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Pule 'Ohana: Native Hawaiian Family Devotions Descended from Puritan New England
By Sharon M. Inake

About the Author

A third generation Japanese-American (Sansei) of Buddhist parents, Sharon Inake grew up in the United Church of Christ from age ten. Taking her degree in psychology at the University of Hawaii (Manoa), some twenty years later she returned to school to earn a Master's in theology from Fuller Theological Seminary and two years after that, her Master's in Divinity from San Francisco Theological Seminary. At last writing, she was serving as interim associate pastor of the Makiki Christian Church (U.C.C.). [The author retired in 2009 and is a member and former pastor of Central Union Church, Honolulu.]

It may be that Ms. Inake is the first of our long procession of authors to admit/boast that she cross-stitches while watching movie videos, reads murder mysteries and sci-fi fantasy, and "sings sacred publicly but recreationally enjoys Broadway." She and husband Mike share their home with son Matt (a tuba-playing Eagle Scout now in college), Mike's mother Laura, and a watch-cat named Seiko.

Ms. Inake first heard *'ohana* described by Native Hawaiian deacons whom she served as their spiritual director at Pearl City Community Church (U.C.C.) and wrote her article in part for the Native Hawaiian deacons she trained at Ka Hana O Ke Akua (The Work of the Lord) United Church of Christ in rural Waiana'e. She would especially acknowledge the encouragement and advice of Dr. Randi Walker "without whose spare but sage advice this paper would not have been written."

Those who recognize the tune of "Old Hundredth" on this issue's cover will correctly infer that the words are the Hawaiian "Doxology." This particular version first appeared in *Himani Hawaii* (1837), the earliest of the Hawaiian hymnals to include music (with individually set notes) as well as words. The photograph has been reproduced, courtesy of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library of Honolulu; from the Society's sesquicentennial edition of *Missionary Album: Portraits and Biographical Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands* (1969), page 157.

Pule 'Ohana: Native Hawaiian Family Devotions
Descended from Puritan New England¹
by Sharon M. Inake

The Rev. Dr. Abraham Akaka, 76 years of age, is pastor emeritus of Kawaiaha'o Church, the Westminster Abbey of the Pacific. He tells of his visiting grandfather starting off their family devotions by calling out the hymn number from memory. Grandfather had the entire Hawaiian hymnal memorized - all the songs, all the verses. If he led the hymn, they sang all the verses. If Dad led, it was only the first verse. Dad wanted to get to work. On a typical morning, he would have already risen and prepared breakfast for the entire family, including seven children. Then it was *'ohana* or "family" time before eating.²

The term *'ohana* is the shortened form of *pule 'ohana* ("family prayer") and its announcement in most Native Hawaiian families signaled a rapid assembling of the family in the living room. On chairs and on the floor they gathered as a family - usually once a day at night, seven days a week, from infants on up. Typical elements were hymn singing, scripture (especially the psalms), prayer, and sometimes talking about their day.

This family devotional practice rooted in seventeenth-century Puritan New England was transplanted into the good soil of nineteenth-century Hawaiian spirituality of the Sandwich Islands (the old British name for Hawai'i) and has survived into our twentieth-century multi-religious, cosmopolitan State of Hawai'i.³ How thousands of miles and hundreds of years still connect distinctly different peoples may enrich and inform our current Congregational Christian and United Church of Christ interest in spirituality both in the Hawai'i Conference and in the wider Church.

The Seventeenth Century

In 1620 the Mayflower carrying the Leyden (Holland) Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, Massachusetts. These English Separatists for whom the Church of England was beyond redemption were joined by fellow, but non-Separatist, English Puritans who settled in Salem in 1629. Both groups wanted to purify the Anglican church (hence, the name "Puritan") and developed the Congregational way in their "New" England. Their pietistic practice included family devotions because "the family was a 'little church.'"⁴

These American colonial Puritans recognized early that the family was "the nursery of the church," the building block of church life and therefore of their godly society, in Governor John Winthrop's words, "a city upon a hill." If there ever were a family which promoted worship in the home, it would have been the Mather dynasty: Grandfather Richard (1596-1669), Father Increase (1639-1723), and Son Cotton (1663-1727), all historically significant ordained ministers.⁵

Cotton Mather was particularly zealous for the practice of family devotions as shown in a number of the sermons and tracts he wrote.⁶ In his *Family Sacrifice*, he advocated morning and evening worship times and table graces at each meal. According to Charles Hambrick-Stowe, the Puritan father as priest presided over his "little church" during morning and evening scripture reading, prayer, psalm singing, and giving of thanks at meals. "The Bible was read 'in course,' sequentially by chapter from beginning to end, and family members often took turns reading aloud."⁷ Edmund Morgan states that devotions were not meant to be long and refers to Cotton Mather's description of his maternal grandfather, John Cotton, another noteworthy American Puritan pastor. John Cotton prayed, read the chapter with "a little applicatory exposition," then prayed again, being "very short in all" as the devotional manuals of that day advised.⁸ Indeed, the noted writer on Puritan spirituality, Richard Baxter, recommended such manuals:

*see that they have some profitably moving book (besides the Bible) in each family: If they have not, perswade them to buy some of small price, and great use.... And engage them to read on it at nights when they have leisure and especially on the Lords day.*⁹

The patterning of family worship could be found in such manuals and in the Puritan's public worship. Cotton Mather as a pastor was conscious of this fact and regarding his pastoral prayers for the congregation, wrote, "Oh! then, Lett mee therein bee so affectionate, so argumentative, so instructive, so intending to sett an Example for their Devotions."¹⁰

Morning Devotions usually began with prayers for "the confession of sin and plea for forgiveness but quickly proceeded to an expression of thanksgiving for God's blessings," including the night's rest. The imagery of childbirth, of the believers' physical first birth and their spiritual second birth, could be used for the morning devotions which usually ended with the Lord's Prayer. Scripture was read and psalms sung - typically a selection of thanksgiving-themed psalms taken from the Bay Psalm Book, the first book printed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1640.¹¹

Table Graces constituted devotions during the day. These prayers before and after each meal were couched in the language of salvation. One "Thanksgiving before Meate" much shortened here read:

O Lord our God and heavenly Father, which of thy unspeakable mercy towards us, hast provided meate and drinke..., grant wee humbly beseech thee, good Lord, that as we doe hunger and thirst for this food of our bodies, so our soules may earnestly long after the food of eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, Amen.¹²

The post-meal grace usually alluded to God's perfecting work, including the eschaton:

To thee, O Lord, which has created, redeemed, continually preserved, and at this time fed us, be ascribed all honor, glory, power, might, and dominion, now and evermore...Finish soone these days of sin, and bring us to everlasting peace, through thy Sonne our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Amen.¹³

Evening Devotions usually began with prayer toward the end of the evening meal. Evening prayer focused on repentance of sins as the day was reviewed. There was scripture reading, sometimes an exposition of the passage, psalm singing, and prayer. "In evening devotions the penitent died to sin in contrition and humiliation in preparation for sleeping in the hands of God and in hope of being born again in the morning of God's Spirit. Sleep became a means of grace"¹⁴

The Eighteenth Century

By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, even public worship on Sunday began declining.¹⁵ That even the second generation could no longer give evidence of a conversion experience to become church members led to the Half-Way Covenant of 1662 in order to allow the infant baptism of the third generation. That some form of family worship continued, however, can be gleaned from the writings of Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), the supernova of the eighteenth century.

Called America's greatest theologian, Edwards, by his leadership of local revivals during 1734-1737, sparked the First Great Awakening of the 1740s. He reiterated the Puritan view that "every Christian family is a little church" and in his church in Northampton, Massachusetts, the covenant included the pledge, "And those of us that are in youth do promise never to ... rob God of that honor which he expects by our orderly, serious attendance on family worship."¹⁶ Not just youth but everyone needed to be faithful to the practice without the excuse of even other good, religious reasons:

On this foundation also, an orderly attending on the stated worship of God in families has been made too light of; and it has been in some places too much of a common and customary thing to be absent from family worship, and to be abroad late in the night at religious meetings, or to attend religious conversation.¹⁷

The benefits of family devotions were exemplified in Jonathan and Sarah Edwards' own family. Visitors swarmed to spend time with the attractive, hospitable family and came away uniformly "impressed" that eleven very individual children could courteously and efficiently function as a group. A biographer noted:

One source of the family stability was the steady dependable routine of prayers which they had together, before breakfast and again after supper. Edwards' choice of

Scripture to read at these times is revealing: he was partial to the poetic books of the Bible - the psalms, Paul's passage on charity, the homely advice of Ecclesiastes. The surge and thunder of the King James Bible, heard twice a day aloud in their father's voice, became part of the children's earliest memories.¹⁸

Edwards also expected his children to use their own wording for bedtime prayers although the wide-spread "Now I lay me down to sleep" had already appeared in the New England Primer in 1737. Additionally, Edwards presided over table graces before and after meals and attended to bedtime prayers with his wife after family worship.¹⁹

The Nineteenth Century

The Edwards family, numbering some fourteen hundred descendants by 1900, produced an extraordinary number of distinguished Americans. One of these was the Rev. Timothy Dwight, who inherited his grandfather's brilliance (being ready for college at age eight).²⁰ While Dwight was president of Yale, one historically pivotal foreigner who lived with him observed:

I lived with this pious and good family for some time [up to 1810].... Here was the first time I met with praying family morning and evening. It was difficult for me to understand what was said in prayer, but I doubt not this good people were praying for me while I was with them - seeing that I was ignorant of God and of my Savior. I heard of God as often as I lived with this family, and I believed but little.²¹

The young man who eventually converted despite his confessed resistance became a passionate and eloquent voice for the taking of the Gospel to his homeland of Owhyhee (Hawai'i). The premature death of the winsome Henry Obookiah (Opukaha'ia) in 1818 and particularly his best-selling biography prompted the historic A.B.C.F.M. (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) to send the first missionaries to Hawai'i.²² So it was in 1820, exactly two hundred years after the English Pilgrims crossed an ocean for the preservation of their faith that their New England descendants crossed another ocean to promulgate their faith.

Providentially, the Native Hawaiians overthrew their own oppressive *kapu* (taboo) religious system in 1819, the year before the First Company's arrival.²³ Although the missionaries arrived when the Hawaiian people were undergoing a religious transition, they encountered a basically spiritual culture. The Hawaiians worshipped and prayed much. There was the rhythm of household prayer each morning and each evening. On the Big Island the male head of the household prayed twice daily, made an offering, took the *ipu o Lono* (gourd of god Lono) filled with food into the center of the men's eating house (*hale mua*), prayed again, then sucked the *'awa* root attached to the

gourd (as drinking from Lono).²⁴

Prayer (*pule*) was woven into each step of canoe making, fishing, and farming with specified *kapu* days of the lunar calendar. Many Hawaiians had their own ancestor gods in addition to the assorted gods and goddesses of varying ranks. Ordinary life was full of occasions for prayer and worship.
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Thus the practice of prayer permeated life. The *haole* ("foreigner", now "white") practice of family worship was familiar regarding prayer. Reading scripture would have been impossible for this oral culture with no written language. Psalm singing, however, would have been close to their *mele* ("song" or "chant"). Saying family table grace would not have been possible prior to the overthrow of the *kapu* system which divided the sexes into separate eating houses and cooking facilities.²⁶ How quickly the *pule* 'ohana practice was adopted was reported by C. S. Stewart, missionary from 1823 to 1825:

The young king, and every chief of any importance, have regular family worship with their respective households morning and evening, never take a meal without thanksgiving, observe the Sabbath with becoming propriety, attend all the religious instructions.

He also described the missionary family practice of early morning and late evening family worship.
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With the Puritan passion for literacy in order to read scripture, the missionaries learned Hawaiian, reduced it to 12 basic English letters, and translated the original Hebrew and Greek texts into Hawaiian.²⁸ Within twenty years of their arrival, the first Bible in Hawaiian was published in 1839.²⁹ The scripture in its entirety became available for public and family worship as well as catechism. Meanwhile, the people with no written language learned to read at a literacy rate that, it is said, exceeded that of the missionaries' homeland. Upon the 155th anniversary of the missionaries' arrival, a Native Hawaiian newspaper columnist observed, "We were an illiterate people, and in 15 years the missionaries made us the most literate nation in the world."³⁰

More importantly the leader of that Pioneer Company of 1820, the Rev. Hiram Bingham, claimed that by 1838 "prayer, morning and evening, prevailed" and "very many" who were not church members practiced family worship in contrast to "some Christian countries" where there are "many professors [claimants] of religion who do not have family devotions." Moreover, memorizing a Bible verse a day was common.³¹ Such heavy memory work was in keeping with a society that preserved its genealogies, history, and wisdom orally.

Toward the end of the century, however, church membership drastically dropped from about

19,000 members to about 5,000 due to both population decline and political upheaval. White Congregationalist church leaders had led or aided the illegal American overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893.³² Nevertheless, Native Hawaiians carried on the *'ohana* tradition into the next century whether in Congregational churches, other churches, or possibly even without attending church, given Bingham's description of how the custom had been absorbed into the society itself.

The Twentieth Century

In this century a surprisingly strong form of Puritanism existed. *Kahu* ("pastor") Akaka related a typical Sunday schedule in his time: morning *'ohana*, then to church for Sunday school and morning worship, back to church at 2:00 "for more," 6:00-7:00 p.m. Christian Endeavor [youth group], 7:30-8:30 p.m. evening worship, then home for evening *'ohana*. Occasionally when done in the Puritan way, *'ohana* became a means to guiding children. Some interviewees spoke of how it bonded the family and lessened the discord.

The following are summaries from oral interviews with Native Hawaiians who practiced *pule 'ohana* while young, predominantly in the Congregationalist setting.³³ All are active U.C.C. church people - lay more than clergy, representing different parts of the state. Their ages range from seventy-six to twenty years, and their stories and childhood islands are reported from the oldest to the youngest.

The Rev. Dr. Abraham Akaka, 76, Pauoa Valley, Honolulu, O'ahu. Before breakfast and after supper, the family of seven children was called to sit on chairs and on the floor. Conducted entirely in Hawaiian, *'ohana* was "God's time" for "God was the head of the family." "We grew up with the understanding that every day begins and ends with the Lord. Every child understood that. Nobody felt good about missing." How Jonathan Edwards would have rejoiced! This was classically Puritan with echoes of Hawaiian religion.

The family began their twenty-minute morning *'ohana* with prayer, reverential silence, asking for God's guidance and thanking God for the new day. Then came memory verses, especially the week's verse from Sunday school. Every child had to offer a verse that was different from anyone else's. One that was always said was "*Aloha ke Akua*" ("God is love"). Another frequently recited verse was "*Aloha ke kahi i kekahi*" ("Love one another"). Then came the singing - a "happy time" for "we loved to sing." As the children matured, they sang in parts.

They closed by kneeling in prayer led by his father, a deacon. He started by thanking God for even the tiniest thing he observed - the food, what people said or did, thus emphasizing the importance of gratitude to God and for what people did. He then prayed for others, "Be with [someone ill or having difficulties] - all these names, real people," then for the church and for the pastor. That he could name names reflected how the parents knew and cared for their neighbors and others. Next he prayed for the family - for "guidance for the day, wisdom, and protection from

harm." His closing "in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord; thine is the kingdom, power, and the glory forever" was the cue for the Lord's Prayer in unison.

In the evening after supper and homework came "visiting" or in the modern Island vernacular, "talking story." They talked about their day - "people, neighbors, and how they were doing." Then followed their half-hour evening *'ohana*, which instead of memory verses included scripture reading mostly by Dad. Echoing Puritan New England custom, favorites were the psalms, Psalms 1, 23, and 100 among others.

Kahu Akaka emphasized that the importance of *'ohana* lay in the "articulation of love for God and the Lord Jesus Christ" and "the spirit of the time of prayer." As absorbed by his family, *'ohana* time love worked within the family - he cannot recall any family conflicts. Upon marrying and creating a family, he continued the table grace "even in restaurants." They also had *'ohana* in English twice a day until the children began leaving for college. In his children's families there is table grace, but no daily *'ohana*. He laments the passing of this custom as well as the other three R's they learned - "respect, responsibility, reverence."

Isaac Kekuewa, 67, Lahaina, Maui. His family had *'ohana* for half an hour twice a week before doing homework at night. There was opening prayer, singing, memory verse, and closing prayer. In his own created family, there is *'ohana* only when there are problems.

Among church families there was also *'ohana* every other week rotating among different homes. Church members (fifteen to thirty people) would be invited (*komo ka'u hale* or "come to my house") for dinner. The host family (mother, father, or one of the children) would lead the opening prayer. Hymns were usually sung in Hawaiian, depending on the leader. Both children and adults recited memory verses interspersed with more singing. Prayer was open to all with the older ones usually praying in Hawaiian; the younger ones, in English. Someone then gave his or her *mana 'o* ("thought") or reflection on some topic taken from a book of the Bible, followed by anyone else adding his or her *mana 'o*. After the last song, the leader closed in prayer. The foregoing is an example of what the Puritans called "private meeting" in the sense that it was not open to the general public. Private meetings were important adjuncts in Puritan spirituality. In Hawai'i such meetings translated into an extended *'ohana* (family).

Aletha Kaohi, 67, Waimea, Kaua'i. *'Ohana* was done in English because speaking in Hawaiian was discouraged during the 1930s. There was opening prayer, talking over the day and its problems, singing, memory verses, and closing prayer. This was done mostly with her father. Since he was away frequently working, her mother took charge and limited it to table grace and nightly bedtime prayers, which took about ten minutes on week nights. On weekends, *'ohana* took about half an hour, especially with more singing.

In Kaohi's created family, she continued the tradition of table grace but only periodically had *'ohana* since she took her children to church. Her husband's side of the family, however, still continues nightly *'ohana*.

The Rev. William Kaina, 60, Kalapana (Puna), Big Island. Every night after supper for up to half an hour, Father would call the family to the living room to sit on the floor or chairs in a circle close together. "Before we go to *'ohana*" prefaced asking about the day and any other family matters. One purpose was to clear the air, to expunge any bad feelings by forgiving and releasing anger. All the eleven children then recited their memory verses (*pauku pa'a na'au*) assigned about two days in advance from the only Bible in the house - Dad's. They sang a song in Hawaiian followed by either parent praying in Hawaiian with everyone joining in on the Lord's Prayer in Hawaiian. Another song might be added.

With his own created family, *Kahu* Kaina continued the nightly post-supper *'ohana* but none of the three children who did get married continued the practice in their families. Nevertheless, at the large family gatherings at his house, they still have *'ohana*. He, too, laments the passing of the *'ohana* practice as he thinks that it bonded families. They did not have runaways then.

The Rev. James Merseberg, 60, Waimea (South Kohala), Big Island. Though not specifically a Congregationalist, he grew up somewhat ecumenically and did have *'ohana* at home. Morning *'ohana* took place before leaving for the day except for his father who left at 3:30 a.m. to work as a cowboy. For fifteen minutes they sang a song in Hawaiian or English, read the scripture assigned in their devotional booklet, listened to his mother's praying in English (her elders forbade her to speak Hawaiian as a child) and ended with the Lord's Prayer.

At bedtime, Dad could join them for *'ohana* which lasted up to half an hour. They sang more songs and recited the same memory verse, followed by prayer kneeling around the parental bed. Mom prayed "long" but others prayed "short." The Lord's Prayer was said in unison. Also, wherever they ate, they always had grace before meals, led mostly by Mom, Uncle or Auntie.

In *Kahu* Merseberg's created family, they said grace before meals and had fifteen-minute *'ohana* periodically until the eldest left for college. They mostly used *The Upper Room* devotional manual supplemented by the Lord's Prayer and one or two songs.

Walter Kawaa, 50, Halawa Valley, Moloka'i. They sang grace in Hawaiian before meals. Every night for forty-five to sixty minutes, they had *'ohana*. They sang hymns usually in both English and Hawaiian, said their own memory verses in both languages, a psalm learned in school (only Psalm 23 in Hawaiian was permissible in school because Hawaiian was banned), and scripture in English. Both parents chose the scriptures. Prayer included the Lord's Prayer in Hawaiian.

In Kawa'a's own created family, they did not practice *'ohana* because of too many distractions, such as children's sports. However, they do sing grace in Hawaiian before meals. When the larger clan gathers, there is *'ohana*.

Eugenie Keanu, 43, Palolo Valley, Honolulu, O'ahu. Mostly, her mother and widowed grandmother led the *'ohana*. Although Dad was frequently away working, he would participate

when he was home. Both morning and evening *'ohana* included memory verses mostly in Hawaiian and prayer ending with the Lord's Prayer in English. Morning *'ohana* was "very short," about ten minutes, but evening *'ohana* was twice as long. It included scripture reading and longer prayers, especially from her grandmother and mother. She recalls falling asleep. Table grace was said in Hawaiian. With both Grandmother and Dad gone, she and Mom do morning devotions only, using *The Upper Room* for about fifteen minutes.

Jadie Lee, 38, Hilo, Big Island. There was *'ohana* only with the larger family on special occasions because they did not follow the Hawaiian side of the family. Her parents, however, had devotions together every morning; the children had their devotions individually. Family grace was said before meals.

Lovette Kau'inohea Ubando, 20, Kahuku, O'ahu. Mother began *'ohana* only after the children became Christians as teenagers. Three times a week at bedtime, Mom gathers the family, including Dad, to use the *Daily Bread* devotional. They take turns reading the scripture and devotional text, including the printed prayer. Their personal prayers follow in regard to the day's events, work, family, weather, and intercessory prayer for the sick. They close with the Lord's Prayer. Sometimes someone will say a memory verse. Lovette hopes she can continue this practice when she has her own family.

Her mother, **Jonnette Nalani Ubando, 44, Hau'ula, O'ahu,** thinks *'ohana* helps the family develop closeness, "being attuned to each other" as they talk. More than just family communication, she says it is understood that *'ohana* is "with God." Although she did not grow up with *'ohana*, she did grow up with *ho'ike* ("show"), a quarterly gathering within a geographic area to show what Bible verses and songs the Sunday school children had learned. *Ho'ike 'ohana* or "family show" was added later.

Conclusions

As can be seen from the various responses, *'ohana* was consistent in its dailiness and vigor among the older people interviewed. The strength of the practice, however, varied even among the older ones as they reared their families. The trend is definitely toward being less frequent, less involved or non-existent. What may be hopeful is the youngest interviewee. Three times a week may not be much, but it is likely much more than most families attempt.

Some reasons for decline lie in the crumbling of other supports. Back then, Sunday school assigned memory verses and Sunday schools held *ho'ike* to motivate and put zest into their weekly learning. The occasional *ho'ike 'ohana* also affirmed the families' efforts. Back then, there was not such a pointed separation of church and state so that there was fear of regulation infraction or political incorrectness. Basic Christian literature - the Lord's Prayer, psalms - could be taught comfortably. One interviewee said his public schoolteacher was also his pastor in

his rural area. In other words, social institutions were not at odds with each other.

If our present-day churches are to strive for a holistic manner of Christian discipleship and formation, family life must be included. Fuller Seminary professor Dennis Guernsey has stated that our values (how we grow up in our families) are a surer predictor of our behavior than our professed belief. And Pacific School of Religion professor Randi Walker has observed that the search in our U.C.C. churches is for "congruence" - "a unity between what we say we are and how others experience us." "Spiritual life," she concludes, "is the road to congruence."³⁴

Our Puritan forebears sought such congruence by other names. They also knew that the family was the key. A post-Edwardsian writer, Alexander Fletcher, wrote, "The family is the nursery of the church. If the nursery be neglected, what in time will become of the gardens and the orchards?"³⁵ The practice of *pule 'ohana* may help promote the integration of faith and practice as well as strengthen the family.

Pule 'ohana, then, is a valuable Native Hawaiian heritage to be shared with all of us. In the recent tide of Hawaiian Renaissance, the State of Hawai'i, Department of Education, began a *kupuna* ("grandparent"; i.e., elder) program in which Native Hawaiian elders teach Hawaiian culture to all public school children regardless of ethnicity. I have observed that the teaching includes values of respect for others, for property, and for authority. Perhaps reverence is another value for the *kupuna* to teach this generation by taking the leadership for *'ohana* in their multi-generational households or in the old Hawaiian way of having grandparents teach grandchildren.

In the end, however, the basic responsibility lies with parents. Puritan pastor Richard Mather imagined a Judgment Day for parents through the words of their neglected children:

All this that we here suffer is through you: You should have taught us the things of God, and did not ... and now we are damned for it: Woe unto us that we had such Carnall and carelss parents, and woe unto you that had no more Compassion and pittty to prevent the everlasting misery of your own Children.³⁶

Another Puritan pastor, Roger Clap, in advising his progeny toward the end of his life, was more positive:

Worship God in your Families. Do not neglect Family Prayer, Morning and Evening. And be sure to Read some part of the Word of God every day in your Families, in ordinary course. And be sure to Instruct your Families in the Grounds of Religion. And be yourselves Patterns, by your holy Lives and Conversations, unto your Children.³⁷

Kahu Akaka can certainly attest to his parents being those patterns of hospitality and care. They

made *poi* from the *taro* his grandfather grew and shared it with neighbors. His mother was always inviting people in to eat even though they had very little. Once a younger brother protested, "We don't have anything to eat!" She replied, "We have water."

Alexander Fletcher wrote a long forward to *Family Devotions*, a sizable devotional manual brought to Hawaii by a missionary. He argued to convince readers of the importance and benefits of such devotions:

It restrains from vice and maintains that order and decency which are of the greatest use. It brings God and salvation daily before the minds of unconvinced members of families

and helps make relationships "more sacred, intimate, and endearing."³⁸

Fletcher acknowledged the difficulty of family devotions. He gave instruction on how to perform family devotions and addressed the excuses that no one else was doing it or of being too busy. Anticipating the "instant" modern life, he wrote, "If you cannot pray for the space of five minutes, pray for the space of one."³⁹ At least we can begin somewhere.

A source already in print is the Hawaiian hymnal, *Na Himeni Haipule Hawaii*, which contains five orders for worship "for families, small groups, or individuals," including orders for "the first day of school or just before an examination"["!], "when someone is away from home," and "when someone is sick."⁴⁰ Our own U.C.C. *Book of Worship* might include a family order of worship in future editions if only to alert pastors to the notion of family devotions.⁴¹

The times may be calling for a reset - to look at where we have been as a church, to look at our roots in order to be able to ascertain our times and winds. Where is the Spirit blowing? How can we know unless we put ourselves in the way of the Spirit? Our forebears basically knew the way to proceed. They sought relationship with God and within community. They took responsibility for themselves and for their children. We can do no less.⁴²

Endnotes

- 1 *Pule 'ohana* is pronounced poo-lay oh-ha-nah. The vowels are pronounced as pure vowel sounds - "a" as in lah; "e," lay; "i," lee; "o," low; and "u," loo. Vowel combinations are usual diphthongs. The main letters used are a, e, i, o, u, p, k, h, l, m, n, and w. The recent practice of some publishers to use the glottal stop ' clearly marks the separation of vowel sounds in vowel combinations. All Hawaiian word definitions are taken from Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert with others, *New Pocket Hawaiian Dictionary: With Concise Grammar and Given Names in Hawaiian* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992).
- 2 Interview with Rev. Dr. Abraham Akaka, Honolulu, January 1994.
- 3 Obviously, the practice of family devotions reaches further back than the seventeenth century and is likely derived from our Roman Catholic and Jewish antecedents.
- 4 John von Rohr, *The Shaping of American Congregationalism 1620-1957* (Cleveland: Pilgrim Press, 1992), pp. 53, 55, 107.
- 5 Richard Lovelace, *The American Pietism of Cotton Mather: Origins of American Evangelicalism* (Washington, D.C.: Christian University Press, 1979), p. 9.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 128.
- 7 Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *The Practice of Piety: Puritan Devotional Disciplines in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), p. 144.
- 8 Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, I, pp. 277-278, as quoted in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family: Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 137.
- 9 Richard Baxter, *Gildas Salvianus*, pp. 85-87, as quoted in Hambrick-Stowe, p. 144.
- 10 W. C. Ford, ed., *Diary of Cotton Mather*, I, p. 135, as quoted in Hambrick-Stowe, p. 145.
- 11 Hambrick-Stowe, pp. 145-147.
- 12 Geo[rge] Web[be], "A Short Direction for the Daily Exercise of a Christian" in Ri[chard] Ro[gers] et al., *A Garden of Spiritual Flowers*, p. 113, as quoted in Hambrick-Stowe, p. 147.
- 13 *Idem*, pp. 147-148, as quoted in Hambrick-Stowe, p. 148.
- 14 Hambrick-Stowe, p. 148.
- 15 von Rohr, pp. 60-61.
- 16 Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, Vol. 4: *The Great Awakening*, ed. by C. C. Goen, "Some Thoughts Concerning the Revival" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 487; "covenant" on p. 553.
- 17 *Ibid.*, pp. 455-456.
- 18 Elisabeth D. Dodds, *Marriage to a Difficult Man: The "Uncommon Union" of Jonathan and Sarah Edwards* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), p. 39, quote from p. 48.
- 19 *Ibid.*, p. 50, "grace" from p. 36; "wife" from p. 56.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 38, "Dwight" from p. 171.
- 21 Edwin Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah...Aged 26 Years*, (Honolulu: Woman's Board of Missions for the Pacific Islands, 1968), p. 17.
- 22 Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Missionary Album: Portraits and Biographical Sketches of American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands*, rev. 1937 (Honolulu: Hawaiian

- Mission Children's Society, 1969), p. 7. Photos and data on the twelve missionary companies arriving 1820-1848.
- 23 William DeWitt Alexander, "Overthrow of the Ancient Tabu System in the Hawaiian Islands," *Twenty-fifth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1916* (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1917), p. 37. Local historian Alexander wrote much and gives a more detailed account than found in most history books.
 - 24 George Hu'e'u Sanford Kanahahele, *Ku Kanaka - Stand Tall: A Search for Hawaiian Values* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press & Waiaha Foundation, 1986), p. 110.
Edwin Handy and Mary Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u, Hawaii* (Wellington, New Zealand: The Polynesian Society, 1953), p. 96. Classic reference.
 - 25 David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson, 2nd ed., (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, reprint 1992), pp. 81-85, 126-134, 208-210. Classic reference.
Mary Kawena Pukui *et al.*, *Nana I Ke Kumu* (Look to the Source), 2 vol. (Honolulu: Hui Hanai of the Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 35-43 on "aumakua" (ancestor gods); vol. 2, pp. 121-143 on "*Hemolele A Me Ke Ola*: Holiness and Healing - *Na Pule*: Prayers." Basic reference geared for helping professions; modern authority, Mary Pukui.
 - 26 The *kapu* (taboo) religious system of the Hawaiians was particularly harsh on commoners and women. Many *kapu* were capital offenses. A commoner's shadow falling on an *ali'i* (chief's) belongings or a woman's eating of certain foods like bananas was punishable by death. The most burdensome *kapu* kept men and women from eating together. The male head of the household prepared his wife's oven, made the *poi* from *taro* (though she knew how to do it) and started the cooking only to have to repeat the process for his own oven. The men and boys aged five and over dined in separate houses from the women and children (Malo, pp.27-28, 56).
 - 27 C. S. Stewart. *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands During the Years, 1823, 1824, & 1825*, 3rd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for Friends of the Library of Hawaii, facsimile repr. 1970), pp. 323-324.
 - 28 Alfred F. Judd, "Translation of the Address of Hon. A.F. Judd, on the Jubilee of the Hawaiian Bible, delivered before the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, at Kawaiahao Church, Sunday evening, June 9, 1889" in the Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, June 1889. (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board, 1889), p. 56.
 - 29 Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 3rd ed. (Canandaigua, New York: H. D. Goodwin, 1855), p. 531.
 - 30 Samy Amalu, Honolulu "Advertiser", 23 October 1975 as quoted in David M. Stowe, "Background for an Apology to Native Hawaiian People," *New Conversations*, vol. 15, no. 1, Spring 1993, p. 45. Over the years I have read many references to this achievement but have not yet come across data to support the statement.
 - 31 Bingham, p. 523.
 - 32 Norman W. Jackson, "On the 100th Anniversary of the Overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani of the Kingdom of Hawaii," and Andrew Walsh, "Congregational Influences in Hawaii (1820-1893)," *New Conversations*, vol. 15, no. 1, Spring 1993, data on p. 16, Walsh's reasons

on p. 40.

- 33 Interviews with Native Hawaiian members of the Hawai'i Conference, United Church of Christ, Honolulu, Hawai'i on the Islands of O'ahu and Kaua'i, January 1994. Childhood spent by island as follows: four from O'ahu, three from the Big Island (Island of Hawai'i) and one each from Maui, Kaua'i, and Moloka'i.
- 34 Randi Jones Walker, "The Roots of U.C.C. Spirituality," *IMPACT: A Journal of Thought of Disciples of Christ on the Pacific Slope*, No. 23 (1989), p. 24.
- 35 Alexander Fletcher, *Family Devotions*, (n.p., n.d.), p. xiv. Found in Missionary Collection (brought by missionaries) Mission Houses Museum Libraries, Honolulu. A Pogue Family bequest, front and back pages missing; apparently fifty-two weeks of morning and evening devotions, Sunday through Saturday; contains scripture selections, very short commentaries, and longer prayers for each session.
- 36 Richard Mather, "Farewell Exhortation," pp. 10-11, as quoted in Morgan, p. 92.
- 37 Roger Clap, *Roger Clap's Memoirs*, p. 48, as quoted in Hambrick-Stowe, p. 143.
- 38 Fletcher, p. xiv.
- 39 *Ibid.*, p. xvii.
- 40 Hawai'i Conference United Church of Christ, *Na Himeni Haipule Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Conference United Church of Christ, reprint 1983), "Services, Prayers, Readings for Congregational Worship, Sunday School, Ohana, Hoike, and Personal Devotion", pp. 14-16. *Mahalo* ("thanks") to Rev. James Merseberg for reminding me about this section in the back.
- 41 *Mahalo* to Rev. Dr. Christopher Eng for pointing out the lack of a family worship order of the *Book of Worship: United Church of Christ*.
- 42 Of the three sites holding special Hawaiian collections in Honolulu, I would recommend search in this order:
 - a. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum library and archives.
 - b. Mission Houses Museum libraries of two separate collections (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society and Hawaiian Historical Society).
 - c. University of Hawai'i-Manoa, Hawaiian and Pacific Collection, fifth floor.Also, the main State of Hawai'i library is a long block away from the Missions Houses; State of Hawai'i Archives, a half-block from the main library.

Native Hawaiian historians of note are I'i, John Papa (1800?-1870) Kamakau, Samuel (1815-1876), Kepelino (1830?-187) Catholic; Malo, David (1793?-1853) Pukui, Mary K. (1895-1990?). Fornander, Abraham was a translator.

There is the inherent historical problem of ascertaining the extent and frequency of social practices in an oral culture. We do the best we can. I assume a basic spiritual and social receptivity to account for the phenomenal success of the Hawaiian mission.