Tagal., *pili*, to choose.

Greek, *πιλεω*, to press close, press wool or hair into felt; *πιλος*, felt, a ball, a globe; *πιλαω*, to bring near; *πιλωω*, to contract, as by cold; *πελας*, near by, close to; *οι πελας* (*οντες*), neighbours; *φιλος*, *φιλιος*, friendly, dear, beloved; *φιλεω*.

Lat., *pilus*, hair; *pileus*, a felt hat; *pilosus*, hairy; *pris*, obsol. pos. of *prior*, *primus*, and root of *pridem*, *pristinus*, &c., former, previous, in time and order, with the sense of "next, last," as *priore æstate* last summer; *prius vinum*, last year's wine or vintage; *pristina nox*, last night just past; *prima nocte*, at the approach of night; *priores*, ancestors, forefathers; *priscus*, *pristinus*, old, former; *pridie*, on the day before. All these varying terms indicate a primary sense of closeness, nearness, proximity. To the *f* variety of form refer themselves *filius*, *filia*, son, daughter, and probably *filix*, fern.

Sax., *filian*, *fylgan*, to follow; *freond*, friend. Goth., *frijon*, to love; *frijonds*, friend; *frithus*, peace. O. H. Germ., *filz*, felt. Swed., *pilt*, a boy; *flicka*, a girl (?).

Sansk., *pri* 3 (Benfey), be pleased with; *a-pri*, be attached to; *pria*, beloved, dear; *pri*, to please, be satisfied, to assent; *prîti*, joy, gratification.

Zend, *fri*, to love; *friathva*, love.

Cymric, *priawd*, a husband, conjux.

Po'o, *s.* Haw., name of a place under the sand; *po'o-po'o*, *adj.* deep, as a hole dug in the ground, a pit, sunken in, as the eyes; *v.* be deep, be lower down, sunk in; *ka-po'o*, to enter into, as a spirit, to sink, as in water, to set, as the sun; *s.* the armpit; *na-po'o*, to sink, set, as the sun. Tah., *poo-poo*, deep, as a hole, sunken, depressed; *popo'o*, be indented, hollow, sunken; *a-po'o*, a pit, hole, grave; *a-poo-ihu*, the nostrils. Mangar., *poko-poko*, deep, dug out. N. Zeal., *ta-poko*, to enter into. Fiji., *boto*, bottom, or under part; *boto-ni-kete*, the abdomen, belly. Gilolo (Galela), *poko*, belly; *biaju*, *butah*, id.

Sansk., *budh*, to fathom, to penetrate, to understand, know; *budh-na* (Ved.), depth, ground; *pota*, *potaka*, the site, foundation of a house. (No etymon in Benfey for *pota*.)

Sax., *botm*, *bytne*, bottom. O. H. Germ., *boden*.

Greek, *πυθμην*, the bottom or foundation of a thing, bottom, depth of the sea, the bottom, stock, root of a tree; *πυδαξ*, the bottom of a vessel; *πυματος*, the hindmost, undermost, last; *βυθος*, depth, especially of the sea, a hole or pit dug in the ground, hole, hollow.

Lat., *puteus*, a pit, well, cistern; *fodio*, to dig; *fodina*, a pit; *fossa*, ditch; *fundus*, the bottom of anything, ground.

Parsee, *bunda*, root, bottom.

Irish, *bun*, foundation.

So far as regards the material sense of this word, the Polynesian forms of *poko*, *poto*, *po'o*, *boto*, *butah*, correspond to the West Aryan forms *bot-*, *but-*, *budh-*, *put-*, *pynd-*, *fod-*, *fund-*, with remarkable precision in form and sense. But to the united Aryan mind the material sense of "fathoming,

penetrating, digging into a thing," had already suggested the moral sense of "experience, knowledge, wisdom," which have found expression along the whole line. In the Polynesian, the Sam. *poto*, *v.* be wise; *s.* wisdom, also a hard-working man, a man sc. of experience; *poto-poto*, to assemble, to gather together; Tong., *poto*, wise, shrewd, cunning; N. Zeal., *tu-poto*, suspicious; Tah., *a-po'o*, *v.* to assemble for consultation; *s.* a council; *a-poo-raa*, a council, assembly; Malg., *vokato*, be honest, worthy; *voto*, promise, vow; Mal., *budi*, wisdom;—in these we find the same development of thought as in the Sanskrit *budh*, to understand, know; *budha*, wise; *budhi*, mind, intellect, reflection. Greek, *πυθομαι, πυυθανομαι*, to ask, inquire, learn; *πυσις*, inquiry, information. Lat., *fundo, -are*, to found, consolidate; *puto*, to count, adjust, judge, consider. Goth., *bindan*, to bid, command, instruct. Sax., *beodan*, command; *bod*, an order; *boda*, a messenger. Irish, *budh*, intelligent, wise. Lith., *bundu*, inf. *busti*, to watch.

POHA, *v.* Haw., to burst forth, as sound, to thunder, to break, as a boil, to break in upon, as sudden light in a dark place, to come in sight, to open, as a bud or a seed-pod. Marqu., *poha*, similar meanings, also to hatch. Sam., *foa*, to chip, as a hole in an egg-shell, to break; *fo-foa*, to hatch. Mal., *puchah*, to break.

Sanskrit, *push*, to nourish, thrive, prosper, unfold; *pushta*, pcl. pass. nourished, eminent, loud; *push-pa*, a flower, the menses; *push-kara*, a drum; *posha*, nourishing, thriving.

I have followed the order of meanings as indicated in Benfey's Sanskrit Dict.; but, judging from the Polynesian relatives *poha* or *foa*, I should say that to "unfold" was the primary sense in Sanskrit from which "thriving, nourishing," &c., were developed. In *pushtā*, "loud," the Sanskrit has also preserved one of the primary senses of *push*, "bursting with a noise;" for "loud" is certainly not a developed or derivative sense of "to nourish," but a natural and usual accompaniment of the sense of "bursting, breaking." Moreover, there can be no possible association of ideas between a flower, *push-pa*, and a drum,

*push-kara*, unless the former refers to the "bursting, breaking, opening" of the flower-pod, and the latter refers to the peculiarly "bursting, thundering, loud" noise of the drum. The Polynesian word and sense give the key to these two different meanings. That a primary sense of Sanskr. *push* was "to burst, break open," is evident from the Mal. *puchah*, which indicates a Sanskrit origin rather than a Polynesian.

POKI'I, s. Haw., the youngest member of a family. N. Zeal., *potiki*, id. Tah., *potii*, a girl; *potiti*, diminutive, small. Marqu., *poti'i*, an infant.

Sanskr., *pota*, the young of any animals or plants.

Lat., *putus*, *pusus*, a boy, a lad.

I am inclined to look upon the Polynesian as a compound word, *pot* or *pok*, with whatever may have been its final vowel, and *iki* or *iti*, small. Benfey gives no etymon for *pota*, and it hardly refers itself to *putra*, a son—*pu-tra*—according to Benfey, Pictet, and others; while the Latin *pu-tus* can hardly be related to *pu-ter*, of which *puer* is a contraction, according to Pictet, both of which, *pu-tra* and *pu-er*, probably refer to Sanskrit *pá*, to purify.

On p. 265, I have referred to the Polynesian *poko*, *poto*, short, small, as a possible corruption of *pauku*, and allied to *pau*. But *poto* may be an independent word, and in conjunction with *iki* form the Polynesian N. Zeal. *pot-iki*.

POLI<sup>1</sup>, s. Haw., lower part of the belly, the lap, bosom, space between the breasts, hollow, cavity; *poli-wawae*, hollow of the foot, instep. Tong., *foli*, encircling, round about. Fiji., *voli*, go round, about.

Lat., *vola*, hollow of the hand or foot.

Greek, *γαλον*, hollow, the hollow of a vessel, rock, or ground, cave, grotto, dale.

Sax., *bolla*. Engl., *bowl*, drinking vessel. Sanskr., *bholi*, a camel. No reference by Benfey. The original camel known to the Aryans was the Bactrian camel, with two humps. *Bholi* might thus signify the hollow between the two humps, the animal with such a hollow back. A.

Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., i. 384, &c.) analyses the Anc. Slav. *veli-badu* and the Gothic *ul-bandus*, names for camel, and concludes that they derive from the Sanskrit *vala* or *bala*, "fort, puissant," and the Sanskrit *bandha*, "corps, l'animal du corps puissant et robuste." Whatever the value of the compounds *badu* and *bandus*, it may be just as possible that *veli* and *ul* refer themselves through the Sanskrit *bholi*, the Latin *vola*, to the primary sense of "hollow, cavity," as found in the Polynesian *poli*.

POLI<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., a soft, porous stone, duplicate form of *poli-poli*, generally used; *v.* to soften, as a stone in the art of making stone-adzes; *poli-e*, a shining substance, a bright gleam.

Lat., *polio*, to polish, make smooth, furbish; *pollis*, *pollen*, fine flour, meal; *polenta*, pearl barley.

Welsh, *ca-boli*, to polish.

Sanskrit., *bāluka*, sand, powder, camphor. No etymon in Benfey.

POLU, *polu-polu*, *adj.* Haw., thick, fat, fleshy, gross. Tah., *pori*, *s.* bulk, size, excessive fatness; *pori-a*, fat, fleshy, of man or beast; *haa-pori*, to fatten. Fiji., *vora*, grow fat, stout; *vore*, a pig; *voroka*, large, bulky. Ceram. (Ahtiago), *war*, pig. Matabello, *boör*, id.

Sanskrit., *bala*, strength, bulkiness, the body; *balin*, *adj.* strong; *s.* à bull, a camel, a hog; *varāhu*, *varāha*, a hog.

Lat., *verres*, a boar; *porcus*, a hog, pig. Umbr., *purka*, id.

Greek, *πορκος*, a hog.

Sax., *fearh*. O. H. Germ., *farah*, hog, pig. Germ., *ferkel*, sucking-pig. Engl., *farrow*, litter of pigs.

Lith., *paršzas*, hog.

Liddell and Scott (Greek Dict.), following Curtius, refer the Greek, Latin, German, and Lithuanian forms of this word to the Sanskrit *prishat*, "the porcine deer," from *prish*, "to sprinkle," as etymon. The step from *prish* to *pork* may not be so difficult materially and mentally, but as it is only a hypothesis, I prefer to connect the *pork* family, through the sense of "bulk, strength, fatness," with

the Sanskrit *bala*, *balin*, *varāha*, Latin *verres*, Polynesian *pori*, *vora*, *vore*.

Mr. A. Pictet (Orig. Ind.-Eur., i. 335) refers the Latin *verres* to the Sanskrit *vrish*, "to rain, moisten, engender," whence *vrisha*, a bull, a cat, a peacock's tail; *vrishan*, a bull, a horse; *vrishni*, a ram; *vrishana*, the testicles or scrotum. Thus *verres* would stand for *verses*. It is plausible, and perhaps is so, though Benfey refers *verres* to *varāha*. But Mr. Pictet's analysis of *varāha* (ib. p. 371), to which he refers the A.-Sax. *beorgh*, a hog, O. Germ. *barch*, *parh*, Mod. Germ. *borg*, a gelded hog, Engl. *barrow*, as derived from the Sanskrit *rah*, "to leave, abandon, be deprived of," on the analogy of the French *sanglier*, being derived from the Latin *singularis*, the characteristic of the animal being "loneliness, solitude," seems to me more ingenious than correct.

PONA, s. Haw., joints, as of the spine or of the fingers, space between the joints of bones; joints of sugar-cane or bamboo; *v.* to divide into joints or pieces, to show spots differently variegated. N. Zeal., *pona*, ankle-joints, knots. Tah., *pona*, joint of finger or toe, a knot, tie; *pona-turi*, the knee-joint. Sam., *pona*, knot, joint, a lump, a fault; *pona-ata*, *pona-ua*, the Adam's apple in the throat; *pona-pona-vae*, the ankle. Marqu., *pona*, joints. Fiji., *vono*, joints or pieces; *adj.* inlaid with pearl or ivory. Malg., *vaneh*, joints of cane or bamboo.

Sanskr., *venu*, a bamboo, reed, flute, pipe; *vamca*, id.

PU<sup>1</sup>, s. Haw., a shell, the trumpet-shell, a wind-instrument made by twisting the ti-leaf; *puhi*, *v.* to blow, as the wind, to puff, breathe hard; *puha*, to breathe like a turtle, snort, hawk; *pu-eo*, an owl. Tah., *pu*, a conch-shell, trumpet; *puo*, to blow, as wind; *puha*, to blow, as the turtle or whale; *puhi-puhi*, blow, as the wind, to fan, as a fire; *puhi-arū*, mist arising from the sea breaking over a reef. Sam., *pu*, trumpet-shell; *pu-alii*, sonorous, deep-sounding voice; *pusa*, to send up smoke, spray, dust, vapour. Marqu., *pu*, trumpet-shell; *pu-aina*, the ear, to be attentive; *pu-aka*, pillow, bed; *pu-a-pua*, foam, froth;

*puhi*, blow, smoke, blow on a shell. Fiji, *vu*, to cough; *vuso*, to foam, froth. Celebes (Menado), *pupusy*, smoke. Saparua, *poho*, smoke.

Sansk., *phut*, *pūt*, imitative sound of blowing; *phut-kara*, blowing, hissing; *pupphusa*, the lungs; perhaps *bukk*, to sound, to bark.

Greek, *βυζω*, to hoot; *βυας*, the owl; *βυκανη*, trumpet; *βυκτης*, a wind, hurricane; *φυσα*, bellows, breath, wind; *φυσαω*, to blow, puff; *φυσητηρ*, blow-pipe, wind-instrument, spiracle.

Lat., *bucina*, trumpet, bugle; *pustula*, blister, bladder; *bucca*, inflated cheek.

Welsh, *buchiarw*, to bellow, low.

Anc. Slav., *boucati*, to bellow, roar. Illyr., *buciti*, be sonorous; *bukka*, noise.

PU<sup>2</sup>, s. Sam., a hole, the anus, the vagina; *pui-pui*, a door, partition; *v.* to shut, shut off; *pui talinga*, the earhole; *puta*, stomach; *pute*, navel; *pute pute*, the centre of the waistcloth. Tah., *pu*, middle, centre; *pu-taria*, earhole; *puta*, hole, aperture; *v.* to be pierced. Marqu., *pu-ava*, a hole in the rocks; *puta*, hole, aperture; *v.* to enter or go out; *putoe*, belly; *putuna*, bowels, intestines. Haw., *puka*, to enter, pass through, utter, publish; *s.* a doorway, entrance, hole; *pu-ai*, the gullet. Fiji, *buca*, space between two mountains, a valley, a gorge. Mal., *pusat*, centre; *putus*, to pass through.

Sansk., *bhūka*, a hole, head of a fountain, darkness; *bukka*, the heart; *puta*, concavity, cup, vessel, hollow of the hand, a funnel; *put*, a hell for children.

Pers., *putah*, *butah*, cavity, vessel.

Irish, *puite*, vase, cavity, cunnus.

Arm., *pos*. Alban., *pus*, a pit, a hole.

PU<sup>3</sup>, *v.* Haw., to come forth from, come out of, draw out, move off. Tah., *pu*, to be obtained, gratified, completed. Marqu., *pu*, come forth, go off, issue. Sam., *pu-pu*, give out heat, as from an aperture, show anger, rinse the mouth rinse off a curse. From this derive Haw., *pu-a*, blossom, flower, sheaf of grain or grass, a flock, a herd, descendants,

children. Tong., Sam., *fua*, fruit, flowers. Tah., *puā*, blossom. Fiji., *vua*, fruit, produce, gr. child. Buru., *fuan*, fruit. Ceram. (Ahtiago), *vuan*, id. Malg., *vua*, id. Mal., *buwah*, id.

Sanskrit., *bhū*, to become, exist, to be, spring up; *bhūti*, production, birth, wealth.

Greek, *φύω*, to bring forth, to put forth, shoots, spring up, come into being, grow, with its numerous derivatives; *φύσις*, nature, result of growth; *φύας*, shoot, sucker; *φύη*, growth, stature; *φυλον*, race, tribe; *φυλλον*, a leaf; *φύμα*, growth, produce; *φυτον*, plant, tree, descendants, pupil, child; *φυτωρ*, begetter, father.

Lat., *fui*, *futurus*, *futus*, *spuo*, *spuma*. Benfey as well as Liddell and Scott consider the Latin *spuo*, the Greek *πτύω*, and Gothic *speiwan*, as related to each other, and to the Sanskrit *shthiv*, to spit; and Liddell and Scott give a root of *πτυ* or *πυτ*. That root is probably correct, in view of the other form *πυτιζω*, and *πτύω* must have been a later transposition of an older *πυτω* that goes back to an original *pu*, as we find it in the Polynesian, and as, considering *s* as prosthetic, we find it in the Latin *s-puo*. The transition from *pu*, *πυτ* or *πτυ*, to Sanskrit *shthiv* seems rather violent, and I am not called on to defend it.

PU'U, s. Haw., any round protuberance belonging to a larger body, a hill, a peak, a wart, the knuckles, Adam's apple in the throat, the throat itself, a heap, the heart; *puku-puku*, *v.* to wrinkle the forehead, draw down the eyebrows, frown; *puku-i*, to sit doubled up, be bent up, fold the arms together; *puu-lima*, the wrists; *o-pu'u*, bud, protuberance, bunch, a whale's tooth, spur of a young cock; *v.* to bend, as trees or plants; *adj.* swelling high, as the surf before breaking; *o-puu-puu*, rough, uneven, bulging, swelling out, convex. N. Zeal., *puku*, the stomach; *puku-waewae*, the ankle. Tong., *to-pu-wae*, sole of the foot, shoe, sandal. Marqu., *puku*, to swell, puff out the cheeks of the face, fruit, bunch, bundle; *pu'u-na*, produce; *puutike*, protuberance, tumours; *ta-pu-wae*, sole of the foot. Mang., *papa-puku*, the buttocks. Sam., *pu'u*, *pu'u-pu'u*, short,



squat; *ta-pu-wae*, the ankle, foot from the ankle. Tah., *pu'u*, ball, protuberance; *puupu'u*, rough, uneven; *putu*, to clasp the hands. Fiji., *buku*, the peaked end of a thing, a tail, a knot; *buku-buku-ni-linga*, the elbow; *buku-buku-ni-yawa*, the heel; *buku-ni-kesu*, the back of the head, occiput.

Sanskrit., *bhuj*, to bend, make crooked; *bhujā*, the arm, hand, proboscis of an elephant, bending; *bhujaga*, a snake; *bhujantara*, the breast.

Pers., *bukan*, stomach.

Goth., *biugan*, *baug*, *bugum*, to bow, to bend. Sax., *bugan*, to bend; *boga*, a bow; *eln-boga*, elbow; *bi-bugan*, to flee away. O. H. Germ., *buh*, *buoc*; Mod. Germ., *bucht*, *buckel*, *bucken*, *bug*, *beugen*; Swed., *buk*, the belly; *bugt*, a bend; *puckel*, a hump, bunch.

Greek, *φυγη*, flight; *φευγω*, to flee; *φυξις*, place of refuge. Liddell and Scott also refer *πυξ*, *πυγη*, *πυγων*, to the Sanskrit *bhuj*; but see remarks s. v. *Piko*, p. 263.

Lat., *fuga*, flight; *fugax*.

Slav., *bega*, to flee; *bugti*, to frighten.

Welsh, *bvg*, a swelling; *bog*, id.; *boc*, the cheek; *bogel*, navel.

PULA<sup>1</sup>, *v*. Sam., to shine, be yellow, as fruit; *puba*, the eyes; *pula-pula*, to shine a little, as the eyes on recovery from sickness; *s*. the shining appearance at the bottom of the sea; *papula*, to shine. Tah., *pura*, to blaze up, as fire, to sparkle, be luminous, as the sea; *s*. a spark or flash of fire; *pura-rea*, sallow, sickly, pale. Fiji., *vula*, the moon; *vula-vula*, white. N. Celebes (Bolanghitan), *puro*, fire; *wura*, moon; (Ratahan), *ma-wuroh*, white. Amblaw, *purini*, white; *bular*, moon. Gilolo (Gani), *wulan*, white. Rotti, *fula*, white. Solor, *burang*, id. Mentawey Isl., *mebulan*, white. Malg., *vula*, moon, month, metal, silver. Mal., *bulan*, moon. Jav., *wulan*, id. Buru, *fhulan*, id. Matabello, *wulan*, id.; *wuli-wulan*, yellow.

Greek, *πυρ*, fire (funereal, sacrificial, and on the hearth), lightning, blaze; *πυρετος*, fiery heat, fever; *πυριδιον*, a spark; *πυρρος*, *πυρρρος*, flame-coloured, yellowish, tawny, red.

Lat., *pruna*, live-coal. Umbr., *pir*, fire. Sax., *fyr*, fire. Norse, *fur*, id.; *fudra*, to flame.

Bohem., *pyr*, embers.

Liddell and Scott (*s. v. Πυρ*) give no root or Sanskrit reference to the above West Aryan equivalents of the Polynesian *pura*. Benfey refers *πυρ* and *fyr* to the Sanskrit *pū*, to purify, to clean. A. Pictet does not refer to *πυρ* in his "Orig. Ind.-Eur."

PULA<sup>2</sup>, *s.* Haw., small particles of anything, as dust, motes, leaves of the hala tree used in fishing; *pula-pula*, sugar-cane tops used for planting. N. Zeal., *pura-pura*, seeds. Stewart Isl., *bura*, thatching material. Fiji., *vura-vura*, reeds, shoots, or suckers.

Lat., *pulvis*, dust, powder, perhaps *far* and *farina*.

Greek, *πυρος*, wheat, grain generally. Liddell and Scott say, "Deriv. uncertain; in Sanskrit *pura* is some kind of grain." Pictet, "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," i. 266, refers this and several West Aryan terms for grain of different kinds, as well as the Sanskrit *pūra*, *pūrika*, a cake, to the Sanskrit *pūri*, *pūr*, to fill, collect, satisfy. The primary sense is probably found in the Polynesian *pula* and the Latin *pulvis*.

PULU, *v.* Haw., be wet, wash, bathe; *pulu-pulu*, id., be soft, as that which is soaked in water, wet, as clothes. Sam., Tong., *fufulu*, to rub, wash, wipe; *pulu*, the husk of the cocoa-nut. Tah., *puru*, id. Fiji., *vulu-vulu*, to wash the hands.

Sanskrit., *plu*, to swim, navigate; *pluta*, bathed, wet; *ā-plu*, to bathe, wash; *ā-pluta*, wet; *plava*, swimming, a boat; *plush*, be wet, to sprinkle.

Greek, *πλεω*, *πλωω*, to sail, swim, float; *πλοιον*, a floating vessel; *πλυνω*, wash clean, as clothes; *πλυτος*, washed; *πλυνος*.

Lat., *pluo*, to rain; *pluvia*; *fluo*, to flow; *fluvius*, river; *fluxus*.

Goth., *flodus*, flood, river. A.-Sax., *fleowan*, to flow.

Slav., *plova*, inf. *plouti*, to navigate. Lith., *plauti*, *plowiti*, to wash; *pluditi*, to float.

PUNA, *s.* Haw., a source or spring of water, wells,

cavern, pit; *ma-puna*, boiling up, flowing off, as water in a spring. N. Zeal., *puna*, spring of water. Tah., *wai-puna*, spring water, bubbling water; Sam., *puna*, spring up, boil up, bubble; s. spring of water. Tong., Marqu., *puna*, id. Tagal., *ma-punga*, liquid.

Lat., *fundo*, -ere, to pour out, to spill, of liquids; *fons*, spring, source, fountain.

Welsh, *fwyn*, *fynnon*, source, fountain.

As a general rule, the letter *s* is replaced in most of the Polynesian dialects by the letter *h*, or it is omitted; but there are a few words in the Samoan beginning with *s* which have West Aryan relations, and which are not found, or have become obsolete, in the other Polynesian dialects. Such as—

SA, *adj.* Sam., sacred, holy, forbidden; *s.* sign, portent, omen; *fua-sa*, to prohibit, to consecrate. Fakaafo, *sa*, id.

Lat., *sacer*, consecrated, sacred, execrated, cursed.

Greek, *ἄγος*, religious awe, curse, pollution; *ἄγιος*, filled with awe, hallowed, sacred; *ἄγιος*, devoted to the gods, holy, accursed, execrable; *ἄζω*, to be awe-struck, to dread.

Liddell and Scott, as well as Benfey, refer *ἄγιος* to Sanskrit *yaj*, to sacrifice, to worship. A. Pictet also refers to *yaj*, and suggests that the aspirate in *ἄγιος* is a substitute for the Sanskrit *y*, as in *ἡμερος* it is of the Sanskrit *y* in *yam*, to tame, govern. It may be so; at any rate, it is a substitute for *s* in the Latin *sacer*. Benfey refers the Latin *sacer* to Sanskrit *sach*, to follow, obey; Greek, *ἑπομαι*. Neither *yaj* nor *sach* seem to me to answer so fully to the requirements of the Greek *ἄγιος*, *ἄζω*, and Latin *sacer*, as the Polynesian *sa*, *sa-sa*, of whose existence I hardly suppose that those authors were cognisant.

SAMI, *s.* Sam., the sea, salt water, a strong, decaying cocoa-nut; *adj.* brackish, strong tasting. N. Celebes (Bholagh), *simuto*, salt.

Sansk., *samācha*, the ocean. Benfey refers this word to *sama-añcha*, "going with, accompanying, common, uni-

form." Such analysis seems rather laboured in face of the Polynesian *sami*.

Perhaps the Greek *ψαμμος*, *ψαμαθος*, sand, the sand of the sea-shore, is connected with *sami* and *samîcha*, though Liddell and Scott give it a far-away root of *ψαω*, to rub, to smoothe. If we bear in mind that in primitive times, within the Aryan linguistic lines, as well as within those of other races, there must have existed an original complex sound of *mb* or *mp* which in course of time lost its complex character, and with this or that branch of the family assumed the simpler form of either *m*, *b*, or *p*; bearing this in mind, it is possible that the Latin *sabulum*, *sabuna* = *sabulum*, *samburra*, may connect themselves with the Greek *ψαμμος*, the Polynesian *sami*, and the Sanskrit *samîcha*.

SOLI, *v.* Sam., to tread on, to trample on; *solî-solî*, prostration, putting the soles of a chief's feet against the palms of the hands and the cheeks.

Lat., *solum*, the lowest part of anything, the bottom, ground; *solea*, the sole of a shoe or sandal; *solidus*.

WA, *s.* Haw., space between two objects, as between two rafters or posts, space between two points of time, a definite period of time, private talk or gossip; *v.* to reflect, to think. Sam., N. Zeal., Tah., Marqu., *wa*, space between, with similar applications as above.

Mang., *wa*, talk, gossip. Rarot., *wa*, to wonder. Among the derivations of this root we may note—Haw., *wa-e*, to break and separate, to select, assort; *s.* the knee, side-timbers in a boat; *waena*, a space enclosed by boundary-lines, a field, a garden; *adv.* in the middle of, between; *wa-wae*, the leg of a man or beast, the foot; *waa* and *waha*, opening generally, mouth, ditch, mouth of a person, mouth of a bag, pit, cavern; *wahi*, a word, a saying. Sam., *wae*, the leg of an animal, a stool; *v.* to divide; *waenga*, a division; *wae-wae*, divide, cut up in parts; *ma-wae*, to split, crack open; *s.* a fissure; *wa-i-masina*, space of time between the old and new moon, the night with no moon; *wa-i-palolo*, the time of the palolo-fishing, the wet season;

*wa-nu*, valley, ravine, chasm. Tah., *wa-e*, to share out, divide; *s.* the timbers of a boat, rafters of a small house; *wae-wae*, leg, foot; *a-wae*, id., also the moon; *waha*, mouth; *waha-iti*, a whisperer, mischief-maker; *waha-pape*, a flatterer; *waha-waha*, contempt, disregard. Marqu., *wa-e*, foot, leg; *wa-wena*, middle, between, centre. Tong., *waha*, space between two objects; *wahi*, divide, separate. Rarot., Mangar., *wa-wa*, rent, split; *waa*, mouth. N. Zeal., *waha*, mouth; *wae-wae*, leg, foot; *whaka-wa*, to consider, to judge. Fiji., *wase*, to divide; *vosa*, to speak, talk; *s.* word, speech. Malg., *vak*, *vakt*, to split, break; *vaki*, crack, fissure. Timor Laut., *wahad*, the face. Kawi, *basa*, speech, language. Mal., *waktu*, time.

The above are some of the most prominent derivations of the root *wa*, primarily signifying the space between two objects. I do not find that the root itself has been retained in any of the West Aryan dialects, either in form or sense. Some of their derivations, however, seem to acknowledge the existence of such a root as the Polynesian *wa*, with such a primary meaning as here given. I find thus in the

Sanskrit, *vaka*, a crane; *vakra*, crooked, bent; *van'k*, to go tortuously, be crooked; *van'ka*, the bend of a river; *van'kri*, a rib, the ribs of a building; *van'kshana*, the groin. Another series of derivations is found in *vajra*, cross, forked, a thunderbolt; *vâja*, a wing, a sound; *vaktra*, the mouth; *vach*, to speak, say; *vachas*, speech, word; *vacha*, a parrot; also *vahsa*, a year, and the breast. No Sanskrit root will act as a solvent, phonetic or otherwise, of all the above words. There is apparently nothing in common between *vâja*, sound, and *van'kri*, a rib, or between *vajra*, a thunderbolt, and *vaktra*, mouth, and we look in vain to the Sanskrit or its West Aryan congeners for an explanation. The Polynesian, however, by preserving the root *wa*, with its primary meaning, and a number of derivations running parallel to those of the Sanskrit, furnishes a bond of union between its apparently discrepant and incongruous descendants.

Lat., *vaco*, be empty, void; *vacuus*, *vacious*; *vacillo*, to bother, waver = Sanskr., *van'k*; *vagor-ari*, to ramble about = Sanskr., *vaj*; *vox*, voice; *voco*, to call; *vagio*, to cry, squall = Sanskr., *vach*; *vetus*, old.

Goth., *wagan*, to wag, shake; *wegs*, wagging, raging, tempest; *wegas*, pl. waves. Sax., *wang*, the jaw, jawbone; *waeg*, ware; *waecg*, a wedge. O. H. Germ., *waga*, cradle; *wan-kon*, unstable, vacillating; *ga-wahan*, to remind, mention.

Greek, *ἔπος* for *φεπος*, word; *εἶπον* for *φεφεπον*, vide Benfey; *ὄψ*, voice, word; *ὄσσα*, rumour, fame, voice, sound; *ἔτος* for *φετος*, a year; *βαζω*, to speak, say; *βαβαζω*, to dance; *βαβακτης*, a chatterer, also a dancer, a reveller.

Here again the Polynesian *wa* and its derivatives furnish the key wherewith to find the connection between such words as *ἔτος*, a year, and *ἔπος*, a word, *βαζω*, to speak, and its duplicate, *βαβαζω*, to dance; between the Saxon *waeg*, wave, and the Old High German *ga-wahan*, to mention; between the Latin *vaco*, be empty, *vagio*, to cry, and *vetus*, old.

WA'A, *s.* Haw., canoe, boat, vessel. Sam., *wa'a*, id. Tah., *wa'a*, id. N. Zeal., Tong., Rarot., Marqu., Mangar., *waka*, id., a raft. Fiji., *waqa*, id., also the shrine of a god, the case or cover of a thing; *waqa-waqa*, the region of the ribs, the ribs. Malg., *vatha*, chest, box. Bura and Amblaw, *waa*, *waga*, boat. Ceram. (Tobo), *waha*, id. Flores (Mangarai), *wangka*, id. Pulo Nias and Banjak Isl., *wongie*, cause. Singket (Sumatra), *bungke*, id. Arn. Isl. (Wammer), *bokka*, id. Amboyna, *haka*, id.

Sanskr., *vaha*, vehicle of any kind; *vaha-na*, vehicle, raft, boat; root, *vah*, to carry, to bear. Zend, *vaca*, cart.

Lat., *vas*, pl. *vasa*, vessel, a vase; *veho*, to carry, to bear; *vehiculum*, carriage, waggon, vessel, ship; *via*, road, way.

Greek, *ὄχος*, a carriage, anything that bears; *ὄχη*, prop, support; *ὄχεω*, to sustain, to carry, &c. (Liddell and Scott); *ἄχθος*, load, burden (Benfey); *ἀχνη*, the neck, throat.

I am aware that both Liddell and Scott and Benfey refer the Greek *ἄμαξα*, a car, waggon, to the Greek *ἄξων* and the Sanskrit *akshas*, the axle of a wheel, a car; but

neither of these authorities account for the prefix *aw*, if so be that this word refers itself to *ἀξων* or *akshas*. It cannot well be a syncope of *ava*, for in that case we would have had *ἀμμαξα* and not *ἀμαξα*. If it is the copulative *ἀ*, answering to an original *ἀμα*, that copulative, I believe, has never assumed the form of *ᾶω* or *ᾶμ*, though A. Pictet, in "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," ii. 112, assumes so *faute de mieux*. I am forced to believe, therefore, that *ἀμαξα* does not refer to *ἀξων*, but is composed of *a* euphon and *μαξα*, and that *μαξα* is another instance of the permutation of *v* and *m* which we find in the Greek *μαλλος* for the Latin *vellus*, wool, both from Sanskrit *var*, to cover, and in the Greek *μαντις* for the Latin *vates*, according to Liddell and Scott's own suggestion. This ancient *μαξα*, or perhaps still older *φαξα*, I think refers itself to the Zend *vaca*, the Sanskr. *vaha*, the Lith. *vazis*, the Anc. Slav. *vozn*, the Sax. *waegn*, *wæn*, the Irish *feghum*, *fe'un*, the Welsh *gwain*, all signifying a waggon, a car, a vehicle. Assuming this to be correct, we can explain the otherwise singular circumstance that the constellation Ursa Major has received the identical appellation in sound and sense in so widely different branches of the Aryan race as are the Northmen of Iceland and the Polynesians of New Zealand. The Icelanders called it the "*wagn*," the English Saxons called it the "*waenes thisla*" or the "*waen*;" with the Greeks in Homer's time *ἀμαξα* was the ancient and vulgar name for the Ursa Major; in New Zealand it was called *waka*. This correspondence in sense and sound, as regards the Polynesians, points to a time when the Polynesian *waka* bore the larger sense of any vehicle, terrestrial or marine, while yet the Polynesians were a continental people, and before their oceanic life had narrowed down the sense of this word to the only vehicle that remained available to them, the canoe.

WAI, *s.* Haw., water (fresh, in contradistinction from *kai*, salt water, ocean water, brackish water). In the Polynesian dialects proper, North and South, *wai* is the special name for fresh drinking-water, and for liquids generally,

as *wai-u*, milk, lit. breast-water; *wai-maka*, tears, lit. eye-water. In Fiji, *wai* is water generally; *wai-dranu*, fresh water; *wai-tui*, salt water, the sea. In Buru and Ambalaw, *wai*, water; Ceram. (Ahtiago), *wai*, id.; Salibabo, *wai*, id.; Saparua, *wai*, id.; Solor, *wai*, id.; Kayoa, *woya*, id.; Gilolo (Gani), *waiyr*, id.; Amboyna, *weyl*, *wehl*, and *wehr*, id.; Arn. Isls., *wajar*, id.; Mal. *ayer*, id.; Flores (Mangarai), *wai-tasik*, the sea; Biajan, *boi*, water.

To judge from the formation of this word in some of the Indonesian dialects, I am inclined to think that the Polynesian form in *wai* is an abrasion of an older form in *waki* or *wati*. We find in the N. Celebes (Ratahan), in Sangvir, in Tidore, in Gilolo (Galela), the form of *aki*, and in N. Celebes (Menado and Bantek) the form of *akei*, signifying water; these having lost the initial *w*, as the former have lost the middle *k*. To an original form of *wati*, *waki*, corresponds the

Sanskrit, *vadhu*, *badhu*, river. Zend, *vaidhi*, id. Vide Pictet, "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," i. 140.

Armor., *gwaz*, watercourse, rivulet.

Goth., *wato*. Swed., *watten*. Germ., *wasser*. Engl. and Dutch, *water*. O. H. Germ., *wazar*.

Benfey thinks the Gothic *wato*, "base, *watan*, represents the organic form of the verb *und*, viz., *vad*." I am not competent to discuss the derivation of *und* from *vad*; but the existence of a root or stem in *vad* seems highly probable in view of the Sanskrit derivation *vadhu* and the Zend *vaidhi*; and I think the connection of *wato* may be dismissed as not proven, though perhaps probable, there being sufficient evidence to establish the connection of the Polynesian *wai*, *waki*, *aki*, with the Sanskrit, Zend, and Armorican *vadhu*, *vaidhi*, *gwaz*. As Curtius "will not connect"  $\upsilon\delta\omega\rho$  with  $\upsilon\omega$  (Liddell and Scott), it may possibly stand for a more ancient  $F\upsilon\delta\omega\rho$ , and thus establish its connection with *vadhu*, &c.

It is strange, however, to find among the dialects spoken by the "tribes of the Hindu-Kush," as related by Major Biddulph, such terms for "water" as *woi*, Gilgit dialect



of the Shina; *woy*, Chiliss dialect of the Indus Valley. If these are not corruptions of some Sanskrit word for water unknown to me, they may possibly be remnants of some pre-Vedic period of Aryan speech still lingering in the fastnesses of the Hindu-Kush. Compare with that the Kaioa *woya*, the Bajan *boi*, and the Polynesian *wai*.

WAUKE, s. Haw., name of a shrub or bush, from the bark of which "kapa" (cloth) is made; a species of mulberry. Tah., *aute*; Marqu., *ute*, id. (*Morus papyrifera*). Sam., *aute*; *Hibiscus*, *Rosa-sinensis*.

Zënd, *vaëti*, willow. Vide A. Pictet, "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," i. 253: "Spiegel l'a traduit d'abord par saule, à cause de l'analogie du persan *béd*; mais plus tard il a trouvé dans le Mino Khired une forme *bît* que Nerio sengh rend en sanskrit par *phala*, fruit. Il ne saurait donc ici être question du saule, et Spiegel incline à comparer le latin *vitis*, tout en restant en doute sur l'identité complète de signification."

Greek, *οἶσος*, *οἶσθα*, an osier; according to Liddell and Scott related to *ἵρεα*, a willow, to Lat. *vitis*, a vine, *vitex*; to O. H. Germ. *wida*, *weida*, Sax. *withig*, Engl. *withe*, *withy*, "probably from Sanskrit *ve*," to weave.

Sanskrit, *vetas*, ratan, reed; *vaitasa*, a sort of cane, *Chlamus fasciculatus*.

A. Pictet, *l. c.*, refers the Greek, German, and Zend words to the Sanskrit *vaṭ*, a form of *vrit*, to surround, to tie; *vaṭa*, a string, a rope, the Indian fig-tree; *vaṭara*, a mat; *viṭika*, the betel plant, a tie; *viṭa*, a branch, and its shoot. I do not assume to decide between these two authorities, but simply claim a *locus standi* for the Polynesian *wauke*, *aute*, in primary family of speech from which the Zend *vaëti*, the Latin *vitis*, and the Greek *ἵρεα* and *οἶσος* derived their being.

WAHA<sup>1</sup>, v. Haw., to carry on the back, to bear. Sam., Tong., *fafa*, id. N. Zeal., *waha*, id.

Sanskrit, *vah*, to carry, conduct, bear.

Zend, *vaz*, to carry, to lead.

Greek, *ἔχεω*, to bear, carry.

Lat., *veho*, to carry, &c.

Lith., *vesti*, to carry.

See p. 278, s. v. *Wa'a*. Of the two forms, *waka*, canoe, vessel, and *waha*, to bear, carry, the former is, in my opinion, a denominative of the latter, and originally bore the same relation to *waha* as the Latin *vec-tabulum* to *veho*, as the Sanskrit *vaha*, *vahana*, to *vah*, as the Zend *vaca* to *vaz*. The Fijian forms and meanings show this plainly.

WAHA<sup>2</sup>, s. Tonga., the sea. Sam., *vasa*, the sea, the ocean, specially between two distant points.

Fiji., *vasa*, sea, ocean.

Sansk., *vasu*, water, kind of salt; *vasuka*, sea-salt; *vaçira*, id.

WAHI<sup>1</sup>, s. Haw., place, space, situation; *wahi-noho*, a residence, dwelling-place. Tah., Marqu., *wahi*, id. Sam., *fasi*, a piece, a place.

Sansk., *vas* (1), to dwell; *vasati*, a dwelling; *vasana*, id.

Irish, *fosra*, *fois*, habitation; *fos*, *fosadh*, repose; *foisim*, to dwell. Goth., *wisan*. A.-Sax., *wessan*, remain. O. Norse, *wist*, dwelling. O. H. Germ., *heim-vist*, domicile.

Lith., *weisle*, family, race.

Greek, *ἔστια* for *ἑστία*, hearth, home.

Lat., *vesta*, *vestibulum*.

WAHI<sup>2</sup>, s. Haw. (accent on ult.), a covering, wrapper v. to cover, wrap up, surround. Marqu., *fafi*, to clothe, clothing, bundle.

Sansk. *vas* (3), to wear, as clothes, put on; *vasi*, *vasana*, covering, clothes.

Lat., *vestis*, garment; *vagina*, sheath, husk.

Greek, *ἔσθης*, dress, clothing; *ἐννυμι*, to clothe; *ἕανος*, fit to wear, *ἔ* for *Fe*; *εἶμα*, dress.

Goth., *wasjan*, to clothe, to wear; *waste*, cloth.

WAHINE, s. Haw., female, woman, wife. Marqu., *vehine*, id. Tah., *vahine*, id. Sam., *fafine*, id. Tong., *fefine*, id. Rarot., *vaine*, id. N. Zeal. and Paum., *wahine*, id. Salebabo, *babine*, woman, wife. S. Celebes, *bawine*, *baine*, id. Buru, *fine*, *ge-fine*, id. Saparua, *pipi-na*, id. Gilolo (Gani), *mapin*, id. Amboyna, *mahina*, id. Teor, *marwina*, woman; *mewina*, wife. Madura, *bahine*, woman. Malay, *bini*, wife.

Ceram. (Teluti), *ihina*, woman; *nihina*, wife. Ceram. (Ahtiago), *vina*, woman; *invina*, wife. Savu, Amblaw, *ina*, mother. Rotti, Timor, *ena*, id. Goram Isl., *wawima*, woman, wife.

From a general survey of the Polynesian and Indonesian dialects above quoted, it becomes tolerably certain that this is a compound word, the first constituent being an ancient form in *wa*, *ba*, or *ma*, with a primary meaning of breast, bosom, an attribute and designation of a female, as retained in the Æolian and Doric forms of  $\mu\hat{a}$ , which Liddell and Scott call a shortened form of  $\mu\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ , but which may be the original in  $\mu\alpha\text{-}\zeta\omicron\varsigma$ , one of the breasts, especially of women; in  $\mu\eta\text{-}\tau\rho\alpha$ , womb, matrix; in Lat. *mamma*, breast; in Goth. *wamba*, Germ. *wamme*, Scot. *wame*, womb, belly; in Sanskr., *vāma*, udder; *vāmā*, a woman; *vāmē*, a mare; and in such compounds perhaps as Lat. *femina*, woman = Sanskr. *vā-mā*, *femur*, thigh; *fetus*, *feo*, *fetare*, as Sax. *wif-man*, woman. The second constituent, *hina*, *hine*, *ina*, *ena*, *ine*, must have been a very early term used to express the female gender, and which in time became the terminal form in several dialects, and, its original sense lost, it remained as an indicator of the feminine gender of the particular word to which it was attached. In the Gothic dialects we find such words as (Germ.) *koenig*, *koenig-inn*, *held*, *held-inn*, *gott*, *gött-inn*, (Swed.) *gud*, *gud-inna*, *fruste*, *frust-inna*, *hjelte*, *hjelt-inna*, &c.; in Lat., *leo*, *leena*, *rex*, *reg-ina*, *tutor*, *tutel-ina*; in Greek,  $\eta\rho\omega$ ,  $\eta\rho\omega\text{-}\omega\eta$ , et al. Probably the Zend *ca-ine*, a girl, and *zen*, a woman, refer to the same formation and ancient female designation.

WAHO, *prepos.* Haw., out, outside, outward. Sam., *fafa*; Rarot., Mangar., *wao*; Tah., *waho*; Marqu., *waho*; N. Zeal., *waho*, id.

Sanskr., *vakis*, outward, outside. Benfey thinks "perhaps from *aradhi*," i.e., *ara-dhā*, limit, end. The Polynesian offers the better, and probably surer, etymon or reference.

WALA, *v.* Haw., to excite; *wala-wala*, be excited, make a great noise, to shout; *wala-au*, to speak in a boisterous manner, to cry out. Sam., *wala-au*, to call to, to invite.

Rarot., *warakau*, to cry out. Tah., *waro-warō*, a voice heard without seeing the person, the vibration of sound on the ear or of scents on the organ of smelling.

Sanskrit., *varvara*, a barbarian, an outcast, the clash of weapons. According to Benfey "probably borrowed from βαρβαρος;" but not so according to Curtius; *vide* Liddell and Scott, *s. v.*

Pers., *barbar*, cry, murmur, a madman, a quarreller; *bala*, cry, clamour.

Lat., *balbus*, stammering, stuttering; *balo*, to bleat, speak foolishly.

Welsh, *ballaw*, to bark.

Russ., *swara*, quarrel.

Greek, βαρβαρος, a name for all with whom the Greek was not the native speech. No etymon given. The Polynesian *wala* seems to me a satisfactory reference.

WALI, *v.* Haw., to grind to powder, mince fine, to mix; *adj.* fine, soft, like paste. Tah., *warī*, paste, mud, dirt. Sam., *wali*, paint, plaster; *v.* to paint.

Sanskrit., *val*, to move to and fro, to turn, surround; *val-ana*, turning, agitation.

Greek, ἀλεω, to grind, bruise, pound; ἀλετης, grinding ἀλευρον, wheaten flour; ἀλωσ and ἀλωη, threshing-floor.

Lat., *volvo*, to roll, turn, wind round; *volvæ*, folding doors; *valgus*, bow-legged.

Goth., *walwjan*, to roll, wallow; *walugjan*, to reel about. Sax., *wæltan*, to welter, roll about. Germ., *walzen*.

A. Pictet, "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," ii. 119, intimates, after Ahrens, that ἀλεα and ἀλευρον have an initial μ omitted. Liddell and Scott seem to concur in the opinion that these, with many other kindred words, were once digamated; and if they are akin to *volvo* and *walwjan*, they certainly must have been. I have on page 117 referred the words that are of undoubted kindred to εἶλω to the Polynesian *hili*, *fili*, and see therefore no object in placing *walwjan*, *volvo*, and ἀλεω (for φαλεω), in the same category as εἶλω, ἰλλω, ἐλιξ, &c., while the Sanskrit *val* and the Polynesian *vali* stand ready to receive them.

WANA, *v.* Haw. (for *wa-ana*), to appear, come in sight, approach; *waana-ao*, early dawn, first light of day. Tah., *fa*, appear, come in sight. This word I consider related to

Sansk., *bhā*, to shine, appear; *s.* light, sun; *bhāna*, appearance; *bhāta*, bright, morning.

Greek, *φαω*, give light, shine; *φαίνω*, come to light, appear; *φανσις*, an appearance, &c. *Vide* p. 97, *s. v.* *Haoa*, and p. 107, *s. v.* *Hana*<sup>2</sup>.

WANANA, *v.* Haw., to prophesy, foretell future events (a probable syncope of *wana-ana*); *hawa-na*, to whisper, speak in a low voice. Tong., *fe-fana-fana*, to whisper; *fan-anga*, a fable; *wana*, curse, malediction. Sam., *fangono*, a tale intermingled with song. Tah., *wanaa*, an orator, fluent of words, oration, counsel. Marqu., *wanana*, a song, singing.

Sansk. *van* 1, to sound; *van* 2, to ask, to beg (Benfey); *bhan*, to speak, sound; *bhand*, to upbraid, reprove, to speak.

Sax., *bannan*, *a-bannan*, to proclaim. Swed., *banna*, to rebuke, revile; *for-banna*, to curse, damn. Engl., *ban*, *banish*. Perhaps Goth. *wenjan*, to hope, expect; *wens*, expectation, hope. A. Pictet refers these to Sanskr. *badh*, *bandh*, to punish, *ogri*. to tie, *ligare*.

Liddell and Scott assume *φα* = Sanskr. *bhā*, as the root of *φημη*, *φατις*, *φανη*, &c., as well as of Lat. *fari*, *fama*, *fabula*, *fas*, and refer to *bhash* and *bhan* as derivative forms of *bhā*. They say that this root *φα* "has two main branches: 1. Expressing light as seen by the eye; *φαω*, *φαίνω*, &c. 2. Expressing light as reaching the mind; *φημι*, *φασκω*, &c. Benfey refers *φημι*, &c., to *bhāsh*, and thinks that *bhāsh* is probably related to *bhā*." Whatever eventually may be decided on as to the root or roots of these two classes of words, the Polynesian relationship cannot well, I think, be ignored.

WELA, *v.* HAW., be on fire, to burn, be warm, hot, physically and mentally, hence to rage, be angry; *s.* heat of fire or of the sun; N. Zeal., Mangar., Tah., *wera*, *id.*, to burn. Sam., *wela*, *id.*, to be cooked; *wewela*, be hot. Marqu., *wea*, heat, burning. Fiji., *weweli*, bright, shining.

Sanskrit, *jval*, to blaze, shine, burn, be red-hot; *jvar*, be feverish; *jvāla*, flame; *ulka*, for *jvalka* (Benfey), a fire-brand.

Pars., *war*, heat; *waragh*, flame.

Anc. Slav., *varu*, heat.

Irish, *gualaim*, I burn; *gual*, a coal.

Goth., *wulan*, to well up, boil, be fervent. A.-Sax. *wellain*, id.; *well*, spring, fountain.

Lat., *bullo*, *bullio*, to boil, bubble. Benfey refers *ζαλη*, the surging of the sea, surge, spray, to the Sanskrit *jval*. Liddell and Scott suggest a root *ζα*, and intimate that *ζαλη* is akin to *σαλος* and the Latin *salum*. I am inclined to Benfey's opinion on the strength of the derivative of *ζαλη*, viz., *ζαλευκος*, very white, which strongly calls to mind the English expression "a white heat," and thus unites in one the sense of hot as well as of shining.

Connected with the Polynesian branch of this word, and derived from the sense of "bright, shining, flaming," are Haw., *wea* and *weo*, flesh-coloured, reddish, spotted with red. N. Zeal., *whero*, id. Tah., *wea*, burning, conflagration; *weo*, copper or brass (from its colour). Marqu., *weakiki*, of a bright red colour. Mangar., *werowero*, flame of fire. Fiji., *veloreloa*, yellow. In the Indonesian dialects we find *biadjon*, *bea*, white. Sangvir, *ma-wera*, id. Sali-babo, *ma-wira*, id. Celebes (Menado), *ma-bida*, id. The only corresponding word in the West Aryan dialects that I know of is the

Slav., *bela*, white.

A. Pictet, "Orig. Ind.-Eur.," ii. 678, derives the Sanskrit *ulka* from *valka*, and this form *val*, "circumdare, tegere, la flamme qui enveloppe." Benfey derives *valka* from *jval*, *vide supra*. Benfey's derivation seems to me the most correct, as it accounts better, and in a more natural way, for the different derivative meanings in the various Aryan branches.

WELL, *v*. Haw., to branch out, as roots of a tree, to take root; *s*. a shoot, a scion, a sucker, the phosphorescent light in the sea, the light from sparks of fire; *weli* or

*welina* and *walina*, a form of salutation = "Health to you," "May you prosper." Tah., *weri-weria*, abundance of food; *weri-weri-hiwa*, many coloured. Fiji, *veli*, a curl, curled.

Lat., *ver*, the spring; *vernus*.

Greek, *ἔαρ, ἦρ*, for *ἔαρ, ἦρ*, spring of the year, young, fresh, prime; *ἔαρινος*.

Old Norse, *vār*; Swed. *wär*, spring. To these Latin, Greek, and Norse terms Benfey and Liddell and Scott refer Slav., *vesna*, spring.

Lith., *vasara*, summer.

Sanskrit, *vasanta*, the season of spring; and they may have added *vasa*, sweet, day, a ray of light, the sun, wealth, gold; *vasna*, price, wages, wealth, assuming probably that these Sanskrit, Slavonic, and Lithuanian terms go back to Sanskrit *vas* 2 (Benfey), to shine, "the original form of *ust*;" vide Benfey. If so, the Latin, Greek, and Norse are probably the older formations, inasmuch as, by retaining the *r*, they seem to conform better to that oldest form of Aryan speech so frequently found in the Polynesian before the *r* began to change to *s*.

WELO, *v*. Haw., to float or stream in the wind; to flutter or shake in the wind, *s*. the setting of the sun, or the appearance of it floating on the ocean; *welo-welo*, colours or cloth streaming in the wind, a tail, as of a kite, light streaming from a brand of fire thrown into the air in the dark; *hoku-welo-welo*, a comet, a meteor; *ko-welo*, to drag behind, as the trail of a garment, to stream, as a flag or pennant. Sam., Tong., *welo*, to dart, cast a spear or dart. Tah., *wero*, to dart, throw a spear; *s*. storm, tempest, fig. great rage; *wero-wero*, to twinkle, as the stars. Marqu., *wero*, a tail. Mangar., *wero*, a lance, spear.

Greek, *βαλλω, ἐβαλον*, to throw, cast, hurl, of missiles, throw out, let fall, push forward; *βελος*, a missile, a dart; *βελεμνον*, id.; *βολη*, a throw, a stroke; *βολος*, anything thrown, missile, javelin, a cast of the dice.

Sanskrit, *pal*, to go, to move. To this Benfey refers the Lat. *pello*, Greek *παλλω*, O. H. Germ. *fallan*, A.-Sax.

*feallan*. Liddell and Scott are silent on these connections, but see p. 256, s. v. *Pale*.

WI, *adj.* Haw., destitute, suffering, starving; s. starvation, famine; *wiwi*, lean, meagre; *hoo-wiwi*, to lessen, diminish. Marqu., *wiwi*, poor, feeble; *wiwi-i*, solitude. Tah., *veve*, poor, destitute, bare; *v.* to be in want.

Sanskrit., *vi*, *prep.* "compounded with verbs and nouns it implies: 1. separation; 2. privation; 3. wrongness, baseness," &c. (Benfey); as *vi-deha*, without body; *vi-dhard*, without man, a widow; *vi-dhantá*, poverty, without wealth.

Lat., *ve* or *vi*, in compound words, as *ve-cors*, without reason, frantic; *ve-grandis*, not large, small; *ve-sanus*, out of the senses, raving unsound; *vi-duus*, *vi-dua*, without husband or wife, widower, widow. Of other things, empty, void, without.

Goth., *widuwo*, A.-Sax., *wuduwa*, widow.

Benfey (Sansk. Dict., s. v.) leads one to infer that *vi* is but an aphæresis of *dui*. It seems to me that the natural inference, and the natural turn of men's thoughts, would be that *dui*, two, implied addition rather than diminution. It is possible that the Sanskrit *dui* may have been "worn down," as Professor Sayce calls it, to a preposition or mere affix, not only in the Sanskrit, but also in the Gothic and Latin; but with a substantial Polynesian *wi* still alive indicating destitution, deprivation, diminution, I incline to consider the latter as the base of, and proper relative to, the Sanskrit, Gothic, and Latin preposition or affix.

WIKI, *v.* Haw., to hasten, be quick; *adv.* quickly, in haste; *a-wiki*, *a-wiwi*, id.

Zend, *vi*, rapid; also fish.

Sanskrit., *vi*, to tremble, to fear; *vega*, i.e., *vi*-*a* (Benfey), speed, flight of an arrow, impetus; *vegin*, *vegita*, speed, haste, quickly.

Anc. Slav., *viej-di*, the eyelids. Benfey refers  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\sigma\omega$ , to move with a quick shooting motion, to shoot, dart, to the Sanskrit *vi*. Liddell and Scott think it "perhaps akin to  $\acute{\alpha}\omega$ ,  $\acute{\alpha}\eta\mu\iota$ ."



## ADDENDA.

---

JUST as I had finished my own foregoing work, I received "Samoa, a Hundred Years Ago, and Long Before, &c., by George Turner, LL.D., of the London Missionary Society, with a preface by E. B. Tylor, F.R.S., London, 1884." It may be late, but not too late, for me to add my mite of acknowledgment and honour to Rev. Mr. Turner for this seasonable publication of what he has gathered and preserved of Samoan folk-lore and of Samoan heathen life and customs—a section of Polynesian studies which has hitherto been a comparative blank. There can no longer be any doubt that the Samoans came to their present group from the Fijis, that last rendezvous of the Polynesian tribes after their exodus from the Asiatic Archipelago, and before their dispersion in the East Pacific. The references to that fact, as gathered from their own traditions, are too many and too plain to be called in question any longer. The traditions also give glimpses of lands beyond the Fijis, in the west, to which the spirits of the dead returned to join their ancestors—that famous *Pulo-tu*, the seat of the gods and the ancestors of the Tonga Islands, and which the Fijians adopted with so much other Polynesian lore.

The cosmogery of the Samoans is hazy and varied, like most of the other southern groups, and shows the manipulation of older and common materials, and their local adaptation by later priests, bards, or island philosophers. As in their language, so in their myths the Samoans betray the impress of that great inter-migratory wave

which swept the Eastern Pacific groups some seven or eight hundred years ago, and to which I have frequently referred in the first and second volumes of this work. Savea, the first of the Maliatoas, according to the genealogy presented by Mr. Turner, falls in twenty-four generations before A.D. 1878, or about 1150 A.D. Before him thirteen generations are recorded, including Pili, the son of the god Tangaloa; from Pili back to the beginning of things are quoted seven more generations, thus making a total of forty-four generations, viz., twenty-four purely historical, thirteen semi-mythical, and seven mythic, or, at best, eponymic. But forty-four generations of Samoan existence bring us to the middle or beginning of the sixth century A.D., at which period the expulsion from, or the abandonment of, the Fijis must have already commenced; for, by properly sifting the Hawaiian traditions, we find that the Hawaiian group was being settled about one or two generations later. Thus the one chronology in a measure supports the other.

As to the origin of the name "Samoa," Mr. Turner gives three different traditions; but they all indicate that later existence of national life when, the true origin of the name, either historical or linguistic, having been forgotten, men sought in fanciful combinations to give a *raison d'être* for what had escaped the memory of themselves or their forefathers.

As in the other Polynesian principal groups, the Samoans located the place of departure of the spirits of their dead on the west end of the westernmost of their islands, at Fale-a-Lupo on Sawaii, from which the spirits started on their journey to Pulo-tu, thus confirming that universal sentiment of a Western origin which pervaded the members of the other groups. In this ancestral home of Pulo-tu the Samoans also located that famous spring, or "life-giving water," *Wai-ola*, which was such a prominent element in the ancient creed of all the Polynesians.

At the close of the book Mr. Turner gives a table of "One hundred and thirty-two words in fifty-nine

Polynesian dialects." I know not what Mr. Turner's definition of "Polynesian" may be, but it seems to me to be unwarrantably catholic and expansive when such dialects as Bau, Aneitum, Eromanga, New Caledonian, Moreton Bay, Mysol, and Dorey are included as "Polynesian." Of the one hundred and thirty-two words referred to in Mr. Turner's table, seventy-one are missing in no less than thirty-five of the fifty-nine dialects enumerated—an omission that rather impairs the value of the table. I regret that so many evident misprints of words should have passed unnoticed in the table. Of incorrect renderings of the meaning of certain words there are not a few. I cannot take up all such, but feel in duty bound to quote a small number.

In the Hawaiian dialect, then, "*lawala*" is not "fish," but means "to fish," *i'a* being the name of fish. "*Manu*" does not mean "fowl," but birds in general, *moa* being the name of a "fowl." "*Laokoa*" is not "day," *la* being the name for that, and *la-okoa* meaning the entire day, the whole day. "*Hoahanau kane*" and "*hoahanau wahine*" are not Hawaiian for "brother" and "sister," *Hoahanau* certainly means "born of same parents, lit. fellow-births," but is of a common gender, and never used with the suffixes *kane* or *wahine*. "*N'uku*" is never used to express "the mouth" of human beings, except in derision or in scolding, the proper word being *waha*. There is no such verb as "*maka*," "to see," although as a noun it means "eye." "*Umiumi*" is not "a hundred," but means "beard;" the Hawaiians did not count by "hundreds" until after contact with Europeans, but counted by "forties." In the Marquesan, "*akau*" is not a "tree," but *kaau* is the word; "*ko*" is not an "ant," but *heoo*; "*koniu*" is not an "arrow," but *taa*; "*vaiei*" is not to "give," but *taiona*. In the Malay proper, "*tasek*" is not the "sea," but *laut*; "*nior*" is not "cocoa-nut," but *klapa*; "*minchit*" or "*mintjiet*" no doubt means "rat," but nineteen out of twenty Malays would employ the word *tikus* in preference. "*Buruk*"

may mean "bad," but W. E. Maxwell (Manual of Malay Language), and A. de Wilde and T. Raorda (Nederduitsch-Maleisch en Soendasch Woordenboek"), ignore the word, and use *jahat*, *mara*, *gusar*, instead to express the sense of "bad, evil, wicked, not good." "*Mentua*" is not "mother," but "mother-in-law," while *ma*, *mak*, *ibu*, *bonda*, signify the natural mother. "*Damang*" may be "chief" for all I know, but *datu* is the more common and accepted word.

Barring a few blemishes like these, Mr. Turner's work is of the greatest value to the Polynesian ethnologist. It fills in a great measure a lacuna that no one yet had attempted to fill, and will enable future writers to tread the mazes of Polynesian migrations and Polynesian myths with steps more sure and eyes more clear than we have hitherto been able to do.





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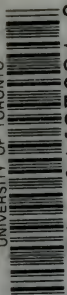
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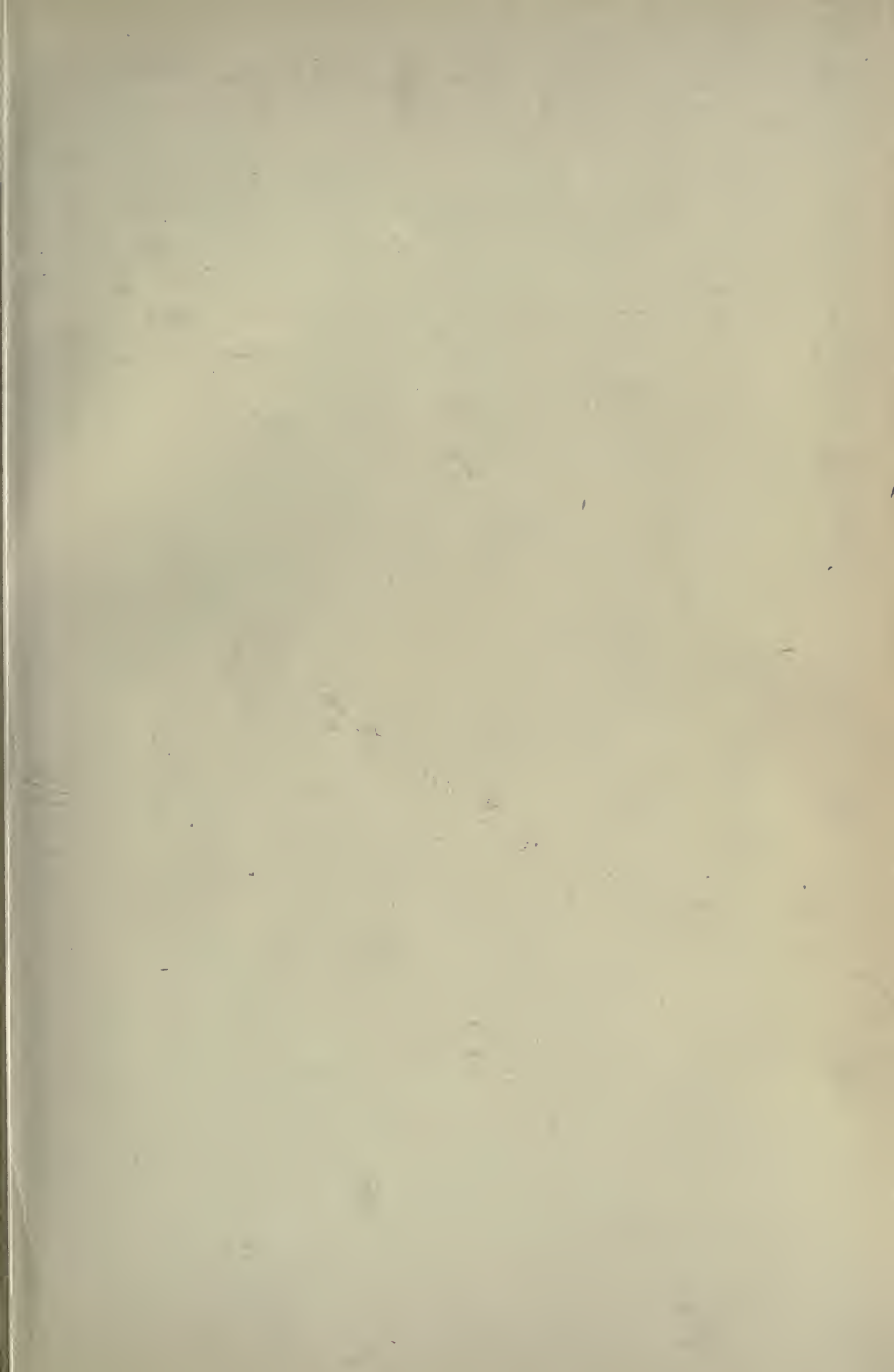


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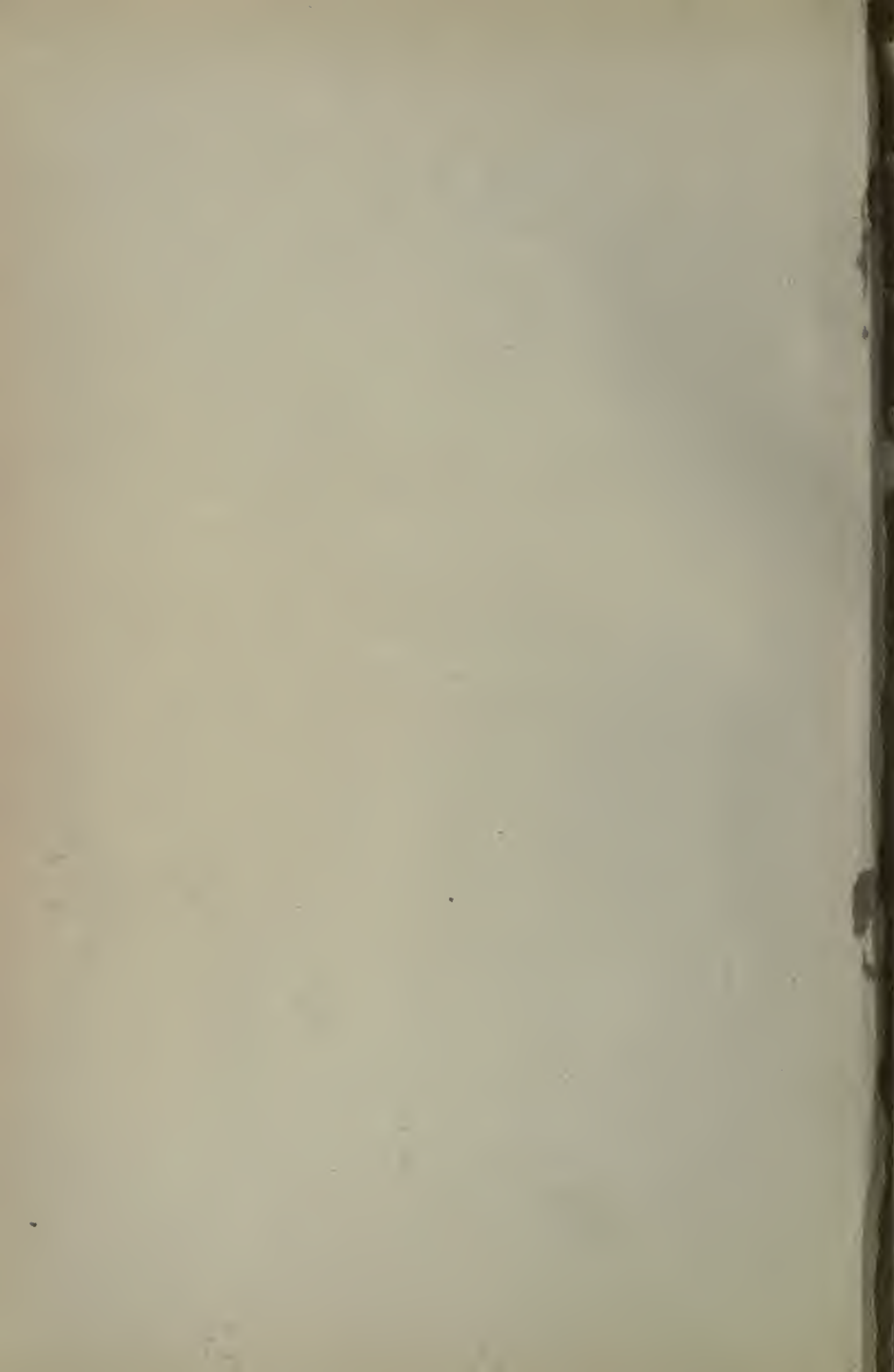
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# INDEX

TO

FORNANDER'S

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# INDEX

TO

## “THE POLYNESIAN RACE”

BY

ABRAHAM FORNANDER

(Three volumes, Trübner & Co., London, 1878-1885)

COMPILED BY JOHN F. G. STOKES,

Curator of Polynesian Ethnology in the Bernice P. Bishop Museum,  
Honolulu.

WITH

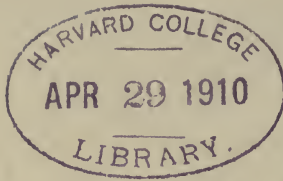
A Brief Memoir of Judge Fornander.

PREPARED BY W. D. ALEXANDER, LL.D.

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Index



## INTRODUCTION.

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THE original intention of the writer was to prepare an index to the second volume of "The Polynesian Race" for his own reference, and following the completion of this portion, several Honolulu students of Hawaiian antiquities to whom Judge Fornander's work had proved of great value expressed the hope that the index so prepared might be made generally available by publication. On thinking over the subject, the writer decided that before submitting the matter to the Trustees of the Museum for consideration as to its publication by the Museum press, it would be better to complete the work by adding the index to the first and third volumes, a table of contents and a bibliography, all of which work Judge Fornander would perhaps have supervised had he lived more conveniently near to his publishers. These additions have now been made and the combined results are herewith submitted.

It would seem to be somewhat late in the day to present this index to the public, but the widespread interest which Polynesian matters are now commanding is perhaps sufficient excuse.

To facilitate reference to the large amount of material in "The Polynesian Race", sub-titles have been arranged under the names of the more frequently mentioned characters in Hawaiian history, in fair chronological order; also, wherever a subject warranted it, numerous sub-heads were added.

The genealogical tables in Volume I contained several hundred names not again referred to throughout the whole work, and many pages have been saved in the index by the omission from it of such names.

In the third volume, the indexing of the Comparative Vocabulary seems to suggest the man who undertook to index Webster's Dictionary, but it was considered necessary, as Judge Fornander had followed the order set forth in the Hawaiian alphabet. This portion is briefly listed, only the words heading the section being included.

Judge Fornander deplored the poverty of his library, and it must be understood that the books mentioned in the bibliography do not necessarily represent the best works or editions. In addition to his own, Judge Fornander made use of the formerly

existing Hawaiian Government Library, which, with the former, has since been divided between the present Honolulu Library Association, the Hawaiian Historical Society and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. I have consequently been able to find and check most of his books of reference.

At the invitation of the Trustees of the Museum, Dr. W. D. Alexander has kindly consented to prepare a brief biographical sketch of Judge Fornander, with whom he was well acquainted.

JOHN F. G. STOKES.



# A Brief Memoir of Abraham Fornander.

BY W. D. ALEXANDER, LL.D.

THE historian Abraham Fornander was descended from a line of distinguished clergymen and scholars, both his grandfather, Rev. Abraham Fornander, D.D., and his father Rev. Anders Fornander, D.D., having held high positions in the Lutheran Church of Sweden.

He was born in the parsonage of Gerdlösa in the south of Sweden, November 4, 1812. Very little is known of his early life. It is evident, however, that he received a thorough classical education, first, no doubt, in the Gymnasium of Kalmar, in which his father, who died in 1828, had been a professor. From a cursory remark in the preface to the first volume of his work on the Polynesian race, we learn that he had afterwards been a student in the famous University of Upsala, where he attended the lectures of Professor Geijer, the national historian and poet of Sweden. A footnote to a brief biography of his father, published in 1836, states that "His son, Theodor Karl, is a doctor of medicine, and Abraham is a captain in North America."

An obituary of the latter published in the Pacific Commercial Advertiser of November 2, 1887, gives the following information concerning him:

"He first came to the Islands in 1838, and after a short stay went away on a whaling cruise in a whaler, returning in 1842. He then commenced to plant coffee in Nuuanu valley for Dr. T. C. B. Rooke. In 1847 he was engaged in surveying Dr. Rooke's lands. The same year he was married to Pinao Alanakapu, a chiefess from the island of Molokai, who died in 1857. They had four children, three girls and one boy. The late Mrs. Catherine Brown was the only one that survived him. Two years later, at the height of the gold fever, he went to California, but returned in three or four months, not well satisfied with his trip.

"In 1852 he was editing the Weekly Argus, with Matthew K. Smith as publisher. He succeeded C. G. Hopkins as editor of the Polynesian, which position he held until 1864, when he was

appointed Circuit Judge of Maui. In 1865 Kamehameha V appointed him Inspector-General of Schools, and in May, 1871, he was reappointed Circuit Judge of Maui, which position he held until the latter part of 1886. On December 28 of that year he was appointed Fourth Associate Justice of the Supreme Court."

He died November 1, 1887, after a long and painful illness. He was a man of unquestioned integrity, of blameless private life, and of untiring industry. Deeply interested, as he was, in the Hawaiian race, to which he was closely attached by family ties, he devoted most of his time during the last thirty years of his life to the collection and study of its traditions. It may truly be said that he did more to preserve its ancient history and folk-lore than any other man. It was his life work, and though his theories about the origin of the race may not gain general acceptance by future ethnologists, yet his three volumes will continue to be a storehouse of trustworthy information on the history and legends of Hawaii.

The publication at this late day of this Index to his works is a sufficient proof of the estimation in which they are held.



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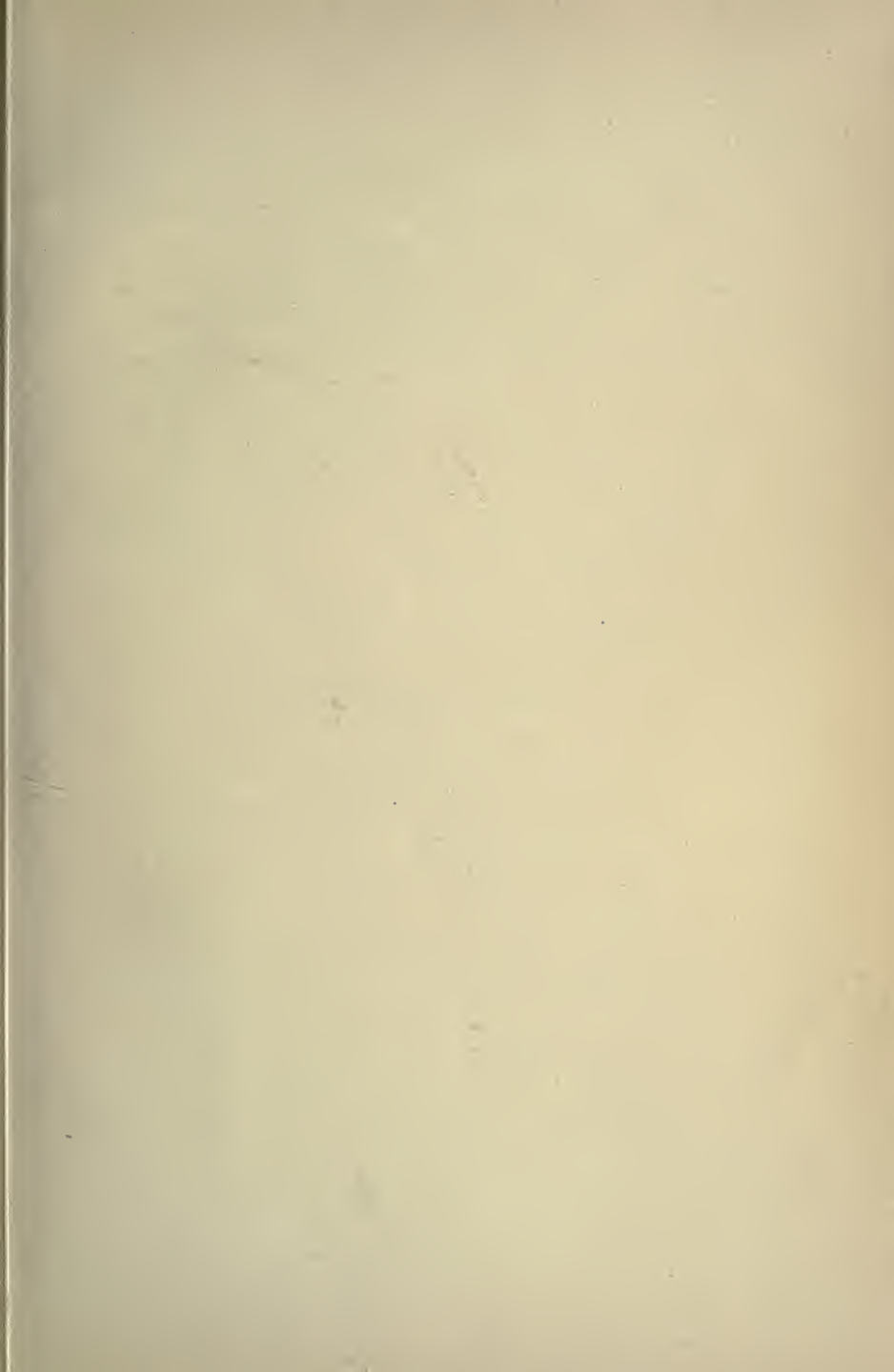
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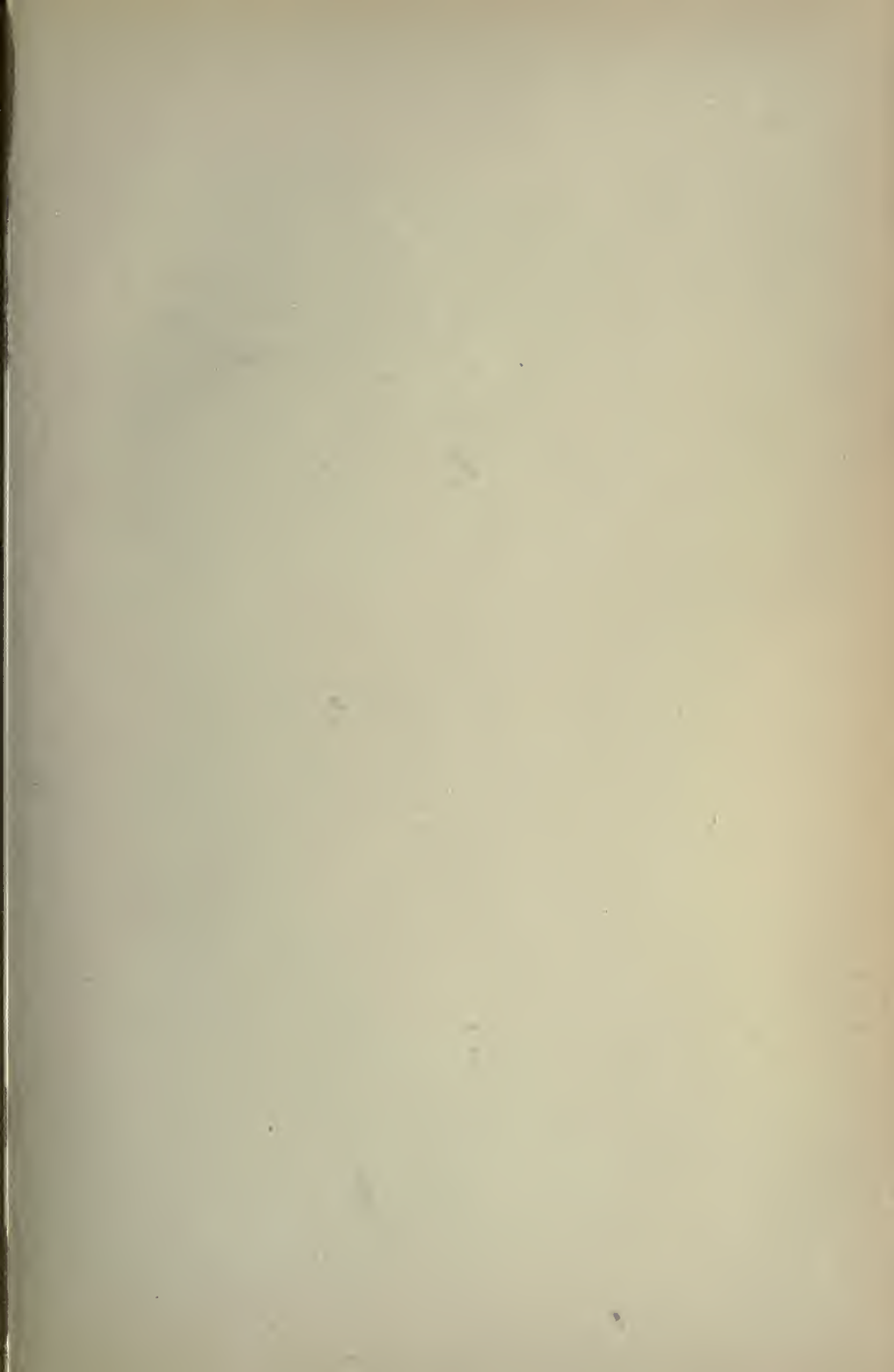


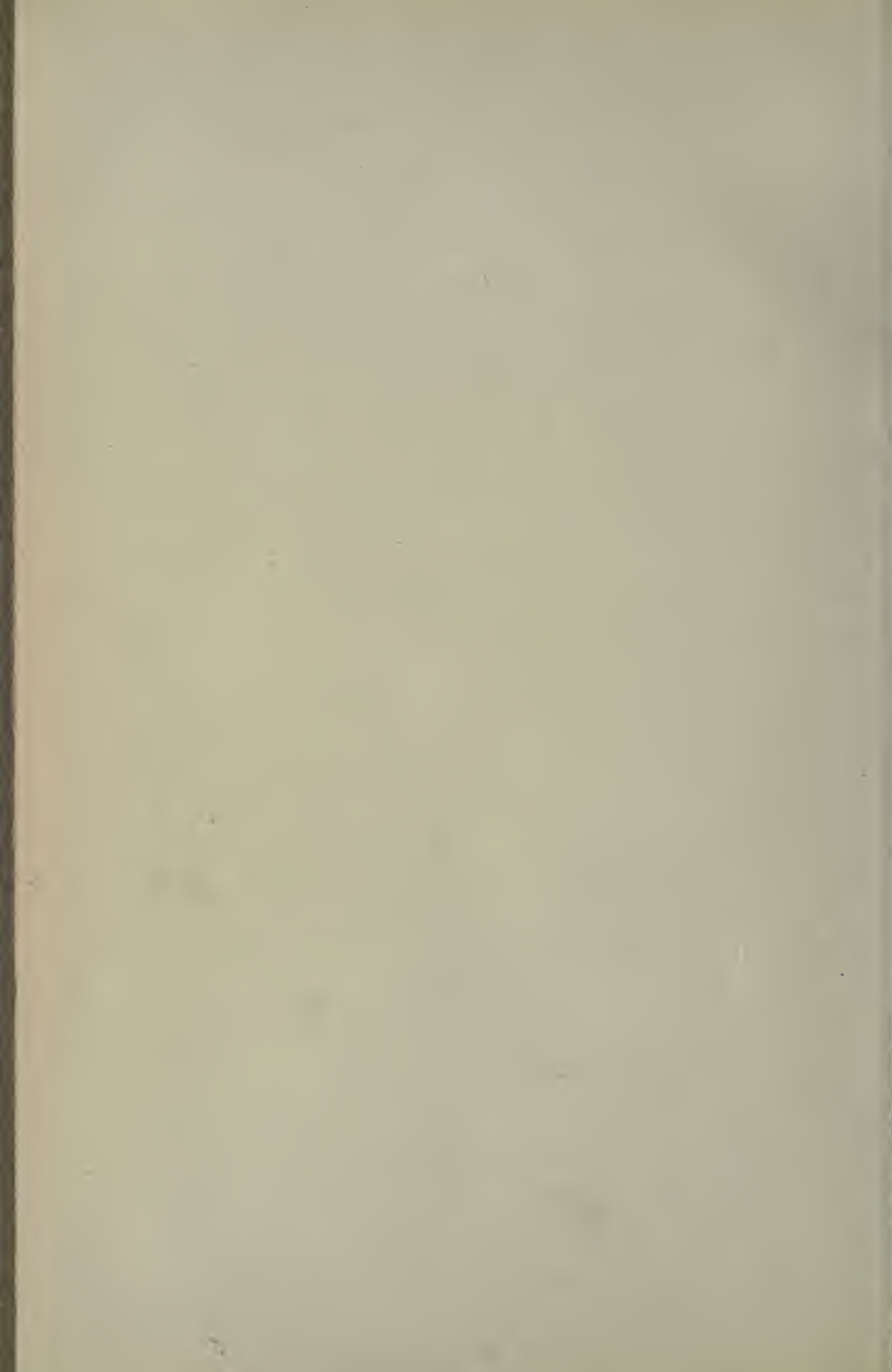


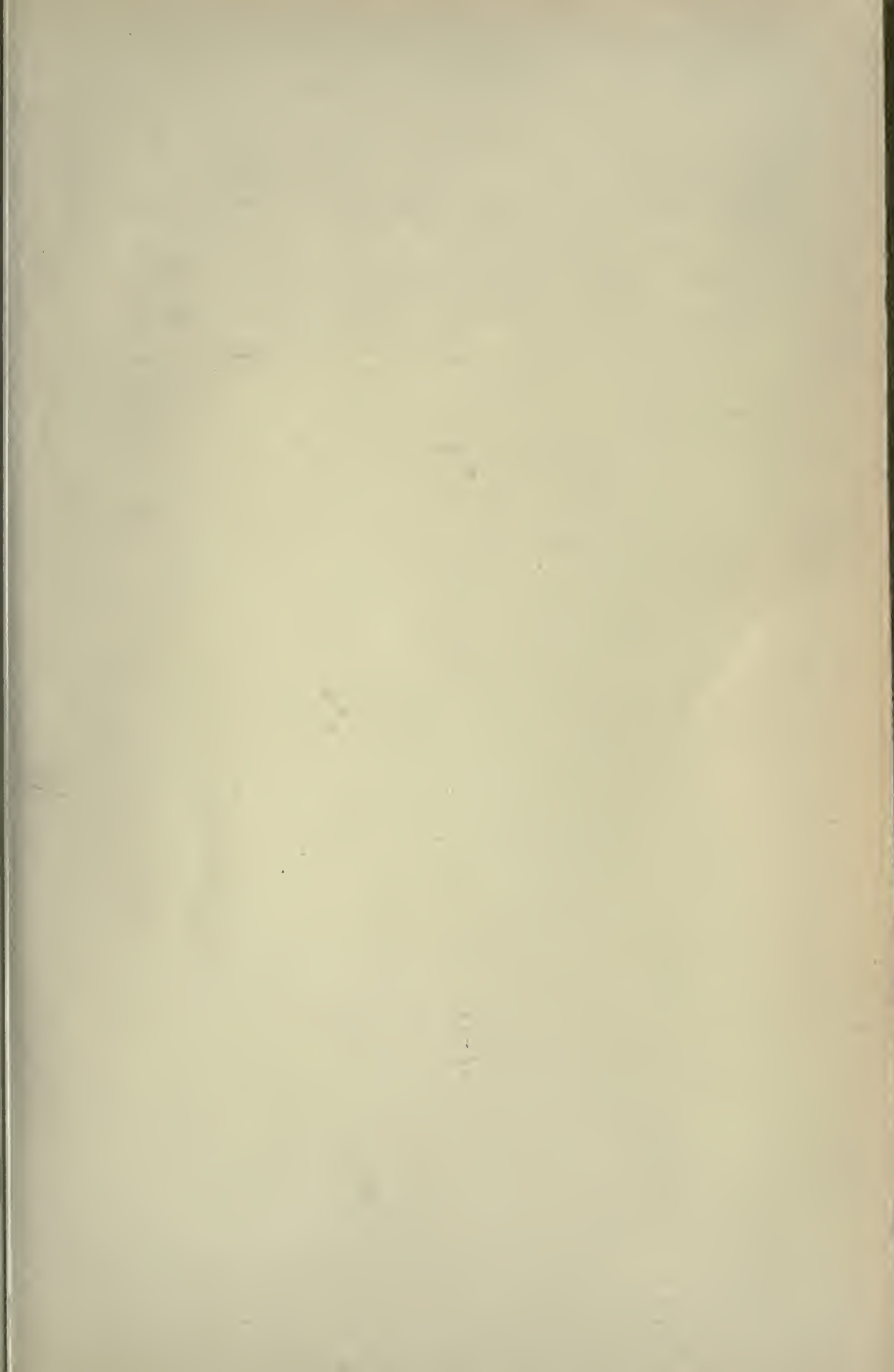


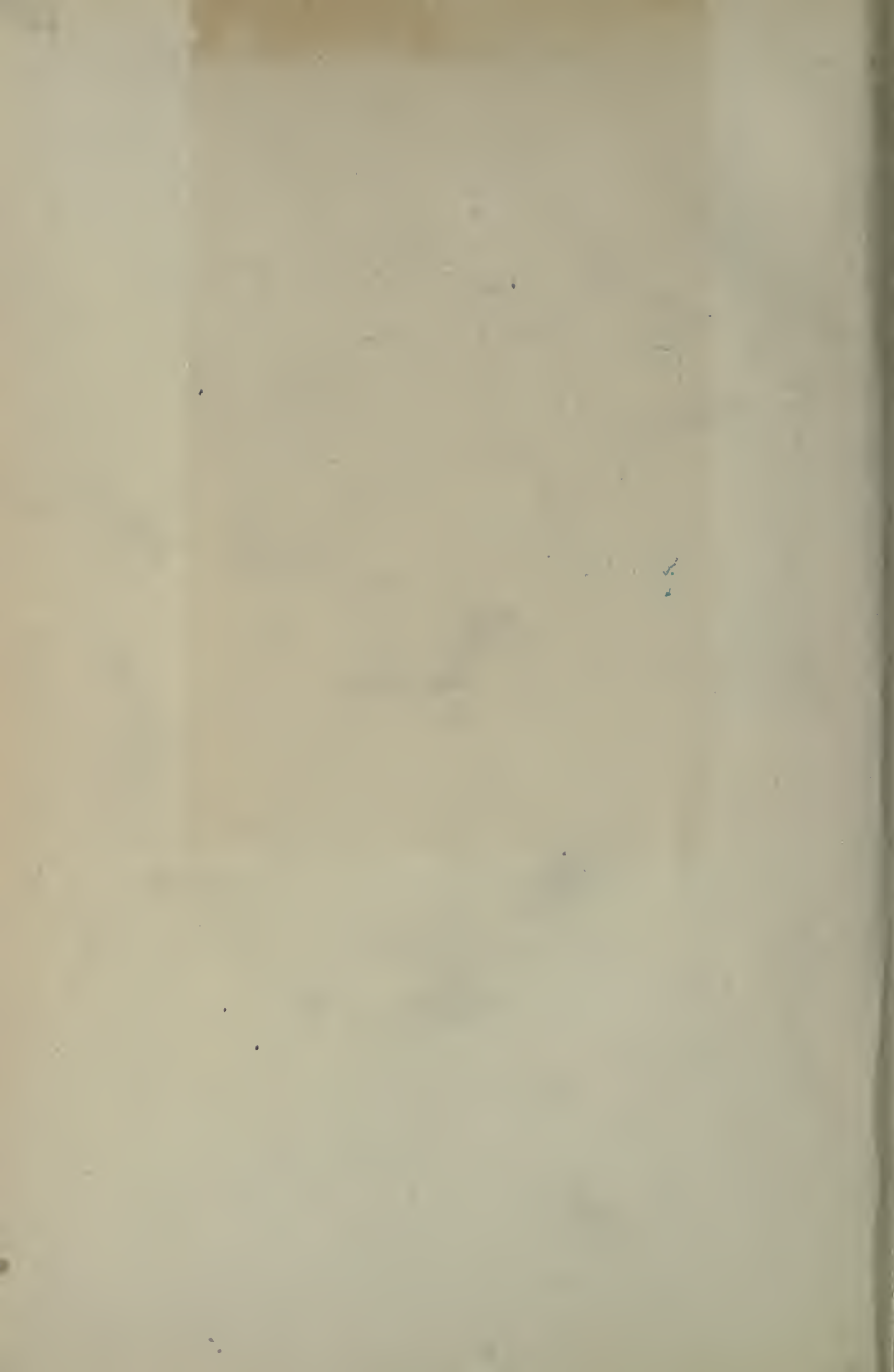












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