Lilo i Kapa - Transformation and Continuity in Early-Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Kapa, 1810-1850

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Volume I – Text

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Abstract

“Lilo i Kapa - Transformation and Continuity in Early-Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Kapa, 1810-1850” re-examines the early-nineteenth century as a period of kapa resilience and creativity, a stark contrast from previous literature that has deemed the period as one of kapa disappearance and decline. This art-historical study looks at changes and continuity of Hawaiian self-presentation with kapa (how individuals intentionally construct themselves in a way to be seen by a larger community), even as Hawaiian kapu (prohibitions) around dress altered and as foreign clothing from merchants and missionaries arrived onshore. I identify and describe previously unrecognised genres of kapa created during the nineteenth century that use imported materials in their creation (e.g. scissors, dyes), reflect new types of clothing (e.g. dresses, bonnets) and include hand-drawn designs that imitate foreign cloth (e.g. paisley, plaid). The methodological approach used in this project utilises both Hawaiian and English-language sources to contextualise surviving examples of nineteenth-century kapa in museum collections in Hawai‘i and the continental United States. This approach of bringing multilingual textual and material sources together provides new research that both contemporary kapa practitioners and museums may find compelling and useful to understanding the trajectory of kapa making over time.

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Statement on the Impact of COVID-19

This thesis was completed during the global COVID-19 pandemic, which led to unexpected changes for my research plans and relationships with other academics.

Travel restrictions led to a limitation in research visits. My research plan intended to locate and research kapa in collections in England and Europe in Fall 2020 and Spring 2021. However, I was unable to leave Honolulu and enter England due to travel restrictions. As a result of this, field work conducted in the United States became central to the thesis. Readers will notice that the collections described in this thesis were largely located in Honolulu, Massachusetts and Washington D.C. In future research, my hope is to accomplish this next phase of research in England and Europe in the future.

Although I was fortunate to have been able to conduct field research in Fall 2020 and February 2021, COVID-19 restrictions prohibited my ability to revisit museum collections and archives for extended study in the collections. For example, although the Hawai‘i State Archives reopened in Fall 2021, the reading room was open to a limited number of researchers for a shortened period of time. These new restrictions did not allow for long term engagement with the research materials, which remain largely undigitised and inaccessible outside of the physical archive. Honolulu museums enacted their own COVID-19 rules, which further limited my ability to conduct follow up visits with the collections. Bishop Museum’s Ethnology department, for example, was closed to outside visitors until Spring 2022. Because of this closure, I was unable to make detailed measurements or better photos of the museum’s kapa collections.

The pandemic severely limited my ability to form collegial relations with thought partners. My last in person visit to the Sainsbury Research Unit (SRU) was in February 2020 and I have been unable to return since then. I had hoped to share and circulate preliminary phases of

my work of this thesis with colleagues in the field and within the SRU. While virtual meetings have played an important role in maintaining my relationships with my advisers, I regrettably was unable to interact with others within the SRU and fellow colleagues across the U.K. and Europe as this project was being developed.

Preface

My first project as an Ethnology intern at Bishop Museum in Honolulu was rehousing two kapa sample books compiled by William Tufts Brigham, the first curator of the institution and a recognised scholar on the material. Sampling kapa developed as a European collecting practice in the late eighteenth century as kapa from across the Pacific moved into both private and public European collections. The practice later transformed into an (anthro-)museological practice where institutions could cut pieces of kapa sheets they had in their collections and exchange examples with other museums. Compiled sample books showed a broad range of kapa diversity – its colours, its patterns and its thicknesses. Prior to being introduced to Brigham's books, I knew very little about kapa and the world around it. But this introductory experience paved the way for the larger questions that stayed with me and became central to my post-graduate research studies.

While attending the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa as a Master's student, I returned to the Ethnology department as collections technician. A large part of my job was helping to facilitate collections access visits for researchers and practitioners. There was never a shortage of requests, and researchers and practitioners who visited the kapa collections always came with a myriad of questions on kapa that went beyond being about provenance and accession records. They were curious about kapa *history*, an area of research to which ethnographic reports and contemporary secondary sources on kapa had paid limited attention. As a historian of nineteenth-century Hawai‘i, I saw the academic and community interest in kapa history as an area that I could contribute to from an art-historical perspective. I wanted to contextualise the kapa in museum collections *within* Hawaiian history. It was a not a complicated idea, but it was relatively novel.

My hope is that this research is a resource for all those interested in kapa and the trajectory of various Hawaiian crafts during the nineteenth century. Hawaiian art history has been largely written from a salvage ethnographic perspective; concerning crafts that have died and decayed. My work challenges this notion and re-examines the early nineteenth century as a period of kapa resilience and creativity. I hope that this reframing helps Hawaiians, and especially kapa makers present and future, dispute assumptions that there is a lack of connectivity between ourselves in the current moment and the art forms of our culture. Our kūpuna, like us, continued to make their works in the face of change and I hope that this humble thesis may inspire others to see kapa as a part of our ongoing tradition and history. E ola!

Acknowledgements

The completion of this post-graduate degree marks the end of thirteen consecutive years of higher education. I see this project as a significant capstone in my career as a historian and as a kanaka. I have many people to mahalo for getting me to this point.

My first aloha is for the art historians who provided me with a foundational skill set. I am deeply thankful to Philip Eliasoph who saw my potential and pushed me from the East Coast and into the care of my professors at Occidental College. Nancy Marie Mithlo, Melody Rodari and Kelema Lee Moses were my mentors and role models during my undergraduate years. They are incredibly powerful scholars who provided much needed advice and guidance on how to make scholarship work for both community and curation. They made a space for the next generation of female art historians and I am beyond fortunate to have been led by their guidance.

I am beholden to three mentors of mine who have gotten me to this point. Noelani Arista is my kumu and meʻe and to whom I credit my approach to research and methodology to. Over the past seven years, she has taught me the power of language and how to be selective with my words in order to be effective and skillful. She taught me how to be respectful of the knowledge that our kūpuna have preserved for us and how to engage with said knowledge ethically and respectfully. She taught me how to carry myself as a historian who has something important to say. I owe my experience in the museum field to Kamalu du Preez and Marques Hanalei Marzan who began mentoring me at the Bishop Museum as an undergraduate. Both Kamalu and Marques committed their careers to training up the next generation of kanaka museum professionals. I am humbled to be one of the beneficiaries of their time, care and aloha. They instilled in me a responsibility for both the objects in the museum collections we care for and the people who are still genealogically connected to them. Many would call this an Indigenous

approach to museology, but I see it also as their aloha for kānaka and poʻe Moananuiākea past, present and future. I should note that all three of these mentors were students of the late Kumu John Keola Lake who was a notable educator, teacher and knowledge bearer. While I never had the privilege to meet Kumu Lake, I see his impact on my own life through the students whom he led and nurtured.

For my ability to speak and learn my native tongue, I am grateful to my kumu ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi: Uʻilani Bobbit, Alicia Perez, Kaliko Baker and Kahikina de Silva. Each of my kumu had different styles of teaching Hawaiian which pushed me out of my comfort zone in different ways. I want to especially mahalo my Hawaiian-language editor, Iāsona Ellinwood. Iāsona and I have worked on many different translation projects over the past five years, but the translations for this thesis were vastly different from anything we had worked on together previously. I appreciate him for agreeing to come on this journey to the early-nineteenth century with me. Our discussions about translations were not only an invaluable part of my thesis, but also to language learning as a whole. Because of his generosity, I am a much better Hawaiian-language translator then when I first started.

I give my deepest thanks to my hoapili moʻolelo Terava Casey, Iāsona Ellinwood, Halena Kapuni-Reynolds and Ami Mulligan. This group of budding academics represents the vanguard of Hawaiian scholarship. Their work ethic and commitment to utilising historical sources is unstoppable. They have acted as springboards for my ideas and provided countless sources that they thought may be relevant to my research. I owe my aloha nunui to Noah Dolim and Kauwila Mahi for their continual support and sanity during the dissertation and editing process. I am blessed to call them not only my hoa but also my constant collaborators and confidants. I look forward to seeeing their own research bloom forth in their respective disciplines and fields.

The Sainsbury Research Unit (SRU) was the ideal institution for my post-graduate studies. I am eternally grateful to the Robert Sainsbury Scholarship board for providing me with a scholarship award that made this programme possible for me. The SRU was a warm and incredibly collaborative space that I did not know I needed until I arrived in Norwich. I was incredibly impressed by my professors, colleagues and the educational environment that I got to be a part of. I give my aloha nunui to my first and secondary advisers Karen Jacobs and Steven Hooper for guiding me through the past four years. Karen Jacobs provided me much needed guidance, direction and advice on *how* to write a thesis and how to create flow within and between chapters. I was comforted in knowing that there was always a monthly meeting where I could feel supported and guided by an adviser who had my best interests at heart. I will remember all those Teams meetings very fondly. Steven Hooper had a way of making a direct comment or question that pushed the way I thought about my work. He encouraged me to take the plunge at certain points of this thesis journey and to boldly say what I wanted to say. Both Jacobs and Hooper gave me invaluable skills that I take with me. I look forward to continuing to work with the SRU network as an alumna and colleague in the field. I owe a large debt to Lynne Crossland for editing this work and polishing it into the form you see today.

During my field research year, the museum network was integral in helping me access Hawaiian object collections for the case studies of this thesis. In Honolulu, I owe a great deal of thanks to Beth Poʻoloa and Molly Rowe at the Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Tory Latilla and Jesi Lujan Bennett at the Honolulu Museum of Art and Kamalu du Preez, Marques Marzan and Madison Salmon at Bishop Museum. In the summer of 2021, Joshua Bell and the staff at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History hosted me in Washington D.C. and providing access with their collections. I spent a month travelling across

Massachusetts in the spring of 2020 to locate Hawaiian material in many different repositories. I would like to thank the staff at the Nantucket Historical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, the Peabody Essex Museum and Historic New England for the time and hospitality.

Lastly but certainly not least, I honour and thank my people for their support and patience. I travelled quite far to pursue this phase of my education but their love and support made that distance feel less severe. I would like to thank my parents, Wayne and Elaine, for emphasising the importance of education and allowing me the space to carve a path for myself. I owe a great deal to Kamea, my professional partner and my partner in life, for getting me to the finish line. Lastly, I thank my kūpuna for urging me into this profession and field. I feel their presence around me constantly and I am grateful to have their encouragement and guidance.

A Note on Language, Terminology and Translation

This thesis focuses on the period between 1810 and 1850 during the Hawaiian Kingdom of Hawai‘i. I use the term Hawaiian, kanaka and Native Hawaiians throughout this thesis to describe Indigenous people of Hawai‘i after the unification of the Hawaiian archipelago by Kamehameha I in 1810. In chapters prior to the formation of the Hawaiian Kingdom (Chapters One, Two and Three), I use the term Islanders to describe people living in what is now recognised as the Hawaiian archipelago but were not from the island of Hawai‘i, the most eastern island in the Hawaiian archipelago. I also use Hawaiian to describe cultural practices that persisted into the ninteenth century and were developed in the Hawaiian archipelago by Hawaiian people.

In order to normalise the use of Hawaiian language in literature written on Hawai‘i and Hawaiian material culture, I do not italicise Hawaiian words. I align myself with other contemporary Hawaiian scholars and use standardised Hawaiian orthography and diacritical markings (e.g. kahakō, ‘okina, with the exception of passages from original Hawaiian-language primary sources (e.g. newspapers, letters) in order to reflect the original content of the works. A definition is included with the first appearance of a Hawaiian word in the text. Later uses of the same Hawaiian word will not include a definition unless when offering a different definition of the word. In some cases, especially in Hawaiian translations, I preserve the Hawaiian word using brackets to alert Hawaiian readers of the word choice that may be of interest to them.

All translations from Hawaiian to English are my own unless otherwise noted. Original Hawaiian texts, of interest to Hawaiian speakers, are provided in Volume II, Appendix 3.

Introduction – Just Like the Olden Days: Pahukula's Kuina Kapa

> Call out, all of you who wear kapa sheets in the year 1861
> (Pahukula 1861) [Trans. Intro.I].

On a November evening in 1861, a Hawaiian man named W. S. Pahukula of Kamakela, Oʻahu, prepared to leave for Sunday service at Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu, Oʻahu. If Kawaihaʻo Church was the preeminent Congregational church in the Hawaiian Kingdom and the place of worship for the aliʻi (chiefs), Kaumakapili was the church for the makaʻāinana, a term widely used for the common, working layperson. Objects and spaces intended for the aliʻi and their mana (authority) required the use of different materials and styles to communicate a visual contrast to objects and spaces used by the makaʻāinana. This stylistic distinction was evident between these two churches located near Honolulu harbour. Kawaihaʻo was built in a neoclassical style with a bell tower and clock and primarily constructed with hewn white coral slabs harvested from Honolulu harbour. Kaumakapili, located on the corner of Smith and Beretania streets, was a mud adobe structure with a thatched roof. Yet while Kawaihaʻo undoubtedly won in regard to beauty and construction, there was one feature of Kaumakapili that was unbeatable. The size of Kaumakapili was something to be reckoned with. The people's church could seat 2500 people in order to provide for the thousands of Hawaiians who moved to the Honolulu port area for work. Kaumakapili was thus not only a place of worship but also a community gathering centre, a town hall and a school.

As the start time for the evening 7:30 pm service approached, Pahukula pondered what he should wear. This particular evening was cold and Pahukula wanted something that would keep him warm. By the early 1860s, the "wardrobes" of the Hawaiians were global worlds in and of themselves filled with foreign cloth and clothing. The options of foreign cloth and clfothes were

made possible by the efforts of merchants who were appealing to the Hawaiian market. Yet despite his options, Pahukula opted to wear a kuina kapa, or a set of five layered sheets of Hawaiian barkcloth that are sewn together down one side (Brigham 1911, 217). Pahukula wrote that wearing this kuina to keep him warm was reminiscent of an earlier time, "just like the olden days" (Pahukula 1861).

Although Pahukula did not describe what the kuina kapa he was wearing looked like, the presence of the kapa in Kaumakapili was enough to turn heads. When Pahukula entered the church, the entire congregation turned to look at what he was wearing. Reactions to Pahukula's native garb were instant, and the mass of people began to laugh. One brave parishioner approached Pahukula and said, "You are just shameless wearing kapa in front of a group of people because the old time is gone and this is a new time" (Pahukula 1861) [Trans. Intro.II]. Pahukula did not respond lightly to this insult, and without hesitation, critiqued the clothing the man who offended him was wearing.

> I said, "Why did you come to this assembly with a beaver hat, long-tailed dinner coat, a white vest, broadcloth pants, but no shoes on your feet? Because this is a conceited time". Then he immediately stopped speaking to me, and so I said in my mind, "Perhaps God is angered by wearing a sheet of kapa inside the church and the person wearing clothes without shoes might bring Him joy when he enters the church" (Pahukula 1861) [Trans. Intro.III].

Pahukula was very disturbed by the snickering he and his kapa had caused. The ill feeling did not dissipate. To tell his side of the story and defend his clothing choice, Pahukula wrote a scathing critique of his fellow churchgoers in a submission to *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, a Hawaiian-language newspaper to which Pahukula was a frequent contributor.[1] Hawaiian-

[1] Pahukula was a real person who used his own name in his newspaper submissions. W. S. Pahukula later went on to run for political office in the kingdom legislature in the late-nineteenth century W. S. Pahukula, vol. Box 5, Folder 2 - Broadsides and Flyers (Bishop Museum, No date).

language newspapers were the cornerstone of Hawaiian-language print culture in the nineteenth century. In 1834, the Sandwich Islands Mission printed the first Hawaiian-language newspaper, *Ka Lama Hawaii* (1834-1841), followed by its second newspaper, *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (1834-1839). While the editors and printers of these two publications were a small group they played a crucial role in introducing Hawaiians to the format of the newspaper, a compact and succinct package of text that could disseminate information and ideas widely. It became quickly evident to the Mission that their readership, who were aptly called "poʻe puni nupepa", or "people who craved newspapers" wanted to engage with the content, not just read it (Nogelmeier 2010, 79). So, while the initial purpose of these newspapers was to communicate Christianity and lessons on the Western world to Hawaiian readers, Hawaiians like Pahukula began writing to the editors with submissions on a wide variety of topics, effectively beginning a lively newspaper culture in which information about the past, present and future coexisted on printed pages.[2]

It is because of Pahukula's need to defend himself that we have an extremely detailed account of this incident that concerned kapa. An interaction, if not competition, between cloth and clothing is described in Pahukula's recollection. The majority of Kaumakapili congregants who were wearing Western clothing associated kapa with a time period that had since past. They deemed kapa as unfashionable in comparison to the foreign clothes worn in the present "new time". Yet, while other congregants felt compelled to mock his kapa, Pahukula remained steadfast in his choice, to the point that he publicly defended himself and provided his justification in the newspaper. Pahukula did not curb his feelings towards his critics. He called those who teased him ignorant (naʻaupō) and described those who wore foreign clothes, beaver

[2] Newspaper scholar Helen Chapin states that the importation of Hawaiian print culture ushered with it American ideals of freedom of conscience and speech Hele Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 18.

hats and broadcloth suits to church as having filth in their hearts, and perhaps even worse, as those who were arrogant.

The record of Pahukula's alleged fashion faux pas and his edgy response is an important window into nineteenth-century Hawaiian fashion history. It offers an opportunity to investigate the changes in kapa due to the introduction of foreign cloth and clothing. But it also challenges a well-established narrative on Hawaiian kapa that has emphasised the decline and demise of Hawaiian kapa in the nineteenth century versus the changing and persistent uses of kapa. What was the trajectory of Hawaiian kapa in the first half of the nineteenth century that led up to this moment at Kaumakapili Church?

This thesis aims to address this question by situating this research within the field of dress studies. Joanne B. Eicher and Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins have proposed that dress studies not only includes body supplements such as garments, jewelery and accessories but also acts of body modification which includes hair dyeing, scarification, piercing, surgeries and tattooing (Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1992, 1-2). Eicher and Roach-Higgins argue that the role of dress is to act as a communicator of identity, one's own subjective interpretations of self (Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1992, 4-5).

This thesis focuses specifically on dress supplements used within the context of self-presentation, a concept I borrow from the field of Psychology (Schlenker 2003, 492-493, 513). Although this thesis is not concerned with analysing the psychology of nineteenth-century Hawaiians around dress per se, I am interested in self-presentation because of its emphasis on how individuals intentionally construct themselves in a way to be seen by a larger community. For example, in Pahukula's incident at Kaumakapili, self-presentation occurs on three different levels. The first is in the church itself where Pahukula makes a decision to dress using kapa and

challenge those who did not agree with his choice. The second level of self-presentation is the way that Pahukula presented the event to members of the public who were not at Kaumakapili at the time of the incident. The third level is Pahukula's presentation of self in relation to the God he references. Again, while understanding psychology is not the aim of this research, recognising the intentionality and agency of Hawaiians through dress is a goal of this work.

Highlighting the connection between the individual and the larger community is particularly important for the time period this thesis is situated in.[3] This transition was neither swift or smooth, and analysing the dress changes between social classes around kapa offers a space to engage with the broader social changes of the period. I introduce and assess two of these social classes, the aliʻi and makaʻāinana, later in this introduction.

To return to dress, I utilise Valerie Cumming, C.W. Wilmington and P.E. Cunnington's definition of cloth as a foundation for this thesis: fabric and material made using natural fibres through a number of methods including weaving, knitting, felting, braiding, plaiting and beating (Cumming, Wilmington, and Cunnington 2017, 63). This broad definition allows for the exploration between the two types of cloth that Pahukula himself juxtaposes: the Indigenous Hawaiian cloth known as kapa, and what was considered foreign cloth in nineteenth-century Hawaiʻi. A number of different foreign cloth varieties including cottons, silks and woollens, will be introduced throughout this thesis. These varieties of foreign cloth were imported to the islands.

[3] A good example of this transition from communal living to individualism was with the privatisation of Hawaiian land, a phenomenon referred to as the Great Mahele of 1848. Scholars have written extensively on this topic Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana—Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014); Jon J. Chinen, *The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land Division of 1848* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1958); Jocelyn Linnekin, *Sacred queens and women of consequence: rank, gender, and colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990); Robert H. Stauffer, *Kahana: How the Land Was Lost* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2018).

Readers will notice that at various points in the text that a distinction is made between "foreign cloth" and "foreign clothing". I define "foreign clothing" as non-Hawaiian styles of dress made out of cloth foreign to Hawai‘i. I use the term "ready-made garment" to describe non-Hawaiian style clothing that was made with the intention of being purchased or traded for with Hawaiians, which is different from foreign style clothing that was self-made by Hawaiians (e.g. sewn at home).

Kapa in Polynesia and Hawai‘i

This thesis investigates how kapa making and use changed during the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly the period 1810 to 1850. But before presenting the specific questions investigated in this research, the history and manufacture of barkcloth in Polynesia and Hawai‘i up to the early-nineteenth century will first be summarised.

Barkcloth is a fibrous cloth made from the inner bark of trees. Knowledge of barkcloth was circulated across the Pacific with trans-oceanic migration and resulted in the establishment of barkcloth production across Polynesia (Eisele and Preez 2017, 405; Kooijman 1972, 3-5). In the differnt archipelagos where production thrived, barkcloth took on different regional names including ‘ahu in Tahiti, ka‘u in Mangareva and siapo in Sāmoa (Kooijman 1972, 4, 8, 84).[4]

In Hawai‘i, barkcloth is called kapa. Hawaiians used a variety of different trees to make kapa, but the preferred tree species were wauke (*Broussonetia papyrifera)* and māmaki (*Pipturus albidus*) (Charleux 2017, 399; Kaeppler 1975; Kooijman 1972, 97-99). Making kapa was

[4] Barkcloth production was unsuccessful in some areas of the Polynesia. In New Zealand, barkcloth probably arrived with the earliest Polynesian settlers around 1100 CE. Kapa beaters found in the archaeological record show that there were attempts to grow paper mulberry and use it for clothing. But due to the temperate climate, the plants failed. Māori adapted other fibres like flax to produce clothing. See Roger Neich's text *New Zealand Maori Barkcloth and Barkcloth Beaters* (1996).

women's work. It involved first harvesting the inner bark from a tree, then fermenting it in water for days to weeks in order make the bark malleable (Kooijman 1972, 102-103; Malo 2020a, 122). It was then beaten atop a stone or wood anvil (kua) using hard wood beaters (hohoa, i'e kuku) of various sizes, the faces of which were carved with different lines and designs to help to separate the fibres and imprint embossed patterns (Kooijman 1972, 103-105; Malo 2020a, 122). Precisely when a piece of bast became a piece of kapa and no longer needed to be pounded was decided by the kapa maker. Often times the determination came from the final size of the completed piece after it was dried in the sun. Hawaiians excelled in creating designs through techniques including rubbing, stamping, drawing and lining (Eisele and Preez 2017, 407-408; Kooijman 1972, 129). Colours were created from natural materials such as leaves, berries and soot (Eisele and Preez 2017, 407-408; Kooijman 1972, 119-121). The general process of kapa making will be described in Chapter One.

The Use and Significance of Kapa in Hawai'i in the Late-Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Century

The historical understanding of Hawaiian kapa has been established through the examination a variety of written and material sources. Individual accounts of Hawaiian kapa written by European visitors to the islands and Hawaiians trained in Western-led schools, however, have been challenged for their reliability, biases and misinterpretation. Put another way, individual sources vary in their efficacy of interpreting Hawaiian society. Scholars have attempted to resolve this by piecing together as many sources as possible to paint a more robust understanding of kapa, its uses, making and wearing in the late-eighteenth century. This approach to using a full

spectrum of resources from a period is the basis for the methodological approach of this thesis, and will be discussed below.

What is clear is that towards the end of the eighteenth century, kapa was a highly valued material in Hawai‘i, a trend that persisted into the nineteenth century. Kapa served as the primary form of cloth and covering for Hawaiians of all levels of society, from the ali‘i to the maka‘āinana (non-ali‘i common people). It was worn during every liminal event from birth to death; it was the first material used to wrap newborn babies, and it was the last material used to wrap one’s bones before burial (Krauss 1993, 121). Kapa was used not only to wrap human bodies, but also the bodies of the gods. Kapa wrapped and clothed temple (heiau) images (Hooper 2006, 97; Malo 2020a, 256).

Different genders wore kapa differently on the body. Long and narrow rectangular pieces were used by men as malo (loincloths), looped between the legs and girdled around the hips (Brigham 1911, 183-186). Women wore pā‘ū skirts made by layering several kapa sheets together and stitching them with bone needles before tying the sheets around the body with (local) fibre cordage. Wide and rectangular pieces of kapa were called kīhei and were worn by men and women wrapped under one arm and tied atop the other shoulder (Brigham 1911, 183). Sheets of kapa stacked together were called kuina kapa and were used as the primary form of bedding, warming people in the evenings (Brigham 1911, 196).

Pounded kapa sheets are typically white in colour, allowing for the possibility of being decorated and dyed. Different types of kapa were developed and named based on their function, colour, design and level of decoration. They could be left plain or could be highly decorated with blind-embossed imprints, made colourful using natural dyes and pigments or surface-decorated

with stamps and drawings. Historian Davida Malo, in a work originally written in 1853, gave the names of kapa varieties based on how they were designed and decorated (Malo 2020b, 221).

> There are many names for types of kapa, given according to how they are dyed by the woman. As they are dyed, so are they named. There are many types of dyed pāʻū. If dyed with ʻōlena [turmeric], the pau is kamalena; if dyed with coconut, it is a halakea. Thus are the various names given, according to how the woman dyes them. Similarly there are many kinds of malo, according to how they are dyed. If dyed with noni [Indian mulberry], the malo is kuaʻula [ribbed and dyed red] or pūkohukohu or puakai. A pāʻū dyed with ʻōlena is a pāʻū palūpalū and another is called uʻauʻa. Many more names are given according to the stamping of decorative patterns. So too, there are many names for malo including the pūʻali [tightly girded] and kapeke [colored differently on the outside and inside] (Malo 2020a, 123).

Surviving examples of kapa collected by Captain Cook and his crew provide further insight into the range of designs and techniques that kapa embodied in the late-eighteenth century. For example, naval surgeon David Samwell recorded seeing kapa worn by men and women during the crew's January 1778 visit to Kauaʻi and visits to Maui and Hawaiʻi in October 1778 to January 1779 (Beaglehole 1967, 1082, 1160, 1216). Samwell also collected kapa samples on his voyage, helping to contextualise the dynamically decorated kapa that he was seeing first-hand (Mills, A. 2020, 217).[5] One example in the Hunterian Museum collection (GLAHM:E.598/4) exhibits a mix of different patterns in red and black blocked off in rectangular sections [Figure Intro.1]. The patterning which includes check print, undulating lines and striping plays with repetition (Mills, A. 2020, 218). Another sample collected by Captain Cook (GLAHM:E.601.e)

[5] Hawaiian kapa samples from Cook's third voyage were also famously preserved in book format by London bookseller Alexander Shaw Billie Lythberg, "From the Monumental to Minutiae: Serializing Polynesian Barkcloths in Eighteenth-Century Britain," in *Curious Encounters: Voyaging, Collecting, and Making Knowledge in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Adriana Craciun and Mary Terrall (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2019), 163-64. In 1787, Shaw assembled books filled with many barkcloth samples from around the Pacific along with notes on barkcloth production and details about the samples' collection Lythberg, "From the Monumental to Minutiae: Serializing Polynesian Barkcloths in Eighteenth-Century Britain," 161.

is completely covered in thin black lines interspersed by red stripes. The negative space between the black and red lines is thus highlighted, giving the kapa an almost textural appearance [Figure Intro.2].

Based on Malo's short list of kapa varieties alone and Samwell's richly patterned collection of kapa, it is easy to surmise that wearing kapa could be utilised in an individual's self-presentation. For example, wearing kapa could indicate the changing social status of a person. Young boys, for example, began wearing their first malo at around the age of five or six, marking them as old enough to eat with the adult men in the men's eating house (hale mua) (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983b, 281).[6] Wearing kapa could also signal one's emotional state or intention towards action. For example, after the passing of a loved one, grief-stricken mourners called kūlōlia wore the malo or pāʻū of the deceased around the neck as an expression of grief. Another example is when men would be called to gird their malo (hume ka malo) in order to prepare for war (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983b, 37). Kapa could signal something about the relationship between the maker and who the kapa was being given to. King Kamehameha III was said to drape a specific type of thin, gauzy, lace-like kapa called kapa kalukalu moe ipo around the shoulders of a lover to let them know that he hoped to sleep with them that evening (Summers 1999, 43-44).[7] Kapa was a tax good given annually as ʻauhau (taxes) to the aliʻi, but was frequently given in instances of gift giving and celebration (Malo 2020a, 223). Auna, a Tahitian missionary who visited Hawaiʻi in 1823 with Reverend William Ellis, saw this first-hand when he attended a celebration between the Kaumualiʻi, the king of Kauaʻi, and

[6] The hale mua was considered the main house strictly used for men to conduct business and make daily offerings to a household's gods and ancestors Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 174. Women were excluded from entering mua.
[7] Kalukalu was associated with Kapaʻa, Kauaʻi and was reserved for the aliʻi Abraham Fornander, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, vol. 4, ed. Thomas G. Thrum (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1917-1919), 318; Harold Kent, *Treasury of Hawaiian Words* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1986), 271.

Ka‘ahumanu in Hilo, Hawai‘i Island. Among a number of gifts given in celebration to the newly married couple were 590 pieces of kapa (Auna 1822). In all these examples, kapa was utilised to make public presentation by a person that was intended to be understood by his or her community.

Kapa could both express an individual’s actions, desires and emotions. Because of its ability to convey expression, kapa could be utilised to forge connections between people, make one look distinctive or assert a hierarchical relationship. The broad range of kapa’s functionality in Hawaiian society makes it a unique adornment that warrants further study. This thesis focuses on period of kapa history where kapa coexisted with a new type of dress: foreign cloth and clothing.

This work aims to contribute to the discourse around nineteenth-century Hawaiian dress encounters by focusing on Hawaiian agents, their language sources and examples of dress. This study will demonstrate the role played by Hawaiians in accepting or rejecting forms of clothing at a dynamic time of change. Hawaiians willingly engaged with foreign cloth and clothing, and it was their sustained interest in them and appropriation into Hawaiian lifeways that drove their continued importation and use.

Key Concepts in Understanding Hawaiian Society Around 1800

Before considering the period 1810-1850, some key concepts will be introduced, that help to frame the social and political changes occurring in the Hawaiian archipelago.

In the period around 1800, political authority across the archipelago was quickly being consolidated through war. Warring was one of the methods used by ali‘i to increase their mana, which was associated with authority. A key term throughout the Pacific, mana was associated

with divinity and manifested itself in the human realm in people, their gifts, talents, skills and power (Kirch 2019, 98-99, 408). Valerio Valeri explains that mana is both verb and noun. It is associated with objects like ritual objects and god images, and spaces such as temples and houses (Valeri 1985, 98-99). Mana could be gained through actions like war, governance, prayer and worship of the gods, and neutralised by improper action (Silva 2016, 48; Valeri 1985, 58, 90-91).

The mana of a chief was protected and preserved by their kapu, defined here as prohibitions. Valeri translates kapu as "taboo, marked off, forbidden, prescribed rite", which stands in opposition to noa, or "without kapu, or freed from it" (Valeri 1985, 407). He points out that kapu relates to things within the human realm that have divine origins. Kapu thus protects mana and its sanctity (Valeri 1985, 91-92). Scott Fisher broadens this definition and explains that kapu preserved and protected a *community's* mana to ensure that it was not stolen or misappropriated (Fisher 2015, 10). Kapu is discussed in relation to resources in Chapters Two and Three and provide examples, where examples are provided of how kapu was functional in creating oversight over an aliʻi's resources.

It is important to note that mana resided primarily with people with genealogical pedigree. Known in Hawaiʻi as moʻokūʻauhau, geneaology preserved and concentrated mana within royal lineages (Earle 1997, 172; Kirch 2012, 219, 229). Broadly, moʻokūʻauhau structured people into a social hierarchy and web of relationality (Kirch 2019, 38). E. S. C. Handy argues that there were three primary social groups in Hawaiian society, and within them were tiers and specific roles (Handy 1933, 35).

According to this division, aliʻi presided at the top of the social order. Below the aliʻi was a group known as makaʻāinana, which I define as non-aliʻi common people. This large group of people have been defined in many ways. Handy describes makaʻāinana as the "commoners" who

earned their livelihoods by working as labourers on an aliʻi's lands (Handy 1933, 33). Carlos Andrade defines makaʻāinana as "people living on the land" and instead characterises makaʻāinana as "the people of the land" (Andrade 2009, 30). Noelani Arista's definition uses the term "non-aliʻi subjects", emphasising the position of makaʻāinana as people subjected to the kapu of the aliʻi (Arista 2019, 5). Together these definitions articulate that role of the makaʻāinana as people who were responsible for the caring for the land and following the rules of their aliʻi. Kauā (or kauwā) were servants who laboured on behalf of others and were considered the lowest class of people in society below the makaʻāinana (Malo 2020a, 147-151). Kauā were social outcasts, war captives and slaves who were looked down upon. Their lowly status made socialising a major offence that would lead to defilement of mana and the reduction of one's own social status (Malo 2020a, 150). Kauā were most notably distinguished by their tattooed markings on their forehead and their nakedness (Malo 2020a, 149).

Together these concepts – mana, kapu, noa, moʻokūʻauhau, aliʻi and makaʻāinana – provide the historical context that precedes this thesis' time period. In the 1700s, Hawaiian society was highly structured and regimented. But rapid social, political and economic changes as a result of Western contacts had major impacts on the lives of all Hawaiians.

Changes in Forms of Self-Presentation

The societal changes of the nineteenth century can be studied by examining forms of self-presentation that persisted and evolved in Hawaiian society before and after 1800. Adorning the body was an important practice of Hawaiian self-presentation.[8] Those who possessed mana and

[8] Other notable forms of public presentation include oratory and performance Malcom Nāea Chun, *Kākāʻōlelo: Traditions of Oratory and Speech Making* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Curriculum Research & Development Group, 2007).

illustrious moʻokūauhau were privileged with the right to receive and wear the most prestigious examples of clothing and adornments made by Hawaiian artists. These pieces were constructed with materials that alluded to their personal mana, the connections between the wearer and the akua (gods) and the connections between the wearer and the community and resources he or she oversaw.

A wide variety of dress adornments were made by Hawaiians but two will be discussed here to show how changes took place and to provide context for the discussion of kapa. The most elaborately made garments that symbolised the Hawaiian ruling class were made of feathers. Feathered adornments included capes, cloaks, helmets, girdles and necklets (Kahanu 2015; Kirch 2012, 175). Of the feathered garments made and worn in Hawaiian culture, the feathered capes and cloaks made using a netting base, called ʻahuʻula, were the "ultimate power dress, signifying the sacred and potent prestige of its owner" (Earle 1997, 173; Kirch 2012, 2019).[9] ʻAhuʻula were made to be sacred wrappings intended to protect their chiefly wearer, especially their back (kua) (Kaeppler 2010, 27). Cloaks and capes also represented the prowess an aliʻi had over others. ʻAhuʻula of slain warriors and chiefs were collected and dismantled to be reapprorpiated into the cloaks of aliʻi who won in battle (Malo 2020a, 158).

ʻAhuʻula that survive in museum collections around the world have been studied extensively to understand how they were made. Through her studies of materials acquired by Captain Cook and his crew, Adrienne Kaeppler argues that the fine mesh net (nae) base made of olonā (*Touchardia latifolia*) used for ʻahuʻula altered in shape over time (Kirch 2012, 203). The

[9] It should be noted that only two examples of feathered girdles (kāʻei) survive and are housed at Bishop Museum. According to Roger Rose, these two examples have little ethnographic data attached to them Roger Rose, *Symbols of Sovereignty: Feather Girdles of Tahiti and Hawaiʻi* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 19. The provenance of the girdles confirms their association with the aliʻi and Hawaiian royalty. One sash was given to Bishop Museum by Queen Liliʻuokalani in 1910 and reportedly belonged to Kaumualiʻi Rose, *Symbols of Sovereignty: Feather Girdles of Tahiti and Hawaiʻi*, 27.

oldest ʻahuʻula are characterised by a rectangular nae and straight neckline. Kaeppler argues that the rectangular nae became more trapezoidal in shape with a slightly curved neckline. However, this trapezoidal shape transitioned again to became the dominant ʻahuʻula form: the semi-circular cape with rounded neckline. This latest developed in ʻahuʻula shape included a stronger braided neckline and ties (Kaeppler 1978b, 4-6).

The shape and dimensions of each cloak was unique and the designed featured on an ʻahuʻula further differentiated their wearers. The meaning of each cloak's designs were likely specific to an aliʻi, helping not only differentiate the aliʻi from the makaʻāinana, but also to visually distinguish between the various ranks between the aliʻi (Earle 1997, 232, 298). The power and presetige of the aliʻi was meant to be seen and paraded (Earle 1997, 107; Kirch 2012, 243).[10]

Some of the earliest examples of ʻahuʻula identified by Kaeppler utilised long feathers including rooster or white-tailed tropic bird (*Phaethon lepturus*) (Kaeppler 1978b, 4-6; 2010, 156-162). But as the mesh netting became finer, smaller feathers could only be used. Black, red and yellow feathers collected from endemic birds like the ʻiʻiwi (*Vestiaria coccinea*), ʻōʻō (*Moho nobilis*) and mamo (*Drepanis pacifica*) were heavily used in semi-circular capes (Kirch 2012, 218, 298). The feathers were carefully bundled together by artists first before securing them to the nae (Kaeppler 1978b, 57-59). Elaborate cloaks were made of many thousands of feathers. The use of these distinctive feathers led to the creation of unique circles, crescent and bow-shaped designs in comparison to earlier designs that featured triangles or blocked sections of singular coloured feathered (Kaeppler 1978b, 4-6) [Figure Intro.3].

[10] Cloaks were also worn by aliʻi on the battlefield Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni: The Foundation of Hawaiian Nationhood* (Honolulu: Awaiaulu, 2022), 20.

To help illustrate the various designs worked into late-eighteenth century ʻahuʻula designs, let us compare the designs of two cloaks that were collected within a short time of each other. Perhaps one of the most famous eighteenth-century ʻahuʻula is the ʻahuʻula that once belonged to the Hawaiʻi chief Kalaniopuʻu. Kalaniopuʻu gifted an ʻahuʻula and mahiole (feathered helmet) to Captain Cook on 26 January 1779 (Mallon et al. 2017, 6). The trapezoidal-shape cloak features bold red feather designs on a yellow feather background. The large cloak includes three bow shapes of various widths and two large triangles near the neckline. After leaving the Hawaiian archipelago in the late eighteenth century, Kalaniopuʻu's ʻahuʻula travelled with the crew to England where it remained until 1912, when it was gifted to the Dominion Museum in Wellington, New Zealand (Mallon et al. 2017, 7). The ʻahuʻula was generously returned back to Hawaiʻi by the Dominion Museum's successor, Te Papa Tongarewa in 2016 (Mallon et al. 2017, 15-17) [Figure Intro.4].

On 30 September 1787, another cloak was collected from Hawaiʻi during the voyage of American Captain John Hendrick. Hendrick returned to Boston in 1790 with an ʻahuʻula made of red ʻiʻiwi and yello mamo and ʻōʻō feathers (Brigham 1899, 72). The design was completed in yellow feathers and included 22 circles organised in rows at the centre of the cloak and three semi-circles at the neckline. One of the most interesting elements of this cloak is the border of triangles along the widths of the cloak. When the cloak was tied at the front, the triangles formed three large diamonds that would run down the centre of the wearer. This cloak is also in the collection of Bishop Museum where it is referred to as the Joy Cloak (Nunan and Ducey 2008, 1).

The lei niho palaoa (whale ivory necklace) was another distinctive symbol of chiefly rank that altered between the 1700s and the 1800s. Reserved for chiefs with the authority to orate and

make pronouncements (kapu), the neck adornment is characterised by its central crescent or hook-shape pendant. Scholars have interpreted the hooked pendant in various ways. J. Cox and W. Davenport argue that the curved shape symbolised an abstracted tongue (alelo) or protruding jaw, an attribution also used by carvers in their interpretations of the features of Hawaiian gods (Cox and Davenport 1988, 42, 45).[11] Adrienne Kaeppler agrees that the hook shape was a protruding tongue, a gesture of disrespect that was reserved for enemies in war (Kaeppler 1992, 97). Examples of lei niho palaoa housed in museum collections provide an opportunity to compare how the size and materials used in the adornment changed between the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. Adrienne Kaeppler identified eighteen lei niho palaoa collected during Cook's voyage (Kaeppler 1978a, 90). The pendants from these examples were made from a variety of materials including bone, whale tooth ivory, coral, calcite and shell (Kaeppler 1978a, 90-93). The use of rock oyster shell (*Chama iostoma*) for the pendants aligns also with archaeological data collected from burial sites across the archipelago (Han et al. 1986, 88-89, 99; Kirch 1997, 197, 134; Sowell 2013, 25).[12] The pendants of these eighteen examples were small in size and ranged between two to seven centimetres in length. The pendants were hung on a cordage of twisted string and or tiny shells. In other examples, the pendant was strung on a cordage made of olonā. Attached to said cordage were two small bundles of individual braids of hair. Scholars debate where the hair was sourced from. Some scholars argues that each braid was made of strands of hair taken from chiefly ancestors (Earle 1997, 45; Kaeppler 2011, 131). Teri Sowell argues that some of the hair could have come from chiefly women whose hair was

[11] Teri Sowell hypothesises that the shape could also relate to the crested hairstyle that was popular in Hawai'i Teri Sowell, "Hawaiian Bodyscape: Hair Rituals circa 1800," *Pacific Arts* 13, no. 1 (2013): 25.
[12] Captain Cook's crew members reported seeing bone used for the pendant in 1787 J. C. Beaglehole, ed., *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Part 2*, vol. 3 (Cambridge: Hakluyt Society at the University Press, 1967), 1160.

ritually cut after the birth of their first child (Sowell 2013, 17). Regardless, the hair was likely sourced from a sacred person and used as an adornment to make a symbolic connection between wearer and material (Kaeppler 1992, 89, 94). In the early 1800s, foreign imports of whale and walrus ivory drastically changed the size of the lei niho palaoa and the materials used to make the adornment (Kirch 2012, 89; Shoemaker 2022, 55-56; Titcomb 1978, 336). In fact, whale (palaoa) and walrus tooth became so preferred that they became synonymous with the adornment (Kirch 2012, 175; Sowell 2013, 17) [Figure Intro.5].[13] As a result of the new and larger materials and their availability, the size of the pendants increased (Hooper 2006, 110-111). The size and number of hair bundles used also increased; necklaces could contain hundreds of neat organised eight-ply square braids. This contrast in material usage and increased size suggests that the customary form the pendant was the important symbol of the wearer's mana rather than the materials used (Kjellgren 2007, 319). This hypothesis is supported by another nineteenth-century iteration of the lei niho palaoa. In the early to middle-nineteenth century, lei niho palaoa still prominently featured an ivory pendant but replaced olonā for cotton thread and hair braid bundles for glass and ivory beads (Rose 1980a, 212) [Figure Intro.6].

The dynamic changes seen in ʻahuʻula and lei niho palaoa illustrate that customary Hawaiian adornments were not fixed in form. Customary forms evolved as techniques became refined, stylistic preferences were made and new resources became available. Together these changes illustrate that while materials carried symbolism and mana, the intent behind the wearer's act self-presentation must also be considered.

[13] Schuyler Cammann argues that more archaeological work is needed to determine when the use of ivory began in Hawaiʻi Schuyler Cammann, "Notes on Ivory in Hawaii," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 63, no. 2 (June 1954 1954): 140. In his observations of lei niho palaoa at the Bishop Musuem, an extensive number of pendants were made of walrus and sperm tooth. He also suggests looking at other Pacific objects that include ivory to determine whether walrus was also used Cammann, "Notes on Ivory in Hawaii," 139.

A Dynamic Time: The Arrival of Foreign Cloth and Clothing in Hawai‘i

The convergence of the arrival of foreign cloth and clothing with political upheaval in the Hawaiian archipelago during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century assisted in the material's proliferation in the islands. This section discusses some of the forces that ushered foreign cloth into Hawai‘i which coincided with political upheavals occurring in the Hawaiian archipelago.

The first appearance of Western cloth and clothing in the Hawaiian archipelago was on the backs of Captain Cook and his crew when they visited the Hawaiian archipelago in 1778 (Beaglehole 1967). David Samwell reports that Captain Cook gave red cloth to the first Islanders from Kaua‘i that approached his boat in January 1778 (Beaglehole 1967, 1081). Cook's first visit to the islands coincided with the development of Britain's textile industry between 1770 and 1830. The British industrial revolution increased imports of raw cotton from South America, the Caribbean, the East Indies, the Ottoman Empire and India to create new demand around the globe (Bailey 1994, 39-40; Beckert 2015, 91).

Captain Vancouver experienced the interest for British textiles in Hawai‘i first-hand during his second visit to Hawai‘i in 1793 when Islanders traded specifically for the cloth and clothing that Vancouver and his crew had in their possession. For example, one chief exchanged 15 pigs and a large assortment of vegetables with Vancouver for two yards of red cloth, a small piece of printed linen, a few beads and other articles (Vancouver 1798, 115-116). Considering that pigs were the largest and most significant livestock raised by Islanders at that time, foreign cloth and clothing was therefore considered extremely valuable, in part due to its scarcity in the islands. In seeing how valuable cloth was, Vancouver went on to use the red cloth presents to facilitate audiences, favour and trust with certain chiefs (Vancouver 1798, 186, 199, 206, 213).

The British textile industry experienced competition from the growing American industry by the early-nineteenth century. Consistent, fresh labour proved to be the most influential factor in determining the longevity of cotton farms needed to keep up with British textile production. As slave uprisings began occurring more frequently in Britain's Caribbean colonies, cotton plantation owners began moving their operations to South Carolina and Georgia in the 1790s where slaves were held under closer control (Beckert 2015, 102). Sven Beckert argues that the U.S. domination of the international cotton market was made possible due to the combination of emptied lands taken from the Native Americans, portable slave labour and new ginning technology which eliminated the need for manual labour to separate cotton fibres (Beckert 2015, 103). By 1802, the U.S. was the leading exporter of cotton to British manufacturers through Manchester and Liverpool (Beckert 2015, 98, 104).

New England textile factories began utilising slave-grown cotton, stoking America's own industrial revolution at the turn of the century. Located in Waltham, Massachusetts, and founded in 1813, the Boston Manufacturing Company (BMC) was the first modern factory in the U.S. The BMC successfully produced finished cloth from raw cotton using a power loom energised by water-power. This material was inherently cutting-edge because of the technologies used to make it. The BMC ran on a labour system of recruited female workers from small rural towns, a system so successful that it became the model for other textile mills in other now historical textile towns such as Massachusetts like Lowell, Lynn and New Bedford. American cloth and clothing were made as a result of these entanglements of labour, trade and displacement, and was being exported to corners of the world that had little knowledge of these complicated dynamics.

Hawai‘i became an unexpected market for American-made cloth and clothing. Simultaneous to the growing competition between British and American textile industries, the

Hawaiian archipelago was rapidly changing due to political, economic, religious and social dynamics. In the late-eighteenth century, what Western explorers referred to as the "Sandwich Islands" suddenly became a unified kingdom called "Hawai'i". The kingdom was led by a single ali'i named Pai'ea, called Kamehameha I [Figure Intro.7]. Despite being a lower-ranking chief and coming from the less powerful island, Hawai'i, it was prophesised by Ke'āulumoku that Kamehameha would overthrow other chiefs to become a great ruler (Fornander 1917-1919a, 284, 368). In 1810, he fulfilled that prophecy and brought the eight separate Hawaiian Islands of Hawai'i, Maui, Moloka'i, Lāna'i, Kaho'olawe, O'ahu and Kaua'i under his control (Handy 1933, 41-46).

The unification of the islands led to an unprecedented political shift in the archipelago. Previously, individual chiefs ruled islands or portions of islands; never had a chief ruled over the all the islands. Kamehameha I's success in defeating his opponents was achieved through the use of new and powerful weapons, political negotiation and through the guidance of his akua (gods) and Hawaiian and European kāhuna (advisers) (Kamehiro 2009, 3; Kirch and Sahlins 1992, 43; Kuykendall 1947, 29-60).

Kamehameha had a taste for foreign cloth and clothing, and foreign visitors to the islands supplied him with clothing they thought would interest him and win favour with him. Kamehameha, in turn, wore gifted articles intermixed with his usual Hawaiian dress. For example, in 1796, British captain William Robert Broughton sailed to O'ahu and met Kamehameha. While Kamehameha's attending chiefs wore feathered cloaks and helmets, Broughton recorded that Kamehameha wore "European clothes, with a beautiful cloak composed of yellow feathers, which nearly covered him" (Broughton 1804, 38). Kamehameha reserved for himself the best clothing that was entering his islands and dressed as he pleased.

By the early nineteenth century, Kamehameha had enough foreign clothing enabled him to have favourite outfits. In 1817, two years before Kamehameha's death in 1819, Russian lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue arrived in Hawai‘i with the Romanzoff Expedition and visited Kamehameha for the first time. Kamehameha, who had just returned from tuna fishing, had clothes retrieved for him. The outfit included a shirt, velveteen small-clothes, a red waistcoat and a black neckcloth (Kotzebue 1821, 193). Kotzebue noted that this was Kamehameha's usual choice of clothes; the fancier embroidered uniforms that Kamehameha was previously gifted were seldom worn (Kotzebue 1821, 193). Kamehameha's preference for certain foreign clothing was confirmed by another member of Kotzebue's crew. Louis Choris, a German-Russian painter who served as the artist for the Romanzoff Expedition, asked to paint Kamehameha's portrait. Choris was granted a sitting, but was surprised when Kamehameha attended the session wearing "the costume of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt, and a neck tie of yellow silk" (Charlot 1958, 17).

As sole ruler of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Kamehameha had been gifted a significant number of clothing during his reign. These articles were political gifts and bartering tools. In turn, Kamehameha embraced the foreign cloth and clothing given to him and integrated the articles into his daily life and ensembles. He developed favourite pieces and wore them in front of foreign guests and his people. Experimentations with foreign dress during Kamehameha I's reign will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

Kamehameha was the intended recipient of the majority of foreign cloth and clothing entering his kingdom. The dispersal of foreign cloth and clothing changed significantly after Kamehameha I's death in 1819 because of changes to the kapu of the kingdom's rulers and the burgeoning sandalwood market which will be discussed further in Chapter Two.

This thesis begins at the start of the Hawaiian Kingdom under Kamehameha I and spans four decades of succeeding rule by the Kamehamehas, the royal family that changed the governance of the kingdom with every generation. Kamehameha passed his stratified government to his politically savvy and powerful wife, Kaʻahumanu, and eldest son, Liholiho, called Kamehameha II. The most notable change led by the kingdom's new leadership was the abolition of ancient kapu relating to eating (ʻai kapu).[14] Historically, the practice of eating separately between genders and social classes preserved the sanctity of the aliʻi. In breaking the kapu, Liholiho and Kaʻahumanu opened the door to the possibility of changing other regulations and prohibitions that ordered society. Other aliʻi from across the pae ʻāina (archipelago) from Hawaiʻi to Kauaʻi followed in Liholiho and Kaʻahumanu's stead (Kamakau 2022, 427-429). This major change created a rift between chiefs who supported Liholiho and those who wanted to preserve and follow the sacred eating laws. Those opposed to Liholiho and Kaʻahumanu's actions backed the aliʻi Kekuaokalani, a cousin and relative of the new king. Kekuaokalani found supporters across Hawaiʻi Island and the opposing sides engaged in battle at Kuamoʻo in Kailua, Hawaiʻi (Kamakau 2022, 435-437). Liholiho's supporters were victorious against the defenders of the older practices, which sealed the new king's authority and position as leader. Liholiho and Kaʻahumanu ushered in new kapu that provided opportunities for kiaʻāina (governors) to interact with foreigners to support their own personal interests.

Kamehameha II's reign, however, was cut short by his untimely death in 1825 in England, and the throne passed to his younger brother, Kauikeaouli, called Kamehameha III.

[14] Scholars have incorrectly described the breaking of the ʻai kapu as the end of all kapu. However, as Samuel Kamakau notes, royal kapu were different from eating kapu and kapu continued to preserve the sanctity of the aliʻi Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni: The Foundation of Hawaiian Nationhood*, 411. Noelani Arista's *The Kingdom and the Republic* (2019) is a case study on the persistence of kapu after the ʻai kapu and even as the government transitioned into written laws (kānāwai).

Kauikeaouli's reign spanned twenty-nine years until his death in 1854, and this thesis' timeline is situated largely during his reign. Kauikeaouli was trained differently than his father and brother, which was expressed most prominently in his choice of counsellors and collaborators. In addition to being advised by Kaʻahumanu until her death in 1832 and the aliʻi Kīnaʻu and Kekāuluohi until their own respective deaths in 1839 and 1845, Kauikeaouli was also advised by Congregational missionaries who were his teachers in his youth (Kuykendall 1947, 133, 167).[15]

While the government had been transitioning from the pronouncement of oral kapu to written kānāwai (laws) since the 1820s under Kamehameha II, the government under Kamehameha III began to create laws to centralise the government around its capital in Honolulu. The 1830s and 1840s are characterised by the passing of major laws that created the kingdom's legislature and judiciary, created election laws, privatised and redistributed land and established the kingdom's treasury and a system of taxation. Such groundbreaking laws included the Rights and Laws of 1839 (He Kumu Kanawai a me ke Kanawai Hooponopono Waiwai), the Constitution of 1840 and the Kuleana Act of 1850 (Kuykendall 1947, 155-171; Van Dyke 2007, 26-27, 46). While many Hawaiian citizens were sceptical and critical of the Kamehameha III's government and the growing influence of former missionaries holding political office, the Hawaiian Kingdom proved its strength by surviving an attempt at colonial annexation by a rogue British naval officer, and received recognition as a kingdom by France, England and the United States in 1843 (Kuykendall 1947, 187-207, 208-230; Van Dyke 2007, 28). This thesis concludes in 1850 in observation of notable political shifts over the first forty years of the young kingdom and before the passage of the kingdom's second constitution in 1852 and Kamehameha III's death in 1854.

[15] There were many Hawaiians who were suspicious of the intentions of the missionaries in their close participation with the kingdom government. See chapter one of Jon Osorio's *Dismembering Lahui* (2002).

The changes in political leaders and governing systems were not the only shifts taking place in the first half of the nineteenth century. This time period is also characterised by an increase in Euro-American arrivals to the young kingdom. After the visits of European explorers such as Captain Cook and Captain Vancouver, Westerners were intrigued by the Pacific world. The circulation of published accounts of explorers and the circulation of ethnographic objects and natural history specimens aided in introducing Westerners to Hawai‘i. By the first decade of the 1800s, merchants and missionaries began to ponder how the islands might benefit their own needs, interests and pursuits.

Euro-American merchants began entering into arrangements with Hawaiian chiefs for sandalwood, a desired and needed export product for trade with China. The Western fervour for Chinese-made luxury goods, including tea, china, silk and porcelain was at its peak in the early-nineteenth century. What made trade difficult was the lack of interest of Chinese merchants for Occident-produced goods due to their general inferiority in comparison to Chinese-made products (Gibson 1992, 247). In order to avoid paying for the goods in specie (gold and silver bullion and coin), Euro-American merchants sought goods that would appeal to Chinese consumers. The Northwest Coast Fur Trade system originally answered this need by supplying seal and sea otter skins. However, this trade was short-lived and overharvesting decimated the seal and otter populations by the first two decades of the nineteenth century (Gibson 1992, 253).[16]

Merchants sailed further into the Pacific, and turned their interest towards procuring sandalwood, a fragrant wood found also in Fiji and Marquesas that was used in the production of

[16] Scholars have written extensively on the fur and sandalwood trade Ernest Stanley Dodge, *New England and the South Seas* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1965); Mary Malloy, *Souvenirs of the Fur Trade: Northwest Coast Indian Art and Artifacts Collected by American Mariners, 1788–1844* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

Chinese furniture, incense and jewellery. Sandalwood, also referred to by its Hawaiian name ʻiliahi, was found in Hawaiʻi in the 1770s and harvesting began on Kauaʻi in 1790. The sandalwood trade increased quickly after the unification of the Hawaiian Kingdom with Kamehameha I reserving for himself the right to trade sandalwood for foreign goods. However, after Kamehameha I's death in 1819 and the installation of a new leader, the possibility of greater merchant relationships opened up. Liholiho allowed aliʻi on different islands of the kingdom to trade their own sandalwood reserves. Merchants began developing business relationships with chiefs for foreign goods and products like cloth and clothing (Gibson 1992, 254-255).

The historiography on dress encounter is particularly strong in research on Hawaiian relationships to foreign cloth and clothing through the Sandwich Islands Mission. Christian missionaries arrived on the scene shortly after Kamehameha I's death and after the merchants. Although Catholic priests were the first Christian representatives Hawaiians had contact with, the American missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) became the first missionary group established in the islands, following their arrival in April 1820. They remained the most active missionary group during the period that this thesis covers.[17]

The missionaries had interests beyond sandalwood in Hawaiʻi. Members of the First Company of ABCFM missionaries established the Sandwich Island Mission in 1820 and their goal was stated: to bring Protestant Christian civility to the Sandwich Isles, particularly through

[17] The first recorded Catholic baptisms in Hawaiʻi were in 1819. The chaplain of the French vessel *Uranie* baptised Boki, governor of Oʻahu, and his brother Kalanimoku Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, vol. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1947), 65. The first official Catholic missionaries arrived in 1827 and established a mission in Honolulu Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, 1, 139-44.

teaching the Bible directly to the people by leading and supporting literacy efforts (Lyon 2017, 115).[18] However, completing this task required a high level of engagement by the missionary men and women with Hawaiians of all statuses and in all regions. This meant building intimate relationships with the ali‘i and earning the trust of Hawaiian neighbours. Over the course of the Mission’s 33-year existence, 140 missionaries were dispatched and responsible for the establishment and operation of mission stations on six of the eight main Hawaiian Islands (Schulz 2017, 897).[19] Congregational conversions were slow and inconsistent for many years until the 1840s.[20] By 1853, virtually the entire population had some affiliation with a Christian denomination (Osorio, Jon 2002, 18).

The missionaries brought their own forms of clothing to the island and a skill that the merchants had not imported into the islands – sewing. The arrival of missionary wives provided

[18] The eventual dissolution of the Sandwich Islands Mission by the ABCFM was a drawn-out process spanning fifteen years between 1848 and 1863. The end of the Mission began in the 1840s when missionaries began making decisions about their future in Hawai‘i. Some chose to leave the Mission but stay in the islands as Hawaiian Kingdom citizens and landowners while others left the islands to pursue more profitable areas of work and return to the United States in order to educate their children Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, 1, 339-40. In a report from 1870, the secretary of the ABCFM, Dr. Rufus Anderson, wrote that Hawaiians in the Sandwich Islands had become evangelised, thus completing the work the ABCFM had set out to do. The continuation of the evangelical efforts and their sustainment were to be managed by the “native churches” through an organisation founded in 1853 called the Hawaiian Evangelical Association Rufus Anderson, *The Sandwich Islands Evangelized 1870* (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1870), 333-34. Many long-time Sandwich Islands missionaries were nervous that the premature end of the Mission would have a negative effect on the evangelical Christian community and questioned the ability of Hawaiian pastors to function without ABCFM funding Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 2: Twenty Critical Years, 1854-1874*, vol. 2 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1953), 99-101.

[19] The average duration of missionary work was somewhere between 27 and 37 years, depending on the age of death at the Sandwich Islands Mission Anderson, *The Sandwich Islands Evangelized 1870*, 338.

[20] Why the 1840s saw an increase in Hawaiian conversion to Congregationalism cannot be explained. What can be said now is that it seems this uptick in conversions was thanks to the a combination of two major factors. The first is that the Hawaiian Mission heavily invested in bringing more missionaries to the Sandwich Islands Mission during the late 1830s and 1840s, which is discussed in Chapters Six and Seven. The second is that there was a unexpected natural phenomeon in 1837 that led to mass conversion. On 7 November 1837, a tsunami (described as a kai nui) unexpectedly hit Hilo on the island of Hawai‘i and took a number of lives. The calamity led to a great spiritual revival and attracted new members to Coan’s church. The event was published about in Hawaiian-language newspapers and spurred similar activity among congregants on other islands. The subsequent conversion activity was referred to by the Sandwich Islands Mission as “The Great Revival” Barenaba, "He wahi mooolelo hoike i ke kani nui," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 6 December 1837; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, 1, 337.

the ali‘i with an opportunity to have bespoke clothes made locally. Missionary women were the first seamstresses in the islands and made clothing for the ali‘i and taught Hawaiians of all social levels sewing and dress making.

Although merchants and missionaries both came from similar places, mostly in New England, the two groups were not a united front in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Merchants feared that Christianity would change existing relationships they had with the ali‘i, while the missionaries felt that the merchants swindled the ali‘i and Hawaiians more broadly, fuelling conflict and encouraging irresponsible behaviour, especially around alcohol and money (Kashay 2007, 283-284). Regardless of these opposing views, both the merchants and missionaries helped usher in American cloth and clothing from New England to the islands.

Research Questions

While the main research question of this thesis will focus on how kapa making and use changed in the first half of the nineteenth century from the perspective of encounter with foreign cloth and clothing, different chapters of this thesis aim to answer these sub-questions in greater detail.

- Why, when and how was foreign cloth and clothing introduced to Hawaiians and how were these foreign goods received?
- How did kapa making techniques and processes develop because of new materials and resources arriving in Hawai‘i in the nineteenth century?
- How did Hawaiian interest in foreign cloth and clothing transform, alter or undermine existing customs around the use and production of Hawaiian kapa?
- What new information can we glean by studying surviving examples of Hawaiian kapa and Hawaiian-language sources as primary sources?

The production of nineteenth-century Hawaiian kapa overlapped with the import of foreign cloth and clothing, resulting in kapa that responded to new forms of dress developed in the early kingdom and could be used in self-presentation.

Self-presentation mattered to different groups of people in Hawai‘i and kapa continued to be the material used to express and communicate different messages. The time period of this thesis is characterised not only by the political changes happening in the kingdom government but also by increased interaction with foreign merchants and missionaries. When properly contextualised, nineteenth-century kapa becomes a tangible product made in response to changing Hawaiian thought processes, practice and agency. The study of kapa as both material and clothing provides an opportunity to understand Hawaiian responses to cultural interaction. There is both continuity and creativity in nineteenth-century Hawaiian kapa. Kapa from this time period embraces new forms and inspirations, and the asserts preferences that align with customary modes of self-presentation.

The Hawaiian word ‘ho‘ololi’ can help us think about how Hawaiians adapted to these transitions intentionally and creatively. While there are many Hawaiian words that describe change in different situations and environments, ho‘ololi describes a type of change that recognises an alteration, transformation and even a new form. It is also the word that is used to describe the changing of clothes: ho‘ololi i ka lole.

This thesis considers the three genres of kapa – kapa quilts, kapa neckerchiefs and kapa dresses – that were developed in the nineteenth century. These kapa genres are introduced in different chapters through the individuals who developed them, the social references to which the kapa was responding and the foreign cloth and clothing from which kapa makers drew inspiration.

Hawaiian Kapa Studies in Perspective

The earliest Western scholar of Hawaiian kapa was William Tufts Brigham. The Boston-native's first observations of Hawaiian kapa began in the nineteenth century in 1864 and 1865. After graduating with a degree in Botany from Harvard University in 1862, Brigham went on his first tour of the Hawaiian Kingdom with his colleague and friend, Horace Mann Jr.[21] After this initial visit, Brigham remained close to Hawai'i by way of social networks. Brigham, who himself came from an influential New England family, tapped into the Hawai'i-New England pipeline, a decades old social network of New England merchants and ex-patriots and Congregationalist missionaries who lived, worked and travelled frequently between the Pacific and the Atlantic. He maintained his connections with New England expatriates in Hawai'i and missionary descendants studying in Boston, allowing him to deepen his curiosity about Hawaiian culture and history, and learn about the concerns the kingdom's white residents had about the "diminishing" status of the Hawaiian race and its culture. In 1874, he wrote to Sanford B. Dole, a missionary descendant with whom Brigham developed a close bond, "You and I can see that their extinction as a nation is fast coming, and the same is true of all the Polynesians; let then all that can be kept of their thoughts and actions" (Rose 1980b, 25).

The presumed threat of Hawaiian extinction became Brigham's motivation and led him to produce what is now referred to as salvage ethnographies. Following his return to Hawai'i in 1880, Brigham began writing salvage ethnographies on Hawaiian culture, including on kapa by studying the collections at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu where Brigham was

[21] The trip was a productive one. Brigham and Mann Jr. wrote extensively on their findings from their tour in the decades following their visit to the islands. Their publications proved influential to the fields of Hawaiian vulcanology, botany and geology.

hired as the museum's first curator in 1891.[22] Alison K. Brown argues that ethnographic salvage shifted artifact collecting for museum collections in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Museum collecting previously focused on obtaining objects to understand otherness. But in periods of ethnographic salvage, collecting instead aimed at preserving objects and information about Indigenous peoples who were believed to be vanishing (Brown, A.K. 2014, 68, 75). Salvage ethnography stressed urgency and competitiveness to find examples to be preserved and studied in museum collections (Brown, A.K. 2014, 2, 75).[23]

In 1892, Brigham published his first article on Hawaiian kapa, in his preliminary catalogue of Bishop Museum's collection. In his introductory paragraph, Brigham declares that Hawaiian kapa was the greatest example of barkcloth in the Pacific. But his words of praise for the material come with a tone of lament.

> With the introduction of woven cloths at prices far below the cost of less durable native manufacture, bark cloth is become [sic] a thing of the past and on the Hawaiian Islands the very implements of the makers are held as curiosities. Few are the natives who can give any trustworthy account of the cloth-making of their ancestors. Twenty-five years ago the beaters of kapas were still at work in the Hawaiian valleys and the cheerful sound of the beating was heard in all the country districts (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum 1892, 21).

[22] The museum's founder was Charles Reed Bishop, the husband of chiefess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a direct descendant of the Kamehameha dynasty. After Bernice's death in 1884, Charles envisioned creating a museum in his wife's honour that would care for and display the Kamehameha family heirlooms and other objects of important cultural patrimony. Over the course of the 1880s, Charles also purchased Hawaiian and Pacific objects that complemented his existing collection. Brigham's appointment as curator was not his first curatorial job. He worked as the curator at the Boston Society of Natural History after his graduation from Harvard. Brigham eventually became the Bishop Museum's Director, a position he held until 1918.

[23] While Brown studies collecting from Plains Indians, she considers the same period during which Brigham was researching kapa. More research will be conducted to understand more about the Bishop Museum's role in promoting salvage ethnographic work aligned with the fatal impact theory for Hawai'i: the belief that encounters with Westerners introduced foreign diseases and caused a major psychological and social toll on Hawaiians that led to the demise of Hawaiian culture and peoples by the late-nineteenth century I. C. Campbell, "The Culture of Culture Contact: Refractions from Polynesia," *Journal of World History* 14, no. 1 (2003): 67.

Brigham's words about kapa illustrate what anthropologist James Clifford describes as the salvage paradigm. Clifford argues that within the salvage paradigm, primitivism is juxtaposed with industrialisation (Clifford 1986). In placing these two things within a dichotomy, the ethnographer idealises the idea of the "vanishing primitive" as an authentic cultural essence that is no longer accessible because of the transition towards civilisation. Clifford thus questions the intentions of salvage ethnography and efforts to record cultural practice before it is lost: is the value of these ethnographies to study the culture or idealise nostalgia (Clifford 1987)?

In the case of Brigham, his salvage ethnographies on Hawaiian kapa suggest that he longed for the version of Hawai'i he was first introduced to. Because Brigham could no longer hear the anvils, he publicly declared kapa making a lost practice. He furthered this disappearance narrative around Hawaiian kapa and its production in succeeding salvage ethnographies published by Bishop Museum's press. In his seminal work on kapa, *Ka Hana Kapa*, Brigham lamented the difficulty in finding reliable informants on its production.

> It will not be forgotten that kapa making is fast passing into oblivion all through the regions where it once flourished, and at present exact knowledge of some of the processes, simple as they usually were, is already lost. There is no living source whence we can make up our deficiencies, for even where the poor relics of the manufacture still exist, they are so affected by foreign additions, not to say corruptions, that they are of little help (Brigham 1911, 8).

Interestingly, this last line in Brigham's text challenges his own disappearance narrative. While qualifying words like "lost" and "relic" implied the practice of kapa was no longer in existence, Brigham wrote that examples of kapa could still be located while he was completing his research in the early twentieth century. However, he dismissed these pieces because they were "affected" and "corrupted" by foreign additions. Put another way, in his pursuit for "authentic" Hawaiian kapa, Brigham purposely omitted these kapa examples from his survey.

Brigham's own subjectivity towards the authenticity of Hawaiian kapa challenges the veracity of his research methodology and subsequent results.[24]

Since Brigham's publication of *Ka Hana Kapa* more than a century ago, cultural authenticity has been rejected as a scholarly measure of nativeness by anthropologists and Indigenous scholars. However, the impact of Brigham's arguments on the demise of Hawaiian kapa and the relevancy of kapa produced in the nineteenth century should not be dismissed. As Edward Said argues, "The power to narrate, or to block other narratives from forming or emerging, is very important to culture and imperialism, and constitutes one of the main connections between them" (Said 1994, xiii). As the first American anthropologist to write in depth on the subject, Brigham's work and opinions became the foundational canon on Hawaiian kapa and has influenced the continued scholarly interest in pre-contact kapa, especially pieces collected during Captain Cook's voyages to Hawai'i in 1778 and 1779.[25] Additionally, Brigham's quest in describing the materiality of Hawaiian kapa and finding the most authentic pieces has placed little attention or importance on the individuals who made and wore the kapa or how the practice changed and altered in the nineteenth century. The salvage ethnographic context is also limited in that it does not consider the overlap and communication between kapa and foreign cloth and clothing during a period when they were interacting.

Scholars on Hawaiian kapa have showcased through their work other viable and thoughtful approaches to writing about kapa than just salvage ethnography. This thesis is deeply inspired by scholarship on Pacific barkcloth published within the past 75 years. Adrienne

[24] More research must be completed on Brigham's research methodology and fluency in Hawaiian language and culture to understand whether his clouded views of the "Hawaiian past" affected research he completed in other areas of Hawaiian material culture.

[25] The focus on this period of kapa history has also arguably shaped how contemporary kapa practice is seen as one of cultural revival rather than one of cultural continuity.

Kaeppler wrote on Hawaiian kapa throughout her long career with an interest especially in identifying patterns and similarities seen in kapa collections around the world. Kaeppler argues that changes in Hawaiian kapa happened between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries due to contact with the Western world. Contact with the West introduced new tools for kapa making and patterns and designs. Yet, Kaeppler described these changes as an evolution in Hawaiian kapa versus European acculturation; even designs that appeared to be imitated were adapted to fit Hawaiian "canons of taste" that were constantly changing (Kaeppler 1975, 8, 15; 1980, 2). For example, smaller carving tools allowed for finely carved stamps that led to "elaboration and refinement of traditional motifs and techniques" which included opportunities to play with repetition to achieve designs with greater depth and dimension (Kaeppler 1975, 14). In addition to identifying painted and printed patterns that were made in response to Western cloth, Kaeppler also described how kapa was used to make European style dresses and quilts (Kaeppler 1975, 11, 15).

Kaeppler's argument of the evolution of Hawaiian kapa versus acculturation has been influential in shaping the arguments for this thesis. The concept of evolution fits squarely within a Hawaiian worldview. Hawaiians were expert observers of their world and were more interested in tracking change over time than solely focusing on when something was gone.[26] This is encapsulated in the word 'lilo', which Reverend Lorrin Andrews defined in the first Hawaiian-English dictionary as meaning 'to turn; to change; to be gone indefinitely' or 'to change from one form or appearance to another, or from one quality to that of another' (Andrews 1865, 342).[27] At first glance, these definitions may not make sense, but attention should especially be

[26] The Hawaiian word 'kilo' is used commonly to describe the action of earnest looking.
[27] I am also aware of the word 'nalowale' which Lorrin Andrews defines as "to be lost sight of; to be forgotten" and Mary Kawena Pukui defines as "lost, gone, forgotten, extinct" Lorrin Andrews, *A dictionary of the Hawaiian language to which is appended an English-Hawaiian vocabulary and a chronological table of remarkable events*

paid to one word in the definition: indefinitely. In the Hawaiian language, directional words are used to describe the space and time from the perspective of the speaker. For example, in Andrews' dictionary, 'nei' refers to a speaker's present time and physical place, as opposed to 'aku' which "implies motion or tendency from one" (Andrews 1865, 44, 414). A speaker only has enough knowledge to speak on what is occurring in his or her current physical space; the space outside of a speaker's "nei-zone" is beyond a person's zone of understanding. This brings us to Samuel Elberts' and Mary Kawena Pukui's translation of 'lilo' as both 'to relinquish; to become, turn into' as well as 'far, distant, out of sight, completely, entirely' (Pukui, Mary Kawena and Elbert 1986, 206). Something could change for a single person, but other people may remain unaffected. It is also possible that something affected by change could also revert back to its original form.

When applied to kapa, lilo allows us to think of kapa as a continuum, a craft that was flexible to change at different rates and under different circumstances. As a progression, kapa makers continued to make changes to their practice and produce kapa in response to the rhythms of the world around them. As Haunani-Kay Trask argues, "What constitutes 'tradition' to a people is ever-changing. Culture is not static, nor is it frozen in objectified moments in time" (Trask 1991, 165). Kapa allowed innovation and the nineteenth-century kapa featured in this work embodies the newness of the period and the creativity of its creators. This thesis aims to investigate Kaeppler's observations about nineteenth-century kapa and its production and uses. Kaeppler frequently promoted Hawaiian agency in the production of new types of kapa and the use of new materials. My research aims to further contextualise the creation of nineteenth-

(Honolulu: Henry M. Whitney, 1865), 410; Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, "Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, Revised and Enlarged Edition," (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986), 260. Nalowale describes the state of something, but it does not mean that something that is nalowale is unable to lilo (change).

century kapa using sources that may have been unavailable to Kaeppler at the time of her research.

Contemporary scholars on Pacific tapa have taken a variety of approaches to analysing and interpreting barkcloth. The recent publication, *Material Approaches to Polynesian Barkcloth: Cloth, Collections, Communities* (2020) approaches barkcloth from a material perspective. This was a different approach to studying Polynesian barkcloth than Simon Kooijman's influential text, *Tapa in Polynesia* (1972). Koojiman's text is a broad study on how Oceanic cultures sourced the bark, manufactured, and decorated barkcloth differently with a focus on identifying patterns and motifs. As *Material Approaches*' editors Frances Lennard and Andy Mills explain, the aim was to learn about the materiality of barkcloth in historic museum collections through conversation with contemporary communities and barkcloth practitioners. The collaboration of the two allowed researchers to question the historical record associated with museum pieces but also suggest new insights and voice contemporary challenges with trying to understand early pieces (Lennard and Mills 2020, 21-22). This approach to studying kapa aligns with the relational perspective of museum objects suggested by anthropologist Joshua Bell. In his 2017 article, "A Bundle of Relations: Collections, Collecting, and Communities", Bell argues for the foregrounding of the social and material relationships between objects and communities. Bell's argument for re-examining museum objects is a radical approach to museology, and demands viewing objects as neither static or fixed within the possession of a museum. It also requires an acceptance that object reinterpretations may go against long-standing or anthropological preconceptions of material culture and heritage (Bell 2017, 253).

Another approach pursued by academics has focused on kapa makers and the knowledge they possess in order to make kapa. This counters Brigham's approach to kapa. Instead of

focusing on the finished product, scholars like myself are driven by questions about the approach of a maker when making kapa, or even what, beyond materials, was necessary to make kapa. Marlene Zeug's 2017 dissertation "An Oral History of Three Kapa Practitioners" investigates less the materiality of kapa and more on the experience of learning and teaching kapa making. Zeug, who is a kapa practitioner herself, interviewed her teacher (kumu) and her teacher's teacher about how narrative inquiry through kapa is a pedagogical practice in and of itself. The modalities of kapa making ensure that the knowledge of the practice continues in succeeding generations. She describes kapa as a product that carries with it the stories, intention and problem-solving of the kapa maker and the genealogy which the kapa and its maker came from.

Sheri Majewski's 2013 Master's thesis "Contemporary Meaning in Ancient Art: A Case for Hawaiian Kapa" uses an authoethnographic methodological approach to investigate the pedagogical practice of teaching kapa making by contemporary kapa practitioners. Majewski interviewed contemporary kapa practitioners about their craft and their learning process while cross-examining historical sources on kapa. After learning from kapa practitioners about their practice and their students, she found that kapa making is in fact being perpetuated, creating a regenerative cycle of students that promotes a kapa legacy. Majewski concludes that the way kapa making is currently being taught has the potential to be developed into a curriculum with structured learning outcomes.

The approaches of Lennard and Mills, Zeug and Majewski have provided important contributions through their research, consultation and collaboration with kapa practitioners. They emphasise the knowledge of kapa makers and their work in ensuring that the practice has a future. Practitioners are named in these projects, ensuring that they, their process and intentionality are not lost to history. This led to some key guiding questions that helped to inform

this thesis' research question and develop the methodology used in this thesis: Are there ways that we can identify makers of surviving kapa? And if not, how can kapa created during a collective period of artistic zeitgeist be adequately described?

Scholars on barkcloth have taken other approaches to understanding barkcloth and its production and contemporary circulation within cultural groups. Ping-Ann Addo studies how barkcloth and cash are cycled in Tongan diasporic communities through a process she described as modalities of sharing. The presentation of koloa (which included gifts of mats, cloth and barkcloth) at ritual and life events, and as donations and rewards, are essential to maintaining Tongan relationships and familial reputations (Addo 2017). However, Addo observed that in some cases this tradition was changing for Tongans living in diaspora from their homeland and cash was preferred to koloa due to logistical and financial concerns. Addo concludes that despite the beginnings of a transition from koloa to cash giving, the koloa still remain an integral part of gift giving, leaving community members to have to negotiate between operating within tradition and modernity.

Anna-Karina Hermkens in *Engendering Objects: Dynamics of Barkcloth and Gender among the Maisin of Papua New Guinea* (2005) analyses Maisin barkcloth loincloths (called embobi for women and koefi for men) as not only an object produced by women but as an object that "structures and defines various layers of identity" (Hermkens 2013, 17, 19). She describes the role of women shaping society as a whole, and then used as an object used to define both men and women's identities (Hermkens 2013, 17-18). Hermkens investigates identity in regards to gender, personhood, clan and tribal identities and is particularly interested in understanding identity in instances when there is tension between these allocations and constructions of identity (Hermkens 2013, 18).

While the study of identity via kapa is specifically this thesis' approach, both Addo and Hermkens' emphasis on the contribution of women to society through barkcloth has helped to frame this study. Chapter One gives credit to women makers and emphasises their important role in providing for people. This study also shows how by drawing inspiration from foreign cloth and clothing, kapa makers expanded their kapa repertoire and experimented with new forms, materials and designs.

Dress Encounter Studies in Hawai‘i and the Pacific

This thesis has been greatly influenced by what I refer to as the fields of Pacific encounter studies and dress encounter studies. Pacific encounter studies began in the twentieth century as a result of the growing field of colonial historiography. By revisiting sources authored by Euro-Americans who "discovered" the various Pacific archipelagos, scholars have been able to identify and highlight Indigenous responses to foreign arrivals. Scholars including Anne Salmond, Nicholas Thomas and Vanessa Smith developed new methodological approaches to read and interpret colonial sources to frame narratives and histories around Indigenous agency and choice.[28]

[28] The study of first encounters between foreigners and Pacific peoples has been the topic of many historic and anthropological studies. Vanessa Smith in *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (2010) presents on the cross-cultural encounters members of Cook's voyage had with Oceanic peoples, and how these exchanges were interpreted by the British as displays of friendship. Smith uses specific examples of relationships formed between Oceanians and British voyagers. Anthropologist Anne Salmond's work is dedicated to decentring Europeans from the histories of Indigenous peoples and upending the European "discovery" narrative. Her methodological approach in *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Māori and Europeans*, *1642-1772* (1991) and *Between Worlds: Early Exchanges Between Māori and Europeans 1773-1815* (1997) examined Māori and British and encounter through an ethnographic lens, and she closely studied Māori sources on historic first meetings along with the British accounts of the same events. Bronwen Douglas's *Science, Voyages, and Encounters in Oceania, 1511-1850* (2014) studied the prevailing European discourses on race and human difference and how they impacted European encounters with Pacific peoples. Douglas identifies moments where European encounters did not go as planned, which he attributes to native agency.

Dress encounter studies is a specific approach to understanding cultural interaction through the exchange of cloth and clothing and ideas about dress, and the production and use of cloth and clothing.[29] Studies that look at how people navigate their identities through cloth have been influential to this research. Mukulika Banerjee and Dan Miller's in *The Sari* (2008) interviewed women who wear sari as a sign of their personal aesthetic, style and sensibilities as "a living an effective alternative to stitched clothing of the West" (Banerjee and Miller 2008, 3). The duo's research on sari as a *lived* garment connects to the personal stories of women sari wearers who are are experiencing religious and political changes in modern India (Banerjee and Miller 2008, 4). *The Sari* highlights shared ideas about this form of cultural dress – shopping, expectations, competition between garments – across many regions and religions. Similar to Banerjee and Miller, the chapters of this thesis seek to understand how kapa and foreign cloth and clothing related (or did not).

Scholars have looked at periods of cultural interaction between Westerners and Pacific peoples, and the changes in clothing or dress practices as a result said interaction. Nicholas Thomas looks at a Samoan-Tahitian case study of dress encounter in "The Case of the Misplaced Ponchos: Speculations Concerning the History of Cloth in Polynesia". Tahitians traditionally wore what Thomas refers to as upper body clothing which included garments like ponchos. After Cook's visits to the islands and Tahitian kapa makers seeing trade cloth, designs on tapa ponchos broadened to include stamped ferns and botanical motifs (Thomas 1999, 12). Missionaries with the Church Missionary Society liked the ponchos not for their decorative quality but their plainness and chaste associations (Thomas 1999, 14). The missionaries advocated for the

[29] Other non-Pacific dress encounter scholarship that has influenced this work include Tamara J. Walker's *Exquisite Slave: Race, Clothing and Status in Colonial Lima* (2017), Karen Tranberg Hansen and D. Soyini Madison's *African Dress: Fashion, Agency, Performance* (2013) and Robert S. DuPlessis's *The Material Atlantic: Clothing, Commerce, and Colonization in the Atlantic World, 1650-1800* (2015).

introduction of the Tahitian ponchos to Sāmoa. Tahitians who adopted Christianity and travelled to Sāmoa to make the introduction, but their reception was lukewarm. Sāmoans remained insistent in self-decoration as a pleasurable Samoan activity (Thomas 1999, 14-15). Within this multicultural study, Thomas emphasises that Tahitians and Sāmoans continued to respond to their own sensibilities about presentation and were not so quick to diverge from them when asked to by external forces.

Fanny Wonu Veys' work on Tongan kapa has been extremely influential in providing a guide to writing about kapa in ways that do not reify othering ethnographic studies of kapa. In *Unwrapping Tongan Barkcloth* (2017), Veys argues that barkcloth lies at the centre of social relationships in Tonga, affirming the important role that its production has as a mode of female agency in the Kingdom of Tonga. The book is a history of Tongan barkcloth, and Veys presents kapa as both witness to encounters with foreigners and as an integral part of ceremonies and as the base for a diversity of designs and motifs. Her approach to kapa in this way acted as a model for how to write the case study chapters of this thesis.

Patricia Grimshaw's *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (1989) centres on the women of the Sandwich Islands Mission and tracks their journeys from daughters of the Second Great Awakening to wives and mothers living in the missionary field. Grimshaw focuses on the spiritual, moral and economic domestic roles that the missionary wives fulfilled while their husbands formally acted as missionaries in the field. As a part of this focus, Grimshaw looks at the relationships and negotiations between Hawaiian and missionary women, especially around the making and wearing of clothing, which she argues provides a "deeper understanding of the process of acculturation in the islands, a process which eventually had implications for Hawaii's entry into the American sphere of influence" (Grimshaw 1989,

XXII). Jennifer Thigpen's *Island Queens and Mission Wives* (2014) explains that the missionary wives' use of making custom clothing for the aliʻi only to gain favour and earn trust. Thigpen argues that building relationships through clothing was key to the long-term survival of the Mission. The scholarship of ethnographer Linda Arthur studies the development of some of the clothing that was created by the missionary wives during the 1820s to 1840s. Her articles "Hawaiian Women and Dress: The Holokū as an Expression of Ethnicity" (1998) and "Fossilized Fashion in Hawaii" (1998) tracks the continued popularity of the holokū and muʻumuʻu, styles of dress that were developed by missionary wives for Hawaiian women.

The research of Grimshaw, Thigpen and Arthur undoubtedly highlights the efforts of missionary women in introducing Christian appropriate dress styles to Hawaiians. However, my work aims to decentre the discourse around nineteenth-century Hawaiian dress encounters away from White women who were a minority in the kingdom and had very limited power. Aliʻi relationships to foreign cloth and clothing, and how to wear such articles, had been well established before the arrival of foreign traders and Christian missionaries in the 1820s. Hawaiians, and especially aliʻi, formed their own decisions and valuations about the new styles of dress that were coming ashore. Emphasising the arguably simple chronological point that clothes came before the missionaries destabilises arguments that missionaries had substantial social and political authority to impact Hawaiian dress practices broadly. The following chapters aim to showcase how missionaries instead attempted, and many times failed, to establish widespread influence on Hawaiian dress as they saw fit. I argue that instances where some headway was made was the result of collaborative strategies between Hawaiian and missionary women in rural areas.

Another study on dress encounter in Hawai‘i is seen in Stacy Kamehiro’s *The Art of Kingship* (2009). While the text is a larger, thorough study of public art and architecture produced in the Hawaiian Kingdom during the reign of King David Kalākaua from 1874 to 1891, Kamehiro highlights clothing as a medium skilfully used by the monarch. Kamehiro argues that the visual culture promulgated by Kalākaua promoted and meshed customary symbols of chiefliness with Western materials and forms. This approach was strategic and had a double purpose: Kalākaua boosted the kingdom’s status internationally while also strongly asserting his rank and ability to govern. Kamehiro’s focus on how Hawaiians learned and adjusted foreign forms to their taste echoes Kaeppler’s arguments on how Hawaiians made kapa to suit their own tastes and interests.

Studying kapa through a dress encounter methodological framework provides an opportunity to study how Hawaiians responded to the foreigners that were coming to their shores within the early kingdom’s own concurrent waves of social, political and economic change.

Hawai‘i and Pacific Quilting

Other genres beyond kapa clothing were used in Hawaiian self-presentation in the early ninteenth century. If we consider wearing clothing as a mode of self-presentation, we can also consider the presentation of kapa as an act of self-presentation. Kapa was frequently presented and exchanged as gifts, tax goods, and items used for barter. The presentation of kapa was done publically and often accompanied with chants and song.

This thesis features a chapter that discusses the relationship between nineteenth-century Hawaiian kapa and quilting in Hawai‘i. Quilting took on its own unique form in Hawai‘i, a form

that as I argue in later chapters is inextricably linked to the production of kapa moe kuiki, a new genre of nineteenth-century kapa.

Scholars who have published extensively on Hawaiian and Pacific quilts emphasise the strong graphic elements that developed in island groups.[30] Because this thesis is interested in understanding how Hawaiians used materials to present themselves, scholarly approaches that have highlighted the creative agency of their makers have been inspiring.[31] Linda Arthur, a leading scholar on Hawaiian quilts, argues for the distinctiveness of Hawaiian quilts. Arthur states that Hawaiian quilts are not adaptations of American album quilting but are instead the result of a convergence of Polynesian and American crafts in the nineteenth century. Arthur argues that Hawaiian quilting transformed over the nineteenth century: adoption of the craft from the missionaries, modification by Hawaiians, incorporation of quilts into the social culture and characterisation of the practice through Hawaiian words (Arthur 2011, 106-113).

Joyce D. Hammond's "Polynesian Women and Tīfaifai Fabrications of Identity" (1986) studies how women express their identities with through tīfaifai, or piecework and appliqué textiles. Hammond argues that makers of tīfaifai are combining influences from Western quilts and barkcloth traditions. This selection of elements for a quilt was a mode of Polynesian self-expression or "sentiment" (Hammond 1986, 260; 1993). In regards to Hawaiian quilting, Hammond states that there are striking similarities between Western quilts and Hawaiian kapa moe including the multi-layered elements to quilting a piece together, most notably between the kilohana (designed top layer of the kapa moe) and the appliqué design (Hammond 1986, 263-

[30] Laurel Thatcher Ulrich and curators Pamela A. Parmal, Jennifer M. Swope and Lauren D. Whitley consider a different approach to discussing quilts in *Fabric of a Nation: American Quilt Stories* (2021). Rather than categorizing quilts by form, ethnicity or region, the authors call for placing quilts in conversation with each other because their designs share similar themes Pamela Parmal, Jennifer M. Swope, and Lauren D. Whitley, eds., *Fabric of a Nation: American Quilt Stories* (Boston: MFA Publications, 2021), 9-11.

[31] There is a plethora of books on Hawaiian and Pacific quilt. Authors Poakalani Serrao, Reiko Mochinaga Brandon and Loretta G. H. Woodward have focused on the designs of quilts.

264). She argues that the appliqué style of quilting, a unique Hawaiian modification, likely originated in Hawai‘i before travelling to other islands in the Pacific (Hammond 1986, 264).

Susanne Küchler and Andrea Eimke’s “Tīvaivai: The Social Fabric of the Cook Islands” (2010) explores how biography and memory is imbedded within Polynesian patchwork quilts. Using tīvaivai as an example, the authors explain that while patchwork quilting has European origins, tīvaivai became a craft all its own. Quilting serves important functions in binding the Cook Islands community together, celebrating life events and connecting diasporic families distanced from their homeland (Küchler and Eimke 2010, 19). The text is a multifaceted approach to introducing the culture of the craft to readers. Poetry written by women is interspersed throughout the text as well as notes about the female makers, their connections and genealogies. This approach to analysing quilts emphasises that maker and product are bound together.

Una Kimokeo-Goes in “The Quilt Speaks: Crafting Gender and Cultural Norms in Hawai‘i” (2019) argues that Hawaiian quilts both fulfilled missionary aspirations for civilising Hawaiians while also simultaenously subverting aspects of the missionary belief system. Rather, quilts designs voiced Hawaiian identity and upheld new values while respecting traditions. Kimokeo-Goes points to designs that represent Hawaiian views on familial stories, religion, politics, culture and women’s work (Kimokeo-Goes 2019, 115). Studying the designs and motifs of the quilts reveal a diversity of beliefs and opinions held by their makers.

Hammond and Kimokeo-Goes cite quilt designs as important expressions of political beliefs and association with the ali‘i. Hammond identifies Hawaiian flag quilts as a popular motif that combined piece work with appliqué to create multiple Hawaiian flags and the kingdom’s royal coat of arms. Hammond emphasises the need to contextualise the Hawaiian flag quilts from

the political period in which they were created. For example, flag quilts created in the 1890s after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom were symbols of sovereignty and expressed the makers' patriotism and loyalty to the nation (Hammond 1993, 7). Kimokeo-Goes points to Queen Lili‘uokalani's own crazy quilt made during her 1895 imprisonment as another example of how quilts can be read as expressions of the political opinions of women. Lili‘uokalani and her assisttants embroidered onto the quilt dates and names of the Queen's supporters and to commemorate the events of the overthrow. Hawaiian flags also appear in the design (Kimokeo-Goes 2019, 118).

The bibliography on Pacific quilting richly demonstrates the value of studying Hawaiian quilts for what they say about cultural transition and about the personal expressions of their makers. A case study chapter in this thesis is dedicated to a kapa moe that displays a quilt like pattern. Chapters Two and Three aim to contribute to the timeline on Hawaiian quilting by expounding on how Hawaiian kapa quilting preceded the Hawaiian appliqué style quilting. Similar to the material culture approaches used by the aforementioned authors, the chapter examines a kapa moe through designs and also the materials and techniques used to make the piece.

The Hawaiian-Language Archive and Contemporary Scholarship

I found Pahukula's story 162 years after it was published and was stunned by its content. In his brief article, we see Pahukula intentionally present himself in multiple ways, his intended audience the Hawaiian readership of *Ka Hoku o Pakipika* past, present and future. Pahukula's cleverness ensured that the wearing of his kapa could continue far beyond the singular event.

Hawaiians have been writing for and about themselves since 1822 after the development of a Hawaiian orthography. The orthography project was spearheaded by Elisha Loomis, a 22-year-old printer from New York who joined the ABCFM's First Company of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Orthography played an important role in the ABCFM's Prudential Committee's goals for the Mission: learn the language, create a standardised orthography and alphabet and teach the Bible.

Loomis drew inspiration from the Church Missionary Society's development of a Māori alphabet in *New Zealand Grammar and Vocabulary* (1820) (Walch 1967, 358). After a week of development, Loomis printed his first publication on 7 January 1822, an eight-page reader called the "Piapa", which contained the alphabet, spelling lessons and some readings (Walch 1967, 362).[32] A second spelling book was published in 1825 and included an updated alphabet of 12 letters (Walch 1967, 359-360). Hawaiians were so thrilled by these printed pages, called palapala, that Loomis and his assistants could not keep up with demand. The missionary print shop persevered through issues of securing paper shipments and finding the suitable type, and by 1825, the Mission was printing 1.5 million pages a year. By 1830, that number had increased to five million pages a year and the range of material being printed included not only the Mission's titles but other documents for the Hawaiian government (Walch 1967, 362).

The aliʻi saw literacy as a technology that could increase communication between the islands, and between aliʻi and makaʻāinana.[33] The chiefs supported an archipelago-wide

[32] The "piapa" is spelt pīʻāpā with diacritical markers.

[33] My argument that the printing press and printed pages differs from that of Jeffery Sissons' *The Polynesian Iconoclasm: Religious Revolution and the Seasonality of Power* (2014). Sissons argues that the demand of spelling books in Tahiti and Hawaiʻi was due to their ritual value in securing life than to the fact that they taught a technique for transmitting and storing information Jeffery Sissons, *The Polynesian Iconoclasm: Religious Revolution and the Seasonality of Power* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 101-02. This thesis features several primary accounts written by Hawaiian authors and printed on the mission's press whose contents have little to do with their beliefs or musings about Christian ritual, value or the promise of everlasting life. Instead, they focus on mundane life events and news. The missionaries themselves recognised that the readership was interested in more than just Christian

education programme assisted by the ABCFM missionaries, allowing the kingdom's population to reach universal literacy by 1850 (Mühlhäusler 1996, 219). Social value was placed on this form of education, and printed ink became a symbol of the learned as seen in the epithet "ka wai ʻeleʻele a ka poʻe ike", or "the black fluid of the learned". The result of this early-nineteenth century commitment towards Hawaiian literacy is the surviving the Hawaiian-language archive, which is believed to be the largest Native language archive in the Pacific and Indigenous United States (Arista 2010, 16). The contents of the archive include Hawaiian-language government documents, newspapers, manuscripts, books, letters, journals and genealogical records, all of which can be used as tools to better understand the Hawaiian past in the kingdom's dominant language (Nogelmeier 2010, 1-3).

Nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspapers are filled with native oratory forms that were printed into text. Generic oratory forms like oli (chant), mele (song), moʻolelo (stories, histories) and moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy) were developed to package information, and the accuracy of said information within these oratory formats was ensured by the rigid structure in which information was passed down between generations. Mary Kawena Pukui describes how children were selected, reared and trained so that they could receive and pass on the information accurately between generations (Baker and Baker 2023, 3).

> Grandparents who were versed in the lore of their people and their homeland picked out the grandchildren with the most retentive minds to teach…There [sic] had to be quiet during story telling period so that the mind would not be distracted. Strict attention had to be paid to every word of the narrative. No unnecessary movement was permitted except to change the sitting position when uncomfortable. The call of nature must be attended to before the story telling began, for it was kapu to attend to such matters in

news and interspersed their Biblical lessons within various news updates from missionaries stationed across the kingdom. This is seen in Chapter Three in my discussion about indigo and in Chapter Seven in my discussion on homespun.

> the middle of a tale. Tales learned were not repeated casually without thinking to who and where one spoke (Pukui, Mary Kawena, 1).

Hawaiian orality carried the mana of not only an individual also the generations of ancestors that preceded them. Arista argues that printing Hawaiian knowledges was done so in order to preserve their reliability and ensure their longevity. Printing continued the process of protecting and preserving the information that had been performed through oratory for thousands of years (Arista 2019, 91-92). Hawaiian readers responded to the public aspect of Hawaiian-language newspapers because the print format replicated the ways in which Hawaiian knowledge was deliberated, discussed and debated on.

The veracity of orality rings true for other island peoples across Oceania. Rotuman scholar Vilsoni Hereniko similarly critiques Western scholars on the Pacific who have not seriously used oral stories in academic writing because of issues of authenticity (Hereniko 2000, 82). Hereniko describes how knowledge was publicly presented for the larger community to receive and preserve information.

> Knowledge about custom and tradition was communicated during ceremonies and rituals, such as during a wedding or a funeral. Observers carefully watched how things were done and store the information in their memory for future use. Sometimes there was controversy over protocol or the accuracy of certain procedures or customs. When conflict arose, the views of knowledgeable elders were consulted and obeyed. Sometimes the parties concerned might agree to disagree because there was no uniform and compulsory form that was enforceable for the whole island (Hereniko 2000, 81).

Hereniko's description of knowledge being performed in public spaces in different scenarios aligns with how Hawaiians similarly performed their information first through oration, and continuously in the nineteenth century through the publication of textual material (Arista

2018, 6). Hawaiians enjoyed debate (hoʻopāpā, hoʻopaʻapaʻa) and saw it as a part of oratory knowledge exchange. Newspapers provided a large forum to present one's arguments to and engage with others across the kingdom.[34] Because of the high level of editorial participation, lively discussions often spanned several articles over the course of a few issues. The intent was to make knowledge and opinions known so that they could be engaged with, even for scholars like myself two centuries later.

However, after almost a century of active Hawaiian-language print culture, Hawaiian language saw a sharp decline in use because of the colonization of Kingdom of Hawaiʻi at the end of the nineteenth century. A group called the Committee of Safety overthrew Queen Liliʻuokalani, the reigning monarch of Hawaiʻi, in 1893 after years of public disagreement with the kingdom government about voting rights and agricultural export policy. The coup, comprising of mainly foreign businessmen, established a new government called the Republic of Hawaiʻi, and strongly argued for the annexation of Hawaiʻi by the United States.

In 1896, the Republic altered the islands' educational laws and changed the standard language of instruction for private and public schools from Hawaiian to English. In instituting Act 57, a law that required only English be taught, all other languages were prohibited from being taught or spoken in classroom settings (Grandinetti 2014, 190). There were many other consequences of this "English only" law: the number of Hawaiian-language schools sharply

[34] Many of the editors of the early Hawaiian-language newspapers were foreigners. For example, *Ka Lama Hawaii* and *Ke Kumu Hawaii* was edited and published by Reverend Reuben Tinker, a former Massachusetts newsman turned ABCFM missionary Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*, 18. However, many Hawaiians were involved early on in the editing and printing process. Students at Lahainaluna Seminary where *Ka Lama Hawaii* was published were taught how to set type and print. Later in the nineteenth century, Hawaiians also started their own newspapers. The future king David Kalākaua started *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* in 1861, the first Hawaiian-language newspaper produced solely by Native Hawaiians and run by editors J. K. Kaunamanō and G. W. Mila Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*, 59. Hawaiian-produced newspapers prioritised different themes and interests from their English-language rivals Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*, 61.

declined, students were physically punished for speaking Hawaiian in schools and families were discouraged from speaking Hawaiian in the home to succeeding generations. The colonial government felt little remorse for the decline of Hawaiian-language writing in one of their school board reports, “The gradual extinction of a Polynesian dialect may be regretted for sentimental reasons, but it is certainly for the interest of the Hawaiians themselves” (Silva 2004, 144). English had eclipsed Hawaiian as the language of the populous by the early twentieth-century. Despite the initial suggestion that the U.S. would not annex Hawai‘i and the kingdom would be restored, Hawai‘i became a territory of the U.S. in 1900. Hawai‘i experienced a double colonisation of its language and sovereignty.

By the 1970s, the number of speakers whose first language was Hawaiian was dwindling. However, movements to advocate for Indigenous rights began to increase around the same time, providing a political and social climate for Hawaiians to advocate for change. One such movement was the growing interest in the value and need for Hawaiian language and its revitalisation. This movement began with students and instructors at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa who recorded native speakers, appealed to lawmakers to repeal the ban on Hawaiian language and establish a Hawaiian-language education pathway starting from preschool to high school (Oliveira 2014, 81).

Hawaiian scholars who were motivated by Hawaiian-language advocacy began writing new critical and enlightening histories using Hawaiian sources as a primary source base. The result of such a prioritisation were histories that prioritised Hawaiian voice, agency and perspective in their creation. Noenoe Silva calls this movement in Hawaiian academia an intellectual resurgence that has made two things clear. The first is that engagement with Hawaiian-language archive is a political act, one that opens the door for the creation and

regeneration of a more Hawaiian world for Hawaiian descendants to live in. The second is that "it is unacceptable to continue writing histories of our people without attending to this archive, or otherwise having kuleana to do so" (Silva 2017, 213).

The potential of this archive requires modern scholars on Hawai'i to have cultural fluency and competency in the Hawaiian language in order to interpret the information without reducing or decontextualising the original source material. Noenoe Silva's *Aloha Betrayed* (2004) combats Hawai'i's colonial historiography which characterises Hawaiians as passive and unpolitical towards American colonisation (Silva 2004, 3, 5). Her methodology uses sources, including newspaper articles and petitions, written by politically and civically engaged authors of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to critique the existing historiography and raise awareness of unknown political players.

David A. Chang's *The World and All Things Upon It* (2016) similarly asserts the primacy of Hawaiian-language sources. As active agents of exploration, Chang studies how Hawaiians formulated their ideas about global geography through published Hawaiian-language stories, textbooks and letters written by both Hawaiians living in the islands and diasporic Hawaiians.

G. Samantha Rosenthal's *Beyond Hawai'i: Native Labor in the Pacific World* (2014) investigates how Hawaiian labour fuelled the transformation of the Pacific as a region bound to capitalism. Rosenthal uses Hawaiian-language newspaper accounts of Hawaiian labourers drawn and bound to the boom and bust of whaling, fertiliser harvesting and plantation work to discuss the social and economic impact that these industries had on the landscape and oceanscape of the Pacific.

Through their prioritisation of Hawaiian-language sources, Silva, Chang and Rosenthal's work are significant contributions to the fields of Hawaiian politics, geography and labour

history. But perhaps more importantly, their research shows that the Hawaiian-language archive is not lacking in what it can offer scholars who approach it with robust methodologies.

Hoʻololi – Methodology

Kapa was in conversation with new types of cloth and clothing that were arriving in the young but increasingly global Hawaiian Kingdom. This thesis aims to provide art-historical study of nineteenth-century kapa informed by kapa as a material culture source, and Hawaiian and English-language sources.

I started research into this project by focusing on the Hawaiian language around kapa. I started by reading Elbert and Pukui's 1986 edition Hawaiian-English dictionary cover to cover in order to cull a list of Hawaiian words related to kapa and cloth and clothing words (e.g. words to describe cloth patterns, varieties or clothing types) with nineteenth-century origin. I narrowed down this list to words that were not homonyms (e.g. did not have multiple definitions). I then used this list to search for newspaper articles on the Office of Hawaiian Affairs' Papakilo Database, a digital, word-searchable Hawaiian-language newspaper database that includes the majority of Hawaiian-language newspapers. I then read any newspapers articles that used these vocabulary words and identified relevant articles.

Many articles sourced for this thesis were published in the missionary newspapers *Ka Lama Hawaii* and *Ke Kumu Hawaii*. Other Hawaiian-language newspapers published in the 1840s like *Ka Nonanona* and *Ka Elele* also supplied a wealth of information. Please note that references to clothing, cloth and kapa were often found in often surprising places, including in newspaper articles that reference violence, death and suicide. I chose to include these types of

references in this thesis in order to show the full breadth of life in the nineteenth century. Please take care while reading.

Translation demands a thoughtful process, and I took this methodological step seriously as I worked with the Hawaiian-language primary source material. I chose to translate word-for-word with no embellishment or exaggeration. Definitions of words were sourced from Elbert and Pukui's 1986 edition Hawaiian-English dictionary and Lorrin Andrew's Hawaiian dictionary from 1865 (Andrews 1865; Pukui, Mary Kawena and Elbert 1986). English translations of Hawaiian words are presented in parentheses when the word appears in the text for the first time or when I am using a new definition for the word for the first time. In situations where I felt a word's definition did not align with the dictionary definitions available in the context of the material, I chose to leave the original Hawaiian word within the English translation.

After translating the newspaper articles from Hawaiian into English, the translations were then edited for clarity through a process of reading and discussion with a colleague, Iāsona Ellinwood, a professional Hawaiian-language translator. All translations in this text are my own unless otherwise noted. Due to word limit constraints, I was unable to keep the original Hawaiian text directly adjacent with the English translations. As an alternative, I kept the English in the main text of this manuscript and moved the Hawaiian into an appendix to ensure that Hawaiian-language readers can engage directly with the original text. The exception to this is the inclusion of the original Hawaiian text in parenthesis with their English translation in the footnote references. An appendix of all of the Hawaiian-language articles I translated and used in this thesis' made text is also included at the end of the thesis in Appendix Three. I indicate which Hawaiian text is translated using a roman numeral in the citation.

Beginning with Hawaiian-language newspaper articles proved useful as I continued to search for English-language primary source material. Newspapers are organised chronologically and have their own historical contexts embedded within them, a quality that is often lacking in archival material due to the archival processes (e.g. organising information categorically or thematically). Newspapers and the news they recorded provided a frame of reference for what to look for in other archives, and often provided suggestions for archives that should be researched in next. For example, after seeing mentions in newspaper articles about cloth being used as a tax item, I located tax records and other government documents at the Hawai‘i State Archives, the repository for government documents from the kingdom period. I used the Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives's Ali‘i Letters Collection and the Hawaiian Historical Society collection similarly because they correlated to themes previously identified in the Hawaiian-language newspapers.

Kapa that survives in museum collections are worth studying in their own right. But one of the aims of this thesis was to contexutalise, if not reconnect, these pieces of history with the history from which they came from. When nineteenth-century kapa was made, they were borne into a Hawaiian-language world. Time and colonisation has fragmented the relationship between material and language sources. My approach in contextualising kapa with multiple language sources aims to aggregate sources separated by distance, formats, locations and countries.

Finding physical examples of nineteenth-century kapa in museum collections was a priority for this project. In his 2005 journal article, "Material Culture and Cultural History", Richard Grassby defines culture as human responses to opportunities in specific historical contexts. He argues that it is the job of historians to use written *and* material cultural evidence to "reconstruct the patterns of meanings, values, and norms shared by members of society".

Grassby calls for using a combination of textual and material primary sources from a period provides levels of information: about the conditions of life, the hierarchies of value among objects, and the quality and quantity of goods produced and distributed. Kapa clothing made by Hawaiians in the first half of the nineteenth century are tangible examples of the interest and excitement Hawaiians had about foreign cloth and clothing, as well as the sustained interest Hawaiians had working with kapa to achieve what they needed from the material.

Case studies developed after visits to kapa collections at museums in Hawai‘i and New England. While it was my intent to also visit British and European institutions with kapa collections, my efforts were thwarted by the COVID-19 pandemic. I completed museum collection visits in Hawai‘i between 2018 until 2020 spread across multiple research trips. I visited the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History in the summer of 2019 and toured collections in Massachusetts in February 2020, just before the pandemic began. In future iterations of this kapa research, I hope to identify nineteenth-century kapa in museum collections outside of Hawai‘i and the United States.

I started by looking through the kapa collection at the Bishop Museum, the largest collection of kapa in the world. By going through the museum catalogue and seeing the objects in person, I started to identify genres of kapa that were made in the nineteenth century: kapa quilts, kapa neckerchiefs, kapa dresses. I used these genres of kapa as a guide as what to look for in other kapa collections in museums. This process of starting with the largest kapa collection to build a base of familarity proved to be very productive. I visited the kapa collections at the Honolulu Museum of Art and the Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, which both house collections of kapa formed by Congregational missionaries and their descendants. These collections counter the clothing-focused texts of the missionaries. While these kapa

collections were very different in size and scope from the Bishop Museum's, they share similarity in the strength of their provenance records which helped to inform potential date ranges for certain pieces, information that was not always explicitly listed in the accession records.

While searching for English-language sources in Massachusetts, I also conducted kapa research at the Peabody Essex Museum located in Salem and Historic New England in Haverhill. The majority of the Hawaiian material objects in these collections were either collected or given to the museum by New England locals who had ties to Hawai‘i or had lived or visited the islands as missionaries, research scientists and merchants. The provenance records for objects in these collections were surprisingly detailed and illuminated new insights into the date ranges for certain genres of nineteenth-century kapa and also how they were acquired.

I was able to engage with the collections of the United States Exploring Expedition (also referred to as U.S. Ex. Ex. and the Wilkes Expedition) at Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History (NMNH), The U.S. Ex. Ex. was a five-year expedition led by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes in and around the Pacific. The official visit to Hawai‘i took place from September 1840 to April 1841 and the scientific corps visited and collected natural history and ethnographic material from the islands of O‘ahu, Kaua‘i, Maui and Hawai‘i. Of the surviving 85 ethnological specimens collected, 33 pieces or 40% of the collection is kapa. The collection also includes examples of cotton woven cloth collected from Wailuku Seminary on Maui which were the rare examples of locally made cloth I could find. To determine where certain kapa examples were collected, I read the field notes of members of the scientific corp and the published accounts from crew members. The plethora of sources produced by the expedition helped to better contextualise the examples of kapa and cloth at a pivotal time in Hawaiian fashion history.

Hawaiian history will benefit from the use of new sources and this work aims to contribute to this need. Using a combination of sources, I intend to provide a more holistic view of self-presentation during this period and highlight the transitions that kapa underwent. The hope of this deep dive into nineteenth-century kapa is that readers can see the richness and colour of this period and how our kupuna (ancestors) created and lived with these objects as their world changed.

Thesis Overview

This thesis is divided into an Introduction, seven chapters and a conclusion. The chapters move chronologically between 1810 and 1850. Chapter One introduces kapa as a product that solidified relationships between women, the main creators of kapa, their environment and their relations. This chapter discusses kapu contexts associated with wearing and sharing of kapa and how these kapu dictated self-presentation for different social classes before the nineteenth century.

The remaining body of six chapters (Chapters Two through Seven) are intended to be read as pairs. The first chapter provides historical context on dress encounter in relation to a social group living in early-nineteenth century Hawai‘i while its companion chapter provides a kapa case study related to the focused upon social group. To clarify, of the seven chapters, Chapters Three, Five and Seven are case study chapters that focus on kapa collections and objects. These case studies are intended to illustrate the general arguments developed in the previous chapter in material form and identify and describe genres of kapa created by kapa makers in the early-nineteenth century.

Chapters Two and Three focus on kapa dress encounter in relation to the aliʻi. Chapter Two focuses on Kamehameha I's social and political responses to foreign cloth and clothing in the islands and how they affected self-presentation in the upper echelons of society, and how these responses continued with other high-ranking aliʻi after Kamehameha I's death in 1819. Chapter Three is the companion to Chapter Two and presents the first case study of a nineteenth-century kapa, a kapa quilt made for the aliʻi Kaiheʻekai that utilised foreign cloth and dyes and new approaches to kapa production.

Chapters Four and Five examine kapa dress encounter in relation to the makaʻāinana. Chapter Four examines the coexistence of kapa and cloth among makaʻāinana. For people who did not have the resources to trade for cloth, makaʻāinana sought jobs that could provide them with cloth and clothing, materials that were extremely valuable especially in the rural regions of the kingdom. The case study featured in Chapter Five introduces kapa neckcloths as a genre of kapa clothing born out of makaʻāinana desire for neckerchiefs and scarves.

Chapters Five and Six examine kapa dress encounter in relation to the Sandwich Islands Mission and its missionaries. Chapter Six specifically looks at attempts made by Congregational missionaries to teach and institute self-presentation practices that reflected Christian values. While collaboration and sustained contact between aliʻi, missionaries and makaʻāinana led to creative new ways of utilising kapa as a material for kapa clothing, this did not mean that Hawaiians fully embraced the ideas of the missionaries as to how and why to dress with foreign clothing. Chapter Seven introduces what I call the Sandwich Islands Mission's Congregational dress regime, a concerted attempt by the missionaries to establish homespun as a dress regime through education and print media. Examples of Hawaiian-made homespun are identified and described in this chapter.

In the conclusion the results of this thesis are provided along with goals for future research.

Chapter One – *Ka Hana Kapa*, Revisited

> The kapa of the woman; gobies moving down below
> Pound until finished, dried below on the earth,
> The world is moved by the kapa created by the woman (*Ka Naʻi Aupuni* 1908) [Trans 1.I]

Dress is an essential part of Hawaiian life. There is a myriad of words that describe the action of adorning one's self: hoʻonani (to beautify), hoʻokāhiko (to wear finery), hoʻowehi (to decorate), kauluwehi (to adorn one with greenery), hoʻohiluhilu (to bedeck). This chapter explores how Islanders of the Hawaiian archipelago self-presented themselves with kapa in relation to kapu (prohibitions) before 1810. The implementation of kapu by aliʻi was not done recklessly but informed by kilo (observation) and ʻike (knowledge through experience and observation) of the material and immaterial world and the wise guidance of kāhuna (advisers) and confidants. Kapu dictated all aspects of Hawaiian life: the social standing of aliʻi and makaʻāinana, ritual and liminal ceremony, resource planting and harvesting, war and peace and what people could and could not wear.

Archaeological records show that the production of Hawaiian kapa is closely connected to developments in barkcloth production that were occurring across eastern Polynesia between 300 BC and 1200 CE (A. Mills 2020b, 115). These developments include prolonged bast soaking and the use of new beaters and anvils (Mills 2020b, 115). Andy Mills argues that those who settled in Hawaiʻi from central Polynesia in 1100 CE experimented with the botanical landscape, which led to the use of endemic plants as bast and plants that offered new colourants (A. Mills 2020b, 117).

Not denying Hawaiian kapa's origin connection with other Pacific regions, this chapter takes an (alter)native approach to understanding kapa's origins by examining the ancestral connections of the material and kapa's uses and functions as told through moʻolelo (histories,

stories). These stories, though printed in newspapers over the course of the nineteenth century, provide examples of how kapa operated within Hawaiian relationships: familial, romantic and hierarchical. They emphasise that kapa functioned and operated as a valuable exchange object that created and sustained relationships.

This chapter also introduces two broad social classes that are referenced in this thesis, aliʻi and makaʻāinana, as explained through their kapu and their kapa. Within these two distinctive groups were further classifications determined by one's genealogical pedigree, mana and social standing. One of the biggest indicators of one's social status and the kapu they adhered to was what people wore and adorned themselves with. The chapter will explore the genealogical kapu which dictated the quality of adornments that could be worn by an aliʻi as well as how makaʻāinana used kapu themselves to structure their relationships with others and family members.

Note that this chapter uses the term "Islanders" to categorise the different peoples living in the archipelago under regional or local aliʻi. Before the time of Kamehameha I, not all people living in the archipelago had loyalty to a single king; only after the unification of the kingdom in 1810 did everyone become "Hawaiians".

Wauke and Women: A Practice from the Gods

Hawaiian kapa begins with material. Wauke or paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), is found throughout the tropical Pacific and was the most common botanical species used for Hawaiian kapa. Lisa Schattenburg-Raymond identifies three distinct varieties of wauke that were documented in Hawaiʻi by their Hawaiian names: wauke nui, poʻaʻaha and wauke mālolo (Schattenburg-Raymond 2020, 74-76).

The moʻolelo about Maikohā talks about the origins of wauke used for Hawaiian kapa. Maikohā was the son of Hinaʻaimalama, a child of the gods Kaiuli and Kaikea, and the chief Konikonia (Fornander 1917-1919b, 268). The ten children from this union were deified as gods of food and production (Fornander 1917-1919b, 272; Fornander, Thrum, and Kawaharada 2001, 61).[35] As a young man, Maikohā broke his father's kapu and was sent into exile from his father's court. Maikohā travelled to Kaupō, Maui, where he transformed his body into the first wauke plant (Fornander 1917-1919b, 270). His sisters searched for their brother but instead found that he had become a wauke tree with a tall and skinny trunk and serrated, lobed leaves that were rough and hairy in texture. The sisters decided to leave their brother there where he could continue to grow and serve a different purpose. Maikohā's pedigree asserts that wauke's plant has royal and godly origins and emphasises the genealogical closeness between the first akua (gods), the first kanaka (man) and the first wauke of Hawaiʻi.

Another variation of Maikohā's story is set in Puiwa, Nuʻuanu, Oʻahu. Recorded by W. D. Westervelt, this moʻolelo expands on the life of Maikohā and offers an alternative way of understanding the unique origins of Hawaiian kapa. Maikohā was the father of two daughters, Lauhiki and Laʻahana. He gave his daughters explicit instructions on what to do with his body when he passed away: bury his body near the river, wait for an unfamiliar tree to sprout from the burial place and use it to make kapa. Laʻahana and Lahuiki did as they were told and harvested the wauke tree that sprouted from their father's grave. Because of her skill in beating and working the tree bast into moʻomoʻo (softened bast), Lauhuiki was deified as the goddess of

[35] Maikohā's sisters are associated with fishponds and fishing grounds on Oʻahu. For example, Maikohā's sister, Kaihuopalaʻai, settled in the ʻEwa district of Oʻahu after falling in love with a local man, Kapaʻapuhi. She transformed into a fishpond that took her name. Another sister, Kaihukoʻa, settled further west of Puʻuloa and married Kaʻena, a chief from Waiʻanae. In settling in the most western point of Oʻahu, she became the fishing ground around what is now called Kaʻena Point Abraham Fornander, Thomas G. Thrum, and Dennis Kawaharada, *Ancient Oʻahu: Stories from Fornander & Thrum* (Honolulu: Kalamakū Press, 2001, 2001), 61.

kapa making. Her sister, Laʻahana, carved patterns onto her iʻe kuku and as a result imprinted the wet kapa with figures and patterns that dried into the surface of the kapa (Westervelt 1915, 64-66). Like her sister, Laʻahana was deified as a goddess, her carved beater imprints, now referred to as watermark patterns, became a unique feature of Hawaiian kapa not seen in other barkcloth traditions of the Pacific (Kooijman 1972, 107).

Familial relationships are foundational to this second moʻolelo about Maikohā and the origins of Hawaiian kapa making. After following their father's instructions, both daughters made extraordinary kapa wauke, helping to explain why wauke became a favourite material among the Hawaiian woods used for kapa. Through the continual harvesting of wauke and the production of kapa, the relationships between the parent and child and plant and kanaka are reified, preserved and made strong.

These Indigenous stories about the origins of Hawaiian kapa making emphasise that barkcloth and the knowledge of ka hana kapa (kapa making) was subsequently refined and perpetuated by succeeding generations of early settlers of the Hawaiian Islands. The Hawaiian word "ʻike" is often translated into English as "knowledge", but this oversimplification does not recognise the mechanisms by which Hawaiians were disciplined in order to become knowledgeable. ʻIke is used to describe the action of seeing, perceiving, and understanding. Thus, the attainment of ʻike implies that an individual had thoroughly engaged in the process, if not rituals, of becoming aware and learned in a craft like ka hana kapa, to the point that she too embodied the information, could make it tangible and pass it on.

Kapa making was largely women's work and we can imagine the aliʻi and makaʻāinana disciples of Lauhuiki and Laʻahana learning as they carefully worked with the material, embodying the lessons gleaned from every mistake and every breakthrough in order to create the

practice of Hawaiian kapa making that we know today. Edward Craighill and Mary Kawena Pukui in *The Polynesian Family System in Ka-ʻu, Hawaiʻi* (1958), wrote about the connection between ʻike and expertise, explaining that before work began a prayer was given to the akua of that labour.

> Every such prayer would have in it the phrases: Ho mai ka ʻike nui, ka ʻike ike. Grant knowledge of the great things, and of the little things. Ka ʻike nui referred to the knowledge of the work as a whole, while by "little things" (ka ʻike ike) was meant all the exact little details affecting material and technique which the good craftsman must thoroughly comprehend (Handy and Pukui 1972, 103).

Pukui distinguishes ʻike nui from ʻike ike but notes that both were of importance. One form of knowledge denoted a more general understanding of production, while the other suggests expertise, called loea in Hawaiian (Kooijman 1972, 133). The combination of the two made a craftswoman. This knowledge was transmitted among women and intergenerationally, ensuring that many generations could be clothed through the labour of their foremothers.

One such knowledge followed by kapa makers was understanding how the kaulana mahina (lunar calendar) dictated – similar to a kapu – the kapa needs of their family and community. Hawaiians studied and understood how the moon affected the ebb and flow of fresh and salt water, creating the rhythms of life and influencing the life cycles of humans, plants and animals. Consisting of 30 moon phases and extremely dependable, the lunar month (malama) ordered the agricultural, political and ceremonial time that affected all Hawaiians. Based on their observations of the moon and the heavens, kahuna (advisers) provided recommendations and guidance to the aliʻi. Because of their genealogical prestige and mana, only the chiefs could place kapu upon their people, which created a balance between people, their environment and their gods.

When applied to kapa making, kaulana mahina determined the appropriate times for harvesting wauke and the availability of materials needed for making tools and creating dyes.[36] The calendar also determined the liminal ceremonies that women needed to produce kapa for, such as ceremonies of coming of age, marriage and death, tributes and taxes for their aliʻi and sacrifices and gifts to the akua. S. Kaha described the process of harvesting wauke in relation to the moon.

> …cut at the bottom, the place close to the trunk all around while separating the connection to the wood inside, then you can peel. Keep doing that for all of it to meet the desire, then when finished cutting, trim the bark and when all of the wauke has been trimmed, lay them down, organize them well into a height and size suitable for one bundle. Then bind until secure and return to the village. When you get home, soak them in water for six days or eight days (one anahulu [lunar week]) or two anahulu. Then go and get them (Kaha 1930) [Trans 1.II].

Kaulana mahina acted as an accurate clock instructing makers on when to harvest wauke and begin the process of transforming it into wearable cloth. The knowledge of kapa making was not just in the mind, it was fully embodied and experienced by women nightly and daily.

Davida Malo argues that the recipients of kapa recognised the value of women's work and did not take it for granted. Women manufactured some of Hawaiian society's most valuable items, like mats and kapa (Linnekin 1990, 13, 37, 39-44).

> These mats were used to lay over the floor of the house; the kapa is used for covering the body; then you have everything you need. That is the main work of women in supplying the household. Women who work away at these tasks are called well-to-do, skillful. These were the things that were really important to the people of old. They were considered valuable possessions (Malo 2020a, 124).

[36] Wauke was a perennial plant and could be harvested at any point in the year, enabling kapa production to happen year-round.

Kapa was the product of generations of learning that began first with families learning together. It was difficult, if not burdensome, for the female practitioners who took on this work and were required to know their environment and when to produce and make. Consider the ʻōlelo noʻeau (proverbial saying), "Luhi wahine ʻia, Laboured over by a woman. Spoken in respect and admiration of a family reared by a woman who alone fed and clothed them (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983b, 218). For the recipients having kapa to wear and use became a visible representation of a woman's care, talent and capability.

Regional Specialism: Kapa Born from the Environment

William T. Brigham's *Ka Hana Kapa* (1911) was the first publication to include a vocabulary of Hawaiian kapa terms. By combing through Hawaiian-language dictionaries published over the course of the nineteenth century, Brigham compiled six pages of kapa vocabulary or 207 words (Brigham 1911, 215-220).[37] The definitions of kapa terms varied in their information provided. Some kapa was defined by a description of the kapa's colour, patterning (e.g. variegated) or important features (e.g. scent). Other kapa was defined by its geographic source, usage or by how it was made.

[37] Brigham mined the Lorrin Andrews' *A Dictionary of Hawaiian Language* (1865) for his kapa vocabulary. *A Dictionary* was the product of over 30 years of ʻike exchanged between Hawaiians and missionaries over the intricacies of the Hawaiian language Andrews, *A dictionary of the Hawaiian language to which is appended an English-Hawaiian vocabulary and a chronological table of remarkable events*, 2. Andrews began the dictionary project in 1834 as an assignment from the Sandwich Islands Mission to compile words for a vocabulary of Hawaiian language. *A Vocabulary* was published in 1834 but Andrews felt that the product was far from perfect due to time constraints and because he did not consult "any native with regard to the propriety or impropriety of any definition". Corrections of Andrews' work began soon after its publication. Copies of *A Vocabulary* bound with blank leaves were given to the chiefs and other scholarly Hawaiians to make corrections and insert new words. Andrews filled two more books with words and requested word lists from missionaries Dr. Dwight Baldwin and Reverends William Richards, Artemas Bishop, and Gerrit P. Judd and Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau Andrews, *A dictionary of the Hawaiian language to which is appended an English-Hawaiian vocabulary and a chronological table of remarkable events*, 3-4. The final product contained 6000 words.

David Chang argues that the Hawaiian language is more than just an avenue to information but is in itself an object of historical study (Chang 2018, 238). The names and descriptions of varieties of kapa that were produced across the pae ʻāina (archipelago) have been retained in their Hawaiian words, providing a viable avenue to further understand how kapa was made and named. Those who kept the words related to kapa and provided them to dictionary makers intentionally preserved the laborious processes of kapa making in their definitions and the unique details of certain pieces. Additionally, these definitions elucidated what made a certain type of kapa notable, if not valuable.

The breadth of Brigham's initial vocabulary shows that homogeneity did not exist in kapa; each piece was unique to its maker, its place of origin and materials. Unique kapa types were created by women across the pae ʻāina, representing the literal lands and climes from which they came. On a visit to Hawaiʻi Island, Reverend John Smith Emerson, an ABCFM missionary who was stationed at Waialua, Oʻahu, reported his shock in experiencing the different climates and landscapes just within one island.[38]

> God's grace to those of Hawaiʻi is beautiful. There is cold and heat and winter and summer on the same island and the same day if a person goes from a low elevation to a high elevation. There is cold and heat, the dry land and the wetland, the windy land and the windless land in places close to each other. And if a person desires heat, then there it is, and if they desire cold then they can have it. If they want the wind, the rain, the dry, the calm, they can indeed have it (Emerson 1838b).

The Hawaiian Islands have a diverse range of altitudes, climates and environments. No two islands, let alone no two regions, were alike in temperature, elevation, environmental limitations and availability of resources, making the number of varieties of kapa produced from across the pae ʻāina astounding.

[38] Emerson was a member of the Fifth Company of Sandwich Islands missionaries.

While wauke was an essential ingredient to Hawaiian kapa, so too were water and sunlight. Challenges with procuring these necessary resources were written about extensively in Hawaiian-language newspapers from the 1830s, helping to illustrate how different makers managed to continue making kapa under difficult circumstances. Writing from Honuaʻula, I. Naleipūleho told newspaper readers of *Ke Kumu Hawaii* about life in southwest Maui in 1836 (Naleipuleho 1836). The technology of printed Hawaiian language in missionary newspapers disseminated not only knowledge about the lands and people outside Hawaiʻi, but even about areas within the pae ʻāina that most Hawaiians had only heard about. For Hawaiians who knew about the island of Maui but had yet to visit, Naleipūleho's descriptions about this part of the pae ʻāina were fascinating and exciting, allowing readers to visualise distant and foreign lands.

Life in Honuaʻula, however, was not good. Naleipūleho reported that Honuaʻula was a land in famine (wī). The sweet potatoes and taro were spent and the only foods that were available were sugarcane (kō), the aerial roots of the ti (kī) leaf and ti leaf buds. Access to food was only one of the many challenges for people in this region. Naleipūleho distinguished two different areas where people live, those in the uplands and those living closer to the ocean. The difference between the two communities was the presence of water, an important and necessary element of life for Hawaiians who equated the presence of freshwater (wai) with wealth (waiwai). Naleipūleho wrote that the coastal communities had the ill-fate of being far from the satisfaction of freshwater.

> Here at the beach [they] fetch water. If [they] fetch the water in the uplands, it is a long hike upward, short of breath climbing. - Located in forest is the water, in returning the knees are weary, in fetching the water for two large gourds, dip ([hem] in the water until full and then returning. The water containers hang low, little until full, and the remaining is used for bathing water, [for] water to wet the bast while beating to make kapa (Naleipuleho 1836) [Trans. 1.III].

The need for water forced the people of the lowlands to constantly move between their homes and the water source and because obtaining water was physically taxing, whatever was collected never went to waste. Any extra water that was not used for drinking was used for bathing and for ka hana kapa.

The stress of making kapa in Honuaʻula with little water is emphasised more compared to reports about life on other islands. A few months before the publication of Naleipūleho's article, a letter was submitted to *Ke Kumu Hawaii* by Reverend Harvey Rexford Hitchcock, a member of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Hitchock's submission details life in the different regions on the island of Molokaʻi. In his coverage, he wrote a rich account about Hālawa on the eastern side of the island, a district that is uniquely dominated by cliffs (pali). He wrote, "The cliffs are magnificent, very tall and near upright to the sky" (Hitchcock 1836b) [Trans. 1.IV] The mountain sides were "adorned by the dark green plants growing, and spotted by the presence of white waterfalls" (Hitchcock 1833-1932) [Trans. 1.V].

While the height of the cliffs left Hitchcock in awe, the beauty of Hālawa was in large part due to its agricultural productivity. Unlike in coastal Honuaʻula, Hālawa had an abundance of water which flowed through the valleys via rivers and waterfalls and was the source (kumu) of the dark blue-green hue (ʻuli) of the mountain sides and the verdancy of cultivated plants. Hitchcock deemed the land as "good" because of the presence of food plants and wauke. From his statement that the food plants were growing, we can imagine patches of kalo (taro) and maiʻa (banana), ʻulu (breadfruit) trees teeming with starchy fruit and mounds built up from the flat ground for ʻuala (sweet potato) (Hitchcock 1836b). Further upland from the areas of food cultivation were groves of wauke, enjoying the moisture of the forest soil and growing tall without inhibition. Indeed, this was good land.

But living among some of the highest cliffs in the world demanded certain adjustments from the people of Hālawa. Tasks that were seemingly easy to complete elsewhere in the islands were difficult here. Hitchcock wrote, "The people at the bottom of the cliffs are not seen by the sun because of the great height [of the cliffs]. The kapa cannot dry" (Hitchcock 1836b) [Trans. 1.VI] Here Hitchcock uses kapa production to differentiate Hālawa from other places in the archipelago. Because Hālawa was located in East Molokaʻi, the heat of the sun was a short-lived experience. Hālawa had the elements of excellent living, and yet because they lived in the shadows of their beloved cliffs, it took a long time for freshly beaten kapa to dry. Water and wauke were imperative for kapa making, but Hitchcock reminds us that so too was ample sunlight.

The lack of sun in Hālawa is reminiscent of another moʻolelo about Hawaiian kapa makers and the relationship they had with the natural forces that supported the completion of their work. In a tradition retold by Reverend A. O. Forbes and published in 1907 by Thomas Thrum, Hina was living with her son, the demigod Maui, at Makalia, near Kahakuloa in West Maui (Thrum 1907, 31-33). In Hawaiian cosmology, the goddess Hina played a significant role in establishing the Hawaiian universe and birthing the things within it. While traditions refer to her by different names and connect her to specific regions of the pae ʻāina, these retellings solidified Hina's associations, making her a trope of Hawaiian femininity (Fornander 1917-1919c, 498). Not only was she a prolific kapa maker, but also a provider of sustenance and a mother.

While Hina is the central figure to these stories, paying close attention to the relationships she had with others in these traditions reminds us that historically women's work was not always theirs alone. Hina beat her kapa but the days were too short for them to dry, forcing her to

unhang them as soon as the sun disappeared. Seeing his mother's frustration, Maui began studying the sun's movements, watching it pass over Haleakalā in East Maui. At Paeloko in Waiheʻe, Maui fashioned a strong cord made from coconut husks and scaled up Haleakalā. After tying a noose with the cord, he cast the rope and snared the sun's rays before breaking it off. Repeating this action, Maui threatened to kill the sun for making the days so short. In exchange for his life, the sun negotiated with Maui, promising to slow his course during the summers so that work could be completed (Thrum 1907, 31-33). As a beneficiary of his mother's cloth, Maui recognised his mother's ka hana kapa needs and acted accordingly, even if it meant altering the pace of the sun.

Kapa produced under harsh circumstances or a scarcity of resources created the value and prestige of specific types of kapa. An 1834 article entitled "No Na Mea Kahiko (Regarding the Things of the Past)" provides context on how valued kapa made in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in Hawaiʻi were circulated. The article authored by an anonymous writer is a narrative on the lessons gleaned from their childhood experiences. One lesson from his father was on the value of kapa due to its protective qualities, "My father said to me, "Clothes [kapa] and a house are the things that provide protection on this earth, understand this my child" (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834d) [Trans. VII] . Following this introduction, the author lists some of the types of kapa he saw (ʻike) during his childhood.[39]

> That's what I saw, gifts presented at the birth of a child, during the housewarming feast some valuable items are received, a white kapa, red-ribbed kapa, a decorated kapa with thick yellow stripes, a ribbed, grooved kapa, a malo dyed on one side with yellow dye

[39] "No Na Mea Kahiko" was published in the first Hawaiian-language newspaper, *Ka Lama Hawaii*, whereas the two articles previously mentioned in this section were published in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* and printed in Honolulu. *Ka Lama Hawaii* was printed on the first mission press in the islands at Lahainaluna, Maui, though printing of the paper was inconsistent during 1834. The first issue was printed on February 14 and two more issues were printed that month. Weekly runs were published for the months of March, April and May, but nothing was printed in the month of June and only issue published in July. The issue that "No Ka Mea Kahiko" was published in was only one of two published in August. Each issue was four pages in length and three columns in width.

> from hōlei, a red kapa striped with kukui and dyed with noni, a white cloth beaten with a kapa beater and anvil, a kapa made using beaten red cloth beaten with a rock and pounded onto kapa using a round beater until it is adequately soft, shiny, and fine, a kapa made from wauke and breadfruit flower beaten with kukui bark and dyed in ʻōhiʻa hā bark and dyed again in dirt so it is black, layers of kapa made with charcoal beaten used for pāʻū hula skirts, a coarse yellow kapa (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834d) [Trans. 1.VIII].

The types of kapa in the article are structured in a generic form known as a papa helu, or sequential listing, a feature of Hawaiian oratory with a specific purpose, one that is obscure to those unfamiliar with Hawaiian chant styles. Each item listed within the papa helu carries with it its own mana (spiritual power, power, influence) with it. As more things were added to the sequence, the relationality between the objects listed were established and made strong, conveying the mana of the totality of objects to an audience (Arista 2019, 15).[40] In this particular example, we know from the author's preface to his papa helu that kapa was so valued that it was considered a worthy gift to give for special occasions. The individual kapa types articulated in the greater papa helu structure are further elevated in importance because of their placement in relation to other types of quality pieces.

What is interesting about this papa helu is that the author went out of his way to describe the processes by which the individual types of kapa were made fine. Puakai for example is defined by Davida Malo as a "red tapa or malo dyed with noni juice" but the author provides

[40] We see the papa helu in chant traditions. A good example of this is the chant "I Kāne mā laua ʻo Kanaloa (To Kāne Gods and Kanaloa)" recorded by Davida Malo. Hawaiian society was ordered by mana; those with certain levels of mana were unable to interact with others. As Kumu John Keola Lake and Kumu Sam ʻOhu Gon explain, "I Kāne mā laua ʻo Kanaloa" was used to equalise the difference in mana between people (e.g. a chief and commoners). A key feature of this chant is the papa helu of the nights: "ʻO kahi ka pō, ʻO lua ka pō,ʻO kolu ka pō, ʻO hā ka pō,ʻO lima ka pō, ʻO ono ka pō, ʻO hiku ka pō, ʻO walu ka pō, ʻO iwa ka pō, ʻO ʻumi ka pō". The helu suggests that it took ten nights, or one anahulu (one lunar week), for mana to be reduced in order to allow for an interaction. Although this is a chant aimed towards temporarily setting aside a person's mana, it nonetheless emphasises that the person had enough mana to necessitate a papa helu form. Noelani Arista argues that papa helu was also a method of organising knowledge John Keola Lake and Sam ʻOhukaniʻōhiʻa Gon III, *Chanting: The Lyrical Poetry of Hawaiʻi* (2017), 18.

further detail that the kapa was dipped in noni juice before being finished by stamping with kukui. In a similar vein, the author did not stop at just listing paʻiʻula, a type of red kapa "made by beating red rags or tapa pieces to form a mixture of white and red" (Pukui and Elbert 1986, 303). He included how it was meticulously softened and made shiny by being beaten with rocks and round beaters. The additional information emphasises the level of care and pursuit of excellence by the kapa maker. For the recipient of these types of kapa on a significant occasion, knowing the resources and labour it took to produce the gift elevated the value of the kapa further, helping to strengthen the relationship between people. This next section will continue to explain how kapa was used to delineate and celebrate the status of individuals and members of social classes, and will focus on different types of kapa that members of certain social classes had access to and what these types of kapa communicated to a greater public.

Kapa, Kapu and Social Class

While makaʻāinana and aliʻi were putatively related to each other, what differentiated the two classes was aliʻi possession of chiefly moʻokūauhau (genealogy). Kapu iterated the scope of an aliʻi's authority over both human and natural resources (Linnekin 1990, 152-153). An ʻōlelo noʻeau explains how a chief's kapu gave an aliʻi the right of access to the finest goods, "O luna, o lalo; o uka, o kai; o ka palaoa pae, no ke aliʻi ʻia, Above, below; the upland, the lowland; the whale that washes ashore - all belong to the chief" (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983b, 273). Contrasting geographic points – uplands-ocean, heavens-earth – are used to present the vector over which a chief's kapu extended. But in this particular version, palaoa (whale) is specifically

mentioned. Living in the depths of the ocean, whales were elusive.[41] In the rare occurrence that a whale's body beached onshore, the niho palaoa (ivory teeth of a whale) were harvested. The teeth were then shaped and fashioned into lei niho palaoa using olona cordage and intricate braids of hair. Made for the highest-ranking chiefs, lei niho palaoa signalled the genealogical connections between its wearer, the greater community and ancestral gods which gave aliʻi the ability to convey kapu through oral pronouncements. It was the supreme Hawaiian lei and was among the highest symbols of chiefly descent.

Aliʻi were familiar with the most outstanding examples of categories of Hawaiian craft, including kapa. Moʻolelo help to illustrate the types of kapa given to aliʻi and the purpose they served in creating or consolidating relationships. In S. M. Kaui's 1866 publication of "He Kaao no Pikoiakaalala: Ke Keiki Akamai i ka Pana (The Tale of Pīkoiakaʻalalā: The Child Skilled in Archery)", Pīkoiakaʻalalā is tasked by his father-in-law, the aliʻi nui of Hawaiʻi, Keawenuiaumi, to locate and destroy Kīhapu, a conch-shell trumpet. Kīhapu was blown at night by the gods, making sleep difficult for the chief. Keawenuiaumi suggests to Pīkoiakaʻalalā to become the aikāne (partner) of a chief from Kona named Kahili in order to use his supernatural dog, Puapualenalena, to fetch the conch (Kaui 1866a). In the simplest of definitions, aikāne are described as companions.[42] However, Jamaica Osorio describes aikāne as "deeply loyal and committed, even when that comes at the greatest price" and stresses that those involved in the union commit to renewing their bond (Osorio, Jamaica 2021, 64). Thus, Keawenuiaumi's

[41] Whales are manifestations of the god Kanaloa, who was revered as one of the primary gods of the Hawaiian pantheon. Kanaloa was the brother of Kāne.

[42] What constitutes an aikane relationship has been the topic of much contemporary debate. Many historical aikāne relationships were between members of the same gender. Mary Kawena Pukui argues that this relationship was "never homosexual" E. S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian family system in Ka-ʻu, Hawaiʻi* (Rutland: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1972), 73. Jamaica Osorio does not sharply define instead aikāne but instead stresses the ways in which aikane expressed their pilina (closeness) and aloha (love) to each other Jamaica Osorio, *Remembering Our Intimacies: Mo'olelo, Aloha 'Aina, and Ea* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2021), 37.

instruction to Pīkoiakaʻalalā to take Kahili as an aikāne suggests that the chief hoped that the two would form a deep, mutually beneficial long-term relationship.

In the 11th instalment of the moʻolelo, readers see that Pīkoiakaʻalalā took his father-in-law's suggestion seriously. Pīkoiakaʻalalā approaches Kahili with an abundance of gifts, presenting them while reciting a papa helu.

> White and red is Waipiʻo's kapa,
> Aeokanaloa is Waimanu's kapa,
> Ihuanu is Kohala's kapa,
> Kapa coloured with coconut is Kohala's kapa,
> The malo dyed one colour on one side, and another colour on the other,
> White is Kaʻū's kapa,
> Turmeric-dyed malo,
> Greyish black is Puna's kapa,
> The malo dyed with red noni-juiced and ribbed,
> Two-toned mamaki kapa is Olua's kapa,
> Black-dyed kapa is Hilo's,
> The finely woven figured mat of Puna,
> The feathered cloak,
> Feathered mamo lei and feathered ʻōʻō lei (Kaui 1866b) [Trans. 1.IX].

Pīkoiakaʻalalā sourced the finest regional kapa available from the island to woo his potential partner, using the adornments as tools to affirm Kahili's chiefly standing and strengthen his relationship to him.

While the papa helu focuses on kapa terms, the language is layered in such a way that demands analysis, starting with the locations mentioned. Each kapa is distinctly named or described, their places of origin recorded as a part of the performance. His chant takes Kahili on a tour of the districts of Hawaiʻi Island, the largest island within the Hawaiian archipelago. The papa helu begins in Waipiʻo in the north, down to Kaʻū in the south, and ends in Hilo in the east. Kahili may not have been familiar with these places, or seen all the materials and labour that

went into each kapa, but they were collectively given to him in the hope that he would understand and appreciate the lengths that it took to obtain them. The physical distance that was travelled to have these kapa adornments prepared and ready for the signalled to Kahili Pīkoiakaʻalalā's respect for his kapu and status and the seriousness of his proposition of forming a bond.

While Kahili was undoubtedly the main recipient of the kapa and the papa helu, the presentation of the regional kapa was intended to be a multisensory performance of sight, sound and smell for the larger audience watching. Gifts of such a calibre were intended to hoʻomana (to confer authority on; dignify) Kahili for others to gaze upon him and see that he was mikihilina (the most beautiful of dress, finery, ornaments), linohau (beautifully attired), pāʻihiʻihi (neat, tidy). Not only would Kahili's followers have seen the aesthetic colours and patterning of the kapa listed in the papa helu, but they also would have smelt the organic materials used for each individual piece. Pīkoiakaʻalalā intended to present Kahili to the greater public as a person adorned in beauty by him.

Pīkoiakaʻalalā's papa helu ends with the presentation of a mat woven with designs and feathered lei, objects that were esteemed and reserved for the highest-ranking chiefs due to their scarcity.[43] Like regional kapa, these objects were esteemed because of their rarity and the labour and skill needed to make them. While it is unclear what rank of chief Kahili occupied, the presentation of rare, high-value gifts suggests that he was a notable chief who probably had what

[43] Davida Malo argued that warriors could be conferred ahuʻula if they earned it. Because of their value, cloaks were objects of plunder during war and battle Adrienne Kaeppler, "Hawaiian Art and Society: Traditions and Transformations," in *Transformations of Polynesian Culture*, ed. Antony Hooper and Judith Huntsman (Auckland: The Polynesian Society, 1985), 111; Davida Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi)*, 2 ed. (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1951), 76-77.

Mary Kawena Pukui calls a kapu ʻili, or skin kapu. The bodies of the aliʻi were sacred, making the things that graced their skin unavailable to others around them. Pukui explains,

> ʻAʻohe ka ʻili, or "the skin is not the same", is said of a relationship that does not allow the wearing of each other's clothing. In explaining near kinship a kupuna would say, Noʻu ka malo, nana e hume; nona ka malo, nau e hume, or "Your malo he can wear his malo you can wear". Even so, one does not wear the other's clothes unless they were given to him or when circumstances make it absolutely necessary, but the saying is accepted as meaning blood kin. The aliʻi nui (high chief) of a moku (island or district) or the mōʻī (sovereign, supreme chief) was so kapu that under no circumstances could his clothing be worn by any accept himself and not even his closet relative could eat his leftover food (Handy and Pukui 1972, 48).

Aliʻi of different rank were subject to different kapu which dictated what they could wear and adorn themselves with, and whether they could share garments and adornments with others. Pīkoiakaʻalalā would have taken Kahili's kapu ʻili into consideration when determining the appropriate kapa for him.

Kapu ʻili also affected the wearing of kapa for non-aliʻi members of society but in different ways. Pukui explains that many Hawaiians had "an aversion to wearing someone else's clothing, not knowing whether they are equals in bloodline, rank, or background" (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983b, 21). While kapu determined whether certain adornments could be worn only by chiefs, familial kinship relationships determined whether kapa could be shared among makaʻāinana. Individual families could instate their own kapu ʻili with varying degrees of allowances. In some cases, family members were allowed to wear clothing of other blood kin. But another ʻōlelo noʻeau indicates that other families had more stringent rules, "Na na makua e komo i ka ʻāwelu o keiki, ʻaʻole na ke keiki e komo i ka ʻāwelu o ka makua" states that parents could wear out their children's old clothes but children were not allowed to wear their parent's

clothes (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983b, 244). This kapu suggests that while related to each other, age and social ranking within a family affected whether kapa could be shared and worn.

The kapu among aliʻi and makaʻāinana suggest a strict adherence to kapa and adornment rules that were appropriate for their social rank. Thus, a person's lack of kapa and adornment was often a visible indicator of his or her lowly status. This was the case for kauā. Davida Malo expounds on the lowly status of the kauā, explaining that this class of people were neglected and were not welcome in most spaces except that of their masters (Malo 2020a, 149).[44] Because kauā children did not carry social importance, communal energy was not expended towards ensuring they had necessary kapa garments. Kauā children were often called ''ulaʻula 'ili', or "red skinned", as a result of their sunburn acquired by their prolonged exposure to the sun. Words like ''ilihune' (poor, impoverished) and ''ilikole' (poverty-stricken) describe a person's poverty and bad appearance (Malo 2020a, 150).[45] 'Ili (skin) is the root of these two words, and implies that exposed skin, and specifically a lack of kapa, was culturally and socially looked down upon. Kapa was a social norm and having it implied an individual's acceptance and purpose within a greater social network.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed how kapa operated in Hawaiian society before 1810, from its development as a Hawaiian craft to its role as a symbol of status and place in a community. The first gods and people of the Hawaiian archipelago put their bodies, 'ike and creativity into Hawaiian kapa. The process of ka hana kapa was consolidated over time by successive

[44] Malo also states that kauā had the ability to degrade the highest of aliʻi genealogies because of their lack of position Davida Malo, ed., *The Moolelo Hawaii of Davida Malo: Hawaiian Text and Translation*, vol. 2 (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2020), 150.
[45] Another word that describes poverty is nele (deficient or needy).

generations of Hawaiian women. As craftswomen, they were tasked with clothing themselves, their families and their gods. These women timed their practice and production with the cyclical schedule of kaulana mahina, a reliable moon calendar that helped to determine harvesting and rhythms of production. At its crux, kapa making represented the link between women and the matrix of relations between Hawaiian bodies, land and akua.

The process of turning wauke into wearable cloth had regional variations. Every locale in Hawai‘i is geographically distinct, which resulted in the development of regional kapa specialities. Regional types were a response to resource availability, especially the scarcity of water and sunlight. Kapa specialties were prized for their uniqueness and often made a region or place kaulana (famous). As we saw in the exchange between Pīkoiaka‘alalā and his potential partner Kahili, rare pieces of kapa could be utilised as suitable gifts that honoured chiefly kapu and rank while also acting as tokens of suggestion and affection. The kapa demanded an oral presentation worthy of its beauty and craft. In the case of the author of “No Na Mea Kahiko”, kapa and the presentation of the material was so moving that it was remembered and written down (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834d).

Kapa was valuable because of its difficulty to make and therefore it was used to signal one’s social standing. The standards for what chiefs could wear and what maka‘āinana could wear were different. Because of a chief’s kapu and kapu ‘ili (skin kapu), ali‘i like Kahili could receive and wear the best kapa made and available. Maka‘āinana were less able to receive such kapa, although kapa was still given for special occasions. While maka‘āinana were not burdened by kapu ‘ili in the same way as ali‘i, kapa was not shared or worn freely. Families may have put rules around wearing the kapa for other family members. Kauā were the lowliest of the maka‘āinana class and their lack of status was such that they were not given kapa to wear at all.

Practices of making and wearing, gifting and sharing kapa were essential to Hawaiian life. Kapa did much more than just clothe and cover people and was used as a way of communicating a wider cultural and social context. These systems were deeply ingrained in the community, and the remaining chapters of this thesis will investigate how quickly these practices around kapa changed, or did not.

Chapter Two – The Allegory of the Log: Changing Kapu During the Sandalwood Trade

> Here is the new kapa from other lands, brought from other lands during the time of Kamehameha I and the reigning monarch Kamehameha III. Lole [woven cloth] is the new kapa, and it is given many different names, according to the color it has been dyed (Malo 2020a, 124).

This chapter will introduce how kapu of the aliʻi provided access to foreign cloth and clothing. But before this can be addressed, this chapter will explore how kapu operated in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as it related to foreign goods and trade partners. During the reigns of Kamehameha I, II and III, aliʻi altered their kapu to navigate the sandalwood trade with foreigners and pursue their interests.

Kapu and noa provided a set of procedures to deal with foreign objects. This chapter uses the kapu of "O luna, o lalo" as a framework for understanding how the aliʻi obtained the finest foreign goods during the sandalwood (ʻiliahi) trade between 1810 and 1830. The sandalwood trade was a short period in the kingdom's early history, yet significant in that it created a marketplace for imported foreign cloth and clothing that was highly responsive to Hawaiian taste and interest. As the owners of sandalwood trees, aliʻi held an advantageous position in trade negotiations with American merchants who supplied specific types of cloth and clothing to get better trade deals. In their pursuit of luxury goods, in part due to their exclusivity, aliʻi opened up avenues for non-aliʻi, namely makaʻāinana and missionaries, to gain access to cloth and clothing as well.

The first section examines how Hawaiian chiefs identified good trade partners and developed relationships with them. With an abundance of food and water and strength in numbers, aliʻi in the late eighteenth century historically held the upper hand advantage with

traders. This allowed them to choose who they wanted to work with based of their own subjectivities of what made a good trade partner. This position over traders was leveraged especially during the period where sandalwood became the dominant export of the kingdom.

The second section considers the intersections of power and dress after the unification of the Hawaiian Kingdom by Kamehameha I. Kamehameha proclaimed a kapu on foreign trade during his reign, a testament to his personal interest in foreign goods. This kapu allowed Kamehameha to enter into calculated trade agreements with foreigners and develop a rich taste for foreign clothing made from materials that were structurally stronger than Hawaiian kapa. Because of its scarcity in the islands, foreign cloth quickly became associated with Kamehameha and the aliʻi class. Yet with the advent of new forms of clothing and materials, the aliʻi did not abandon native dress. Rather, the chiefs developed ways of self-presentating by mixing foreign cloth and clothing with Indigenous Hawaiian dress. This section provides a number of written and illustrated references of aliʻi dressing themselves with foreign cloth and clothing as recorded by visiting foreigners to the islands.

The third section covers the sandalwood trade after Kamehameha I's death in 1819. Sandalwood, a resource that had little local value to the aliʻi but was in great abundance, suddenly became the most desired export from the islands thanks to the demand for it in China. American merchants were eager to obtain Hawaiian sandalwood and frantically imported fine cloth and clothing to attract aliʻi to enter into deals for sandalwood. This section utilises primary source accounts (e.g. business correspondence, diaries and ledgers) penned by three New England merchants who settled in the Hawaiian kingdom as a result of the sandalwood trade: commercial agent Charles Hammatt of Bryant & Sturgis of Boston, Massachusetts, supercargo Charles Bullard of Bryant & Sturgis, and clerk Stephen Reynolds of William French Co. The

majority of American traders began as seamen and had visited the islands on different voyages prior to their settlement, providing them with a sense of familiarity with the political landscape. However, this familiarity did not ensure easier work. The personal diaries of these merchants do not skimp on their frustrations with aliʻi, which contrast to their business correspondence with their employers. They complain about the lack of understanding from their New England-based bosses about their work realities. When read together, the accounts of these three men show a sense of camaraderie around the shared woes of the profession.

The last section explores the ways in which missionaries and makaʻāinana pursued foreign cloth and clothing in response to the material's availability and the opportunities for non-aliʻi to access and wear foreign cloth and clothing. Although the options and availability of foreign cloth was at its height, both makaʻāinana and the missionaries were unable to purchase directly from merchants due to high prices. To remedy this, both groups found creative ways to obtain cloth to supply their wants and needs, which included engaging in aliʻi service and new risky endeavours.

Floating Islands Made of Wood and Iron

Long before any White foreigner visited the islands, foreign objects floated on the ocean and arrived on Hawaiian shores. The process of how to deal with the arrival of these foreign objects was guided by the aliʻi and their kapu. An article titled, "No Na Mea Hana E Pono Ai o Hawaii Nei (Concerning the Necessary Tools Here in Hawaiʻi)" was published in the 4 April 1834 issue of the newspaper, *Ka Lama Hawaii.*[46] The newspaper started on the school grounds at Lahainaluna, an ABCFM seminary located on the island of Maui and founded in 1831.

[46] *Ka Lama Hawaii*'s first issue was published on 14 February 1834.

Lahainaluna's aim was to educate the brightest Hawaiian minds in the kingdom in Christianity in order for them to also assist the Sandwich Islands Mission (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1858; Malo 2020a, 5, 33; Silva 2017, 27, 32, 45, 177).[47] The first classes of students were crucial in helping run the hale paʻi (printing press) and also develop material for the newspaper (Forbes, D.W. 2014, 20-26).[48]

In his article on tools, the unnamed Lahainaluna student began by talking not about the tools but the materials. His article first describes a the sequence of events that followed after a log of wood (lāʻau nui) would come ashore.

> When a big log used to come ashore from the ocean, and the aliʻi would hear, "A log has come to the land", the aliʻi and the priests would go, and a sacrifice would be made to the god, and [log would be] made noa, and then, they would search for nails in the log, and they would get hammers, and flat piece of iron, then they would prepare that iron to make an adze. If they obeyed the chief, some people would get the iron to make into adzes. When the chief heard that someone had an iron adze, then that person would be badgered until it was obtained. Those were the tools of these lands in that time and the things that were necessary for the people of the past. (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834c) [Trans. 2.I]

While this article's purpose was to first and foremost celebrate how Western tools were "far superior to the old days", the author provides invaluable historical information on the transitions from Hawaiian to Western tools between the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century to build his argument.[49] In the time before the arrival of Westerners in Hawaiʻi (e.g prior to the late-

[47] Davida Malo and Samuel Kamakau were among some of the earliest graduates of Lahainaluna.
[48] A group of Hawaiian students were also taught how to engrave copper plates to create newspaper illustrations David W. Forbes, *Engraved at Lahainaluna: A History of Printmaking by Hawaiians at the Lahainaluna Seminary, 1834 to 1844: with a Descriptive Catalogue of All Known Views, Maps, and Portraits* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 2014).
[49] The introduction of this article also provides invaluable information about Hawaiian carving. The author begins the article with a list of objects that were useful to Hawaiians with their respective uses: adzes to fell trees for canoes, carving house posts, shells, bones and polished rocks used to make fishhooks and the specific hardwoods made into digging sticks. While the inclusion of these details was not intended to celebrate Hawaiian ingenuity and craftsmanship, the author was generous in his details *Ka Lama Hawaii*, "No Na Mea Hana E Pono Ai o Hawaii Nei," (Honolulu), 4 April 1834.

eighteenth century), foreign objects were curious and interesting to Hawaiians of all social classes. Yet, this account explains that regardless of interest, the aliʻi determined how and who could utilise these objects because of their kapu.

Aliʻi had expansive and far-reaching kapu. An ʻōlelo noʻeau explains how a chief's kapu gave an aliʻi the right of access to the finest goods, "O luna, o lalo; o uka, o kai; o ka palaoa pae, no ke aliʻi ʻia, Above, below; the upland, the lowland; the whale that washes ashore – all belong to the chief" (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983b, 273). Contrasting geographic points – uplands-ocean, heavens-earth – are used to present the vector over which a chief's kapu extended. But in this particular version, niho palaoa is specifically mentioned. Living in the depths of the ocean, whales were elusive.[50] In the rare occurrence that a whale's body beached onshore, the niho palaoa were harvested. The teeth were then shaped and fashioned into lei niho palaoa using olonā cordage and intricate braids of hair. Made for the highest-ranking chiefs, lei niho palaoa signalled the genealogical connections between its wearer, the greater community and ancestral gods which gave aliʻi the ability to convey kapu through oral pronouncements. It was the supreme Hawaiian lei and was among the highest symbols of chiefly descent.

The article's recollection explains to readers that before Westerners knew of the existence of Hawaiʻi, foreign objects circulated within the Pacific and were already being researched and experimented with by Islanders. Logs were treated similarly as whales. If and when the aliʻi and their kāhuna decided that the logs could be made noa the log would undergo that process of being freed from the kapu of the aliʻi. The aliʻi could then allow makaʻāinana to work and utilise the new material to understand what it could be useful for and be made into.

[50] Whales are manifestations of the god Kanaloa, who was revered as one of the primary gods of the Hawaiian pantheon. Kanaloa was the brother of Kāne.

The kapu that designated who and when people could access foreign goods that came ashore applied to foreigners as well. When Captain Cook's 91.5 foot-long British brig *Discovery* and its even larger companion, the 110 foot-sloop-of-war, the *Resolution*, were first spotted by Islanders, they were called "moku", the Hawaiian word for both island and district. The naming of large foreign boats as moku may describe their appearance as islands in the sea, but suggests that Islanders understood these floating moku as having a political and social hierarchy similar to that of their own systems. Ship captains were called "ali‘i moku", which implies that captains were understood as those with authority over the ship's people and resources. Because captains were recognised as having status comparable to that of ali‘i, Islanders expected captains to be diplomatic and civil during their interactions. Failure to behave accordingly or challenge the power of the ali‘i led to unrest.

Hawai‘i Island chiefs used their kapu to interact strategically with foreigners in order to obtain objects they desired. Accounts of Captain Cook's arrival indicate that the chiefly kapu of "O luna, o lalo" that barred non-ali‘i from interacting with foreign material was strictly enforced. While Hawaiians welcomed the ship with curiosity during Cook's first visit to Kealakekua Bay on 18 January 1779, additional interactions with the White foreigners were not allowed because Kalani‘ōpu‘u, the paramount chief of Hawai‘i Island, was not present. Only after Kalani‘ōpu‘u's return from his visit to Maui were the foreigners allowed to stay. On 26 January 1779, Kalani‘ōpu‘u and Cook conducted exchanges for the first time; the former giving several feather cloaks and provisions of pig, sugar cane, coconuts and breadfruit for a linen shirt and an iron sword (Beaglehole 1967, 1167-1170; Kuykendall 1947, 16)). This transaction was the beginning

of Hawaiian participation in the international maritime trade and the one of the first accounts of Western clothing being given to a Hawaiian (Kuykendall 1947, 16).[51]

Iron was the item most desired by Hawaiians, perhaps in part due to Hawaiian familiarity to the usefulness of iron from logs. Kalaniʻōpuʻu requested blacksmiths to make iron pāhoa (a short dagger used as a weapon) and allowed some Hawaiians to observe the blacksmiths at work to help understand how to work with the material (Beaglehole 1967, 654, 666). Kalaniʻōpuʻu was trading large amounts of provisions for iron as reported in the article, "No Na Mea Hana E Pono Ai o Hawaiʻi Nei", "Here are the things that were obtained earlier in Hawaiʻi at the time that Captain Cook arrived in Hawaiʻi. A genuine adze was the thing greatly desired by the people of that time. Therefore, the people traded one adze for five pigs because of their desire for the adze at that time" (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834c) [Trans 2.II]. It should be noted that pork was a food reserved for ceremonial purposes, feasting and special occasions. The willingness to trade a fatty pig – let alone five of them – shows the level of Kalaniʻōpuʻu's interest and his control over his people and resources. While he did not rear the animal himself, he had the ability to trade it away for new materials that would benefit him.

As exchanges of iron for provisions continued between Cook and Kalaniʻōpuʻu, the crews of the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* engaged in trade too. David Samwell reported that makaʻāinana visiting their boats also were keen to receive iron, "So eager they are for our iron that a man who brings a few breadfruit or a bunch of plantains in his Hand has 4 or 5 of his Countrymen upon him immediately, who take some of them by force & sell them to us for small nails & other Trifles" (Beaglehole 1967, 1154). Having discovered the willingness of Tahitian

[51] This trade, unfortunately, was one of Cook's last trades before his death in 1779 by the hands of Kalaniʻōpuʻu's people. Kalaniōpuʻu was the chief that Captain Cook attempted to take hostage on 14 February 1779 Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Part 2*, 1194-208.

women to exchange sex for nails, the crew eagerly introduced this type of trade to the Hawaiians who proved to be willing participants (Beaglehole 1967, 639, 647; Green, K.K. 2002, 225). Because captains controlled the ship's supplies, lower-ranking crew stole from their ships' stores in order to participate in trade for themselves. An account from surgeon's mate David Samwell reported that the crews' appetite for sex and the women's excitement for nails resulted in the quick depletion of the boats' nail supply (Beaglehole 1967, 1164).[52] When the men started to remove nails from the boat's hull, a watch needed to be placed on the sailors to prevent them from pulling all the nails out of the ship (Green, K.K. 2002, 228). Women were frequent visitors to the ships, sometimes stayed on board for two to three-day periods while the ships cruised around the island (Beaglehole 1967, 1157-1161). But while it seemed that women had the ability to come and go as they pleased for sex work, chiefly kapu still applied to women off shore. David Samwell noted that one day, all the women aboard left because a kapu had been enacted in preparation for a visit of another aliʻi to the area (Beaglehole 1967, 1166-1167). Trade and pleasure between makaʻāinana and foreigner were still at the discretion of the chief.[53]

Foreigners did not return to Hawaiian waters for quite some time due to Cook's murder. When they did return, Hawaiians recorded their interactions with the first Western foreigners to the archipelago in a papa helu. Analysing papa helu as primary sources along with the European sources create a more nuanced understanding of exchanges. I want to focus on two helu about the first foreign ships to the islands in the late-eighteenth century that show Hawaiian considerations of foreigners as viable trade partners. The anonymous author of "No Na Mea

[52] David Samwell also reported on 7 December 1778 that the seamen gave women visiting the boats metal buttons and slips of red cloths Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery, Part 2*, 1152.
[53] Noelani Arista's *The Kingdom and the Republic* presents another case study on chiefly kapu over sex work by looking at the case of Leoiki, Captain Buckle and Wahinepiʻo Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 132-74.

Hana E Pono Ai o Hawai‘i Nei” published a papa helu of the Hawaiian names of ten boat names that visited Hawai‘i Island after Cook.

> Here is the order of the boats that arrived afterwards, and the names the boats were called in that time: Kapilikalo the first, Makalawena, the second, Kapilikanalike the third, Oali‘ipoeaha, Peleuma the fifth, Wahinekopa the sixth, Mokuolohe the seventh, Lana the eighth, the boat that Olohana (John Young) belonged to that had a mutiny while coming to Hawai‘i. Aikake the ninth, the boat that was struck down the chief Kameeiamoku and all the foreigners on the boat were killed. Kaiana the tenth, the chief’s boat that talked to Kamehameha (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834c) [Trans. 2.III].

The first helu shows that the character of the ship captains were carefully scrutinised. Details within this helu demonstrate that Hawaiians remembered their encounters with foreigners by the leadership (or lack thereof) of their captains and their interactions with their ali‘i. These details of discord also help to identify the given Hawaiian names for visiting ships. British-American Captain Simon Metcalfe and his son, Captain Thomas Humphrey Metcalfe, launched the *Eleanora* (recorded as ‘Lana’ in Hawaiian) and the schooner the *Fair American* (recorded as ‘Aikake’ in Hawaiian) on a fur trading mission in 1789 (Kuykendall 1947, 24). The *Eleanora* arrived at Kealakekua Bay, Hawai‘i Island, in January 1790 and met with chief Kame‘eiamoku, but the interaction soured quickly. Metcalfe reportedly insulted his host, an act that Kame‘eiamoku held against him. From Hawai‘i, the *Eleanora* continued onto Olowalu, Maui, where an incident of robbery by Islanders there led Captain Metcalfe to take punitive action. Under the guise of wanting to trade, Metcalfe invited canoes to approach the *Eleanora*, when Metcalfe ordered the firing of the boat’s cannons, killing about a hundred people (Kuykendall 1947, 24).

When Kame‘eiamoku heard of the incident, he sought revenge on the next boat to arrive in his waters. The crew of the *Fair American* found themselves the victims of Kame‘eiamoku’s

vendetta; the crew, including the younger Captain Metcalfe, was struck down by Kameʻeiamoku, leaving only one survivor.[54] The *Eleanora* returned to Hawaiʻi Island between February and March 1790 in search of its companion ship, sending boatswain John Young ashore to investigate (Cartwright 1917, 57-64). Another aliʻi from Hawaiʻi Island, Paiʻea Kamehameha, captured Young and held him hostage. Assuming that he had deserted, the *Eleanora* continued on without him. Young was cared for by his captor, became an adviser to Kamehameha during his war campaigns and was given the name ʻOlohana (literally "all hands [on deck]" in Hawaiian) (Kuykendall 1947, 35). The inclusion of the detail that a mutiny occurred while the *Eleanora* was en route to the islands alluded to the poor leadership abilities of Simon Metcalfe. John Young experienced the bad behaviour of his aliʻi moku first-hand, and was likely present when Metcalfe ordered the massacre at Olowalu. This helu reminds us that the haughtiness of foreign ship captains was met by Hawaiians who were unafraid of reciprocating aggressive behaviour with violence.

A second helu of the ships that visited Hawaiʻi Island was recorded by Davida Malo and differs from the previous helu by instead detailing what Hawaiians traded for (Malo 2005, 18-19). ABCFM missionary Sheldon Dibble translated the papa helu into English.

> The following are the names by which the natives called the vessels that anchored at Kealakekua. The first two came together and were denominated Olo. They brought the first beads to the islands. After these Kanikani (knife), which brought the first supply of knives. Then followed in succession, Kapilipakaela, Oalomakani, Kane, Koki, Alika, Palaunu, Kapailimaka, and next to this the vessel of Vancouver. These ships touched at Hawaiʻi; besides these there were others which visited Maui, Oʻahu, and Kauaʻi (Dibble 1843, 40).

[54] The lone survivor was Isaac Davis, who later became an advisor to Kamehameha I Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, 1, 35.

Malo's record of the sequence of ships by their trade goods again helps to identify the English names of the boats that visited Hawai'i Island. In 1786, Captains Nathaniel Portlock and George Dixon arrived in Hawai'i as the captains and *King George* and *Queen Charlotte,* two vessels in the newly formed King George's Sound Company fleet (Kuykendall 1947, 20-21). Portlock and Dixon had both served on Captain Cook's Third Voyage and theirs were the first foreign vessels to anchor in Kealakekua since Cook's death seven years earlier.[55] The two captains learned from their last visit to Kona and were cautious to approach Hawaiians, as evidenced by their choice to not to land. But as Malo's record shows, the *King George* and *Queen Charlotte* had come prepared to trade, bringing with them glass beads Hawaiians called "olo" and "alomakani" that could be strung into necklaces (lei olo) (Desha 2000, 224). Details about what was exchanged by Hawaiians for glass beads were not recorded by Malo or Portlock and Dixon, however we can assume that the beads, a form of adornment that did not previously exist in Hawaiian society, were considered valuable by Hawaiians. Beads were found among funerary objects in the royal tomb of eighteenth century chief Keōuakū'ahu'ula in Kawaihae (also referred to as Forbes Cave) (Jenkins 2017, 122). Artist Irving Jenkins argues that blue glass beads were sought after because the colour symbolised the ocean, death or the goddess Kalamainu'u.

Hawaiians of varying social classes held advantages over foreigners when it came to trade because of their possession of goods and services that were sought after. Foreigners came to the islands prepared to trade, bringing with them objects that had been successfully traded in other parts of the Pacific. English and Hawaiian-language primary sources tell us that Islanders

[55] Portlock was a master's mate on Cook's Third Voyage while Dixon was an armourer (blacksmith). The pair were pivotal in developing the fur trade in British Columbia and Alaska with the King George's Sound Company (also called the Richard Cadman Etches and Company) Nathaniel Portlock, *A Voyage Round the World; but more particularly to the North-West Coast of America: Performed in 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, in the King George and Queen Charlotte, Captains Portlock and Dixon* (London: John Stockdale and George Goulding, 1789). The company eventually merged with fur trader John Meares' trading company in 1789.

were responsive and interested in trading for foreign materials. Utilitarian objects like iron was especially sought after. However, there were rules of engagement that were instituted by the aliʻi. By right of their kapu, aliʻi had the power to negotiate and deny foreigners as they chose, which in some cases meant responding to incivility of foreigners with physical force and violence. This also meant regulating how and when makaʻāinana could trade as well. Makaʻāinana, who included sexually available women, were only allowed to interact and trade with foreigners as their aliʻi permitted. The next section looks at how later foreigners who learned from the mistakes of their White predecessors pandered to aliʻi taste and power to engage in trade.

Dress on Their Own Terms

After Kalaniʻōpuʻu's death in 1782, his nephew, Paiʻea, Kamehameha I, began consolidating power on Hawaiʻi Island. As the nephew of Kalaniʻōpuʻu, Kamehameha was awareded his uncle's war god after his death and strove to unite all eight islands in the archipelago into one consolidated kingdom.

Part of Kamehameha's war strategy was trading with passing foreign ships. During Cook's 1779 visit, Kamehameha showed an early interest in foreign trade when he exchanged his ahuʻula for nine iron pāhoa, each about two feet in length (Beaglehole 1967, 1190; Kuykendall 1947, 17-18).[56] He continued to engage in foreign trade with the few passing ships that visited the North Pacific. Kamehameha sought iron, guns and canons. Knowing this, ship captains like Captain George Vancouver, who made multiple visits to Hawaiʻi between 1791 and 1794, were cautious in what they traded out of fears that weapons traded could be used against

[56] A group of Hawaiians were permitted to go on board Cook's ship and witness iron working. They brought a pāhoa (dagger) for the pattern of iron dagger Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, 1, 17-18.

other competing chiefs or even against visiting sailing vessels (Speakman and Hackler 1989, 38). Regardless of the reservations that some foreigners had with trading with Kamehameha, the ambitious warmonger managed to access weapons and foreigners who became his war advisers. These new technologies allowed him to establish dominance over his opponents (Arista 2019, 40; Thigpen 2014, 17).

Intense and violent warring instigated by Kamehameha continued for almost two decades until 1810 when Kaumualiʻi, the king of Kauaʻi, agreed to become a vassal of Kamehameha and his new kingdom (Kuykendall 1947, 50). The arrangement granted Kaumualiʻi continued rule over his home island as a tributary king and the right to pursue his own commercial interests. For Kamehameha, the negotiation finally centralised power under a single ruler, a feat that had previously never been accomplished (Arista 2019, 55). All kānaka (people) under his rule were now *Hawaiians* in reference to their new king's origin and were thus subject to his kapu.

After the unification of the Hawaiian kingdom, Kamehameha used his kapu to secure and protect his access to foreign trade. Through his kapu, he was able to sustain his interest in foreign goods, especially cloth and clothing. Kamehameha was a skilful trader and those who wanted to engage in trade with him knew that the king was not one to try to outsmart, "He is not only a great warrior and politician, but a very acute trader, and a match for any European driving a bargain. He is well acquainted with the different weights and measures, and the value which all articles out to bear in exchange with each other; and is very ready to take advantage of the necessities of those who apply to him or his people for supplies" (Arista 2019, 20; Prior 1844, 390)

Records from Captain Vancouver show how Kamehameha's kapu operated to funnel foreign dress goods to the king (Speakman and Hackler 1989, 45). Archibald Menzies, a surgeon

on Vancouver's *Discovery*, was a member of an expedition party up Mount Hualālalai in 1794 with Kamehameha's and his servants (Speakman and Hackler 1989, 58). Following the completion of the visit, Menzies noted that Kamehameha divided up gifts of "iron chisels, nails, beads, knives, scissors, mirrors and tapa" to his servants for accompanying them on their tour. While smaller items were generously accepted by the makaʻāinana, the kapa was returned back to Kamehameha because its quality was not appropriate for makaʻāinana to possess. Menzies also noted that a lesser chief in the party was given similar items to Kamehameha. This chief's bounty included "enough red cloth to make a cloak; but this last [item] he had to surrender to Kamehameha". In another account recorded by aliʻi attendant and adviser John Papa ʻĪʻī, Kamehameha confiscated all the adornments – namely shiny hats and red soldiers garments – that 30 Hawaiian sailors had earned through helping deliver sandalwood on the ships *Albatross, O'Cain* and *Isabella* bound for China in 1812 (Ii 1959, 88). Makaʻāinana and lesser chiefs were expected to surrender foreign cloth and clothing that they had obtained through own trade or labours to higher-ranking chiefs without question (Linnekin 1990, 79).

Because of his relationships with foreign ships and his kapu over other rare goods, Kamehameha amassed a collection of clothing that included waistcoats, shirts, neck ties, trousers and cloaks (Charlot 1958, 17; Thigpen 2014, 22). Hawaiian desire for Western garments did not come from their scarcity alone, however. Foreign cloth made from cotton, silk, flax and hemp was more durable than kapa. Although the most skilled kapa makers could create gauzy and flexible pieces of kapa, barkcloth was firm in texture, moulding and softening to a person's body with consistent wear over time. It could be layered to keep in heat, but the volume of multiple sheets made mobility difficult. Perhaps even more frustrating was that despite efforts to make pieces water resistant through oiling, water was a constant threat to wearers. Scottish sailor

Archibald Campbell noted that Hawaiians were keen to keep their kapa dry or have their clothing carefully dried when it did get wet (Campbell, A. 1822, 138).[57]

It was during Kamehameha's reign that Western clothing started to become integrated with chiefly Hawaiian dress as a means of demonstrating prestige and visibly show the separation between aliʻi and everyone else (Arista 2019, 22; Ulep 2017, 30-32). The reservation to aliʻi of fine goods was not new within Hawaiian society as we saw in the last chapter. Chiefs customarily displayed their status and prestige by wearing garments that were difficult to construct or manufacture or were made with rare materials. Rather than abandoning chiefly clothing in favour of foreign clothing, aliʻi intermixed customary pieces with Western clothing, a style of dressing that the aliʻi believed enhanced and demonstrated their status in the eyes of Hawaiians and foreigners alike (Thigpen 2014, 8).

Examples of creativity in aliʻi self-presentation during Kamehameha I's reign were recorded by foreigners to Hawaiian shores in illustrations and portraits. Painter Louis Choris captured the creative fashion pairings of the aliʻi when he visited the islands with the Russian Romanzoff Expedition between November 1816 and March 1817. Choris requested a sitting with Kamehameha and hoped that he would wear his native dress for the session, but Kamehameha insisted on being captured "in the costume of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt, and a neck tie of yellow silk" (Charlot 1958, 17) [Figure 2.1]. The insistence of Kamehameha to wear what he pleased illustrates the intentionality of aliʻi to control what they wore and for what occasion. Choris' portrait of Queen Namahana, one of the wives of

[57] Consider the poetic name Pōpōkapa for the rain of Nuʻuanu valley on Oʻahu. Rain names often reflected their characteristics and the effect they had on the land or people. Pōpōkapa was a downpour that forced people to bundle (pōpō) their kapa to prevent it from getting wet. Balling up kapa to keep it from disintegrating continued to be a common practice into the 1820s, as witnessed by ABCFM missionaries who saw women calmly removing their clothes and walking home during heavy showers after services Patricia Grimshaw, "New England Missionary Wives, Hawaiian Women, and "The Cult of True Womanhood"," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 19 (1985 1985): 85.

Kamehameha, shows her mixing foreign clothing and Hawaiian symbols of nobility. She wears a fitted gown with a large ruffled collar and a lei hulu (feather garland) around her head. In another a portrait titled “Woman of the Sandwich Islands”, an unnamed aliʻi wahine wore a white and pink striped ruffled blouse with a red glass bead necklace paired with a lei niho palaoa. Choris’ illustrations of Hawaiian royals and their dress were circulated globally in Otto von Kotzebue’s publication *A New Voyage Around the World in the Years 1823, 24, 25, and 26* (1830), announcing to the world the changing dress and taste for foreign clothing occurring in the North Pacific.

Cloth is King

In the 1810s, American traders began looking to diversify the products they took to Canton (Guangzhou) and Macao. Euro-American fervour for Chinese goods like tea, silk and furniture made merchant houses excited by the potential for profit, but required careful attention and research into what goods from the West would satisfy Chinese tastes. Ginseng and sea otter furs were two of the few products that the Chinese were interested in from the Northwest Coast of North America, but after overharvesting of the latter, merchant houses gave their shipmasters greater freedom to diversify their trade goods and spread their commercial risk around the Pacific. In Hawaiʻi, American merchant ships continued to trade for provisions and began purchasing salt from the aliʻi to help preserve otter furs (Rosenthal 2018, 19-20). But when the fur trade diminished in the middle of the decade, merchants turned their attention to the growing Chinese interest for Pacific sandalwood, a favourite fragrant wood used for burning incense and making furniture (Rosenthal 2018, 25-26).

Hawaiian sandalwood was first discovered in the islands in 1791 by Captain Kendrick of the *Columbia* and proved to be in great supply (Morison 1921, 169). Because the wood had little spiritual or cultural value, Kamehameha was willing to trade it away in large quantifies for desired foreign goods (Arista 2019, 24).[58] For example, in 1812 Kamehameha received 3,012 items in 65 categories of fine goods from China which included furniture, wine, jewellery and iron. The lot also included ten silk handkerchiefs, six fleecy handkerchiefs for women, six pieces of thick damask in red, yellow and black, three Chinese-style cloaks, four pieces of velvet, three pieces of flowered satin (Anonymous 1811). In 1819, French merchant Camille de Roquefeuil visited the Hawaiian Islands and attempted to trade with Kamehameha for sandalwood but was met with difficulty. He recorded that Kamehameha's "needs and wants— in terms of knowledge as well as of material goods—are already satisfied. When I visited him, the old chief wanted only luxury goods— fine woolens [sic], muslin, and delicate wines" (Birkett 2000, 75-76, 83).

After Kamehameha I's death, his son and successor, Liholiho Kamehameha II, allowed kiaʻāina (governor) on different islands to trade their own sandalwood reserves. For example, Boki and John Adams Kuakini, who were the kiaʻāina of Oʻahu and Hawaiʻi respectively, developed their own business relationships with merchants for cloth and clothing early on in the nineteenth century (Gibson 1992, 254-255). Sandalwood harvesting operations became streamlined and managed by the aliʻi as orders became more consistent in the 1820s. Sandalwood was weighed by the picul (about 133.3 pounds), the standard Chinese measure used by the chiefs seeking to trade for other products (Morison 1921, 170; Rosenthal 2018, 29). The chiefs showed no inhibition in using their kapu over makaʻāinana labour to procure the necessary wood, and chiefs often accompanied their people to the mountains to oversee harvesting (Mills,

[58] The Chinese called the Hawaiian Islands "The Sandalwood Mountains".

P.R. 2018, 115; Arista 2019, 45). Preferred trees were ten to twelve inches in diameter and four to seven feet long (Gibson 1992, 254-255). To avoid chip wastage, trees were sawn down by the makaʻāinana and carried into sandalwood pits called lua moku ʻiliahi which were specially dug to replicate the hulls of ships (Gibson 1992, 254).[59] When the lua was filled with the desired amount of ʻiliahi logs for a ship's order, they were then transported to the shoreline for shipment by parties of thousands of men, women and children. ʻIliahi is extremely heavy and makaʻāinana painfully endured transporting the wood on their backs and shoulders, creating callouses so obvious that these labourers earned the name "kua leho" in reference to their calloused backs (Rosenthal 2018, 32).

Exact records of what foreign goods were exchanged with the aliʻi for sandalwood were not consistently recorded over the course of the 1810s, but we can surmise that there was a sharp increase in the amount of foreign goods entering the islands by looking at records of piculs leaving the islands. Between 1811 to 1812, 19,036 piculs were harvested compared to just 900 piculs from 1804 to 1805 (Morison 1921, 170). The best season for the sandalwood trade was between 1821 and 1822 when the going rate for sandalwood in Canton was nine dollars a picul and over 30,000 piculs were shipped from Hawaiʻi (Gibson 1992, 256).

Securing sandalwood deals with the aliʻi encouraged American merchants to set up offices in Honolulu. At the height of the sandalwood trade between 1819 and 1825, three New England trading houses established Honolulu offices to take advantage of money-making opportunities: Bryant & Sturgis and Marshall & Wildes of Boston and John Jacob Astor & Son of New York. Permanent locations assisted in the development of port towns and also grounded merchants, many of whom arrived to the islands as single men who started relationships with

[59] An example of a lua moku ʻiliahi still survives in Kaunakakai, Molokaʻi, in a preserved area now called the Molokaʻi Forest Reserve. The pit is 75 feet in length.

local white and Hawaiian women (Reynolds 1970, ix). Annual profits were dependent on the going rate of a picul of wood in Canton, which at its best averaged about $10 per picul (Rifkin 2008, 47). Regardless of the fluctuating market, the majority of merchants took the risk of dealing with sandalwood because of the potential gain. By 1829, the U.S. Commercial Agent John C. Jones estimated that over five million dollars' worth of American commerce passed through Honolulu annually, of which the sandalwood trade contributed a considerable amount to (Rifkin 2008, 47). Because goods were traded for sandalwood rather than cash, exchange rates were not fixed for sandalwood. The merchants inflated prices as they saw fit, often times at double the value (Arista 2019, 46; Rifkin 2008, 46-47). By getting more wood at a cheaper rate, the merchants could easily earn a 33.3% return on their investment (Gibson 1992, 256).

The potential to profit did not mean the job was easy, however. If an ali‘i did not like the price or trade offering of one merchant, they simply moved onto the next merchant to strike a better deal (Hammatt 1999, 11, 15, 25; Reynolds 1970, 20). The ali‘i's clear upper hand in trade was frustrating for merchants who repeatedly failed in anticipating the desires of their clients or ordering things that would be considered attractive goods. Captain George Newell, an employee of Bryant & Sturgis, was constantly disheartened by the situation and wrote in a letter to his bosses, "…I am quite at a loss to say what would answer best for the natives are so capricious and always changing that those articles that might be in the greatest demand now would in one month's time scarcely be asked for" (Newell 1822-1832, 3). When customers were uninterested in the blankets and muskets that were designed to sell in the Hawai‘i market, Newell complained about his buyers, "In fact the King [Liholiho] appears to be totally indifferent about trade in any form excepting on his own terms" (Newell 1822-1832, 4).

The chiefs advantageously used the value of their wood for requesting specific items from merchant agents and determining when trees would be harvested and delivered. Sandra Wagner-Wright argues that because the chiefs determined when sandalwood payments would be made and to whom, the agents of the various competing merchant houses felt the burden of this arrangement. High gains for the merchant houses were contingent upon agents ensuring timely sandalwood harvests and quick transport of the wood to Canton before other competitors arrived (Hammatt 1999, x). Despite the strict orders of merchant house bosses, agents rarely received their promised wood on time, forcing them to decide to either suspend trade and wait for payment or wait for renumeration (Arista 2019, 36; Hammatt 1999, xi). The competitive environment led most agents to agree to receiving their promised wood from the aliʻi at indeterminant times.

Powerless agents, or in some cases a number of powerless agents from the same company, often found themselves sailing from island to island to ask the chiefs for their payments of wood (Hammatt 1999, 3, 31; Reynolds 1970, 24, 44). Persistence was necessary but agents were always fearful of crossing the line, offending the chiefs and spoiling their trade partnerships. Agents with the wrong temperament seldom succeeded in winning the favour of the aliʻi (Arista 2019, 37, 44; Hammatt 1999, 22-23, 28). An arrangement could sour quickly if an aliʻi was not satisfied with the quality of a foreign product promised by the merchants. For example, in 1820, agents on behalf of Bryant & Sturgis completed the sale of *Cleopatra's Barge,* a luxury yacht built in Salem, Massachusetts, to Kamehameha II. The barge had been long awaited by the king, but the boat proved to be half-rotten and not in the condition that had been promised. All wood-trading chiefs, not just the king, barred sales of sandalwood to Bryant & Sturgis as a result; agent Charles Bullard blamed the chiefs for the dissolution of the trade

agreements (Arista 2019, 38-39).[60] This situation shows that while governors wielded significant power, larger decisions regarding trade and debt were overruled by kapu instituted by the king. Power instead was held collectively by the chiefs (Arista 2019, 25-26).[61] In another account, Stephen Reynolds confronted chief Keaniani who owed 18 piculs of sandalwood for the pantaloons he ordered. Keaniani said that he never got his order and should not have to pay for them (Reynolds 1970, 28). The agents bended to the aliʻi's needs and wants could be summed up in a single quote from Charles Hammatt, "We have no means of helping ourselves but must submit to whatever measures the chiefs may dictate" (Hammatt 1999, 31).

The aliʻi used merchant impatience for sandalwood to their own advantage. As John Papa ʻĪʻī recalled about chiefly interest in foreign cloth and clothing, "no purse was held fast where foreign clothing was concerned" (Ii 1959, 87). Of all the luxury goods that merchants offered the aliʻi for wood, cloth and clothing were a consistently requested category. Ready-made clothing was preferred by the aliʻi but correct sizing of custom clothing was difficult to ensure. Instead, merchants offered the aliʻi foreign cloth by the yard or bolt in various weights, colours and widths. In some arrangements, merchants could obtain one and a half piculs of wood just for a yard of cloth (Bullard 1821-1823, 14). Some aliʻi chose to wear their bolts of fabric by wrapping it around their bodies, as observed by Hiram Bingham of the First Company of ABCFM missionaries, "A woman of high rank made a singular display by putting on an unwieldy robe of some 70 yards of foreign cloth, wrapping about one half round her waist, and having the remainder by her women, thus illustrating the labour and the inconvenience of appropriating

[60] It is important to note that while governors wielded significant power, larger decisions regarding trade and debt were overruled by kapu instituted by the king under the advice of his kuhina nui. In these situations, power was held collectively by the chiefs. This is central to Noelani Arista's argument in *The Kingdom and the Republic* Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States*.

[61] This is central to Noelani Arista's argument in *The Kingdom and the Republic* Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States*.

foreign manufactures to Hawaiian use" (Bingham 1847, 185). Hawaiians too had their own standards of measurements used for foreign cloth. An ʻāpā was a roll or bundle of cloth (Kekūanāoʻa 1837, 1844). Using the anakahi kino (Hawaiian body masurments), an iwilei was the Hawaiian measure from the collarbone to the tip of the middle finger, or the equivalent of a yard of cloth. Three iwilei was the equivalent of one pio (Lyman, D.B. 1838a).

As a result of the competition between merchants to satisfy Hawaiian taste, the variety of foreign cloth available in Hawaiʻi diversified (Gibson 1992, 258). Correspondence between Bryant and Sturgis' Hawaiʻi-based employees Charles Bullard and Charles H. Hammatt show the strategies that the merchant houses used to attract Hawaiian consumers. New types of cloth always traded well and Bullard and Hammatt specifically requested thin and light low-cost fabrics from Boston that looked good that they could sell at a higher rate in the islands (Bullard 1821-1823, 20). They also requested accessories like swords, military plumes, epaulettes, and belts that were easily traded for wood and set them apart from their competition (Bullard 1821-1823, 2, 9). In many cases, the agents made specific requests for coloured and textured cloth.

> Every one that comes brings better and better comes goods and good goods, and such as they have not seen will sell when common ones will not – silks, sattins [sic], and velvets would answer to a considerable extent – Broadcloths and Pelisse Cloths (particularly the latter) assorted colours are the staple articles – Colours most in favor dark greens – green mix'd Olives, and to latter add Orange, Cream, Light Blue, Slate & etc – The same attention should be paid to the <u>width</u> of Cloths as other goods – In fact they look as much to this as the quality – Coarse Blue cloths would answer well (Bullard 1821-1823, 7-8).

Determining which types of fabrics would garner attention was only half the battle; getting the bolts safely to the islands was another challenge. Ocean travel guaranteed that merchandise would be exposed to water and dampness, an environment that was conducive for growing mould on any cloth being transported. Charles Hammatt was always worried about the

degradation of cloth in transit. Cloth by the yard could sell for five or six dollars per yard or half a picul per yard but the cloth needed to be salted very well to keep the moisture and worms away (Hammatt 1999, 42). Protecting the merchandise from damage ensured that it could be sold at higher prices when it arrived safely in the islands.

Despite all of the care that was put into ensuring that the cloth did not mould before its arrival in Hawai‘i, it sometimes was not enough. Ali‘i tended to store away their bolts in private caves and homes where it was protected by their kapu. Unfortunately, the conditions of these damp and poorly ventilated spaces made the materials vulnerable to mould, worms or moths (Whitney 1819-1820, 8). This practice puzzled merchants who saw ali‘i buying but not using or wearing the cloth. Charles Hammatt recalled a time when Kamehameha II wanted duck cloth when it was scarce. He purchased a few bolts at a high price, even when he had two or three hundred bolts of cloth stored away rotting (Hammatt 1999, 26). John Adams Kuakini was also guilty of this. Following his death in 1844, missionary wife Laura Fish Judd wrote in her diary of an unusual event, an auction of Kuakini's cloth. Judd wrote that the amount of cloth that Kuakini possessed was astounding, perhaps even more surprising were the wide varieties: nankeen, bombazine, damask, velvet. Judd believed that the total amount was enough to clothe all of Kuakini's people. Kuakini truly had more cloth than he could use in a lifetime, a testament to his level of engagement with foreign merchants and interest in cloth for his own self-presentation.

Clothing for the Non-Ali‘i

As we saw in the last section, merchants imported cloth that directly fed ali‘i interest in foreign cloth and clothing. This interest in fashion quickly diversified the types of cloth and clothing being imported to the islands. This section focuses on how Congregationalist missionaries and

makaʻāinana obtained cloth and clothing for their own wants and needs. These two groups similarly lacked sandalwood or political authority to enact kapu, but still found ways to obtain cloth.

When they arrived in the early kingdom in 1820, the Congregationalist missionaries were surprised and confused by the culture around foreign cloth and clothing. The missionaries expected to find Hawaiians bare and without clothes, but instead were met with a different challenge: aliʻi wearing and styling expensive Western clothing as they pleased. Hiram Bingham was immediately struck by the modes of dress of the aliʻi during their first visit with the missionaries in 1820. While the *Thaddeus* was still at anchor in Kealakekua, Kalanimoku, the aliʻi Kalākua and Namahana came aboard to meet the missionaries for the first time. Kalanimoku was wearing an entire outfit of Western clothing which included a white dimity roundabout, a black silk vest, yellow nankeen pants, shoes, a white cotton hose, plaid cravat and a fur hat (Bingham 1847, 82). The aliʻi women wore a combination of printed cotton gowns and gingham shirts with pāʻū or kapa skirts (Bingham 1847, 82). The missionaries began to realise that the agency that the aliʻi expressed through the way they dressed themselves might be a great challenge in their plan to Christianise Hawaiian souls. Bingham felt that the "grotesque and ridiculous combination" of Western clothes were "not a whit better than the ordinary native costume, except in the texture of the material" (Bingham 1847, 169).

However, the missionaries learned quickly that they were in no position to dictate how aliʻi should or could dress, and instead found themselves providing their talents in sewing for their chiefly hosts. Shortly after her first meeting with the ABCFM's First Company of missionaries, aliʻi Kalākua requested one of the missionary wives, Nancy Ruggles, to make a

gown like hers using some white cambric she had (Thurston 1882, 32).[62] With no dressmakers or tailors in the early kingdom, Kalākua's dress request was the first of many custom orders from aliʻi to the missionary women. The aliʻi requested everything from pantaloons to ruffled shirts, forcing the missionary wives to sew every free moment they had until their eyes hurt (Grimshaw 1989, 48). Maria Loomis, who was stationed in Honolulu, wrote of the exhaustion of her new role as personal seamstress to the aliʻi, understanding that this was an important part of gaining the trust and favour of the aliʻi, "Chiefs, even the Governor, sent up his pantaloons to be made and though we scarce have time to breathe yet, we think it a duty to leave all and sit down and do all the work of this kind" (Grimshaw 1989, 48). Reverend William Richards reported to Boston that one chief requested his wife Clarissa Richards to make four gowns.

Recognising that dress making was inevitable, the wives strategised to add useful lessons in Christianising at different points of the dressmaking process. Historian Jennifer Thigpen argues that missionary women attempted to civilise their chiefly hosts during dressmaking and tailoring consultations (Thigpen 2014, 79). The sustained, close contact between the aliʻi and the missionaries created trust and relationships. Small wins in garnering interest in bonnets or quieter shades of clothing were savoured by the wives (Thigpen 2010, 562; 2014, 73, 90). Captain Jacobus Boelen, captain of the Dutch merchant vessel *Wilhemina & Maria* visited the kingdom

[62] Lucy Thurston recalls that Kalākua assumed a new appearance with the *Thaddeus* anchored in Kailua on 4 April 1820. Thurston described her outfit as consisting of a "newly-made white dress" in the "fashion of 1819", a decorated black cap with a wreath of roses, and "a lace half neckerchief, of the corner of which was a most elegant sprig of various colors", the majority of which were gifts from the missionary wives' family and friends back at home. Kalākua's new appearance was "received by hundreds with a shout" when she went ashore Lucy Goodale Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston* (Ann Arbor: S. C. Andrews, 1882), 32-34. Thurston notes that the dress did not come down to the tops of the shoes, "leaving the feet cropped out very prominently". The effect may have been similar to the likeness of Namahana who was the subject of a watercolour turned engraving during Otto von Kotzebue's 1824 visit to the kingdom. In the illustration, Namahana wears a long-sleeved, high waisted silk dress with an empire waist and ruffled white collar, accessorised with an artificial Chinese flower garland around her head. Namahana's dress falls to her shins, leaving her black laced shoes visible to the viewer. Kotezbue's description of Namahana as six feet, two inches tall suggests that the short dress was likely the result of the chief's height and lack of material rather than a style choice David W. Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1992), 101-03.

in 1828 and observed that the Hawaiian chiefesses wore long dresses of blue or black nankeen that hung down over their native made skirts. This dress was "was tied at the throat with a ribbon and was sold in the islands as a "missionary's shirt" (Boelen 1988, 60). Despite making small wins in making missionary dress in vogue, the aliʻi interest in clothing continued to prioritise fashion versus Christian civility. Captain Boelen commented that Sunday seemed less of a day for church as it was an opportunity to don "as much finery as each of them could show off with such garments (Boelen 1988, 34)".

The wives then tried to train other Hawaiians to assist them with the sewing. For example, Mrs. Richards taught the queen's attendants how to sew and suggested that they sew the chief's dresses, to which the aliʻi said, "It is but little trouble for you, for you can make it quick, but my girls are all lazy and it would take them a long time to make it", a response that upset Mrs. Richards (Richards 1826). Reverend Richards said of the helpless situation, "It is indeed literally true in respect to our connection with the chiefs here, that we must make ourselves "servants to all", or we cannot expect their favour (Richards 1826).

Aliʻi requests kept the missionary seamstresses busy but it was not all for nothing. In return, the aliʻi provided cloth to the missionary families, an essential good that supported their families' livelihood.[63] The ABCFM operated on a common stock system, a communitarian system of property management that supported missionaries in the field. Established 1812 in the organisation's bylaws, all missionaries in the field were promised equal economical support to

[63] The missionaries occasionally ordered clothing on behalf of the aliʻi. Charles Kanaʻina requested shoes for young chiefs Lunalio, David Kalākaua and Lot Kapuāiwa from Levi Chamberlain Kanaina, Kanaina - Aliʻi Letters - 1839.05.23 - to Chamberlain, Levi, 23 May 1839, Hawaiian Evangelical Association Archives, 1853-1947, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library; Kanaina, Kanaina - Aliʻi Letters - 1839.07.16 - to Chamberlain, Levi, 16 July 1839, Hawaiian Evangelical Association Archives, 1853-1947, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library; Kanaina, Kanaina - Aliʻi Letters - 1835.12.30 - to Chamberlain, Levi, 30 December 1835, Hawaiian Evangelical Association Archives, 1853-1947, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

help them perform their missionary labours (Missions, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign 1838, 13-14). Limited funds and provisions, like cloth and cheap slop clothing purchased from shops around Boston, were allocated to the Sandwich Island Mission families annually at the Mission's General Meeting. The promise of new clothes made General Meetings competitive for the missionaries. Henry Lyman, the son of Reverend David Lyman and Sarah Joiner Lyman, recalls that the time that preceded the General Meeting was one of "activity and forethought" because it was the only time during the year that a family would receive "modest bombazines and alpacas, and coarse cotton clothes" needed for the missionaries' growing families (Lyman, H.M. 1906, 17). A missionary did not want to arrive late to the distribution of the supplies. Lyman also recalled that Reverend William Richard arrived late to find all the clothes already accounted for, a disappointment considering that his "only pair of black trousers was in the last stage of disintegration" (Lyman, H.M. 1906, 17).

Missionary families also found frustration in not being able to buy whatever cloth they needed due to the high prices in the islands (Kashay 2007, 294). For example, Reverend Elisha Loomis reported in 1822 that the going rate for dungarees was $5 per piece in Hawai‘i while in Calcutta the price was $1.50 (Loomis 1822).[64] Clarissa Armstrong experienced this shortly after her arrival in the islands in 1832, ten years after Loomis' report on Honolulu's inflated prices. Missionaries heading to the islands received trunks full of clothing from friends and supporters, but many of these items did not survive the journey due to "ignorance of packing"; water and air created the perfect environment for mould (Armstrong, C. 1831-1838, 18). Clarissa was

[64] The price for dungaree seems to have remained steady between 1821 and 1822. In November 1821, Daniel Chamberlain wrote to Jeremiah Evarts that the going rate for a yard of blue dungaree was five or six dollars Daniel Chamberlain, Daniel Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, 27 June 1821, 1, Missionary Letters (typed copies) From the Sandwich Islands Misison to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1819-1837, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

fortunate that at least her clothes were spared from mould during the voyage over from New England, unlike her missionary sisters who opened their trunks to find their dresses mould spotted (Armstrong, C. 1831-1838, 19). However, when it came time to buy cloth for small domestic projects, Clarissa found that she could not afford to buy cloth at the price of 50 cents a yard (Armstrong, C. 1831-1838, 22).

Because of their inability to afford or find cloth themselves, the missionary wives ardently welcomed gifts of cloth from their chiefly hosts. Mercy Whitney was one of the earliest missionary women who accepted cloth from the aliʻi while living on Kauaʻi, an island in the Western part of the archipelago that was rarely visited by passing ships (Whitney 1819-1820, 24). At one point, Whitney made 30 garments within a few weeks for Maria Kapule, the queen of Kauaʻi (Grimshaw 1989, 49). As a gesture of thanks, Kapule gifted Mercy rolls and yards of material like calico and dark blue bombarette (Whitney 1819-1820, 8). This gifted cloth was more suitable to clothing for herself and her family than the flannel that she had brought with her and also provided extra material needed for domestic projects like curtains and upholstery (Whitney 1819-1820, 2, 5, 8).

While personal journals describe and provide the context for how gifts of cloth were given, material object collections preserved in missionary museum collections further provide tangible examples of the cloth examples aliʻi had in their stores and the clothing that the missionaries chose to make with the expensive, high-quality cloth. The type of clothing was often more decadent than what the missionaries typically used for themselves. Many of these pieces recorded the original chiefly source of the cloth in their provenance histories. Clarissa Armstrong, for example, was gifted a piece of gold figured Chinese silk by chief Kīnaʻu around 1832. Armstrong used the cloth to make a cloak with a round yoke and lined with brown

polished cotton. The majority of missionary wives interpreted these gifts from the aliʻi as proof of God's constant care and support of the Mission in a land of strangers rather than as generous gifts from their benevolent aliʻi leaders (Whitney 1819-1820, 8).

Unlike the missionaries, makaʻāinana did not live under the close watch and proximity to the aliʻi, which led some to dare to obtain clothing through creative means. Although kapu from the aliʻi regulated makaʻāinana behaviour and life, aliʻi could not keep an eye on everyone at the same time, a reality that many took advantage of. Makaʻāinana obtained clothing through trading their own goods and substance (e.g. pigs, potatoes, dogs) for cloth from merchants or interested seamen looking to return home with island curio (Hunnewell 1895, 8, 10, 12). An ʻōlelo noʻeau hilariously captures communication struggles between a Hawaiian and a sailor, reminding us of the awkwardness of trade between languages.

> "Māmaki" aku au, "hamaki mai ʻoe. Pehea ka like? ("I say "māmaki" and you say "hamaki." How are they alike?")"
>
> Once a Hawaiian had some tapa made of māmaki bark which he wished to trade with one white sailor. He did not speak English and they did not speak Hawaiian. He said, "He kapa māmaki kēia. (This is kapa made of māmaki.)" Although they did not know exactly what he said, they understood that his good were for sale. They asked, "How much?" He thought they were asking what kind of kapa he had, so he answered, "Māmaki." Again the sailor asked, "How much? which sounded like "hamaki" to the Hawaiian. In exasperation he cried, "I say "māmaki" and you say "hamaki". How are they alike?" This utterance came to apply to two people who absolutely cannot agree (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983a, 232).

While we do not know what the person sought to receive from the foreigner, this ʻōlelo noʻeau captures the crudeness that occurred in trade negotiations. It shows that men, and presumably women as well, were willing to exchange kapa for something that they fancied, likely because

kapa was a replaceable object.[65] This scenario also demonstrates the difficulty that makaʻāinana faced due to communication barriers with foreigners, an issue that did not affect the aliʻi or missionaries as much. The pursuit of foreign goods was not always a simple one.

Those who did not have goods to trade for cloth often resorted to thievery. Merchant houses in port towns provided a place for makaʻāinana to potentially buy and trade at, although the majority of the time, merchants were fearful of the makaʻāinana who took an interest in their goods. Daring thieves would organise in groups and visit merchant houses under the guise of trading and walk away with cloth (Reynolds 1970, 29). Reynolds lost a lot of products due to this type of thievery. In the worst of times, he lost as much as 34 yards of cloth in a single day (Reynolds 1970, 7). Storehouses, which were typically made of mud, were easy targets for robbers and were easier to enter than stone or frame houses that were locked for security. The cunning of thieves was noted by the merchants in their diaries. Many of the robberies occurred at night and the number of items stolen ranged from a few pieces to entire bales (Reynolds 1970, 6, 9). In 1823, Charles Hammatt recorded a raid of his mud house by thieves who had dug a hole into the house near the doors (Hammatt 1999, 24). The year following, Stephen Reynold recorded that Hammatt had been robbed again in a similar fashion, "Kanakas dug during the night and took out four pieces of Blankets of 20 each" (Reynolds 1970, 13).[66]

[65] I hypothesize that this willingness to give one's kapa away would become a problem beginning in the 1830s. As Hawaiian from their homes in response to the demise of the barter system and in search of cash-paying work, men and women moved away from the female connections that ensured them access to kapa. Kapa production was also diminishing at this point due to women's labour being focused towards godly tasks or towards cash-paying work. The effect of these two forces created a gap where Hawaiians could neither afford Western clothing nor maintain connection to kapa makers Linnekin, *Sacred queens and women of consequence: rank, gender, and colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands*, 197-98.

[66] Foreigners who felt exposed to theft requested the government for the ability to build a house. Dr. S. C. Patterson, who was living on Maui, requested to build a house, so "my clothes, book, medicines, goods etc. will be secure" S. C. Patterson, S. C. Patterson to Honoured Sir, 10 June 1831 1831, Volume 11, Interior Department, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File (Fo and Ex.), Series 402-3-37, 1831, June 7, 10, July, Aug: Hawaiʻi State Archives.

No reward was without risk, however, and those caught breaking kapu suffered severely. James Hunnewell was a sailor aboard the *Bordeaux Packet*, which remained in the islands in 1817 through 1818. While in port in Honolulu, Hunnewell noticed that the lock of their storehouse had been picked and "one piece of broadcloth and 31 pieces of Madras handkerchiefs stolen therefrom". After nine days of searching for the perpetrator, a Hawaiian named Pio was identified and the chief Kalanimoku (Pitt) handed him over to the merchants to "take care of". Pio was put into irons and confessed to his crime after four days. Hunnewell said that, "We had returned some of the remnants of stolen handkerchiefs, about seven pieces, some of which were worked into garments" (Hunnewell 1895, 14). Pio's crime is a testament to the risk involved with stealing. Chiefs did not tolerate this behaviour and were willing to turn over those suspected of crimes to the boat captains. If an individual was removed from the chief's malu (protection), he was at the mercy of the foreigners and their ideas of justice and retribution.[67]

Another option was increasingly alluring to maka'āinana in search of clothing: maritime labour. As fur companies expanded in the Northwest Coast, their visits to the islands increased in the early-nineteenth century. Hawaiian men replaced White deserters, taking their place as sailors and stevedores. Many New England ships paid seamen in clothing and offering the same exchange to Hawaiian men was not difficult. The practice of paying Hawaiian workers in cloth and clothing goes back to at least 1811 when the first Hawaiian men were granted permission by Kamehameha to leave the islands and work aboard John Jacob Astor's *Tonquin*, one of the first

[67] A similar account of robbery was recorded by the Tahitian missionary Auna who visited the islands in 1824 with Reverend William Ellis. On the Sabbath, a captain's pocket watch was stolen from his ship. The accused was placed in irons and people started searching for the watch. It was found, having been brought back by the person the watch was sold to. In this scenario, the robber was released once the watch was located Daniel Tyerman, *Journal of voyages and travels by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennet, esq., deputed from the London missionary society, to visit their various stations in the South Sea islands, China, India, &c. between the years 1821 and 1829*, ed. George Bennett, James Montgomery, and London Missionary Society (Boston, New York: J. Leavitt, 1832), 91-94.

vessels of the Pacific Fur Company (Duncan 1973, 95). Payment was given in cloth, as indicated by an early test given to two Hawaiian men by the *Tonquin*'s captain, Johnathan Thorn. Thorn offered to pay each man four yards of fabric if they succeeded in retrieving some pulleys that had fallen into the harbour. The timed challenge won each man his promised cloth and left a memorable impression on the captain. The feat instilled confidence in the abilities of their new help, marking the beginning of a long history of Hawaiian maritime men (Duncan 1973, 95). Hawaiian men proved to be excellent and reliable watermen, qualities that have since informed an Euro-American discourse on the superiority of Hawaiian male bodies for maritime-related labours.[68]

Undertaking physical labour to obtain foreign cloth and clothing came with its own risks. Death was a common occurrence at sea and many men found themselves stranded in New England with little money or support. While the majority of individual stories of trial and tribulation of these Hawaiian sailors have been largely lost to history, a few biographies exist and were widely circulated by the Congregational church, a group invested in using converted Hawaiian sailors as examples of Christian conversion. One story popularised by the Congregational church was the near-death experience of fourteen-year-old Thomas Hopu while he served as a cabin boy on a voyage between the islands and New Haven, Connecticut (Arista 2019, 63). Hopu fell overboard and was thrown a hen coop to hold onto. Anxious about whether he would survive, Hopu promised his akua that if he were to survive that night, he would sacrifice his most prized possession to them: a pea jacket that was given to him by the captain.

[68] Later industries that Hawaiian men were recruited for in the twentieth century included whaling, guano mining and hide and tallow export. This is a major argument in Gregory Rosenthal's *Beyond Hawai'i*: *Native Labor in the Pacific World* (2018).

Hopu's was saved and out of reverence for his gods, he never wore the pea jacket again.[69] This event in Hopu's life was likely dramatised by the Congregational church to fundraise monies towards the opening of a school specifically intended to fulfil the spiritual needs of foreign sailors like Hopu.[70] But regardless, Hopu's story helps us imagine the hazards of the job that Hawaiians eagerly signed up for in order to receive articles of cloth and clothing. Hopu's cautionary tale did little to stop Hawaiians from joining the maritime industry; Hawaiians continued to work as seamen well into the 1830s (Duncan 1973, 98).[71]

Accounts of Hawaiian women labouring on foreign vessels leaving the islands are few in comparison to those recorded about men.[72] The most famous account is that of a woman given the name "Winee" (a transliteration of "Ka Wahine" or "The Woman") by Captain Charles T. Barkley and the crew of the *Imperial Eagle*. Barkley visited Kealakekua in May 1787 and as the boat prepared to leave the Hawaiian Islands for America to trade furs, Ka Wahine stayed on the boat. She traversed the Pacific towards North America most likely as a servant or companion of the Captain's wife, Frances Barkley. Ka Wahine made it all the way to Macao where she was left due to an illness that made her unfit for Barkley's next trip to India and England. In the fall of

[69] The Congregationalists reported that it was not until Hopu became aware that his gods were false that he wore the pea coat again.
[70] The Foreign Mission School in Cornwall was opened in 1817 by a group of Connecticut missionaries. The school later asked for support from the ABCFM.
[71] Hawaiians were significantly cheaper than Indian, Canadian or Euro-American labourers who demanded being paid in cash. As late as 1824, the British Hudson Bay Company offered contracts that promised room and board, clothing, and a set amount of merchandise for about a year work Linnekin, *Sacred queens and women of consequence: rank, gender, and colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands*, 97.
[72] Captain John Thomas Hudson of the schooner *Tamana* visited the Hawaiian Islands on a number of occasions between 1805 and 1806. Hudson had with him a woman named Punahoa from Kawaihae on one of his voyages between the islands and California. While Hudson argues that Punahoa was affectionate towards him, Gregory Rosenthal reading of Hudson's journal argues that their relationship was probably not as sweet as it seemed. In a lecture on Hawaiian labour, Rosenthal stated that when the *Tamana* landed in Ventura, California, Punahoa and another Hawaiian male labourer ran towards the San Buenaventura Catholic mission to desert the boat, showing their unhappiness while aboard John Haskell Kemble, "The Cruise of the Schooner Tamana, 1806-1807: An Episode in the American Penetration of the Pacific Ocean," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 78 (1967 1967): 289; Gregory Rosenthal, *Kapalakiko - Hawaiian Migrant Workers in 19th-Century San Francisco* (Youtube2015).

1788, Ka Wahine, along with three other Hawaiians who had left the islands via different foreign ships – two male labourers and the chief Kaʻiana – started their return back to the islands on board the *Iphigenia* with another fur trader, Captain John Meares (Chang 2016, 36).

Geographer David Chang argues that because of the intimate contact she had with the captain's wife and in metropolitan cities, Ka Wahine would have learned about what he calls gendered material culture, or the foreign garments that expressed the "gendered expectations of the Westerners among whom she moved" (Chang 2016, 45-48). Indeed, Ka Wahine learned what was appropriate for Western women to own and wear, as indicated by the objects she had in her possession by the time she boarded the *Iphigenia*. As Ka Wahine's illness worsened during the group's return journey home, she was cared for by Kaʻiana, reversing the roles of makaʻāinana caring for an aliʻi. This reversal showed the intimacy that had developed between Hawaiians that found each other in foreign lands distant from their beloved ʻāina kulaiwi (homeland). Before her death, Ka Wahine gave Kaʻiana her possessions: a porcelain basin, bottle and mirror for him, a hoop, petticoat, gown, and cap for Kaʻiana's wife, and the remaining articles to be delivered to her family (Chang 2016, 48). The valuables that survived Ka Wahine increased in value with her death, acting as grim reminders of the risks that came with choosing a life of exploration and pursuit of foreign goods: the real possibility of never returning home.

Ka Wahine adventured abroad with the help of a stable position, but the majority of Hawaiian women who boarded ships did so with the intent of offering the commodity most desired by sailors: their own bodies (Ulep 2017, 36) . The sex work industry was established during Cook's 1778-1779 visits making it significantly older than any maritime labours that Hawaiian men participated in. Because of the eagerness of White men for sex, makaʻāinana women held a unique advantage in gaining foreign cloth and clothing in comparison to men. Sex

work became another means for women to clothe and support themselves and their family members (Ulep 2017, 43-44). In 1820, missionary wives observed prized cloth and clothing being flaunted by women and worn proudly during public festivals during the Makahiki season (Campbell, A. 1822, 146-147). Lucy Thurston observed that a Hawaiian woman could board a boat at night wearing kapa and leave the next morning with cloth (Piercy 2000, 33). The sex-for-goods trade proliferated because of the lack of social stigma around sex and the industry went unregulated until 1825.

The major consequence of sex work was the spread of venereal diseases that sickened both the Hawaiian population. Kamehameha III and Ka‘ahumanu’s response to these consequences of sex work culminated in 1825 with the enactment of a kapu that barred Hawaiian women from visiting foreign ships.[73] This kapu was not well received by mobs of seamen and merchants who doubted the efficacy of the ali‘i’s pronouncements and blamed the enforcement of the kapu on missionary teachings and influence (Arista 2019, 181).[74] Angry foreign seamen who only visited Hawai‘i for a short time had very little understanding of Hawaiian governance. Perhaps if they had spent the time to study the dynamic between the Hawaiians and the missionaries, or even spent a short time talking to missionary women who laboured to fulfil the clothing orders of the ali‘i, they would have realised that kapu could only come from the ali‘i and no one else.

[73] This kapu followed the publication of an 1824 broadside titled “The Suppression of Vice”. Written by the captains and officers of the *Hydaspe, Thames, Enterprise* and *Aurora*, the document pledged the ship’s commitment to baring women and prostitution on board their ships Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States*, 161.

[74] Missionary opinions about sex work are not the focus of this chapter. However, I do acknowledge that the group had their own very strong opinions on the matter and were generally opposed to promiscuity and intimate relations between foreigners and Hawaiians Margaret and Martha Macintyre Jolly, *Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 61-62. The missionaries were also opposed to legal marriages between Hawaiians and foreigners.

Like the robbers who raided merchant storehouses, Hawaiian women defied the prohibitions of kapu to pursue foreign cloth and clothing. However, their choices came at the great expense to their reputations. Women found breaking the kapu were punished by the aliʻi. There are records of found women being dragged to Kaʻahumanu and others publicly stoned or imprisoned for disobedience (Arista 2019, 181, 186). We can imagine that many Hawaiian women saw the risks of swimming to foreign ships and chose to stay on shore. But we can also imagine that many Hawaiian women magnetised to foreign ships, driven by a prospective piece of calico or gingham.[75] Like many makaʻāinana, these women's' names are lost to history. But their choices to board a ship to spend the night in the company of a White man impacted the relationships between aliʻi and merchants and missionaries in unexpected ways. While kapu shaped makaʻāinana lives, makaʻāinana defiance of these kapu affected the entirety of society.[76]

Conclusion

Prior to the unification of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1810, foreign objects that came ashore were of great interest and value to Islanders. They were strictly reserved for the aliʻi who had the

[75] Controlling sex work was still a concern by the end of the 1820s. *Joseph* Allen, master of the Ship *Clarkson* of Nantucket, wrote to Kamehameha III in 1829 warning him that the lack of restriction on this sex work would not only affect Hawaiian women, but also the crews of the sailors, "Moreover these evils seriously affect the shipping interest. The practice of vile females frequenting the ships which touch at the Island for refreshments is injurious to the health and lives of the crews, & the success of the voyage, & entirely contrary to the wishes of ship owners in general" Joseph Allen, Joseph Allen ot Kauikeouli, 25 November 1829, Volume 11, Interior Department, Foreign Office and Executive, Chronological File (Fo and Ex.), Series 402-3-29 - Chronological File, 1790-1849: Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[76] Hawaiian depopulation and infertility as a result to venereal disease was a consequence of this period of sexual exchange between Hawaiians and foreigners. It continued to be a major issue for the Hawaiian Kingdom over the course of the nineteenth century. Solving the issue became the mission of King David Kalākaua, who from the start of his reign in 1874 promulgated a campaign known as "Hoʻoulu Lāhui". Hoʻoulu Lāhui has been defined by curator Leah Caldeira as "to increase and preserve the nation". She argues that the vision called for an increase in the Hawaiian population as well as an increase in national pride for the kingdom's position within the region and internationally Leah Caldeira, "Visualizing Hoʻoulu Hawaiʻi," in *Hoʻoulu Hawaiʻi: the King Kalākaua era* (Honolulu: Honolulu Museum of Art, 2018), 13. For more information, see Caldeira's introductory essay in Healoha Johnston's catalogue *Hoʻoulu Lāhui: The King Kalākaua Era* (2018).

discretion to free them from kapu. The newness and potential of these objects intrigued makaʻāinana but only the alii had the ability to determine who could access these things. As ships increasingly entered the waters of the Northern Pacific in the early-nineteenth century with the hope of gaining access to Hawaiian resources, the kapu over who could trade began to broaden. Intially, Kamehameha I was reserved the right to trade but after his death, trade ability was extended beyond the crown.

The aliʻi who had new found trade rights were careful to choose their trade partners. Aliʻi were not easily swayed, opting to work with foreigners who recognised their authority and were deemed trustworthy and respectable. As the paramount chief in the kingdom, Kamehameha I's kapu gave him exclusive access to foreign merchants who were interested in trading for sandalwood, the most lucrative of Hawaiian exports. The sandalwood trade provided Kamehameha a direct avenue to obtain the foreign goods he desired. He continued to grow his stores of foreign goods by confiscating and absorbing foreign goods obtained lesser chiefs and makaʻāinana.

After Kamehameha I's death in 1819, aliʻi continued to reserve trade with foreigners for themselves and barring makaʻāinana from trading. Similar to Kamehameha I, aliʻi dictated who they wanted to work with, forcing merchants to sweeten their trade offers in order to compete with others. New types of cloth and clothing attracted aliʻi into sandalwood trade arrangements, and in response, merchants hastily placed specific orders of cloth and clothing from merchant houses in New England that they thought would satisfy the interests of the aliʻi. The pressure to compete for sandalwood in effect broadened the availability and diversity of foreign cloth and clothing in the early Hawaiian kingdom. The aliʻi loved foreign dress and creatively found ways to wear foreign clothing with native dress, sometimes even choosing to wear large swaths of

yardage wrapped around their bodies. Restrictions on the distribution of foreign cloth and clothing across the Hawaiian population meant that these new styles of dress and adornment were reserved for the upper class and specifically those who could promulgate kapu.

The biggest change in the response to foreign cloth and clothing between Kamehameha I and those who reigned after him was that because merchants were able and willing to get exactly what the aliʻi wanted and in large amounts, there was less of a need to seize the foreign goods of non-aliʻi. Because the trade in sandalwood secured the best and most prestigious goods available to the aliʻi, the aliʻi were not interested in the less desirable types of goods that non-aliʻi had in their possession. Makaʻāinana could try to access and wear foreign cloth and clothing for themselves as long as it did not involve harvesting the aliʻi's sandalwood or disobeyed their alii's kapu.

Non-aliʻi which included missionaries and makaʻāinana were creative in the ways they meet their own need for cloth and clothing. Sandwich Islands Mission missionaries strongly disagreed with how the aliʻi richly self-fashioned themselves with foreign materials. Yet many missionary wives, desperate for cloth and clothing for their growing families, found themselves supporting the dress interests of the aliʻi. The aliʻi flooded missionary women with custom clothing requests upon learning they could sew. These sewing projects were completed in the small pockets of time the missionary women had during their work days. As a form of reciprocation, the aliʻi presented gifts of cloth to the missionary women to use for their various projects. These gifts were accepted despite the missionaries' critique of the aliʻi's foreign cloth and dress preferences.

Makaʻāinana were also interested in foreign cloth and clothing and found their own ways to access the material. The greatest advantage for the makaʻāinana in their own pursuit of foreign

cloth and clothing is that they were not always under the close gaze of the aliʻi, a position that was the opposite of the missionaries. Less monitoring meant that there was a wide range of options available to them when it came to obtaining cloth and clothing which included trying to make their own trade agreements with foreigners. But with great reward also came great risks. Stealing from merchants was a popular method of choice, but punishments were frequent and unpredictable and could be delivered by foreigners. The maritime trade offered a variety of labour opportunities for those interested in working for foreign cloth and clothing. Men worked as sailors and stevedores and women worked as sex workers. However, while makaʻāinana gained the materials they wanted from these transactions, these labours proved to be exploitative and hazardous. Perhaps the biggest trade off was risk to one's personal safety and health. Hawaiian seamen seeking payment were willing to leave Hawaiʻi for their jobs, but faced the possibility of never returning to Hawaii and dying at sea or in foreign lands. By using their bodies as a commodity, Hawaiian women often comprised their own health and safety. Yet, these dangers did not slow down these industries nor makaʻāinana pursuit of foreign cloth and clothing. As we will see in future chapters, this dissipating Hawaiian fervour for cloth and clothing would become a top priority for some.

Chapter Three – Enmeshing the Old and New: The Development of New Colour and Techniques in Kapa Making for the Aliʻi, 1810-1830

In 1938, the Honolulu Academy of Art showcased a collection of kapa moe, or sleeping kapa. Among the kapa on display was a kapa moe loaned by Ivy Richardson, the daughter of Maui-born Colonel John Keone Likikine Richardson (Laitila 2020). Richardson stated that the kapa moe belonged to chief John Harold Hoʻolulu Kaiheʻekai (alias Ioane Hoʻolulu), a chief born in the early-nineteenth century with an illustrious and revered genealogy.[77] Kaiheʻekai's grandfather was Kameʻeiamoku, a relative of Kamehameha I who supported Kamehameha's efforts in unifying the Hawaiian archipelago into a kingdom between 1790-1810. As a result of his loyalty, Kameʻeiamoku's descendants, which included both Kaiheʻekai and Kaiheʻekai's father, Hoʻolulu, acted as advisers in Kamehameha's court and were awarded prized lands across the newly formed kingdom.

This chapter presents Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe as a unique example of kapa intended to proclaim Kaiheʻekai's wealth and status. The kapa moe was made using a combination of foreign cloth and sewing techniques that were introduced to the islands in the early-nineteenth century. The coming together of these materials and techniques was made possible by Kaiheʻekai's moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy) and the privileges of access and resources that came with it. An aliʻi's place within society was determined by genealogical lineage. Historian Marie Alohilani Brown explains that role of moʻokūauhau is to order relationality not only between individuals but also the components that organise the ʻŌiwi (Indigenous Hawaiian) worldview.

> Moʻokūauhau includes intellectual, conceptual and aesthetic genealogies; even more important, moʻokūauhau is

[77] Following the exhibition, Richardson donated the piece in 1943 to the museum's permanent collection (HA 203.1).

> chronologically plural, extending in vertical, horizontal, and diagonal directions through time. And in terms of intellectual endeavors, moʻokūauhau refers to the worldview we have inherited as ʻŌiwi, which informs how we conceive, reason about and understand thought and artistic production (Brown, M.A. 2016, 27-28).

Brown's definitions allows us to understand moʻokūauhau as the connective tissue between people and progressions in cultural production and especially in regards to aliʻi material culture. ʻŌiwi aesthetic is generative because it follows and reproduces the succession structured by moʻokūauhau; it references and affirms the past while moving forward. This phenomenon is perhaps best summed up by a Hawaiian proverbial saying, "I ka wā ma mua, i ka wā ma hope" or "the future is made possible by the past".[78]

While the provenance of Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe (HA 203.1) makes the piece quite storied, the design made the piece unique and visually captivating [Figure 3.1]. The decorated kilohana, or the outer-most layer of the three-sheet layered kapa moe, is decorated with red and blue appliqué pieces of kapa against a white kapa background. The border of the 213.36 cm wide kapa moe consists of designs that run along the perimeter of the square kapa moe: a connected row of blue diamonds that follows the edge of the kapa, a series of "x" shapes that alternate between blue and red kapa and a connected row of blue triangles that resembles teeth or a pattern traditionally known as niho manō (shark teeth) [Figure 3.2]. Within the border are nine evenly spaced decorative floral motifs, four in blue and four in red, that resemble four hearts connected to a centre square [Figure 3.3]. The eight flowers surround the centre's most decorative design, a large circular flower shape in blue with eight heart-shaped petals [Figure 3.4].

[78] This phrase can literally be translated as "the past is made possible by the future" Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States*, 91. The interpretation that I use here was created by Noelani Arista.

Although these coloured pieces look like they were coloured pieces of cloth stitched onto the white cloth, these were in fact made of kapa. The back of the kilohana shows no evidence that the coloured pieces were stitched or glued onto the white background. Rather, the red and blue pieces of kapa were cut into their desired shapes, placed onto the wet white kapa and then beaten into it using a beater that had a maka ʻupena pūpū (mesh and eye of the net) design.[79] The result is a single, evenly pounded sheet that exhibits little alternation to viewers.

Within the Hawaiian worldview, the new communes with the old. Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe illustrates that shifts in kapa designs and production in the early-nineteenth century continued to be generated within the framework of self-presentation. Put another way, Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe reifies and reflects his social position and the rights given to him through his pedigree through the ingenuity of the design and its fabrication.

This chapter uses Kaiheʻekai's and kapa moe to explain how moʻokūauhau assisted in the development of a kapa moe that utilised new sources for colours with new techniques and designs, bringing about a genre that followed an established aesthetic reserved for chiefs. At birth, Kaiheʻekai's moʻokūauhau provided him mana and kapu that situated himself in a social hierarchy. His position was above makaʻāinana but within a hierarchy of other aliʻi with birth-rights.

This chapter is divided into sections to describe aspects of the kapa moe's design and creation. The first section looks at the historical significance of red and how the red used in the kapa moe was sourced through chiefly kapu. The next section looks at how the aliʻi used their status to assert control over blue, a new colour to the islands. The last section examines the technique of appliqué that used on kapa moe and ponders its origins.

[79] This name, "maka ʻupena pūpū", is also the name a kapa beater pattern.

Kapu and Sacred Red

Kamehameha I and his reign symbolised an unprecedented era of engagement with the new and foreign, and he continued to dress himself with colours that identified his chiefly mana and kapu. Red (‘ula) was an important and symbolic colour for the ali‘i. The Hawaiian word ‘ula describes different shades of red, ranging from scarlet to brown. The word also refers to blood, sacredness and royalty. These shared definitions of ‘ula infer that red was more than just a colour but a visible representation of the rank and status of the ali‘i. It is what made chiefs and sustained their lineages. The brightest reds from the natural world came from the carefully harvested feathers of endemic birds like the ‘i‘iwi and ‘apapane and were fashioned into ‘ahu‘ula. To be cloaked in the feathers of birds, the animal intermediaries between the ali‘i and the gods, was a stunning sight and the most public way an ali‘i could present his or her prowess (Kahanu 2015, 24-25).

The first recorded incident of Kamehameha receiving red cloth was in 1794 during Captain Vancouver’s second visit to the islands. Having forged a relationship with Kamehameha I during his initial trip, Vancouver came prepared to gift the king things that he thought would be of interest to him. Archibald Menzies, a naturalist on Vancouver’s voyage, recorded that Vancouver surprised Kamehameha during their visit on 21 February 1794 with “a long robe of red cloth…tasseled [sic] with ribbons and bordered round with lace and particolored tape” (Vancouver 1798, 149). Kamehameha threw the cloak around his shoulders, looked in the mirror and “was so highly delighted with this present that he danced and capered about the cabin for some minutes like a madman” (Menzies 1920, 64). Kamehameha was no stranger to receiving fine gifts, but the colour of Vancouver’s present lit something in Kamehameha that even surprised Vancouver and his crew. Menzies observed that other Hawaiians they had gifted or traded red cloth with had a similar affinity towards the colour (Menzies 1920, 125). In

Kealakekua, for example, Menzies reported that red cloth had surprisingly become a valued trade good, “The natives became so fond of our red cloth, that they gave seven, eight and sometimes even ten hogs for a square piece of it and left off entirely for firearms and ammunition” (Menzies 1920, 62).

Menzies did not describe the exact shade of Kamehameha’s red cloak, but the international history of red dye suggests that it was likely dyed with Turkey red, a dye originally produced in India and mass-produced in Europe from the late-eighteenth century.[80] Turkey red’s popularity was due to the dye’s winning combination of brightness and non-fading quality. To create this dye, natural alizarin was extracted from the red root from rose madder (*Rubia tinctorium*), wild madder (*Rubia peregrina*) and Indian madder (*Rubia cordifolia*). It was then combined with different measures of mordant oil and alum to fix the dye to the cloth.[81] The process in making Turkey red was tremendously arduous so much so that recipes became coveted by European dye houses. In the 1780s dyers and chemists moved recipes from France to the British Isles, which allowed Turkey red cloth production to thrive alongside England and Scotland’s industrial cotton textile factories. By the turn of the century, the British Isles became the leading international exporter of red cloth, sending millions of yards of dyed printed cotton cloth and yarn red around the world (Nenadic 2013, 1-3).

After Kamehameha I’s death in 1819, Turkey red cloth and clothing became more widely utilised by a broader swath of aliʻi. Liholiho Kamehameha II succeeded his father and following the late king’s directions, chose to reign differently. Many kapu still applied to the king, but others altered under the guidance of his stepmother and kuhina nui (primary adviser),

[80] The earliest advertisement of Turkey red sold in Honolulu merchant shops was in 1844 *Polynesian*, "New Goods," (Honolulu) 1844.
[81] Synthetic alizarine was created in Germany in 1868, ending the need to cultivate rose madder to produce turkey red by the 1870s.

Kaʻahumanu. One practice that remained intact was the use of red cloth and clothing to the aliʻi. Kamehameha I's own use of red clothing in his own self-presentation became a visual language that the aliʻi who survived him continued to follow. When Liholiho was crowned Kamehameha II, he wore a complete outfit of red that included red clothing, an ahuʻula and a hat from Great Britain (Dibble 1843, 85).

A year later, on the first anniversary of Kamehameha II's ascension, many other aliʻi dressed in red for the celebration.

> Queen Kamamalu, considered a beauty of the islands, dressed in red with a silk mantle and a red feather crown, sat on a whaleboat overspread with costly broadcloth. Behind her stood Kalaimoku [sic] and Naihe, brilliant in red silk and red helmets holding magnificent red kahilis. Retainers in red feather capes and helmets bore the float. Kaahumanu and Keopulani each wore seventy-two yards of cashmere of double fold, one half red and one half orange in color, wrapped around each until her arms rested out straight on the mass, while what was left hung in a long train, held by a retinue (Alexander 1912, 202-203).

After just one year of the new king's reign, many aliʻi had accessed large quantities red cloth of their own. Presented in a new form, the red of their clothing communicated their engagement with the new and foreign. Red clothing was successfully added to the retinue of chiefly adornment and was worn in many different forms and materials. But how did red cloth become more accessible to more than just the aliʻi nui?

Yet despite the active trade for new cloth and clothing that characterised Kamehameha II's reign and the ease of being able to trade for sandalwood for the material, the aliʻi did not abandon kapa. In fact, the increased presence and availability of red cloth gave new relevance to kapa in a surprising way. Red coloured cloth provided kapa makers who served the aliʻi the opportunity to experiment with the colour and material in their kapa practice. A new type of kapa known as paʻiʻula was created in response to the popularity of the colour red by the aliʻi and the

novelty of Turkey red cloth. The name paʻiʻula describes the way it was created; by pounding (paʻi) red (ʻula) fabric onto wet, white kapa.

Paʻiʻula is uniquely pink-toned on one side with red fibres prominently embedded on the surface, and white on the other (Bisulca 2014, 130). This phenomenon is made possible because of the way red cloth was used in the kapa making process. An 1834 article published in *Ka Lama Hawaii* on gifting kapa describes paʻiʻula as "a cloth made using beaten red cloth beaten with a rock and pounded onto kapa using a round beater until it is adequately soft, shiny and fine" (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834d) [Trans 3.I]. In this short description, the author explains that the kapa was made by first tearing red cloth into small pieces, softening the fibres with a rock and then beating the fibres into the wet kapa, allowing the colour and fibres to transfer onto the white wauke. Historian Davida Malo confirms that paʻiʻula was created by pounding welu or rags of red cloth onto wet material (Malo 2020a, 123). The technique used in the creation of paʻiʻula was different from any other colouring process used in kapa making like dyeing through submersion or surface painting.

The name of the first kapa maker who invented the paʻiʻula is lost to history, but her work in cleverly bringing together new and traditional fibres into a single piece has become one of the most recognisable forms of nineteenth-century kapa. Because of the power and authority that red communicated, aliʻi pursued Western cloth and clothing that was red. Kamehameha I began trading for red cloth and clothing, and his son, Kamehameha II, allowed the highest-ranking chiefs to also trade for red coloured cloth and clothing for themselves. With an abundance of material, these aliʻi gave some of the material to be used in the creation of new types of kapa. Like red cloth, the paʻiʻula used in Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe kuiki not only communicated the kapu associated with his rank as a chief, but also signalled that he held kapu

that allowed him to trade to red cloth. As an extension of red cloth, paʻiʻula became a both new visual symbol of aliʻi prominence and a symbol of aliʻi aptitude in trade relations.

Brighter Blues

Paʻiʻula is not the only prominent colour on Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe. Blue is featured throughout the kapa moe kilohana's border and centre decorations. Blue dye used for kapa was traditionally sourced from the endemic Hawaiian lily called ʻukiʻuki (*Dianella sandwicensis*). ʻUkiʻuki berries are dark blue-purple in colour and create a light blue dye when used for kapa (Abbott 1992, 125). But the deep yet bright shade of blue used on Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe is different from Hawaiian blues, which points to the colour's foreign origin. Red cloth and clothing were adopted by the aliʻi because of the deep cultural significance of the colour. New hues of blue that came from new foreign sources similarly gained popularity among the aliʻi in the early nineteenth century.

As we saw in the last chapter, merchants developed their own strategies for attracting aliʻi into sandalwood trade deals. Blue cloth was requested in a number of different correspondences between Bryant and Sturgis' Hawaii-based employees Charles Bullard and Charles H. Hammatt and their home office. New types of cloth always traded well and Bullard and Hammatt specifically requested thin, light low-cost fabrics from Boston that looked good and they could sell at a higher rate in the islands (Bullard 1821-1823, 20).

There were many different types of blue cloth that were introduced to the islands in the early-nineteenth century, although their names sometimes were developed later. Each variation of blue cloth was given its own Hawaiian name, an indication of the accessibility and popularisation of different blue cloth to Hawaiians at different times. ʻAinakini or blue cotton

cloth was in wide-circulation in Hawaiian-language newspapers by the 1840s (Nailiili 1849). ʻĀhina or ahinahina referred to blue dungaree or denim and was advertised for sale in the 1850s (*Ka Hae Hawaii* 1859). Polū referred to thick blue woollen cloth. The sheer number of words for blue cloth exemplifies the fervour for blue cloth that began during this period.

Missionary accounts from the same period confirm that there was an enthusiastic interest in blue cloth among Hawaiians, not just the aliʻi. In the first years of the Sandwich Islands Mission, blue was the most frequently requested colour of cloth from the ABCFM because it could be traded very easily. In October 1820, less than six months after the missionaries arrived in the islands, Reverend Daniel Chamberlain wrote to Jeremiah Evarts, corresponding secretary of the ABCFM, of the popularity of blue cloth in the islands, saying that "what they most want is blue India cotton for what they call pows & marrows" (Green, J. 1834).[82] The interest in blue cloth persisted two years later when Reverend Elisa Loomis wrote to Evarts with details about how the material was being used by kanaka for clothing.

> The natives pretty universally prefer cash on hand, to any article of trade. This is not to be wondered at, considering the high price of foreign goods. Dungaree, the best article for trade at these Islands, is torn into pieces of three yards in length. These are called paus and are valued at $1 each. A piece of Dungaree will make five paus. It is usually of sufficient width to make three maros each of which his value at 33-1/3 c. A piece of blue Nankin will make three maros (Loomis 1822).[83]

Regardless of the weight or type of blue cloth, Hawaiians were interested in having a piece of blue cloth to be worn as paʻū or malo.

The interest in new blue cloth may have led to the rise in popularity for blue kapa. Unlike paʻiʻula, whose pink colour is visible only on one side, the blue kapa that is incorporated into

[82] Emphasis is original to the text.
[83] Emphasis is original to the text.

Kaihe‘ekai’s kapa moe kuiki is blue on both sides, which suggests that the colour of the kapa was achieved by submerging the kapa in an imported blue dye versus achieving the colour transfer through enmeshing the fibres.

What materials were used to create blue dye? After studying blue-dyed kapa in the collection of the Bishop Museum, chemist and conservator Christina Bisulca suggests that the blue colour may have been achieved by dyeing kapa in laundry blue, a blue liquid used for washing white clothing that contained a number of blue pigments (Bisulca 2014, 129). As early as the 1830s, the individual pigments in laundry bluing included both synthetic and natural materials including synthetic ultramarine, Prussian blue, indigo and aniline blue. It is also possible that all of these sources of blue may have also been individually available in the islands and used as a kapa dye. For example, synthetic ultramarine was first synthesized in 1822. Prussian blue was advertised in English-language newspapers in Hawai‘i as early as 1846 (Wright 1846).

The interest in blue cloth and clothing emboldened some ali‘i to attempt at creating blue dye locally. By the 1830s, ‘inikō (indigo), introduced to the islands in 1814 by Spaniard Francisco de Paula Marin, grew throughout the kingdom (Graham 2018, 53). Recognising the value of indigo dye and blue cloth, Hawai‘i Island Governor John Adams Kuakini took a keen interest in cultivating indigo. Kuakini was the highest-ranking ali‘i on Hawai‘i Island and was the brother of Kaahumanu, Kamehameha II’s kuhina nui.

Kuakini sought guidance from foreigners and missionaries on how to make the dye. With the help of ABCFM missionary Dr. Seth Andrews, Kuakini published a want-advertisement in the newspaper asking for someone to write in and explain how to make indigo dye (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1838b).

> The doctor asked about the preparation of indigo because Kuakini has a strong interest in it being made and has not properly got it. A foreigner who lives with him made some, but didn't do it properly and so he didn't get that dye. The K. H. [*Kumu Hawaii*] is requesting one who knows about making indigo to write in and explain (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1838b) [Trans 3.II].

Kuakini's want-advertisement provides a rare look into his spirit and interest around a foreign plant and its product. Kuakini understood that there was a process to properly create the dye and was invested in engaging foreigners on how to make it properly, to the point that he utilised a new form of communication to broadcast his request broadly. As the advertisement details, the production of the dye was not an easy task, but it was one that Kuakini was very committed to.

While blue was historically used in kapa making, novel and vibrant blues rose in popularity in early-nineteenth century kapa. Brighter hues of blue had associations with foreign imported cloth. This blue communicated associations with fabrics of foreign origin such as dungaree, nankeen and denim.

The Hawaiian interest in blue led to the use of dyed bright blues in kapa that survive today in museum collections. Within the Peabody Essex collection, for example, are samples of of kapa that feature blue kapa. E34043 features blue heart shapes on a background thin, white kapa background [Figure 3.9]. E34044 includes a blue shape with three lobes (possibly a flower) next to a pa‘iula heart on a background of white kapa [Figure 3.10]. More chemical research will need to be underatken to definitively determine whether the blues used in various pieces of blue kapa were dyed using synthetic or natural materials.

Appliqué Without the Stitching

Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe is unique because of its inclusion of both red and blue coloured kapa. Now that we have discussed how both types of kapa were individually created, we can discuss how the kapa moe was constructed.

The design used in Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe is distinctively symmetrical and fits with the square dimensions of the white kapa sheet. The kapa sheet used as the base of the kapa moe is left plain, unaltered by dyes or surface stamps. The most prominent floral design at the centre of the sheet was made of blue kapa. The centre piece is surrounded by eight smaller decorative floral pieces made from paʻiula. The border that surrounds the centre designs and along the perimeter of the kapa appear continuous but were likely are joined at the corners of white kapa sheet.

Determining how all the coloured designs were affixed to the white background requires close looking. There are no stitches visible on the front or backside of the kapa. The designs are also flushed to the white kapa sheet, which indicates that the coloured designs were not glued to the white background [Figure 3.5].

We can look to surviving kapa tools to surmise how Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe was created. Kapa beaters called iʻe kuku hoʻoki (squared-kapa beater) were the primary tool used in pounding out the large sheets. This style of beater has four sides, each carved with designs. The grooves on each surface helped to separate the fibres of the wet material, allowing the piece to stretch out further and become thinner. Another consequence of these grooves is that the kapa material can sometimes get stuck. Historic beaters thus provide a glimpse into the last piece the beater was used to make. In the collections of the Bishop Museum and Smithsonian NMNH are two beaters that have pieces of paʻiʻula and blue kapa stuck in their grooves. The Bishop

Museum example (00284) has remnants of paʻiʻula stuck within the grooves of a maka upena pūpū pattern [Figure 3.8] the Smithsonian NMNH (E430801) example has remnants of both paʻiʻula and blue kapa on different sides of the beater [Figure 3.6, Figure 3.7].

While the inspiration for the enmeshing technique is unknown, I would like to suggest that the idea for cutting appliqué pieces was in partial thanks to the introduction of scissors and the missionaries who showed kapa makers how to use them with cloth. Knives (pahi) and adzes (koʻi) were the traditional Hawaiian tool used for cutting and slicing materials. Scissors were introduced to the islands in the late-eighteenth century and offered more control and precision than knives. Scissors were called ʻūpa in Hawaiian, which described the snapping sound between the open and close function of the iron blades (Malo 2020a, 204). The anonymous author of the 1834 article "No Na Mea Hana E Pono Ai o Hawaii Nei (Concerning the Necessary Tools Here in Hawaiʻi)" wrote that scissors were highly sought after in the early days of Western contact" (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834c). Historian Davida Malo concurs and explained that scissors or shears were considered to be a "superior instrument" introduced by the foreigners.[84]

One of the first instances of scissors being used with cloth in the islands was thanks to the ABCFM missionaries. On 3 April 1820 while the *Thaddeus* was still anchored in Kealakekua Bay, the wives of the Sandwich Islands Mission organised the first quilting circle in the archipelago.[85] In Lucy Thurston's account of the event, she recorded that Lucia Ruggles Holman

[84] The ABCFM missionaries saw first-hand the value of scissors in trade situations. In 1824, the Levi Chamberlain wrote a lengthy letter to Jeremiah Evarts explaining that scissors and pocket knives were among the most popular bartering objects across all missionary stations Levi Chamberlain, Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, 24 September 1824, 2, Missionary Letters (typed copies) From the Sandwich Islands Misison to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1819-1837, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

[85] The Hawaiian Mission Houses' objects collections include examples of patchworks stitched by the missionaries (1926.09.15.J3 - Friendship patchwork square) as well as caches of fabric scraps kept by the missionaries and their descendants. For example, a small collection cloth remnants from the Dole family after sewing their children's clothing (70.35.3a-f.D5 - Fabric scraps). Missionary women and their Hawaiʻi-born daughters patchwork quilted

and Nancy Ruggles led the quilting circle which included "four native women of distinction" and seven missionaries sitting across mats on the ships' deck sewing a calico patchwork (Thurston 1882, 32). In attendance was aliʻi Kalākua and her entourage, who had visited the missionaries in the days prior to the sewing circle.[86]

For the missionary women, this quilting circle was more than a social gathering but a first attempt at introducing American domestic craft to Hawaiians.[87] Kalākua had a different takeaway from the event. She was interested in the wives' sewing ability in putting pieces of fabric together. Shortly after the quilting circle concluded, Kalākua requested one of the missionary wives, Nancy Ruggles, to make a gown like hers using some white cambric she had (Thurston 1882, 32).[88] Nancy Ruggles finished the requested dress, and Lucy Thurston recalls that Kalākua assumed a new appearance wearing the dress. Thurston described Kalākua's outfit as consisting of a "newly-made white dress" in the "fashion of 1819", a decorated black cap with a wreath of roses, and "a lace half neckerchief, of the corner of which was a most elegant sprig of various colors", the majority of which were gifts from the missionary wives' family and friends back at home. Thurston notes that the custom dress did not come down to the tops of the

using scraps saved from sewing projects. One of the most interesting surviving missionary quilts now held at the Hawaiian Mission Houses was made by Huldah Ruggles and used scraps from her dresses.

[86] The missionaries were first visited by the chiefs Kalanimoku, Kalākua and Nāmāhana on 1 April 1820 while still at anchor in Kealakekua.

[87] The missionaries gifted the aliʻi patchwork quilts over the course of the Sandwich Islands Mission. In 1823, the Sandwich Islands Mission received a "bed-quilt from young ladies in Miss E. Dewey's school, Blandford, for Kaahumanu, which was very acceptable to this honored female ruler" *Missionary Herald For The Year 1823*, vol. 19 (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1823), 317.

[88] The effect may have been similar to the likeness of Namahana who was the subject of a watercolour turned engraving during Otto von Kotzebue's 1824 visit to the kingdom. In the illustration, Namahana wears a long-sleeved, high-waisted silk dress with an empire waist and ruffled white collar, accessorised with an artificial Chinese flower garland around her head. Namahana's dress falls to her shins, leaving her black laced shoes visible to the viewer. Kotezbue's description of Namahana as 6 feet 2 inches tall suggests that the short dress was likely the result of the chief's height and lack of material rather than a style choice Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise*, 101-03.

shoes, “leaving the feet cropped out very prominently”.[89] Regardless, Kalākua’s dress was the first women’s dress sewn in the islands. Kalākua’s new appearance was “received by hundreds with a shout” by the Hawaiians who watched her disembark from the *Thaddeus* on 4 April 1820 (Thurston 1882, 32-34). The moment was a successful showing of the missionaries’ abilities to transform ali‘i cloth into clothing through altering the material through cutting.

This first introduction to patchwork quilting and dress sewing lit something among the ali‘i and the makers that served them. While the ali‘i or the makers that served them did not have the sewing skills just yet, I hypothesise that after seeing missionaries use scissors with their sewing projects, that kapa makers began experimenting with cutting kapa using their scissors.[90] The floral designs seen in Kaihe‘ekai’s kapa moe are similar in size and symmetry and it is likely that these pieces were created by folding the coloured kapa four to eight times into a smaller piece before using scissors to cut the folded piece. Scissors allowed the designer more control and ability to make finer, more detailed cuts in the kapa, like the angles of the niho manō border and the curved lobes of the heart shapes. After the piece was cut, the folded kapa was opened up like an accordion, revealing an intricate yet fully connected piece of kapa, much like how paper snowflakes are made. These smaller, separate elements could then be brought together and placed, similar to the process of patchworking quilting.

Patchwork quilting, however, did not leave an impactful impression on the islands and its people. Historian Stella Jones argues that the practice of cutting coveted yards of fabric into smaller pieces just to stitch them back together seemed like a “futile waste of time” to Hawaiians

[89] The effect may have been similar to the likeness of Namahana who was the subject of a watercolour turned engraving during Otto von Kotzebue’s 1824 visit to the kingdom. In the illustration, Namahana wears a long-sleeved, high-waisted silk dress with an empire waist and ruffled white collar, accessorised with an artificial Chinese flower garland around her head. Namahana’s dress falls to her shins, leaving her black laced shoes visible to the viewer. Kotezbue’s description of Namahana as 6 feet 2 inches tall suggests that the short dress was likely the result of the chief’s height and lack of material rather than a style choice Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise*, 101-03.
[90] In further chapters I will discuss how sewing education led to the collaborative creation of kapa dresses.

(Jones 1930, 15).[91] However, the concept of cutting kapa for appliqué pieces would go onto influence a new style of quilting that developed altogether in Hawaii: appliqué quilting.[92]

In this style of quilting, a design was cut from a coloured piece of cloth and stitched onto a white cloth background. The result was a two-toned quilt that typically featured a prominent, symmetrical design inspired by the natural world. The designs were unique to the maker and could represent the relationships quilters had to beloved individuals or life events. Hawaiian cultural expert and kumu (teacher) Alice Nāmakelua argues that the appliqué method is an example of nā mea Hawai‘i maoli, or a uniquely native Hawaiian practice (Nāmakelua 1974).[93] Nāmakelua describes appliqué quilting as a technique "emerging well from the work of the Hawaiians" [Trans 3.III]. In her opinion, appliqué quiltling set itself apart from other types of quilting because of the workmanship which she described as being "Soft, very delicate, close-fitting, skillful" (Nāmakelua 1974) [Trans. 3.IV].

Conclusion

Kaihe‘ekai's kapa moe is a spectacular example of early-nineteenth century kapa because of the history behind its components and the techniques used in its creation. The privileges from Kaihe‘ekai's birthright were represented by the materials used in the kapa moe. Because of his

[91] Jones also argues that when clothing patterns were cut from sheets of cloth, the full width of the cloth was utilised, leaving little scraps for quilting Stella M. Jones, *Hawaiian Quilts* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1930), 15.
[92]Stella Jones presents two possible hypotheses of the origins of the practice. The first argues that a retainer of Queen Emma, the consort of Kamehameha IV, was believed to have made the first appliqué quilt in celebration of the first birthday of Crown Prince Albert Leiopapa in 1858 Jones, *Hawaiian Quilts*, 15. The second possible source may have come from Lydia Brown and Maria Ogden from the Wailuku Station on Maui Jones, *Hawaiian Quilts*, 15. The oldest quilt in the Wilcox Collection at the Grove Farm Museum is named "Nani o ka Home" and was brought to Kaua‘i from Honolulu by G. N. Wilcox sometime in the 1860s. It should be noted that Jones made this argument in the early-twentieth century.
[93] It should be noted that I am translating maoli to mean "native". Maoli can also be translated as "truly", but within the context of this discussion about things that came from and were produced by Hawaiians, native seemed to be a more appropriate translation of the word.

status as an aliʻi and privilege to self-present himself in the style of a chief, Kaiheʻekai was able to not only obtain the materials needed to make paʻiʻula and blue kapa, but also gave him access to kapa makers who could assemble a kapa moe together for him.

The kapa moe represents three significant developments in kapa that took place in the during Kaiheʻekai's lifetime. The colour red historically played a significant role as a symbol for the aliʻi. The highest-ranking chiefs historically used the colour in their self-presentation, especially through ʻahuʻula. The sanctity of red made red cloth a highly requested trade good by aliʻi that could afford to request it from foreign traders. The few kapa makers with access to the aliʻi's red cloth subsequently developed paʻiʻula, a type of red-pink kapa that was made through enmeshing red cloth onto white kapa. The colour transfer technique developed through paʻiʻula was an original idea for the time, and the use of this colour in kapa reaffirmed the status distinction of the aliʻi.

Blue, and especially bright and vibrant blues, were associated with new foreign cloths that were being imported to Hawaiʻi. The sandalwood trade broadened the variety of blue cloths available in the islands which included dungaree and nankeen. These blue cloths that were widely adored by Hawaiians inspired a fervour for the brigher hues that was channelled into kapa making. Kapa was submerged into blue dyes made from natural or synthetic materials to achieve the desired colour. It appears that the scarcity of cloth and dye made blue kapa equally valuable and comparable to that of imported blue cloth.

Perhaps the most notable kapa development from that Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe represents is the technique of enmeshing appliqué pieces into a singular piece of kapa. The idea of putting small pieces together to create a large piece may have been inspired by patchwork quilting introduced by the ABCFM missionaries. The idea was inventive and did not require kapa makers

to learn a new skill as much as altering their thinking of how pieces could be put together during the beating process and how designs could be placed on a kapa sheet.

Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe shows that in the early-nineteenth century, aliʻi prominence was communicated through not only foreign goods but reinvigorated symbols of mana. Kapa was enriched by new techniques and methods inspired by foreign cloth and clothing. Even as aliʻi became members of a global world, chiefs like Kaiheʻekai found that the material could be used to communicate a both chief's mana and his access to rare and novel foreign goods.

Chapter Four – Makaʻāinana Pursuit of Foreign Cloth and Clothing

> I often think of gilpin racer, when I see the natives riding. They ride with all their might, bear-headed [sic]—a piece of native cloth about them, flying gilpin like – Those I speak of are of the lower classes. The chiefs & all who can get clothes dress in American style (Armstrong, C. 1831-1838, 49).

> Here are the valuables there: women's stripes, white cloth plants, women's dark navy-blue and white calico cloth, calico, white blouse, white cloth, navy blue cotton cloth, grey, fitted black fleece, fleece coat, black pants, men's vests, fans, plates, knives, spoons and many other good things (Nailiili 1849) [Trans. 4.I].

In late September 1840, the United States Exploring Expedition, also known as U.S. Ex. Ex. and the Wilkes Expedition, arrived in the Hawaiian Islands with the intention of studying, documenting and collecting natural history specimens and ethnological material from the islands. Unlike other sailors and merchants who stayed near the ports, the expedition crews visited rural, less-trafficked regions. During their formal collecting period, between September 1840 and April 1841, the four ships and their scientific corps members and crews visited the islands of Hawaiʻi, Maui, Oʻahu and Kauaʻi.[94]

Anthropological observations were recorded by expedition members including naval officers and sailors, providing an invaluable snapshot of makaʻāinana dress at a time of great social change. They took a strong interest in writing about Hawaiian dress and made comparative notes on makaʻāinana dress choices they encountered across the kingdom. Coxswain Charles Erskine was a member of the U.S. Ex. Ex.'s Brig *Porpoise* which arrived in Honolulu on 23 September 1840. During his two weeks of liberty in Honolulu, he observed the differences in makaʻāinana dress between different areas of the port town.

[94] It should be noted that the official collecting period of the U.S. Ex. Ex., on the islands was between September 1840 to April 1841. The second visit was merely to obtain refreshment.

> The principal street of the town was Main Street. The first settlers lived on this street, in frame houses. Some of these were painted white, with green blinds and were inclosed [sic] with neat picket-fences. The next street was about half a mile back and ran crosswise. The buildings on this street had thatched roofs and sides, with glass windows and frame doors. Here were located the grog-shops, dancing-halls, billiard-rooms, cock-pits, sailors boarding-houses and gambling-saloons. Some of these houses were inclosed [sic] by walls of brick, dried in the sun and were whitewashed. These were occupied by the middle classes. European garments were worn by this class of people. On the next street the houses were rudely fashioned. They were built of sticks, vines and half-formed sun-dried bricks and plastered with mud. The residents on this street were not quite half-dressed. Some of the men wore hat and shirt and some wore trousers and no shirt. The dress of the ladies was made very much like a bag with a hole in the bottom, for the head to be slipped through and arm-holes in the sides. It reached to the ankles and appeared to be of the same width throughout its entire length. In the outskirts, mud huts were found, which once formed the only habitations of the Sandwich Islanders. The natives occupying these were dressed in the garb of the heathen, a narrow strip of tapa tied around the loins, or a blanket of the same material thrown corner-wise over the left shoulder and tied in a large knot on the breast (Erskine 1896, 205-206).

Erskine observed that possession of foreign cloth and clothing varied among Hawaiians living in Honolulu. Many dressed in a combination of foreign and native clothing. Those residing closer to the established parts of Honolulu were more likely to possess Western clothing than the kapa-wearing kanaka living in simple rustic housing further from the town centre. Erskine's observations indicate that there was a noticable difference between the number of makaʻāinana wearing cloth and clothing versus kapa.

Chapter Two examined how aliʻi sourced and interacted with foreign cloth and clothing, while Chapter Three introduced one of the genres of kapa that was developed as a result of aliʻi interactions with foreign cloth and clothing. Chapters Four and Five follow a similar intention.

Chapter Four investigates how makaʻāinana were interacting with foreign cloth and clothing between 1830 and 1850 at a time when foreign cloth and kapa were coexisting in the kingdom. Similar to the aliʻi, makaʻāinana were eager to obtain foreign cloth and clothing for themselves. This chapter is especially interested in how makaʻāinana sourced foreign cloth and clothing and the conditions that created the visible disparity noticed by Erskine between makaʻāinana with and without foreign clothing. The next chapter will explore how makaʻāinana developed new forms of kapa in response to their interactions with foreign cloth and clothing.

I argue that between 1830 and 1850, makaʻāinana opportunities to seek, work and obtain clothing was impacted by governmental restructuring and labour policies. New laws and government structures during the reign of Kamehameha III, also known as Kauikeaouli (1825-1854), altered the expectations of makaʻāinana to continously labour in their homelands and instead take the opportunity to work in urban centres to obtain foreign cloth and clothing.

To capture makaʻāinana responses to changing laws, labour, and dress and their interconnections, this chapter provides vignettes from Hawaiian and English-language accounts written from across the kingdom. Newspapers provided a crucial forum for makaʻāinana from different corners of the kingdom to share their experiences in regions that historically operated under the care of local konohiki (headman, land overseers) and lower-ranking aliʻi. Submissions ranged in purpose. Some articles sought empathy and solidarity from readers around certain issues, other articles asked for clarification of new national laws through critiques of incompetent local officials (luna, konohiki) who were not following the new government regulations. There were even occasions where makaʻāinana wrote letters to newspapers as if written directly to the king (Makaainana 1841).

The survival and tone of these articles also indicate that customary avenues used by makaʻāinana and konohiki to have their qualms heard by their leaders were becoming increasingly unavailable. Instead, makaʻāinana turned to the power of the pen to attempt to lessen the spatial divide between fellow citizens and the new government. This was a new space to air grievances and it has preserved these gripes for us now to analyse and interpret.

Records from the Wilkes Expeditions' visits to different islands in the pae ʻāina act as a connecting thread through this chapter. Because it was the mission of the U.S. Ex. Ex. to travel broadly across the kingdom, the Wilkes' accounts in Hawaiʻi provides insight into the range of dress in distinct corners of the country. The accounts illustrate that despite the increasing development of a national government, regionality persisted and acted as a challenge to the government's work towards unifying and standardising its systems.

Punikala and the Allure of Port Towns

In the first few decades of the nineteenth century, the capital of the kingdom moved. After the Battle of Nuʻuanu in May 1795, Kamehameha I settled in Honolulu, a place that chiefly adviser John Papa ʻĪʻī described as attracting aliʻi and makaʻāinana around recreation, sports and games (Kuykendall 1947, 46-47). Kamehameha I decided to return to Hawaiʻi Island in 1812 and made his home, Kailua-Kona, the capital (Kuykendall 1947, 51). The kindgom's capital moved eight years later in 1820 to Lahaina during the reign of Kamehameha II. At least 12 chiefs kept residences in Lahaina's favourable climate and due to their permanent chiefly presence in Lahaina, the population of makaʻāinana also grew to work in their service (Arista 2019, 142). Shortly after the death in September 1824 of Keōpūolani, Kamehameha II's mother and widow of Kamehameha I, followers of kuhina nui Kaʻahumanu moved to Honolulu where Kaʻahumanu

was learning about Christianity from the Kawaiahaʻo Mission Station. Her settlement led to the movement of chiefly relatives, advisers and makaʻāinana interested in the chiefs' new religion also to Honolulu. Davida Malo described the area around Kaʻahumanu's residence at Apahuʻa as "surrounded inside and out by the homes of the chiefs, the high and lesser chiefs and the counsellors and the old chiefs who desired to know about God" (Kamakau 1992, 272). The missionaries took note of this trend to settle near the political authority and in addition to the station in Honolulu, the mission also established a station and Christian seminary in Lahaina in 1823.[95]

While Hawaiians and missionaries moved to Honolulu and Lahaina to follow the aliʻi, foreign ships also found value in the these growing towns' harbours. Harbours with adequate depth and accessibility were few in the kingdom and fortunately the harbours at Honolulu and Lahaina provided both characteristics.[96] Whalers had begun operating in Hawaiian waters in 1820 and by the end of the decade, the whaling industry had completely replaced the sandalwood trade as the dominant industry in the kingdom. Honolulu and Lahaina grew into major economic hubs in the North Pacific, a trend that only accelerated over the course of the 1830s.

American merchants established large and handsome buildings in Honolulu, attracting whalers and smaller merchants from across the islands who needed to buy their own store inventories (Colvocoresses 1852, 184-185). The town also boasted a regular market that sourced

[95] A number of missionaries preferred Lahaina's verdant landscape in comparison to the dustiness of Honolulu and the sterility of Kailua Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands; Or, The Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising a Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization Among the Hawaiian People* (Hartford: H. Huntington, 1847, 1847), 309.

[96] Because there were only a limited number of major ports in the kingdom, many Hawaiians had to move their trade goods across the island for sale. With inadequate roads, moving time-sensitive produce was a hindrance. In 1851, a number of Maui residents petitioned Kamehameha III and the Kingdom Legislature to open a port at Kalepolepo because their produce was rotting on the way to Lahaina (1851: N.d. - Signees to Kamehameha III and House of Nobles and Representatives, N.d.)

the best provisions of beef and produce – oranges, pineapples and plantains – from across the kingdom (Colvocoresses 1852, 184-185). The U.S. Ex. Ex. reported on the health of the shipping economy in the islands and noted that the majority of imports were from the United States.

> A table of statistics, (see Appendix IX.,) [sic] which was published in a newspaper at O'ahu, compiled by intelligent merchants there, gives the amount of imports at four hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars. These are the amounts of goods actually landed - I do not include those that have been brought in and retained on board ships; while the exports of native produce are no more than ninety-eight thousand dollars: one-half of the imports are set down as from the United States. From this great difference between the imports and exports it would appear that many of these articles must have been reshipped to other ports, or are still on hand. The latter I believe to be the case (Wilkes 1845, 261).

Lahaina was arguably better suited in fulfilling the interests and needs of sailors. West Maui was famous for its extremely rich soil. French artist Jacques Arago, who visited Lahaina in 1819, remarked that, "…the environs of Lahaina are like a garden. It would be difficult to find a soil more fertile" (Fitzpatrick 1987, 58). Agricultural lands in and around Lahaina were used to grow native and foreign fruits and vegetables for foreign consumption, and crops included Irish potatoes, grapes, peaches and figs (Jarves 1843, 9; Rosenthal 2018, 73). Below Lahaina's fertile uplands were streets along the shoreline filled with bars, game rooms and dancing halls which sustained the entertainment needs of the seamen.[97] Fleets of boats arrived for the semi-annual, three-month whaling seasons, bringing with them plenty of sailors looking to use their on-shore liberty at leisure and in the company of Hawaiian women (Arista 2019, 109).

So enjoyable was their time in Hawai'i that many sailors chose to desert their ships and live permanently in the islands, much to the chagrin of the ali'i and the missionaries (Arista

[97] Consider the poetic name for Lahaina, "Malu Ulu o Lele". This name refers to a famous breadfruit grove in Lahaina that belonged to a man named Lele and the abundance of food it provided for the people of this area. Fine breadfruit trees could be found along Maui's western coast.

2019, 156-157).[98] At a time when the presence of foreigners and foreign goods was limited outside of port towns, rural ABCFM missionaries like Reverend Harvey Rexford Hitchcock wrote about how grateful he and other Molokaians were to be living in the countryside, far away from the bustle, excitement and temptations of a port town.

> However, I don't have any news to share. We are just a country people on Molokai. New and famous things don't often show up here. No sudden illness. No docking of man-of-wars, definitely no whaling ships, definitely no trade ships. There are no harbors here that are necessary for those ships. Therefore, foreigners from foreign lands do not disembark here frequently and to tell us the news... We believe that we are blessed to not have a harbor. Because evil things are deflected by the poor quality of the harbor. Ships selling liquors don't dock here, nor do the ship mates and wicked sailors who search for our women to commit adultery with them come here. There are many evils and difficulties that we do not have as became of the poor harbor that would shelter the big ships (Hitchcock 1836a) [Trans 4.II]

The development of port towns and the industries they fostered coincided with debates and changes in the expectations of makaʻāinana labour. The beginning of these changes can be traced to Kaʻahumanu's acceptance of Christianity in 1824. Following her baptism on 5 December 1825, Elizabeth Kaʻahumanu made several changes to how she led the kingdom and how it operated. Samuel Kamakau recorded that Kaʻahumanu removed heavy burdens imposed by the aliʻi and konohiki on makaʻāinana, which included heavy taxes and requiring people to travel long distances for aliʻi-related work (Kamakau 1992, 307).[99] The easing of these kapu did

[98] Ship's captains were also frustrated by port towns. A group of ship's masters penned a letter to the King on 20 November 1835 asking for increased measures to limit access of their crews to ardent spirits, "The numerous grog ships in Honolulu are places to which the people under our command resort when they enter port and there becoming intoxicated they are in consequence quarrelsome on shore and insubordinate on board ship and frequently leave the ships to the great embarrassment of our business. We suffer more from this cause in Oʻahu than in any other port in the Pacific Ocean and unless the King and Chiefs, shall think proper to adopt some measures to remove the evil we shall feel it necessary in justice to ourselves, our people and our ships owners, in whose employ we sail, to refrain from visiting this port, except in cases of absolute necessity, but shall prefer some other port for our refreshments where ardent spirts are not afforded" B. Mahune, B. Mahune to P. Kanoa, 16 January 1840, 18, Miscellaneous, Box 140, Doc. 1-450, N.D. 1828 - Jan. - Feb. 1840, Folder Jan. - Feb. 1840: Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[99] More research on the changes on mandated makaʻāinana labour is necessary to fully understand the changing dynamic between the aliʻi and makaʻāinana and the flow of makaʻāinana away from their work for the aliʻi. For example, between the 1830s and the 1850s conversations about la paʻahao and lā kōʻele were discussed thoroughly

not mean that makaʻāinana were free from all aliʻi labour, but it did allow many to seek other types of work that they found to be beneficial to their lives (Hopu 1838).

These changes were not so welcomed by other chiefs, however. For example, in May 1832, Kaʻahumanu confronted her brother and Hawaiʻi Island governor, John Adams Kuakini, about relieving makaʻāinana of their labours for the chiefs, Kuakini responded, "It is all right to make these laws for your lands, but I shall make my own laws for my lands…I shall use the money of Hawaiʻi as long as I live; after my death it can be used for the government" (Kamakau 1992, 308). Kuakini's retort to Kaʻahumanu and defence of his rights as the ruler of the largest island in the kingdom was an affirmation of the ʻōlelo noʻeau, "I aliʻi no ke aliʻi i ke kānaka, A chief is a chief because of the people who serve him" (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983b, 115). Despite the desires to change things from at the top of the social hierarchy, many chiefs were steadfast in defending their right to benefit from makaʻāinana labour.

Inconsistences between aliʻi regarding the requirements of makaʻāinana labour resulted in confusion in areas outside the kingdom's capital. By the late 1830s, the makaʻāinana-required work-days ordered by the aliʻi were referred to as la paʻahao and lā kōʻele. Kōʻele referred to a small parcel of land that was farmed for a chief, while paʻahao described a tenant's payment in

in the newspapers. Constraints of time unfortunately did not allow for the opportunity to delve into how labour days for the aliʻi operated, but they seem to have restricted makaʻāinana movement. Labour days bound makaʻāinana to their homelands for these days, or they faced fines or other punishment. In one account, makaʻāinana were required to pay $30 to leave the island John S. Emerson, "HELU 2. Ka hopu ana i na manu no ka leihulu," *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (Honolulu), 24 October 1838. These penalties did not sit well with many. For example, a missionary passing through Waimea wrote to the newspaper that the labour day prevented his ability to hire anyone to transport him down to Kawaihae, "But when I arrived in Waimea, I heard that the day had been made kapu. No one could travel on that Tuesday or else the canoe would be taken and the law applied to the people. So we stayed with the regret of not traveling. Many people were idle because of the restriction of the lā kōʻele. At midday on Tuesday, the servitude [la paʻahao] was completed and we went down to Kawaihae [Aka i ka puka ana i Waimea, lohe au, aole hiki ke holo ma kela poalua o liko ka waa; a pili ke kanawai i na kanaka. Nolaila noho makou me ka minamina i ka holo ole. Nui na kanaka i noho wale no ke pau o ka la koele. A awakea o ka poalua, pau ka paaha, a iho makou i Kawaihae.]" *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, "Waialua, Sep. 5, 1838," (Honolulu), 10 October 1838.

products to the owner of the land that they farmed. It is unclear when la paʻahao and lā kōʻele were first designated as mandatory makaʻāinana work-days and whether their definition varied depending on region or island. Regardless, both words convey a sense of hierarchy between labourer and overseers and an expectation that goods and services would be provided by the labourers to their overseers.

Hawaiian-language newspaper articles about la paʻahao and lā kōʻele indicate that there was a growing desire among makaʻāinana to not work for regional aliʻi and konohiki. Regional aliʻi responsed to growing apathy towards labour days by tightening work-day requirements. Lā kōʻele and la paʻahao became mandatory work-days set aside for work dictated by the rulers; no other work could be completed on that day. Attendance was taken at the start of the work-day and makaʻāinana not present were penalised. On a trip to Hāmākua, Hawaiʻi Island, Reverend John Emerson saw first-hand how local chiefs were ensured makaʻāinana would work on Tuesday, the local designated work-day: all roads and canoes were kapu to makaʻāinana on Tuesdays (Emerson 1838a). In the morning, makaʻāinana would travel to the chief's property to harvest, weed and plant taro. While the total amount of time to complete the work was only about an hour and a half, makaʻāinana had to travel two to four miles for the work-day. Missionary observers criticised these partial work-days as controlling, poorly organised and ineffective.

In an effort to defend work-days, more restrictions on makaʻāinana came down from the aliʻi. Emerson heard that anyone in the Hāmākua area who wanted to avoid work-days and move away from their homelands to live on Oʻahu were required to pay their aliʻi $30 (Emerson 1838a). Reverend C. Forbes critiqued the chiefs in the newspaper over these laws, calling them

"flagrant oppression" of the makaʻāinana. He gave examples of what he had witnessed on Hawaiʻi Island.

> I heard of an occurrence on Hawaiʻi. A female konihiki was ill and she held back one of her people to stay and make a medicine and serve her for the lā kōʻele. The luna heard and immediately rushed over angrily to the house of the sick person and said, "Seize the canoe". The sick person eased his mind and gave cloth and in that way her canoe was not seized… One time recently, a lady from Hilo went to see her brethren in Lahaina, who she had heard was quite ill. She was arrested by the luna (the servants of Komoa) and paid money for going to Lahaina to see her ill friend!! Such was the case for Keaweaheulu from Kealakekua. Her chief, Keohokalole, commanded her to go to Oʻahu. She prepared and went immediately. Kaanehi, a servant of Komoa, soon fetched her. He said, "Hey, two dollars for traveling to Oʻahu and two for the return, that is your payment (Forbes, C. 1839) [Trans 4.III].[100]

While the payment demands in Forbes' examples were not as severe as the $30 payment asked of other makaʻāinana, they show the reactive decisions of regional aliʻi to makaʻāinana desires to leave the kuaʻāina to work elsewhere. Forbes warned that chiefs who continued this treatment of makaʻāinana would drive away the support of the makaʻāinana.

Emerson's sentiment was correct; neither physical distance nor the laws of the aliʻi deterred makaʻāinana from making their way to Honolulu and Lahaina to experience for themselves what port towns had to offer. Port towns were sites of acquisition, spaces that promoted access to both opportunities and goods. A vignette published about a group of children from Olowalu travelling to Lahaina illustrates this. In the summer of 1834, the group hiked north towards bustling Lahaina hoping to barter barrels of sand for primers – printed readers produced by the Lahainaluna Mission Station. On their journey, they were stopped twice by locals from Lahaina and Lahainalalo who told them that trading sand for books was pointless and that it

[100] It is important to note that the missionaries were among the most vocal critics of the chiefs and their use of makaʻāinana labour since their arrival in 1820. As observers to the sandalwood trade, many missionaries were shocked by the treatment of the makaʻāinana and throughout the 1830s and the 1840s they actively promoted the idea of providing makaʻāinana private property for their own agricultural use.

would be better to trade as much as 20 barrels of sand for one yard of cloth. In an attempt to convince the Olowalu children they were wasting their trade opportunity; another sand trader explained the possibilities of cloth.

> If you bargain for your bolt of fabric and get it, then you can intend to sew pants, or shirts perhaps, vests, jackets, stockings, shoes, hats, silk handkerchiefs, wear a tie around your neck, pull out the ruffles of your shirt and give yourself a high collar. You will think that your body is fine, you will gaze at your sides, or your face. You will not need to amble along and ogle women because you will think that your body is fine (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834b) [Trans 4.IV].

Despite a diversity of types of foreign cloth in the islands, throughout the 1830s, physical and financial accesibility to foreign cloth remained difficult for the majority of kingdom citizens who remained in their home districts in the country. This vignette illustrates the persistence of the makaʻāinana interest in the transformative quality of cloth and clothing and the physical lengths that many makaʻāinana went to in order to obtain and experience it for themselves. Although there was a clear disjuncture of interests between the country folk from Olowalu and the urbanites of Lahaina, all parties understood that Lahaina was an access point for new things that they wanted and needed. Direct access to the market encouraged makaʻāinana movement and their strong desires for cloth, leading many to turn away from their local work responsibilities to their chiefs.[101]

[101] Disputes and confusion about work-days persisted into the 1840s and 1850s. One of the long-term consequences of makaʻāinana opting out of working the land was famine and hunger in the countryside Kaapa, "O Kaapa a me ka Palaualelo," *Ka Nonanona* (Honolulu), 20 August 1844. Deeper research should be completed to further understand how industry and migration was changing traditional lifeways.

New Work for New Labourers

Makaʻāinana who made the move were left with the question of who to work for to get cloth. New England journalist Henry Theodore Cheever visited the islands in the 1840s, around the same time as the U.S. Ex. Ex. He wrote of the desperation of some Hawaiians to get cloth.[102]

> The people are poor and lazy and oppressed; yet they are greedy to get work for cloth. When they know I have a little cloth on hand, they will often make application for work so often, that I am tempted to advise something for the poor wretches to do to get a shirt; but my restricted means oblige me to say to hundreds, I have got no work for you. They will sometimes hang about by the door for hours, in hopes of employment, to get just cloth enough to make a shirt (Cheever 1850, 222).

The developing whaling industry and the expansion of port towns created a need that many makaʻāinana could meet. A significant number of Hawaiian men became sailors, working for cloth and cash and began joining the crews of foreign ships in 1811. After receiving consent to leave the kingdom by Kamehameha I, 100 men went to Oregon to work in the fur trade there (Ii 1959, 87). Because trade and barter persisted as the main system of exchange during the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s, sailors' contracts paid Hawaiians in a combination of cash and slop clothing.[103] Slops were used, ready-to-wear clothing that came from the ship's store. Despite their ill-fitting nature, slops were deducted from the pay of the kanaka whalers, usually leaving them with even less cash by the conclusion of their tenure with the ship (Rosenthal 2018, 69). In

[102] Henry Theodore Cheever (1814-1890) was the son of Charlotte Barrell and Nathaniel Cheever Andover Theological Seminary, *Necology, 1880-81* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1881), 240. He was a member of the Cheever-Sayward family of New England, a historic New England family with roots in York, Maine, where the family residence was located.

[103] Many Hawaiians found cash money to be unreliable. Kauaʻi residents, for example, complained that paper money did not hold its value. Consider this petition written by Hawaiians in Koloa to Kamehameha III in 1845, "We disapprove of paper money because we despise paper money…So don't bring anymore of this money here to Kauaʻi because we have experienced many problems using this paper money because one regular dollar is worth two paper dollars…If people want real money to trade with the whalers to get some nice material they couldn't get nice material because they feel that this money is so bad" Koloa, Koloa to King Kamehameha 3, 20 November 1845 1845, 22, Series 222-2-3, General Records, 1845 Petitions: Hawaiʻi State Archives.

one example detailed by Gregory Rosenthal, Hawaiian crew members recruited out of Lahaina to work on the whaling vessel *Italy* purchased mittens, jackets, duck pants, shoes, coats and undershirts to keep warm during their work in the Arctic. These articles were necessary items needed to survive cold temperatures, the decision to purchase them from the ship's store left the kanaka whalers with only a few dollars in total earnings at the conclusion of their tenures.

Rosenthal argues that the winter clothing was useless in the islands, but other makaʻāinana who did not understand the pressures and duration of whaling voyages gazed at these whalers' new clothes with interest and envy.[104] Arrangements for payment in clothing undoubtedly benefitted the whaling ships more than the Hawaiians, though this did little to discourage kanaka from signing up to join crews and replace the sailors who had deserted their employers. By 1846, the kingdom government estimated that 1 in 5 men were living and working outside of the islands (Rosenthal 2018, 77).[105] In 1841, the U.S. Ex. Ex. saw first-hand when "some sixty or seventy kanakas" replaced the crew that had stayed in Honolulu rather than returning home on two New England-bound whaleships (Erskine 1896, 210).

The whaling industry also created opportunities for others to find work in port towns but outside of whaling itself. Lieutenant Wilkes, commander of the U.S. Ex. Ex., commented that, "Any branch of industry that is likely to produce profit and that will yield them the means of

[104] It should be noted that Hawaiian whaling was increasingly becoming difficult to do in large part due the disapproval of the chiefs to let makaʻāinana leave the islands. In February 1842, five men by the names of Kekualaau, Paohina, Kekai, Makaika and Nakaika were not given permission by Paki to sail to Alaska (Keomolewa) Anonymous, Mr. Paki's men who wish to sail to Keomolewa without his permission, 21 February 1842 1842, Volume 18, Interior Department, Miscellaneous, Box 141, Folder Jan. - Apr. 1842: Hawaiʻi State Archives.
[105] There are also indications that children also joined these crews, although in some cases not willingly. In 1839, an orphaned boy was taken by the captain of the ship *Ann* at the ship's departure from Hilo. When locals went to retrieve the stolen boy from the ship, Reverend David Lyman stated although the other Hawaiian sailors confessed that the boy was onboard, "the captain refused very forcefully" to give him up and proceeded to sail off with his new Hawaiian crew Laimana, Laimana to High Chief and other Chiefs at Lahaina, 16 May 1839, 18, Miscellaneous, Folder 1839: Hawaiʻi State Archives.

procuring clothing, is engaged in with avidity" (Wilkes 1850, 96). Maka'āinana peddlers and hawkers took to the streets to strike up deals and Hawaiians became learned in foreign trades such as laundering, selling clothes and blacksmith work (People 1846; Kaaupuiki 1846).

Another work alternative was seeking contract work with the kingdom government. Throughout the 1830s and into the 1840s, the Hawaiian government paid hired labourers in cash and some form of cloth, whether native or foreign. Correspondence written by the ali'i recorded the requests and forms of payments by contractors and these requests indicate that any form of clothing was considered adequate compensation during this period.[106] For example, on 10 August 1838, 13 stone masons were contracted by the government to work in Honolulu and were paid at a rate of 25 cents per working day, half in cash and half in foreign articles including clothing (Anonymous 1838). On the other hand, cattle herdsmen, Wilamakini and Alauka, were contracted at a rate of three dollars a month, half in cash and the balance paid in kapa (Anonymous 1849). The king's soldiers at the Fort in Honolulu were paid in a combination of cloth and chicken feathers, the amounts of which were determined by their ranking and their body size. Governor Mataio Kekūanāo'a gave a total of 176 pio of black ribbed cloth, 200 pio of white ribbed cloth and 25 apa of white shirting to the soldiers, as well as 25 ribbed black cloth with chicken feather bundles for a few sergeants and corporals (Kekūanāo'a 1845). Soldiers that were smaller in body size were given one pio and two anana were given to larger soldiers (Kekūanāo'a 1845). In August 1842, royal adviser Jonah Kapena wrote to kuhina nui Miriam

[106] By the late 1830s, the government had been allocating monies earned from the king's lands towards government needs. Kekāuluohi, Ka'ahumanu's successor as kuhina nui, explained to governor Mataio Kekūanāo'a how labourers would be paid using money generated by the king's lands, "This, again I wish to remind you in accordance to your information concerning a plan which you had consulted to the building of the King's house; together with the stones and other materials to the building. I wish to let you know that according to the King's reference to me, the white men carpenters and the masons will be paid from the money that derives from the King's cultivated lands to the tax assessor. This money will be expended to the wages of the white men carpenters and the masons; and all other materials, such as boards and window panes" Kekāuluohi, Kekāuluohi to Kekuanaoa, 13 March 1840 1840, 18, Interior Department, Miscellaneous, Folder Mar. - May 1840, Folder 1840: Hawai'i State Archives.

Kekāuluohi from Lahaina saying that he had paid the canoe builders about 14 yards of bleached cloth and a herdsmen both cloth and 10 mamaki plants (Kapena 1842). These records of payment to contractors show that there was no standardised payment scheme across government contracts. Payment was a negotiation between labourer and government and there was potential for the workers to gain a lot of cloth or clothing when they named their price.

Missionaries were direct witnesses to the waxing and waning of populations due to the arrival of whalers and the growth of port towns (Kirch and Sahlins 1992, 108; Linnekin 1990, 196-198, 206-207). Hawaiian pursuit of money and material objects was termed "punikala (literally "greed for money")" by the missionaries. Punikala prompted an offensive by the Sandwich Islands Mission to teach Hawaiians that worshipping money as a false god was sinful and greedy. When the population of Honolulu surged to about 13,000 people in 1837, the Mission built a second church in Honolulu at Kaumakapili to supply the spiritual needs of the town's new working residents (Frear 1938, 14). Missionary newspapers warned makaʻāinana against punikala. For example, in one article in *Ka Lama Hawaii*, readers were warned of the high risks involved with adorning your body.

> Here is a root of sin from the past and it is also very sinful in this time. Thinking too much about the things of the body and thinking too little about the things that give life. Because life is greater than the body. If life leaves the body, then the body is finished. But life in the spirit is not finished. A person lives by eating food, not by beautifying the body. A person is warmed with kapa, not by dressing up with the things that beautify. If people think too much about their bodies, they will become stubborn and be hypocritical, deceitful, seek cleverness, flatter, lie, covet and be greedy. There are many sins there and thus God has shown the great sin of our body (*Ka Lama Hawaii* 1834a, 14).

In this critique against the desire for foreign cloth and clothing, the anonymous Christian author goes as far as to praise the simplicity and humility of kapa.

Yet, these critiques of cloth did not stop the missionaries themselves from using foreign cloth as a bartering tool with makaʻāinana. Hawaiians knew that they possessed goods and services that the missionaries needed. Henry Munson Lyman, the son of Reverend David Lyman, recalls that annual supplies from the ABCFM in Boston included, "calicoes and chintzes to barter for food with the natives" (Lyman, H.M. 1906, 17). Reverend Elias Bond who was stationed in Kohala recalled that everything was done through barter and that all supplies were "purchased with cloth, cotton handkerchiefs and other articles to trade" (Damon 1927, 75).

The Mission also paid for labour with cloth. In an unusual example from Honolulu, a group of Hawaiians organised by a man named Halali won a labour dispute against the Mission's printer Edwin O. Hall. The group was granted $10 in payment, but they asked for payment in cloth (Halali 1845).The group received a whopping total of 38 yards – 32 yards of white cloth and 6 yards of black cloth – as payment for their debt (Halali 1845). Students at the Lahainaluna Seminary were paid in cloth for their work on constructing the school; the exchange was one fathom of wall built for one fathom of cloth. Students also worked to receive other necessary school materials like oil and soap (Lilikalani 1840).

While the Mission may have wanted to be morally superior and not encourage Hawaiian lust for cloth, they were entangled in the system of goods and services just like everyone else. In Chapters Six and Seven will elaborate more on missionary responses to punikala in rural areas, including the missionaries' changing their views on kapa vis-á-vis cloth and concerns over the uncertainty of agricultural production and domesticity that seasonal makaʻāinana migrations and permanent relocations brought about.

Tales from the Kuaʻāina

On 9 December 1840, the U.S. Ex. Ex. flagship, the sloop-of-war *Vincennes*, left Honolulu and sailed southeast towards Hawaiʻi Island, the most eastern island in the kingdom archipelago and three islands away from Oʻahu. The expedition made plans to remain in the east part of the island for part of the crew to ascend Maunaloa and the other to tour the active volcanic caldera, Kīlauea. With only one principal merchant in town, the port of Hilo offered little to help them prepare for their tours in comparison to Honolulu. Midshipman George Colvocoresses visited the store of American ex-patriot Benjamin Pitman and noticed that the majority of natives coming into the store were making purchases "chiefly of cotton-stuffs" (Colvocoresses 1852, 194). While it is unknown whether the shoppers were from Hilo or had crossed the island for this a special visit, Colvocoresses' observation of the most popular product tells us that Pitman's store was a known outlet for accessing cloth on the island.

Colvocoresses' recollection of the purchase preferences of Hawaiians at Pitman's store is more significant when placed in context against his notes about Hawaiians living outside of Hilo. On 24 January 1841, members of the U.S. Ex. Ex. began the six-day trip to the volcano Kīlauea, just southwest of Hilo. On both the outward and return legs of their journey, residents welcomed the crews into their homes for food and refreshment, providing Colvocoresses with an opportunity to make notes about the Hawaiian lifestyles and dress practiced they witnessed.[107] Colvocoresses quickly recognised a difference in the living conditions and dress just in the

[107] On 14 December 1840, the Wilkes Expedition party left for their trip to the summit of the volcano Maunaloa with a company of hundreds of Hawaiians recruited by missionary Reverend Gerrit P. Judd Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1850, 1850), 124. Hawaiians were hired to transport supplies and set up the expedition crew's camp grounds, but their wages were not cheap. Due to altitude sickness, the initial help quit the job and the U.S. Ex. Ex. were forced to hire replacements at double the cost: eight dollars (Four years in a government exploring expedition: to the Island of Madeira &c. &c.: in one volume 193). When the trek lasted longer than expected, Hawaiian labourers charged upwards of two dollars per gallon of water (Four years 199). The U.S. Ex. Ex. were in kuaʻāina territory and the Hawaiians there took this as a lucrative opportunity to gain money from them.

distance between Hilo and Puna. Although he described Puna villages as inviting with beautifully laid out gardens, Colvocoresses stated that the inhabitants were "not so well dressed, or perhaps not so far advanced in the scale of civilisation as those about Hilo" (Colvocoresses 1852, 213). The use of foreign cloth and clothing became notably scarcer as the crew between Honolulu and Hilo and Hilo and Puna. Foreign clothing was not yet the dominant form of clothing in rural areas.

Financial and physical access to ports continued to be a major obstacle for makaʻāinana looking to include foreign clothing in their dress habits during the 1830s and 1840s. However, many makaʻāinana found creative ways of working around this issue. Hawking and peddling became a legitimate activity for those who could physically transport goods from ports to rural areas. This work remained unregulated until 1846 when individuals were required to obtain a government licence to work in the trade (Pritcose 1846b, 1846a).[108] Observant makaʻāinana began growing and making things that they knew were desired by merchants and were goods that they could use to trade for foreign cloth and clothing. Some makaʻāinana attempted to make these trades away from government eyes. Hawaiians would paddle their goods out to the merchant ships, intercepting them before they docked in the ports in the hope of getting better bargains. Citing disturbances and improprieties happening on board the ships between Hawaiians and sailors, the government disapproved of this form of direct Hawaiian to merchant contact and enacted laws to prevent Hawaiians from going aboard (Kaaupuiki 1846).[109] Kanaka from rural areas, in turn, petitioned these bans be lifted and trade be unrestricted.

[108] Peddling and hawking was an advantageous job opportunity, as indicated by a growing need for more license blanks by B. Namakeha B. Nāmākehā, B. Nāmākehā to Keoni Ana, 13 February 1846, 18, Miscellaneous, Box 142, July 1846: Hawaiʻi State Archives.

[109] Some makaʻāinana did not like this law and petitioned the government, arguing that this is how they paid their taxes to the government, "Let us sell what we have planted and planned to sell for foreign goods such as cloth, soap, pots, crow bars and then resell that for just cash and no other property, so that there will be more cash and taxes can

> All merchandise from here in Hawai‘i or from foreign countries except for rum and other strong beverages should not be restricted among all the people here in Hawai‘i except those from foreign countries – examples are clothes, shoes, hats, oil, barrels of salmon and dishes and bowls – if they want to make a profit on them and sell them (Koolauloa N.d.).

The distance from an object's source and from the Hawaiian port the object may have arrived from made it more valuable. In the case of cloth and clothing, the further these foreign goods had travelled, the more maka‘āinana wanted them and they were willing to find creative methods of obtaining them. But these examples show that the government increased surveillance of maka‘āinana profiteering and their quick responses to limit or close these avenues of procuring goods.

One way of receiving clothing that the government could not regulate was materials being passed between people. The most common way that cloth and clothing moved from ports to kua‘āina (countryside, rural areas) was by individuals. Patrick Kirch and Marshall Sahlins call the dissemination of foreign goods via maka‘āinana mobility the "kinship nexus" (Kirch and Sahlins 1992, 108). As these examples of foreign dress travelled between port towns and home districts (literally on the backs of those travelling on these routes), the worth of these articles increased. The novelty of these new examples of dress spurred different responses when other maka‘āinana saw these garments in the kua‘āina.

Two stories submitted to Hawaiian-language newspapers provide examples of how the scarcity of foreign cloth in rural districts elevated the status of clothing to the point that it was considered an inheritable commodity. Hulanui was returning from Lahaina to his home in East Maui but was caught in heavy rain going from Ukumehame to Waikapu. When he reached

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be paid" Signees, Signees to Honorable Nobles and Representatives, 1851 1851, 22, Series 222-4-4, 1851 Petitions: Hawai‘i State Archives.

Waikapu, he found that the river had swelled and the current had grown strong. Believing that he could still swim across, Hulanui was swept away by the current, his body carried three miles out to sea where he was found dead. The article on his death reported that among his possessions were a humble "two dollars and two pieces of cloth (lole), a mumuku (slip) for his partner (aikāne) and some coconut", valuable materials that were likely passed to his next of kin (Kaauwai 1836) [Trans 4.V].

In another incident, Ulu, a man from Kalaupapa, Molokaʻi, was wrongfully accused of beating and injuring his grandmother with a water gourd. After being questioned by police and found innocent, Ulu "immediately stood up, looked above and took off his handkerchief and shirt, left them and jumped over the cliff" (Kamakea 1842) [Trans 4.VI]. While these two news reports are very different, the inclusion about what clothing remained after the tragic deaths of Hulanui and Ulu demonstrate that cloth was becoming among the most important earthly possessions among makaʻāinana. They were symbols of an individual's personal wealth and status, and when the time came for these people to pass on, their clothes were given to loved ones to be worn as remembrances.

In another widely publicised newspaper article from Kona, foreign clothing was at the centre of a theft turned grizzly murder. A man named Puhi and his sister-in-law were searching for a blouse and a pair of pants that had been stolen from her (Maikai 1846). They found the clothes at another resident's house in Kahilipali. Puhi's sister-in-law grabbed back the stolen clothes and Puhi intended to accompany the robbers down to Waiʻōhinu for further punishment. As they travelled, one of the robbers struck Puhi from behind with a piece of koa wood while the other accomplice stabbed him in the side with a knife. Both injuries rendered Puhi unconscious but only for a brief amount of time; he revived shortly after and went after his attackers. But Puhi

was not strong enough to fight back and he was cruelly killed after the murderers cut off his head with a knife. Chiefess Ruth Keʻelikolani detained those involved in the case. The story of Puhi's death is extreme and illustrates the strange and unfortunate ways that clothing motivated makaʻāinana behaviour, violence and retribution.

The way clothes were valued and detailed in the stories of Hulanui, Ulu and Puhi indicates that the presence of cloth and clothing in the kuaʻāina remained uncommon in the 1830s and 1840s. The introduction of these foreign clothes to the most rural of regions completed the process of establishing a kingdom-wide hierarchy of clothing, a process that had started with the aliʻi decades earlier. But these stories of clothes also tell us that while clothes were circulating to rural districts it was not happening quickly enough to end the need to produce kapa. Although kapa fell into second position behind foreign cloth and clothing as the preferred form of dress, kapa production persisted and began coexisting with foreign cloth in interesting ways.

Tax records also show the coexistence of kapa and cloth in some kuaʻāina regions. Kingdom laws gave kanaka the option to pay taxes in kapa as was done customarily, cloth, or both.[110] Interestingly, despite a general preference for wearing foreign clothing, higher-ranking aliʻi continued to accept and even request, makaʻāinana taxes be paid in kapa, wauke and mamaki into the 1840s. Kapa was used by chiefs as payment to others, for gifts and as a product sold to merchants who in turn sold it to ships as batten under the copper sheathing of ships' hulls (Kirch and Sahlins 1992, 113). In 1837, Paul Kanoa, a cousin and secretary of Oʻahu governor Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, wrote to Gideon Laʻanui in Waialua about the fulfilment of good wauke plants and kapa pua koali (morning glory barkcloth) (Kanoa 1837). Via her aide, Kaniku, the

[110] The earliest kānāwai regarding a tax for kapa was a sandalwood and kapa tax enacted on 27 December 1826 Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, 1, 125.

chiefess Auhea requested 40 dark and 40 yellow paʻupaʻu from Kalaniepu in Kohala in 1840 (Kalaniepu 1840). In 1842, Naheana from Kona shipped to Governor John Adams Kuakini and Kamehameha III "2800 mamaki plants, 21 soft garments (pāʻū), 160 colored garments, 200 girdled cloth", a significant cargo in Honolulu (Naheana 1842). The specific requests for kapa made by chiefs not only suggest that aliʻi still recognised regionally produced kapa as valuable in the 1840s, but that there was a network of chiefs and kapa makers that was able to organise transport of kapa to other islands when needed or desired. At a time when kuaʻāina kapa makers sought cloth for themselves, the aliʻi who had access to cloth were ironically partially responsible for supporting the continued practice of kapa making.

Although the aliʻi were willing to accept kapa for taxes, not all tax collectors chose to follow these laws strictly in the field. The acceptance of kapa and/or cloth as payment varied from tax collector (luna ʻauhau) to tax collector, leading to confusion among kanaka. On 16 January 1840, tax collector Boaz Mahune from Lahaina reported a large collection of 5065 tapa blankets from Maui alongside taxes paid in customary tax goods like olona, netting, fishing line, pigs and cash (Mahune 1840). In contrast, Kuana from Puna wrote to the newspaper in 1844 detailing a circumstance their local tax collector took it upon himself to determine what were adequate tax goods.

> In this taxation month on the 11th Monday, we went to the taxation in accordance with what the law says, some of us had actual money and some of us brought pieces of mamaki kapa before the tax collectors and some of us had cloth…I did not just hear it, I saw it for myself and here were the words said to us, "I will not take cloth and kapa in the first month of the tax. Next month, I might take cloth and kapa." What this tax collector said was different from what the law says. But maybe we were wrong… We request that you clearly state the solution to the things reported above, each and every one, to show the answer for those reported things, with clear reference to the law. They say there is one month for tax payment with hard currency and one month of tax payment

> in cloth and kapa. We think that during the two months we can give hard currency and cloth and kapa and the goods ordered in all the Laws (Kaiwi 1844) [Trans 4.VII].

Despite attempts to create some forms of standardisation through the implementation of kingdom laws, tax collectors opted to continue to do what they wanted. These inconsistencies reveal how, even within the unified kingdom, regional iterations of power and authority were still observed, creating confusion and anger. However, doing so put konohiki at risk of being shamed publicly in the newspapers read across the kingdom. Makaʻāinana were not afraid to publically name and report on the misgivings of their overseerers.

Conclusion

In 1847, Hawaiʻi Island tax collector John B. Kaiana (also known as Ioane B. Kaiana and B. Kaiana) submitted his tax ledger report for District Three, Hilo and Puna (Kaiana 1847) to the kingdom's government. Kaiana was a native of Hilo with genealogical ties to the ʻili of Kanewahineiki in Ponahawai (Land Commission Award 1876). He worked as a teacher at the Hilo Boarding School run by Reverend David Lyman and his wife Sarah Lyman and was a consistent contributor to the newspaper *Ka Nonanona* throughout the 1840s (*Ka Nonanona* 1844a). His educational background and status as a kupaʻāina (local, country native) made him an appropriate appointee as a tax collector.

The government was taking more initiatives to record taxes in an organised system, but for the year 1847, the government did not have templated enumeration sheets or books for their tax collectors.[111] Kaiana dealt with this problem himself, deciding to make his own tax ledger,

[111] The next oldest ledgers in this tax record series are from 1855 and those surviving ledgers from Kaʻū, South Kohala, North Kona on Hawaiʻi Island, Kawaihau, Waimea on Kauaʻi, Molokaʻi and Niʻihau are all the same, indicating that standardisation in tax reporting began in the mid-1850s. The reporting pages within each ledger were

now the oldest surviving tax record in the Hawai‘i State Archives’ Tax Assessment & Collection Records series.

Kaiana hand lettered the book’s title on the kapa cover in block lettering [Figure 4.1]. Getting the lettering on the cover just right seems to have been a concern for Kaiana. The guidelines he used to direct and centre the placement of each letter is still present on the cover, showing that he wanted each letter on this ledger to look as straight as possible. On the back of the ledger is a small letter “K”, identical to one seen on the front cover, perhaps a vestige of Kaiana’s lettering practice before committing to writing the cover page in ink [Figure 4.2]. The carefulness of Kaiana’s hand made the ledger look presentable and professional.

Each of the identical 36 pages were carefully drawn up using a straight edge tool, leaving just enough space for Kaiana to handwrite the column’s headers: inoa kanaka (name), mea hale (literally “house thing”), kane (man), wahine (woman), keiki kane (son), kaikamahine (daughter), dala (dollar), keneta (cents). From over 2000 people residing between Hilo and Puna, Kaiana collected over a thousand dollars for the kingdom’s ‘auhau kino (poll tax) [Figure 4.3]. This large collection suggests a majority of people were working for cash by the end of the 1840s, a major shift away from the account of Kuana and others in Puna attempting to pay their taxes in kapa in 1844. We can imagine some of these tax payers had earned their money through whaling and other odd jobs in and around Hilo’s port, Honolulu and Lahaina.

The most interesting aspect of Kaiana’s ledger is not its contents or its long list of names, but that it was covered using a piece of striped kapa. The kapa cover was probably cut from a larger sheet of kapa and made to fit tightly around the ledger’s internal pages. The pages are bound together with a fibrous material. The vibrant colour of the kapa has managed to survive

printed on a printing press. On the inside front cover of each ledger is a printed set of instructions in Hawaiian and English for enumerators.

thanks to archival care. The kapa's pink background and orange and brown striping hint that in its prime this was a vibrant and eye-catching piece. The kapa sheet was probably submerged in a red or purple dye and the straight stripes were applied with orange or brown dyes and spaced using a liner (lapa).[112]

Kaiana lived through a time when kapa was still used as a tax good and worn as clothing. The sheet of kapa used for the ledger with its colour and patterning would have been an exquisite piece to wear or give as a tax item or gift to a chief. But cloth was now being used as a new form of payment, and cash the standard form of tax payment to the king in the 1840s.

Kapa's esteemed position as a desired commodity dissipated. Kaiana's kapa travelled to the king's capital in Honolulu not as a tax good but to serve now as decorative piece of paper to list the cash tax goods from this distant region. Kaiana's view of kapa had changed from a material to clothe his body to an object that could wrap a book.

[112] The vibrancy of the pink colour may have been achieved by using noni juice bark.

Chapter Five – Kapa Creativity: The Design and Development of Kapa Neckcloths

> The chiefs are well clothed in the European style; but the masses are not more than half-dressed, and some still wear nothing but the maro. The apparel of the women consists of a long loose-gown, made of calico, a fancy colored silk handkerchief, thrown over the neck and shoulders (Colvocoresses 1852, 184).

Although makaʻāinana pursuit of cloth and clothing may have decreased use for of kapa for some, it did not disappear altogether. Hawaiians who wanted to dress fashionably but did not have the financial means to do so began making kapa that resembled foreign types of clothing and designs instead. This chapter explores the creation and evolution of kapa neckcloths between 1820 and 1840. "Neckcloths" was the general nineteenth century term used for any neckwear that swathed around the neck. The category included cravats, neckerchiefs, ties and shawls (Cumming, Wilmington, and Cunnington 2017, 185). This chapter will identify and describe kapa paisley shawls and kapa neckerchiefs (kapa hainakā) with special attention paid towards how the kapa neckcloths were designed and what tools were used.

Although neck adornments, lei and feather ʻahuʻula capes were customarily worn around the neck, the concept of wearing cloth that tied or wrapped around the neck and shoulders was introduced to the islands with other types of foreign clothing during the late-eighteenth century and early-nineteenth century. Like other forms of clothing discussed in previous chapters, neckcloths first gained popularity among the aliʻi before spreading to the populace. One of the earliest examples of a Hawaiian wearing a neckcloth was captured by artist Louis Choris when he visited the Hawaiian Kingdom bewteen 1816 and 1817 with the Romanzoff Expedition. In Choris's published travelogue, *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde* (1822), he recounts the conversation that preceded the first of three sittings he was allowed to have with King Kamehameha I. After agreeing to the sitting, Kamehameha asked Choris to give him a moment

to change out of his red, girdled malo (loincloth). Kamehameha's choice of outfit for the portrait shocked Choris, "Imagine my surprise on seeing this monarch display himself in the costume of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt and a neck tie of yellow silk". Choris' rendering of Kamehameha in a yellow cravat became the most globally circulated portrait of the king and one of only a few portraits captured of him.[113] Early development of kapa neckcloths occurred during the 1820s, shortly after Kamehameha's wearing of a cravat.

After locating and closely examining kapa neckcloths in various collections throughout Hawai'i and the continental United States, I am identifying kapa neckcloths as a new genre of kapa. Many examples of kapa neckcloths, especially those located in museum collections outside of Hawai'i, were collected by foreigners because of their resemblance to Euro-American neckwear. The neckcloths featured in this chapter are primarily from two collections, the Whitney Collection at the Hawaiian Mission Houses in Honolulu and the U.S. Ex. Ex. Collection at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History in Washington D.C.

Studying early-nineteenth century neckcloth styles, production and distribution helped to further date specific examples of kapa neckcloths featured in this chapter. Accession records, historical research and studies of the kinship networks of individual collectors provide possible date ranges for the production and collection of kapa neckcloths. The result of this rigorous research methodology contextualises the creativity of the makers of these kapa neckcloths within

[113] Choris' portrait of the king in a cravat was copied in Hawai'i and then travelled from the islands to Asia where it was copied by Chinese artists. When Choris and the Romanzoff Expedition landed in Manila two years after their visit to Hawai'i, he found that his portrait of Kamehameha had beaten him there! Kamehameha's likeness was being widely produced and distributed at the request of American merchants who had a growing interest in the Sandwich Islands. On 18 June 1818, the Boston Athenaeum received one of these early Chinese copies of Kamehameha from John Coffin Jones, Jr., who worked for the merchant house Marshall & Wildes. The Athenaeum hypothesizes that the portrait was picked up in summer of 1817 while Jones was returning home to Boston Hina Hirayama, "Acquired Tastes: 200 Years of Collecting for the Boston Athenæum," ed. Stanley Ellis and David B. Dearinger Cushing (Boston: The Boston Athenæum, 2006).

global fashion and neckcloth trends, and the localised fashion demands and interests in early-nineteenth century Hawai‘i.

The Kaua‘i Connection: Kapa Paisley and Aku‘ehala-Pualima

Mercy Partridge was born in Pittsfield, Massachusetts on 14 August 1795 to parents William and Jemima Bidwell Partridge [Figure 5.1].[114] They were a prominent family in West Massachusetts, known then as “the colonial frontier of Massachusetts”. Her grandfather, Colonel Oliver Partridge, was a well-known politician in the region who went on to represent the county and colony before and during the American Revolution. Mercy’s father settled in Pittsfield in about 1780 and established a farm on which his 12 children were born and raised on.

The Partridge children were dedicated Congregationalists, and many expressed their faith by becoming missionaries. Mercy became a missionary wife following her marriage to Reverend Samuel Whitney on 4 October 1819, shortly after Samuel was notified that he was accepted into the founding company of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Aptly named “the Pioneer Company”, the First Company of the Sandwich Islands Mission had a lot to accomplish when they got to Hawai‘i. The 18 missionary men and women, which included four Hawaiian scholars trained in New England schools, were tasked with what Mary Zweip calls the “first precarious public successes of the mission: getting permission to land, then to build a frame house; gaining the trust, even the friendship of important ali‘i (Hawaiian chiefs, both male and female); setting up the first schools; introducing the new God and his commandments” (Zweip 1991, xv).

[114] The Bidwell family, Mercy Partridge’s maternal family, was another well-known frontier family in western Massachusetts. The family was led by Reverend Adonijah Bidwell who moved to the region as a frontier minister in 1750. The family home, Bidwell House, was a parsonage, farm and meeting house which still stands and has been open to the public as a house museum and public garden since 1990.

The Whitneys were stationed on the island of Kauaʻi and arrived at their post on 19 April 1820. Although all members of the Pioneer Company experienced the shock of living in a foreign land, the Whitneys had a very different experience from their missionary brothers and sisters stationed on the other islands east of Kauaʻi. Reverend Samuel and Nancy Ruggles arrived with George Humehume Kaumualiʻi, the son of tributary King Kaumualiʻi of Kauaʻi and Niʻihau (also referred to by the Mission as George Sandwich or Tamoree). Placed in the care of an American ship's captain, George left Kauaʻi at the age of seven or eight to be educated in the United States (Wichman 2003, 107). However, after George arrived in Boston, his guardian's promises to see to his care were not kept. In order to survive as a teenager in a foreign land, George worked as a farmer, a joiner and enlisted in the U.S. Navy during the War of 1812 (Wichman 2003, 107). He was wounded and discharged from the Navy and was cared for by naval families before being transferred to the ABCFM's Cornwall Foreign Mission School where three other Hawaiians were training to become native missionaries for their homelands (Forbes, D.W., Kam, and Woods 2018, 393-394).[115] When the Sandwich Islands Mission was formed, it was decided that George Humehume Kaumualiʻi would also return home with the missionaries.

King Kaumualiʻi was shocked and overjoyed by his adult son's return, and as a result, generously gifted and hosted the foreigners charged with bringing his son home.[116] The

[115] With regard to George Kaumualiʻi's acceptance of Christianity, Ralph Kuykendall argues that while a student at the Foreign Mission School, he "did not give much evidence of being Christian" David W. Forbes, *Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780-1900: Volume 1: 1780-1830* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1999), 102. Mercy Whitney's observations of George's behaviour after his return to Kauaʻi seem to confirm this sentiment, "For a time after our arrival here he approved to interest himself in our welfare, but soon began to grow indifferent and has adopted one native habit after another, till one would scarcely suppose he had ever seen civilized societies, much less dwelt among them. It is said he eats his raw fish and poi like the other natives. His conduct of late has been such that his father has given up all hope of him, says he is no better than any na-kah (man). Had he behaved himself as he might, his influence would have been great, but now he is considered no more than a common native" Mercy Whitney, Journal, 1819-1820, 1819-1820, The Journal Collection, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, 20-21, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

[116] Upon his arrival, Kaumualiʻi gave George "two chests of clothing, on the 2nd, the Fort, on the 3rd the wet and fertile valley of Wimaah [Waimea] in which he resided David W. Forbes, Ralph Thomas Kam, and Thomas A. Woods, *Partners in Change: A Biographical Encyclopedia of American Protestant Missionaries in Hawaiʻi and*

missionaries received a myriad of objects including mats, over a hundred pieces of kapa, provisions, furniture, fans, fly-brushes and perhaps most important to the early Mission, the promise of building a church and keeping the Sabbath (Zweip 1991, 93).[117] Kaumualiʻi's warm welcome included an approval for Samuel Whitney and Samuel Ruggles to establish the Waimea Mission Station in southeast Kauaʻi.

Kaumualiʻi's displays of hospitality towards the Mission helped ease the Whitneys' anxieties about earning the trust and favour of the royals (Whitney 1821-1829, 6). Early entries from Mercy Whitney's journal detail the close relationship that they developed with Kaumualiʻi and his wife Kapule, who Mercy refers to in her journal as the King and Queen.[118] In order to have "his children" live closer to him, Kaumualiʻi erected a house for the Whitney family just "50 rods from the Kings", or the equivalent of only 275 feet (Whitney 1821-1829, 6).[119] The royal's close watch over the Whitneys was especially appreciated by Mercy when her husband worked away from their home and she was left alone with the children. She described the care offered to her by the royals as "tender" and confidently stated that they had nothing to fear while under their care (Whitney 1821-1829, 12-13).[120] Mercy was grateful for their circumstances, and thanked God for their comfort.

Their Hawaiian and Tahitian Colleagues, 1820-1900 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, 2018), 397.

[117] To Captain Blanchard who sailed the vessel, Kaumualiʻi gifted provisions and a lot of sandalwood valued at $1000 Mary Zweip, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1991), 93. Humehume gifted 100 fine tapa mats and food to the mission for their assistance Forbes, Kam, and Woods, *Partners in Change: A Biographical Encyclopedia of American Protestant Missionaries in Hawaiʻi and Their Hawaiian and Tahitian Colleagues, 1820-1900*, 397.

[118] Kapule is also known by her baptismal name, Deborah Kapule Frederick B. Wichman, *Na Pua Ali'i o Kaua'i: Ruling Chiefs of Kaua'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2003), 108. According to Mercy's journal, she was baptised in 1825. The Whitneys gave their first-born daughter the middle name "Kapule" in the queen's honour.

[119] Kaumualiʻi gave the Whitneys a number of objects which were later auctioned off after Mercy's death in 1872. In 1873, an auction held in Honolulu included a feather mahiole given to Mercy by Kaumualiʻi. The object was well cared for and was sold at the low price of $120 *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, "Na mea Kahiko o hawaii Nei," (Honolulu), March 22 1873, 12.

[120] The Kauaʻi-based missionaries were reminded of how much they depended on the safety and comfort provided by Kaumualiʻi when the King was not physically present Mercy Whitney, Mercy Whitney Journal No. 1, 1821-

> As to the comforts of life, we have many as we could reasonably expect in this uncivilized land. My health has generally been good, & I have not so much needed those luxuries enjoyed in a civilized country as some of the [missionary] family who have suffered from sickness…All these privations are calculated to remind me that I am passing through a wilderness & ought to be thankful that my blessings are so many. The Lord has hitherto made me contented, & praised be his name (Whitney 1821).

Whereas many other missionary families moved between mission stations over the course of their tenures with the Sandwich Islands Mission, the Whitneys were unique in that they never left Kauaʻi and remained loyal to their original station post. Mercy remained at Waimea even after the death of Samuel Whitney in December 1845. For the remainder of her life, she travelled sparingly, leaving Waimea only occasionally to tour around Kauaʻi and attend the annual meeting of missionaries in Honolulu (Forbes, D.W., Kam, and Woods 2018, 635-636). Mercy's initial warm welcome to Kauaʻi and her devotion to her missionary post probably led to her choice to remain on the island until her death in 1872.

Over the course of her life in Hawaiʻi, Mercy collected and sent kapa and kapa clothing to her family living in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. For example, on 21 August 1830, Mercy sent a

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1829, The Journal Collection, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, 11, 22-23, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. In July 1821, Kamehameha II unexpectedly visited Kauaʻi, raising fears among the missionaries about whether Liholiho was attempting to take over the island. Instead, Liholiho announced that he would uphold the agreement made between his father and Kaumualiʻi and allow Kaumualiʻi to keep his tributary title over the island Wichman, *Na Pua Ali'i o Kaua'i: Ruling Chiefs of Kaua'i*, 109. The two kings went on a six-week long circuit tour around the entirety of the island and Niʻihau from late July to 6 September 1821. Kaumualiʻi left with Liholiho for Oʻahu in late September, leaving many, including the missionaries, feeling anxious about the Kauaʻi king's absence. Mercy wrote in her journal, "We feel ourselves constantly exposed to fire and among the evils on every side, more particularly now as the King is absent. There are many, who, were they not restrained by the power of the King and chiefs, would probably do much mischief. It is said the people on this Island are more savage than those on the others. Our situation at present is as safe as we could have on the Island [sic] for we are much less exposed to thieves and robbers enclosed on by a stone wall, than we otherwise should be. The Lord has hitherto been our defence and shield, and in him we will put our trust" Whitney, Mercy Whitney Journal No. 1: 23. Shortly after Kaumualiʻi's removal to Oʻahu, he was coerced into marrying Kaʻahumanu on 9 October 1821 Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, 1, 75. Kaumualiʻi lived in exile from Kauaʻi until his death in May 1824 Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom- Volume 1: Foundation and Transformation, 1778-1854*, 1, 118.

small box of curiosities to her uncle and cousins to illustrate "Hawaiian fondness for ornaments" (Whitney 1830). Along with necklaces, rings and bracelets, Mercy included pieces of kapa which she hoped would "draw forth a smile from you" (Whitney 1830). The Whitneys had spent a year collecting the kapa in the box, which she confessed were not all very pretty but showed "a variety that you may see the different kinds of cloth they can manufacture, & how many kinds of figures they can stamp" (Whitney 1830). Mercy also kept a small collection of kapa pieces that were later inherited by Mercy's great-granddaughter, Ruth E. Pogue.[121]

In the 1970s, the Partridge family and Mercy's direct descendants donated their kapa to the Hawai'i Mission Houses Museum in Honolulu, forming the Whitney Collection. Comprising over 20 examples of kapa, this is the largest collection of kapa at the Hawaiian Mission Houses and is unique because of the variety of kapa within it, demonstrating the diverse range of kapa that coexisted during the half-century that Mercy lived in Hawai'i. In addition to kapa intricately designed using customary tools like 'ohe kāpala (bamboo-carved stamps) (74.9.5.NM.W2) and lapa (liners) (74.9.8.NM.W2), the collection also includes kapa clothing [Figure 5.2].[122] In fact the array of kapa clothing includes a cape (74.10.1.W2), a collar (74.9.5.NM.W2), and kapa described in the catalogue as bedsheets (74.10.9.W2) [Figure 5.3]. The exact locations from where each of the individual pieces of kapa were sourced were not recorded in the accession records, but they were probably collected by Mercy on Kaua'i during the 52 years she lived there from 1820 to 1872.

[121] Ruth Pogue's grandmother, Maria Kapule Pogue née Whitney, was Mercy's first-born daughter. Maria married Reverend William F. Pogue who was a member of the Eleventh Company of Sandwich Islands Mission. The collection of kapa sent to the Partridge family was donated to the Hawaiian Mission Houses on 1 February 1973 by Carolyn Partridge Kilgore, a Partridge descendant related to Mercy.

[122] 'Ohe kāpala ranged in size and detail and through repetition of use of these stamps, could create elaborate and intricate patterns.

The Whitney Collection includes two unique kapa examples that feature paisley motifs. Paisley originated from the Kashmir region of North India in the late-seventeenth century. Its name refers to both the ancient central-Asian stylised buta (flower) or date palm motif and the woven shawl textile made with pashmina wool that was reserved for male elites and royalty. Paisley was introduced to Europeans by way of gifting and trading between Kashmiri princes and British East India Company officers. By the early 1800s, all of Europe was taken with the paisley craze. Europeans reinterpreted the tear drop motif as vases, pines, tadpoles or little onions (Reilly and Drew 1989, 11). Recognising the demand for paisleys but facing difficulty in procuring the pashmina wool needed to make it, enterprising artisan weavers in France, England (largely situated in Essex and Norwich) and later in Scotland, began making imitation Kashmiri paisleys using materials such as silk and cotton (Reilly and Drew 1989, 44). The move towards producing paisley in the early 1810s was highly lucrative and spurred the creation of entire European villages dedicated to its production.[123] Despite being produced in Europe, imitation paisleys communicated upper-class aspirations and remained expensive to the masses until the 1860s when cloth mechanisation improved for woven textiles (Reilly and Drew 1989, 39).

The earliest woven British paisleys were square, referencing the traditional shape of Kashmiri paisley shawls. They were constructed by sewing a patterned border onto a plain centre cloth, which earned them the name "plain centre shawls" (Reilly and Drew 1989, 33). This style of shawl was also called "turn over shawls", referencing the borders that were clearly visible when the shawl was folded diagonally and worn draped around the shoulders (Reilly and Drew 1989, 33). By the 1820s, new weaving technology allowed the plain centre shawls to move away

[123] Consider the development of paisley weaving in Paisley, Scotland which developed quickly between the 1810s and 1830s. In the village, paisley manufacturing firms increased from eight firms in 1827 to 27 firms in 1834 bringing an estimated £1,000,000 to the town Valerie Reilly and Richard Drew, *The Paisley Pattern: The Official Illustrated History* (Glasgow: Peregrine Smith Books, 1989), 44.

from its traditional square shape. New shawls were long and rectangular and could accommodate a wider border that covered more of the surface area. With more attention placed on the border, the border sections were elaborately decorated with larger paisleys and intricate designs in bright colours. As a result of the emphasis and attention placed on the border, the space within the plain centre decreased (Reilly and Drew 1989, 34). Three-quarter plaid was a type of paisley shawl produced in the 1820s and 1830s that normally measured 8ft by 4ft, or the equivalent of 244cm x 122cm (Reilly and Drew 1989, 35).[124] Pot-lid shawls, for example, displayed intricate floral medallions and mosaics at the centre and corners (Reilly and Drew 1989, 33). The pale-end shawls were rectangular and wide, and made from a single woven piece. Popularised by George IV, the borders of pale-end shawls contained large paisleys with blue paisleys surrounded by intricate designs (Reilly and Drew 1989, 34).[125]

The proportions of the Whitney Collection's kapa paisley confirm that they were referencing European paisleys, mirroring the size developments of European imitation paisley as a result of widening paisley borders. Object 74.9.2.NM.W2 measures 116.8cm (46 inches) by 121.9cm (48 inches) and resembles a square, plain centre shawl, reminiscent of early European interpretations of Kashmiri plain centre shawls. On the other hand, Object 74.10.4.W2, is long and rectangular and is similar to the three-quarter plaid paisleys produced in the 1820s and 1830s [Figure 5.4]. However, Object 74.10.4.W2 strays slightly from the three-quarter plaid style because of its inclusion of two bordered paisley sections.

[124] The three-quarter plaid was smaller than the Scottish plaid rectangle that measured 12ft by 5ft.
[125] The paisley market changed again in the 1840s. During the Victorian era, empty space on the shawl was completely filled by paisley design, leading to the disappearance of pronounced border paisleys altogether Reilly and Drew, *The Paisley Pattern: The Official Illustrated History*, 13. Printed paisley on cloth also became a popular and cheaper way to consume paisley design as well Reilly and Drew, *The Paisley Pattern: The Official Illustrated History*, 30-31.

Despite their differences in size, both Whitney paisleys were designed by stamping hala keys of different sizes to create the paisley motif and other designs. Hala (*Pandanus odoratissimus*) is an Indigenous tree found throughout Asia and Oceania whose leaves are used traditionally for weaving mats and baskets. Female hala trees bear round fruit that are hard and spikey and smooth to the touch. Hala fruit can be split along its triangular segments into individual keys known as hala ʻiʻo. The inner bristled end of the key contains the seed and provides kapa makers a brush, while the bumpy, woody and uneven outer end of the key can be used as a stamp. Hala keys were historically used to decorate kapa, and the Whitney paisleys show that kapa makers continued to use these keys in their development of new designs.

I am calling the design and technique created by repetitiously stamping with hala ʻiʻo to form a border "akuʻehala" and "pualima". These terms were sourced from two kapa kilohana located at the Bishop Museum that have borders made with hala ʻiʻo similar to that seen on kapa neckcloths like paisley. Although both kilohana use hala ʻiʻo in their design, it is unclear in this phase of the research whether there were differences between two terms, or if they were used synonymously. However, a study into the etymology of these two words hints at how kapa makers used hala ʻiʻo to create designs. "Akuʻe" translates to "club-footed", while "hala" refers to the fruit of the hala tree. "Pualima" may refer to how the hala key was used as a stamp and was held in the user's hand. In Hawaiian hula performance, the gesture for flower (pua) is created by touching all five points of each finger of the hand (lima) together. The result is a tear-dropped shape created by the hand, resembling the shape of a flower bud. A hala key grasped in a kapa maker's hand with all of one's fingers creates this same gesture and provides the necessary control and precision needed to make exact patterns with a single stamp. These two Bishop Museum kilohana will be described further in the conclusion of this chapter.

Object 74.10.4.W2 from the Whitney Collection was clearly inspired by three-quarter plaid paisley shawls, yet shows slight departures made by its designer. It is long and rectangular and measures 287cm (113 inches) in length and 57.15cm (22.5 inches) in width, making it smaller than traditional three-quarter plaid paisley shawls. However, the dimensions remain proportional in size to three-quarter plaid shawls that typically measured 244cm by 122cm. It also diverges from the three-quarter plaid standard because of its addition of a second paisley border compared with paisley shawls that maintained a design only along one end. Interestingly, there is no natural edge visible on the kapa paisley shawl, and it is possible that the rectangle was cut from a larger piece of kapa.

Hala ʻiʻo were used in all areas of this kapa's surface design, demonstrating how the akuʻehala-pualima technique was used to create paisley borders and within the plain centre. Along the edges of the kapa are two rows of brown 1cm-wide hala ʻiʻo stamps. The same 1cm wide hala ʻiʻo stamp was also used to create two rows of hala ʻiʻo that divide the paisley borders from the plain centre. Within the plain centre, an even smaller 0.5cm-wide hala ʻiʻo was used to create quatrefoils, each measuring 2cm in width. The quatrefoils were spaced evenly in diagonal lines across the plain centre [Figure 5.5].

The two bordered paisley sections of object 74.10.4.W2 contain four 12cm-long paisleys. All eight paisleys on this shawl were further infilled with designs made with varying sizes of hala ʻiʻo, and are almost identical shape and size, which speaks to the exceptional precision of the kapa maker. Each paisley's interior space is further divided by a line of 0.5cm-wide hala ʻiʻo across the width of the paisley, creating a space on the top and bottom sections of the paisley. At the centre of the bottom section of the paisley is a large quatrefoil made using a tear drop shaped hala ʻiʻo measuring 2cm in width. Surrounding the large quatrefoil and following the edge of the

bottom section of the paisley is a row of triangles made using three 0.5cm-wide hala ʻiʻo [Figure 5.6].

The top section is divided into two vertical sections by two rows of 0.25cm-wide hala ʻiʻo. These two rows follow the taper of the curved upper end of the paisley. The outer two sections closest to the border mirror each other and contain two rows of 0.5cm-wide hala ʻiʻo and 0.75cm wide hala ʻiʻo. The innermost section includes an undulating curved line created using alternating 0.75cm-wide hala ʻiʻo and hand-drawn dots. The intentional placement of each hala ʻiʻo and each dot creates an elegant infill that flows with the curve of the paisley. The infill within the bordered section and surrounding the paisleys are eight large quatrefoils identical to the ones within the paisleys, as well as eight smaller 2cm-wide quatrefoils nearest to the plain centre.

Far removed from Kashmir, paisley's arrival in Hawaiʻi encouraged kapa makers to reinterpret the motif and shawl using their own materials. Kapa makers studied European plain centre and three-quarter plaid paisley shawls closely with attention to how the shawls were segmented into different areas, and how the intricate designs were used within the paisleys and in the bordered sections. To achieve the intricacy of the designs on plain kapa, kapa makers began using hala ʻiʻo stamps in ingenious ways. Hala ʻiʻo of various sizes were used to demarcate bordered areas and were also used to form the paisley motifs. Alternating stamps and the use of different coloured pigments added both variation and repetition to the piece as a whole.

The Hawaiian process of hand stamping paisley designs onto a plain base material may have pre-dated the European trend of shawl printing, or printing paisley designs onto fabric, that became popular in the 1840s and 1850s (Reilly and Drew 1989, 40). Hawaiian kapa paisleys are an example of how Hawaiians reinterpreted foreign textiles using their own techniques and

materials. As a result, kapa paisleys were eye-catching and appropriate to the climate and most importantly, free from the cost and limitations of weaving machinery.

Kapa Neckerchiefs

Kapa collected in the 1840s by the U.S. Ex. Ex. shows that kapa makers on Kauaʻi diversified the types of kapa neckcloths they produced beyond kapa paisley shawls. Twenty years after Mercy Whitney's arrival to Kauaʻi, the crew of the U.S. Ex. Ex.'s Ship *Flying Fish* travelled to Kauaʻi to undertake scientific surveys of the island. Between 27 October and 3 November 1840, the six scientific corps members divided into three teams to visit the coastal, inland, and mountain regions of the island. Naturalist Charles Pickering and Assistant Botanist William D. Brackenridge crossed through the centre of the island, starting in Waimea and ending in Haleleʻa. During their visit to Reverend William P. Alexander's Waiʻoli Church for Sunday service, the scientists were struck not only by the congregation's size, which was 400 strong, but by what the Hawaiian church women in attendance were wearing. The official Wilkes report described the scene.

> They were all much struck with the dress of the native women, its unusual neatness and becoming appearance. It seemed remarkable that so many of them should be clothed in foreign manufacture, and that apparently of an expensive kind; but on a closer examination, the dresses proved to be tapas, printed in imitation of merino shawls, ribands, &c. (Wilkes 1850, 77).

The U.S. Ex. Ex.'s Kauaʻi corps collected eight examples of these kapa imitations of foreign cloth. The collection includes five kapa squares, one kapa triangle and two sets of kapa strips, all of which are now housed at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History

(NMNH).[126] It is unclear who exactly collected these kapa samples and by what means (e.g. purchasing, trading etc.). However, the unofficial catalogue of the U.S. Ex. Ex., known as the Peale Catalogue, describes the objects as "cloth made of bark, printed and colored in imitation of foreign patterns, by natives of Kauaʻi, Hawaiian Islands". Each of the eight kapa pieces are different in size and design, but share similarities. This section will focus on the design details of two kapa neckcloths, objects E3483 and E3486, which illustrate shared similarities.

Perhaps the most striking difference about this collection is that the Wilkes Kauaʻi kapa pieces are considerably smaller than any customary form of kapa clothing like paʻū, malo or kapa moe, or even kapa paisley shawls described in the previous section. The largest of the Wilkes Kauaʻi kapa specimens, E3483, is a square of kapa measuring 76cm in length and 69cm in width [Figure 5.7]. E3486 is an isosceles triangle shape measuring 47.5cm in width and 93cm in length [Figure 5.8].

Based on the observations made by Pickering and Brackenridge at Reverend Alexander's church, E3483 and E3486 were kapa neckerchiefs made to be worn around the neck. Neckerchiefs had a number of different names in Hawaiian including "hainakā lei", "hainakā ʻāʻī", "leiʻāʻī", or hinakā ʻāʻī". For the remainder of this chapter, I will refer to this style of kapa neckcloth as kapa hainakā. Hinakā, hainika, and hainakā are transliterations of "handkerchief" in Hawaiian, which shows that these smaller pieces of kapa had a multitude of uses beyond being

[126] After the completion of the expedition in 1842, specimens collected by members of the scientific corps were submitted with their associated expedition documents (e.g. field books, manuscripts, inventories and collection notes) to the United States Patent Office and the National Museum, the predecessor of the Smithsonian NMNH. Of the surviving 85 ethnological objects collected from Hawaiʻi, clothing accounts for 42% of the collection, or 33 examples of kapa and three samples of Hawaiian cotton still held at the Smithsonian. The combination of published manuscripts from naval officers and sailors, and local news reports in Hawaiian and English provide greater chronological, geographic and circumstantial data about the materials collected.

used as an accessory worn around the neck.[127] Both pieces have deep crease lines, suggesting that they were folded down for possible use as a pocket square, a handkerchief or for easier storage.[128]

Another interesting aspect of the eight Wilkes Kauaʻi kapa is that all the pieces are decorated with hand-drawn designs using natural dyes.[129] Customarily Hawaiians kapa is identified, if not celebrated, for the use of kapa beaters that imprinted watermark into the surface of the wet kapa and for its surface printed designs made using ʻohe kāpala and, as we saw with the kapa paisleys, other natural materials like hala ʻiʻo used as stamps. While E3483 and E3486 have watermark patterns that are visible when the kapa is backlit, no stamping techniques were used in the design process of these pieces. Rather, dyes and pigments were applied onto the original white surface of the kapa as hand-drawn designs. The dyes have undoubtedly faded over time, and the remaining colours are largely oranges, browns and black. It is unknown which dyes and pigments were used and how they were created.

E3483 and E3486 are similar in composition, and both include hand-drawn borders which creates a plain centre. The border consists of three sections beginning from the edge of the kapa hainakā; the outermost section along the edge of the kapa, the middle section and the innermost section. Dots and lines were used to infill these three segmented sections. The dots and lines used in the borders of E3483 and E3486 were sporadically created, and were neither straight nor identical in size. This indicates a departure from measured and exacted designing

[127] "Hainakā" seems to have been the most common and oldest term used of the three transliterations of "handkerchief". The earliest reference to hainakā in the newspaper is from 1834, which suggests that Hawaiians were likely familiar with this type of garment prior to the 1830s Anonymous, *No na hana e pono ai o Hawaii nei.* (Honolulu: Ka Lama Hawaii, April 4, 1834, 1834).
[128] These pieces of kapa are no longer folded but stored in the NMNH's collection on flat boards. It is also likely that the members of the U.S. Ex. Ex. May also have folded the kapa following the collection of the pieces.
[129] I briefly tested these objects with pXRF (portable X-Ray Fluorescence) at the NMNH and the preliminary reading shows no signs of metal. A larger sampling of kapa should be tested in future research.

seen in the kapa paisleys. The outermost and inner most sections of the borders are identical in pattern on both kapa hainakā. These borders and their detail were probably created first before decoration of the plain centre of the hainakā.

Within the plain centres of the kapa hainakā there are also hand-drawn designs. E3483 has a sea urchin or sundial-like pattern made with black and brown dyes [Figure 5.9]. Black dots forming diamond-shape and triangle shape formations cover the rest of the plain centre. E3486's plain centre is decorated using two different patterns, a dashed line of dots in brown-black-brown and a black dot surrounded by a halo of similarly sized brown dots [Figure 5.10]. Although the placement of these individual designs within the plain centres is not even, the two designs alternate and were placed in diagonal rows across negative space. Their placement illustrates an undeniable intentionality by the designer, giving a symmetrical and repetitive quality to the piece.

A close study of the Wilkes Kauaʻi kapa hainakā and their associated records indicates that this was a style of kapa neckcloth was produced and popular in the 1830s and 1840s because of their unique look and economic use of time and materials. Similar to kapa paisley, kapa hainakā were alternatives to foreign neckerchiefs and were fashionable among Hawaiians because of their distinctive borders. Kapa hainakā may have been more widely worn and produced because their smaller size required less materials. The hand-drawn designs of the Wilkes kapa hainakā also suggests that makers were saving time this way rather than carefully using pualima-akuʻehala techniques.

Identifying kapa hainakā as a style of kapa neckcloth among the Wilkes Kauaʻi pieces led to the discovery of a number of kapa neckerchiefs in museum collections both in and outside of Hawaiʻi, confirming that kapa hainakā were not unique to just Kauaʻi but were widespread in

different parts of the kingdom. The study of these other kapa hainakā established that the aku‘ehala-pualima technique was also used for this style of kapa neckcloth. The largest kapa hainakā (HA 2372) located in this study is in the Honolulu Museum of Art and was originally part of the Hawaiian material culture collection of ABCFM missionary descendants of Charles Montague Cooke and Anna Rice Cooke [Figure 5.11]. Measuring 101.6cm in length by 101.6cm in width, its border uses a hand-drawn undulating dot design and the plain centre area is decorated with quatrefoils that use three aku‘ehala stamps in black and one in orange [Figure 5.12]. It is unclear whether the Cookes inherited this kapa hainakā from the Cooke family who arrived with the Eighth Company, the Rice family from the Ninth Company or if the descendants purchased the piece at auction later in the nineteenth century.

Outside of Hawai‘i, the Brooklyn Museum of Art cares for a triangular kapa hainakā (object 14.17) which has a hand-drawn border consisting of uneven lines and dots. This kapa hainakā is strikingly like the Smithsonian NMNH’s E3486. The Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, has a kapa hainakā example in its collection which was donated in 1870 (E7048). Measuring 170cm by 168cm, this kapa hainakā uses multiple sizes of hala ‘i‘o in the creation of its border and plain centre. The Historic New England Collection in Haverhill, Massachusetts includes a triangular kapa hainakā (2006.44.3662) from the collection of former Hawaiian Kingdom Attorney General and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Stephen Henry Phillips. Phillips returned to the United States in 1873 (and to his native home state of Massachusetts in 1881), taking with him materials he and his wife had collected during his nine-year tenure in the islands.[130] Whereas the other kapa hainakā from NMNH and the Brooklyn Museum were hand-

[130] The Phillips family collections are scattered across different repositories in New England. Historic New England has a collection of objects (of which 2006.44.3662 is a part) that came from the Salem, Massachusetts, home of Stephen Henry Phillips’ son, Stephen Willard Phillips. Stephen Willard Phillips was born in Honolulu and continued to collect and take an interest in Hawaiian objects. Stephen Willard and his mother, Margaret Duncan Phillips,

drawn, the Phillips example has a border made with various sizes of hala ʻiʻo in alternating colours [Figure 5.13]. The discovery of these pieces outside of Hawaiʻi confirms that kapa hainakā were widely made and worn, to the point that they may have also been sold to foreigners as tourist objects and curios. These were not sacred objects but objects that were easily made, worn and circulated.

Hawaiian interests in neckcloths continued with the creation of kapa hainakā in the 1830s and 1840s. Each kapa hainakā viewed in this section was unique in size, shape and usage of designs, illustrating the wide range of choices kapa makers made in customising their kapa neckcloths. The most elaborate kapa hainakā were hand stamped with hala ʻiʻo, but simpler pieces were hand-drawn. Kapa hainakā point to a sustained interest by kapa makers to continue to produce kapa neckcloths and develop new ways of designing and wearing kapa neckcloths within a short period of time.

Conclusion

Cloth lent inspiration towards the creation of new styles of kapa. Kapa neckcloths were a popular style of clothing worn and produced by Hawaiians between 1820 and 1840. The majority of kapa in this chapter was collected from the island of Kauaʻi and provides a unique insight into kapa experimentation, wearing and development seen on that island over a 20-year period. The expansion of kapa away from the usual customary forms during this period points to the willingness of kapa makers to reimagine the capabilities of their tools, dyes and techniques. Kapa materials proved to be adjustable to meet the changing fashion interests and the creativity of

donated their collection of Hawaiian material to Salem's Peabody Essex Museum. In terms of manuscript material, Historic New England maintains the Margaret Duncan Phillips collection, while the Peabody Essex Museum cares for the papers of Stephen Henry Phillips.

kapa makers. More research should be completed to understand if other social, economic or political factors supported the creation of kapa neckcloths on Kauaʻi and perhaps in more than other areas of the kingdom.

With their distinctive borders and plain centres, kapa neckcloths clearly referenced woven paisley and neckerchiefs. But the pieces created were not exact replicas or imitations. Instead, kapa makers added borders and made their own interpretations of the foreign designs using tools that were familiar to them. There also seems to have been a hierarchy of techniques used; akuʻehala-pualima stamping produced intricate designs in comparison to simpler, casual hand-drawn neckcloths. Whether hand-drawn or stamped, kapa neckcloths were so notable that they were collected by foreigners who at first glance had mistaken them as being foreign cloth.

Hawaiians were aware of the interest and appeal of their designs on kapa and proudly displayed their interpretation of foreign patterns. Between May and October 1889, 40 pieces of kapa were selected as part of the Hawaiian Kingdom display at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, better known as the Paris Exposition (*Honolulu Advertiser* 1889).[131] Among the exhibited kapa were two eye-catching kilohana labelled "Number 25. Kilohana Akuʻehala" and "Number 26. Kilohana Pualima" (Hassinger 1889, 9). Kapa moe was the customary form of Hawaiian bedding made by layering and stitching multiple pieces of kapa together. Time was spent on the outermost sheet to thoroughly decorate the kilohana, and the designers of Numbers 25 and 26 modelled their designs after kapa neckcloths. Both kilohana have plain centre areas

[131] The objects displayed were crowd-sourced from the public through government calls published in the English- and Hawaiian-language newspapers. Only the best objects and agricultural products that demonstrated the civilization and industry of Hawaiʻi were selected. The exhibition catalogue organised by the Chief Clerk of the Interior Department, John A. Hassinger, gave them the names and descriptions "Number 25. Kilohana Akuʻehala" and "Number 26. Kilohana Pualima" John A. Hassinger, "Catalogue of the Hawaiian Exhibits at the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889," ed. Hawaiian Government (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1889), 9.

and a border along their edges made by stamping different sizes of hala ʻiʻo using the akuʻehala-pualima technique.

Number 25 is a two-toned piece of kapa, its orange and black design made completely using three different sizes of hala ʻiʻo [Figure 5.14]. The border is complex and was made using a small, round hala ʻiʻo. Along the edge of the kilohana are two closely stamped rows in orange topped by a row of black equilateral triangles, each consisting of 10 hala ʻiʻo stamps. Interestingly the border's design is mirrored, and at the tip of each black triangle is an orange triangle also made with 10 hala ʻiʻo stamps and topped with two closely stamped akuʻehala rows in black. The plain centre design is a black grid made with a slightly larger hala ʻiʻo stamped in vertical and perpendicular rows, each two stamps wide. At the centre of each square space within the grid is a quatrefoil motif in black created using the largest akuʻehala stamp seen in this piece. Imperfections are visible in the unevenness of the perpendicular rows and the blotchy printing caused by over inking the akuʻehala stamps. However, as a whole, Number 25 commands awe from its viewers. The small size of the hala keys used to create the design over the whole of the kilohana was no small feat for the designer of this kapa.

Number 26 is arguably more impressive than Number 25 because of its use of more than two sizes of hala ʻiʻo and the presence of a much wide border [Figure 5.15].[132] The border along the kilohana's edge starts with five rows of hala ʻiʻo, with each row alternating in colour between orange and black. The orange hala key used is slightly smaller and rounder, and was stamped with more pressure than the black, making the size and inner grooves of the orange hala ʻiʻo clearly visible on the kapa. The next part of the border is an impressive row of diamonds created

[132] Interestingly, while Number 26 is called a kilohana, the sheet is not attached to any other sheets. This piece may have been a large kapa hainakā, a decorated kuina kapa (sheet of kapa) or possibly could have been used for another purpose, such as a tapestry or table cloth.

using a single, small hala ʻiʻo. Large diamonds were outlined using the same small hala ʻiʻo, leaving a negative space within each diamond. At the centre of each diamond is a quatrefoil motif in orange made with a slightly larger key. Outside the diamond, the small key in black was used to infill the rest of the border. The five rows of orange and black along the edge of the kapa are mirrored again after this diamond section. The plain centre design incorporates the same four-petaled flower motif seen in the diamonds; these are spaced in rows, alternating between black and orange.

The exhibition of these kapa kilohana at Paris' preeminent festival on design and technology was very appropriate. Over the course of the nineteenth century foreigners to the islands – Mercy Whitney in 1820, the U.S. Ex. Ex. in the 1840s and Stephen Henry Phillips in the 1870s – were astonished by the creativity of kapa neckcloths. The compositions of the kilohana made by hand continued to astonish foreigners. This was one of the first instances, (if not the first) where nineteenth-century Hawaiian advancements in design were displayed to a foreign audience. Perhaps Exposition attendees would have been even more impressed if they saw the evolution of the designs over the course of the nineteenth century, beginning with the kapa paisley shawl to kapa hainakā and eventually to the largest iteration, kapa kilohana.

After their return from Paris, Numbers 25 and 26 were accessioned into the Hawaiian National Museum collection. The Hawaiʻi National Museum closed in 1891, and a number of objects including Numbers 25 and 26 were absorbed into the collection of the Bishop Museum where they are now referred to as objects 02436 and 02448, respectively.[133] The original Paris Exposition labels that numbered them as Numbers 25 and 26 still adhere to these pieces of kapa,

[133]Although Numbers 25 and 26 were at the Bishop Museum while William T. Brigham was researching kapa, they were not included in the publication *Ka Hana Kapa*.

memorialising the connections between the kapa kilohana, their official names in the exhibition catalogue and the names of the technique and designs inspired by foreign neckcloths.

Chapter Six – "To Clothe All Climes with Beauty": Frugality, Collaboration and Resistance Against Congregational Dress Standards

> I write for such articles as I now think of that we may need – sewing thread – cotton & linen is needed, as the natives are learning to sew. The Governor has this minute sent for some – the chiefs often call for it (Green, J. 1834).

Print publications on the New World demarcated the differences between white Europeans and Indigenous peoples. Mary Blaine Campbell argues that sixteenth-century colonial print culture was an act of "coloniology", a project in which colonists would report what is now considered ethnographic information with the intention of utilising it for colonial pursuits (Campbell, M.B. 2016, 55-57). Such texts and their descriptions of the culture and societies of Native peoples played a crucial role in establishing a dichotomy between civilisation and savagery in early America (Pearce 1988, 67-68).

After the American Revolutionary War, renewed Protestants swept up in the missionary activities of the Second Great Awakening placed these un-Christanised peoples from these texts at the centre of their missionary work. American missionaries formed what Emily Conry-Krutz calls a "hierarchy of heathenism" to rank the different cultures and peoples of the world in order of greatest civilising need (Conroy-Krutz 2015, 20). Colonial publications and travelogues written by merchants and mariners, as well as material objects collected from these foreign lands helped to inform the hierarchy and determine and plan for new prospective missionary sites (Conroy-Krutz 2015, 25). The first and largest American missionary society to engage in this process of identifying and responding to heathenism around the world was the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Organised at the Andover Theological Seminary in 1810, the ABCFM was formed as a joint endeavour among Protestant

denominations but led largely by Congregationalists and Presbyterians (Conroy-Krutz 2015, 24-25).

Printing was a central part of the ABCFM's activities. Once the mission site was determined and missionaries were dispatched, missionaries were instructed to record their experiences in the mission field and send them to the ABCFM Board in Boston for publication. Published accounts of missionary experiences in Asia, Africa and North America not only reified the binary between the civilised white missionaries and uncivilised Native peoples to their readership, but also served as a recruitment tool for prospective missionaries and as a method of soliciting donations from readers. Emily Conroy-Krutz argues that the missionaries' hope of spreading the civilising values of the Kingdom of God was a form of Christian imperialism (Conroy-Krutz 2015, 10-11). For example, the accounts of the Reverends Cyrus Kingsbury and Ard Hoyt working among the Cherokee in Tennessee stressed to readers the arduousness of "civilizing and converting the savages" in the 1810s (Nosti 2018, 112). This campaigning cycle, from publishing to recruitment, kept the American missionary machine moving forward towards civilising heathens globally through Protestant Christianity.

The Sandwich Islands were designated as a heathen land and therefore an appropriate mission site in the late 1810s. Published accounts of Hawai'i had been in circulation since Captain Cook's voyages, providing ample evidence to the ABCFM's Prudential Committee that the Sandwich Islands were a land of heathens. But Hawai'i was also selected because of the interactions that New Englanders were having with Hawaiians on their own shores. Hawaiians boarded ships returning to America beginning in the late-eighteenth century to live and work across New England. In 1814, a group of Congregational ministers, some of whom had made contact with these diasporic kanaka, devised a plan to train the young Hawaiian men to be

assistants, translators and catechists to work alongside ABCFM missionaries (Arista 2019, 58). The ABCFM, together with the town of Cornwall, Connecticut sponsored this initiatve by establishing the Foreign Mission School in 1816 (Arista 2019, 57-58). Hawai‘i was well represented at the Heathen School having seven of the original 20 students. Although they had varying degrees of literacy in English and interest in Christianity, the Hawaiian students quickly became popular symbols of the school's programme and what it could mean for civilising heathens in America and around the world (Arista 2019, 60). The Hawaiian students toured New England and their piousness and dedication was written about in missionary periodicals, newspapers and books, their personal stories dramatised to gain emotional and financial support from admirers (Demos 2014, 37).[134] This print campaign created celebrities out of the Hawaiian students, especially George Humehume, son of King Kaumuali‘i, to the point that school officials became concerned that such fame was building too much ego among the young men (Demos 2014, 38).

Riding on the momentum of interest over the new Christian-Hawaiian teachers, the Sandwich Islands Mission was founded in 1819, their work formally starting when the First Company of missionaries landed there in 1820. The Sandwich Islands Mission had four main goals: the adoption of Protestant Christianity by Hawaiians, the establishment of churches in populous areas, the translation of the Bible into Hawaiian and the creation of a network of schools that would teach literacy to Hawaiians to enable them to read the Bible (*Kōkua Aku,*

[134] David A. Chang provides a compelling comparison between two biographies written on the life Henry ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia. The most popular and widely circulated biography about Henry ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia was by written by Reverend E. W. Dwight and published in 1818 after ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia's death David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016), 84. Chang contrasts this with a biography written by S. W. Papaula in 1865 and published in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Chang argues that details of ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia as a kahuna in Papaula's account illustrates that ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia's intention for leaving Hawai‘i was for the pursuit of furthering his education rather than escaping heathenism Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration*, 87.

Kōkua Mai: Chiefs, Missionaries, and Five Transformations of the Hawaiian Kingdom 2018, 57-58). A number of scholars have studied the Mission's civilising efforts and impact and as a result have created a rich secondary source base. Noelani Arista looks at the relationships between the aliʻi and the missionaries as the former enacted new laws in response to the arrival of foreigners to the islands (Arista 2019). Kapali Lyon has written extensively on the creation of the Hawaiian Bible in his article *No Ka Baibala Hemolele: The Making of the Hawaiian Bible,* and the other collaborative projects between the aliʻi and missionaries in *Kōkua Aku, Kōkua Mai*. Patricia Grimshaw's *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* focuses on the experiences and impact of the missionary women despite being barred from occupying leadership roles within the Sandwich Islands Mission. Continuing on the scholarship of Grimshaw, Jennifer Thigpen in *Island Queens and Mission Wives* focuses on how missionary women developed relationships with aliʻi wahine to contribute towards the Mission's larger goals.

This chapter contributes to Congregational mission history in Hawaiʻi by investigating the civilising efforts of the Sandwich Islands Mission on Hawaiian dress practices. Although it was not a major priority of the Mission, the significant amount of time, energy and resources that were expended toward instituting a civil, Congregational dress system should not be overlooked. In Hawaiʻi, incivility and savagery was given the word "naʻaupō" by the missionaries, which suggested that Hawaiian minds (naʻau) were dark and ignorant (pō). Therefore, it was the hope of the Sandwich Islands Mission to thus make Hawaiians naʻauao – enlightened, instructed and civilised by Christianity. An 1831 publication written by Reverend Ephraim Eveleth helps to illustrate the Sandwich Islands Mission's stance on clothing in relation to civility and their reasoning for their investment. Eveleth first began by describing in great detail the laborious

process of making kapa clothing (namely pāʻū, kihei and malo) in order to stress how taxing the process was.[135]

> I have now…mentioned some of the circumstances that affect particularly the personal comfort and convenience of these poor people. Comparing their situation with our own, how great is the contrast! How great are our privileges, and how great are our obligations to our common Father, who has secured to us these privileges! Let us be grateful for those blessings by which we are thus undeservedly distinguished and above all, let us remember that for the manner in which we improve them, we must one day be called to judgement (Eveleth 1839, 28).

The Sandwich Islands missionaries believed that the Hawaiians did not receive blessings from God, as evidenced by their lack of clothing. Thus, it was the job of the missionaries to improve this situation and provide Hawaiians with the Christian privilege of clothing. There was a level of gravitas to this task as well; failure to change the dress of the Hawaiians would lead to God's judgement of the missionaries' success as a whole.

For the missionaries, the adoption of civil Christian dress became a visible measure of missionary progress in Hawaiʻi, or lack thereof. This chapter interrogates the success of the Sandwich Islands Mission's civilising work by looking at how the Mission taught and encouraged Congregational Christian dress to Hawaiians and the efficacy of said instruction. This is an approach influenced by the study of the colonisation of South African consciousness

[135] Reverend Ephraim Eveleth's history of the Sandwich Island was published for curious juvenile readers about the work of the ABCFM's missionaries in bringing the Gospel to Hawaiʻi. Eveleth described Hawaiian dress in great length, not sparing any details about garments, adornments, and even tattoos. In regards to kapa, Eveleth first described the harvesting process of wauke, followed by how it was pounded using hard wooden tools. He descriptively compared finished watermarked kapa as being similar to "dimity, corded muslin, or diaper on cloth" before being dyed "with a variety of colours" and "stamped by means of a piece of bamboo Ephraim Eveleth, *History of the Sandwich Islands: With an Account of the American Mission Established There in 1820* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1839), 22-23. Eveleth explained that kapa was worn by men and women as kihei, malo and pāʻū, while also adding that "the natives are rapidly adopting the English or American fashion of dress and procure foreign cloth and garments as fast as they have the means of purchasing them" Eveleth, *History of the Sandwich Islands: With an Account of the American Mission Established There in 1820*, 22.

by Jean and John Comaroff's *Of Revelation and Revolution*. While the ABCFM's Sandwich Islands Mission was not a political colonisation effort in accordance with the U.S. government, I am interested in how the Mission attempted to enact power and authority to achieve its civilising efforts. Previous chapters have discussed how Hawaiians, both aliʻi and makaʻāinana alike, actively desired and sought clothing albeit on their own terms. How did the Sandwich Islands Mission explain naʻauao in regard to dress? To what degree did Hawaiians accept and practice or actively resist naʻauao dress?

I argue that the Mission worked to implement a civilising, Congregational dress regime, or planned dress system, among Hawaiians and especially makaʻāinana.[136] I borrow the dress regime concept from Robert S. Du Plessis's *The Material Atlantic* and his scholarship on colonial dress in the Atlantic basin, namely West Africa, the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and Mesoamerica. Du Plessis defines dress regimes as "objects (garments and related items of dress), practices by which they were appropriated and deployed, and verbal and pictorial discourses that sought to direct, explain, and justify (or delegitimise) both objects and practices" (DuPlessis 2015, 19).

This chapter focuses on the first phase of the dress regime which occurred roughly between 1820 and 1840. During this period of time, individual missionaries introduced, encouraged and reiterated Congregational dress practices to the Hawaiians they were living with who were wearing foreign cloth and clothing and already had pre-existing notions about foreign cloth and clothing. I focus on kapa bonnets, kapa dresses and kapa ribbons as case studies, which I aim to contextualise through written sources and by closely studying the objects themselves.

[136] I am cognisant that Catholicism, although not as popular and widespread, was also operating simultaneously to Congregationalism during this period. I specifically focus on Congregational dress standards operating in Hawaiʻi. More research is necessary in order to understand Catholic sentiments about Hawaiian dress or lack thereof.

The missionaries faced trial and tribulation with these new types of kapa clothing but as we will see, their feelings of limited success may have also been self-inflicted.

Popularity and Dispersal of Kapa Dresses

Unburdened by the stresses of poor health and unwelcome natives, Mercy Whitney expended her energy towards acclimating to the environment of Waimea in the early years of both her and her husband's assignment. Mercy frequently wrote in her journal about what types of cloth and clothing were comfortable for Kauaʻi's climate. She declared "a coat and loose gown" were the most comfortable to wear, while flannel was "unformattable to me all seasons in the year". Mercy recognised that the majority of kanaka who were not able to get imported cloth wore mainly kapa, and she gave her flannel and broadcloth garments to those who did not have clothes (Whitney 1821-1829, 1). It should be noted that Mercy's ability to dispose of cloth and clothing that did not suit her was possible because she had the good fortune to be able to source other needed material. Queen Kapule was a benevolent and generous host and frequently gifted Mercy such as dark blue bombarette, nankeen and calico, giving anywhere between three and nine yards at a time (Whitney 1821-1829, 4-5, 8).[137] Mercy used the material to make slips for her daughter, Maria, and towards domestic projects like curtains. Occasionally ship's captains would provide yards of shirting or sheeting and she attributed the generosity to gifts from the Lord, "The Lord is providing for our wants in the land of strangers"(Whitney 1821-1829, 10).

Sometime in February 1822, less than a year after her arrival on Kauaʻi, Mercy started experimenting with kapa as an alternative material for making foreign-style clothing. Mercy's

[137] The Queen also provided food like sugar that was otherwise difficult to get Whitney, Mercy Whitney Journal No. 1: 10.

journal entry about the making of kapa dresses reveals that she was not alone in the early phases of kapa dress development.

> One of the little girls under my care has assisted me in making three loose gowns of native tapper [tapa] which we intend to send to A. Mr. W. [Whitney] wishes to have one go to cousin J. Brewer, & one to his nephew Eli Smith. I intend to send the other one to Mr. Dow: you will probably see it. The cloth is of the best quality, & difficult to be obtained. Part of this, was a present from a chief who a short time since murdered his wife (Whitney 1821-1829, 36).[138]

Kapa dresses were likely well received by the Hawaiians Mercy lived among. As discussed in Chapters Three and Four, Hawaiians greatly desired foreign clothing in the 1820s, but could not access it due to the limited availability of foreign cloth and clothing throughout the islands and their high prices. Not only were Mercy's dresses the earliest recorded instance of the production of kapa dresses, but was also one of the earliest examples of clear collaboration between missionary and Hawaiian women. Choosing to use a piece of kapa of this quality and rarity suggests that it was a serious project for Mercy. Rather than just sending the chiefly kapa to her relatives as an example of island curio, Mercy was showing American audiences that kapa was a beautiful and unique local, viable cloth alternative.

Mercy's willingness to work with kapa shows her recognition of the material's value in clothing Hawaiians in the absence of cloth. In the early days of their tenure, the members of the First Company established what I am referring to as a dress spectrum, a positively and negatively qualified range of sentiments on modes of Hawaiian dress that pre-dated the arrival of the

[138] Mercy Whitney's extensive collection of Hawaiians kapa was donated to the Hawaiians Mission Houses (HMH) which also has other interesting examples of kapa given to missionaries. For example, Reverend Titus Coan received a pinwheel kapa (91.6.132) that he then sent to his family in Connecticut. Mary E. Green, the wife of Reverend Johnathan Green was given kapa samples (1930.12.238.1-3.G2) from her Hawaiian Bible Women group. She then sent the samples to her family in America.

missionaries.[139] On the two extremes of the dress spectrum were nakedness and haughtiness. In the eyes of the missionaries, the use of foreign clothing by the aliʻi was exorbitant and unnecessary. As was described in Chapter Two, encouraging the aliʻi to tone down these dress habits was a struggle for the first missionary women. Nakedness sat on the other side of the spectrum and was an issue that was especially jarring for the missionaries who did not regularly deal with the condition in New England. Upon seeing the Hawaiians for the first time, Reverend William Bingham would be labouring to convert them towards Christianity, he wrote, "…the appearance of destitution, degradation, and barbarism, among the chattering almost naked savages, whose heads and feet, and much of their sunburnt swarthy skins, were bare, was appalling" (Bingham 1847, 6). Mercy herself disliked Hawaiian nakedness, "Imagine how you would feel with thirty or perhaps forty naked Indians about you, some sitting in one place some in another and others stretched on the mats so high that you must either step over or with difficulty get round them and then you will have some idea of my situation" (Whitney 1821-1829, 5). Somewhere between these two extremes was kapa, the traditional form of cloth in Hawaiʻi. As the dominant material used to clothe Hawaiians of all classes in the 1820s, kapa was widely accessible, and they were skilled in making it. The material provided some coverage, which comforted the missionaries in knowing that Hawaiians may have had a sense of humility or desire to cover themselves.[140]

The Sandwich Island Mission approved of kapa dresses first and foremost because they covered nakedness and the values that their production instilled was a welcome bonus. But we

[139] Noelani Arista briefly uses the idea of a spectrum to describe the process between "savage to civilized" when describing the different states of education of the Hawaiians students at the Foreign Mission School Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States*, 60.
[140] Sarah Joiner Lyman believed that kapa, and specifically wearing a malo, did so little for providing coverage that she argued, "In my opinion, it would not be much worse to go naked Sarah Joiner Lyman, Sarah Joiner Lyman to Melissa Joiner Hall, 21 August 1836 1838, Lyman, Sarah (Joiner) MS to Melissa (Joiner) Hall and other family members, 1832-1883, Sarah Joiner Lyman MS, Lyman Museum, Folder 2: Lyman Museum.

can also understand the exploration of kapa as a substitute for cloth because of the general difficulty that non-aliʻi had with accessing foreign cloth and clothing. Mercy may have drawn inspiration from her youth when frugality was stressed and all families were trying to find substitutes for foreign cloth and clothing. Mercy was born in 1795 after the American Revolution, at a time when America's Founding Fathers openly voiced their opinions about the foundational values of the U.S. and its citizens. Thomas Jefferson was heavily influenced by the published works of seventeenth century philosopher John Locke. The Lockean ideal argued that frugality went hand-in-hand with industry, and if utilised properly, offered the individual the possibility of achieving personal status and dignity within his community (Pearce 1988, 68-69). Printer and publisher Benjamin Franklin consistently encouraged Americans to consider the importance of frugality, which he defined as making "no expense but to do good to others or yourself; i.e. waste nothing". Frugality, Franklin wrote, was how he paid the debt for his printing house early in his career, a financial feat that convinced him that such a trait was essential to a virtuous life. Working beside frugality was industry, which he defined as "lose no time, be always emply'd in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions" (Abernathy 1892, 80). In addition to the Bible, the missionaries read contemporary books for pointed advice on the best tips and tricks for properly managing an economic household. For example, in 1833 Clarissa Armstrong requested a copy of the *Frugal Housewife* be sent from Boston (Armstrong, R. 1833). First published in 1829, this domestic manual written by Lydia Maria Child of Massachusetts was dedicated to "those who are not ashamed of economy" (Child 1829). Child guides young homemakers on how to run an efficient home with recipes and tips on how to be resourceful and generate added revenue for the family economy (Child 1829).

Frugality was a necessity for the Sandwich Islands missionaries because of the ABCFM's prohibition against taking on non-missionary work in the field. The missionary's work was to serve only God as stated in *Matthew 6:24*, "No one can serve two masters: for either he will hate and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve God and mammon". The Sandwich Islands missionaries could not work or own property. A secular agent, Levi Chamberlain, who arrived in 1823 with the Second Company, was tasked with ordering, inventorying and distributing supplies to the missionaries as needed. These supplies were held in common with each missionary receiving a "fair and equitable allowance, taking into view their actual circumstances in the several countries where they reside" (Missions, American Board of Commissioners fo Foreign 1857, 193). Thus, gifts and donations of necessary food and materials, like Mercy's gifts of cloth from Queen Kapule, were warmly, if not excitedly, received.

It is unclear exactly when instructions for how to make kapa dresses left Kauaʻi but throughout the 1830s, the Mission introduced teaching sewing lessons broadly across its stations, which included lessons by missionary women in kapa dress making.[141] The proliferation of kapa dress making was in part due to the Sandwich Islands Mission's support and approval of such kapa dresses as appropriate attire for Hawaiians to wear for school and to wear to Sabbath services (Lā Sabati) (Lyman, S.J. 2009, 43). The next record of kapa dresses comes from Clarissa Armstrong in 1832.[142] She arrived in Honolulu in 1831 as a member of the Fifth

[141] For example, in 1833, Reverend Ephraim Clark requested 25 pounds of thread while Reverend Reuben Tinker requested 30 pounds of thread in 1835 E. W. Clark, E. W. Clark to Rufus Anderson, 10 October 1832, 04, Missionary Letters (typed copies) From the Sandwich Islands Mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1819-1837, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library; Reuben Tinker, Reuben Tinker to Secretaries of the ABCFM, 31 July 1835, 4, Missionary Letters (typed copies) From the Sandwich Islands Mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1819-1837, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

[142] Kapa dresses became a mainstay on Kauaʻi as the island became a greater exporter of goods to other islands in the 1830s rather than an importer of foreign objects like clothing Edward III Joesting, *Kauai: The Separate Kingdom*

Company and recorded in her journal that two Hawaiian women came to her home to make "native dresses" (Armstrong, C. 1831-1838, 55). By 1832, students of Sarah Lyman's Hilo Station school were wearing black kapa dresses to school.

Frugality and ingenuity are two sides of the same coin, and I argue that while the missionaries supported the production of kapa because it clothed nakedness and it instilled frugal, Christian lessons, Hawaiian interest in learning to make kapa clothing may have had less to do with abiding by the rules and values of Congregational modesty and more to do with their desire to wear a version of foreign-style clothing. Other references to kapa dresses in missionary records indicate that kingdom-wide surge in making kapa dresses was so great that it extended beyond the Mission's awareness and educational circuit. In 1831, the same year Clarissa was teaching dress making in Honolulu, Reverend Stephen Shepard reported to ABCFM Secretary Rufus Anderson that he was surprised to see the people of Lahaina were "…in some kind of dress; and they have recently introduced the general fashion of English garments made of kapa or native cloth" (Shepard 1832b).[143] Shepard's shock speaks to the sheer number of Hawaiians wearing kapa dresses that they had made, and indicates that they were teaching each other dress making quicker than the Mission. Knowledge of kapa dress making spread organically throughout the islands, and freed them from the Mission's associations.

Another account of kapa dresses comes from a school examination (hōʻike) atteneded by Reverend Lorenzo Lyons in 1833 on Hawaiʻi Island. School examinations were public showcases of the naʻauao learned by the missionary school students, both children and adults

(Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press and Kauai Museum Association, Limited, 1988). It was perhaps during this period of things leaving Kauaʻi that examples of kapa dresses and knowledge of how to make them expanded to the other islands. The Sandwich Islands Mission is also responsible for spreading the knowledge.

[143] Rufus Anderson became the General Secretary of the Board in 1832, a position he held until the mid-1860s. He replaced Jeremiah Evarts who died in 1831.

alike. Students were tested on what they had learned, they performed hymns and showcased their mental arithmetic. Examinations drew large crowds and this particular event attended by Lyons consisted of 6000 scholars from 150 schools across the island.[144] It was one of the largest public gatherings of the year, if not the largest. Seeing so many Hawaiians in one place must have felt like a tremendous win for the missionaries' efforts in cultivating civilisation in a heathen land.

Yet in his record of the event, Lyons spoke little about the programme of the naʻauao event, writing more about the diversity of clothing worn by students, parents, and teachers for the special event.[145]

> Examinations are regarded as great days by natives, & a spectator would thinks so should he witness the wonderful display & perade [sic] on the part of both teachers & scholars. In the morning schools will be seen marching in due order from all quarters, to the place of exhibition, some schools be in uniform, that is, in blue, yellow, white or some other coloured kapa-with heads decked with flowers & evergreen, gather on the way & sometimes whole schools will appear in neat kapa gowns which at a distance can hardly be distinguished from European dress. Other schools will exhibit an endless variety of dress – one will be clad in a shirt & kapa, another in a long red military coat without pantaloons, another in nothing but a shirt & a vest, another in a vest & malo only, another in pantaloons & a shirt, another in nothing but a shirt some in handkerchiefs, some in silk some in complete European dress- so that taken as a whole they, for the first time, exhibit quite a ludicrous appearance, as they regard themselves on an equality as to knowledge (Lyons 1833).

[144] In 1836, Reverend Harvey Hitchcock reported that 900 children and 800 adults had finished their examinations for the island of Molokaʻi Harvey R. Hitchcock, "Kaluaaha, Maraki 5, 1836," *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (Honolulu), 30 March 1836. Hitchcock oversaw the entirety of the island and puts into perspective how large of an event the 1833 hōʻike was on Hawaiʻi.

[145] Some examinations included prizes. In fact, the earliest record of woven bonnets is from a school examination at Waimea in 1829. Prizes of clothing and woven hats were given to the male and female students, "The best male writer received, as a premium, a shirt & pantaloons. The female that exceled, was presented with a bonnet which was made in school, under the directions & by the assistance of Mr. G[ulick]. It was made of the cocoanut leaf. I believe the natives have some hundreds of hats & bonnets, made by themselves, of this & similar materials" P. J. Gulick, P. J. Gulick to Jeremiah Evarts, 27 April 1829, Volume 03, Missionary Letters (typed copies) From the Sandwich Islands Mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1819-1837, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

Lyon's account is an important record in dress fashion history and provides the opportunity to reflect on Hawaiian dress changes. In the early-nineteenth century foreign cloth and clothing was sparse and only the aliʻi were able to access it. But three decades later, Hawaiians outside of the social hiearachy of the aliʻi and urban areas of the kingdom wore foreign-style clothing made of both kapa and cloth. Foreign-style clothing had reached the most remote districts of the kingdom and was worn with pride.

On this day, 6000 Hawaiians made choices about what they were going to wear. The diversity of clothing worn by the attendees affirms that not only did kapa and cloth coexist in the kingdom, but that on the same island, regional differences around wearing kapa, cloth or both had developed based on personal crcumstances and self-presentation preference. Lyons' emphasis on the importance of the event further highlights the intention of the attendees to wear their best, which for many meant wearing foreign-style clothing, regardless of the material. While the kapa dress was a missionary creation, it became a preferred way for Hawaiians to showcase themselves in their best dress to the greater public, whether because of or in spite of Congregational lessons on civilising dress.

Although I was unable to locate the original dresses made by Mercy and her assistants or other Sandwich Islands missionaries had assisted with or saw in the 1830s, the ABCFM home office in Boston had a small collection of at least four Hawaiian kapa dresses which vary in construction, design and size.[146] The four dresses(07779, 077783, 07788, 07791) were later sold by the ABCFM to Charles Reed Bishop, presumably when he was purchasing objects for the

[146] Future research will look into the Hawaiians collections of the ABCFM and their display in Boston. I was able to find a number of inventories in correspondence from Sandwich Islands Missionaries to the ABCFM Board about Hawaiians curiosities and objects being sent, however, there were no mentions of kapa dresses being sent in these letters.

Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum which opened in 1889.[147] The provenance of these dresses is sparse but it is likely they all collected in the 1830s. One of the dresses (07779) was collected in 1839, another of the dresses (07791) was gifted to the ABCFM by Boston businessman turned Honolulu-newspaper editor James Jackson Jarves, who lived in the islands from 1837 to 1848.[148]

07779 and 07783 are both simple in construction and neither contain any gathers or waistlines. 07779 is described as a nearly-square shaped tunic and is long and T-shaped, measuring 113cm long and 103cm wide [Figure 6.1]. The tunic has a round neckline measuring 15cm by 11cm and no lower hem. Two seams run the length of both the front and back sides of the tunic, located about 17cm from the side seam. An additional seam runs across the back using foreign thread, about 41cm from the lower edge. 07783 measures 85cm long and 80cm wide and is described in the Bishop Museum catalogue as a children's dress. It is A-line in shape, has a wide, boat neckline, and straight, ¾-length sleeves [Figure 6.2]. The dress only has two side-seams with a turned edge and all were finished using an overcast stitch. These dresses may be examples of what was called a mumuku or slip-style dress. Mumuku refers to something cut short like an amputated limb and in the Parker Dictionary, refers to a garment cut short or the sleeves cut off or a woman's undergarment (Andrews 1922, 445). Mumuku was a popularised term by the 1830s and was used in a number of newspaper articles, including in a list of other foreign garments written by Samuela Haanio in 1838 (Haanio 1838).

While the construction of these two mumuku dresses is not particularly sophisticated, they are elevated by the kapa sheet used as the cloth alternative. Both dresses use kapa decorated

[147] Charles Reed Bishop was the husband of aliʻi wahine Bernice Pauahi Bishop. After her death in 1884, he established a museum in her honour to showcase the material culture of her and her family.
[148] James Jackson Jarves returned to the United States from Hawaiʻi twice in 1838 and again in 1842, and it is possible that the dress was delivered to the ABCFM on one of these two trips. To understand his relationship with the ABCFM, a close study of his correspondence held at Yale University's Manuscript and Archives collection will be completed in future research. Additionally, a study of the accession records of the ABCFM will be simultaneously be completed.

spectacularly using a lapa, a bamboo liner or straightedge tool. 07779 was originally dyed and the garment has since faded to a slightly green colour. The line design was then applied using black and red dye. Black lines were used to create rows, and within the negative space of these rows was a diagonal crosshatch pattern of six lines of black and six lines of red. The black lines of this crosshatched pattern were drawn first and evenly spaced within the rows, before being overlayed with the six intersecting lines in red. The evenness of the application of these black and red lines created a small square between the sections of crosshatching. The designers of this kapa dress recognised the striping quality of the kapa sheet and chose to position the material to follow the vertical orientation of the tunic. Additionally, the seams that run along the front and back of the tunic were accentuated by using the blank, natural edge of the kapa, which created a vertical, undecorated strip of kapa that resembling a stripe. Similarly, 07783 was created from a sheet of kapa with a windowpane check, or widely spaced check pattern, on a plain background. The lines forming the windowpane were strongly defined in black while the negative space within the checks contained a square of red resembling a pound symbol. It is unknown whether the kapa used for these two dress projects was repurposed as dress material or were made specifically made for these dresses. Regardless, the intricate, time-consuming designs of the kapa sheet only add to the total labour time for the project.

07788 and 07791 are described in the Bishop Museum's catalogue as kapa holokū, a style of dress that developed in Hawai‘i in the mid-nineteenth century. One of the earliest descriptions of the Hawaiian holokū was recorded by Mary Anderson, Rufus Anderson's granddaughter, after her 1862 visit to the islands. Anderson described the dress as "like yoke night-gowns, falling to the feet without being confined at the waist at all" (Anderson, M.E. 1865, 62). Similarly, British explorer Isabella Bird described the holokū after her 1872 visit to the islands as a "full, yoke

nightgown" that provided women ample space to move and even ride a horse when worn (Bird 1890, 274). Bird commented that she had never seen anything like it, and that the dresses offered Hawaiian women so much space that they had "a most peculiar walk, with a swinging motion from the hip at each step in which the shoulder sympathises" (Bird 1890, 274).

The exact origins of the holokū have been debated in great length but scholars have largely agreed that the dress design was first created by missionary women designing for Hawaiian aliʻi. Linda B. Arthur attributes the creation of the holokū to aliʻi wahine Kalākua's 1819 request of Nancy Ruggles to make her a cambric dress in the same style as the missionary women which was briefly discussed in Chapter Two. Lucy Thurston recalls that Kalākua assumed a new appearance when wearing the new dress created for her when the *Thaddeus* anchored in Kailua on 4 April 1820. Thurston described her outfit as consisting of a "newly-made white dress" in the "fashion of 1819", a decorated lack cap with a wreath of roses, and "a lace half neckerchief, of the corner of which was a most elegant sprig of various colors", the majority of which were gifts from the missionary wives family and friends back at home.[149] Kalākua's new appearance was "received by hundreds with a shout" when she went ashore (Thurston 1882, 32, 34). Thurston notes that the dress did not come down to the tops of the shoes, "leaving the feet cropped out very prominently". Kalākua's custom dress has been

[149] Prior to the creation of the custom dress, Hawaiians women were wearing what missionary wife Lucia Holman described as dresses "made in the old continental style, with a long, tight waist" Lucia Ruggles Holman Tomlinson, *Journal of Lucia Ruggles Holman* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1931, 1931), 18. //catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/007126864 http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.32106000759586 (no.17). But because the dresses that alii wahine were wearing were not custom made for them, they were often too short or too tight. This style of continental dress may have looked similar in style to the dress worn by aliʻi wahine Namahana who was the subject of a portrait during Otto von Kotezbue's 1824 visit to the kingdom. In the illustration, Namahana wears a long-sleeved, high waisted silk dress with an empire waist and ruffled white collar, accessorised with what is described as an artificial Chinese flower garland around her head. Namahana's dress falls on her shins, leaving her black laced shoes visible to the viewer. Kotezbue's described Namahana as standing at six feet, two inches tall and the short dress that Kotezbue captured her in was likely the result of the chief's tall height while wearing small clothing rather than a Hawaiians style choice Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise*, 101-03.

unfound and, Arthur is unsure of whether this custom dress was the first instance of where the line moved from under the bust to a yoke (Arthur 1998, 274). Regardless, missionary wives likely continued to alter the shape of the holokū for their aliʻi hosts using foreign cloth as the material.

"Holokū" appears in the Hawaiian language newspapers for the first time in 1837 but did not appear to gain momentum until the 1860s, suggesting that holokū made of cloth was not widespread until the cloth and thread became accessible to most Hawaiians during the second half the nineteenth century.[150] Thus the Bishop Museum's kapa holokū from the 1830s illustrates again kapa's use as a material in place of foreign cloth to create newer dress styles, and in this case a new style developed in the islands for Hawaiians. 07788 is a kapa holokū measuring 100cm long and 101cm wide [Figure 6.3]. Similar to that of 07779 and 07783, the kapa sheet used to make the dress was decorated prior to being used for the kapa dress. The Bishop Museum catalogue card describes the kapa as a kapa hoʻopaʻi halua and has an alternating pattern of stripes of red brown and yellow and starburst pattern with six radiating lines in the same colours. The makers of this kapa dress oriented the kapa's sheet's design to be positioned vertically on the dress, creating a vertical stripe effect on the dress and sleeves. The construction of this dress is noticeably more advanced than 07779 and 07783, especially in regards to the collar and sleeves. The holokū's tall collar was doubled, allowing the design to remain visible both inside

[150] The first use of "holokū" comes from an 1837 article titled "He Palapala No Ka Mea Ano Ino (A Letter Regarding the Quite Evil Thing)". Rebeka Nalamaku wrote that before the death of Kamehameha, six houses and property were destroyed by a fire started by a woman leaving lit tobacco in her hale kua (kapa making house). The property destroyed included "six pigs, four canoes, two niho palaoa, ten holokū and many other valuable things" Rebeka Nalamaku, "He Palapala No Ka Mea Ano Ino," *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (Honolulu), 1 February 1837. Rebeka's record of this event is interesting because of her recollection that the fire happened before Kamehameha's death in 1819. Kamehameha died prior to the arrival of the ABCFM missionaries and the creation of the Kalākua's dress. Holokū was probably a type of garment used and worn before the missionaries' arrival and was later repurposed to mean a woman's long dress with a yoke. The reference of the holokū amongst other valuable objects hints that they were highly prized.

and outside of the collar, and then stitched to the dress using a running stitch with foreign thread. The sleeves of 07788 are gathered at the arm hole to create what looks like a leg-of-mutton sleeve that tapered towards the wrist. Interestingly this dress does not contain a noticeable yoke, but rather has a V-shaped neckline.

07791 is another kapa holokū example, but the only dress among the ABCFM kapa dress group that may have had its design applied after it was made into a dress [Figure 6.4]. The kapa holokū is similar in construction to 07788 but has a more pronounced collar, sleeves that were not tapered, and a straight yoke that is more visible. The V-neckline is also deeper than 07791. The stamped design is only on the bottom half of the kapa holokū and consists of panels of vertical stripes in brown and yellow, each four rows wide. Through the repetition of stamping, an unknown square shape was left between each small stamp. The panelled sections start at different points on the dress and some sections start higher than others. The design of the kapa does not echo the same exactness and precision of the other ABCFM kapa dresses but shows plain sheets of kapa were used to make kapa dresses and that designs were added to perhaps make them more appealing to the wearers.

Studying kapa dress constructions allows us to see the creativity of kapa dress makers, their preferences in regards to shape and style, their availability of resources and their techniques. While Mercy and other missionary women undoubtedly assisted many Hawaiians in constructing kapa dresses, those who had access to the necessary needle, thread, kapa and knowledge could make their own dress without missionary assistance and on their own terms. The result is a range of types of different construction, sizes and decoration. Future studies will place kapa dresses in closer conversation with Euro-American dress styles, including those worn

by the Sandwich Island missionaries, to help further understand how Hawaiians altered and created dresses based on their own interests and access to materials.[151]

The Fashion Versus Piety Argument

Foreign hats were introduced on the islands along with cloth and clothing in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, prior to the arrival of the missionaries and their beliefs about Christian head coverings. By the 1820s, at least the aliʻi class had access to foreign hats as indicated by two portraits drawn of Hawaiian aliʻi wearing hats. George Cox Kahekili Keʻeaumoku had his portrait drawn in 1819 by Adrien Taunay the Younger who visited the islands with the French exploration vessel, *Uranie*. The ¾ length portrait captures the profile of a bearded Keʻeaumoku smoking from a pipe while wrapped in a floral piece of cloth and wearing a beaded necklace and a short-brimmed top hat with a black piece of cloth as its band and trim. Another illustrator on the *Uranie,* J. Alphonse Pellion, drew a portrait of an Oʻahu chief wearing a tall top hat with a brim, similar to that worn by Keʻeaumoku.[152] Both chiefs wore hats to display their interest in wearing foreign clothing and accessories. It was likely during this period of foreign hats arriving and being worn by the aliʻi that they were given a name in Hawaiian:

[151] Chester S. Lyman observed kapa dresses becoming tighter in fit in the 1840s, which he found absurd, "Another absurd imitation of English or American fashions now creeping in among the native women is the tight dress. The simple loose dress, which has been worn all over the Islands is easy, cool & very becoming. But put these free buxom savages accustomed to the unrestrained use of their limbs into corsets & appear like a monkey in small clothes in agony & ill at east till the offensive encasement is laid aside" Chester Smith Lyman, *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California 1845-1850: Being a Personal Record Kept by Chester S. Lyman* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1924), 115. Other kapa dresses and clothing that will be examined in future studies include a kapa coat in the Peabody Essex's collection donated by Dr. C. G. Weld (E10760) and a kapa holokū at the Hawaiians Mission Houses which was collected by Reverend W. P. Alexander (1932.01.492.A1).

[152] The illustration was subsequently included in Friedrich Wilhelm Goedsche's 1835 publication, *Vollstaendige Volkergallerie in getreuen Abbidungen.*

pāpale.[153] The struggle that lay ahead of the Sandwich Islands missionaries was changing the perception of pāpale as being foreign objects of dress to modest coverings.

Lucy G. Thurston, the wife of Reverend Asa Thurston, arrived at Kailua, Hawai‘i Island in 1821 wearing a bonnet, a type of pāpale that had never been seen in the islands. Davida Malo recounts the moment Hawaiians saw white women for the first time.

> When they landed on the sandy beach of Kaiakeakua [sic], the men and the women gathered together to spectate, and when the foreigners went to where the chiefs were, the men and women followed and peered under the hats of the foreigners and they were angry in the slightest. Surprised, the people said, “Their women are so pale! A flared bonnet! Not at all the crescent hat of the men. The eyes are sunken far back and very long neck, but they have a fine appearance.” Due to the elongated neck and long hats, the people called them, “Long necks” (Dibble 1843, 161).

The shape of these pāpale was different from any other head covering previously seen or worn by Hawaiians. Hats worn by men had a brim that was described as a crescent shape on the head. Hawaiians were fascinated by this new type of hats as modelled by Lucy Thurston because it made the wearer’s face seem pushed back and the neck longer. According to Malo this type of hat was thus given the name “pāpale ‘o‘oma”. ‘O‘oma refers to the concave shape caused by pulling both sides of the bonnet down around the wearer’s face. This was a novel look and the reception by Hawaiians was both positive and exciting.

Lucy, who had little to no comprehension of the Hawaiian language at this point, did not realise Hawaiians were talking about her bonnet. Instead she saw their interest when she noticed them start to make their own bonnets out of local materials. In her memoir, Lucy recalled that Hawaiian women made their own renditions of bonnets by weaving oat straw, palm leaves and

[153] These illustrations overturn Patricia Grimshaw’s argument that the missionaries introduced hats to Hawai‘i Grimshaw, "New England Missionary Wives, Hawaiian Women, and “The Cult of True Womanhood"," 85.

sugar cane, and "lined them with white kapa, which is then like cambric, and trim them with kapa riband [sic], coloured in figures" (Thurston 1882, 230; 1842, 85). Lucy's observation highlights that Hawaiians quickly figured out how to make and accessorise their own bonnets using different materials without the assistance of the missionaries.

Realising the popularity of the bonnets, some missionaries rode the bonnet craze wave as much as they could, using the new head covering as a tool to gain favour with the aliʻi. In 1822, for example, Sybil Bingham found that she could use Queen Kaʻahumanu's interest in bonnets as a lure to get her to attend palapala (literacy lessons) (Thigpen 2014, 77). While using bonnets as an incentive for Christian education was a smart tactic, the missionaries did not consider the length of time it took for the bonnets to arrive from America, lest they lose the aliʻi's interest. In some situations, the aliʻi waited years for bonnets to arrive. In one desperate letter to Rufus Anderson, Reverend William Richards urgently requested two bonnets of "elegant" quality, lace veils, and other articles of female dress for chiefesses Nāhiʻenaʻena and Kekauʻōnohi who had waited for four years to recieve $100 worth of bonnets from missionary affiliate, Charles Stewart. Richards was anxious about the tardy order and stated that the missionaries' reputation was dependent on the prompt arrival of the new bonnets (Richards 1832).

Lucy Thurston, as well as the Hawaiʻi Island missionaries that followed in her stead, were not satisfied with bonnets simply being worn as a dress accessory. She wanted bonnets to be worn as a symbol of Christian piety, a signal that Hawaiians were in fact living the values being taught and conveyed to them. Lucy's insistence is an example of what historian Clifford Putney argues was a conflation of religious and Western cultural missionising work. Putney states:

> Because of this conflation, they described their own habits as Christian, and they condemned the habits of non-Westerners as

> "heathenish". They also expected converts to do more than simply accept the Gospel. That was a good first step, but the missionaries doubted whether it made one fully Christian. To achieve that status, converts needed in the eyes of the missionaries to use full-length clothing, and adopt other Western ways (Putney 2010, xvii).

Bonnet wearing was both a Christian and civilising act for Lucy, one that she greatly desired Hawaiians to understand at its core.

There was one major setback to Lucy's vision for educating and civilising Hawaiians, her own prejudice against Hawaiians.[154] Among the women of the First Company, Lucy was the least interactive with Hawaiians. While her husband, Asa Thurston, was busy with his own scholarly activities, Lucy struggled feeling comfortable among the Hawaiians she was now expected to live with in Kailua.[155] Stress and anxiety are common themes in her journal, especially in the first few years of her and her husband's assignment.

> For three weeks after going ashore, our house was constantly surrounded, and our doors and windows filled with natives. From sunrise to dark there would be thirty or forty at least, sometimes eighty or a hundred. For the sake of solitude, I one day retired from the house, and seated myself beneath a shade. In five minutes I counted seventy companions. In their curiosity they followed the ladies in crowds from place to place, with simplicity peering under bonnets, and feeling articles of dress (Thurston 1882, 43).

[154] Yet while policies and instructions from the ABCFM were communicated to its actors, Mercy's actions shows that they were not always followed in the field. This was a common experience within the ABCFM's structure. David Hosaflook, who studies the operations of the ABCFM in the Ottoman Empire between 1820 to 1922, argues that despite the Board giving specific instructions to ABCFM missionaries to be "culturally sensitive, apolitical, and non-imperialistic", the individual personalities of the missionaries often did not allow this David Hosaflook, "Protestant Missions in the Balkans: Purposes, Policies, and Perceptions," *Conference Proceedings from the Balkan Conference on the 500th Anniversary of the Protestant Reformation, Tirana: Institute for Albanian and Protestant Studies* (2018): 29. Missionaries struggled with teaching the Bible without Anglicising converts Hosaflook, "Protestant Missions in the Balkans: Purposes, Policies, and Perceptions," 30. This was also the case with Hawaiian missionaries who saw Protestantism, Western culture, and enlightenment as one in the same.

[155] On top of his duties as a pastor, Asa was engaged in learning Hawaiian and teaching two of the king's favourites, John Papa ʻĪʻī and Kahuhu Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston*, 42-43.

Her yearning for privacy away from Hawaiians heightened after the birth of her first three children. Lucy's biggest fear was that her children would start to pick up Hawaiian habits and language. As a response, she began isolating herself and her young family from the Hawaiians as much as possible, lest she be viewed as a missionary who bent towards "heathen ways" (Grimshaw 1989, 135; Thurston 1882, 77, 101).[156] Patricia Grimshaw points out the fault in Lucy's thinking, "For women who had come to the islands to be missionaries, the tension between energetic mentors toward Hawaiians and being faithful mothers was ironic. What would it profit the women as missionaries if they sacrificed their American homes to cloister themselves with small children in a wing of their Hawaiian homes" (Grimshaw 1989, 132)?

In needing to limit her children's engagement with Hawaiians, Lucy's interactions with Hawaiians were timely and intentional. Lucy used the Lancastrian Monitorial Method as her preferred style of teaching, a method popularly used widely by ABCFM missionaries (Rayman 1981). She preferred to teach by proxy and selected the "most intelligent ones" to become teachers under her instructions (Thurston 1882, 103). In the evening after her other domestic tasks were completed, Lucy held small meetings of 25 women in her dining room (Thurston 1882, 103). This teaching style enabled her to enact control over who, when and where she taught but at the cost of personally interacting with the Hawaiians she sought to influence.

[156] Lucy continued on her warpath and became infamously known within the Sandwich Islands Mission family as a staunch supporter of the removal of children to the United States. She wrote to her cousin William Goodell who was serving as a missionary in Malta that she was very particular that "no intercourse should exist between children and heathen" and that her mantra had become "send children to American, no matter how soon Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston*, 102.". The ABCFM declined to have the Sandwich Islands Mission children return to the homeland of their missionary parents and recommended they not be separated from their parents, which lead Lucy to create a regimented schedule for her children which included classroom learning for grammar, geography, history, arithmetic, philosophy, chores and exercise (Grimshaw 142, 144). Lucy was an effectual mother and teacher, which made many other missionary women feel inadequate in the establishment of their own household routines Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 142.

Lucy's lessons unsurprisingly had limited impact on students because of her refusal to actively and meaningfully engage with Hawaiians. To ensure consistent bonnet wearing, Lucy decided to appeal to a higher authority. Sometime after 1829, John Adams Kuakini, the governor of Hawai'i Island and a Christian convert, made bonnet wearing kapu for women (Bingham 1847, 363). Women were not allowed to pass through Kuakini's property without a bonnet; indeed they would face the punishment of having their "hair cut off close to the head" (Thurston 1882, 230). Shortly after, Kuakini made a second law requiring all women entering the church to wear a bonnet" (Thurston 1882, 230). Kuakini's punishment for non-bonnet wearing women was probably a reference to *1 Corinthians 11*.[157] The New Testament passage dictates proper guidelines for group worship and speaks about the importance of women covering their heads to preserve their honour, lest their heads be shaved. Kuakini's specific kapu on bonnet wearing signals a small success for Lucy. The chiefs were at least listening to their Christian lessons and changing their laws in accordance with the Bible.

Although appealing to the chiefs was an effective method, it did not necessarily cultivate a deep religious understanding of bonnet wearing among the masses. The next step for the Mission was to make the Bible accessible as a tool for guiding Hawaiian life. As stated in the introduction of this chapter, translating the Bible into Hawaiian was one of the most important goals of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Congregationalists believed that Hawaiians could only receive salvation from the Word of God by reading from the Bible for instruction, direction, and law-making. Biblical scholar Kapali Lyon argued that, "For them [the Congregationalists], the Bible was the very voice of God and any manifestation of religion without a Bible to depend on would quickly go astray and soon become only one more man-made religion. Had they

[157] *I Corinthians* was published in 1831. The Hawaiians translation of *1 Corinthians 11* was not complete until 1831, and it is likely that the missionaries explained this Biblical teaching to Kuakini.

converted Hawaiians, but left them without the Bible, their mission by their own standards, would have been incomplete and in the end, doomed to failure" (Lyon 2017, 115). Beginning in 1824, the Mission's translators worked collaboratively with a group of Hawaiian language and cultural experts, including chiefs and retainers of the royal court. While the Hawaiian translators were highly articulate in their native culture, language and metaphor, the clarity of their translations depended on the missionaries' ability to successfully explain Christian concepts using their limited knowledge of the Hawaiian language.[158] After comprehending the ideas presented before them, the Hawaiian tutors chose the appropriate words and grammar patterns to invoke the meaning of what had been explained to them (Lyon 2017, 114, 118-119). We can only imagine the negotiations between these two scholarly groups as both groups confronted the foreign and tried to make it familiar.

But the Hawaiian translation of the Bible was a slow work in progress, making the instructional passages on wearing head coverings difficult to circulate. In lieu of a completed translation of the Bible, the Mission instead published simplified lessons taken from the Bible about head coverings instead.[159] In an 1835 article titled, "He Mau Pono no ke Kino (The Necessary Things for the Body)", there is an apt example that names pāpale among the things listed as being "pono" for the body.

> Water and food, to strengthen the body.
> Good shelter; secure, spacious, clean, and well-supplied.
> Clean clothes to cover the skin.
> A hat to keep the head cool in the sun.

[158] It should be noted that the missionaries responsible for the translation of the Bible did have an aptitude for language learning. They were exceptionally trained in the traditional Biblical languages: Greek, Hebrew and Aramaic Jeffrey Kapali Lyon, "No ka Baibala Hemolele: The Making of the Hawaiian Bible," *Palapala* 1 (2017): 114.

[159] Pāpale is used as a general term for head coverings in the missionary newspapers during the 1830s. "Pāpale" is used in the 1839 Hawaiian translation of *Ezekiel 44:18,* which talks about proper dress in church. *Ezekiel* was translated by Reverend William Bingham and John Papa ʻĪʻī Lyon, "No ka Baibala Hemolele: The Making of the Hawaiian Bible," 133.

> A comb to keep bad things out of the hair.
> Growing a lot of good crops in the field and in the protected yard
> (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1835a) [Trans. 6.I]

In the context of this short passage, pono takes on the definition of correctness, properness and morality. The combination of things listed ranks individual grooming in congruent importance to water and food. Proper headwear and cleanliness were thus essential to living a moral Christian life that the missionaries hoped Hawaiians would embody.

Individual missionaries at station schools were tasked with the responsibility of expounding and explaining these translated Biblical aids about bonnets at Sabbath and school. This was a task undertaken by Sarah Lyman, the wife of Reverend David Lyman, at her mission station school in Hilo, Hawai‘i Island in the 1830s. Sarah was insistent that girls and women wear bonnets during the classes she led, and she directed her 70 or 80 students to make themselves new bonnets and encouraged another group of church women to make new hats out of lauhala leaf (Lyman, S.J. 2009, 73). Yet despite her efforts in encouraging bonnet making and wearing, her Hawaiian students continued to brush aside her lessons. Bonnet wearing was observed only as long as Sarah was there to remind her students. During a short period of illness in 1835, Sarah learned just how quickly her students recessed from her lessons. She returned to teaching and noticed that all her students had “laid aside their bonnets altogether and wore their hats only occassionally”, leaving their heads uncovered (Lyman, S.J. 2009, 73). Sarah quickly remedied this problem by speaking to each student individually and convincing them to resume wearing their head coverings. Incessant enforcement of bonnet wearing was a short-lived solution, and reversal in behaviour often left Sarah discouraged. She wrote on the contradiction of feelings she felt about her work, “My time has been all occupied in performing or with a

direct reference to performing missionary labor, I am happy in my work, yet I have for several days felt an unusual depression of spirts, especially today" (Lyman, S.J. 2009, 43).

Recognising her lack of power over the Hawaiians around her, Sarah adjusted her strategy and threatened to report disobedience to Kuakini. For example, in 1836, Sarah went door to door to recruit students for the new seminary school that was opening. She only succeeded in convincing a resistant group of Hawaiian parents to send their children to school after including Kuakini's name in her speech, "I took their names and the names of their parents and told them that as they lived on Gov. Adams land, I should inform him against them if they did not send their children to school. The latter all consented to attend" (Lyman, S.J. 2009, 84-85). Sarah Lyman, like Lucy Thurston, depended on the power and threat of Kuakini's kapu to alter Hawaiian behaviour. Yet even this strategy had limited effectiveness. Kanuha, one of the high-ranking chiefs on Hawai'i Island and an associate of Kuakini, reminded the missionaries of their lowly place in the status quo. In one incident, Reverend Titus Coan, another Hilo Mission Station missionary, rebuked Kanuha for breaking the Sabbath, to which Kanuha reminded the foreigner that he did not have the authority to give commands because he was not a chief (Pukui, Mary Kawena 1983a, 253). Kanuha's warning put the missionaries in their place and cautioned them from feeling mighty in a land that was not theirs.

A decade into her missionary work in Hilo, Sarah's demands for Hawaiian bonnet wearing had significantly subsided. She had followed the blueprint of missionising labours created by her missionary sisters. She encouraged production, reminded Hawaiians and requested assistance from the chief yet still met limited success. In a letter to her sister she wrote,

> There are very few bonnets worn at this place (not as many as there were 10 years ago) and most of the families wear loose dresses, either white or calico with a silk or calico kihei or shawl, which is the size of a sheet and put on to suit their taste…As

> bonnets and pants are not essential to salvation, the pastor has seemed to care very little whether they were worn by church members or not, and Mrs. Coan's girls used to go without bonnets, except on special occasions (Lyman, S.J. 1847).

The tone of the letter suggests that Sarah had lowered her expectations of Hawaiian churchgoers to follow bonnet wearing instructions. Despite Sarah's daily efforts to do so, 10 years of work could not convince Hawaiians to wear a bonnet for reasons beyond fashion. The Hawaiians of Hilo continued to maintain their own sensibilities about wearing or not wearing head coverings. The messaging around bonnets in the Mission press and repeatedly taught at Mission schools was not effective enough to sway Hawaiians towards wearing bonnets for purely Christian reasons.

I was not able to locate any kapa bonnets within the collections studied for this project, which perhaps suggests a lack of bonnets being made and thus available to be collected. However, examples of kapa ribbons were found in a number of museum collections, illustrating Hawaiian enjoyment in accessorising. Like kapa paisley, Hawaiians developed ways to make and wear kapa ribbons. Chester S. Lyman, who visited the islands between 1845 and 1850, wrote that kapa ribbons were used to adorn more than just hats and bonnets. He stated that they were worn in the hair by Hawaiians as if they were traditional lei adornments, "In their native headdress of full curling hair bound by a cincture of ribbon or a wreath of flowers they look free & in good taste" (Lyman, C.S. 1925, 115).

The use of kapa ribbons broadly confirms that Hawaiians did not see bonnets as pious objects but as adornments. Unlike Lucy Thurston, Mercy Whitney did not seem to complain much about bonnet wearing on Kauaʻi or the creation and use of kapa ribbons. Mercy herself wore kapa ribbons on her own bonnet and described to her sister how they were made.

> I have worn a ribbon of native kapa on my bonnet considerably since I have been at the Islands. Most of the natives of this Island manufacture their own ribbon, i.e. they cut kapa into strips, & then print it. I wish I could send you a piece for a specimen (Whitney 1833).

Bishop Museum has examples of a kapa ribbons that were collected by the Whitney family. One of the nine ribbons (03209d) confirms Mercy's observations on how kapa ribbons were made [Figure 6.5]. The desired ribbon length and width was determined by the maker and cut from a larger piece of kapa. The long rectangular strips were then decorated with designs. On the Bishop Museum example, two long borders were created by overlapping ʻakuehala stamps in black and ornage run along the straight edges of the kapa ribbon. Between the two borders were quatrefoils in alternating lack and orange ink.

Three ribbons collected by the Wilkes Expedition and now held at the Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History were made in a similar fashion by first cutting the kapa into strips and then adding a design. The design of E3487 is an undulating line made using three open half circles [Figure 6.6]. Two different colours were used for different lines and now appear orange and brown. E3488-1 contains two ribbons with different designs. The first contains alternating rows of two and three triangles. Each individual triangle is made of six dots each. The second ribbon has diagonal rows of flowers using seven dots. The detailed work seen on the ribbons were made possible by dedicated time, speaking to the intention of the kapa ribbon maker.

Ironically, kapa bonnets found proliferation and continual use later in the nineteenth century because of ribbons. During her 1862 visit, Mary Anderson attended a church service in Honolulu led by Reverend Ephraim Clark. At the service Mary was taken by what the Hawaiian women were wearing, "Bonnets the women wear of all kinds, but principally small ones of very

old styles. These were perched on the very top of the head, and were sometimes trimmed with ribbons of five or six colors" (Anderson, M.E. 1865, 62). The style of bonnets worn by the Hawaiians was dated in comparison to New England head covering trends, but they were different because of the layers of ribbons used to decorate them. Decades after the tiresome work of Lucy Thurston and Sarah Lyman, some Hawaiian women did in fact choose to wear bonnets by choice to church, but only after taking the liberty of elevating their church attire. Bonnet wearing was executed by Hawaiians on their own terms.

Conclusion

Foreign cloth and clothing pre-dated the arrival of the Sandwich Islands Mission which made the successful implementation of a Congregational dress regime difficult. Adornment and piety did not mesh, and the missionaries faced greater challenges in changing Hawaiian ideologies around foreign clothing than garnering interest in wearing foreign clothing. As Patricia Grimshaw has argued, "Other Hawaiian women showed a tendency to see clothes as ornamentation rather than to cover nakedness" (Grimshaw 1985, 85).

How successful was the Sandwich Islands Missions' Congregational dress regime in cultivating na'auao? The answer: it depends on which missionary you asked. Individual missionaries had different measures of what was permissible as civil, Congregational dress.

If the goal of the regime was to remedy nakedness on a large scale, then Mercy Whitney's work in creating kapa dresses was a massive success for the Mission. Nakedness was a redeemable status, but required ingenuity and frugality. Recognising the difficulty and high cost of procuring cloth, Mercy Whitney saw kapa as a workable material for dresses while stationed on Kaua'i. Mercy's answer to the problem of nakedness was the creation of the first

kapa dresses, a project she took on with Hawaiian women. Mercy's use of kapa was one of the first, if not the first, instance of missionaries seeing kapa as a versatile and useful object, which paved the way for the Mission to use kapa frugally in other aspects of their missionary work.[160] Her willingness to work with the material led to the discovery that kapa could be utilised as a material to make dresses from.

Kapa dresses found support among both the missionaries who wanted to solve the issue of nakedness and instil the importance of being frugal, and Hawaiians who saw kapa dresses as an affordable option for wearing foreign-style clothing. The Bishop Museum kapa dress case studies illustrate that kapa dresses could be easily produced which contributed to their popularity. Hawaiians could forge a kapa dress using a needle, thread and any amount of decorated kapa sheet that was available to them. This led to a variety of different styles being created by Hawaiians, ranging from a simple tunic mumuku to an advanced holokū. The ingenuity of the kapa dress and the diversity of styles and colours was a stunning sight to see for missionaries and foreigners alike. Joseph Clark, a member of the U.S. Exploring Expedition, visited the islands in 1840 and described the girls attending Reverend William Bingham's service as looking "like butterflies in their tappa dresses, which were fancifully stained with bright red, yellow, and jet" (Clark, J.G. 1848, 174).

Mercy Whitney's baseline of getting Hawaiians clothed was not enough for Lucy Thurston and Sarah Lyman who wanted Hawaiians to wear kapa bonnets as a sign of their comprehension of Christian head coverings. Pāpale were already being constructed and worn as a form of island millinery by 1820. Bonnets were introduced to Hawaiians who saw them worn by missionary women when they disembarked from the *Thaddeus*. Bonnets were unlike any

[160] The Mission used kapa in other ways following the creation of kapa dresses. Kapa was used for housing material and printing as well. I intend to write about this in future research.

other pāpale previously seen by Hawaiians and shortly thereafter, Lucy Thurston noticed that Hawaiians had started producing their own versions with local materials and decorating them with kapa ribbons to suit their own taste. Although the initial interest around bonnets allowed some missionaries to use them as gifts or incentives towards bigger Christianising efforts, Lucy Thurston wanted Christian comprehension to accompany the wearing of kapa bonnets. She reminded Hawaiians incessantly to wear bonnets and when she realised that she did not have much impact (likely due to her lack of desire to interact with Hawaiians), Lucy appealed to chief Kuakini to enact kapu about proper kapa bonnet wearing. This method did not have a sustained impact on kapa bonnet wearing habits across Hawai‘i island. A decade after Lucy’s initial work, Sarah Lyman faced similar difficulty in getting her students in Hilo to wear kapa bonnets in school and on the Sabbath even with the assistance of Biblical aids about head coverings. Desperate for authority, Sarah used the same strategy as Lucy and threatened to speaking to Kuakini in order to scare Hawaiians into wearing bonnets. After years of seeing little change, she conceded that bonnet wearing was not the biggest task at hand. In the end, her experience with Hawaiians forced Sarah to change her views on bonnet wearing.

The missionaries played an integral part in producing kapa clothing and introducing new styles of foreign clothing to Hawaiians in general, but Hawaiians largely had little interest in understanding why missionary women covered their bodies. I differ from the opinion of Patricia Grimshaw in *Paths of Duty* that the women of the Sandwich Islands were significant agents of American acculturation (Grimshaw 1989, 12, 193). The process of acculturation is inherently tied to power and authority, of which the missionaries had little when they arrived on the islands. The woes of Sarah Lyman remind us that that lack of influence was never resolved with regard to impacting Hawaiian dress habits. The missionaries miscalculated the possibility of Hawaiians

disinterest about Congregationalist ideas about dress because of their deep belief that their presence and work on the islands was backed by the spiritual power of God and His providence. I agree with Grimshaw that this created a "pervasive disappointment in the outcome" of the venture among the missionary women who laboured in this area of the Mission's civility goals on a daily basis (Grimshaw 1989, 194). Perhaps the Mission could have made progress if they had more of an understanding of why Hawaiians dressed the way they did or had flexibility towards what was permissible.

Makaʻāinana choice to wear what they pleased prevailed and the chiefs did little to intervene on makaʻāinana dress. The closest law limiting Hawaiian dress was declared in 1839. "Kanawai No Na Hoailona Alii (Laws Respecting the Insignia of Office)" prohibited those of "non-royal assent" to wear gold, gilt ribbons and the royal insignia (Forbes, D.W. 1999, 211). Foreigners who were "consuls, and strangers that wear such insignia of office when they arrive from abroad" were permitted to wear the golden ribbon, but no others. The 1839 law shows that the aliʻi rarely limited the dress practices of the populous unless it directly impacted their own dress practices.

However, even this law did not stop Hawaiians from attempting to self-present themselves using metal ribbons, illustrating resistance and cunning by "non-royals" against regulations about their dress. In April 1846, a whaler docked in Lahaina with a stock of brass ribbons, similar to the golden ribbons banned from public usage in the 1839 law. Once the Lahaina locals saw two sailors with their hats decorated with the brass ribbons, others went to buy the ribbons too [Figure 6.7]. The ribbons were quickly confiscated by the king's men who were aware of the law, which resulted in angered complaints from those who had just purchased them. They were delivered to chief Bennett Nāmākēhā to confirm whether brass ribbon wearing

was allowed by the people (Nāmākehā 1846a).[161] Makaʻāinana were willing to push the limits of the law in order to continue to please themselves and others through dress. No missionary complaint nor kapu could try to stop them.

[161] The incident was described in a letter from Bennett Nāmākēhā to kuhina nui John Young II on Oʻahu. A confiscated brass ribbon is still attached to this letter found at the Hawaiʻi State Archives B. Nāmākehā, B. Nāmākehā to John Youmg, 9 April 1846, 11, Series 402-16-380, April 1-15: Hawaiʻi State Archives.

Chapter Seven – Rebecca's Cloth: The Congregational Dress Regime in Print and Practice in the Missionary Field, 1830-1840

> We are responsible for as many as we can save. Our duty to them is just as pressing as if we were the only Christians in the world, and Christ with his own mouth charged us to preach them the gospel…If in that case it would be our duty to consecrate ourselves personally to the foreign service, it is our duty to go forth personally now. But if we were the only Christians in the world, and were commanded to teach four hundred millions on the others side of the globe, could we be satisfied that our duty was done while we all remained in the United States (Tinker 1833, 1)?

Earlier chapters have argued that the missionaries struggled to enact widespread influence on Hawaiian dress due to their lack of authority and because the Congregational dress regime was unattractive to Hawaiians who had pre-existing ideas and practices about self-presentation and use of adornment. A decade after their arrival on the islands, the Sandwich Island missionaries took their greatest strides towards instituting a Congregational dress regime. In the 1830s, the Mission appealed to Hawaiian audiences using a new tool: nūpepa. A significant part of the Congregational dress regime was the Mission's use of circulated print media to explain it to the greater public.

Hawai'i's first ramage press was aboard the *Thaddeus* with the First Company of missionaries, and was a model similar to that used by Benjamin Franklin. The printing press was arguably the most prolific and productive feature of the Sandwich Islands Mission in its first decade of work in the islands.[162] Because of this success, understanding the missionaries' use of the press is integral to understanding missionary strategy and impact across the kingdom in relation to the Congregational dress regime. In the 1830s, the Mission started two newspapers, *Ka Lama Hawaii* (1834, 1841), the first Hawaiian-language newspaper, and the Mission's first

[162] While writing this thesis, Hawai'i celebrated the bicentennial of printing is the islands.

regular newspaper, *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (1834-1839) (Silva 2008, 106). Nūpepa offered a space not only for Christian education from the missionaries to Hawaiian readers, but also provided information about the world beyond Hawai‘i, current events and space for debate. The newspapers were truly a system of knowledge transfer between missionaries and Hawaiians, and vice versa.

The role of the newspapers in discussing Hawaiian dress has been sorely overlooked by scholars studying the history of Hawaiian dress. In *Island Queens and Mission Wives* (2014) Jennifer Thigpen justified her choice of not using Hawaiian-language primary sources because "Hawaiians did not make much of a written language" in the first decade of the Mission between 1820 to 1830 (Thigpen 2014, 4). Scholar Noenoe Silva considers this to be a practice that continues to diminish natives as actors in Hawaiian history (Silva 2008). This statement is ignorant of how both missionaries and Hawaiians wrote and published about the Hawaiian past well into the nineteenth century. In their discussions about Hawaiian dress and clothing, contributors to Hawaiian-language newspapers frequently referenced pre-missionary times and the 1820s.

This chapter investigates the use of missionary newspapers to explain one facet of the Congregational dress regime and the greater na‘auao movement known as pono, which I translate in this work as morality and correctness. Traditionally, "pono" described the good, balanced state of things between people, people and land and people and gods, all created out of the adherence to kapu. Historian Noelani Arista explains that "pono" in its most literal translation means "good", but when applied to the chiefs for example, encompassed the "nature of his rule, his protection of his people, and his ability to maintain healthy balance in the world through the proper administration of lands and resources, through the veneration of the akua

(gods)" (Arista 2019, 40). Therefore, social propriety and performative action is embedded in pono, and this chapter looks at how the missionaries explained and demonstrated the components of pono Congregational dress in print and practice. I will focus specifically on homespun in this chapter, which is described in the Bible as an integral duty of Christian women and provides an overview for how Hawaiians were taught to make clothing for themselves.

During the 10 years that this chapter covers, the Sandwich Islands Mission received a number of eager reinforcements from America. The 56 new members from the Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Companies who arrived on the islands during the 1830s assisted in the establishment, dispersal and implementation of the Congregational dress regime. The chiefs were partially responsible for this increase in missionary presence. In 1836, 15 most powerful aliʻi in the kingdom collectively penned a letter to the ABCFM requesting American teachers and specialists including a tailor, a shoemaker, agriculturalists skiled in raising cotton and silk and cloth manufacturers with knowledge of how to work the necessary machinery on a large scale (Bingham 1847, 746). The ABCFM responded by forming the Eighth Company known as "The Great Reinforcement", which included 32 new members and two Hawaiian translators (Forbes, D.W., Kam, and Woods 2018, 8-10). These missionaries were essential in establishing fourteen new mission stations on five islands, as compared to six missions on four islands in the previous decade.

This chapter focuses especially on Rebecca Hitchcock of the Fifth Company and Lydia Brown of the Seventh Company, both of whom played a significant role in teaching homespun to Hawaiian students. Homespun was brought to Maui in the early 1830s by Rebecca Hitchcock. The production of cloth created some excitement for the Sandwich Islands Mission, and eventually led to the hiring of Lydia Brown. Lydia's process and progress of teaching Hawaiians

was documented in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* for a long time, and attracted female students from far and wide to the Wailuku Mission in the hope of learning. This chapter analyses the print campaign centred around the activities at the Wailuku Mission Station to describe Lydia's teaching style, the progress made by the class and the popularity of the course. Although initially empowered to teach their students how to wear and make their own clothing, her tireless work to instil a clothing regimen in their Hawaiian students was often met with frustration and failure. Lyman's responses to disappointment and how she dealt with struggle and frustration in the field will be presented.

A combination of English and Hawaiian-language sources will be used in this investigation. The articles published in *Ke Kumu Hawaii,* as well as passages used in this chapter from the Bible were originally published in Hawaiian and translated into English by myself. The Sandwich Islands Mission activities as a whole have been well documented, and the English-language primary source accounts of Rebecca and Lydia have been used to understand their labours.[163] Journal entries prove extremely useful in understanding the rhythms of life, the character of the regions in which each station was located and how the mission stations became established over time. In the absence of their husbands, missionary women corresponded with missionary sisters and family, not only to share the events and news around them, but also to express their emotional state. Letters and care packages between the U.S. and Hawai'i provided women a connection to their former lives, one that women in the field were strict on maintaining. Maria Chamberlain, wife of Levi Chamberlain wrote to her sister, "Place yourself in my

[163] The ABCFM asked individual missionaries to keep diligent records of their work and lives which were to be sent back and used for missionary fundraising campaigns. Additionally, correspondence between the Sandwich Islands Missionaries and their home office in Boston have proved to be rich with details about the needs of the missionaries. In particular, supply request letters from the mission's secular agent Levi Chamberlain explain how the mission envisioned using tools from their homeland to accomplish their civilising clothing goals.

situation, thousands of miles from your country, friends and connexions, and then tell me whether every item of intelligence would not be acceptable" (Chamberlain, M.P. 8 September 1831).

Correspondence between missionary women also provides a realistic perspective of life and small missionising gains (or lack thereof).[164] Hawaiian was used by the missionaries on a daily basis, so much so that even their English letters were often interspersed with Hawaiian words and phrases, showing increased comfort with the Hawaiian-language and perhaps shared missionary experiences around these words. For example Sarah Joiner Lyman uses "paha" in place of "perhaps" as well as words like "hemahema" (Lyman, S.J. 2009, 114, 124). Outside of the General Meeting, the Sandwich Islands Mission's annual business meeting, the missionary women corresponded with women at other stations, creating bonds that were emotionally closer than the physical distance that divided them. In their letters, women found solidarity in the woes of raising a family and dealing with Hawaiian resistance and indifference to their Christian teaching. Unlike their journals, letters exchanged between women were intended for public consumption, allowing the wives space to express their vulnerabilities and anxieties.[165]

[164] It should be noted that in order to survive, the missionary women needed to learn Hawaiian and quickly. Clarissa Armstrong, for example, detailed her own method of gaining fluency in Hawaiian by working with the makaʻāinana around her, "Teaching and talking is the best way to learn the language. We can read as soon as we get the sounds of the letters – but do not know the meaning of many words. We ask the natives the meaning, & they express it by signs & talking – in this way we catch several words in a sentence, & learn how to arrange them. If we do not fully understand, repeat the question to some others, & continue to ask till we get the same explanation several times from different natives. Then try to explain it to ourselves, when they are pleased to help us for they are delighted to have us learn their language" Clarissa Armstrong, Journal - 1831-1838, 1831-1838, 1, The Journal Collection, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, 48, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

[165] Journals and letters written between the Sandwich Islands' missionaries and the Mission Board in Boston were published in annual bound volumes called *The Missionary Herald.* These publications provided the public with first-hand accounts of life in the Sandwich Islands as well as other updates from the ABCFM's other missions around the world.

Hope Brought About by Homespun

In the late 1830s, the Sandwich Islands Mission began teaching about a Biblical trope called “ka wahine noho pono”, or the virtuous woman. The virtuous woman comes from *Proverbs 31:10-31* a favourite passage among Congregationalists because it outlined the actions, values and behaviours of the moral Christian wife and the important aspects of the Congregational dress regime.[166] The translation of the book of *Proverbs* was completed in 1836 by Reverend Lorrin Andrews and royal adviser Davida Malo (Lyon 2017, 122).[167] The following year, *Proverbs 31:10-31* was published in its entirety for the first time in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* in the “Kahi Mele” column, a feature of the newspaper since it started in 1834 (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1837).[168] The superscription to the passage is a question, “Who can find a virtuous woman”? [Trans. 7.I]. Here virtue takes two Hawaiian words: noho and pono. “Noho” is a stative verb, meaning “to live, reside; to be” and is often used to describe a mode of living or inhabiting (Pukui, Mary Kawena and Elbert 1986, 268). The passage demonstrates the ways that the life the virtuous woman is dedicated to proper care of her husband, children, and maidservants.

We can see how Hawaiian Bible translators envisioned the ideal Christian Hawaiian woman by analysing the translation of *Proverbs 31:10-31*, a passage on female cloth production as an integral part of a Christian woman’s faith and religiosity. Because ka wahine noho pono

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[166] It should be noted that the Bible was translated solely by men Lyon, "No ka Baibala Hemolele: The Making of the Hawaiian Bible," 118-32. More explorations into changing ideas about gender and Hawaiian society during this period would be worthwhile to understand how gender roles between men and women were explained to the Hawaiian translators of the Bible.

[167] Andrews and Malo published portions of their draft of Proverbs in *Ka Lama Hawai‘i* in 1834 Lyon, "No ka Baibala Hemolele: The Making of the Hawaiian Bible," 125.

[168] “Kahi Mele” featured translations of Christian passages into Hawaiian or new songs with Christian themes and messages. The majority of mele were published without corresponding music notation and only as text, making it difficult to discern that it was taken from the Bible. But for a Hawaiian readership that taught music through oral and aural means, lifting the words off a page and creating complementary melodies and harmonies was not a challenge. Hawaiians embraced and took to the written word as an extension of orality Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States*, 13, 137, 68. Written words still carried the mana and authority of speech, but transmitted it further across space.

needed to be achievable, Andrews and Malo attempted to make this passage somewhat relatable to Hawaiian experiences of the time by describing foreign symbols of Christian domesticity through Hawaiians' pre-existing understandings of production and material. This passage focuses on six verses which specifically outlines the importance of a woman's contribution to her household. These lines as a whole explain that ka wahine noho pono should concern herself with clothing herself and her family, supporting the family economy and helping the less fortunate. Interestingly, these lines are where Andrews and Malo diverged the most in translating directly from the original text. Below I compare King James version of *Proverbs 31:19-24* with the Andrews and Malo's Hawaiian translation and a translation of the Hawaiian text into modern English.[169]

King James Version	**Hawaiian Baibala (1839)**	**Modern English**
[19]She stretches out her hands to the distaff, and her hand holds the spindle	O aku kona mau lima ma kahi e kau ai ka olona, lalau kona mau lima i ka mea milo rope	Her hands reach to where the olonā rests, her hands grasp the milo rope twisting tool [mea milo rope]
[20]She extends her hand to the poor, yes, she reaches out her hands to the needy	O aku oia i kona mau lima i ka poe nele, kikoo oia I kona mau lima i ka poe ilihune	She extends her hands to the needy, reaching out her hands to the poor
[21]She is not afraid of snow for her household, for all her household is clothed with scarlet	Aole ona makau e anu ko kona hale, bo ka mea, pau ko kona hale i ke komo kapa ulaula	She is not afraid that those in her household will be cold, because all of her household is wearing red [kapa]
[22]She makes a tapestry for herself, her clothing is fine linen and purple	Hana oia i na kapa haali‘i nona iho, o ke kilika a me ka mea ulaula, oia kona kahiko ana	She makes bed spreads [kapa haali‘i] for herself, silk [kilika] and red cloth [mea ulaula] adorn her
[23]Her husband is known in the gates, when he sits among the elders of the land	Ua ikeia kana kane ma na ipuka, i kona noho pu ana me na lunakahiko o ka aina	Her husband is seen through the doors, as he sits with the elders of the land
[24]She makes linen garments and sells them, and supplies sashes for the merchants	Hana oia i ka lole olona maikai a kuai aku, haawi oia i na kaei i ka poe kalepa	She makes fine linen cloth [lole olona] and sells it, giving belts [kaei] to the merchants

[169] All translations of this table were created in collaboration between Iāsona Ellinwood and myself.

By 1836, Hawaiian newspapers published articles describing textiles and about textile (lole) manufacturing towns in foreign lands but did not describe exactly how textiles were made.[170] Thus, a Biblical passage linking textile production to female domestic work was difficult. Andrews and Malo had to do double the work to translate this passage: selecting a system of Hawaiian words for the materials used in textile making and describing the process of creating homespun. This was not an easy task or done smoothly. Olonā was selected by the translators to mean flax linen, although olonā was a fibre used as cordage for fishing, nets, leatherwork and lei making and not used for clothing production.[171] Andrews and Malo probably opted to use olonā as because it could be twisted into a rope, in a similar way to how fibres were twisted into thread. Using a milo rope twisting tool for a spindle is clumsy, but the translators were trying to describe the foreign tools used in the homespun process. While this is a passage about cloth, it does not describe the process of weaving but *Proverbs 31:24* implies that ka wahine noho pono would use the olonā (flax linen thread) to make lole olonā (fine linen cloth) to sell.[172] This passage was important in introducing the spinning to Hawaiians but fell short of providing clear and explicit instruction.

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[170] An article on Berlin was featured in the 16 March 1836 publication of *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, where Berlin is described as a textile manufacturing city that weaves with many different types of material including olonā *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, "Berlina," (Honolulu), 16 March 1836.

[171] Olonā and flax are related botanically as well. Flax is from the family *Linacease* while olonā from in the family *Urticacease* or nettle family.

[172] Another noticeable change is Andrews' and Malo's use of the term "kapa hoalii" for the word "tapestry". "Hoali'i" is defined as "causing a royal appearance, imitating royalty, kingly", which illustrates the finest of the material that ka wahine noho pono makes Andrews, *A dictionary of the Hawaiian language to which is appended an English-Hawaiian vocabulary and a chronological table of remarkable events*, 169. However, there is an etymologic issue here. While it is clear that silk cloth (kilika) was worn by the virtuous woman, the definition of kapa is unclear. When this passage was published in 1837, the word "kapa" could simultaneously refer to Hawaiian barkcloth as well as foreign cloth, quilts and textiles that were being introduced to the islands by foreigners. We can imagine that many Hawaiian readers may have been confused about where the line between kapa and cloth was drawn in the Book of God. The inclusion of the adjective red ('ula'ula) does little to contextualise this line. It should also be noted that scarlet and purple are both embodied in the word 'ula'ula.

As Andrews and Malo were working on their translation, teaching Hawaiians how to properly spin and weave their own cloth was a distant dream. What the Mission could not have planned for was the possibility that one of their own would have the enthusiasm and drive to embark on this journey of introducing homespun and weaving to the islands. Rebecca Howard Hitchcock and her husband, Reverend Harvey R. Hitchcock, arrived in the islands on 17 May 1832 as members of the Fifth Company of Sandwich Islands Mission (Forbes, D.W. 2018, 307-308). Their first six months in the kingdom were full of familial and professional transition. Rebecca was pregnant while en route to Honolulu, and just a few weeks after they had disembarked, delivered the couple's first-born son, David, on 29 May. In June, the couple received instructions to establish the first mission station on Molokaʻi, about 10 nautical miles from Lahaina. Rebecca had mixed emotions about their placement and anticipated the challenges to come.

> We are to be stationed alone and where no Missionary Labourers have been before us. We shall expect to find the natives in a state of ignorance and darkness, almost as profound as before they abandoned their Idols…In being thus located, however, I am not disappointed, because I previously prepared, having left my native land under the solemn and weighty impression that it was my duty to go where the finger of Providence should direct. I feel from my heart it is no objection to my going to this Station because it will be connected with greater trials than others, where there have been older missionaries (Snow 1919a, 8-9).

In July, the Hitchcocks sailed to Lahaina where Rebecca remained with her baby while Harvey looked at potential station sites on Molokaʻi. It was during this initial trip of separation from her husband that Rebecca noticed untamed cotton growing abundantly around Lahaina. Cotton had been introduced to the islands by 1817 by Spaniard Don Francisco De Paulo Marin who brought a number of different foreign plants and agricultural crops to the islands (Judd 1966, 216). Foreign cotton was different from the endemic Hawaiian cotton, known as maʻo (*Gossypium*

tomentosum) that produced fibres that were shorter and unsuitable for thread (Culliney 1999, 111).[173] After speaking with Reverend William Richards, Rebecca found that there were several spinning wheels and two cards, equipment necessary for spinning thread, were already on the islands. Rebecca was suddenly set on teaching the Hawaiians how to spin and weave (Snow 1919a, 10).

When baby David was a few months old, Rebecca took on the task of teaching native women how to card and spin cotton in the way that she had learned from her mother while growing up in New York (Snow 1919b, 11). Rebecca's persistence created an excitement for the work. Reverend Stephen Shephard wrote to Rufus Anderson on Rebecca's progress in Lahaina, "Efforts are now making to introduce the spinning weaving of cotton among the people; and I have been recently informed that a piece of cloth is actually in its progress through the loom" (Shepard 1832a, 2553). Rebecca's quick jump into teaching was a concern for her husband Harvey, who wrote to Boston in October 1833 asking the ABCFM to send a permanent spinning teacher in order to relieve his wife of her teaching responsibilities (Hitchcock 1832). Despite her husband's qualms, Rebecca completed the first piece of cloth that had been warped and spun in the kingdom on 3 November 1832. She excitedly wrote about the cloth, "The Princess [Nahienaena] and the most important people on the Island have been to behold the curiosity" (Snow 1919a, 14).

Rebecca's cloth enthralled the Sandwich Islands Mission, and we can understand their captivation over homespun in two different ways.[174] The first is that cotton and its cultivation

[173] Ma‘o had other uses including as a method of dying kapa green Isabella Aiona Abbott, *Lā‘au Hawai'i: Traditional Hawaiian Uses of Plants* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 57.
[174] It is unknown whether Rebecca continued to spin and weave while stationed on Moloka‘i. The Hitchcock family were the sole missionaries for the entirety of Moloka‘i, and Rebecca's responsibilities probably cut into her available time to spin.

represented Congregationalist ideas of family roles and agriculture. In the realm of Congregational crops, cotton represented agrarianism and domesticity, two important arms of a Christian household that the Mission was trying to root in the islands. For Congregationalists, cotton bound the farming and husbandry roles of men with the domestic sphere of women.

The second issue of *Ke Kumu Hawaii* published on 26 November 1834 features an article specifically encouraging cotton cultivation (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1834, 13). "Kamakamailio 2 (The Conversation 2)" is a fictional conversation between two characters, Wahou (future, literally "new time") and Kekahiko (past). Wahou proposes to his friend that they endeavour to grow a new agricultural product that they could trade: pulupulu, or cotton. Wahou, like Rebecca Hitchcock, was interested in capitalising on the product which had proved to be appropriate for the climate.

"Kamakamailio 2 (Conversation 2)" was the first instance of the word "pulupulu" being printed in the newspaper, marking the beginning of *Ke Kumu Hawaii*'s campaign to encourage Hawaiian entrepreneurialism through the cultivation of cotton. Kamaʻilio or kamakamaʻilio (conversation) was a popular genre in the newspaper intended to teach and act like a parable. These articles centred around two fictitious Hawaiian characters engaged in debate, with one of the characters succumbing to his partner's perspective. In this article, Wahou represents the missionary opinion, and tries to persuade Kekahiko to join him in his new agricultural undertaking.

> Here's my thought. We have a lot of crops and fish. And if the owner of the land grows things, then the land will not be lacking. But, your body will be naked with no clothes covering it. Your house will be deficient; there will be nothing inside, only bowls and sleeping mats. I think we should grow things that can be sold to obtain things that will supply us (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1834) [Trans. 7.II]

Wahou believes that cotton is the perfect crop because of its light weight and inability to spoil in transit. But Kekahiko is sceptical of this idea, arguing that farming cotton would be arduous labour. He interrogates his friend's plan, questioning his knowledge of planting and harvesting cotton and of the current market for it in Honolulu. Confident in his answers, Wahou explains in detail how to cultivate the plants, to make them grow bushy and how to harvest to the cotton. He goes as far as to explain how to separate the seeds easily using "a foreign rolling thing", a clumsy translation of a cotton gin (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1834) [Trans. 7.III]. In Honolulu, one picul (a standard of Chinese weight measure equivalent to 133 1/3 pounds and used for sandalwood weight) of cotton could be sold for $6.25 and a pound of cotton for $12.50. The money gained could then be used to "obtain things" like clothes and the things necessary to supply a house. Wahou closes his argument by describing the benefits of cultivating something versus gathering it, "I think that cotton is not as laborious as sandalwood. It is like the patch of dirt that we made close by; you do not die from going way up in the mountains to search" (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1834) [Trans. 7.IV]. Kekahiko is convinced by the end of his conversation with Wahou and agrees that, "Cotton is the right thing to plant" [Trans. 7.V]. The formerly sceptical Hawaiian is eager to try and grow cotton himself.

Wahou and Kekahiko are fictional characters, but their strategic naming in the missionary-authored article speaks to the Mission's hope of promoting cotton amongst Hawaiians for the future.[175] Since the start of the ABCFM's Sandwich Island Mission in 1820, the missionaries were involved in a seemingly unrelenting battle against presumed Hawaiian indolence, indifference and improvidence. Although eager to evangelise Hawaiian souls, they were limited in their numbers, resources, language abilities and were mandated by the ABCFM

[175] This genre of missionary writing is worth exploring further in future research. The kamaʻilio genre was used extensively in the missionary newspapers.

to not get involved with the local government. The newspaper became the one arena where they could control, and fictional dialogues between Hawaiian characters became a genre of newspaper writing where missionary authors could imagine and persuade Hawaiians towards self-correcting towards moral Christian living and labour.

The Sandwich Islands Mission also heavily promoted the agrarian lifestyle in their missionary newspapers by discouraging Hawaiian interest in other trades and punikala (literally "desire for money"). In an article titled, "No Ka Mahiai (Regarding Farming)", an anonymous Christian author from Wailuku emphasised that the farming is the labour that brings about other desired products, "Only from farming comes cloth. Blouses, silk, serge cloth, canvas, and this cloth, and that cloth. From there come the things people here trade, and receive goods from foreign lands. Which are sugar cane, coffee, sweet potatoes, beans, blouses, rice, silk, castor bean, olonā and many other things" (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1844) [Trans. 7.VI]. His concluding statement attempted to increase the desirability of farming by encouraging Hawaiians away from other jobs.

> There is no great wealth for the people here in being labourers, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors and servants. It is better to have people from foreign lands do that, the places without enough land for the people. However, these labours are necessary to assist farming. Thus, it is clear, the wealth of these islands comes from the soil. The skill and patience of man will extract it (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1844) [Trans. 7.VII].

Other pro-agriculture articles recommended men to grow things like the Indigenous sweet potato, taro and sugarcane as well as newer introduced crops like beans, corn and coffee for trade in port towns (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1838c).

This idea of centralising products made and produced by Hawaiians for port town trade was supported by foreigners. In the 1844 edition of the English-language newspaper *The Friend*,

Robert Crichton Wyllie described an ideal situation in which Hawaiian women, children and the infirm would also weave and spin to make products that could do well in the port towns. He describes weaving and spinning as light work that could produce products useful for whalers.

> Where cotton and wool are articles of natural growth, and materials for dying can be found, it could be a matter of no great difficulty to teach the natives to prepare the wool, dye it, spin it, and weave it up into coarse shirts, blankets, caps, stockings, cloaks, girths, suspenders, mantles, and other little articles that might be useful to the natives, and even bought to some extent by the crews of whalers. A Fancy Fair for the sale of these articles might be held twice a year when the whale ships crowd the Port. On such occasions, bats, baskets, and other curiosities made or collected by the natives, might be offered for sale (Wyllie 1844).

The second way that we can contextualise the Sandwich Islands Mission's interest in homespun is by understanding what cloth and clothing meant to the missionaries as descendants of some of America's earliest Puritan colonists. The ABCFM worked on a common stock system where a year's worth of provisions would have been ordered from Boston and shared equally between families at the annual General Meeting.[176] Necessary supplies included "crockery to replace the broken dishes, calicoes and chintzes to barter for food with the natives; thread and needles, buttons, hooks and eyes, modest bombazines and alpacas and coarse cotton clothes" (Lyman, H.M. 1906, 17). Levi Chamberlain explained to Rufus Anderson how he divided up the resources.

> The plan of division which I have adopted for my own regulation is much as follows: and I believe it has given general

[176] Each missionary family had a salary of between $450 to $500 per year Henry Munson Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Company, 1906), 17. This salary was not enough to survive on or support a household. Levi Chamberlain explained to Rufus Anderson, "Articles wear out and get broken, & must be replaced: and to keep good a requisite supply of such things as are needful in keeping house, In a mission consisting of 29 families & 59 children, no small amount of means will be annually required" Levi Chamberlain, Levi Chamberlain to Rev. R. Anderson, 9 October 1834, 8, Missionary Letters (typed copies) From the Sandwich Islands Mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1819-1837, Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library.

> satisfaction… Small articles as pins, needles, thread, tape, scissors and all articles of this kind, are divided equally among the ladies:- so in general, are spices--also stockings, handkerchiefs, prints &c suitable for the ladies & children of the Mission, unless a pretty large quantity of any particular articles has been received, then a reserve is made of the redundant article. But factory cottons, and all articles sent out for trade, hard ware, and all articles for building are retained in the depository till they are called for by those who most need them. Wearing apparel, shoes, and all articles of stationery are given out according to the needs of individuals (Chamberlain, L. 1832, 2451).

But the needs of the individual families were always greater than what was given. By 1839, there were 59 children among the 29 missionary families in the kingdom, all of whom depended on receiving their share of annual cloth or donated slop clothing (Chamberlain, L. 1834b, 2489). Resources were so scant that there was a competition for what was supplied by the ABCFM. Missionary clothes were in no way fashionable or even new for that matter. Sereno Bishop, son of Reverend Artemas Bishop, reflected on the dilapidated dress of his parents' generation that were sent by the ABCFM. He describes the clothes as being ill-fitting and mismatched,

> Our parents were simply clothed in garments of light material, black being mostly reserved for Sunday. I think their cheaper garments were nearly all cut and sewed by their wives, and could not have been very stylish. They very commonly appeared in the old-fashioned short jacket. I never saw a frock-coat at Kailua, only the claw-hammer. I was at one time, about 1835, much impressed with the unbecoming appearance of some grey cotton coats of the latter denomination which the two missionaries wore for some time. The waists were very short and the claw hammers extremely scant…Mr. Chamberlain's own comment upon these goods was, that "much of this clothing did not appear to be adapted to the human form (Bishop, S.E. 1916, 30).

As we saw in Chapter Three, cloth was one of the most highly requested items needed by growing missionary families in Hawai‘i. The possibility of making one's own cloth was an enticing option and a solution that the ancestors of the missionaries turned to in early America.

Colonial women, the ancestors of the women of the Sandwich Islands Mission, sustained their families through their homespun before and during the Revolutionary War. In her history of homespun, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich argues that early American women took on weaving, a labour that was historically completed by men in the British Isles, as an extension of their own household work (Ulrich 2001, 104-105). Women often spun and wove communally to contribute to their family economies, helping to lessen families' financial dependence on European imports.

In the early-nineteenth century and after the American Revolution, homespun cloth was losing its status as a mainstay in American homes and there was a shift away from cloth being produced in the home. The availability of cheap, slave-produced cotton from the American South suddenly made New England cloth mills cost effective, rivalling industrial cloth produced across the Atlantic in the British Isles. These mills were powered by a combination of steam power and the physical labour from young women hired from across New England. Affordable cotton cloths socio-economically impacted New England households as a result. Factories eliminated farming as the dominant industry, and removed young girls out of the service or control of their families into the workforce. At home cloth production and family-run textile mills diminished, and even the women of the Sandwich Islands Mission who had learned how to spin and weave from female relatives or at seminary schools, probably did not spin consistently in their own homes.

Thus, Rebecca Hitchcock's interest in homespun was also a return to her ancestral domestic duties. In producing homespun cloth like her colonial foremothers, Hitchcock intentionally dismissed the industrial system.[177] Bringing the homespun to Hawai'i was done in

[177] It is important to note that in the 1830s and 1840s, the ABCFM's position on the abolition of slavery was heavily criticised due to the organisation's continued acceptance of donations from slave-owning states. Reverends Jonathan Green and Lorrin Andrews were vocal abolitionists who left the Sandwich Islands Mission in April 1842 as a result of the ABCFM's continued acceptance of monies from slave-owning states Forbes, Kam, and Woods, *Partners in Change: A Biographical Encyclopedia of American Protestant Missionaries in Hawai'i and Their Hawaiian and Tahitian Colleagues, 1820-1900*, 280; Celia E. Naylor, *African Cherokees in Indian Territory: From Chattel to Citizens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 276.

the hope that Hawaiians would learn through the practice the same Christian industriousness that had clothed and sustained White American families in its formative years. Hawaiians could be reformed towards Congregational Christian civility by following the model that ensured the success of Congregational America.

Lydia Brown Forges Her Own Path

In the 1830s, the Mission was focusing its efforts on establishing schools and seminaries to develop Hawaiian children into Christian adults. Reverend Artemas Bishop made a case for teaching Hawaiian girls outside of their homes in order to develop them into enlightened, Christian women.

> Such is the case for men as well as women; they learn how to work in their youth. They learn writing, they learn sewing, they learn how to weave cloth, they learn all the things to take care of a household. If someone goes inside a house to see his friends, his food is prepared, his seat is prepared, and the place where he will sleep at night. The woman had prepared it. Are you listening, women of Hawai‘i? You must avoid sitting idle. It is a sin in the eyes of civilized people. Avoid the desire to just wander around. Stay in your houses, and there work to supply things for your places. The Word of God forbids you folks from just wandering around. Take care of the children, weave mats, beat the kapa, rear the animals, and watch over the house (Bishop, A. 1837).

A crucial part of this effort was teaching Hawaiian girls how to spin and weave at a young age. The ABCFM agreed with the Sandwich Island Mission's plan by responding to Reverend Harvey Hitchcock's request and sending a teacher dedicated solely to teaching spinning and weaving. Originally from Greenfield, New Hampshire, Lydia Brown applied to become an ABCFM missionary at the age of 54 years-old (Forbes, D.W., Kam, and Woods 2018, 153-156). Upon joining the Seventh Company, Lydia became the oldest member of the Sandwich Islands

Mission. She was stationed at the newly opened Wailuku Seminary (also known as the Central Female Seminary or Kula Kaikamahine ma Wailuku) at the Wailuku Station. Reverends Jonathan Green and Reuben Tinker established the Wailuku Station in 1832 but petitioned to open a female seminary in 1837 to act as the sister school to Lahainaluna College. According to Reverend Henry Theodore Cheever, who visited the seminary after 1840, the location was the perfect for a seminary because the healthy and bountiful land provided natives lessons on agriculture and husbandry to the natives and because it was about 30 miles from Lahaina where there was a good market for their products (Cheever 1850, 75-76).

Reverend Green had a particularly strong desire for a spinning instructor because he saw the connections between homespun and civilising men and women. In December 1834, Green wrote to the ABCFM that the king was interested in cotton production. Hoping to monopolise on the situation, Green specifically requested Brown be stationed at Wailuku.

> [The king] is very anxious to improve - to civilize and christianize the people, and he is about to encourage the cultivation of cotton, and he very much wants some one to teach the people to manufacture cloth. On this account, chiefly, I address you. I am not without hope that Miss Lydia Brown, if she arrives, may be stationed here. Mr. Richards thinks well of her coming; but there will be many applications for her, I presume. I therefore petition you to remember us at Wailuku in reference to some one who may be devoted to the people in the department of manufacturing cloth. I should think well of a man and woman - a woman skilful [sic] as a spinner and weaver, and having a husband capable of assisting her to tackling – if a wheel wright – so much the better (Green, J. 1834).

Lydia wasted no time establishing a spinning and weaving programme in a converted classroom. Less than two weeks after arriving on the islands, she was already teaching six Hawaiian students how to card, spin and reel. To Brown's surprise, her students caught on quickly to her instruction, which encouraged Brown to attempt to also to "intermingle some

moral and religious instruction" in her lessons (Brown, L. 1835). By September 1835, Brown's class had woven 37 yards of cotton homespun, the first cotton cloth made entirely by Hawaiian hands and made with wild local cotton. Reverend Jonathan Green was enthusiastic about the cloth the Wailuku students were producing, which he described as "very good for shirts and pants" (Green, J. 1835) [Trans. 7.VIII]. Some of the earliest yards of cloth were designated as gifts to Kamehameha III, circulated among the missionaries and sent to the ABCFM as evidence of the "wealth of this land and the skill of the women" (Green, J. 1835; Lyman, S.J. 1838b) [Trans. 7.IX].[178]

Pieces of this first cloth made by Brown's class were not located during this research. However, some Wailuku Seminary cloth that was collected by the crews of the U.S. Exploring Expedition during their visit to Maui between 2 February and 17 March 1841 is an example of the type of cloth being made by the seminary's Hawaiian students [Figure 7.1]. The two samples, now held at the Smithsonian Museum's National Museum of Natural History, are made of finely woven cotton and are both thin in weight. E3498 is striped with pink yarn while E3497 is a pink gingham check with evenly sized pink checks on a white background [Figure 7.2]. Both pieces have faded over time, but the use of red suggests that the students and teachers of Wailuku were also experimenting with colour transferring by washing their homespun with red woollens or red cloth.

The cloth that Lydia and her students produced became a topic widely discussed about in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* throughout the remainder of the 1830s. Homespun coverage aimed to further demonstrate and clarify the roles and expectations of ka wahine noho pono. In December 1835, the Wailuku cloth was referenced in a kamaʻilio by two fictional characters, Naili and Maanu,

[178] On 15 September 1836, Sarah Joiner Lyman sent her sister Melissa Joiner Hall two samples of cloth manufactured by Ms. Brown's class Lyman, Sarah Joiner Lyman to Melissa Joiner Hall.

who had watched hōʻike (school exhibitions) held at the Maui mission stations in Lahaina and Wailuku. Maanu, who represented the missionary position, reported that while at Wailuku, he had visited the hale hana lole (cloth-making house) and was excited by the work.

> I understood that we can indeed learn cloth-making. The teacher of that school, Ms. Brown, told me that she is pleased by how quickly her students learned. They were similar to the women in America, and her belief is that some people will become teachers in this labour. Perhaps those folks were wrong to laugh. If the King and all the chiefs and the people are united in their desire to learn clothing-making, as well as carpentry, blacksmithing, and other labours, then they were certainly wrong to laugh. If all the chiefs and people work like that with the desire for God, Iehova will support their effort and he will give salvation to us all. There is my greatest desire (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1835b) [Trans. 7.X].

Published articles about the weaving activities at Wailuku had a direct impact on Hawaiian reception of the practice. The number of prospective Hawaiian students who wanted to enrol in Lydia's eight-month long course was so great that Reverend Jonathan Green had to publish a notice in the newspaper to tell interested girls from Hawaiʻi Island, Molokaʻi and Oʻahu to stay at home until called upon (L. 1837; Green, J. 1837).[179] To assist with the coursework, Maria Ogden, an assistant in the Sandwich Islands Mission, joined Lydia to help with teaching. The daily schedule for the girls included "two hours daily in sewing and braiding; they are taught to arrange their sleeping apartments, prepare the table for eating, and wash their dishes" (Gentlemen 1838, 103). At the graduation of her second class of students, a group that had collectively woven 170 yards of cloth, Brown praised their work ethic and gave words of encouragement,

> You folks are finished working here with little work left. Do not abandon this work, do not be lazy. Be strong and transfer this trade

[179] Reverend Harvey Hitchcock published an account of his 1836 visit to Wailuku and was happy to report that the mission station had grown to include a church, a school and a cloth-making house, "all things that were considered good for the spirit" Harvey R. Hitchcock, "Wailuku, Feb. 8, 1836," *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (Honolulu), 6 March 1836.

> in this country of people. [Eia no kekahi], think of your folks' souls. An important thing for the soul. Diminish the body. When you wear clothing like that, you are covering Christ, the person that gives life. Deny destitution to your souls in the day (L. 1837).

Hawaiians broadly took to the newspapers to express their interest in homespun. Governor John Adams Kuakini encouraged the growth of cotton among makaʻāinana living in his lands as a result of seeing Brown's class in 1835 (Richards 1838). In 1837, Kuakini opened his own hale hana lole in Kona with the intention of producing homespun cloth (Kuaiwa 2021, 61-62). Hawaiian students of the Sandwich Islands Mission, excited by the potential of homespun, published their own feelings about what it could mean for the future of the kingdom. In one article, an author named Kalili called homespun, as well as the knit stockings and neckties the Wailuku students were learning how to make, "mea naʻauao" or a "thing of enlightenment" that would "end all the old things that you maintain" (*Ke Kumu Hawaii* 1838a) [Trans. 7.XI]. Surviving examples of these socks can be found in Bishop Museum's collection (07644, C.00924). In the same vein, Nohoua from Lahainaluna Seminary called for more schools to teach Hawaiʻi's students, specifically schools to teach boys carpentry and to teach girls how to spin.

> And the girls would enter the school for spinning clothes. Then they would learn and become skilled in that spinning, and that and this thing that will supply Hawaiʻi. I heard at Wailuku that the teacher there taught her students how to spin, and the students learned how to spin cloth. But this was not published broadly to the people about their learning. Because they were unskilled in making clothes that were sufficient. Why were they incompetent? Here is a possible reason they are not able: in not being productive in the tasks they need to be sufficient. Therefore, if some people want to be learned in carpentry it is possible their work in things. Then the women who are learned in spinning will marry with the people who learned carpentry. Because, they become a pair, their work is the men's work and the women's work that is necessary (Nohoua 1838) [Trans. 7.XII].

Just two years after the first cloth was spun in Hawai‘i, Hawaiians echoed the importance of Congregational gendered labour and how, through their combined effort, man and wife could establish a strong and stable household.

Despite the print campaign to keep the momentum going, interest in homespun diminished around 1840. Because the required machinery and tools were hard to come by, few of Lydia's students continued to spin and weave at home; only one was able to set up her own business (Frost 1971, 117). Spinning did not fit into the lifestyles of maka‘āinana at the time, and it was cheaper and less of a hassle to buy or trade for clothes versus make cloth. An article published in 1844 shared the disappointing news that graduates of the Wailuku Seminary had strayed from their education and training.

> This is very clear. Because some girls from that school have graduated and those who are God fearing, their actions are good and they are educators for the ignorant. As for the unrepentant, the unfearing, they are completely filled with pleasure, foolishness and are leading the people to the moral darkness…But the people who graduated from the seminary with hearts filled with the old ways with pleasure, haughtiness, desire for money, desire for fame, they are a contagious disease that spreads amongst the people. They spread darkness everywhere and wealth that was spent on them and the effort of teachers who taught them is completely wasted. How will this be corrected? Where do the hearts of the new ways and true virtue come from? Indeed from God. So let us pray strongly and frequently to Him for the schools at Lahainaluna and at Wailuku and the school at Hilo as well. Pray for all the children's schools (*Ka Nonanona* 1844b) [Trans. 7.XIII].

Despite the Mission's investments in the education of young girls, the Wailuku Seminary was unable to monitor and encourage consistent behaviour in Hawaiian students after they left campus.

Yet after seeing students not carrying on with their Christian lessons after graduation, the Wailuku Seminary did not change their homespun course or educational approach. Lydia Brown

decided to try her hand at another mission station and left Wailuku to teach at the Hitchcock's Kaluaʻaha Station on Molokaʻi hoping to have better luck there (Forbes, D.W. 2018, 155). Wailuku Station maintained a robust and rigorous course for the girls in the 1840s without Lydia Brown's teaching. Their campus expanded with multiple buildings in order to house 60 to 70 young girls, the resident missionary family, the Baileys and Maria Ogden. The boarding school taught lessons not only in "in Christianity, but in geography, mental and written arithmetic, moral philosophy, natural theology, reading, writing, drawing, composition" (Bingham 1847, 582). In the afternoon, the young female students gave "their attention to spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, making mats, etc. under the instruction of Miss Ogden", followed by an hour of farming exercise using a hoe (Bingham 1847, 582).

Examples of the Wailuku Seminary's female curriculum survive today in the form of three colourful marking samplers made by the school's students. I want to focus on two of these samplers made by students named Loka and Hannah, now in the Historic New England collection in Haverhill, Massachusetts. Loka's rectangular sampler (1978.593) measures 7.5 inches by 23.8cm, and was made on 24 June 1844. In the same year, Hannah made her sampler measuring 20.32cm by 19.05cm but is squarer in shape than her classmate's (1978.594). While the designs, colours, and stiches used by both girls are unique to their samplers, both share striking similarities, suggesting that they were a school assignment. Each sampler is segmented horizontally into sections and demarcated by rows in coloured thread. The bottom section is where the makers stitched their name and "Kula Nui Wailuku", although it seems that Hannah ran out of space and was only able to squeeze in "Wai". The upper and middle sections of the sampler feature the pīʻāpā in capitalised and lowercase letters, as if to proudly showcase the students' knowledge of letters. Stitching the entirety of the alphabet forced the makers to

consider space designations, as well as practice stitching the letters in block script and cursive. The samplers were collected by Reverend Henry Cheever Wheeler in the 1840s and returned with him to New England. They remained in a drawer in his family's home in York Harbor, Maine before being donated by Wheeler's daughter, Elizabeth Cheever Wheeler.[180]

Hannah's sampler also features a fourth section in which she included four lines of text. It reads in Hawaiian, "I am not complacent, I am moving, I yearn to seek, the things of civility" [Trans. 7.XIV]. After over two decades of this work, this short text encapsulates all that the missionaries were working towards. Parts of the civility project were successful. The missionaries used the press to create excitement and interest about the education offered at Wailuku Seminary. Hungry for learning and literacy, Hawaiian children like Hannah from across the kingdom willing to leave their homes and move to Wailuku in order to learn new skils like sewing and homespun. Yet while the print campaign about homespun felt like a major success, it did not reflect the difficulties felt by the teachers at the Seminary who were trying to encourage Hawaiian interest in homespun after the initial novelty had worn off.

Homespun was a step towards the great goal for the Mission: to have Christian civility being lived and practiced in all areas of Hawaiian life. In the case of homespun, despite a large number of Hawaiians expressing interest in the labour and many being fully educated in the practice, the missionaries met with failure after girls graduated from the seminary. Low on funds, the mission was unable to support women or provide graduates with the tools they needed to continue spinning and weaving. By the end of the 1840s, homespun proved to be incompatible with Hawaiian life.

[180] The family home was also donated to Historic New England and is called the Sayward-Wheeler House. The organisation acquired the property in 1977.

Conclusion

In 1846, almost three decades after their arrival on the islands on 1820, the Sandwich Islands Mission was asked by the Hawaiian Kingdom's Minister of Foreign Relations, R. C. Wyllie, to respond to a list of questions on the status of Hawaiians. Question 115 asked about signs of civility among Hawaiians, "Does the ratio of annual improvement of the natives, increase as they advance in civilization; that is there a greater advance made now in a year than there was ten or twenty years ago, or does it appear that they are susceptible of improvement to a certain state, where they remain station" (Armstrong, R. et al. 1848, 89)? Answers to this question varied significantly between the five missionary respondents, but three cited improvements in dress as an indicator of Hawaiian civility. Reverend Ephraim Clark's answer with regard to what he saw in Wailuku had a tone of positivity,

> There is a constant increase in this district of foreign articles of comfort. The increase has probably been greater for one or two years than ever before. The case is now that rare to see a person at church, not decently clad, as it was to see one thus clad when I first visited the place. The amount of native kapa is probably diminishing, and its place is supplied by cloth of a far better material (Armstrong, R. et al. 1848, 89).

Clark's answer, however, seems to contradict answers from his missionary brothers to question 30 which asked about different objects being manufactured in their respective districts. The majority of respondents stated that kapa was still the main article of clothing produced in their districts (Armstrong, R. et al. 1848, 15). Bonnets and hats were made in several different regions, but the making of homespun was not mentioned as being widely practiced. Reverend Edward Johnson, who was based on Kauaʻi, reported that homespun did not find relevance among Hawaiians because it was cheaper to buy foreign cloth (Armstrong, R. et al. 1848, 15).

Although the Mission's limited financial resources and continued support of seminary graduates contributed to the failures of the homespun experiment, the limited success of the Congregational dress regime was largely due to the large philosophical gap between missionaries and Hawaiians on the purpose of clothing. Missionaries saw clothing as humility and piety while Hawaiians understood wearing clothing as adornment and enjoyment. Attempting to bridge this philosophical divide was a hefty task, and the Mission was not organised, convincing, financially viable or politically influential enough to change the dress practices of all Hawaiians. The 1840s proved that most Hawaiians did not want to dress like the missionaries and instead decided what to wear, or not, for themselves. Some missionaries took these failures personally, but the majority accepted their lack of control in the field as a part of the job. This sentiment is shown in a sermon from 1833 by Reverend Reuben Tinker, "Ought I become a missionary". Tinker idealised struggle in the mission field as a part of the job, "Again, a man rarely, if ever, determining on a foreign mission comes to the conclusion without many a struggle. The groans of a dying world wake up his conscience; but he attempts to hush it to sleep again with the song of his unfitness for so great a work" (Tinker 1833, 2). Only God could be the true judge of missionary progress and failure in Hawai‘i.

Conclusion – Pailolo Steps Out in Pelekunu's Finest

When foreign cloth and clothing began appearing on Hawaiian shores at the end of the eighteenth century, Hawaiians were quick to notice that foreign clothing was constructed differently than traditional Hawaiian kapa, the primary form of clothing. Kapa was worn by men and women by wrapping and tying it around the body. Rather, garments like dresses, pants and shirts were entered into, an entirely new type of wearing action. In the Hawaiian language, the action of dressing with garments is called komo, as opposed to other action words about securing kapa to the body like hume (gird) or wahī (cover or bundle up). The differentiation between these words around dress indicates that Hawaiians realised that manipulating materials to be entered into could open the door to new possibilities for dress.

During a period of increased presence of foreign cloth and clothing, Hawaiian kapa continued to be a valuable resource for dress. Hawaiians were curious and eager to engage with foreign cloth and clothing and simultaneously pushed the boundaries of kapa by making kapa clothes in their own way. The case studies of early-nineteenth century kapa discussed in this thesis show that kapa did not disappear as was popularly believed, nor did it have to compete with foreign cloth and clothing. In fact, kapa was in many ways complementary to these new foreign materials, providing a medium for kapa makers to experiment with new colours, materials, designs and patterns that Hawaiians were encountering. These new forms of Hawaiian kapa were not only popular but were valuable pieces proudly worn and shown off in acts of self-presentation.

Chapters Two and Three discussed how kapa styles that were developed for and around ali‘i resources communicated their mana and kapu. This social class of Hawaiians had direct access to foreign cloth and clothing via merchants who wanted sandalwood from the ali‘i. Over

the first few decades of the nineteenth century, these imports became increasingly specific, aimed to fulfil the dress tastes and preferences of the aliʻi. Within a short period, the kingdom's ports were the import grounds for some of the finest, most beautifully decorated textiles the world had to offer. Chapter Three looked at paiʻula and indigo kapa, two types of kapa that were associated with the aliʻi because of the resources used to make the kapa. The colours of foreign cloth popular among aliʻi included red, a colour historically reserved to the aliʻi, and blue, a novel and new colour. These colours were featured in a kapa moe kuiki, an updated kapa moe, made for the chief Kaiheʻekai. Inspired by American patchwork quilting, makers of kapa moe kuiki experimented with decorating kapa by cutting coloured pieces of kapa into individual designs and incorporating it on to a plain sheet of kapa through pounding. Red and blue kapa was made by beating Turkey red cloth into white kapa and dyeing white kapa with indigo dye and laundry blueing. Altogether, Kaiheʻekai's kapa moe communicates different messages. The colours showed off the ability of an aliʻi to access foreign cloth through trade relationships, and the piece as a whole communicated the aliʻi's access to the newest ideas of kapa experimented by kapa makers. The piece displayed chiefly privilege.

Because of the difficulties in accessing foreign cloth and clothing, makaʻāinana continued to self-present themselves in kapa, using the material to make new genres of kapa dress. Chapter Four investigated how makaʻāinana accessed foreign cloth and clothing for themselves through labour. Access proved even more challenging for makaʻāinana living in the rural areas of the kingdom. Physical distance from port towns often meant seeking the permission to leave their homelands from regional konohiki (headman, land overseer) who were anxious about their diminishing control over local people. And while there were new types of work in port towns that could earn payment in cloth and clothing, they came with their own risks. Maritime jobs

were dangerous and physically taxing, did not pay well and often took Hawaiians far from home. Sex work and theft provided another means of accessing cloth but because these were illegal acts that broke chiefly kapu, those caught would face the chief's punishments as a result. The difficulty in accessing foreign cloth and clothing elevated the value of the materials for makaʻāinana who used these new fashions as a means of showing off to other community members and as inheritable goods to their family members.

Chapter Five looked at kapa neckerchiefs, a new genre of kapa created because of not having access to foreign clothing. Kapa makers were responding to imported scarves and neckerchiefs that were popular at the time and created their own renditions. By looking at the details of surviving examples, we can see that these kapa pieces were specifically produced to be smaller in size than typical forms of kapa dress. The designs of these new forms of kapa were largely hand-drawn as opposed to being cut from larger pieces and stamped. These changes show an adjustment in techniques in order to create specific types of kapa pieces that were foreign-style inspired but made to suit Hawaiian taste and preferences. Kapa neckerchiefs were located in a number of museum collections in Hawaiʻi and abroad. An analysis of the geographical data contained in museum collection catalogues for these kapa neckerchiefs suggests that this genre of kapa clothing proliferated broadly across the kingdom.

This exciting period of kapa production coincided with the arrival and establishment of Congregational Christianity in Hawaiʻi. The Sandwich Islands Mission began in 1820, decades after the first foreign cloth and clothing had arrived in the islands. Hoping to supersede well-established self-presentation practices with the civilising dress practices as defined in the Bible, the missionaries attempted different strategies. Many of the First Company of missionaries, and especially the missionary women, took this challenge in their stride. They found ways to make

appropriate Christian dress for women appealing. They sewed new styles of clothing for aliʻi women, suggested subtle cloth choices and made compelling arrangements for the best and most fashionable types of clothing in exchange for their engagement with Christian lessons. Success was limited, but the missionary women enjoyed it regardless.

The Sandwich Islands Mission's relationship to kapa was complicated in the first half of the nineteenth century. The aliʻi had cloth to wear and use for clothing, but everyone else found the material difficult to procure. Cloth was expensive even for the missionaries, so making the argument that all Hawaiians should be covered in clothing was out of the question. Different missionary women who were invested in changing makaʻāinana self-presentation practices placed their efforts and resources towards the cause in different ways. Mercy Whitney, for example, collaborated with makaʻāinana from Kauaʻi to sew the first example of a kapa dress. As a result of the ease of creation and minimal need for supplies and skills, kapa dress production and wearing spread through mission stations and organically across the kingdom, allowing dress wearing to proliferate and also kapa to remain useful and relevant. But other missionary wives were not satisfied with Hawaiians simply wearing foreign-style clothing; they wanted to guarantee that Hawaiians understood how to appropriately dress as dictated in the Bible. Lucy Thurston and Sarah Lyman shared the same strong sentiments about the need for bonnet wearing in church and in school settings. They taught makaʻāinana how to make bonnets and encouraged the wearing of them with constant reminders. But when Thurston and Lyman faced trouble ensuring consistent bonnet wearing, they appealed to the aliʻi to make bonnet wearing a kapu; this too had limited success. If there was any makaʻāinana interest in the bonnets, it was purely for fashion.

As an almost last resort, the Mission attempted to remedy the lack of cloth in the islands by teaching Hawaiians how to make cotton homespun. Homespun cloth dressed many generations of American colonial families while also teaching women and daughters the domestic responsibilities of Christian wives. In the 1830s, after the majority of the Bible was published and after the Hawaiian-language newspapers had gained a dedicated readership, the Mission began publishing their idea of a Christian dress regime, one taken from the Bible that reflected Christian values. Central to this dress regime was the production of cloth. Homespun was extremely intriguing to aliʻi and makaʻāinana who flocked to Wailuku, Maui, to learn how to turn wild cotton into fine cloth. But despite the Mission's human resources and constant publications about the homespun venture, the project had little success. This was largely due to the Mission's inability to support women graduates of their programme in procuring the necessary equipment for their own homes and practices. Homespun as a form of cloth production was not a scalable production outside of the single mission station that it was taught at. In the end, the practice did not deliver the promise of cloth that had compelled Hawaiians to learn in the first place. The limited success of the Mission is a testament to the persistence of self-presentation by Hawaiians and the continued agency individuals had in dressing themselves.

The legacy of self-presenting with Hawaiian kapa extended beyond the early-nineteenth century. On the first day of 1886, a huge gathering was held on the island of Molokaʻi, an island located in the centre of the Hawaiian Kingdom archipelago. The event took place at the Congregational Church mission station in Kaluaʻaha on the eastern coast of Molokaʻi and was called in the newspapers, "Ka Hoike Nui o na Kula Sabati (Sunday School Convention)" (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886a).[181] Hōʻike played an important role in Hawaiian communities and acted

[181] This event in Pelekunu takes place outside of the period this thesis focuses on, but provides a starting point to meditate on how ninteenth-century kapa was being used as clothing and proudly worn by Hawaiians.

as opportunities for Sabbath School students to showcase the ʻike (knowledge gained through experience and observation) learned over the course of the year. Students performed, sang and recited what they learned to a public audience that included teachers, government officials, family and friends.

This particular "Hoike Nui o na Kula Sabati" was widely covered in English and Hawaiian-language newspapers. Although the total number of attendees for the event was not recorded, articles noted that participants from neighbouring islands had made the long trek to Molokaʻi. Attendees included travellers from Keʻanae on Maui's northern coast and government officials from Oʻahu who arrived via the steamship *Likelike* (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* 1886a). Students representing different Sabbath schools also came to Kaluaʻaha with donations for the host school. An article published on 9 January 1886 gave the final donation total collected from individuals and parishes, a whopping $193.09, a hefty total considering that a 25-pound bag of poi, the Hawaiian staple starch made of taro, was selling for 40 cents at the time.[182]

While no photos or sketches exist of the Sunday School Convention held on 1 January 1886, there is an object that helps to illustrate the importance of the event from the perspective of an attendee. Within the Peabody Essex Museum's (PEM) collection is a dress that was worn at this particular Sunday School Convention. PEM object E10761 is described in the museum's catalogue as being of "American style of the middle eighties, lined with cloth. Red, oiled, with yellow trimmings" (Peabody Essex Museum). However, seeing the dress in person, one realises

[182] This advertisement for kalo (taro) was published in the Hawaiian-language newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. The advertisement reads, "Each bag has 25 pounds, for the very low price of 40 cents. So one person will have enough poi for the entire month when they spend $1.60 on four bags of kalo palaoa (He 25 paona o ke eke hookahi, no ke kumukuai haahaa loa he 40 keneta. Nolaila, ua lawa no ke kanaka hookahi no ka poi i ka mahina holookoa ke hoolilo oia i $1,600 no na eke kalo palaoa eha)" *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, "Kalo Palaoa! Kalo Palaoa!," (Honolulu), 17 July 1886.

how this description does the object little justice as the dominant material used to create it was made from Hawaiian kapa.

The Pelekunu dress was made on Moloka‘i’s northern shore sometime during the early-nineteenth century and is special because of its utilisation of a variety of different coloured kapa to form the details of the dress [Figure Con.1]. Orange-brown is the dominant colour used for the body of the dress. The kapa was carefully ruched and hand-stitched onto an orange linen cloth backing to form the dress’s long waisted bodice and high neckline. The brightness of the orange-brown is contrasted against the white kapa used for the trimmings on the neckline, sleeves and along the bottom hem of the dress, as well as the white plastron down the dress’s front side. Perhaps the most thoughtful detail is a large kapa bow stitched to the right front of the dress [Figure Con.2]. This kapa bow has a slight pink and yellow hue, suggesting that it was formerly brighter in colour. When lifted to the light, the kapa showcases a watermark pattern, imprinted evidence that the kapa’s maker chose to use a carved-pattern beater known as an i‘e kuku while the tree bast was still being beaten. Studying the construction of this customised dress – every detail and every stitch – allows us to wonder who made this kapa.

The museum’s catalogue information for the dress expounds on the process of making the kapa. The accession card for this object reads:

> The kapa for this dress was made by Malika at Pelekunu, Molokai. The dress was made by Kahoohawaha, daughter of Malika, and worn by Pailolo at a Sabbath School exhibition held at Kaluaaha, Molokai, in 1886 (Peabody Essex Museum).

The museum’s provenance information, which preserved those associated with making and wearing the dress is rare and a remarkable find. The kapa dress was truly a multi-generational collaboration of three generations of women from Pelekunu, located on the northeast coast of Moloka‘i and seven miles from Kalua‘aha. Malika made the initial kapa sheets

used as the base material for the dress. The original kapa sheet may have been used as a paʻū skirt layered with other sheets, or used as a kīhei wrapped around the body and tied at the shoulder. While the original intent of the kapa sheet is unknown, the rich, eye-catching orange-brown colour of the kapa dress suggests that Malika spent time perfecting the dye so that others could enjoy the colour when they gazed upon it.

What Malika could not have known when she completed her kapa was that it would continue to prove useful for future projects.[183] In succeeding generations of one family, the kapa continued to change. Kahoohawaha transformed her mother's kapa by using it as material for a kapa dress, a form of Western clothing that had been introduced to the islands in the early-nineteenth century. The Pelekunu dress's panelling suggests that Kahoohawaha had a strong grasp of dressmaking. She likely learned how to cut and sew in the Western-style using metal needles and thread in a school environment. But the style of dress itself also points to Kahoohawaha's awareness of new and interesting styles of dress, despite living in a rural area outside of the kingdom's capital. Her interest led her to make her own version of a contemporary dress style using readily available materials. This was her way of standing out in her community.

This brings us back to the Sunday School Convention and the wearer of the Pelekunu dress, Pailolo. Pailolo wore this version of her "Sunday Best" for the school exhibition with the intention of being seen and presenting herself. It is unknown whether other attendees wore their own kapa dresses for the event, but by wearing her family's kapa, Pailolo was also wearing a representation of the aloha (love), labour and ingenuity of both her mother and grandmother.[184]

[183] Mareka, a spelling variation of Malika, was baptised in the Kaluaʻaha Church Baptism record, although a date was not included (Hitchcock 1833-1932, 14).
[184] Pailolo continued to live in Pelekunu after the Sunday School Convention. She was a member of the Pelekunu chapter of the Ahahui Lipine Bolu in 1888 (Lokai 1888). She remained in Pelekunu after the passing of her first husband. She remarried her second husband, James, on 19 June 1890 (Hamanase 1890).

The level of detail recorded about the Pelekunu kapa dress – what the dress looked like, who it was worn by and the event for which it was worn – is an appropriate example of the legacy of self-presentation using kapa. Dresses such as these illustrate the changes to kapa documented in this thesis.

This thesis started with the story of Pahukula wearing a kuhina kapa in Kaumakapili Church in 1861. The published account penned by Pahukula himself was not only his defence for wearing a kapa in a church setting, but also acted as a critique of those who wore what he considered to be obscene types of foreign clothing to church. Pahukula's justification for his wearing kapa allowed his story to be preserved in perpetuity in the Hawaiian-language newspapers. Ironically, in his attempt to belittle his peers, his recollection highlighted the agency of others who too dressed as they pleased for church service. Twenty-five years after Pahukula's defiant moment in Kaumakapili Church, Pailolo wore her kapa dress at a church event. She intentionally wore her family-made kapa dress to an event where she would be seen, recognised and perhaps even talked about. Her strategy seemed to work, which led to the collection and preservation of the kapa dress long after the hō'ike. Both Pahukula and Pailolo's stories illustrate that self-presentation was a performative act; whatever dress was included in that act was done at the discretion of the wearer.

Even as foreign cloth and clothing became accessible and popular among Hawaiians, kapa continued to be used in Hawaiian self-presentation. Kapa continued to make appearances in public settings. The stories of Pailolo and Pahukula indicate that kapa was worn even at church events, despite the many years of missionary work to promote humble dress instead. Pahukula, Pailolo, and the other Hawaiians who were makers and wearers of the kapa genres presented in this thesis, indicate that it was Hawaiian agency that allowed the overlap between kapa and

foreign cloth and clothing to persist well into the nineteenth century. Foreign cloth and clothing did not usurp kapa but rather they were worn in tandem.

The overlap between kapa and foreign cloth and clothing was preserved in overlooked sources from the nineteenth century. Pairing written sources with material sources helped to formulate a timeline of nineteenth-century kapa, one that included both English and Hawaiian-language sources. Articles from Hawaiian-language newspapers provided a rich source base of primary source material written by Hawaiians who were simultaneously engaging and wearing foreign cloth and clothing and kapa. After the creation of a timeline using multilingual archival sources, genres of early-nineteenth century kapa were identified in museum collections and described. Provenance information for nineteenth-century kapa pieces further aided the nineteenth-century kapa timeline. Information about when and where kapa was made and used confirmed hypotheses about when certain kapa dress styles were created and worn by Hawaiians.

This project aimed to contribute to our understanding of Hawaiian kapa but the greater hope is that the methodology introduced here for writing Native art history can be utilised by other scholars interested in using Native sources to challenge and usurp dominant historiographies. Future studies will continue to look at the relationship between kapa, cloth and self-presentation as the nineteenth century progressed. There are likely more Hawaiian kapa fashions in museums that have yet to be contextualised or described. Our ancestors have left us their experiences and materials so that we can better understand them in our current moment. Now that we can put together remnants of the past, what new Hawaiian art histories can be created?

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