

KI'I LĀ'AU IN TRANSIT AND TRANSITION:  
A DIACHRONIC ANALYSIS OF MEANING IN FOUR PACIFIC OBJECTS.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 1878, Pierre Étienne Théodore Ballieu (1828–1885), French consul to the Hawaiian Kingdom from 1869 until 1878, shipped a carved *ki'i lā'au* (wooden image) representing the Hawaiian God Lono (**fig. 3**), and recently pulled from a burial cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea with its sacrilizing kapa *malo* (loincloth) still in place, to Paris, France.<sup>1</sup>



**Figure 3.**

Ki'i lā'au, (Ki'i lā'au-o-Lono) late 18th Century, carved wood, 89 x 12.5 x 20 cm  
Musée du quai Branly, Pavillon des Sessions, Louvre. Paris, France (71.1879.10.11.1)

Donor: Théodore Ballieu (1829-1885);

Old collection: Musée national d'histoire naturelle;

Previous collection: Musée de l'homme.

Once in Paris, this object and the others which Ballieu had shipped to Paris with it (*figs. A-R, Appendix B*) were displayed at the Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques (*Museum*

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<sup>1</sup> See “An Interesting Idol” in *The Hawaiian Gazette*, April 25, 1877 (Appendix C).

*of scientific expeditions*) when it opened in 1878 in the Trocadéro (1878 -1936). The Trocadéro had been built for the third Paris World's Fair that year, and the primary museographic purpose of the Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques - which eventually came to be known as the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro - had been to research and exhibit the continuing progress of humanity<sup>2</sup>. The Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques was one of several French National institutions that fell under the department of the Musée national d'histoire naturelle, into which Ballieu's collection was accessioned in 1879.

During its time in the collections of the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, this *ki'i lā'au* was published for circulation at least twice by the museum as an ethnographic post card image (*figs. 3a and 3b*). First, as la déesse Pélé and again in the early 1930s, by which time the object had transitioned from its misunderstood identity as the goddess Pele to its current museum identity as “dieu Lono”.

In 1936, the Trocadéro was partially demolished and rebuilt in preparation for Paris's Universal Exhibition of 1937 and was reopened as the Musée de l'homme. At the time, it was declared by Paul Rivet, the first director of the Musée de l'homme, that the new museum would be a window on oppressed (colonized) cultures and a “bastion of anti-racism”. Rivet was a proponent of the new humanism which was positioned in opposition to the rise of fascism and of Nazism in the Germany of the 1930s which centered on combatting imperialism. Rivet believed that anthropology as a discipline could spread the humanist message through its research and education. However, by mid-century, French anthropology had shifted away from studies based primarily on material culture and more toward less physically tangible issues such as social structure, religion, power and orality,<sup>3</sup> and the museum suffered as it was regarded as

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<sup>2</sup> Price, Sally. 2007: 81-83 *Paris Primitive*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 2007: 85-86.

having lost its role in education and research and, by the 1990s, the viability of the museum as an institution was openly questioned.<sup>4</sup>



**Figure 3a.**

Post card, 'La déesse Pélé', 1900-1936  
Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro (Publisher)  
Photographic print on paper, 9x14 cm.  
Musée du quai Branly, PP0152647

Inscription on front:

"10.703-Musée d'Ethnographie. Paris.  
Océanie. Iles Hawaï. La déesse Pélé (bois)"

Inscriptions on back (2)

"Musée d'Ethnographie 16 nov. 1931" ;  
"En vente au Musée d'Ethnographie du  
Trocadéro, Palais du Trocadéro Paris 16e. PAS  
74-46"



**Figure 3b.**

Post card, ca.1930-1931  
Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro (Publisher)  
Photographic print on paper, 9x14 cm.  
Musée du quai Branly, PP0152813

Belongs to a series of postcards published by the  
Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro reproducing  
objects from the collections.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 86-87.

Under these conditions, then, and following the tradition of previous French Presidents who had memorialized their political office through the establishment of large, public, cultural institutions,<sup>5</sup> President Jacques Chirac championed the establishment of a new museum to house the French national ethnographic collections of Native American, African, and Oceanic artifacts, from the now-outmoded Musée de l'homme. In 1998, and as Chirac's legacy project, the Musée du quai Branly was established,<sup>6</sup> and more than three hundred thousand ethnographic objects that had been held in French national museums were then consolidated into the collections of the Musée du quai Branly, which opened in 2006.<sup>7</sup>

In 2003, prior to the opening of the Musée du quai Branly, one hundred and seventeen of the more than three hundred thousand objects in the collections were hand-selected by Jacques Kerchache, Chirac's good friend and a celebrated connoisseur and curator of *l'arts premiers*, for exhibition in the Pavillon des Sessions – a new exhibition space within the Louvre designed to frame and represent these objects as masterpieces. Among these one hundred and seventeen objects – which accounted for less than one-half of one percent of the entire collection - was the ki'i lā'au pulled from the burial cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea in 1878.

In his 2003 speech at the Pavillon des Sessions marking the third year of the gallery's existence, Jacques Chirac made the following remarks about his good friend and curator of the Pavillon des session, Jacques Kerchache, who had died two years earlier:

*I remember Jacques Kerchache exhausted but radiant, placing the display cases to the exact millimeter, balancing himself on a ladder in order to position each lighting fixture, adjusting the presentation of each object with infinite care (...) the galleries we have visited are the mirror of his soul. They were his final act.*<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> For example, Presidents Georges Pompidou: *le Centre Georges Pompidou*; Valéry Giscard d'Estaing : *le Musée d'Orsay*; or François Mitterrand : *le Grand Louvre*.

<sup>6</sup> Price 2007: 86 – 87.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, 59, 87.

<sup>8</sup> Jacques Chirac quoted in Ibid, 64-65.

In 2018, this particular ki'i lā'au has now been in circulation outside of Hawai'i for 140 years since Ballieu first sent it to Paris in 1878. During this time it has been exhibited in multiple contexts, photographed, written about, and its image has been published and circulated internationally on postcards and in numerous catalogues in multiple languages. During its first three years at the Pavillon des Sessions at the Louvre, alone, it was viewed by over two million visitors.<sup>9</sup>

Here one notices the fact that none of the history of the object presented above, was intended by the original creators and users of this ki'i lā'au. Nevertheless, Ballieu, in addition to being the French consul to Hawai'i, was also a well-respected amateur scientist with an interest in the classification of the species, and in human polygenesis (*figs. 12a – 12f*). In fact, three species of Hawaiian fishes bear his name in the scientific literature.<sup>10</sup> Ballieu is also credited with the collection and classification of the Hawaiian Palila bird,<sup>11</sup> and the type-specimen he returned to France, No. 1876-645, outlives him at the Musée national d'histoire naturelle in Paris even to this day.<sup>12</sup>

At the same time, Ballieu's motivations for the collection and classification of both human and animal 'specimens' cast his initial collection of the ki'i lā'au from the burial cave as being distinct from those of Rivet, the first director of the Musée de l'homme, who envisioned the museum as a "Bastion of anti-racism"<sup>13</sup> in the Paris of the 1930s. Further still, the association of the Pavillon des Sessions, in which the ki'i lā'au is currently on display, with Chirac's political legacy, and with Kerchache's social identity as a connoisseur and curator,

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<sup>9</sup> Price 2007: 64.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Toonan, Robert John "On the Status of the Hawaiian Seahorses *Hippocampus hilonis*, *H. histrix* and *H. fisheri* (Syngnathidae)", *Marine Biology Research*, 7 pp. 701-709.

<sup>11</sup> Olson, Storrs L. and Helen F. James 1994: 95. A Chronology of Ornithological Exploration in the Hawaiian Islands, From Cook to Perkins. *Avian Biology* No. 15, pp 91-102.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 93.

<sup>13</sup> Price 2007: 82.



provides a third context within which to try to understand the presence of this ki‘i lā‘au in Paris, rather than in its burial cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea – and none of these Parisian contexts are in any way related to the object’s original context, or to the intentions of the original users of the object.

As Susan Pearce notes, museum objects come to the museum as part of a context, and as parts of a set of social and ideological relationships between persons and the material world, and points out that an attempt to understand the nature of these relationships is an important way of understanding the external social and physical worlds of which they are a part.<sup>14</sup> A critical history of collecting, then, entails the investigation of those objects or other forms of material culture that specific groups and individuals choose to preserve, value, exchange and display.<sup>15</sup>

## 1.1 Research Questions

*Of the wood sculpture that comes from the rich and vital Hawaiian culture, approximately one hundred fifty examples remain. These are now found in museums throughout the world, and some pieces are now as remote from the islands of their origin as New York and Munich. This study has been limited to the Hawaiian sculpture of the human figure in wood. Within the sculptural tradition, there was very little else<sup>16</sup>.*

-- J. Halley Cox and William Davenport (1974).

Thus begins the Introduction of *Hawaiian Sculpture* (J. Halley Cox with William Davenport, University of Hawaii Press: 1974. 213 pp), the most extensive survey of extant Hawaiian figurative sculpture available in 2018. I believe that *between* these two introductory sentences there are some important questions that remain unanswered. This is to say that, I

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<sup>14</sup> Pearce, Susan M. 1991: 194 “Collecting Reconsidered” in ed. Susan M Pearce *Interpreting Objects and Collections*.

<sup>15</sup> Clifford, James 1994: 61 “Collecting Ourselves” in ed. Susan M. Pearce. *Interpreting Objects and Collections*,

<sup>16</sup> Cox and Davenport 1988: 3 *Hawaiian Sculpture*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

believe, *between* the production and use of images by the “rich and vital Hawaiian culture” (which continues on in 2018), and the fact that only “approximately one hundred fifty examples remain”<sup>17</sup>, and “are now found in museums throughout the world”, raises important questions about the disbursal of Hawaiian *ki‘i lā‘au*, as a form of cultural capital, to non-Hawaiian, persons and institutions ‘throughout the world’.

A Hawaiian *ki‘i lā‘au* on view in Paris cannot *mean* in the same way it would have meant in its original Hawaiian context – even if its accompanying label were able to recount, precisely, its original context, use and meaning for the visitor. Put simply, Hawaiian objects are, as are all ritual objects, created to transmit certain messages to certain persons, and so to imagine that a Hawaiian ritual sculpture on view in Paris goes on transmitting its original Hawaiian message - only now from its pedestal in France – is a fundamental absurdity. One might question, then: *What message is it transmitting? And how has this come to be?*

The fact that Hawaiian *ki‘i lā‘au* could not spirit themselves away to collections and museums around the globe implies, of course, that human persons were involved. Similarly, the collection and removal of Hawaiian material culture did not happen all at once, nor was it executed by a single group of humans working toward the same purpose (though we could certainly sketch an ideal type). Rather, the distribution of Hawaiian *ki‘i lā‘au* to museums around the globe has involved both the appropriation and subordination of original meanings into or within the narratives and discourses of cultural outsiders for a number of reasons.

For these reasons, I believe there are important questions to be addressed in terms of the shifting perceptions of value and meaning which have been attributed to these objects through their engagement with different users at varying historical moments in their social biographies.

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<sup>17</sup> Cox and Davenport added an additional fifteen images to the revised edition of *Hawaiian Sculpture* (1988) bringing their total number of extant examples to one hundred sixty two.

In terms of really understanding Hawaiian ritual sculpture in a museum in Paris – or in a museum anywhere else for that matter - it cannot be enough to understand the “approximately one hundred fifty examples which remain” as being lost somewhere between “the rich and vital Hawaiian culture” that produced them, and the simple fact that these “are now found in museums throughout the world ... as remote from the islands of their origin as New York and Munich”.

The questions are many. *How may we understand the meaning of these objects to the users who have interacted with them outside of their original Hawaiian context? What did it mean to sail away with and display ki‘i lā‘au in 1779? What did this mean in the London of 1826? Or in the London of 1911? What did it mean to possess and display Hawaiian ki‘i lā‘au in Salt Lake City in the 1870s? What did this mean in the Paris of 1878? What does it mean to possess and display ki‘i lā‘au today? And to whom? How have these images been understood in the century and a half since their removal from the Hawaiian Islands? And by whom?*

The answers to these questions are, of course, diverse, and despite the contextual similarities in the production and original uses of Hawaiian ki‘i lā‘au, the current meanings attributed to these in the collections in which they are currently held varies from one object to the next, and can be shown to have changed multiple times as they have transitioned from social context to social context, and from continent to continent.

## **1.2 Theoretical Framework**

In *The Cultural Biography of Objects* (1999) Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall trace the idea of object biographies to Kopytoff (1986) who pointed out that:

*Things cannot be fully understood at just one point in their existence, and processes and cycles of production, exchange and consumption had to be looked at as a whole. Not only do objects change through their existence, but they often have the*

*capability of accumulating histories, so that the present significance of an object derives from the persons and events to which it is connected.*<sup>18</sup>

In terms of social biographies, then, the history of the *ki'i lā'au* which I have outlined above, is a history of appropriation, obviously, but it is also several distinct histories of the social relationships between the object and its different subjects, or users, at specific historical moments. Through the investigation of these specific relationships, it becomes possible to answer a series of questions. *How may we understand the presence of this ki'i lā'au in Paris? What did this mean in 1878, and to whom? What does it mean today?*

In this paper I present four case studies in which I attempt to understand a single object in terms of its social biography, and in terms of the ascription, appropriation or suppression of meanings at particular historical moments. I draw upon current theoretical understandings of the relationships between persons and objects drawn from material culture studies and upon the perspective of Daniel Miller's theoretical approach to material culture which he terms "objectification".<sup>19</sup>

A central concern of material culture studies is the understanding of the relationships between objects and subjects. Or, between material objects and the persons, groups or institutions who interact with them and the "manner in which objects or material forms are embedded in the life worlds of individuals, groups, institutions, or more broadly, culture and society".<sup>20</sup>

The term objectification can refer to a concrete embodiment of a fixed idea, or as a mimetic representation of collective identity. While it is true that we can understand the *ki'i*

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<sup>18</sup> Kopytoff in Gosden, Chris and Yvonne Marshall "The Cultural Biography of Objects" 1999: 170 in *World Archaeology*, 31: 2: 169-178.

<sup>19</sup> See for example, Miller, Daniel 2010: 53-68 *Stuff*. Cambridge: Polity.

<sup>20</sup> Tilley, Christopher 2006: 60 in eds. Tilley, Christopher and Web Keane et al *The Handbook of Material Culture*. London: Sage.

lā'au o Lono now in the Louvre as originally having been an embodiment of Hawaiian collective ideas of Lono, or of one of his particular aspects, the Hawaiian understanding of this object has had very little to do with its circulation since it was pulled from its burial cave in 1877. Objectification, as outlined by Miller (2010) supposes a dual relationship of process between subject and object and, in simple terms, attempts to replace a theory of material culture as representation with a theory of material culture as one part of a dialectical process of self-alienation and implies that objects create persons as a part of the same process by which persons create them.<sup>21</sup>

Miller follows Hegel and Marx by understanding objectification as a moment in a much larger dialectical process implicated by action, by the physical production of things which are active in the self-constitution of identities, and in interactions between people<sup>22</sup>. Objects are not objectified in only their original context. This is because, as objects circulate through differing contexts, either through appropriation or exchange, they become part of new contexts, or systems of meaning and contextually produce new types of activities, objects or events. They are re-objectified by their new users.<sup>23</sup>

Baxandall (1985) points out that the intellectual appropriation of an object constitutes a type of interpretation by its new user or “receiver”.<sup>24</sup> This speaks to what Miller refers to as the mutability of objects, and refers to the way that the meanings of objects become appropriated into the social lives of new users who individually or collectively suppress or ascribe new meanings to them in each new process of objectification. Through the process of appropriation,

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<sup>21</sup> Miller, Daniel 2010: 60 *Stuff*. London: Polity.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>23</sup> See Miller 2010: 53-68; Tilley 2006: 60-61.

<sup>24</sup> Baxandall, Michael 1985 *Patterns of Intention: on the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. London: New Haven.

objects circulate through contexts other than those for which they were produced and in doing so, produce new types of activities, objects and events.<sup>25</sup>

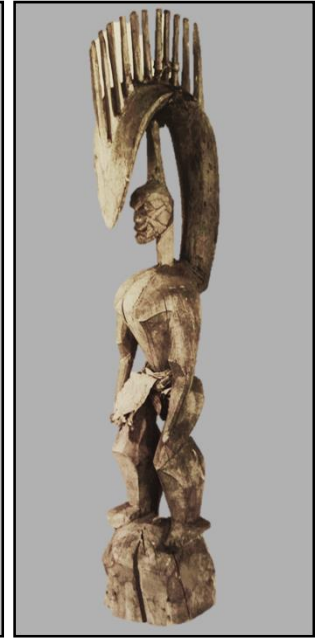
The process of appropriation takes place especially in a cross-cultural context where differing signification systems can become merged in an object, and a new significance created. In this paper I understand appropriation as the process by which the intellectual appropriation of an object constitutes a type of interpretation by its new user or receiver in the construction of the individual or collective social self.

### **1.3 Two Significant Pairs of Hawaiian Ki'i Lā'au**

For the purpose of a unique and focused discussion, I have chosen two pairs of Hawaiian ki'i lā'au collected on the Island of Hawai'i during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and disbursed to museums around the world as a framework for my inquiries. I have selected these four examples due to the similarities in their places of origin, and also because their separate and diverse histories outside of Hawai'i will allow for both a focused yet diverse discussion. The four ki'i lā'au I have chosen are as follows:

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<sup>25</sup> Tilley et al 2006: 61.



**Figure 1.**

**Figure 2.**

**Figure 3.**

**Figure 4.**

Pair 1: TWO KI'I LĀ'AU FROM HALE-O-KEAWE, HAWAI'I ISLAND.

A: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu (7883) [Figure 1]

B: Field Museum, Fuller Collection, Chicago (272689) [Figure 2]

Pair 2: TWO KI'I LĀ'AU FROM HAWAI'I ISLAND.

A: Musée du quai Branly, Paris (MH 791011) [Figure 3]

B: Museum of Church History and Art,  
Salt Lake City, Utah, (LDS 20 -102) [Figure 4]

Although the four objects of my study were removed under varying circumstances they each left Hawaii prior to 1898. Two images collected from hale-o-Keawe on the Kona coast of Hawai'i Island (**figs. 1 and 2**) were removed to London in 1825 by Andrew Bloxam. Of these, one is now in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu (**fig. 1**), and the other is now in the A.W. F. Fuller collection at the Field Museum in Chicago (**fig. 2**). The image now in the collection of Musée du quai Branly in Paris, was sent to France in 1878, and the image now held at the LDS Museum of Church History and Art, in Salt Lake City, was photographed and

circulated as a postcard image prior to 1889. This means that, in the case of the two hale-o-Keawe images (popularly known in scholarship as “The Bloxam Images”), these objects have Western histories spanning nearly two hundred years outside of the Hawaiian Islands, while the ki‘i lā‘au in Paris and Salt Lake City have been circulated and recorded outside of Hawai‘i for 138 years and, at least, 119 years, respectively. During this period they have changed contexts (and continents) multiple times, and circulated in diverse networks of relations which provided them, in turn, with multiple layers of meanings. For these reasons, these objects seem good candidates through which to explore the networks of relationships of which they have been a part.

#### **1.4 The Structure of this Paper**

In this paper, it is not my intent to posit a new iconological reading or interpretation of these objects, or of the systems which they were a part. Rather, the intent of this paper is to trace their histories in order to show how they have been understood and used by their various users as they have been appropriated and circulated through the social networks of cultural outsiders. I do this in order to better understand their current presence in museum collections, and to examine the role which objects play in the creation of persons, institutions and groups through the ascription (or suppression) of meanings, and of histories, in the narratives of which they have become a part. Put simply, my objective in this paper is in better understanding the roles which these four objects have played in the creation of sets of social relations – inside and outside of the Hawaiian Islands – rather than to attempt formalist or iconological readings of Hawaiian sculpture like those of Cox and Davenport<sup>26</sup> or of Kaeppler.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Cox, Halley J. and William H. Davenport 1974 *Hawaiian Sculpture*. University of Hawai‘i Press, Honolulu, HI. Revised edition. 1988.

<sup>27</sup> Kaeppler, Adrienne. 1982 *Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images*. *RES* 3: 82-107.



While I avoid any new interpretation of formal qualities *per se*, my discussion in chapters two, three and four are heavily reliant upon contexts of use and material construction. Here it is possible to draw upon the accounts of early Native scholars such as Iʻi<sup>28</sup>, Malo<sup>29</sup>, and Kamakau<sup>30</sup> among others, and upon later works such as Kameʻeleihiwa<sup>31</sup> and Abbott<sup>32</sup> in order to connect materials and use to their Hawaiian meanings and histories. At the same time, first-hand accounts by explorers and missionaries, while biased and unscientific, provide a window through which we can better understand their own perceptions of, and reactions to, Hawaiian material culture and can offer an account of the circumstances under which Hawaiian objects were removed from their original contexts.

In this paper I present four case studies in which I attempt to understand the appropriation, ascription, or suppression of meanings of a single Hawaiian *kiʻi lāʻau* over time. This is to say that, I attempt to answer the question of *How? How may we understand the presence of Hawaiian kiʻi lāʻau in locations and contexts which are diverse and wholly unrelated to their original purpose?* I will attempt this through an examination of each object’s social biography in order to understand the objects as constituents in the process of formation of the social self in a variety of contexts.

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<sup>28</sup> Iʻi, John Papa. 1959 *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, Mary Kawena Pukui, translator. Reprinted 1995 by Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>29</sup> Malo, David and Nathaniel B. Emerson 1987 [1903] *Moʻolelo Hawaii* (Hawaiian Antiquities). Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Special Publication. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>30</sup> Kamakau, Samuel Manaiakalani. 1961 *The Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press; 1976 *Works of the people of old: Na hana a ka poe kahiko*. Trans. Mary Kawena Pukui. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Special Publications 61. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press; 1991 *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Na Moolelo Ka Poe Kahiko*. Ed. Dorothy B. Barrere. Trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, from the newspapers Ka Nupepa Kuokoa and Ke Au Okoa. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>31</sup> Kameʻeleihiwa, Lilikalā 1992 *Native Land and Foreign Desires: A History of Land Tenure Change in Hawaii from Traditional Times until the 1848 Mahele, Including an Analysis of Hawaiian Aliʻi Nui and American Calvinists*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>32</sup> Abbott, Isabella Aiona 1992 *Lāʻau Hawaiʻi: Traditional Hawaiian Uses of Plants*. Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

To ground these discussions, I begin with two chapters which are intended to contextualize the objects in terms of their original users and in terms of the events that lead to their transference into the hands of cultural outsiders. In Chapter Two (*Ho‘omana Hawai‘i*) I describe the Hawaiian ritual system as a system of signification which underpinned social relations, and constituted a system of both knowledge and practice.

In Chapter Three (*Ki‘i lā‘au in Transition and Transit*) I briefly discuss the factors that prefigured the dissolution of the ‘ai kapu by Ka‘ahumanu and with it, the larger ritual system. These events fundamentally changed Hawaiian society and set up the conditions of exchange leading to the transition of ki‘i lā‘au and also their transit to museums around the world. Following this, I introduce the four pairs of ki‘i lā‘au which appear in the four case studies which follow in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven.

In the first case study I examine a ki‘i lā‘au now in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu (**fig. 1**). I follow the first of two ki‘i lā‘au removed from hale-o-Keawe in 1825, and discuss its appropriation by the rhetoric of Christian triumphalism in the London of 1826, before contrasting the two differing meanings that have been ascribed to it in two very different museum interpretive frameworks at its present location.

In the second case study, I examine a ki‘i lā‘au now in the A. W. F. Fuller Collection, at the Field Museum in Chicago (**fig. 2**). I consider Fuller’s systematic collecting program as one that creates a point of view in this case, an expression of Fuller’s adoption of the Victorian era idea of “cultural progress”. I discuss this system as a dialectical relationship between Fuller and the objects he collected and the false sense of objectivity which it produced.

Fuller’s success in passing his entire collection on to a single research institution as an entire entity can be understood as an externalization of his social self and as a consecration of

his point of view which serves to create a space for himself in public space and for his self-perceptions as a scientific researcher in his own right.

In case study three, I examine a Ki'i lā'au currently on view in Louvre, Paris (**fig.3**). I discuss its current inclusion as a part of an installation designed to present the object as a “masterpiece of world art” and how this occludes the history of its collection in the racist context of the anthropometric methodologies of French anthropology in late 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

In my final case study I examine a ki'i lā'au currently in the collections of the LDS Museum of Church History and Art in Salt Lake City (**fig. 4**). This object has not been on view in Salt Lake City since the 1940s. However, it has travelled internationally to major museums for temporary exhibitions where it has also been published in exhibition catalogues (most recently in 2014), and is often discussed in the literature alongside the image currently in Paris – its possible twin.

In other words, while the object is deemed valuable in scholarship in terms of the place it holds in the material culture of the Pacific, at the museum in Salt Lake City, it has remained in storage for nearly seventy years. Moreover, the LDS Church claims a special relationship to Polynesian peoples and operates the Polynesian Cultural Center theme park at Lā'ie, where a replica of this ki'i lā'au, exaggerated in size, stands among the gardens as a purely decorative object with no interpretation. In this final case study I examine two Polynesian objects which the museum has included in their exhibits in Salt Lake City alongside this replica, and show how the LDS Church has appropriated their meanings and re-deployed them in its narrative of institutional authority.

## CHAPTER 2

### HO‘OMANA HAWAI‘I AND HAWAIIAN MATERIAL CULTURE.

*In order to understand material culture we have to think in terms that go entirely beyond it, to go beneath the surface appearances to an underlying reality. This means that we are thinking in terms of relationships between things, rather than simply in terms of the things themselves*

- Christopher Tilley in *Interpreting Material Culture*.<sup>33</sup>

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter, I discuss *ho‘omana Hawai‘i* (a term which describes Hawaiian ritual practice, discussed further below) as a lens with which to examine the embeddedness of material culture and ritual imagery in Hawaiian social relations prior to the overthrow of the ‘ai kapu and the disestablishment of the Hawaiian religio-political system. Following this, in chapter three, I contextualize the four ki‘i lā‘au selected for this study in terms of their use and location.

The Hawaiian world view and ritual practice are polytheistic and involve relationships with multiple deities which include divine beings, semi-divine beings and spirits. As is characteristic of polytheistic traditions, different divinities are accorded with differing purposes or functions - for example, the control of a particular realm, or to possess a particular range of powers or influence such as control of rain or thunder. Often, as is the case in Hawai‘i, divinities are accorded the ability to possess or adopt specific human or animal forms, or other aspects of nature that may serve as a vehicle for interaction with humans. In polytheistic traditions, singular devotion to one divinity is not necessary. Rather, the propitiation of multiple deities is

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<sup>33</sup> Tilley, Christopher 1994: “Interpreting Material Culture” in ed. Susan M. Pearce *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. London: Routledge.

understood as being more efficacious as each divinity or spirit is also understood to control different realms or powers.<sup>34</sup> The term ho‘omana Hawai‘i references the ritual life of Hawaiian culture and can be understood as follows.

## **2.1 Ho‘omana Hawai‘i and Nā Akua.**

The term ho‘omana Hawai‘i is often translated into English as ‘Hawaiian religion’ – a Western term. Rather, ho‘omana can be better understood as an aggregate of the causative *ho‘o* (causing something to happen) and the noun *mana*. Therefore, the term *ho‘omana* should be understood as *to cause, give, or increase mana*.<sup>35</sup> In Hawaiian ritual practice, ho‘omana infers that the propitiation of he akua (a deity) or nā akua (deities) sustains, imparts, or increases the mana of an akua. Here, mana can be initially (and briefly) described as a form of power, or as an essence, ability or energy which is intangible, but which produces tangible manifestations or results.

A fundamental characteristic of the Hawaiian worldview is that the universe consists of a web of interconnected and genealogically related elements which includes gods, humans, land, sea, sky and everything therein.<sup>36</sup> Within this universe there are akua (deities) far too numerous to name, or to understand the functions of, and there are Hawaiian prayers which acknowledge this fact while “honoring the existence and the vastness of the potentially significant unknown”.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Lamb, Ramdas 2005 in *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, ed. James Birx. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

<sup>35</sup> Brown, Alohalani, 2017: Key Concepts 1, in *Understanding Hawaiian Religion Course Reader*.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, Key Concepts 3.

Kepelino defines *akua* in the following ways: 1) a deity who reigns supreme over all things; 2) a spirit; 3) mana; 4) strength; 5) knowledge; 6) things without a source; 7) a ruling ali‘i; 8) a corpse or a ghost; 9) a kauā outcast of the despised class, and 10) a devil.<sup>38</sup>

The multiple forms that *akua* can take can be broadly categorized into three groups comprised of 1) male *akua*; 2) female *akua*, and 3) those *akua* which are neither male nor female. Among the male *akua* are the four principle male deities 1) Kāne, the great life-giver and the source of water; 2) Lono, the deliverer of water associated with planting and fertility; 3) Kū known in numerous aspects, and closely associated with the forest; and, 4) Kanaloa, associated with the sea. Female *Akua* may be broadly categorized as follows 1) Female *akua* in lua (pit or hole, volcano pit); 2) Female *Akua* in water, and 3) Female *Akua* in the mountains. *Akua* forms who are neither male nor female may be categorized as 1) Things above: firmament, sun, moon, stars, rain, etc., and 2) Things below: stones, trees, water sources, etc.<sup>39</sup>

*Akua* may take various forms known as *kino lau* (*kino*: body or form; *lau*: many or myriad). *Kino lau* may be understood as aspects or forms of the *akua* and reflect Hawaiian understandings of the *akua*’s function or realm. For example, Pele is a deity associated with volcanic activity, and one of her *kino lau* is lava, while Lono, associated with rain, fertility, agriculture and sustenance takes (among many others) the ‘ipu (gourd) and kamapua‘a (pig) as his *kino lau*.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, each *kino lau*, or aspect has a proper name or epithet related to the each occurrence. For example Lono may be understood as Lono ka ipu iki (Lono of the small gourd), Lono he ka hekili (Lono of / in the thunder) and numerous other epithets. Further, this relationship is associative. For example, as the leaf of the kukui tree resembles the head of a

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<sup>38</sup> Kepelino in Brown, Alohalani 2017: Key Concepts 1 in *Understanding Hawaiian Religion Course Reader*

<sup>39</sup> Brown 2017: Key Concepts.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, Key Concepts 1; Abbott 1992: 15-16 *Lā‘au Hawai‘i: Traditional Hawaiian Uses of Plants*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

pig, the kukui tree and kukui nuts are also considered to be kino lau o Lono.<sup>41</sup> In ritual, when invoking a particular akua either in prayer or propitiation of a ki'i lā'au, the epithet representing the specific aspect of the akua one wished to call upon was used.<sup>42</sup>

The point I wish to make in this section is that, within the Hawaiian universe, plants and trees, animals and birds, and even space and time are understood as forms (kino lau), domains or property of the akua, or of the ali'i, their genealogical descendants. This means that the act of viewing or otherwise sensing any natural or man-made object meant – for all social strata – to also understand the object's presence in terms of its relationship to nā akua (deities), their living descendants, the ali'i and therefore as part and parcel of the Hawaiian religio-political system.

Through this culturally prescribed understanding of relationships within the kino lau system, foods, flora, fauna, entire landscapes, space and time become readily recognizable objects which are either kapu (sacred, forbidden, restricted) or noa (profane, unrestricted) to their subjects. Through this recognition of relationship and access, human subjects recognize themselves as belonging to discreet social categories of gender, class, occupation, political allegiance and so on. In this way, all natural or manmade forms (objects) become signifiers of prescribed action or behavior within the cultural context of Hawaiian social relations.

## **2.2 Ho'omana Hawaii, Mana and Kapu.**

Mana is a form of energy or power which has the function of granting authority and defining status. It is intrinsic, but may be increased or decreased, embedded or transferred to something else through contact. In the Hawaiian universe, all things, both animate and inanimate can capture or possess mana, and mana may be conceptualized as an all pervasive

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<sup>41</sup> Brown 2017: Key Concepts 3.

<sup>42</sup> Cox and Davenport: 1988: 38.

force in the universe which could be received by gods, spirits, humans, or objects and ritual action in direct proportion to the sacredness of these.<sup>43</sup>

The ali‘i classes were possessed of mana through their divine descent from nā akua and they manifested mana, or power, in the religio-political system for the benefit of the ‘aina (land) - itself considered an older sibling - and for the maka‘ainana (those who tended the land such as farmers and fisherman, for example) as it was required in the areas of agriculture or war. The presence of mana can be manifested or demonstrated by political power, physical strength, intelligence, reputation and other forms of prestige. An ali‘i’s mana could be increased for example, through the conquering of a rival or through the correct propitiation of the akua through ritual and with the help of the *kahuna* classes (priests, ritual specialists) – usually also drawn from persons of ali‘i rank.<sup>44</sup> Through the ritual propitiation of an akua, the chiefly classes increased the mana of that akua who could, in turn, increase the mana of the ali‘i and of society through abundant harvests or success in warfare. For these reasons, the maintenance of chiefly mana was of paramount importance to the wider society, and in order to properly ensure the maintenance of chiefly mana, various prohibitions or kapu were installed which sought to protect it.<sup>45</sup>

The kapu system, functioned as a set of prohibitions which governed the relationships of gods to humans and humans to each other. The kapu reinforced the idea that the ali‘i were human representatives of the four principle akua, and that, as such, they were charged with malama ‘aina, or caring for the land and everything on it. Various kapu were placed around persons of ali‘i status and kahuna classes for the protection of the mana they embodied or could

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<sup>43</sup> Brown 2017: Key Concepts 1; Handy 1939:28-29.

<sup>44</sup> Abbott 1992: 17 *Lā‘au Hawai‘i: Traditional Hawaiian Uses of Plants*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>45</sup> Handy, E.S. Craighill 1939: 43-45 “Polynesian Religion”. *Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Bulletin 34*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.



control – thereby ensuring the prosperity of the wider society. All of the kapu were intended to separate that considered sacred from that which was considered defiling. For example, because mana could be transferred through contact, it could therefore be stolen or defiled and chiefly bodies were placed under strict kapu and it was an offense punishable by death for those of the maka‘ainana class to allow one’s shadow to fall on a chief.<sup>46</sup>

The ‘ai kapu (sacred eating), was the most prominent factor in engendering social relations. Under the ‘ai kapu, women were not permitted to eat or use plants associated with the four principle male deities Kāne, Kanaloa, Lono or Kū. Therefore, foods associated with Kāne (taro and sugarcane), Kanaloa (banana plants and their fruit, large fish, whales, dolphins and turtles), Lono (pigs) and Kū (coconut trees, coconuts, and most forest trees) were all kapu (forbidden) for females to use or eat - because ingesting these as a female was considered a misappropriation (defilement) of the mana of the akua.<sup>47</sup>

The ‘ai kapu also placed food preparation in the purview of men, and men and women were required to eat separately. For both men and women, heterosexual dining was punishable by death and these kapu were manifest in Hawaiian society in profoundly material ways. For example, the ‘ai kapu was manifest tectonically in the built environment of the domestic compound. Since alimentary prohibitions required that only men prepare food, and that men and women eat separately, separate eating houses were required for men and women. Social relations were again objectified in the men’s houses (hale mua). For example, just as the chiefly and kahuna class performed ritual on behalf of the common classes (maka‘ainana) through heiau ritual; men sacrificed on behalf of women by ritually feeding the many ki‘i lā‘au which

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<sup>46</sup> Fish-Kashay, Jennifer 2008:19 From Kapu to Christianity: The Disestablishment of the Hawaiian Religion and Chiefly Appropriation of Calvinist Christianity. *Western Historical Quarterly*, 39:1 pp 17-39. Oxford University Press.

<sup>47</sup> Abbott 2002: 3 Interpreting Pre-Western Hawaiian Culture as an Ethnobotanist. *Economic Botany* 56:1, pp. 3-7.

were kept in the mens house. The ‘ai kapu also necessitated separate sleeping houses for men and women, and a women’s house for tapa production.<sup>48</sup> Recent archaeological research has found that the influence of the ‘ai kapu on the architecture of domestic compounds across multiple sites was ubiquitous.<sup>49</sup>

An understanding of the significance of the ‘ai kapu and also of its materiality is necessary in understanding how the disestablishment of the ‘ai kapu by Ka‘ahumanu in 1819 was understood as a total upheaval in the ritual system, and set up the conditions of exchange under which ki‘i lā‘au transitioned from their Hawaiian contexts into the collections of cultural outsiders.

### **2.3 Ki‘i lā‘au and the Propitiation of Nā Akua**

Ki‘i lā‘au functioned in a highly sophisticated ritual system underpinned by the social relationships between nā akua (deities), the ali‘i classes and the maka‘ainana which positioned the ali‘i as responsible caretakers of the land and its people. As receptacles or embodiments of *nā akua*, ki‘i lā‘au functioned to make the invisible, visible and to render the immaterial, material. In other words, ki‘i lā‘au were objects that could render the akua present in society. Ki‘i lā‘au were of various types and had different functions in society, but all of these, it can be said, were made manifest in society at the behest of the ali‘i in order to increase mana through ritual action.

Ki‘i lā‘au functioned as receptacles into which an akua could be called in ritual, and these rituals contain symbolism related to human birth.<sup>50</sup> Thus, in a very real sense, akua were birthed

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<sup>48</sup> Valeri, Valerio 1985:126 Kingship and Sacrifice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>49</sup> McCoy, M.D. and M.C. Codlin 2016: 419 The influence of religious authority in everyday life: A landscape scale study of domestic architecture and religious law in ancient Hawai‘i. *World Archaeology*, 48:3 pp 411-430.

<sup>50</sup> Kaeppler 1982: 91.

into the society through ritual action and became active agents in society for a ritually prescribed amount of time in order to ensure success in warfare or agriculture, and other concerns.

The production and use of ki‘i lā‘au at the state or community levels was ritually regulated by the kahuna classes and initiated at the behest of the mo‘i (paramount chief) or of a chief. These types of ritual were conducted in ritual complexes called heiau, and heiau could be of two general types: 1) the heiau luakini, associated with the Kū forms of nā akua and primarily used for rituals concerning warfare, or 2) the heiau māpele, associated with Lono forms of nā akua, and used for rituals concerning sustenance (rainfall and agriculture, fertility and abundance).<sup>51</sup>

Only a mo‘i (paramount chief, “king”) could order the erection and ritual performance of a heiau luakini, whereas any chief of the ali‘i class could order the installation of a heiau māpele.

Each type of heiau was constructed with a rigid set of ritually regulated protocols, and materials used in construction reflected the primary akua to be propitiated through the use of materials which were kino lau of that akua. The construction and rituals of both types of heiau were overseen by the kahuna classes. Whereas the kahuna of the heiau luakini – kahuna pule o Kū (priests who pray to Kū) - inherited their positions by birth and possessed a rank nearly equal to high ali‘i, the kahuna of the heiau māpele - kahuna pule o Lono (the priests who pray to Lono) - were recruited from the populace.<sup>52</sup>

Of these two types, the heiau māpele type associated with crops and with the propitiation of Lono were by far the most numerous, and although they were constructed at the behest of either a major or minor ali‘i, they belonged to the maka‘ainana and were used to appeal to Lono

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<sup>51</sup> Abbott 1992: 17 *Lā‘au Hawai‘i: Traditional Hawaiian Uses of Plants*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

for adequate rainfall, abundant crops or to give thanks for an abundant harvest. The māpele type were especially common in dry leeward areas where the need for rain was a frequent concern.

On a more personal level, and in addition to the heiau luakini and heiau māpele, there were other smaller seasonal heiau used by fisherman (heiau loulu) or altars in men's eating houses (hale mua) where ki'i lā'au of multiple akua were kept. The use of upright stones, shaped stones, or pieces of coral received both prayers and offerings and were a common focus of fisherman near the shore or on headlands. Finally, many personal prayers were uttered in the forest or in the field to a number of akua and for a variety of reasons.<sup>53</sup>

As receptacles or embodiments of nā akua, ki'i lā'au functioned to make the invisible, visible and to render the immaterial, material. However, it is important to note that, although ki'i akua (god images) were an important of Hawaiian ritual life, they were one part of a much larger, all-encompassing system of visual signs which were deeply embedded in the religio-political system which operated in Hawaiian society.

#### **2. 4 Hawaiian Material Culture and the Production of Social Relations.**

In the Hawaiian universe, both the natural environment and manmade objects functioned as a system of signs which mediated social relations through the visual recognition of the kapu or the noa and the ritually prescribed behavior these required. Relationships between the chiefly and the common classes were mediated through the circulation and production of material goods. The collection or production of materials goods for the production of religious or ritual imagery was the responsibility of the common classes, and materials collected or produced were presented as offerings - ho'okupu (to cause to grow)<sup>54</sup> - upward to the chiefly classes during

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<sup>53</sup> Abbott 1992: 16-17.

Malo, David and Nathaniel B. Emerson 1987 [1903]: 270-274 *Mo'olelo Hawaii* (Hawaiian Antiquities). Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Special Publication. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>54</sup> Abbot 1992:21.

the makahiki ritual cycle. Ho‘okupu were then used by the chiefly class for the production of visual symbols of rank or protection which both broadcast and insured their status and authority or, in the case of feathered goods of the chiefly class, for example, their safety and strength in battle as well.

One simple way to understand the dialectical nature of Hawaiian material culture in the production of Hawaiian social relations is through an examination of feathered goods and the ways in which the production and use of these functioned to both create and reinforce social relations. A brief example of Hawaiian feathered goods can serve to make this point.

That the ownership and use of feather work was the prerogative of the chiefly class is widely understood. Feathered cloaks (‘ahu‘ula), helmets (mahiole), images of Gods (akua hulumanu) and kāhili (feathered standards) were all indispensable to Hawaiian ali‘i for the sacred protection they provided in battle and also for their ceremonial functions. Feathered objects derived their sacredness and power through both the materials and process of their production. Feathered capes and cloaks wrapped the bodies of their wearers in sacred protection via the mana transferred through the materials used for their production. For example, wearing a feathered cape or feathered helmet produced using ‘ie‘ie (adventitious roots of the freycenetia arborea) – a kino lau of Kū, and feathers, of forest birds associated with the gods aspects as Kūolonowao (Kū of the deep forest)<sup>55</sup> meant that one was in direct contact with the mana of Kū. At the same time, production of feathered goods was ritualized with prayers being chanted in the objects during their production, rendering the objects themselves as a kind of perpetual prayer. All of this contributed to both the increase and protection of mana in chiefly bodies.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Abbott 1992: 31.

<sup>56</sup> Kaeppler 2008: 120-121.

Feathered goods, generally, as a sign of rank and prestige, also functioned as a highly visible objectification of social inequality which reinforced the political authority of the ruling chiefs. This highly-visible objectification of social stratification was the primary function of kāhili, which heralded the presence of persons of rank.<sup>57</sup> However, the broadcasting of ali'i presence via the kāhili, was necessary and served both ali'i and maka'ainana classes by signifying a prescribed set of ritual behaviors which, if not followed, could result in harm to ali'i mana or punishment by death to those who did not observe the protocol of kapu.

Feathers were among the most valued materials in Hawaiian society, and could only be accumulated in number by the chiefly class who possessed the political power to extract the labor that feather collection required from the commoners through a system of ho'okupu. The collection of feathers was accomplished by a bird-catching or bird-snaring specialists known as kia manu, probably on a part-time basis within their respective ahupua'a (local land division). Feathers formed the most desirable form of ho'okupu collected from each ahupua'a by the ruling chiefs during the annual makahiki festival.<sup>58</sup>

The number of feathers required to produce the 'ahu 'ula (feathered cloak), mahiole (feathered helmet) akua hulumanu Feathered God-image, and kāhili (feathered standard) central to the political and religious life of Hawaiian society, required large numbers of birds to be captured, their feathers processed and bundled to be offered as ho'okupu. A 1993 study of extant kāhili housed in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum concluded that a group of five kāhili (Bishop Museum catalogue numbers 1, 5, 13, 19 and 27) which are comprised of feathers from

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<sup>57</sup> Kaepler 2008: 119.

<sup>58</sup> Lass, Barbara 1998: 20 Crafts, Chiefs, and Commoners: Production and Control in Pre-contact Hawai'i. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. 8 pp. 19-30 ; Malo, David and Nathaniel B. Emerson 1987 [1903]: 77 *Mo'olelo Hawaii* (Hawaiian Antiquities). Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Special Publication. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

the Hawaiian ‘ō‘ō (*moho nobilis*) bird, together would have required the feathers of, at minimum, 4,885 birds. As an example, one of the five kāhili examined in that study, ‘Ele‘eleualani, or ‘Black Rain of Heaven’, would have required the feathers from a minimum of 250 Hawaiian ‘ō‘ō birds for its production<sup>59</sup>. Obviously, feathered capes would have required feathers in far greater numbers – as would feathered helmets and images.

That the chiefly class was able to extract the raw materials and labor needed for the production of feathered goods from commoners as *ho‘okupu* (offerings) - and in turn have these fashioned into objects which served to reinforce, validate and publicize their political power - demonstrates the way in which the subsistence economy was tied to the political economy in pre-contact Hawai‘i. And, this may also serve as a first example of the objectification of Hawaiian material culture in that, through its production and circulation, feathered objects functioned to construct and reinforce Hawaiian social relations by constructing the persons who acted as social agents within this system.

The pre-contact Hawaiian economy operated on the systems of staple and wealth finance. Under this system, food and other subsistence items were collected from the subsistence sphere comprised of the *maka‘ainana* – commoners such as farmers, fishermen and craft specialists via a system of offerings (*ho‘okupu*) centered on the annual *makahiki* ritual cycle. During this cycle, it was incumbent upon each individual *ahupua‘a* (district) to offer *ho‘okupu* in the forms of subsistence produce, finished goods such as *kapa*, or raw materials such as feathers or whale tooth ivory for the manufacture of wealth items.

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<sup>59</sup> See Rose, Connant and Kjellgren (1993:298-300). The estimation that the production of kāhili ‘Ele‘eleualani would have required the feathers of at least 250 birds is based on the idea that the birds were killed and all feathers used. If the birds were captured, and only a few (6) feathers removed, it is estimated that the production of kāhili ‘Ele‘eleualani would have required at least 500 birds to be captured.

Ho‘okupu goods were collected from each district during the circuit made around the island by an image of the god Lono and a retinue of nobles including priests and chiefly retainers. Each district was placed under kapu until its ho‘okupu was collected and officially recognized. As the Lono image and the officials passed through each district, ho‘okupu were presented, officially recognized and the district was released from kapu. Through this process, the individual districts circling the island were incorporated into the larger political entity through the mutual recognition of central authority presupposed by ho‘okupu, and through the ritual release of each district from kapu by the priests representing that central authority.

Goods collected by the chiefly classes could then be used to support the households of chiefs, war, ritual activities and public works projects. Because the maka‘ainana provided the labor and raw materials which funded the political project of the chiefly class, they also possessed the power to direct their labor and resources to fund revolts or to support rival chiefs. David Malo states that “some of the ancient kings had a wholesome fear of the people”.<sup>60</sup>

Malo’s statement illuminates the relationship between the production of material culture and the offering of these goods to the chiefly class. While the chiefs and lesser elites - such as craft specialists attached to the chiefs household - controlled the production and circulation of wealth objects – and were also the beneficiaries of their use, they were dependent upon the maka‘ainana class to provide the labor and raw materials used in their production – which could be withheld.<sup>61</sup> While the labor and raw materials needed to produce feathered goods were provided by the commoners, members of the chiefs household – either chiefly women <sup>62</sup> or a

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<sup>60</sup> Lass 1998: 27; Malo 1951:195.

<sup>61</sup> Malo 1951: 195.

<sup>62</sup> See Stewarts description (Linnekin 1998: 273): “Women, especially in chiefly households, spend much time in making articles of ornament; in braiding of human hair for necklaces, trimming and arranging feathers for wreaths and kähili; polishing tortoise shell and ivory of whales teeth for finger rings and the handles of feathered staffs.”



retinue of craft specialists attached to the chiefs household were responsible for producing the completed objects.

The production, ownership and circulation of feathered goods was deeply embedded in the religio-political system and the authority of a chief could be presupposed simply by the spectacle of feathered regalia. This is to say that, aside from the metaphorical connotations of mana and protection, feathered goods functioned as a sign of rank based upon the fact that those in possession of these objects also possessed the political power to accumulate the materials and labor to produce them.<sup>63</sup>

## **2.5 Conclusions**

In sum ho‘omana Hawai‘i or the Hawaiian ritual system, operates as a highly sophisticated system of signification which orders the Hawaiian universe into sets of social relationships. Understood in Foucauldian terms, this creates the episteme of Hawaiian society or, in Bourdieusian terms, its habitus. Thus, the Hawaiian ritual system is both a system of knowledge and of practice grounded in sets of relations between persons, between persons and things, and between persons and the natural and supernatural worlds which are understood and mediated through the relational subset of the kapu and the noa. The relationship between the kapu (sacred, marked, restricted) and the noa (profane, unmarked, unrestricted), is dialectical and indexes a system of homologies between the pure and the impure, the male and the female, and the superior and the inferior.

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<sup>63</sup> Lass 1998: 27-8.

## CHAPTER 3

### KI'I LĀ'AU IN TRANSITION AND TRANSIT

*It was then surrounded by an enclosure of hideous idols carved in wood, and no woman had ever been allowed to enter its consecrated precincts... The blood-stained altar was there, where human victims had been immolated to idol gods ... A few months after our visit Kaahumanu came and ordered all the bones buried, and the house and fence entirely demolished. She gave some of the timber, which was spear-wood (kauila), to the missionaries, and told them to make it into canes and contribution boxes, to send to their friends.*

- Laura Fish Judd, missionary, 1828.<sup>64</sup>

#### 3.1 Introduction

The above description by the American missionary Laura Judd of the *hale-o-Keawe*, located in the pu'uhonua (place of refuge) at Honaunau on the Big Island of Hawai'i is representative of the period in which ki'i lā'au, and the social relations within which they were embedded, underwent abrupt and chaotic change.

Judd's 1828 account of her visit to *hale-o-Keawe* with Kapi'olani, high chiefess of Ka'u, condenses several key characteristics which are representative of this period of transition. For example, Ka'ahumanu's dissolution of the 'ai kapu in 1819 – and with it, the kapu system more generally – meant that objects and places previously sacred or kapu, were now rendered profane or noa (un-marked, not sacred). Thus, by the time of Judd's visit in 1828, neither *hale-o-Keawe* nor its identity as a *hale poki* (mausoleum, place for the deification of bones),<sup>65</sup> or as a *hale-o*

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<sup>64</sup> Judd, Laura Fish. 1966 *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861*. Edited by Dale L. Morgan. Chicago: R.R. Donnelley and Sons

<sup>65</sup> Valeri 1988:183; Malo 2016 [1898]: 106; Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert 1986:53 in *Hawaiian Dictionary Enlarged and Revised Edition*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press: "hale poki n. Shrine where bones of dead chiefs were kept, as the Hale-o-Keawe at Kona, Hawai'i."

–Lono,<sup>66</sup> no longer signified gendered relations to sacred space, ritual behavior or an understanding of the material world in terms of its former associations with the akua. Judd’s account shows both Ka‘ahumanu’s disregard of the materials used in the construction of hale-o-Keawe – kauila (lit.: “lightning”) wood, a kinolau of Lono – through her willingness to gift it to the missionaries so they could make “canes and contribution boxes, to send to their friends”.<sup>67</sup>

Globally, the appropriation and removal of ‘idols’ (especially) and other indigenous material culture by missionaries, for the purpose of circulation and display in the metropole as a rhetorical tool, was a common practice during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These objects were appropriated by 19<sup>th</sup> Century Christian discourse as sensationalized forms of ‘evidence’, of both the *need* for, and the success of, missionization which I discuss at length in Chapter Four (Case Study 1).

In this chapter, I briefly outline some of the factors that created the conditions of exchange under which ki‘i lā‘au transitioned – at least officially – from the sacred to the profane or from the kapu to the noa. Rather than understanding the transition of ki‘i lā‘au and sacred sites from kapu to noa as a result, or as reflection of, a new political and cosmological order, I understand the destruction of ki‘i lā‘au and the profaning of ritual sites by Ka‘ahumanu as a corollary to the dialectical process of objectification whereby – rather than constructing a social self through the use of objects, a new social self is constructed through their destruction. This speaks to what Miller refers to as the mutability of objects or, an objects ability to change meaning as it is appropriated by new users or in new contexts.

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<sup>66</sup> Malo 1951: 142.

<sup>67</sup> Judd, Laura Fish. 1966 *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861*. Edited by Dale L. Morgan. Chicago: R.R. Donnelley and Sons.

Following this, I introduce the two pairs of ki'i lā'au which are the object of the four case studies that follow. Because much of what has been recorded in regard to the history and contexts of these objects was recorded after the dissolution of 'ai kapu by Ka'ahumanu in November 1819, any historical contextualization of these objects using available sources necessarily begins at a point in history following the total upheaval of the ritual system of which they were a part. Nevertheless, early primary source accounts of these objects and their contexts of use are useful in understanding their significance at the time they were collected by cultural outsiders.

### **3.2 The Dissolution of the 'Ai Kapu**

There are several factors that precipitated Ka'ahumanu's dissolution of the 'ai kapu system, all of which stem from the increasing presence of cultural outsiders from the 18<sup>th</sup> Century onward, and especially after the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. The first of these was the presence of foreign men. Prior to the arrival of cultural outsiders, food prohibitions objectified in the 'ai kapu were understood as a naturalized - and therefore necessary - component of the ritualized social structure. Though they denied women autonomy of choice in their diet, prior to the presence of foreign men women did not have occasion to break the 'ai kapu. However, as foreign ships, traders, and sailors became an increasing presence in the islands, many women socialized, and had sexual relations with, these men. On board foreign ships, women ate forbidden foods with foreign men, and because these infractions were un-surveilled, they were also unpunished<sup>68</sup> which created a sense of doubt about the validity of the 'ai kapu and the system of which it was a part. Already, by 1810 Archibald Campbell observed that:

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<sup>68</sup> Fish-Kashay, Jennifer 2008:25 in From Kapus to Chirstianity: the Disestablishment of the Hawaiian Religion and Chiefly Appropriation of Calvinist Christianity. *Western Historical Quarterly*, 39:1 pp 17-39.

*Notwithstanding the rigor with which these ceremonies are generally observed, the women very seldom scruple to break them when it can be done in secret. They often swim out to foreign ships at night during the taboo; and I have known them [to] eat of the forbidden delicacies of pork and shark's flesh.*<sup>69</sup>

The introduction of foreign diseases was also a significant cause for doubt in the religio-political system. As with Native American populations, Hawaiians lacked immunity to smallpox, measles, tuberculosis, influenza, cholera, and other Western diseases. At the same time, Western sailors introduced sexually transmitted diseases such as syphilis and gonorrhea. and between 1778 and 1823, the Hawaiian population is estimated to have fallen by 40 percent to 80 percent.<sup>70</sup> Lilikala Kame‘eleihiwa has stated that these circumstances led the Hawaiian population to feel betrayed by their gods and points out that, while Kamehameha I demonstrated his devotion to the akua by making all of the appropriate rituals and sacrifices, the population continued to decline at a devastating rate and, as a result, Hawaiians began to question the mana of the akua.<sup>71</sup>

In November of 1819, just six months following the death of Kamehameha I, Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and Ka‘ahumanu, acting as kuhina nui, or regent, held a great feast for the purpose of public spectacle. During this feast, women ate foods previously forbidden to them and, more significantly, the new king, Liholiho, and Hewahewa, the kahuna nui (highest ranking religious specialist) dined with them – thus, publicly defying the kapu against heterosexual dining. Immediately following this feast, kingdom-wide orders were given to destroy the ki‘i lā‘au, profane the heiau and disregard kapu, generally.<sup>72</sup> The hale mana in which

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<sup>69</sup> Campbell, Archibald 1822: 136 *A Voyage Round the World from 1806 to 1812*. Charleston: Duke and Brown 1822.

<sup>70</sup> Fish-Kashay 2008: 25.

<sup>71</sup> Kameeleihiwa, Lilikala 1992: 80-1 in *Native Land and Foreign Desire*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>72</sup> Webb, T.D. 1965: 35 “The Abolition of the Taboo System in Hawai‘i”. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. 74 (21 – 39).

ki'i akua were kept and ritually fed were burned and many of the ki'i lā'au that weren't destroyed were hidden in caves.<sup>73</sup>

Sissons (2014) has linked these events to the larger phenomenon of what he terms the “Polynesian Iconoclasm” – the period between 1815-1827 which “comprised a series of destructive episodes in which god-images were rendered powerless, and temples and associated structures were successively burned or torn down in Eastern Polynesia”.<sup>74</sup> Sissons has noted similar patterns of iconoclasm in fifteen Polynesian societies during this period, but also notes that the Hawaiian iconoclasm was unique in that it would not be until the following year, in 1820, that Calvinist missionaries would arrive in Hawai'i and take full advantage of the cultural absence of the Hawaiian ritual system. This unusual cultural abandonment of an entire ritual system without exchanging it or defining it as a new (e.g. Christian) ritual system, as was the case in Tahiti or the Cook Islands, or any of the other iconoclast societies in Polynesia during this period has been noted and studied extensively by the fields of history and anthropology among others.<sup>75</sup>

Because the kapu system had served to both naturalize and sacralize social relations by anchoring Hawaiian persons of all social categories to the cosmos and to each other, Ka'ahumanu's disestablishment of the 'ai kapu, the profaning of the heiau and other ritual structures, and the destruction of ki'i lā'au alienated society from a universe they had known for hundreds of years. Here, I do not wish to imply that religious change was complete either psychologically, or in practice, as a result of the disestablishment of the 'ai kapu by Kaahumanu

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<sup>73</sup> Bingham, Hiram 1981 [1849]: 77 *A Residence of Twenty One Years in the Sandwich Islands*. Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co.

<sup>74</sup> Sissons 2011a: 208 “The Tectonics of Power: The Hawaiian Iconoclasm and its Aftermath”. *Oceania*. 81 (2): 205-217.

<sup>75</sup> Webb 1965: 65.

in 1819. Recent archeological evidence has shown that some heiau and other ritual sites continued to function as sites of ritual, and as sites of cultural memory throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>76</sup> And although, officially, religious change was abrupt, the significance of sacred sites or objects was gradually transformed, rather than immediately forgotten. Many individuals and families continued their propitiation of the akua and especially their family gods, the aumakua, and continued to seek out the services of kahuna specialists for healing practices, sorcery and other concerns.<sup>77</sup>

Many first-hand accounts of missionaries and other cultural outsiders observe plainly that customary religious practice continued to exist. For example, on his tour around the Island of Hawaii in 1823, Ellis noted the presence of stone altars, “idols” and of heiau which were still in use and protected by kapu - three years following Ka‘ahumanu’s official dissolution of the ‘ai kapu. Further, the bemoaning of “idolatry” and “idolatrous practices” by missionaries and other colonial settlers is ubiquitous in their written accounts until at least the turn of the century, and is well documented.

However, the abrupt changes wrought by the dissolution of the ‘ai kapu in 1819 - at least within the spheres of official influence – can be understood as an upheaval of the entire ritual and social system. This is because, as Valeri notes, the hierarchy of males was preconditioned on the hierarchy of gender, and because gender manifest itself in the food ‘ai kapu, it makes sense, then, that the ‘ai kapu was conceptualized as the basis of the entire ritual system – and, accordingly, its dissolution represented the undoing of the entire ritual system.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Flexner, James L. and Mark D. McCoy. 2016 After the Missionaries: Historical Archaeology and Traditional Religious Sites in the Hawaiian Islands. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 125:3 pp 307-331. September 2016

<sup>77</sup> See Kaeppler 1985.

<sup>78</sup> Valeri, Valerio. 1985: 128 *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Ellis recorded that immediately following the feast at which Liholiho and Ka‘ahumanu violated the ‘ai kapu, the head priest, Hewahewa, resigned his office, and that “the king, declared that there should no longer be any priests or any worship rendered to the gods” and later observed that Ka‘ahumanu had ordered the burning of 102 ki‘i lā‘au.<sup>79</sup> Bingham recorded that during this same period all of the hale mana (mana house) attached to heiau ritual sites, and in which ki‘i lā‘au were ritually fed were burned and that many of these images were hidden in caves.<sup>80</sup>

### **3.3 Four Significant Ki‘i Lā‘au in their Hawaiian Contexts**

#### **3.3.1 Ki‘i lā‘au as Paired Images**

I have selected four ki‘i lā‘au as the objects of this study because of their status as so-called “pairs”. However, I assert that their significance as “pairs” may simply be a product of a Western art-historical construct, and stem from the fact that these are the only four images among the extant corpus of Hawaiian ki‘i lā‘au which are very similar – nearly to the point of being identical - when examined through the Western art-historical lens of formal analysis. Because so many ki‘i lā‘au were destroyed or cached, it becomes difficult to contextualize their significance as pairs. There may have others like them.

Of the four objects of my study, only two were collected together as a so-called ‘pair’. Taking, for example, the two images removed from hale-o-Keawe on the Kona coast of Hawai‘i Island in 1825 (*figs. 1 and 2*), these images may only be considered “paired” to the extent that it can be determined they were in their original location and functioning in their original purpose when collected. While descriptions of their use in the context of a hale piko (below) provide an

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<sup>79</sup> Ellis, William 1969 [1842]: 44 *Polynesian Researches during a Residence of Nearly Six Years in the South Seas*, vol. 2. Rutland and Tokyo, Charles E. Tuttle Company.

<sup>80</sup> Bingham, Hiram. 1981 [1849]: 77.



insight into how they functioned at the time they were removed from their Hawaiian context, it is unknown if this was their original purpose.

At the same time, the other two objects in this study (*figs. 3 and 4*), while almost identical, were not collected together, or from the same location.<sup>81</sup> *Figure 3*, now on view in the Louvre in Paris, was collected from a burial cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea in 1877, shipped to France by Theodore Ballieu in 1878, and accessioned into the collections of the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1879, but the details of Baillieu's acquisition of this object are not recorded. At the same time, the exact provenance of *Figure 4* is unknown, but was believed by William T. Brigham, the first director of the Bishop museum, to have been a gift of King Kalākaua to the Deseret Museum in Salt Lake City (developed later into the collections of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints) sometime prior to 1898, although museum records bear no record of this connection.<sup>82</sup> Therefore, due to these historical ambiguities, my position in this paper regarding the status of these four images as pairs refers only to similarities in appearance and is not intended to establish an identity of "paired images" as a distinct category of production, function or meaning.

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<sup>81</sup> See *Hawaiian Gazette* "An Interesting Idol" April 25, 1877 (Appendix C).

<sup>82</sup> See Brigham, William T. 1898: 63. Although Brigham states that this object and one other were gifts to the "Mormon Museum", the LDS Museum of Church History and Art has no record of this connection. This is discussed further in Case study 4 (Chapter 7).

### 3.3.2 Two Ki'i Lā'au from the hale-o-Keawe at Pu'uhonua, Hawai'i Island



**Figure 1.**

Ki'i lā'au from hale-o-Keawe  
Late 18th century, carved wood  
Height: 63.5 in., height of figure: 52 in.  
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum,  
Honolulu (B7883).



**Figure 2.**

Ki'i lā'au from hale-o-Keawe  
Late 18th century, carved wood  
Height: 60 in., height of figure: 49.5 in.  
Field Museum, Chicago A.W.F. Fuller Collection  
(272689).

*The house was good-looking inside and out. Its posts and rafters were of kauila wood, which, it is said, was found in the upland of Napuu. It was well built, with crossed stems of dried ti leaves for thatching. The compact bundles of deified bones were in a row inside the house, beginning with Keawe's bones, near the right side of the door by which one went in and out, and extending to the spot opposite the door ... Have we a near kinsman in this house? His father assented. There are still some people who have relatives in this house of "life".*<sup>83</sup>

John Papa I'i, 1817

<sup>83</sup> I'i, John Papa. trans. Mary Kawena Pukui 1993 [1959]: 138-39 *Fragments of Hawaiian History*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

This description of the interior of hale-o-Keawe (house of Keawe) recorded by John Papa I‘i, a companion to Liholiho, heir to Kamehameha I, on a state visit to hale-o-Keawe in 1817 – two years prior to the dissolution of the ‘ai kapu by Ka‘ahumanu favorite wife of Kamehameha I in November of 1819. I‘i’s account of the occasion is significant because it is the only surviving account of a state visit to hale-o-Keawe by a member of the chiefly class. I‘i continues:

*At the right front corner of the house, heaped up like firewood, were the unwrapped bones of those who had died in war. In that heap were the bones of Nahiolea, father of Mataio Kekuanaoa. Ii saw his own father remove his tapa shoulder covering and place it on a bundle among the other bundles of bones. He must have done this after asking the caretaker about all of them. When Ii saw his father's action he asked, "Have we a near kinsman in this house?" His father assented. There are still some people who have relatives in this house of "life". . . .*

*After Liholiho had finished his visit to the house, a pig was cooked and the gathering sat to worship the deified persons there.<sup>84</sup>*

Hale-o-Keawe is situated at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau (Place of Refuge of Hōnaunau) on the Kona coast of Hawai‘i Island, and is one structure among a larger complex which includes nearby palace grounds, royal fishponds, a canoe landing area, stone house platforms, and temple structures. As a place of refuge, the complex was a sheltering place in times of conflict where one could wait without harm until the conflict or battle was resolved. Or, in the case of individual who had broken a kapu, one could escape capital punishment by fleeing to a place of refuge.<sup>85</sup> The following description by William Ellis provides an understanding of how the place of refuge was conceptualized in 1823:

*This had several wide entrances, some on the side next the sea, the others facing the mountains. . . . Happily for him [the one seeking refuge], those gates were perpetually open; and as soon as the fugitive had entered, he repaired to the*

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<sup>84</sup> I‘i, John Papa trans. Mary Kawena Pukui 1993 [1959]: in *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, pp 138-9. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, pp. 138-39.

<sup>85</sup> Kamakau 1976: 17-18 *Works of the people of old: Na hana a ka poe kahiko*. Trans. Mary Kawena Pukui. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum *Special Publications* 61. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

*presence of the idol, and made a short ejaculatory address, expressive of his obligations to him in reaching the place with security.*

*Whenever war was proclaimed, and during the period of actual hostilities, a white flag was unfurled on the top of a tall spear, at each end of the enclosure. . . . It was fixed a short distance from the walls on the outside, and to the spot on which this banner was unfurled, the victorious warrior might chase his routed foes; but here, he must himself fall back; beyond it he must not advance one step, on pain of forfeiting his life.<sup>86</sup>*

Similarly, an ali‘i nui, or high chief, was conceptualized as a pu‘uhonua because a person facing punishment by death could go to them and be saved. In the Hawaiian universe high chiefs were sacrosanct, and therefore their lands were sacrosanct, and were ‘aina pu‘uhonua (lands of refuge). This power was accorded to high chiefs due to their position as rulers whose power derived from the mana they had inherited from their ancestors which gave them the right to spare lives or extend mercy.<sup>87</sup>

Estimates based on genealogy indicate that the Pu‘uhonua at Honaunau may have originally been established by ‘Ehu kai malino, ruling chief of Kona, around 450 years ago<sup>88</sup>, while hale-o-Keawe itself is believed to have been built by Kanuha, a son of Keawe-i-kekahi-ali‘i-o-moku, in order to house the deified bones of his father and those of his descendants – probably prior to 1700 CE.<sup>89</sup> Through a study of oral tradition and genealogies, Barrère concluded that as many as sixteen of the chiefs were direct descendants of one chiefly union and therefore, hale-o-Keawe was primarily the depository of bones of one family descended from Keawe-nui-a-'Umi, whose son was the first hereditary ruler of Kona, and that the earliest

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<sup>86</sup> Ellis, William 1916 [1823]: 124-26 *Journal of William Ellis: A Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii in 1823*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1916.

<sup>87</sup> Kamakau 1961: 17-18.

<sup>88</sup> National Park Service 2018 in Pu'ukohola Heiau, Kaloko-Honokohau, and Pu'uhonua O Honaunau: A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island. *Site Histories, Resource Descriptions, and Management Recommendations*.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

interments in the house were probably intended for deification as ancestral gods for the next generations.<sup>90</sup>

The Pu‘uhonua should be understood as more than a place of physical protection but as one of sanctuary, or spiritual protection.<sup>91</sup> As is the case at Hōnaunau, places of refuge were often closely associated with heiau and other ritual structures, and in fact, hale-o-Keawe was built on one of the heiau platforms of the ritual complex. Thus at hale-o-Keawe, the powerful mana contained in the bones of its deified chiefs afforded protection to anyone entering the enclosure, and both the sanctuary at Honaunau and the surrounding area was under the protection of the deified chief Keawe-i-kekahi-ali‘i-o-moku and his descendants.<sup>92</sup> In this way, hale-o-Keawe functioned both as a receptacle and as a producer of mana. In addition to its role as a hale piko intended for the deification of the bones of chiefs,<sup>93</sup> Hale-o-Keawe was itself considered a hale-o-Lono or, a house of prayers dedicated to Lono and had significance as ritual site for the fertility of the lands and for increasing the mana of the district.<sup>94</sup>

The following accounts are valuable for their insights as to the context of these objects in the location in which they were found:

*On one side were arranged several feathered deities protruding their misshapen heads through numberless folds of decayed tapa. Under these folds were deposited the bones of the mighty kings and potent warriors who had hailed these idols as their penates...after the party had viewed this holy place for some time, our rapacious inclinations began to manifest themselves and after our lordship had taken what he thought proper, the rest began to take ample sanctuary regardless of the punishment attending such shameless sacrilege. Two immense though beautifully carved gods that stood on each side of the stone altar were immediately*

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<sup>90</sup> Barrere, Dorothy 1986: 40 Report 10: A Reconstruction of the History and Function of the Pu‘uhonua and the Hale-o-Keawe at Honaunau. In *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau*, ed. E.H. Bryan and Kenneth P. Emory. Departmental Report Series 86-2. Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

<sup>91</sup> Kelly, Marion 1963: 138-39 “The Concept of Asylum”. Report 11, in *The Natural and Cultural History of Hōnaunau, Kona, Hawai‘i* by E.H. Bryan, Jr. and K.P. Emory. Departmental Report Series 86-2. Department of Anthropology, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Barrere 1986: 43.

<sup>94</sup> Malo 1951: 51; Abbot 1992: 15.

*plucked up and sent down to the boats. I succeeded in appropriating to myself two wooden gods, a feathered deity that covered the bones of Keawe, grandfather of Terreehoo a beautiful spear and a few other articles within my reach. All the other visitants were equally piously inclined. Having thus gratified our curiosity we returned to the ship laden with the spoils of this heathen temple.*<sup>95</sup>

On the following day James McRae, a Botanist on the H.M.S. Blonde visited the site and observed the following:

*We went to see the morai on the other side of the island. On our way met the old priest in his canoe coming on board. He alone is entrusted to enter the morai, and we accordingly took him back with us. We found the morai was on the east point of a small bay surrounded by huts standing under a thinly scattered grove of coconut trees, but with no signs of cultivation about. As we were about to enter the morai the old priest, who had a straw hat and cotton shirt, took both of them off, and only left his maro on. On entering we only found an empty filthy hut with quantities of human bones in heaps under mats at each end of the hut, many of the bones not yet dry and disgusting to the sight. In the middle were several effigies of the deceased chiefs, tied to a bundle of tapa cloth containing the bones of each person whom the effigies represented. Most of the effigies were made of wood, but the one representing the late Tamahamaha [Kamehameha] was substituted by a mask of European manufacture and was more finely dressed than the others. The party with Lord Byron that had visited here the day before, had taken away any memorials of the morai that could be taken, so we asked the old priest to be allowed to take some of the ancient weather beaten carved images outside.*<sup>96</sup>

At the time the two ki‘i lā‘au (**figs. 1 and 2**) were removed from hale-o-Keawe, they were clearly a part of a burial context. Accounts recorded during Captain James Cook’s visit in 1779 suggest that the central ki‘i lā‘au at hale-o-Keawe could have been representations of the deceased chiefs themselves while the others were ki‘i akua, God Images:

*This figure the natives called Mae [mo‘i]; and round it placed thirteen others of rude and distorted shapes, which they said were the Eatooas [Akuas] of several deceased chiefs, whose names they recounted*<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Bloxam, Andrew 1924: 79-80. Diary of Andrew Bloxam Naturalist of the “Blonde” on Her Trip from England to the Hawaiian Islands 1824-1825. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. *Special Publication 10*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>96</sup> MacRae, James 1992: 71-72 in With Lord Byron at the Sandwich Islands in 1825. Honolulu: W.F. Wilson.

<sup>97</sup> James Cook [1784]: 3:160 in A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Undertaken by the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere, 3 vols. and Atlas. London: G. Nicol and T. Cadell.

Adrienne Kaeppler's reading (1982) links these two ki'i lā'au (*figs. 1 and 2*) to Lono by theorizing that these figures may have once been "guardians of the sacred tax grounds of Lono" and that "their extended hands may have once held the alia poles".<sup>98</sup> This observation characterizes the two figures as having been created for a purpose other than the one they were serving when they were collected.

The first-hand descriptions of those who viewed these ki'i lā'au in place at hale-o-Keawe make it clear that these images flanked what is described as an altar and were not the central images of the tableau so it is possible that they were additions. However, based upon the carver's treatment of the heads of these figures, I will suggest that the hairstyles carved onto these figures are unique among extant ki'i lā'au, and possibly indicative of their purpose. The hairstyles on this pair of images are unique in that they are the only surviving images with notched incisions close to the head - rather than being represented as elaborate, full hairstyles like those present on images typically referred to as "Kū images", or as figures executed in "the Kona Coast Style".<sup>99</sup> I understand the carver's treatment of the heads of these figures as the purposeful representation of a type of hairstyle which was associated with the ritual mourning practices accompanying the death of a chief. As Te Rangi Hiroa notes, "The special sign of grief for a chief consisted of cutting the hair close on each side of the head so as to leave a median crest of long hair".<sup>100</sup>

In these two ki'i lā'au , then, I believe that what appears to me to be the purposeful representation of a ritual hairstyle associated with the ritual mourning practices associated with the death of a chief, together with the location of these images at *hale-o-Keawe*, a mausoleum

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<sup>98</sup> Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 1982: 89 in "Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images". *RES* 3: 82-107.

<sup>99</sup> For example, see Cox and Davenport 1988: xiv.

<sup>100</sup> Hiroa, Te Rangi [Sir Peter S. Buck] 1957: 565 in *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

and a *hale piko* constructed for the deification of chiefly bones facilitated by their placement under the watch of *ki'i lā'au* , suggests that these figures were created expressly to be positioned exactly where they were found: at hale-o-Keawe, carved to represent a state of perpetual mourning and positioned to accept offerings to the deceased King Keawe-i-kekahi-ali'i-o-moku and the chiefs who succeeded him.



### 3.3.3 Two Ki'i Lā'au o Lono



**Figure 3.**  
**Ki'i lā'au o Lono**

Late 18th century, carved wood  
Height: 35 in

Musée du quai branly - Jacques Chirac  
Pavillon des Sessions, Louvre  
Paris, France (71.1879.10.11.1)

Donor: Théodore Étienne Ballieu  
Old collection: National Museum of Natural History  
Previous collection: Musée de l'Homme (Oceania)



**Figure 4.**  
**Ki'i lā'au o Lono**

Late 18th century, carved wood  
Height 19.5 in., height of figure 19 in.

Museum of Church History and Art,  
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints  
Salt Lake City, Utah (LDS102)

Donor: Samuel Parker Richards

In regard to the second pair of ki'i lā'au, far less is known about either the details of their use or the circumstances of their collection. While this pair of images are strikingly similar, and were likely carved by the same ritual specialist, they do not appear to have been found together. In 1877, an announcement in the *Hawaiian Gazette* entitled “An Interesting Idol” (*Appendix*

C) stated that the image now on view in Paris (**fig. 3**) was discovered in a cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea. While we know that the object was acquired by Théodore Ballieu, French consul to the Hawaiian Kingdom, details surrounding the collection of this ki'i lā'au remain ambiguous, as the article does not say who found the object, or under what circumstances. Nor does the article mention the presence, the collection or even the knowledge of its possible twin (**fig. 4**) now in the collections of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Museum of Church History and Art (LDS Museum).

The ki'i lā'au now in the collections of the LDS Museum was believed by William Brigham, first director of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu, to have been a gift of King Kalākaua to the Museum in Salt Lake City.<sup>101</sup> However, museum records indicate a donor by the name of Samuel Parker Richards.<sup>102</sup> The object is known to have been in Salt Lake City by 1880 because it and one other ki'i lā'au were listed in the museum's handbook guide published in March of that same year (**Appendix D**). Still, the connection to Kalākaua remains elusive at present.

It is most likely that these two figures were carved for ritual use in a māpele heiau and represent an aspect of the God Lono. Therefore, it would be more appropriate to refer to them as either ki'i akua (God image) or ki'i lā'au o Lono (wooden image of Lono). Both images bear a striking facial resemblance to the Makahiki pole now in the collections of the Bishop Museum and described by Malo as a representation of Lono (**fig. 5**).<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>101</sup> Brigham, William T. 1898 "Report of a Journey around the World Undertaken to Examine Various Ethnological Collections". *Occasional Papers*, Bernice P. Bishop Museum 1(1).

<sup>102</sup> I discuss Samuel Parker Richards at greater length in Chapter Seven (Case Study 4).

<sup>103</sup> See Malo, David 1951: 143 in *Hawaiian Antiquities*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Special Publication 61; Kaeppler, Adrienne L. 1982: 85 in *Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images*. *RES* 3: 82-107.



**Figure 5.**

Upright Pole Section of Makahiki Lono Image,  
Bishop Museum (B7659).

Both images appear to have been carved rather quickly with the use of metal tools and lack the detail and skill witnessed in the first image pair from hale-o-Keawe. This makes sense for several reasons. First, as I observed in Chapter Two, heiau could be of two general types: 1) the heiau luakini, associated with the Kū forms of nā akua and primarily used for rituals concerning warfare, or 2) the heiau māpele, associated with Lono forms of nā akua, and used for ritual concerning sustenance (rainfall and agriculture, fertility and abundance).<sup>104</sup> Only a mo‘i (paramount chief, ‘King’) could order the erection and ritual performance of a heiau luakini, whereas any individual of the chiefly class could order the installation of a heiau māpele and these types were far more numerous, and more closely associated with everyday activities.

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<sup>104</sup> Abbot 1992: 15-17.

Further, whereas the kahuna of the heiau luakini – kahuna pule o Kū (priests who pray to Kū) - inherited their positions by birth and possessed a rank nearly equal to high ali‘i, the kahuna of the heiau māpele - kahuna pule o Lono (the priest who prays to Lono) - were recruited from the populace.<sup>105</sup> For these reasons, it becomes possible to imagine that ritual carving surrounding the māpele heiau was perhaps less specialized – at least locally - and therefore could have resulted in images that were much less detailed. The images at hale-o-Keawe functioned within the framework of a hale-o-Lono, but because it was also a mausoleum at a sacred site, it stands to reason that the most highly skilled carvers and most prestigious images would have been selected.

Finally, with Kamehameha I’s unification of the island chain and the long and relatively peaceful period which followed, heiau luakini and ki‘i lā‘au associated with warfare became less necessary and many images were taken away from these heiau by sailors or explorers.<sup>106</sup> However, the associations between Lono and māpele ritual with sustenance (rainfall, fertility and harvests) meant that heiau māpele were especially numerous in dry areas and it seems unlikely that ritual and ki‘i lā‘au associated with sustenance would have been readily dismissed – at least locally – even after the dissolution of the ‘ai kapu in 1819.<sup>107</sup> Therefore, it seems likely that this second pair of ki‘i lā‘au were originally part of the context of a heiau māpele, and that they were preserved even after the dissolution of the ‘ai kapu because of the role they played in ensuring sustenance for their users.

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Cox and Davenport 1988: 59; Cook 1784: 3:25.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

## Conclusions

As I pointed out in Chapter Two, the ‘ai kapu was manifest in Hawaiian society in profoundly material ways and the dissolution of the ‘ai kapu was accompanied by the destruction of ki‘i lā‘au and of much of the material that had developed around the ritual system.

This included ki‘i lā‘au, but also the architectural structures related to the larger system. For example, social relations were objectified in the men’s houses (hale mua) of the domestic compound where men sacrificed on behalf of women by ritually feeding the ki‘i lā‘au which housed inside. This mirrored the way in which the chiefly and kahuna class performed ritual on behalf of the common classes (maka‘ainana) through heiau ritual. The ‘ai kapu also necessitated separate sleeping houses for men and women, and a women’s house for tapa production<sup>108</sup>. As I also pointed out in Chapter Two, recent archaeological research has found that the influence of the ‘ai kapu on the architecture of domestic compounds across multiple sites was ubiquitous.<sup>109</sup>

So, then, the dissolution of the ‘ai kapu was accompanied by profound material changes in the structure of social relations which had up to that time been naturalized for centuries, and this disassembling or destruction of objects and other forms of material culture can be understood through Miller’s dialectical theory of objectification. As Miller outlines it, humans posit something (a God, a religion, an idea) outside of themselves which confronts them as an other, they externalize. Once externalized, then, the thing becomes naturalized and appropriated back into the process of identity formation through which we recognize ourselves in that which has been created. However, as Miller states, we can forget that the thing (God, religion, idea,

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<sup>108</sup> Valeri, Valerio 1985:126 Kingship and Sacrifice. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>109</sup> McCoy, M.D. and M.C. Codlin 2016: The influence of religious authority in everyday life: A landscape scale study of domestic architecture and religious law in ancient Hawai‘i. *World Archaeology*, 48:3 pp 411-430.

etc.) is really a product of our own creation and it can become oppressive to us.<sup>110</sup> Through dialectic process of objectification, then, another idea is posited and the dialectical process of self-creation continues.

At some point in time, Hawaiian society externalized the idea of the ‘ai kapu which, for centuries, had served to naturalize and structure identities, social relations and social reproduction until the system began to be questioned by those who found it oppressive. The arrival of cultural outsiders who openly disobeyed the ‘ai kapu meant that at least some members of Hawaiian society began to question the system as an unnecessary human, rather than divine, construction. As Christopher Tilley points out, the creation of things is a fabrication of the social self, and its corollary, then, is the destruction of things as marking an end to that social self.<sup>111</sup> Understood in this way, the dissolution of the ‘ai kapu, and the destruction of material forms that had developed around it, is a corollary to the process of objectification through which social selves are (re) created through the destruction of objects.

Therefore, as the ‘ai kapu began to be understood as oppressive, and as symbolic of a system of human, rather than divine, construction, then the destruction or suppression of ki‘i lā‘au and other material forms associated with the old system may be understood as the next temporal moment in the dialectical process of self-construction.<sup>112</sup> It was this process of Ka‘ahumanu’s re-construction of the Hawaiian social self, then, that set up the conditions under which ki‘i lā‘au transitioned and were set in transit around the globe.

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<sup>110</sup> Miller, Daniel 2010: 55-59 *Stuff*. London: Polity.

<sup>111</sup> Tilley, Christopher 2006: 62-63 “Objectification” in *The Handbook of Material Culture*. London: Sage.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

CHAPTER 4 CASE STUDY 1  
A KI'I LĀ'AU IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE BERNICE PAUahi BISHOP MUSEUM



**Figure 2.**  
Ki'i lā'au, late 18th Century, carved wood.  
Height: 63.5 in.; height of figure: 52 in.  
Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu (B7883).

*We arrive at the position that the interpretation of the objects which come to us from the past (as they all must do) has little to do with a 'real' or 'direct' interpretation of that past, and much to do with projects in the present and future.*

- Christopher Tilley in *Interpreting Material Culture*.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Tilley, Christopher 1994: 67 "Interpreting Material Culture" in ed. Susan M. Pearce *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. London: Routledge.

## **Introduction**

As Tilley notes, above, the ascription of meaning to museum objects has less to do with an object's original meaning than it does with the points of view of administrators, curators and the interpretive frameworks of the museum. Museums possess the power and the responsibility to engage their communities in meaningful ways and museums can play a potentially transformative role in the communities of which they are a part. This is especially true in the case of museums which display indigenous materials and cultures - as the very presence of these in a museum setting has, historically, served to decontemporize living cultures and communities. However, through collaborative relationships, museums also have the potential to empower indigenous communities through their interpretive frameworks.

In this chapter I note the different types of meaning attributed to this object over time and locate these meanings within the discourses which produced them, before moving on to my discussion of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum as the frame, or lens, within which the object is currently understood. I argue that this frame can be shown to return the object far closer to its original purpose – even in the absence of returning it to its original location or function – than any of the other *ki‘i lā‘au* in this study.

## **Discussion**

The *ki‘i lā‘au* now in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu (**fig. 1**), is the only image in this study which is presently housed in the Hawaiian Islands. During the nearly two-hundred years since its removal to London in 1825, the history and meanings of this object have been authored by Westerners. As this object has moved from Honaunau to London (1825), and then from London to Christchurch (1923), before finally arriving in Honolulu nearly one



hundred years later in 1924, it has been conceived of as a curiosity, an idol and as personal property in a private collection.

Even after its return to Hawai‘i in 1925, this object was interpreted within the framework of an ethnographic museum which kept the object separated from its community by presenting it as belonging to the historical Other and as a form Hawaiian-ness belonging to the past rather than to the present or future.

As was discussed in Chapter Three, this object was removed from hale-o-Keawe by Andrew Bloxam, the British naturalist on the voyage of the H.M.S. Blonde (1824-1826) which conveyed the bodies of Kamehameha II and Kamamalu to Hawai‘i following their deaths in London in 1824. Bloxam removed the image from hale-o-Keawe and returned with it to London where it remained in the Bloxam family until 1924 when Bloxam’s son, A.R. Bloxam (1839-1923), then living in Christchurch, New Zealand, arranged for the object to be sent from London to New Zealand in order that he could, in turn, forward it to the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. A.R. Bloxam died before passage to Honolulu could be arranged, and the object was displayed briefly in Christchurch Canterbury museum until arrangements were made for passage to Honolulu. The object was accessioned into the collections of the Bishop Museum on January 26, 1924, nearly 100 years after it was taken from the Islands.<sup>114</sup>

This ki‘i lā‘au arrived in London in March of 1826,<sup>115</sup> and although it remained in the private collection of the Bloxam family – a context that was neither explicitly missionary nor explicitly anthropological, the presence of this object in London attracted the attention of both

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<sup>114</sup> Brigham, William T. 1918: 27-30 Additional Notes on Hawaiian Featherwork Second Supplement in *Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum* 8:1 1918; Cox, J. Halley and William H. Davenport 1988: 119 *Hawaiian Sculpture*. Rev. ed. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.

<sup>115</sup> Byron, George Anson and Richard Rowland Bloxam 1826: 55 in Maria Graham, ed. *Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the years 1824-1825*. London: John Murray.

discourses, and a woodcut engraving of the figure was published in London in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* (**fig. 6**).

At the time the ki'i lā'au from hale-o-Keawe appeared in *The Mirror* in 1826, the appropriation of indigenous objects for use as rhetorical tools in the discourse of Christian triumphalism was already well established. Examples include venues such as the London Missionary Society Museum (LMS Museum) which had opened to the public eleven years earlier in April of 1815, and missionary publications such as *The Missionary Chronicle* and *Missionary Sketches*, among others.<sup>116</sup>

Formally established in 1795 as *The Missionary Society* – and known after 1818 as *The London Missionary Society* (LMS)<sup>117</sup> – the organization had, already by 1814, accumulated enough material sent to London by missionaries abroad to warrant the acquisition of space to accommodate and display it. In October of 1814, *The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronical* announced that the Missionary Society had taken nine rooms near Cheapside, some of which were set aside for “the reception of those curiosities which have been transmitted from Otaheite, China, South America, and particularly from South Africa”, and that “These will be prepared for public inspection as soon as possible”.<sup>118</sup>

Initially, the consolidation and exhibition of the material returned to London by missionaries developed out of a practical need to house accumulated curiosities, rather than as a rhetorical tool for fundraising. However, by 1817 a visitor's guide entitled *Walks through London*, observed that “Many persons viewing these are induced to become subscribers to the

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<sup>116</sup> Wingfield, Chris, 2017: 110-111 in Scarcely more than a Christian Trophy Case? *Journal of the History of Collections*, 29: 1, pp 109-128.

<sup>117</sup> It would not be until 1818 that ‘London’ was added to the Society's name, see Wingfield 2017:110

<sup>118</sup> *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, October 1814: 405 quoted in Seton, Rosemary 2012: 98  
Reconstructing the Museum of the London Missionary Society. *Journal of Material Religion* 8:1, pp. 98-102.

fund”.<sup>119</sup> The arrival of Pomare’s Tahitian family Gods the following year, in 1818, represents a decisive shift in the orientation of the museum away from curiosities and toward a mission-focused rhetoric of idolatry.

Writing in 1816, Pomare had stated his wish that his "idols be sent to Britane... for the inspection of the people of Europe, that they may satisfy their curiosity and know Tahiti's foolish gods",<sup>120</sup> and in October of 1818, a woodcut engraving featuring ten Tahitian objects appeared on the front cover of *Missionary Sketches* under the title “The Family Idols of Pomare”.<sup>121</sup>

By 1826, the conception and circulation of indigenous objects returned from the mission field as idols, and as evidence of Christian conversion by their former owners, had been fully developed in the LMS Museum’s first comprehensive catalogue - published in order to include the recent addition of the Hawaiian material donated by William Ellis in 1825. The title page of this catalogue stated the following:

*The most valuable and impressive objects in this Collection, are the numerous, and horrible idols, which have been imported from the South Sea Islands, from India, from China, and Africa; and among these, those especially which were given up by their former worshippers, from a full conviction of the folly and sin of idolatry – a conviction derived from the ministry of the Gospel by the Missionaries.*<sup>122</sup>

Following its establishment in 1795, the Missionary Society began to accumulate the “curious” material culture of the people and lands among which they worked, and by 1814 the Society had accumulated enough material to warrant the arrangement of a new space where these curiosities could be displayed and viewed by the public. Once opened to the public, it

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<sup>119</sup> Wingfield 2017: 111.

<sup>120</sup> Transactions of the Missionary Society, 1816: 431-2 quoted in Seton, Rosemary 2012: 98 Reconstructing the Museum of the London Missionary Society. *Journal of Material Religion* 8:1, pp. 98-102.

<sup>121</sup> Wingfield 2017: 111.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid, 113.

became clear that the material also had the potential to inspire donations to the missionary fund and the objects originally displayed for their value as curiosities were quickly appropriated by the discourse of Christian triumphalism.

The objects that found their way into the missionary collections of the 19th Century, whether conceived of as curiosities or as idols, derived their agency from various aspects of their manufacture and histories and this, of course differed by context and viewer. Primarily, however, an object's agency is derived from its very materiality. It is an objects materiality and presence in the physical world which allows it to be viewed or touched, worshipped or reviled, held and possessed, transported, stolen or gifted to another. In short, through their materiality, objects make subjects of us through our need to define them in relationship to ourselves.

Thus, the designation of the material culture of others as idolatrous or heathen became a way of defining the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Christian self over and against this Other, and therefore is really an appropriation of the material culture of others into the Western narrative of the self. It was in this context, then, that the ki'i lā'au from hale-o-Keawe was published in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* (**fig. 6**).

The following is an excerpt of the article text which appeared with the woodcut engraving of the ki'i lā'au published in *The Mirror* on October 17, 1826. I have included the full text of the article as **Appendix A**.



**Figure 6.**

“Sandwich Idol”

Woodcut engraving of Figure 2

Published in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*.

October 17, 1826 pp 209-10.

*... one of the last remaining and principal relics of the superstition and idolatry of the Sandwich islands (...) while we abhor their savage bigotry and ignorance, it yet affords matter of speculation, to inquire from whence the South Sea islanders, who, separated from the rest of the world by the vast Pacific Ocean, had a knowledge of, and believed in, a Supreme Being, before they were discovered by Europeans (...) It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that the inhabitants of the different groups of island in the South Sea have yet preserved the tradition of a universal deluge, from which a few only were saved (...) The many similarities between their religious customs and those of the Jewish nations are striking. Among them may be noticed, the sacrifices of animals and fruit (...) They had also cities of refuge to which manslayer and even murderer might fly and be safe. Such was their state of darkness and barbarity when they were discovered by our most celebrated*

*navigator (...) not only have their temples been demolished, and all idols been destroyed or carried away into distant countries to be kept only as memories of the Ignorance, cruelty, superstition, and bigotry of man in a savage state; but the benign spirit of Christianity (...) has been promulgated amongst them with the greatest success.*<sup>123</sup>

Written by Mathew Holbeche Bloxam,<sup>124</sup> this excerpt shows how the circulation of indigenous imagery or so-called “idols” in the West served as one means for the construction of the Western self over and against the non-Western Other, and reflects British thinking during this period that all of humankind had descended from Noah’s family who had dispersed to repopulate the globe after God’s flood with some groups degenerating - as had Adam and Eve – and others advancing<sup>125</sup>. It is striking that it shows no attempt to understand what the object may have meant socially to the Hawaiian community who had used it originally.

In 1823, Andrew Bloxam’s son, A.R. Bloxam (1839-1923), then living in Christchurch, New Zealand, arranged for the object to be sent from London to New Zealand in order that he could, in turn, forward it to the Bishop Museum in Honolulu. A.R. Bloxam died before its passage to Honolulu could be arranged, and the object was displayed briefly in Christchurch Canterbury museum until arrangements were made for passage to Honolulu.

The Bishop Museum in Honolulu was founded in 1889 in honor of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and as a repository for the chiefly collections which had consolidated in her estate as the last direct descendant of the Kamehameha dynasty. Today, the Bishop Museum reflects an Hawaiian worldview, serves as an important community resource for Native Hawaiians and is

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<sup>123</sup> Bloxam, Mathew Holbeche 1826: 209-10 *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction, containing Original Essays, Historical Narratives, Biographical Memoirs, Sketches of Society, Topographical Descriptions, Novels and Tales, Anecdotes, Selected Extracts from New and expensive Works*. Volume 8 of Original Series July-December 1826. London: J. Limbird.

<sup>124</sup> Mathew Holbeche Bloxam was a relative of Brothers Andrew and Richard Bloxam, ship’s Naturalist and ship’s Chaplain, respectively, on the voyage of H.M.S. Blonde. See Forbes, David W. (ed.) 1999: 437 in *Hawaiian National Bibliography 1780-1900: 1780-1830*.

<sup>125</sup> Kuklick, Henrika 2008: 53 *A New History of Anthropology*, ed. Henrika Kucklick. Oxford: Blackwell.

the product of Native Hawaiian community leaders, scholars, cultural practitioners and artists.<sup>126</sup> As such, the museums transmits a Hawaiian voice and serves as a place for community dialogue and discourse. However, this has not at all time been the case.

As a repository for chiefly collections, the Museum's original mission was "to preserve and display the cultural and historic relics of the Kamehameha family that Princess Pauahi had acquired."<sup>127</sup> Over time, the museum developed a Western ethnographic gaze which decontemporized Native Hawaiian culture, portraying it as ancient, its material culture as artefacts, and contemporary Hawaiian culture as one among many inhabiting the island chain.<sup>128</sup>

Despite the museum's outstanding research activities which include the collection, translation and preservation of oral tradition, Hawaiian language resource materials and other forms of cultural preservation, from the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century onward, a contemporary Hawaiian presence was largely absent from the museums interpretive framework. Rather, early exhibitions conjured the Hawaiian presence through the use of very prehistoric-looking clay mannequins placed among four diorama (**fig. 7**). These four diorama depicted mannequins

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<sup>126</sup> Kahanu, Noelle M.K.Y. 2009: 1, 3 in E Kū Ana Ka Paia: Finding Contemporary Relevance in an Ancient Prophecy, in *Restoring Bishop Museum's Hawaiian Hall: Ho 'i Hou Ka Wena I Kaiwi 'ula*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid, 2.

<sup>128</sup> See, for example, Bishop Museum 1972: 5 *Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

engaged in kapa making, poi pounding, the fabrication of olonā cordage and one diorama depicted a kahuna praying a victim to death.<sup>129</sup>



**Figure 7.**  
Four Bishop Museum Diorama ca, 1915.

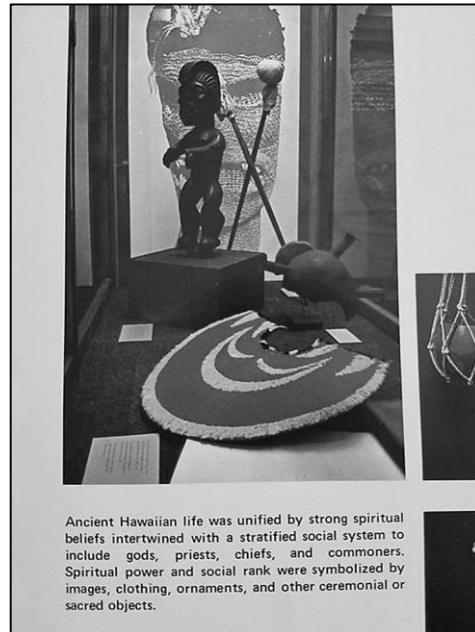
The diorama remained in place in Hawaiian Hall through the 1960s.<sup>130</sup> However, even after the diorama were removed, the museum labels and texts continued to portray Hawaiian culture firmly in the past tense (**fig. 8**). From 1982 to 1996, Hawaiian Hall exhibited material from *Hawaii: the Royal Isles* exhibition. This exhibition originated from an inquiry from the New York City based public relations firm of Ruder and Finn, on behalf of their client United Airlines which was, at the time the largest carrier providing airline service between Hawaii and the continental United States and was intended to generate tourist interest in Hawai‘i that would

<sup>129</sup> Kelly, Marjorie 1998: 128 “The Museum Visitor Experience in Bishop Museum's Hawaiian Hall” in eds. John Rieder and Larry E. Smith, *Multiculturalism and Representation: Selected Essays*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid.



translate into revenue for the United who sponsored the exhibition's tour of Eight U.S. cities between 1980 and 1982. When the U.S. tour ended in 1982, the exhibition was installed in Hawaiian Hall for what was intended to have been a period of three and one-half months – but remained on display through the 1990s.<sup>131</sup>



**Figure 8.**  
Image and text in Bishop Museum Visitors Guide, ca 1980s.

In addition to the outside interests and commercial influences of the tourism industry, by the later part of the 1990s, the lack of coherence and breadth in the museums interpretive framework, dated display techniques and a failure to rotate the items on display were widely recognized even among museum staff.<sup>132</sup> And, as Noelle Kahanu has noted, over its history the museum had “purchased burial goods, participated in the excavation of human remains, and

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid, 130.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, 131.

denied collections access to community members”.<sup>133</sup> For these reasons, the reinstallation of Hawaiian Hall was conceptualized as a restoration of the museums commitment to its Hawaiian community:

*Thus, while we speak of the reinstallation of Hawaiian Hall, what is more important is its restoration. And what does one restore? We restore health, we restore trust, we restore faith, we restore a foundation, we restore a nation ... we closed the door on speaking about Hawaiians in the past tense with that anonymous and omnipotent Western voice. On speaking of lost arts and the pure objectification of Hawaiian artifacts. On speaking about Hawaiians, not with them. In its place, through consultation with Hawaiian community leaders, scholars, artists, and practitioners, we have created a hall that reflects a Hawaiian worldview.*<sup>134</sup>

A comparison of a previous iteration of the museum’s interpretive framework with that of the recently renovated Hawaiian Hall is striking. For example, a souvenir booklet published by the Museum in the 1970s describes its interpretive framework of its three floors as follows:

*“Hawaiian Hall” traces the history of Hawaii from prehistoric times to the present*

*On the first level “The Legacy of the Past,” religious images, musical instruments, household objects, and priceless featherwork are related to the stratified social structure of which they were a part.*

*The second level “Conflict and Consonance” recounts the four major influences on Hawaiian life – Monarchs, Mariners, Missionaries, and Merchants.*

*The third level “Living in Harmony,” displays objects of the many peoples from many lands who have made Hawaii their home.*<sup>135</sup>

By contrast, the museums current interpretive framework, inaugurated in 2009, Hawaiian Hall in 2009 is described by Noelle Kahanu as follows:

*We have taken the three floors of Hawaiian Hall and overlayed upon them the physical and spiritual realms of the Hawaiian people:*

*The first floor of Kai Ākea the wide expanse of the sea,*

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<sup>133</sup> Kahanu, Noelle M.K.Y. 2009: 2 in “E Kū Ana Ka Paia: Finding Contemporary Relevance in an Ancient Prophecy” in *Restoring Bishop Museum’s Hawaiian Hall: Ho‘i Hou Ka Wena I Kaiwi‘ula*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>135</sup> Bishop Museum 1972: 5 in *Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

*The second floor, Wao Kanaka, the realm of man, and  
The third floor, Wao Lani, the heavenly realm.*

*We reflect on the Gods, their different body forms, areas of responsibility, and their  
seasonal changes.*<sup>136</sup>

Whereas this previous iteration of the Museum's interpretive framework opened with "The Legacy of the Past," which subordinated the Hawaiian social meanings of the objects to the generalized ethnographic notion of "a traditional society" and placed Hawaiian persons firmly in past tenses, the new interpretive framework re-locates and re-contemporizes Hawaiian persons in the present tense, and in terms of Hawaiian conceptions of spirituality, space and time.

Hawaiian Hall no longer portrays Hawaiian persons as one among "many peoples from many lands who have made Hawaii their home".<sup>137</sup> Rather, it privileges a Hawaiian voice through the use of Hawaiian language text which mediates the relationship between object and viewer and claims the museum as a Hawaiian space.

## **Conclusions**

I began this chapter with a discussion of how the ki'i lā'au now in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum was folded into the rhetoric of missionization which had been established in London through the development of the London Missionary Society Museum.

By the time this ki'i lā'au was published in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* in October of 1826, the Tahitian material - then widely known in London as "Pomare's family Gods" and also as "Tahiti's foolish Gods" had been circulated as sketches and as woodcut engravings popularly since 1818 and by, 1825, the London Missionary Society published its first catalogue for the express purpose of publicizing the "south seas idols"

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<sup>136</sup> Kahanu 2009: 2.

<sup>137</sup> Bishop Museum 1972: 5.

recently brought to London by the missionary William Ellis. Thus, the use of “idols” as rhetorical tools to support the missionary project had been firmly established.

What is important to note is that both the London Missionary Society Museum and this rhetorical framework developed as a result of the presence of these objects in London. That is, it was the accumulation of material returned to London as curiosities that founded both a museum and an interpretive framework.. In London, objects which had once been the proud cultural property of specific individuals and of specific communities were appropriated by missionaries and their supporters as symbols of difference between Europeans who viewed them and the indigenous peoples that had created them. Put simply, the Missionaries and their supporters appropriated these objects by reinterpreting them and folding both the objects and the peoples who produced them into their own cosmological narratives which, in turn created a new context of understanding these objects – in this case, objects as rhetorical tools for eliciting support for the missionary movement.

Put simply, through their material presence in London, these so-called idols made subjects of their viewers and also seemed to confirm their position at the top of the hierarchical scale of cultural progress. This is one process of objectification. Through their appropriation of the original meanings of the objects of another, the London Missionary Society constructed itself in opposition to what became symbols of the inferior Other. The arrogance of this position is made clear in the article featuring the ki‘i lā‘au from hale-o-Keawe published in *The Mirror*.

This article represents a folding in of indigenous peoples in to the cosmological order of Christian Europe as a naturalized matter of course based on the oppositions between Christian worship and that which Europe understood as idolatry.

After the ki‘i lā‘au arrived in Honolulu in 1924, its original meaning was subordinated to the interpretive framework of the ethnographic museum. This context decontemporized Hawaiian society by presenting it in the past tense. Today, by contrast, the interpretive framework empowers the community it was founded to serve and to display by returning objects to the cosmological understandings of the persons who had produced and used them. Rather than subordinating the meaning of an object to a generic account of a traditional society or of an ethnographic other, the current interpretive framework of the Bishop museum privileges the Hawaiian voice and Hawaiian understandings of relationships in space and time.

Native scholar Noelle Kahanu has compared her experience of confronting Hawaiian sacred objects in foreign museums to the experience of encountering an elder that was looking at her. She describes being the subject of a gaze as an experience in which she was led to question “Are we doing enough for our family, our ancestors, our community, our nation?”<sup>138</sup> Similarly, Maile Andrade also notes how objects function as valuable reminders of “who we once were” and “as lifelines of the Hawaiian people, a pulsing continuation of ancestry”.<sup>139</sup> While these scholars were framing their comments within the context of encountering Hawaiian objects in foreign museums, the experience of becoming the subject of an objects gaze through which one recognizes oneself in terms of ancestry and as part of a specific community and nation are important.

Today, the ki‘i lā‘au once described for London readers as “one of the last remaining and principal relics of the superstition and idolatry of the Sandwich islands”,<sup>140</sup> and for the better part of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century presented to its own community in a museum framework that

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<sup>138</sup> Andrade, Maile and Noelle M.K.Y. Kahanu 2015: 19 “A Journey of Encounters and Engagement” in *Royal Hawaiian Featherwork: Nā Hulu Ali‘i*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Bloxam, Mathew Holbeche 1826: 209-10.

categorized them as an ethnographic other, has been re-embedded in a Hawaiian world view and re-contemporized as a part of a living community, and as a nation in its own right, rather than as an artifact of a traditional society now lost. And, rather than being relegated to mannequins in a diorama as was the case during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the Hawaiian presence is created through the use of the Hawaiian language on labels and on the glass cases themselves.

To view this ki'i lā'au in the museum today is to view it through a lens of a re-contemporized, living Hawaiian culture. Recalling that the purpose of this object had once been to aid in the deification of the bones of chiefs in the Keawe line and, in turn, increase the mana of living chiefs who were their descendants thereby increasing the mana of their districts and those who lived within it, a parallel can perhaps be drawn in terms of its original purpose and the purpose it currently serves in the museum as a part of a framework that claims space for contemporary Hawaiian connections to ancestors, community and nation.

## CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY 2

### A KI'I LĀ'AU IN THE A.W.F.FULLER COLLECTION, FIELD MUSEUM, CHICAGO



**Figure 2.**

Ki'i lā'au, late 18th Century, carved wood. Height: 60 in.; height of figure: 49.5 in.  
A.W.F. Fuller Collection, Field Museum, Chicago.

*He had crammed more than sixteen tons of Pacific artifacts into his unpretentious residence in a London suburb. A maze of aisles wove among stacks of spears and war clubs and between cabinets and shelves that soared to the ceilings of the dining room, bedrooms hallways and parlor. Even the fireplaces and their chimneys were filled with artifacts*

- Roland Force, 1999.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Roland Force 1999: 5 *Politics and the Museum of the American Indian: the Heye and Mighty*. Honolulu: Mechas Press.

## Introduction

Now in the A.W.F. Fuller Collection at the Field Museum of Natural History, the ki‘i lā‘au which is the focus of my second case study is on view in the Regenstein Halls of the Pacific where, even after his death 1961, this object bears an eponymous connection with Alfred Walter Francis Fuller (1882-1961), the British collector who had owned it since 1911 and sold it to the Field in 1958. Fuller acquired this object from William F.G. Spranger of Springhill Court, Southampton, whose family had owned it for several generations since acquiring from Andrew Bloxam at an unknown date.<sup>142</sup>

Here, it is interesting to note how a description of this object’s current location has produced the names of three different men: A.W.F Fuller, the collector who sold the piece to the Field Museum named after Marshall Field, the Museum’s first major benefactor, and Joseph Regenstein a Chicago philanthropist. Yet, as outlined in Chapter 3, this object was a part of a burial context in which it facilitated the posthumous deification of twenty three specific Hawaiian chiefs either descended from or associated with Keawe-i-kekahi ali‘i-o-moku on the Island of Hawai‘i.<sup>143</sup>

Further, to reference “the Pacific object in the A.W.F. Fuller Collection at the Field Museum” returns no less than 6,500 possible objects as Fuller had amassed more than this in the collection he built over the course of his lifetime.<sup>144</sup> However, if in conversation with someone familiar with the material culture of the Pacific Islands, one were to say “the Bloxam image in Chicago” or even “Fuller’s Bloxam”, that person would immediately be able to index

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<sup>142</sup> Force, Roland W. and Maryanne Force. 1971: *The Fuller Collection of Pacific Artifacts*. New York: Praeger.

<sup>143</sup> Barrere 1986: 32 Report 10: A Reconstruction of the History and Function of the Pu‘uhonua and the Hale-o-Keawe at Honaunau, in ed. E.H. Bryan and Kenneth P. Emory *Natural and Cultural History of Honaunau. Departmental Report Series* 86-2. Honolulu: Department of Anthropology, Bernice P. Bishop Museum.

<sup>144</sup> Force, Roland W. and Maryanne Force. 1971: xiii *The Fuller Collection of Pacific Artifacts*. New York: Praeger.



exactly the object to which one had referred. Fuller himself stated that he had known the object as “the Bloxam idol”, when he acquired it in 1911, and had wanted it for a very long time before he finally secured from the Spranger family whose family had owned the piece for several generations.<sup>145</sup>

In this case study I discuss the systematic collecting practice of A.W.F. Fuller and its relationship to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century ideas of cultural progress which informed his collection and research activities until his death in 1961.

### **Discussion**

*I got this [Maori gourd food bowl] through a little trickery. All's fair in love and war and collecting. Balfour wanted it, and I kept him from noticing it while my father bought it*

- Andrew Walter Francis Fuller.<sup>146</sup>

Fuller's comparison of collecting to both love and war is fitting. Fuller acquired his first Fijian war club in 1896 at the age of fourteen at Stevens auctioneers and over the course of his lifetime amassed over sixteen tons of Pacific artifacts despite having never actually seen the Pacific Ocean or any of its islands.<sup>147</sup> Fuller had trained in Law, rather than in anthropology, but became a member of the Royal Anthropological institute in 1910 and, upon his entrance into the society, Fuller proposed as his topic of investigation:

*The material culture and comparative technology of races of the Pacific Islands and Australia, Benin, and North America with the principle forming the collections being the comparative technology of specimens of uninfluenced native handicraft – artistic and utilitarian.*<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>145</sup>Waterfield, Hermione and J.C.H. King 2009: 93 in Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art (2006); Seattle: University of Washington Press (2009).

<sup>146</sup> Andrew Walter Francis Fuller quoted in Waterfield, Hermione and J.C.H. King 2009: 98 Provenance, Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art (2006), Seattle: University of Washington Press (2009).

<sup>147</sup> Waterfield and King 2009: 93.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

An injury during the First World War prevented Fuller from becoming a solicitor and after receiving an early pension in 1917, Fuller devoted his stable but meager income to his collecting activities until his death in 1961.<sup>149</sup>

For decades prior to his death, Fuller was very concerned that the collection he was building remain whole after he died, and also that it would be placed in a scientific institution where it could continue to be studied in the manner that he had assembled it – that is to say, as an example of his belief that the cultural evolution of indigenous cultures could be witnessed in the objects that they had produced over time.

In his collecting practice, then, Fuller followed General A.H. Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers (1827-1900), who was driven to prove theories of evolution not only in biology but also in material culture. As Fuller would do after him, Pitt-Rivers assembled a large collection of indigenous weapons which he arranged and displayed according to the sequential order in which he believed they had developed (*figs. 9 and 10*) in order to “Trace, as far as practicable, the succession of ideas by which the minds of men in a primitive condition of culture have progressed from the simple to the complex, and from the homogenous to the heterogeneous”.<sup>150</sup>

Fuller outlined his collecting practice as follows:

*The guiding principle in forming my collection has been, and is, the study of comparative technology and the evolution of design, more especially in relation to the material culture of the races of the Pacific area.*

*From this it will be gathered that mere artistic quality or rarity is not my aim, although such objects take a place, and an important place, in the whole; and that, comparatively, unimportant specimens are of equal value and, in many cases, equally rare. This latter quality is especially true as regards objects in the making – partly fashioned or incompletely decorated – and those of a primary or primitive type.*

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<sup>149</sup> Ibid, 93.

<sup>150</sup> A.H. Fox-Lane Pitt Rivers quoted in Waterfield, Hermione and J.C.H. King 2009: 43 in *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England*. Paris: Somogy éditions d’art (2006); Seattle: University of Washington Press (2009).

*So far as the 'cultural period' is concerned, the endeavor has been to select specimens of 'Neolithic man' , that is to say, formed prior to contact with the 'Whites' or uninfluenced, or very slightly influenced, by contact, both as regards ideas and methods of manufacture. A few pieces have been included, however, of 'later' times for comparative purposes.*

*The collection, being formed on these lines, has the additional value as a criterion for old, original ethnological objects as distinguished from those of the transitional period, which usually confuse present day collectors and curators.*

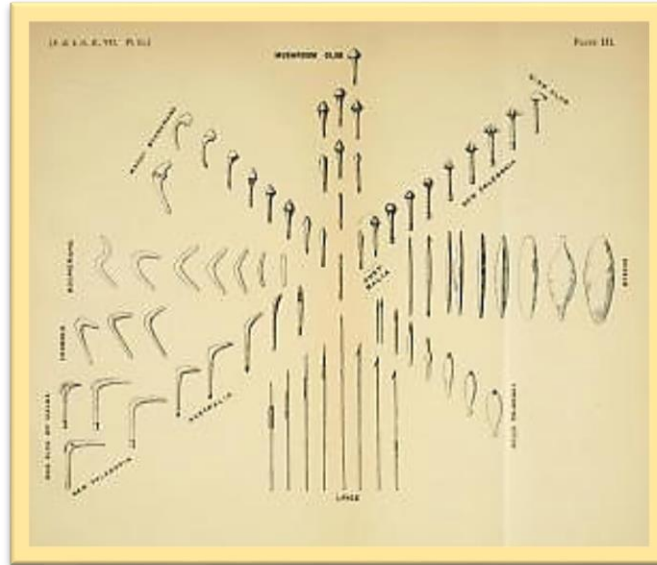
- A.W. F. Fuller.<sup>151</sup>

Fuller's systematic collecting program bears the influence of Pitt-Rivers and through him, the 19<sup>th</sup> Century British school of anthropological thinking which was based on the idea that humankind was monogenetic and possessed a type of psychic unity which was thought to develop in stages. Therefore, indigenous peoples were positioned as less developed than Europeans who, it was imagined, had progressed beyond indigenous lifeways earlier in their history.<sup>152</sup> Heavily influenced by early British 'armchair' anthropology, the ordering principle of Fuller's collection, then, became one based upon 19th Century ideas of race and cultural development which persisted in Fullers collecting program throughout his lifetime.

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<sup>151</sup> A.W.F. Fuller quoted in Force, Roland W. and Maryanne Force. 1971: Preface in *The Fuller Collection of Pacific Artifacts*. New York: Praeger.

<sup>152</sup> Kuklick, Henrika 2008: 56, 174.



**Figure 9.**

Augustus Henry Lane-Fox Pitt-Rivers, 1906  
 Plate III in *The Evolution of Culture, and Other Essays*,  
 ed. John Linton Myres. Oxford: Clarendon Press.



**Figure 10.**

A. W. F. Fuller home, bedroom wall with arrangement of ethnographic objects.

Both Pitt-Rivers and Fuller organized their collections according to a morphological system thought to reflect the development of weapons and tools from the most natural or simple to the most specialized and complex. This system of classification is typical of the evolutionist thinking dominant at the time and as James Clifford observes, by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the value of the exotic object was perceived as in its ability to testify to the concrete reality of an earlier stage of human culture, “a common past confirming Europe’s triumphant present”.<sup>153</sup> Again, this parallels the ideas of Christian triumphalism discussed in the previous chapter and both can be understood as a part of a larger geopolitical discourse of the time which characterized the Christian West superior.

Because this type of morphological classification was based upon the physical characteristics of artifacts, it was also believed to be objective, and as such, the narratives created through the selection and arrangement of objects were, at the time, thought to provide a factual historical narrative of indigenous peoples.

However, what this process creates is a type of false objectiveness in which the artifacts that are selected and arranged are, at the same time, believed by the collector to tell an objective story. This process of collection formation is dialectical in nature and can be understood in terms of Miller’s process of objectification. As Miller notes, “Objectification describes the dual process by means of which a subject externalizes itself in a creative act of differentiation, and in return re-appropriates this externalization through an act of sublation”.<sup>154</sup>

Fuller’s typological selection and arrangement of artifacts was based on information which he had ostensibly drawn from the morphology of the artifacts themselves, but which nonetheless stemmed from his own personal view of the morphological relationships between

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<sup>153</sup> Clifford, James 1994: 265 in ed. Susan Pearce *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. London: Routledge.

<sup>154</sup> Miller, Daniel 1987: 28.

the objects. Once externalized as a complete collection, however, the artifacts become re-created in a new context in which the new meaning is not understood as being constructed, but rather as being objective. In this way the relationship between collector and collection and can be understood as a purely dialectical process in which a mutually constitutive relationship between subject and object creates something new.<sup>155</sup>

One of the hallmarks of a collection created by a systematic collector is the idea that the collection, as a whole, creates a point of view, or expresses an idea.<sup>156</sup> Despite the false objectivity of the collection he assembled, he nevertheless understood it as his personal significant, contribution to the study of Pacific peoples, and as such, it was a part of his social identity. So too, were the social relationships he created in the process of forming his collection.

Over the course of his lifetime, Fuller acquired objects through the social networks he cultivated with museums, dealers, and other private collectors. Between the two World Wars, Fuller volunteered at the British Museum where he helped catalogue their collections and often bought items he thought would supplement the Museum's collection and also alerted the Museum to objects that came on the market which he could not afford. Fuller's relationship with the British Museum was so congenial that during World War II, most his private collection was stored in Wales with that of the Museum.<sup>157</sup>

Fuller also cultivated relationships with other collectors and even their descendants knowing that, eventually, an object might become available and that a pre-established relationship would increase his chances of securing the best material. For example, when reminiscing about the Hawaiian ki'i hulu manu returned to England on Cook's third voyage,

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<sup>155</sup> Pearce, Susan M. 1994: 201-202 *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. London: Routledge.

<sup>156</sup> Pearce, Susan M. 1992: 84 – 85 *Museums, Objects and Collections*. London: University of Leicester Press.

<sup>157</sup> Waterfield, Hermione and J.C.H. King 2009: 94 -95 *Provenance: Twelve Collectors of Ethnographic Art in England*. Paris: Somogy éditions d'art (2006); Seattle: University of Washington Press (2009).

and now in the Fuller Collection, Fuller recounted how, fifteen years prior to his purchase of the object, an early romantic interest had mentioned ‘a funny feather idol’ owned by an aunt. Fuller maintained a close correspondence over the years, and fifteen years later, he secured the object for his own collection.

Fuller waited twenty five years for the blade of a Ninigo adze of which he had the haft. He finally secured the item by volunteering to catalogue the collection it was held in when it came up for auction.<sup>158</sup> Similarly, when discussing his acquisition of the ki‘i lā‘au from hale-o-Keawe (**fig. 2**) from William F.G. Spranger in 1911 Fuller states:

*I kept him warm ... as I have done with a great number of people ... I gave him a cheque for one of his favorite charities and he transferred the things to me.*<sup>159</sup>

At the time, Spranger was raising funds for the renovation of a historic Tudor house which is now a museum in its own right.<sup>160</sup>

Fuller was financially secure but not wealthy, and therefore social relationships were of paramount importance in the formation of his collection, which he accomplished through discriminating purchases, occasional fortunate gifts and exchanges. By establishing and maintaining social relationships with curators, dealers and private collectors throughout England, Scotland and on the continent, Fuller was able to amass sixteen tons of material which, in addition to representing his own viewpoint of cultural and technical progression among Pacific peoples, also represented a life of social relationships.<sup>161</sup>

For both of these reasons, it was important to Fuller that his collection remain in-tact and in a scientific museum where it could continue to be studied scientifically. Throughout his life,

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid, 97.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid, 99.

<sup>160</sup> Leonard, A.G.K. 1997 The Saving of Tudor House. Southampton: Paul Cave.

<sup>161</sup> Roland W. Force and Maryanne Force 1971: 3.

Fuller was, adamantly, a non-commercial collector. However, Fuller sold the collection for what he believed was only its cost – and only in order to provide security for his disabled daughter after his death.

Although Fuller and his wife, Estelle had planned to visit Chicago and view the Collection in the museum, Fuller died before they had an opportunity to do so and he never saw his collection in the Museum. Shortly after the Fuller collection was accessioned into the Field Museum, the ki ‘i lā‘au from hale-o-Keawe was given pride of place adjacent Fuller’s name in a temporary exhibition entitled Panorama of the Pacific (**fig. 11**).



**Figure 11.**  
“Panorama of the Pacific”  
Initial Exhibition of the Fuller Collection, Field Museum, Chicago,  
May 8 – October 15, 1959.  
Ki’i;lā‘au from hale-o-Keawe given pride of place, adjacent Fuller’s name.



In this initial exhibition, the individual history and social meaning of the ki'i lā'au in its hale-o-Keawe context are subordinated to its meaning in the narrative of Fuller's life as a prolific collector. Still, it is striking that this ki'i lā'au, once positioned at hale-o-Keawe to posthumously increase the mana of Keawe and his line, accomplishes something similar for Fuller.

## **Conclusions**

In this chapter I have noted two differing types of objectification. The first is related to the idea of personification and the ways that an objects biography can become associated with those of their users. The second type of objectification relates to Fullers systematic program of collecting which creates false sense of objectivity.

Today, of the 90,000 objects in the Field Museum's Pacific collections, only 1,086 of these are on view – about 1.2% of the entire collection.<sup>162</sup> The ki'i lā'au from hale-o-Keawe is among them, and still holds pride of place in a central case next to the introductory label for the Polynesian galleries in the Regenstein Halls of the Pacific. The object is displayed alongside a Fijian senit temple and a carved stone image from the Society Islands –all readily recognizable from the Fuller Collection catalogue. While the local histories and meanings of these objects have been subordinated to the larger culture area of “Polynesia” and to the museological framework of an ethnographic museum, the one thing the objects have in common is that, at some point in their biographies, they were hand selected by Andrew Fuller to become a part of his collection, and although Fuller died before he had the opportunity to visit his collection in Chicago, his presence is social identity is perpetually re-created through the collection that bears

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<sup>162</sup> Field Museum Digital Archives <https://www.fieldmuseum.org/science/research/area/library/library-resources#digital-collections>.

his name.<sup>163</sup> In this way, then, the accessioning of Fullers collection into the Field Museum of Natural History as a complete entity bearing his point of view is significant and, in effect, reproduces Fuller's social self in perpetuity – even posthumously, and in a similar way to what the object accomplished for the Keawe line at Honaunau.

The representation of people through things is a form of the objectification process. As a collection, the artifacts Fuller assembled are an objectification of his point of view and also of the social relationships he cultivated and maintained with dealers, museums and other collectors. As such the collection can also be understood as a personification of his social self.

In this chapter I have described Fuller's collecting practice as typological. This method of selecting and arranging objects was understood by Fuller to be objective, but nevertheless advanced his own point of view. First, Fuller's typological selection and arrangement of artifacts was based on information which he had ostensibly drawn from the morphology of the artifacts themselves, but which nonetheless stemmed from his own personal view of the morphological relationships between the objects, and this may serve as one good example of the dialectical relationship between persons (subjects) and objects.

Through his selection, cataloguing and arrangement of artifacts, Fuller's point of view became objectified in his practices, and as these become externalized as a complete collection, the artifacts become re-created in a new context in which the new meaning is not understood as having been constructed, but rather as being objective. In this way the relationship between collector and collection and can be understood as a purely dialectical process in which a mutually constitutive relationship between subject and object creates something new.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> See, Luci Creative 2018: Luci Creative Reimagines Graphic Program for the Field Museum. <https://segd.org/luci-creative-reimagines-graphic-program-field-museum>.

<sup>164</sup> Pearce, Susan M. 1994: 201-202 *Interpreting Objects and Collections*. London: Routledge.

## CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDY 3

### A KI'I LĀ'AU IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MUSÉE DU QUAI BRANLY, PARIS



**Figure 3.**

Ki'i lā'au, late 18th Century, carved wood, 89 x 12.5 x 20 cm.  
Musée du quai Branly, Pavillon des Sessions, Louvre. Paris, France (71.1879.10.11.1)

Donor: Théodore Ballieu (1829 - 1885);  
Old collection: Musée national d'histoire naturelle ;  
Previous collection: Musée de l'homme.

*It is cut out from a solid log, probably mamane, and stands just three feet in height, including pedestal. The Image has the usual squat position ... and the features, especially the mouth, are hideously distorted. The most remarkable thing about the statue is a broad, flat arched projection, springing from the back of the head ...*

*--- The Hawaiian Gazette, April 25, 1877.<sup>165</sup>*

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<sup>165</sup> The Hawaiian Gazette (1865-1918) April 25, 1877 <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/1877-04-25/ed-1/seq-3/> - Image 3 (page 3).

## Introduction

The above quotation, excerpted from a notice printed in the *Hawaiian Gazette* dated April 25, 1877 (**Appendix C**), describes the acquisition of the ki‘i lā‘au now on view in the Louvre, Paris (**fig. 3**), by Pierre Étienne Théodore Ballieu (1828–1885), who was, at that time, French consul to the Hawaiian Kingdom.

It is striking that an object once described as “squat”, and with “hideously distorted features” has, over the course of one hundred and forty years, found itself on view in Paris where, during only the first three years of its installation in the Louvre, it was viewed by over two million visitors.<sup>166</sup> This becomes all the more striking when one considers the fact that in its original context, viewing would have been restricted to particular Hawaiian contexts and persons and that, at some point in its history prior to April 25, 1877, one or more of these persons cached it in a cave on the lower slopes of Mauna Kea, presumably with the intention of keeping it safe from view.

Today, in 2018, this particular ki‘i lā‘au has now been in circulation outside of the Hawaiian Islands for one hundred and forty years since Ballieu first sent it to Paris in 1878 – almost a century and a half. During this time it has been exhibited in multiple contexts, photographed, written about, and its image has been published and circulated internationally on postcards and in numerous catalogues in multiple languages.

In 2003, prior to the opening of the Musée du quai Branly, one hundred and seventeen of the more than three hundred thousand ethnographic objects held in the National collections of France were hand-selected by Jacques Kerchache, the celebrated Parisian dealer, connoisseur and curator of *l’arts premiers*, for exhibition in the Pavillon des sessions – a new exhibition

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<sup>166</sup> Price 2007: 64.

space within the Louvre designed to present these objects as masterpieces of world art. Among these one hundred and seventeen objects – which accounted for less than one-half of one percent of the entire collection - was the ki‘i lā‘au pulled from the burial cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea in 1877.

Understanding that, in its original context, this object was embedded in the ritual life of ho‘omana Hawai‘i, and also that the caching of this object in a cave on Mauna Kea took place within the context of this worldview – either for its protection or for its disposal – leads, naturally, to a comparison of the object’s original context with the object’s present context in the Louvre. Certainly, the contextualization of the object as a “masterpiece of world art” in the Louvre has very little to do with its original purpose or meaning. Indeed, this is a context which has been invented over the course of one hundred and forty years by non-Hawaiian persons and institutions.

The transition of this ki‘i lā‘au from the “hideously distorted” idol described by the *Hawaiian Gazette* described it in 1877, into a “masterpiece of world art”, represents one good example of the mutability of meaning inherent to objects. This transition also reflects the needs of various institutions – in this case, French national museums of ethnography - over time as they have sought to distance themselves from their colonial pasts within the shifting political discourses of post-colonial politics. When it opened in 2000, the Pavillon des Sessions was envisioned as an answer to the increasingly problematic situation of ethnographic museums with histories and collections representative of the biased aesthetic and scientific thinking that had constructed a very Western ethnocentric system of knowledge about indigenous peoples during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It was also the very personal project of the celebrated connoisseur, dealer and curator Jacques Kerchache. In this Chapter, I discuss the

present context of the *ki'i lā'au* now on view at the Pavillon des Sessions in the Louvre and, noting the universalizing meaning ascribed to it by the museum as a “masterpiece of world art”, ask: *What purpose does this context serve – and what does it occlude?*

## Discussion

Once in Paris, this *ki'i lā'au* was displayed at the Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques (Museum of Scientific Expeditions) when it opened in 1878 in the Trocadéro (1878 - 1936).<sup>167</sup> The Trocadéro had been built for the third Paris World's Fair that year, and the primary museographic purpose of the Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques - which eventually came to be known as the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro - had been “to research and exhibit the continuing progress of humanity”.<sup>168</sup> The Musée ethnographique des missions scientifiques was one of several French National institutions that fell under the department of the Musée national d'histoire naturelle, into which Ballieu's collection was accessioned in 1879.

The creation of the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro had coincided with the beginning of France's colonial expansion and had the stated goal of “gathering material on the poor inferior humanity doomed to annihilation through conquest”.<sup>169</sup> It was in this cultural paradigm of Parisian anthropology and ethnography, then, that Ballieu – the amateur naturalist – collected his specimens, and it was into this cultural paradigm that the *ki'i lā'au* from the slopes of Mauna Kea transitioned when it arrived in Paris.

During its time in the collections of the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro, this *ki'i lā'au* was published for circulation at least twice by the museum as an ethnographic post card

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<sup>167</sup> Kaeppler, Adrienne 2002: 325 in Kerchache, Jacques with Vincent Boulore (Musée du quai Branly) *Sculptures: Africa Asia Oceania Americas*. Paris: Reunion Des Musées Nationaux.

<sup>168</sup> Price 2007: 81-83.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid, 101.

image (*figs. 3a and 3b*). First, as *la déesse Pélé*, and again in the early 1930s, by which time the object had transitioned from its misunderstood identity as the goddess Pele to its current museum identity as “dieu Lono”.

In 1936, the Trocadéro was partially demolished and rebuilt in preparation for Paris’s Universal Exhibition of 1937 and was reopened as the Musée de l’homme. As an institution, Musée de l’homme represented a consolidation of earlier National collections representative of colonial encounter and had amassed a large collection of artifacts - and human remains - and continued its mission of a holistic study of human science which included culture, biology and

aesthetics.<sup>170</sup> By mid-century, French anthropology had transitioned away from a focus on material culture as a means to understand societies toward kinship studies, belief systems and



**Figure 3a.**

Post card, 'La déesse Pélé', 1900-1936  
Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro (Publisher)  
Photographic print on paper, 9x14 cm.  
Musée du quai Branly, PP0152647

Inscription on front:

"10.703-Musée d'Ethnographie. Paris.  
Océanie. Iles Hawaiï. La déesse Pélé (bois)"

Inscriptions on back (2)

"Musée d'Ethnographie 16 nov. 1931" ;  
"En vente au Musée d'Ethnographie du  
Trocadéro, Palais du Trocadéro Paris 16e. PAS  
74-46"



**Figure 3b.**

Post card, ca.1930-1931  
Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro (Publisher)  
Photographic print on paper, 9x14 cm.  
Musée du quai Branly, PP0152813

Belongs to a series of postcards published by the  
Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro reproducing  
objects from the collections.

oral traditions.<sup>171</sup> This shift away from material culture as a primary source of understanding societies meant that the museum suffered over time, as it was regarded as having lost its role

<sup>170</sup> Clifford, James 2007: 6 Quai Branly in Process, *October* 120 (Spring 2007), pp 3-23.

<sup>171</sup> Price 2007: 82.



research and, by the 1990s, the viability of the museum as an institution was openly questioned.<sup>172</sup>

Under these conditions, then, and following the tradition of previous French Presidents who had memorialized their political office through the establishment of large, public, cultural institutions,<sup>173</sup> President Jacques Chirac championed the establishment of a new museum to house the French national ethnographic collections of Native American, African, and Oceanic artifacts, from the now-outmoded Musée de l'homme. In 1998, and as Chirac's legacy project, the Musée du quai Branly was established,<sup>174</sup> and more than three hundred thousand ethnographic objects that had been held in French national museums were then consolidated into the collections of the Musée du quai Branly, which opened in 2006.<sup>175</sup>

The establishment of the Musée du quai Branly by President Jacques Chirac – and with it the consolidation of French national ethnographic collections was – and still is – controversial in terms of its interpretive framework which privileges art, aesthetics and formalism at the expense of anthropology, science or history. The institutional, political and public debates surrounding the creation of the Musée du quai Branly are well known and have been thoroughly documented by Price (2007) and others.<sup>176</sup>

The Pavillon des Sessions at the Louvre was an outgrowth of the larger project of the Musée du quai Branly and is the very personal accomplishment of Jacques Chirac and of his good friend Jacques Kerchache, a celebrated Parisian dealer, connoisseur and curator of ethnographic art. As Chirac and Kerchache had envisioned it, the Pavillon des Sessions was

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<sup>172</sup> Ibid, 86-87.

<sup>173</sup> For example, President Georges Pompidou: *le Centre Georges Pompidou*; Valéry Giscard d'Estaing : *le Musée d'Orsay*; or François Mitterrand : *le Grand Louvre*.

<sup>174</sup> Price 2007: 86-87.

<sup>175</sup> Ibid, 59, 87.

<sup>176</sup> See for example Price, Sally 2007: Paris Primitive Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

intended to broadcast French post-colonial thinking about the equality of peoples by presenting ethnographic art as “masterpieces of world art” on par with the other works in the Louvre. For Chirac, Kerchache, and their allies, the ethnographic arts had been unknown, neglected or disdained for far too long and the time had come to “to assert the equality of cultures by making a place for the forgotten arts in the highest temple of civilization”.<sup>177</sup> Chirac stated at the time “there is no more a hierarchy of arts than there is a hierarchy among peoples” and that it was “deeply shocking” and regrettable that three-quarters of the world’s humanity was unrepresented in the Louvre”.<sup>178</sup>

The curation, interpretive framework, and installation of the Pavillon des Sessions must be understood through the biography and aspirations of Jacques Kerchache (1942-2001) which I will briefly highlight here. Kerchache was a renowned – and controversial – connoisseur, collector, dealer and curator of ethnographic sculpture. Between 1959 and 1980 Kerchache travelled extensively through Africa, Asia, the Americas and the Pacific and created a critical inventory of 10,000 of the major works of ethnographic sculpture which he termed *Les chefs d'œuvre du monde* (The masterpieces of the world).<sup>179</sup>

In 1960 Kerchache opened his first gallery in Paris on rue des Beaux-Arts, and his second at rue de Seine in 1981. During the 1960s and 1970s Kerchache exhibited indigenous sculpture as *art primitif* or *l'arts premiers*, conceptualizing and presenting these strictly in terms of their aesthetic qualities. In 1967, during one of his first major sales exhibitions, Kerchache showed twenty-five Mahongwe m'bweti reliquary figures which he had collected in Gabon

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<sup>177</sup> Krzysztof Pomian quoted in Price 2007: 36.

<sup>178</sup> Jacques Chirac quoted in Price 2007: 36.

<sup>179</sup> Corbey, Raymond 2000: 127 *Tribal Art Traffic: A Chronicle of Taste, Trade and Desire in Colonial and Post-Colonial Times*. Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute of the Netherlands.; Price 2007 : 3 ; See for example, Kerchache, Jacques 1990 : *Les chefs d'œuvre du monde entier naissent libres et égaux*. Paris: Biro.

from a dried well in which the figures had been tossed by missionaries in the 1930s. On view in his gallery, the figures caught the attention of the Gabonese embassy, after which he was summoned to Gabon and arrested for smuggling.<sup>180</sup>

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s Kerchache organized, curated or consulted on a number of major exhibitions including *Primitism in 20th Century Art* (1984) at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City, *African Sculpture in Tribute to André Malraux* (1986) at the villa Medici, *The Art of Taïno Sculptors* (1994) at the Petit Palais (at the request of Jacques Chirac), *Picasso / Africa: State of Mind* (1995) in the center Georges Pompidou and also on *Africa: the Art of a Continent* (1995) at the British Museum in London.<sup>181</sup>

From at least the 1970s onward, Kerchache's primary ambition had been to document all aesthetically important pieces of ethnographic art worldwide and to see the most important of these installed as the eighth department of the Louvre, and in march of 1990, this ambition culminated in a Manifesto entitled *Pour que les chefs d'œuvre du monde entier naissent libres et égaux [dans] la huitième section du Grand Louvre* ("For Masterpieces of the Whole World to be Born Free and Equal [in] the Eighth Section of the Grand Louvre").<sup>182</sup>

Kerchache's manifesto can be positioned within a larger ongoing debate about the status of ethnographic material in Paris. As a former colonial metropole, the largest portion of colonial heirlooms had accumulated in Paris, and already, by 1909 prominent Parisians were publicly debating a potentially elevated status of ethnographic art which would be symbolized by its admission into the Louvre. For example, In 1909 Guillaume Apollinaire was the first to suggest that "the Louvre should welcome certain exotic masterpieces that are no less moving than the

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<sup>180</sup> Corbey 2000: 127.

<sup>181</sup> Dupaigne, Bernard 2006 : 56 *Le scandale des arts premiers. La véritable histoire du musée du quai Branly, Paris*. Paris : Mille et une nuits.

<sup>182</sup> Corbey 2000: 126; Kerchache 1990; Price 2007: 35.

beautiful examples of Western statuary” and in 1912, in a review published in the *Paris Journal*, Apollinaire called for the creation of “a large museum of Exotic Art, which would be to this Art what the Louvre is to European Art.” By contrast, In 1920, the renowned art critic Félix Fénéon published “Will Arts from Remote Places be Admitted into the Louvre?” in *Le Bulletin de la vie artistique*. In this article Fénéon published the opinions of the 20 ethnographers, artists, aestheticians, collectors or dealers which he had consulted in his effort to demonstrate the difficulties of introducing these objects to art museums, despite the excitement they had generated in Avant-Garde circles.<sup>183</sup>

Kerchache’s manifesto was published as a full page in the Parisian newspaper *Libération* on March 15, 1990 and was signed by 148 prominent writers, artists, critics, curators, dealers, academics and political figures and argued for the inclusion of ethnographic art in the Louvre on the basis of the equality of art among peoples and cultures, and when Kerchache met Jacques Chirac on the island of Mauritius one year later, an immediate friendship developed through which Kerchache gained Chirac’s political support for his views and the for project of the Pavillon des Sessions, his life-long dream.<sup>184</sup> Kerchache described their initial meeting as follows:

*We spent the next two weeks talking from morning till night about the cultures of the world. And one day Chirac explains that the city of Paris – of which he was now the Mayor – was opposed to celebrating Columbus’s discovery of the Americas because that would exclude the Indians. Right away, I’m proposing to do an exhibition centered on Indians of the Caribbean ... And then he opened up his secret garden to me, disclosing the extent of knowledge and revealing to me convictions that fit perfectly with my own. Our friendship was sealed. The Taino exhibit would stand as its testimony.*<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Corbey 2000: 126; De Sabran, Marguerite 2014 “A Masterpiece and a Manifesto: from Félix Fénéon to Jacques Kerchache” in *Sotheby’s Auction Essays: African, Oceanic and Pre-Columbian Art Including Property from the Krugier and Lasansky Collections*. (May 2014); Price 2007: 36.

<sup>184</sup> Corbey 2000: 126; Price 2007: 35.

<sup>185</sup> Kerchache quoted in Price 2007: 3.

By the year 2000 the alliance between Chirac and Kerchache had produced the Kerchache's signature lifetime achievement – the Pavillon des Sessions at the Louvre - and by 2006, the Musée du quai Branly – the legacy project of Chirac's presidency. Kerchache's aesthetic vision for the Pavillon des Session favored aesthetic over ethnography and interpretation and his plans for what would become the eighth department of the Louvre were viewed as controversial and fiercely debated in the French Press. However, with Chirac's support, Kerchache enjoyed what many observers viewed as a *carte blanche* situation as he planned and curated the exhibition.

Anthropologists, and ethnographers argued against Kerchache's purely aestheticizing plan for the Pavillon des Sessions while the director of the Louvre argued that the institution was not a universal museum, and therefore, ethnographic objects did not belong in Louvre. In the French press, both sides of the debate accused the other of racism for trying to keep ethnographic objects out of the Louvre on the one hand, and for displaying it as art without any cultural contextualization on the other.<sup>186</sup>

Futher, Of the one hundred and seventeen objects curated by Kerchache for exhibition in the Louvre, many were drawn from the existing collections of French ethnographic museums, however, many well-known works were purchased by Kerchache for inclusion in the exhibition from private dealers and collectors – highlighting Kerchache's past an art dealer and intensifying the criticism of his formalist versus contextual approach. This was accompanied by ethical questions pertaining to Kerchache's status as a collector and to his past as a dealer. For example, Kerchache's purchase of a New Ireland *uli* figure from friend and fellow collector Alain Schoffel for the sum of 18 million French francs was understood in the French press as

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<sup>186</sup> Corbey 2000: 129; Price 31.

an obscenely costly agreement between two friends at the expense of the French state. At the time, Schoffel argued that he could have sold the piece in the United States for a higher return, but conceded that having his piece in the Louvre was “Priceless”.<sup>187</sup>

Although both Chirac and Kerchache and the network of French museums their administrators, and staff were all heavily engaged in these debates – and criticized by those who believed that the Pavillon des Sessions compromised the interpretation necessary for ethnographic objects in favor of formalist spectacle, the gallery that has become the eighth department of the Louvre must be understood as distinctly the work of a single individual – Jacques Kerchache and as a reflection of his career spanning belief in the aesthetic importance of ethnographic objects. As Kerchache stated:

*We're constantly faced with the seductiveness of things that can influence our gaze and distract us from the sculpture itself I reject all those temptations. They get in the way of critical judgement and prevent access to the work itself, which should be uniquely focused on the artists integrity, his project, his gesture, the courage of his volumes, regardless of his culture or the function, whether ritual or purely aesthetic, of the object. For that, there's no need for ethnographic translation.*<sup>188</sup>

As a result of Kerchache's vision, the one hundred and seventeen objects on view in the Pavillon des Sessions are not accompanied by contextualization or interpretation. Each object inhabits its own glass case, generously spaced throughout the galleries while interpretation is limited to labels placed on the gallery walls and to hidden interpretive areas where the gallery's catalogue and database accessible computers are available for those who want to consult them for more information about the objects on view.<sup>189</sup>

*For many objects in the Pavillon des Sessions, the viewer learns more about their [post-African] pedigree in French collections than their African provenance ... Are the curators trying to tell us something? Are we to accept that the sculpture is important, not because of the significance [for a Benin bronze plaque] of metal*

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<sup>187</sup> Corbey 2000: 129.

<sup>188</sup> Jacques Kerchache quoted in Price 2007: 51.

<sup>189</sup> Price, 2007: 64-65.

*casting in Benin or the inherent qualities – ethnographic or even aesthetic – of the work itself, but rather because it has the imprimatur of five European collections?*<sup>190</sup>

In his 2003 speech at the Pavillon des Sessions marking the third year of the gallery's existence, Jacques Chirac made the following remarks about his good friend and curator of the Pavillon des session, Jacques Kerchache, who had died two years earlier:

*I remember Jacques Kerchache exhausted but radiant, placing the display cases to the exact millimeter, balancing himself on a ladder in order to position each lighting fixture, adjusting the presentation of each object with infinite care (...) the galleries we have visited are the mirror of his soul. They were his final act.*<sup>191</sup>

Jacques Kerchache viewed the Pavillon des Sessions as a kind of reconciliation of past French colonial relations, as did his good friend and Patron, Jacques Chirac. Both men conceived of the Pavillon des Sessions as the place where the works of indigenous peoples - originally brought to Paris as French colonial heirlooms - would be presented as masterpieces of world art on par with the greatest works of art held in the Louvre. For both men the material institutionalization of this vision represented a fulfillment of the desire outlined by Kerchache and the 148 signatories of his manifesto ten years previous that: "Masterpieces of the whole world to be born free and equal [in] the eighth section of the Grand Louvre".

This gesture is, of course, far too simple an answer to colonial relations and has been ridiculed extensively for multiple reasons. Neither the politically simple act of re-conceptualizing colonial heirlooms as masterpieces of world art, nor the much more politically daunting act of installing 117 of these in Louvre, does anything to change the continuing material structures of colonial power in many of the locations where the objects originated, Moreover, it overlooks the local histories and conditions under which the objects came to be in

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<sup>190</sup> Peter Mark quoted in Price 2007: 60.

<sup>191</sup> Jacques Chirac quoted in Price 2007: 64-65.

Paris in the first place. And not least of all, the celebration of the presence of these objects in the Louvre overlooks the question of source communities being deprived of direct access to their cultural patrimony - especially in the case of the ki'i lā'au from the burial cave on Mauna Kea, which is only one of two known ki'i lā'au of its kind within a worldwide, extant corpus of only 162 objects.<sup>192</sup>

One might ask then: *What does the presentation of the Hawaiian ki'i lā'au as a masterpiece of world art at the louvre actually mean? And to Whom? What parts of history are being highlighted, and what parts of history are being occluded?*

As has been discussed, above, the ki'i lā'au now on view in the Pavillon des Sessions was collected in 1877 by Théodore Ballieu who was at that time French consul to the Hawaiian Kingdom. The circumstances of Ballieu's acquisition of the object are unclear, but it is known that the object was collected from a burial cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea, and also that, at the time, it was regretted by the Hawaiian gazette that this ki'i lā'au could not have been placed in what was, at that time, the Hawaii National Museum.

While the circumstances of Ballieu's acquisition of this ki'i lā'au are unclear, it is very clear that he viewed the object much differently than did Jacques Kerchache. This is, of course, due to the differing historical periods and cultural contexts within which they lived, and this also speaks to the mutability of objects as they circulate between users and contexts.

In addition to serving as French consul to the Hawaiian Kingdom, Ballieu was a well-respected amateur naturalist who maintained close relationships with museums and research institutions in Paris through the specimens he collected, recorded, and donated and, as has

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<sup>192</sup> Cox, J. Halley and William Davenport 1988 *Hawaiian Sculpture [Revised Addition]*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.



already been observed, several species of Hawaiian fishes and birds bear his name in the scientific literature.

In addition to specimens of birds, fishes and the Hawaiian *ki'i lā'au* now on view in the Louvre, Ballieu collected at least seventeen other known objects from Hawai'i which have been consolidated in the collections of the Musée du quai Branly (**Appendix B**). It is difficult to discern a pattern or trajectory of collection among these objects and it is unknown if any of these objects were collected together with the *ki'i lā'au* or separately. What seems clear is that Ballieu collected them as specimens rather than as personal heirlooms or as curiosities, as he sent them to scientific institutions in Paris before leaving Hawaii or transferred them to these institutions shortly after returning to Paris in 1879.

At some point during his time as French consul in Hawaii, and in keeping with his interest in the classification of the species, Ballieu produced comparative portraits of Hawaiian women for the purposes of anthropometric analysis (**figs. 12 a-12 f**). This method of studying human biology and evolution was popular in the French school of anthropology during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, and underscores Ballieu's motivations as an amateur naturalist who collected for recognition among the scientific community in Paris, rather than as a collector of personal heirlooms or curiosities. Ballieu's photographs also speak to the history of the French institutions that the *ki'i lā'au* now in the Louvre has now been a part of for 139 years, and this history has been occluded at the Pavillon des Sessions.



**Figures 12a – 12f**  
**Six Sets of Anthropometric Portraits**  
**Produced by Théodore Ballieu.**

**Figure 12 a**

Théodore Ballieu (1829-1885)  
*Fille, canaque pur d'Oahu*, ca. 1870-1875  
 [Girl, pure Kanak from Oahu]

Printed on albumen paper mounted on cardboard  
 13.7 x 9.9 cm / Overall 22.5 x 29.5 cm.

Musée du quai branly, PP0026168.1

**Figure 12 b**

Théodore Ballieu (1829-1885)  
*Fille, canaque pur d'Hawaï*, ca. 1870-1875  
 [Girl, pure Kanak from Hawaii]

Printed on albumen paper mounted on cardboard  
 13.7 x 9.8 cm x / Overall 22.5 x 29.5 cm

Musée du quai branly, PP0026168.4  
 Former collection: Théodore Ballieu;  
 Previous collection: Musée de l'homme



**Figure 12 c**

Théodore Ballieu (1829-1885)  
*Canaque pur d'Oahu, 31 ans*, ca. 1870-1875  
 [Pure Kanak from Oahu, 31 Years Old]

Printed on albumen paper mounted on cardboard.  
 13.4 x 9.8 cm / Overall 22.5 x 29.5 cm

Musée du quai branly, PP0026167.2  
 Former collection: Théodore Ballieu;  
 Previous collection: Musée de l'homme.

**Figure 12 d**

Théodore Ballieu (1829-1885)  
*Fille, canaque pur de 16 ans*, ca. 1870-1875  
 [Girl, pure Kanak, 16 years old]

Printed on albumen paper mounted on cardboard.  
 13.7 x 9.8 cm / Over all 22.5 x 29.5 cm.

Musée du quai branly, PP0026167.3  
 Former collection: Théodore Ballieu  
 Previous collection: Musée de l'homme.



**Figure 12 e**

Théodore Ballieu (1829-1885)

*Demi-blanche, la mère canaque pur dans la quarantaine, le père né à La Teste (Gironde), ca. 1870-1875*

[Half-white, the pure Kanake mother in her forties, the father born in La Teste (Gironde)]

Printed on albumen paper mounted on cardboard  
13.7 x 9.9 cm / Overall 22.5 x 29.5 cm

Musée du quai branly, PP0026166.1.

**Figure 12 f**

Théodore Ballieu (1829-1885)

*Demi-blanche, soeur de la précédente, née le 11 février 1852, ca. 1870-1875.*

[Half-white, sister of the previous, born on February 11, 1852]

Printed on albumen paper mounted on cardboard  
13.7 x 9.9 / Overall 22.5 x 29.5 cm.

Musée du quai branly, PP0026166.2.

From the time it arrived in Paris until its selection for display in the Louvre, the ki'i lā'au now on view in the Pavillon des Sessions has been held in the collections of the Trocadéro which transitioned later to the Musée de l'homme. The Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro was founded for the Paris World's Fair to exhibit and research the peoples and territories now drawn in by the worldwide reach of the French Nation. The creation of the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1878 also represented a coming together of what had been, in previous decades, dual divisions in the French social sciences between the anthropologists of the Société anthropologique and the ethnographers of the Société ethnologique. Because Ballieu collected specimens and objects with these institutions in mind, his anthropometric portraits may be contextualized through the French anthropological thinking that defined those institutions at the time.

For Western Europeans, the ‘discovery’ of ‘pre-historic’ peoples during the colonial period seemed to show that racial differences had been long-standing, and also seemed to support the idea that the races of man had distinct genetic origins - and also distinct destinies.<sup>193</sup> This conceptualization of the multiple origins of humans is known as polygenesis and this discourse was prominent in European and EuroAmerican thinking during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Polygenetic thinking proposed that:

*A Multiplicity of human groups developed along lines which moved in general toward the social and cultural forms of Western Europe. Along the way, different groups had diverged and regressed, stood still or even died out ... but the general level was always advanced as the cultural innovations of the superior or progressive races were diffused through much of the world.*<sup>194</sup>

In order to understand the differences among peoples thought to have had separate origins and developments, systems of classification based on physical measurements (anthropometry) were developed during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. In Paris, the Société anthropologique was created by neuro anatomist Paul Broca in 1859 and advocated for anthropometry – the physical description of races and the classification of racial hierarchies, based on anthropometric measures and understood, at that time, as a purely scientific method.<sup>195</sup> Anthropometry was given credibility when compared to ethnography because measurements and study were conducted in laboratories by trained physicians whereas ethnographic studies appeared to be frivolous pursuits conducted by travelers with no qualifications.<sup>196</sup> Further, in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the presumed evidentiary nature of photography meant that comparative photographs – such as those produced in Hawaii by Ballieu – were understood as an objective method of

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid, 98.

<sup>194</sup> Stocking, George W. Jr. (ed.) 1968: 119 *Race, Culture and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>195</sup> Sibeud, Emmanuelle 2008: 231 in Kuklick, Henrika ed. *A New History of Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid, 98-99.

studying physical characteristics of humans in terms of their hierarchical development on an ethnocentric scale which placed Western Europeans and EuroAmericans as the most advanced. As such, the doctrine of polygenism may be understood as Western geo-political discourse on the inferiority of non-Western and indigenous peoples.

In the United States, Alexander Winchell, a Professor of Paleontology at the University of Michigan published his *Preadamites; or, a Demonstration of the Existence of Men before Adam, Together with a Study of Their Condition, Antiquity, Racial Affinities, and Progressive Dispersion over the Earth* in 1880.<sup>197</sup> In New York, the Phrenologist Samuel R. Wells published his *New Physiognomy; or Signs of Character as Manifested through Temperament and External Forms, and Especially in "The Human Face Divine"* (1883) in which he pleaded with sea captains, sailors, explorers and others to "render essential service to science by procuring crania in all parts of the world for ethnological study".<sup>198</sup>

In Paris, the Société anthropologique led by Paul Broca and the German-born anthropologist Franz Ignace Pruner Bey sought to answer the question of hybridity (miscegenation) as it related to fecundity or sterility.<sup>199</sup> The issue of hybridity was regarded at the time as crucial because, if the races of mankind were truly separate species then it followed species should be inter-sterile but because, of course, successful "cross-breeding" was an observable fact, the argument then became that, perhaps, offspring became genetically weaker with each successive generation.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>197</sup> Winchell, Alexander 1880 *Preadamites; or, a Demonstration of the Existence of Men before Adam, Together with a Study of Their Condition, Antiquity, Racial Affinities, and Progressive Dispersion over the Earth*. Chicago: S.C. Griggs and Co..

<sup>198</sup> Wells, Samuel R. 1883: 470 *New Physiognomy; or Signs of Character as Manifested through Temperament and External Forms, and Especially in "The Human Face Divine"*. New York: Fowler and Wells.

<sup>199</sup> Brace, Loring C. 2000: 242 *Evolution in an Anthropological View*. Lanham, MD: Alta Mira Press.

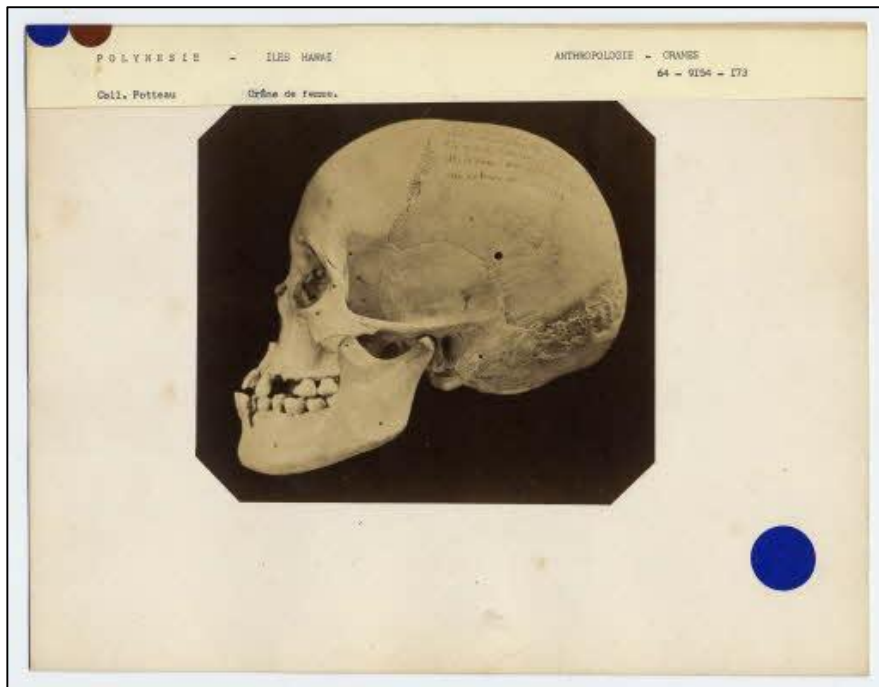
<sup>200</sup> Glick, Thomas F. 2008: 231 Kuklick, Henrika ed. in *A New History of Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell.

The doctrine of polygenesis, and the idea that human groups developed toward the social and cultural forms of Western Europe, and through the cultural innovations of superior or progressive races, served the West by first, positioning Western peoples as superior and as the most highly developed ‘species’, and second, by serving as a justification for the colonial project through its mission of civilizing “inferior” peoples. So it was, then, that during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, French polygenetic thinking led by Paul Broca and Franz Ignace Prünér-Bey, constructed race as a system of bodily-based cultural classifications using the anthropometric methodologies of craniology and comparative anatomy for the classification of racial – and racist - typologies.<sup>201</sup> Prünér-Bey’s material legacy includes a series of three remarkable tables recording more than 15,000 measurements of 507 craniums. At least one of these craniums had belonged to a Hawaiian female of which two photographs from Prünér-Bey’s collection remain in the archive now consolidated in the collections of the Musée du quai Branly (*figs 13 and 14*).

It was within this context, then, that Ballieu produced the anthropometric portraits of the six Hawaiian women which are now held in the archives of the Musée du quai Branly in Paris. Together with his specimens of birds and fishes, these portraits place Ballieu’s collection of the ki‘i lā‘au in a radically different context than that in which it is being presented in the Louvre today. At the Louvre, Kerchache envisioned the Pavillon des Sessions as a space where representation would serve as a type of reconciliation. Still, one may ask how this can be so when – as in the case of the ki‘i lā‘au from Mauna Kea – the object had been cached, probably with the express purpose of keeping it safe from view.

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<sup>201</sup> Ibid.



**Figure 13.**

*Polynésie : crâne de femme des îles Hawaï, n 1711. Don de feu Prüner-Bey.*  
 Polynesia: Female skull of Hawaii Islands, n 1711. Gift of the late Prüner-Bey.

Jacques-Philippe Potteau (1807 - 1876) ca. 1851 -1876.  
 Albumen paper laminated on cardboard 22.5 x 29.5 cm.  
 Print dimensions: 14.5 x 16 cm.

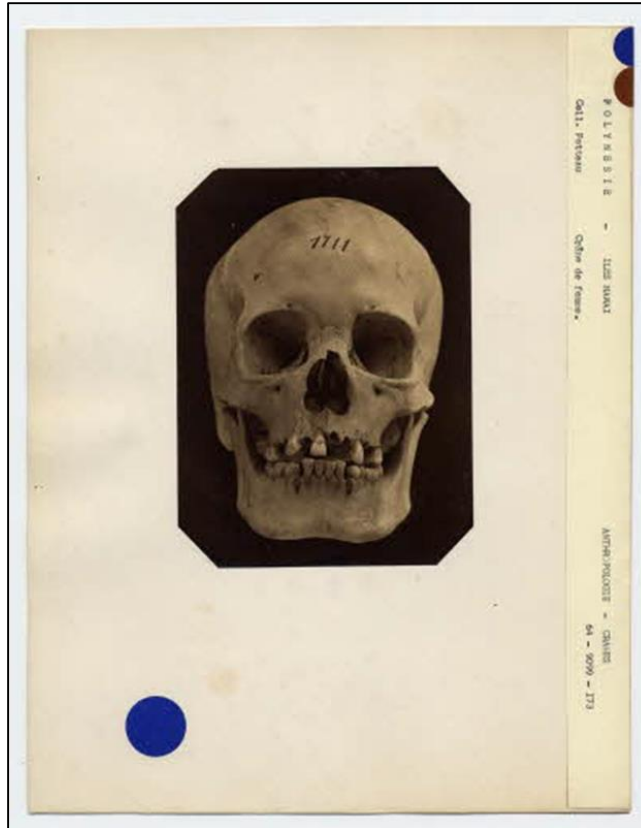
*[Profil. Sur le haut du crâne il est écrit : <<Crâne de femme / Iles Sandwich / 24 ans, donné à [illisible] / Hâvre en octobre [illisible] / au retour du voyage >>].*

*Profile. On the top of the skull it is written: "Woman's skull / Sandwich Islands / 24 years old, given to [illegible] / Harbor in October [illegible] / on the return of the trip".*

Four Handwritten Inscriptions:

Upper left corner, on the back, in red ink: "1883 N43"  
 Upper central part on the back, in purple ink: "Potteau Collection n1247"  
 Central part on the back, in black ink: "Old n 44.3.212" –  
 Central part on the back, in pencil erased: "1883-43 44.3.212"

Former collection: Mr. Prüner Bey,  
 Previous collection: Musée d l'homme.



**Figure 14.**

*Polynesia: female skull of Hawaii Islands, n 1711. Gift of the late Prüner-Bey (PP0166885)*

Jacques-Philippe Potteau (1807 - 1876), ca.1876

Albumen paper laminated on cardboard

22.5 x 29.5 cm / Print dimensions: 11 x 15 cm

Four Handwritten Inscriptions:

Upper left corner, on the back, in red ink: "1883 N43"

Upper central part on the back, in violet ink: see title and "Potteau Collection n1248" –

Central part on the back, in black ink: "Old No. 44.3.211" –

Middle part on the back, in pencil erased: "1883-43 44.3.211"

Former collection: Mr Prüner Bey;

Previous collection: Musée de l'homme.



The presentation of this ki'i lā'au as a masterpiece of world art in the Louvre occludes the colonial histories of the institutions that have held and circulated the object for one hundred and thirty nine years prior to having been hand selected by Kerchache for his very personal project in the Pavillon des Sessions. Furthermore, the presentation of the ki'i lā'au as a masterpiece subordinates the value ascribed to it by its original users as a ritual instrument to the value and meanings ascribed to it by Kerchache. Finally, displaying the object in Louvre disregards the wishes of the person or persons who had cached to keep it safe from view. So, rather than reconciliation, the Pavillon des Sessions becomes a site for occlusion of colonial histories, the subordination of indigenous meanings in favor of Western ones, and a total disregard for the community who once used the object - and had hidden it to keep it from view.

## Conclusions

*The Image has the usual squat position and the features, especially the mouth, are hideously distorted ...*

*... We congratulate Mr. Ballieu on his good luck in securing this antiquity, which he sends to one of the museums in Paris; but at the same time we must express our regret that it could not have been placed in our national own museum*

*--- The Hawaiian Gazette, April 25, 1877.<sup>202</sup>*

The congratulatory nature of the Hawaiian Gazette's response to Ballieu's acquisition of the this object speaks to the ways in which cultural capital and other forms of the social self can be obtained or created through objects. For Ballieu, an amateur naturalist, his collection of specimens, artifacts and his anthropometric photographs placed him in direct dialogue with the Parisian scientific community of the 1870s, and has also claimed a space for Ballieu in the scientific literature.

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<sup>202</sup> The Hawaiian Gazette (1865-1918) April 25, 1877 <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/1877-04-25/ed-1/seq-3/> - Image 3 (page 3).

The transition of this ki'i lā'au from the “hideously distorted” idol described by the *Hawaiian Gazette* in 1877, into a “masterpiece to of world art”, represents one good example of the mutability of meaning inherent to objects. This transition also reflects the political needs of French national museums of ethnography over time to distance themselves from their colonial pasts within the shifting political discourses of post-colonial politics.

For both Jacques Chirac and Jacques Kerchache, conceptualizing the Pavillon des Sessions as a type of reconciliation through representation served as signature projects through which each man was able to construct and broadcast a social identity and gain cultural capital through the re-appropriation of objects that had originally arrived in France as colonial heirlooms. This temporal moment in which the re-appropriation and deployment the ki'i lā'au from Mauna Kea in a new context as a “masterpiece of world art” also signifies a new moment in the process of objectification – in this case, an objectification of Kerchache’s very personal views and taste in ethnographic sculpture, and it is this history or meaning more than any other, that the object transmits from its pedestal in the Louvre

## CHAPTER 7: CASE STUDY 4

### A KI'I LĀ'AU IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS, MUSEUM OF CHURCH HISTORY AND ART, SALT LAKE CITY



**Figure 4.**

Ki' i lā' au, Late 18th Century, carved wood.

Height: 19 in., height of figure 19.5 in.

Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Museum of Church History and Art  
Salt Lake City, Utah

Thought to be a gift of King Kalākaua (LDS-102).

*It was intended to make of the institution a means of showing tourists what we have and what we are doing. We then and there agreed to start the enterprise. A flaming advertisement was inserted in the Deseret News, calling for relics, curiosities, mineralogical and geological specimens, and natural history specimens alive ... The miner, the artisan, the hunter, and in fact citizens of all classes brought their contributions, and in six months the museum had already quite a start*

- Guglielmo Giosue Rossetti Sangiovanni, Curator, Deseret Museum, 1869.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Sangiovanni, Guglielmo G.R. quoted in Talmage, James Edward 1911: 4 in The Deseret Museum Bulletin prepared for *The Improvement Era* 14:11 (1911) 32 pp.

The above statement by Guglielmo Sangiovanni a founder and the first curator of the *Salt Lake City Museum and Menagerie* and later, *The Deseret Museum*, provides insight into how the collections that would eventually develop into the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Museum of Church History and Art (LDS Museum) were formed.<sup>204</sup> The concept of a museum in Salt Lake City was first envisioned by Sangiovanni and John W. Young - the son of Brigham Young, then President of the LDS Church. When the museum opened as the Salt Lake City Museum and Menagerie in 1869, it boasted a small zoo in addition to the “relics, curiosities, mineralogical, geological, and natural history specimens” that their newspaper advertisement had requested. Folded into the collections was the private collection of President Brigham Young which had comprised of antiquities and curiosities given as gifts to Brigham Young by returning missionaries and friends. As John Young stated at the time, the museum was intended to show tourists on the transcontinental railway "what we have and what we are doing" in the Utah Territory".<sup>205</sup>

Today, the museum has transitioned away from the “relics, curiosities, mineralogical, geological and natural history specimens” that were a part of its founding, and houses two large modern exhibits presenting the history of the church. The primary exhibit, “The Heavens are Opened”, occupies the entire first floor of the museum space and presents a strict linear narrative of only the first quarter-century of Mormon history which begins with founder Joseph Smith’s first encounter with the numinous in a sacred vision in the Spring of 1820, and ends with Smith’s assassination in 1844. The other exhibit, occupying the second floor of the

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<sup>204</sup> Talmage, James Edward 1911: 4 in *The Deseret Museum Bulletin* prepared for *The Improvement Era* 14:11 (1911) 32 pp.

<sup>205</sup> Young, John W. quoted in Talmage 1911: 4.

museum and entitled “The Presidents of the Church”, exhibits the lives, contributions and spiritual teachings of each of the Church’s prophets since Joseph Smith.

The ki‘i lā‘au now held in the collections of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Museum of Church History and Art (LDS Museum) has not been on view in Salt Lake City since the 1940s. However, this object has travelled internationally to major museums for special exhibitions and has been published in the accompanying catalogues (most recently in 2014), and is often discussed in the literature alongside the ki‘i lā‘au now on view at the Louvre in Paris – its probable twin.

In other words, while the object is deemed valuable in terms of the place it holds in Hawaiian culture and in the scholarship on the material culture of the Pacific Islands, at the museum in Salt Lake City, it has remained in storage for nearly seventy years. The LDS Church claims a special relationship to Polynesian peoples and operates the Polynesian Cultural Center, a tourist attraction and theme park, at Lā‘ie on the island of Oahu where a replica of this ki‘i lā‘au, exaggerated in size and features, stands among the gardens as a purely decorative object with no interpretation.

In this chapter I examine the history of this ki‘i lā‘au in Salt Lake City and, observing its absence from view at the museum since the 1940s, I then discuss two Polynesian objects which the museum currently includes in its “Presidents of the Church” exhibition alongside the replica on display at the LDS Church-owned Polynesian Cultural Center. In the discussion that follows, I seek to understand why it is that one of two nearly identical images was selected for exhibition alongside only one hundred and seventeen others (less than one-half of one percent of ethnographic objects held by the National museums of France) for exhibition in the Louvre as

an artistic masterpiece, while its probable twin has been in museum storage for nearly seventy years and what might account for the difference.

## Discussion

The ki‘i lā‘au now in the collection of the LDS Museum (**fig. 4**) may have been a gift of King Kalākaua (r. 1874-1898) to Brigham Young, although currently, there is no evidence that the two men ever met, nor do museum registration records indicate this connection which, if true, would make a very interesting last chapter in this paper. However, the object’s connection to the King is a chapter in the social biography of this ki‘i lā‘au which will have to be postponed until evidence of this connection can be found.

The source of information from which the idea of Kalākaua’s involvement stems was published by William T. Brigham, first director of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu, in 1898.<sup>206</sup> At the time, Brigham had completed a Bishop Museum report entitled *Report of a Journey around the World Undertaken to Examine Various Ethnological Collections*. In Brigham’s *Report*, this ki‘i lā‘au and one other appear in a photo on page sixty-three (**fig. 16**). On page sixty-two, Brigham states that “In the Mormon Museum in Salt Lake City are two small Hawaiian idols given by Kalākaua and of which the Bishop Museum has photographs”.<sup>207</sup> Over the years, this information has been repeated in the provenance information accompanying this object in catalogues and scholarly publications and is always traced back to Brigham’s *Report* of 1898.

Museum registration records from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century are not always as complete as one might prefer, and in the case of this ki‘i lā‘au, they do not indicate a date of accession. The

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<sup>206</sup> Brigham, William T. 1898: 63 “Report of a Journey around the World Undertaken to Examine Various Ethnological Collections”. *Occasional Papers, Bernice P. Bishop Museum* 1(1).

<sup>207</sup> Ibid, 62.

accession information attached to this object states only: “*Bureau's LDS Church Museum from Samuel P. Richards an agent for the Deseret Museum. Said to be a war god*”.<sup>208</sup>

A search of LDS Mission records indicates that a Samuel Parker Richards was an LDS Missionary to Hawai‘i from October 1873 to February 1877 at which time he returned home to Salt Lake City and eventually became a storekeeper and a rancher in Idaho.<sup>209</sup> LDS Church Mission records list no other missionaries by this name as having served in the Hawaiian (then Sandwich Islands) Mission, and it is very likely that Richards returned from his mission with this object and donated it to the museum.

After arriving in Salt Lake City - sometime between 1877 and 1883 - this ki‘il lā‘au was photographed and circulated as a postcard image (**fig. 15**) by the photographer Charles Roscoe Savage (1832-1909) who operated his “Art Bazaar Studio” in Salt Lake City from 1875 until it burned – along with all of his negatives - in 1883.<sup>210</sup>

A version of the postcard image produced by Savage appears to have reproduced by William T. Brigham in his 1898 *Report of a Journey around the World Undertaken to Examine Various Ethnological Collections*<sup>211</sup> to illustrate his discussion (**fig. 16**) and shows that, at the time, it seemed to have been circulated and valued at home in Hawai‘i and abroad – although for very different reasons.

A strong proponent of Westward expansion – even at the expense of Native Americans<sup>212</sup> - Savage is most celebrated for being one of the three photographers present at the joining of

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<sup>208</sup> Personal communication with LDS Museum Registration Department.

<sup>209</sup> LDS Church Missionary Department - Missionary registers, 1860-1959, Vol. 1, p. 25.

<sup>210</sup> Wadsworth, Nelson B. 1996: 70-72 *Set in Stone, Fixed in Glass: The Mormons, the West, and Their Photographers* Salt Lake City: Signature Publishing.

<sup>211</sup> William T. Brigham 1898:63.

<sup>212</sup> Wadsworth 1996: 74.

the rails of the First Transcontinental Railroad which connected the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads on May 10, 1869, at Promontory Summit, Utah Territory.<sup>213</sup>

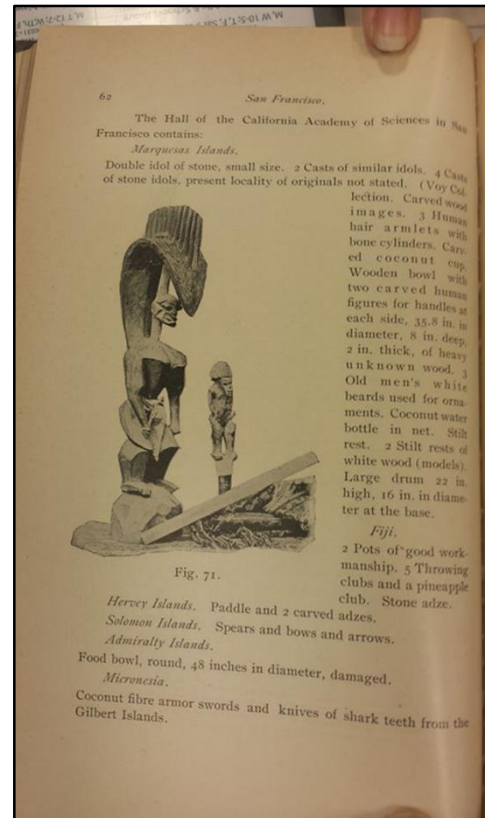


**Figure 15.**

Postcard view of two ki'i lā'au in the Collection of the Museum of Church History and Art, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Charles Roscoe Savage  
Before 1883  
Gelatin Silver Print on Paper  
14 cm. x 10 cm (image) / 16.3 cm x 10.6 cm (mount)

Inscription: Art Bazaar, Salt Lake City, Utah  
The Collection of the British Museum, Oc, B16.15



**Figure 16.**

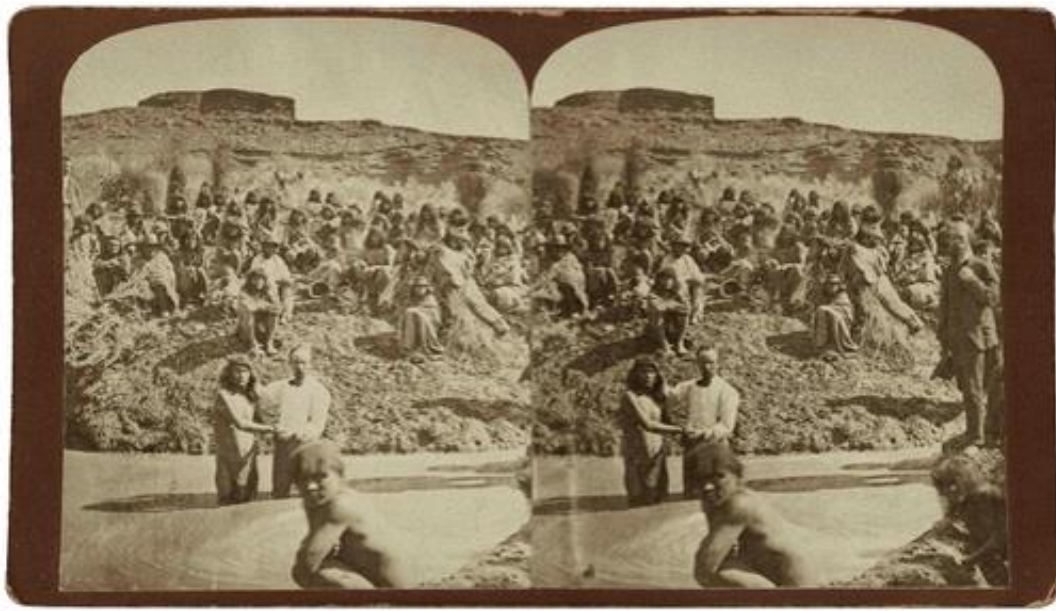
Illustration in "Report of a Journey around the World Undertaken to Examine Various Ethnological Collections".

William T. Brigham (1898).  
Occasional Papers, Bernice P. Bishop Museum 1(1).

<sup>213</sup> Wadsworth 1996: 70-72.



Savage was also well-known for his images of natural geological phenomena and he sold postcard views of Yellowstone alongside interior views of the Deseret Museum. Savage won at least five photography medals at territorial fairs (1888-1891 and 1894)<sup>214</sup>, and another at the Chicago Columbian Exposition (1893),<sup>215</sup> for his stereograph images of Native Americans which he produced for circulation and consumption by white audiences (*Fig 17*). These included documentary images of Paiute, Shoshone and other Native Americans, their children and dwellings, and their customs and graves.<sup>216</sup>



**Figure 17.**

*Baptism of 250 Lamanites by the Mormons, ca. 1875.*

Charles Roscoe Savage (1832-1909)

Albumen Stereograph, 3 9/16 x 7 1/8 in., Published by Art Bazar, Salt Lake City

L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library,  
Brigham Young University, MSS P 24 Item 389-B.

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<sup>214</sup> Archives West “C.R. Savage Photograph Collection, 1860s-1890s / Biography” University of Utah Libraries, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library : <http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv64389>.

<sup>215</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> Wadsworth 1996: 75.

Savage also produced in-studio ethnically stereotyped portraits of Native Americans, and his oeuvre is linked to the late-Victorian pseudo sciences of phrenology and physiognomy. Part of Savage's success as a photographer was due to his mutually beneficial partnership with New York City phrenologist and publisher Samuel R. Wells. Wells aided Savage by buying photographs and publishing them in the *Illustrated Annual of Phrenology and Physiognomy* and, in turn, Savage sold Wells' phrenology and physiognomy publications out of his studio in Salt Lake City.<sup>217</sup>

Despite the fact that Native Americans hold a unique place in Mormon doctrine as God's chosen people (discussed further below), Mormon-Indian relations were informed by common 19<sup>th</sup> Century stereotypes and a paternalistic approach by Mormons to uplift and civilize the Ute, Paiute, Goshute and other indigenous peoples that they encountered and were actively displacing in the few fertile valleys available for use, and where resistance to Mormon settlement often erupted in violence.<sup>218</sup>

Mormon missionization in Hawai'i began in 1850, and by 1864 the Mormon Church had purchased a 6,000 acre tract of land in La'ie which it put to use in sugar production to support the mission. Although – like Native Americans - Native Hawaiians occupy a unique place in Mormon doctrine, and despite the fact that Native Hawaiians converts to the Mormon church began to emigrate (gather) to Utah in as early as 1873 at the encouragement of Mormon leaders,<sup>219</sup> popular representations of Native Hawaiians in Salt Lake City were characterized by

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<sup>217</sup> American Tribes: [www.amertribes.org](http://www.amertribes.org) "Charles Roscoe Savage"  
<http://amertribes.proboards.org/thread/902/charles-roscoe-savage> ; Archives West: University of Utah Libraries, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library: <http://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:/80444/xv64389>

<sup>218</sup> Kester, Mathew 2009: 59 Race Religion and Citizenship in Mormon Country: Native Hawaiians in Salt Lake City 1869 – 1889, *Western Historical Quarterly*, 40: 1 pp 51-76.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid*, 57.

“racialized descriptions of cultural practices based on prevalent notions of civilization and savagery, satirical treatments of Hawaiian politics and social life, and concerns about public health”.<sup>220</sup>

Much of this centered around associations between Hawaiians and leprosy, and between leprosy and sin. Between 1862 and 1920 Salt Lake City newspapers published nearly three hundred articles that referenced leprosy in terms of the civilized versus uncivilized, the clean versus the unclean, and the moral versus the immoral.<sup>221</sup> It was within the social context of this discourse that Savage’s postcard image of the two Hawaiian ki’i lā‘au was circulated and also the context within which they were displayed in the Salt Lake City Museum. .

The first catalogue of the Salt Lake City Museum’s holdings was published in 1880, by which time the *Salt Lake City Museum* had come to be known as *The Deseret Museum*. The *Handbook Guide to the Salt Lake Museum [Deseret Museum]* states that the museum “contains almost everything that is found in Utah, which is of interest to the tourist or visitor, seeking reliable information respecting the minerals, ores and natural resources of the Rocky Mountains.”<sup>222</sup>

According to the Handbook Guide, the museums arrangement begins with a case displaying the geological elements of the area in front of which was the hammer used by Mormon Church President Brigham Young to drive the final spike of the U.C Railroad that would connect the first transcontinental railway:

*In the center cabinet (No. 1), are shown the minerals of this region. Quartz minerals are grouped on the west side of the cabinet, where the several forms of silica may be seen in great variety. In the centre of the cabinet, gold, silver, sulphur and native elements are seen. Halites—rock salt, transparent as glass; transparent gypsum (selenite); salt from the Great Salt Lake, etc. The east side of the cabinet is*

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid, 61.

<sup>222</sup> See *Handbook Guide to the Salt Lake Museum* (Appendix D).

*devoted to carbonates of copper, silver and lead, from the mines of Utah. The velvet, copper, azurite, and malachite, are unique, and specially attractive ...*

*In front of this cabinet is placed the last spike and tie of the U. C. Railway, with the hammer used at the ceremony of opening the first railway introduced into Salt Lake City; which was performed in the presence of fifteen thousand spectators, by President Brigham Young, January 10, 1870.*<sup>223</sup>

In addition to the various rocks and minerals that comprised the physical environment of the Utah Territory, the museum boasts specimens of its plant, bird and animal life, and the guide itself describes in detail the built environment of downtown Salt Lake City, the Tabernacle, The construction of LDS Temple and available hotels. In short, the museum and its *Handbook Guide*, define the physical and biological world of the Utah territory and claim a place for Mormon culture within it, while at the same time connecting itself to the larger social world via the newly opened transcontinental railroad and tourism.

Within the space the museum had claimed for Mormon culture in the West, native peoples were classified as the ethnographic Other. For example, *The Handbook Guide to the Salt Lake Museum* (**Appendix D**) states that the two ki‘i lā‘au in the collection were housed in:

*No. 10 Cabinet* (Brigham Young's museum, continued). *Curiosities from the Sandwich Islands—idols and relics of interest to the antiquarian and ethnologist; Kapa, Waki, Kanaka swords made of shark's teeth, etc.; portrait of kings, chiefs, etc*

And, just beyond No. 10 Cabinet,

*In this room, ancient and modern curiosities of the aborigines are shown: chiefs' robes, dresses, weapons, scalps, tomahawks, the calumet (pipe of peace), pottery, stone axes, meal stones, (metals) crania and relics from mounds, etc. A complete chief's dress, a squaw's dress of elaborate workman-ship, papoose robes; sketches of Indian villages, by local artists, etc.*<sup>224</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> See *Handbook Guide to the Salt Lake Museum* (Appendix D).

<sup>224</sup> Ibid.

*Here, also, are temporarily kept living specimens of birds and reptiles of Utah. Kit Carson's boat is also shown, with a photograph of this early pioneer of the west, etc.*

Recalling that the museum was founded in 1869 in order to show tourists on the transcontinental railway "What we have and what we are doing" in the Utah Territory",<sup>225</sup> the display of indigenous cultures in the museum was a way of defining a relatively recent Mormon presence in the Utah territory over and against the peoples they were actively displacing.

Although the museum's founding was connected to Brigham Young through his private collection, his son, and his position as the President of the Mormon Church; and despite the fact that, in its original location, the museum was housed in a building that sat between President Brigham Young's private residence and the Church's tithing office, the museum was not conceptualized as a repository of church history.<sup>226</sup> Rather, after nearly twenty-five years of Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake Valley, the Mormons were eager to present themselves as cosmopolitan and learned, and the museum remained a private operation for the first years of its existence. In the museums history over time, the collections have been re-housed several times – including having been stored in the basement of the Salt Lake LDS Temple from 1903 to 1911 - and, as an entity, have been known by several different names.<sup>227</sup>

Today, any and all traces of an ethnological collection have fallen away from current version of the LDS Museum. There is no pretense of objective scholarship or interpretation of the natural world. The Museum today is strictly focused upon its own sacred history with the intention of increasing the faith of Church members – the museums intended audience. So, then,

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<sup>225</sup> Young, John W. quoted in Talmage, James Edward 1911: 4 The Deseret Museum Bulletin prepared for *The Improvement Era* 14:11 (1911) 32 pp. .

<sup>226</sup> Ibid.

<sup>227</sup> LDS Church History Museum 2013: 2-3 in *Church History Museum Memo*, September-October 2013.

one might be inclined to understand why it is that the ki'i lā'au o Lono is not currently on view in Salt Lake City.

However, the LDS Church claims a special relationship to Polynesian peoples and operates the Polynesian Cultural Center, a tourist attraction and theme park, at Lā'ie on the island of Oahu where a replica of this ki'i lā'au, exaggerated in size and features, stands among the gardens as a purely decorative object with no interpretation. The Polynesian Cultural Center is, itself, a carefully constructed space designed to sell race to tourists, and while the ki'i lā'au o Lono from Mauna Kea remains in storage in Salt Lake City, its replica - emptied of its identity and original social meaning - performs as a floating signifier racial difference at the Church's theme park in Lā'ie.<sup>228</sup>

In order to understand the LDS Church's presence in Lā'ie, it is first necessary to understand its views on the indigenous peoples of the Americas and of the Pacific. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS Church, the Mormon Church) is a uniquely American form of Christianity which traces its beginnings to the period of the second Great Awakening in upstate New York and to the movement's founder, Joseph Smith (1805-1844). However, the LDS Church's understanding of its sacred history as outlined in its sacred texts, the *Book of Mormon* and *Doctrine and Covenants*, traces a unique history all the way back to the book of Genesis in the Old Testament, and creates a unique position for the indigenous peoples of Polynesia and the Americas.

According to the Doctrine and Covenants, the Eden of the Old Testament (Genesis 2:4-3:24) was not located in the Near East, but rather on the American continent in the area of the

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<sup>228</sup> Native Hawaiian scholar Hokulani Aikau presents a relatively recent, and in-depth assessment of the Polynesian Cultural Center's deployment of racial difference in *A Chosen People, A Promised Land*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2012

United States which is now Missouri.<sup>229</sup> Mormon doctrine interprets the Old Testament story of Noah and the flood (Genesis 6 – 9) as one in which Noah and the inhabitants of the ark left the Americas and, after the deluge, were deposited in the Near East.<sup>230</sup>

At around 600 BCE, and at the urging of God, a group of righteous descendants of the Israelite prophet Lehi, led by his son Nephi, left Jerusalem to return by sea to the Americas. Once they had returned to the Americas, however, a series of wars between two opposing groups – the more righteous Nephites (led by Nephi), and those who were nomadic and less righteous led by his brother Laman (the Lamanites), meant that, by CE 385, only the Lamanites had survived in the Americas. In the Mormon understanding of sacred history, Native American populations become the descendants of this more nomadic, less righteous group.<sup>231</sup>

Prior to their disappearance however, one of the last surviving Nephites - Mormon – compiled the sacred history of the Nephites and their covenants with God inscribed on plates of metal. Upon the death of Mormon, his son Moroni completed the sacred history his father had begun recording before hiding it in a hillside in what is now upstate New York in about CE 421.<sup>232</sup>

In Mormon belief, then, this period of time between Moroni's deposition of sacred history in a hillside in CE 421, and his reappearance to Joseph Smith in a vision in 1827, is viewed as a time of great apostasy and Smith's vision and subsequent translation of this history as a great restoration of God's church on earth - and in its original location, the Americas. Between these

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<sup>229</sup> Doctrine and Covenants 101:16-20, 117:8- 9.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid.

<sup>231</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Scriptures [www.lds.org](https://www.lds.org) <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/bofm/2-ne/1.6?lang=eng#p5>

<sup>232</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Scriptures [www.lds.org](https://www.lds.org). Book of Mormon (Moroni) <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/bofm/moro/10?lang=eng>.

two points in time, however, the book of Alma (Alma 63: 5-8),<sup>233</sup> as translated by Smith, states that at about CE 55, a group of Lamanites, led by Hagoth, set sail into the “West Sea”:

*5 And it came to pass that Hagoth, he being an exceedingly curious man, therefore he went forth and built him an exceedingly large ship, on the borders of the land Bountiful, by the land Desolation, and launched it forth into the west sea, by the narrow neck which led into the land northward.*

*6 And behold, there were many of the Nephites who did enter therein and did sail forth with much provisions, and also many women and children; and they took their course northward. And thus ended the thirty and seventh year.*

*7 And in the thirty and eighth year, this man built other ships. And the first ship did also return, and many more people did enter into it; and they also took much provisions, and set out again to the land northward.*

*8 And it came to pass that they were never heard of more. And we suppose that they were drowned in the depths of the sea. And it came to pass that one other ship also did sail forth; and whither she did go we know not.<sup>234</sup>*

In Mormon doctrine, then, the history of Hagoth and the voyages of no return are made to account for the peopling of the Pacific by descendants of the more nomadic – and less righteous – Lamanites, who occupied the Americas during the time of the great apostasy and eventually spread out into the Pacific.<sup>235</sup>

Although the Book of Mormon conceptualizes the Lamanites as being more nomadic and less righteous than the [white, Euro-American] Nephites, as direct descendants of Abraham through Lehi, they are still understood as being among those who were chosen by God to return to the Americas after the flood, and are considered to carry the blood of Israel.<sup>236</sup> This conceptualization of Native Americans and Pacific Islanders has meant that, in the Church’s

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<sup>233</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Scriptures [www.lds.org](http://www.lds.org): Book of Mormon (Alma) <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/bofm/alma/63?lang=eng>.

<sup>234</sup> Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 2018: [www.lds.org](http://www.lds.org): Book of Mormon (Alma 63:5-8) <https://www.lds.org/scriptures/bofm/alma/63?lang=eng>.

<sup>235</sup> Ibid.

<sup>236</sup> Kimball, Spencer W. 1971 “Of Royal Blood”. Special Lamanite Section in *Ensign* July 1971. Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.



history, encounter is not viewed as contact, but rather naturalizes encounter as a re-connection that has served to justify the settlement of the American West and was developed further as the Church began to plant itself in the Pacific in earnest. As the Church took root across the Pacific during the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the notion of Polynesian peoples as Lamanites was reiterated at Temple dedications and other significant occasions by the Churches international leaders (**Appendix F**).

It was in this doctrinal paradigm, then, that the LDS Church opened the Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC) on October 12, 1963.<sup>237</sup> As it has done since its inception, The PCC purports to offer tourists a condensed version of all of Polynesia within its 42 acre theme park featuring seven Polynesian villages including so-called traditional reproductions of dwellings (grass huts) and costumed Pacific Islander students who attend Mormon Church-owned Brigham Young University, attached to grounds of the PCC. In this setting, the students perform traditional dance and craft-making for tourists. Students are drawn from Mormon communities across the Pacific and supplement the cost of attending B.Y.U Hawai'i through their performances at the PCC.<sup>238</sup>

In simple terms, the PCC operates as a cultural theme park for ethnographic tourism and invites tourists to:

*Spend the day exploring the rich heritage of the Pacific Islands. Wander through 42 acres of tropical splendor and enjoy the adventure of traditional hands-on activities. Dine like royalty at an authentic Polynesian luau and top it off with the most spectacular evening show in the islands. All of Polynesia in one exciting place.*<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> Webb, T.D. 1994: 80 in Highly Structured Tourist Art: Form and Meaning of the Polynesian Cultural Center. *The Contemporary Pacific* 6:1 pp 59-85.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid, 59.

<sup>239</sup> Polynesian Cultural Center Website: <https://www.polynesia.com> accessed 20 February, 2018.

As tourists wander through the 42 acres of tropical splendor' at the PCC, they encounter large-scale, reproductions of extant ki'i lā'au – among these are replicas of the image pair now disbursed between Paris and Salt Lake City. These reproductions are positioned about the grounds in random order, and with no interpretation of their original social meaning or use in Hawaiian culture. Instead, they become floating signifiers of racial difference intended to create the perception of authentic experience for the foreign tourist.

That the PCC has long had a reputation for its superficiality is well understood.<sup>240</sup> Webb (1994) observed that:

*Tourists entered the PCC Villages and found a lively enactment of their fondest preconceptions of Polynesian life styles...It only appears however that the PCC is preserving these cultures. Actually it is preserving popular notions of Polynesia, because the PCC is a business, its claims of preservation notwithstanding*

More recently, native scholar Hokulani Aikau (2012) has pointed out that, for PCC management:

*Culture is comprised of material objects and practices that can be displayed or performed for tourists<sup>241</sup> ... things that collectively produce the feeling of authenticity. Within this framework Polynesian bodies adorned in "traditional" costume are equal to the grass shacks in each village, and the arts and crafts produced by the workers and sold in the store called the international marketplace. The racialization of the Native is what tourists buy at this "cultural park of ethnographic tourism".<sup>242</sup>*

At the Polynesian Culture Center, then, the oversized replicas of this ki'i lā'au are presently part of a larger tableau generally intended to reinforce the pre-conceived and stereotypical notions of Polynesia in the minds of foreign tourists - in the context of an attraction that purports

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<sup>240</sup> See, for example Webb, T.D. (1994) Highly Structured Tourist Art: Form and Meaning of the Polynesian Cultural Center. *The Contemporary Pacific* 6:1 pp 59-85.

<sup>241</sup> Aikau, Hokulani 2012: 139 *A Chosen People, A Promised Land*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid, 140.

to provide an authentic experience of Polynesian lifeways. At the same time, at the museum in Salt Lake City, this object has remained out of view for nearly seventy years. In both cases the history and original social meaning of the object has been subordinated to the narrative of the LDS Church and its relationship with Polynesian peoples.

The appropriation of Pacific Islands material cultures by the LDS Church becomes all the more clear when one considers the Polynesian artifacts displayed in the LDS Museum in Salt Lake City. For example, in a permanent exhibit comprising nearly one-half of the second floor of the museum, and entitled “The Presidents of the Church”, the lives, accomplishments and teachings of Mormon Church Presidents are presented to visitors as vignettes which include objects from their biographies as Church leaders (**fig. 18**).

Each vignette features a touch-screen interactive which highlights particular moments in the biographies of each Prophet, and in all cases these are designed to underscore the worldwide presence of the LDS Church through pointing out the foreign missions, temple constructions, or for example, the launching by the Church of a private communications satellite system in 1982 in order to enable worldwide viewing of bi-annual conferences broadcast from Salt Lake City around the globe.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> Christensen, Bruce L. 2018: [http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Satellite\\_Communications\\_System](http://eom.byu.edu/index.php/Satellite_Communications_System).



**Figure 18.**

Joseph F. Smith (1838-1918) and Hawaiian Missions Vignette,  
 Presidents of the Church Exhibit,  
 LDS Museum, Salt Lake City, Utah,

This emphasis on the Church as a global entity reflects the Book of Mormon view that the sacred visions encountered by Joseph Smith (1805-1844) represents a restoration of God's Church on Earth, and therefore is of global import. The objects selected for display in each biographical vignette are tied closely to their subjects and are interpreted in terms of their connection to man as a Church Prophet. This means that the interpretation of artifacts at the museum favors Church narratives over objective readings of the artifacts themselves.



**Figure 19.**

Lei Niho Palaoa on View at LDS Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City, Utah

Museum Label Text:

*Hook Pendant*  
*This symbol of Hawaiian royal birthright was given to President Smith*  
*in recognition of his Priesthood authority and leadership.*  
*The pendant is made of whale tooth and human hair.*

For example, in the Joseph F. Smith vignette, a Hawaiian lei niho palaoa (**fig. 19**) is displayed in relation to Smith's history as a Mormon missionary and Branch President to the Hawaiian Mission. The object label describes this piece as "a symbol of Hawaiian royal birthright ... given to President Smith in recognition of his Priesthood authority and leadership". This

underscores the museum's current interpretive framework as one which is less interested in an objective interpretation of artifacts than in communicating the authority of the Church.



**Figure 20.**

Kava Bowl on View at LDS Museum of Church History and Art, Salt Lake City, Utah

**Museum Label Text:**

“K’ava Bowl”

“This K’ava bowl was given to David O. McKay on a visit to the South Pacific as a token of respect. The bowl is used during the K’ava ceremony which welcomes distinguished visitors. Gift of the David O. McKay Family”

**Photograph Caption:**

“Maori Saints in conference with David O. McKay (center) during his first mission to the Pacific Islands”

As outlined, above, the LDS Church has an extensive history with Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders, and while this object was undoubtedly presented to Smith by Hawaiian Church members during his lifetime, its interpretation on the museum label empties the object of its meaning by folding it into the Church's narrative of global authority.

Similarly, a kava bowl (**fig. 20**) presented to President David. O. McKay (1873-1970) takes great care in pointing out the fact that:

*This K'ava bowl was given to David O. McKay on a visit to the South Pacific as a token of respect. The bowl is used during the K'ava ceremony which welcomes distinguished visitors. Gift of the David O. McKay Family.*

There is only a slight attempt at interpretation of K'ava drinking as a cultural practice, and no discussion of the specific persons that presented the object to McKay. Rather, as does the label on the lei niho palaoa, the objects are made to speak for entire cultures and as cultural – rather than personal – recognitions of church authority.

Understood alongside the important ki'i lā'au which remains in storage, these objects seem to function in a similar way to the replica at the PCC. This is to say that they perform as symbols of race and difference. This is because they are presented as having been given by entire cultures rather than by individuals. In the case of the lei niho palaoa and the k'ava bowl, the artifacts are made to speak on behalf of their entire cultures in recognition of respect and of Church authority. At the same time, the reproduction ki'i lā'au at the PCC also performs otherness on behalf of the Church by ensuring that tourists are immersed in world different from themselves which they perceive as more authentic than it really is, while the actual artifact in the LDS Museum's collections has remained muted in storage for nearly seventy years.

Clearly, the LDS Museum does not claim to be engaging in objective scholarship or research, and perhaps it does not surprise that objects in the collection are deployed directly in

support of larger institutional narratives. Still, whether this is intentional or not, both the LDS Church Museum in Salt Lake City, and the LDS Church-owned Polynesian Cultural Center in Lā‘ie, can be shown to have appropriated all four objects through their seemingly careful selection and suppression of meaning.

## **Conclusions**

In this Chapter I have shown how the ki‘i lā‘au now in the collection of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Museum of History and Art was understood as a curiosity in the Salt Lake City of the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, and how this object is being presented by the Church today. It is clear that the current interpretive framework of the LDS Museum - with its strict linear narrative of the founding of the Church by Joseph Smith in 1820, until his assassination in 1844 - differs greatly from the natural history and curiosity cabinet models of the museum’s founding in 1869.

I have also observed that the ki‘i lā‘au now in the collection of the LDS Museum came to the museum in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century as a curiosity, and as a donation from a missionary recently returned to Utah. For these reasons, it becomes possible to understand why this ki‘i lā‘au remains in storage at the museum in Salt Lake City. First, the museum makes no pretense of being a scholarly museum or a research facility in anthropology, natural history, or even history or art as such. Rather, at present the museum exists to present its version of the Mormon faith and selected moments in its sacred history to Church members – the museum’s intended audience. In terms of history presentation at the museum, artifacts are limited to those associated with the lives of church members and Prophets and account for most of the objects that the visitor encounters, while art exhibitions are comprised of Mormon artists presenting themes and scenes from Mormon history or portraits of Mormon Prophets.



So, then, how may we understand the presence of this ki'i lā'au in Salt Lake City today? What purpose is it serving? How can we understand this object's presence in the storage room of a museum which no longer supports an interpretive framework in which this object could be displayed? And how can this be weighed against the absence of this object in its own community? Moreover, how can we understand the subordination of meaning and history at the Polynesian cultural center – a place that purports to provide an authentic Polynesian experience?

Put simply, the Church has subordinated both the meaning and the history of this ki'i lā'au, first, at the museum in Salt Lake City where it is kept from public view, and again at the Polynesian Cultural Center at Lā'ie where its likeness has been appropriated and exaggerated as part of a tableau of floating signifiers meant to broadcast racial difference. This is part of larger pattern of cultural appropriation at the PCC which is complicated by the fact that performers at the center are Pacific Island students at BYU Hawai'i, and also Mormons who may not view the PCC in terms of cultural appropriation, but rather through the relationship between Pacific Islanders and the Mormon Church as outlined in the Church's sacred texts. At the same time, the Polynesian objects displayed in Salt Lake City and interpreted to the visitor as gifts acknowledging the spiritual authority of Church Presidents are also very likely understood by Mormon visitors to be a referral to this connection.

## CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have presented four case studies in which I have attempted to understand a single object in terms of its social biography, and in terms of the ascription, appropriation or suppression of meanings at particular historical moments. In doing so, I have attempted to answer the questions of how we may understand the meaning of these objects in relationship to the users who interacted with them outside of their original Hawaiian context, and how these images have been understood in the century and a half since their removal from the Hawaiian Islands.

I have shown that these objects have been understood in a variety of ways, and by a number of different users as they have circulated between contexts and continents. As they have circulated between contexts and continents their meaning can be understood to be varied and mutable rather than intrinsic and stable. In all cases these objects can be shown to have been deployed as a part of the larger colonial project of classifying the non-Western Other, and as a part of the construction of the social identity of persons or institutions and which have involved various forms of the dialectical processes of objectification and appropriation. This process is particularly evident in the ways that these objects have been appropriated by their Western users as symbols of the other against which Western European and EuroAmerican identities were constructed during the colonial period.

In Chapter Four I showed how the *ki'i lā'au* now in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum was appropriated as a rhetorical tool in the discourse of Christian triumphalism in the London of 1826, before transitioning to a representation of the ethnographic other for nearly one hundred years before finally being de-colonized and re-embedded in its own culture and cosmology in the new interpretive framework of the Bishop Museum.

In Chapter Five, I discussed Andrew Fuller's typological selection and arrangement of artifacts based on information which he had ostensibly drawn from the morphology of the artifacts themselves, but which nonetheless stemmed from his own personal view of the morphological relationships between the objects. This exemplifies the dialectical relationship between persons (subjects) and objects in the creation of new contexts of meaning. Fuller's complete collection – of which the ki'i lā'au from hale-o-Keawe is a part - can be understood as an objectification of both his social identity and of the social relationships he cultivated and mined in his endless search for the best artifacts. Finally, the intellectual framework underpinning Fuller's typological classification system must be understood in terms its relationship to the ethnocentric, late Victorian theories of cultural progress.

In Chapter Six I discussed the ki'i lā'au now on view in the Louvre in Paris in terms of its current status as a masterpiece of world art – a status ascribed to the object by Jacques Kerchache who understood the presentation of indigenous objects in the Louvre as a kind of reconciliation of the French colonial past. The project itself must be understood as the signature lifetime achievement of Kerchache and as an objectification of his social identity. The same is true of former French President Jacques Chirac, Kerchache's good friend and patron through whom it became politically possible for Kerchache to achieve his goals in the Pavillon des Sessions. As a part of his presidential legacy, the Musée du quai Branly, and the Pavillon des Sessions are also understood as objectifications of Chirac's social identity. The ki'i lā'au now on view in Louvre was sent to France by Théodore Ballieu in 1878 as a specimen of ethnography rather than as a masterpiece of world art and was for one hundred and thirty nine years a part of French anthropological and ethnological institutions. However, removed from

this context and presented as an artistic masterpiece in the Louvre occludes the racist colonial histories of the institutions of which it had been a part for over a century, and at the same time, empties the object of its original cultural meaning by emphasizing its aesthetic form. So, rather than a site for reconciliation, as Chirac and Kerchache understood it, the Pavillon des Sessions becomes a site for the occlusion of colonial histories, the subordination of indigenous meanings in favor of Western ones, and a total disregard for the community who once used the object and had hidden it to keep it from view.

Finally in Chapter Seven, I discussed the ki'i lā'au now held in the collections of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saint in Salt Lake City in terms of its appropriation through the careful ascription and subordination of meanings. At the LDS Museum two Polynesian objects are presented as objectifications of the Church's social relations with Pacific cultures and are displayed with minimal interpretation of cultural context and are intended to communicate to the visitor the respect and recognition of Church authority accorded the Church by Pacific Island peoples.

However, the objects are made to speak on behalf of their entire cultures – rather than on behalf of the specific individuals or groups that gifted the objects. At the same time, the reproduction ki'i lā'au at the PCC also performs otherness on behalf of the Church by ensuring that tourists are immersed in a simulation of a world that appears more authentic than it really is, while the actual artifact in the LDS Museum's collections has remained hidden, and thus muted, in storage for nearly seventy years.

Through the careful selection and suppression of meanings at two different sites, objects are deployed – or not – to broadcast certain meanings to certain persons. At the Museum in Salt Lake City, actual artifacts are muted and subordinated to narratives of Church authority. The

ki'i lā'au in the museum's collection is also muted, while at the Polynesian Cultural Center, replicas of this object are used to construct an exotic native presence for tourists.

In each case study, it is clear that the meanings of objects are mutable as they shift from context to context and from user to user. In all four case studies, these objects have -at one time or another - been understood as symbols of otherness, and as such have been appropriated as something to define or confirm the Western identities of persons, institutions or societies.

To the questions of how we may understand the meaning of these objects to the users who have interacted with them over time, or how these images have been understood in the century and a half since their removal from the Hawaiian Islands, then, it is clear that these meanings are multiple and can only be understood as a series of temporal moments – each defined by a different context of meaning, and by the very personal motivations of specific individuals. To understand a Hawaiian ki'i lā'au now on view in Paris, then, is to understand it as *only* that. That is to say, as one temporal moment in the social life of the object and as a reflection of its entanglement with Jacques Kerchache's curatorial vision. Presently, the presentation of the ki'i lā'au now on view in the Pavillon des Sessions in the Louvre denies the object of its local history and meaning, effaces its theft from a burial cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea, and remains silent about the racist colonial history of the institutions it has been a part of for over a century.

Finally, in terms of understanding why these four objects are where they are today, and considering the fact that several among them were collected from burial, or mortuary contexts, I will briefly discuss these four objects in terms of possible NAGPRA concerns.

## NAGPRA Questions.

The Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, 1990 25 U.S.C. §§ 3001 et seq) specifies four categories of cultural items in addition to human remains which fall under the law, and defines these as follows:

*(A) "associated funerary objects" which shall mean objects that, as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, and both the human remains and associated funerary objects are presently in the possession or control of a Federal agency or museum, except that other items exclusively made for burial purposes or to contain human remains shall be considered as associated funerary objects.*

*(B) "unassociated funerary objects" which shall mean objects that, as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, where the remains are not in the possession or control of the Federal agency or museum and the objects can be identified by a preponderance of the evidence as related to specific individuals or families or to known human remains or, by a preponderance of the evidence, as having been removed from a specific burial site of an individual culturally affiliated with a particular Indian tribe,*

*(C) "sacred objects" which shall mean specific ceremonial objects which are needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional Native American religions by their present day adherents, and,*

*(D) "cultural patrimony" which shall mean an object having ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance central to the Native American group or culture itself, rather than property owned by an individual Native (25 USC 3001 (3) (A-D)).<sup>244</sup>*

In the case of the two ki'i lā'au removed from hale-o-Keawe, the circumstances and intent of their placement in a mausoleum are clear. This has been well documented through the journals of Western observers, and in fact, by those who removed them. The third ki'i lā'au in this study, that which was pulled from a burial cave on the slopes of Mauna Kea in 1877 and is now in on

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<sup>244</sup> National Park Service - US Department of the Interior Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, 104 Stat. 3048 Public Law 101-601--Nov. 16, 1990.

display at the Louvre in Paris, is exempt from NAGPRA, and at present there is no international law that would require its return to Hawai‘i. Currently, the return of this object is dependent upon an act inspired by morality, rather than upon one inspired by legality. Finally, the ki‘i lā‘au now in the collections of the LDS Church was believed by William Brigham of the Bishop Museum in 1898 to have been a gift by King Kalākaua, and this belief persists (for now) without primary source documentation. Museum records documenting the accession of the object into the museum’s collection during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (1877) are scant, and contain no information in regard to the circumstances surrounding the initial collection of the object. Nor do they mention Kalākaua, or the connection between Kalākaua and the object’s original donor, Samuel Parker Richards. Therefore, it remains unknown whether this object would fall within one the four categories as outlined by NAGPRA.

In sum, three of the four ki‘i lā‘au in this study are documented as having been collected from NAGPRA – eligible contexts (**figs. 1, 2 and 3**). Of these, only two are in US collections (**figs. 1 and 2**), and of these, one is currently in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu (**fig. 1**). Further, there is the question of which entity or organization (NAGPRA’s “tribe”) could be recognized and what culturally agreed upon solution would be found to re-house or re-inter the objects.

## APPENDIX A

### “SANDWICH IDOL.”

FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE WRITTEN BY MATHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM  
PUBLISHED IN THE LONDON MIRROR (1826).

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#### “Sandwich Idol.”

Mathew Holbeche Bloxam

Published in *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*.  
October 17, 1826 pp 209-10.<sup>245</sup>

*In No. 209 of the Mirror, an engraving was given, together with a description of a feather idol, taken out of the ‘morai or temple. In Owhyee, one of the Sandwich Islands, entered by lord Byron and his officers during his late voyage there. The above is a faithful representation of one of the two great wooden idols, with stood on each side of the altar, and were the principal object in the morai.*

*These idols are also mentioned by captain Cook, though he was not allowed to enter the moral they were in ; the distorted features of the face are surmounted by a curious crested helmet, partly resembling the Grecian, and partly the mail helmet worn by the Normans. The arms are extended as if to receive any offerings which might be made to it, and the body and legs are excessively rude, and bear no kind of proportion to the head. The Idol, together with the pedestal on which It stands, between three and four feet In height, and carved out of one solid block of wood, without the aid of any Iron instrument. From the appearance of this idol it Is evidently of great antiquity, and as one of the last remaining and principal relics of the superstition and idolatry of the Sandwich islands, together from the circumstance that many human victims have been heretofore offered to it, may be esteemed both curious and rare. But while we abhor their savage bigotry and ignorance, it yet affords matter of speculation, to inquire from whence the South Sea islanders, who separated from the rest of the world by the vast Pacific Ocean, had a knowledge of, and believed in, a Supreme Being, before they were discovered by Europeans.*

*It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that the inhabitants of the different groups of island in the South Sea, the natives of Mexico and Peru, and many other nation discovered, within the but few years, although totally unconnected with, and*

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<sup>245</sup> The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction, containing Original Essays, Historical Narratives, Biographical Memoirs, Sketches of Society, Topographical Descriptions, Novels and Tales, Anecdotes, Selected Extracts from New and expensive Works . Volume XIII [July-December 1826, as page images] London: J. Limbird, (1826).



## APPENDIX A

### “SANDWICH IDOL”

FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE WRITTEN BY MATHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM  
PUBLISHED IN THE LONDON MIRROR (1826).

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(continued)

*unknown to Europeans, have yet preserved the tradition of a universal deluge, from which a few only were saved.*

*Perhaps it may be conjectured that a portion of the idolatrous descendants of Noah, dispersed at the confusion of language, traversed by degree the uppermost limits of Asia, and that their descendants in after ages passed over the arm of the sea which separated It from America; and, it may reasonably be inferred that during the space of near 4,000, years which intervened from the building of Babel to the recent discovery of the South Sea Islands, the, Aborigines were Asiatics or Americans, doubtless driven out to sea and drifted at different periods in their canoes to the several groups of islands in the Great Southern Ocean, and this conjecture is further corroborated by their most popular traditions. An imperfect notion of the deluge might thus be handed down, and also of a Supreme Being, whom they would endeavor to represent in a corporeal form, as being, in that case more likely to be revered than If they had merely a mental and imaginary idea, which might in the course of a few years have been entirely effaced from their thoughts.*

*The many similarities between their religious customs and those of the Jewish nations are striking. Among them may be noticed, the sacrifices of animals and fruit, though they did not hesitate, when their imagined occasion required, to sacrifice their brethren and offer up their bodies as worthy acceptance to their cruel Gods. They had also cities of refuge to which manslayer and even murderer might fly and be safe. Such was their state of darkness and barbarity when they were discovered by our most celebrated navigator, and in this state they remained till within the last six years since which period the changes that have been effected, both in their moral and political condition, are inconceivable ; for not only have their temples been demolished, and all idols been destroyed or carried away into distant countries to be kept only as memories of the Ignorance, cruelty, superstition, and bigotry of man in a savage state ; but the benign spirit of Christianity, one principal evidence in favour of which, to uncivilized nations, consists in the humanity of its precepts and its tendency to make all men happy, even in this life, has been promulgated amongst them with the greatest success.*

M. H. B.

## APPENDIX B

### HAWAIIAN OBJECTS COLLECTED BY THÉO BALLIEU MUSÉE DU QUAI BRANLY, PARIS <sup>246</sup>

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**(A)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Bark Cloth Beater,  
Hawaiian Islands  
71.1879.8.1



**(B)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Anthropomorphic sculpture,  
Hawaiian Islands.  
Lithic Basalt, carved,  
engraved and polished.  
71.1879.10.1



**(C)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Anthropomorphic  
Sculpture  
Lithic Basalt  
33 x 18.5 x 9 cm, 6500 g  
71.1879.10.2



**(D)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Hunting Implement  
Marine Ivory (whales  
Teeth, Sennit cordage.  
71.1879.10.3



**(E)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
Game Piece Marine Ivory  
(Carved and Polished Walrus  
Tooth  
71.1879.10.4



**(F)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Heiau Barrier Stake  
71.1879.10.6

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<sup>246</sup> Musée du quai Branly Library and Archives, 2017-2018: <http://www.quaiBranly.fr/en/scientific-research/catalog/library-and-documentary-collection/catalogs/>.

## APPENDIX B

### HAWAIIAN OBJECTS COLLECTED BY THÉO BALLIEU THE MUSÉE DU QUAI BRANLY, PARIS <sup>247</sup>

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**(G)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Heiau Barrier Stake  
71.1879.10.7



**(H)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Mace  
71.1879.10.8



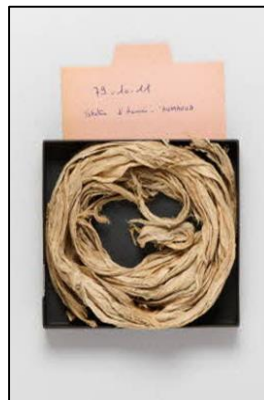
**(I)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Textile  
“Koko Paukuku” and  
“Piko”  
71.1879.10.9.1-2



**(J)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Blade (Ko'i Pahoa)  
Lithic Phonolite, hammered  
and polished.  
71.1879.10.10



**(K)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
“Dieu Lono”  
Anthropomorphic  
Sculpture  
71.1879.10.11.1



**(L)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Fragments of White Bark  
Cloth  
71.1879.10.11.2

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<sup>247</sup> Musée du quai Branly Library and Archives, 2017-2018: <http://www.quaiBranly.fr/en/scientific-research/catalog/library-and-documentary-collection/catalogs/>.

## APPENDIX B

### HAWAIIAN OBJECTS COLLECTED BY THÉO BALLIEU THE MUSÉE DU QUAI BRANLY, PARIS <sup>248</sup>

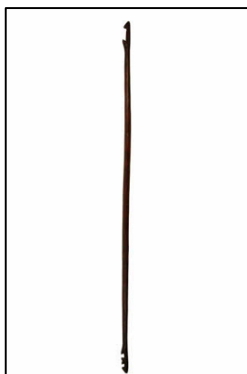
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**(M)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Drum  
71.1879.10.12



**(N)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Fish Hook  
Single Piece of Bone,  
Carefully Polished  
71.1879.10.13



**(O) left**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
Carrying Pole  
71.1879.10.14



**(P) right**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
Food Dish,  
71.1880.75.2



**(Q)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Fishing Implement  
71.1880.75.3



**(R)**  
Donor: Théodore Ballieu  
  
Blade  
Lithic Stone, cut and polished  
71.1880.75.5

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<sup>248</sup> Musée du quai Branly Library and Archives, 2017-2018: <http://www.quaiBranly.fr/en/scientific-research/catalog/library-and-documentary-collection/catalogs/>.

## APPENDIX C

### “AN INTERESTING IDOL”

ARTICLE PUBLISHED IN THE HAWAIIAN GAZETTE APRIL 25, 1877.<sup>249</sup>

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**AN INTERESTING IDOL.**—MONS. BAILLEN has been so fortunate as to secure a wooden god, which was quite recently discovered in a cave on the island of Hawaii, on the lower slopes of Mauna Kea. It is comparatively well executed, showing a great advance on the style of art exhibited in the idols found on Dr. Troussseau's sheep ranch some months ago, which doubtless belonged to a much earlier period. It is cut out from a solid log of some light-colored wood, probably Mamane, and stands just three feet in height, including pedestal. The image has the usual squat position which is seen in all Hawaiian sculptural efforts, and the features, especially the mouth, are hideously distorted. The most remarkable thing about the statue is a broad flat arched projection, springing from the back of the shoulders, and forming a sort of canopy over the head, extending down in front of the face to about the level of the mouth. From the upper periphery of this projection radiate a number of long spikes. It is hard to say what this unusual adjunct is intended to represent, but it may be that the head was originally covered with a wig, and the head piece represents a maulole or helmet. We congratulate Mr. Bailien on his good luck in securing this antiquity, which he sends to one of the museums of Paris; but at the same time we must express our regret that it could not have been placed in our own national museum.

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<sup>249</sup> The Hawaiian Gazette (1865-1918): April 25, 1877 <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83025121/1877-04-25/ed-1/seq-3/> - Image 3 (page 3).

# HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM [DESERET MUSEUM], 1880 AND DESERET MUESEUM ADVERTISEMENT

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## APPENDIX D

### HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM [DESERET MUSEUM], 1880 AND DESERET MUSEUM ADVERTISEMENT

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HANDBOOK GUIDE  
TO THE  
SALT LAKE MUSEUM  
(ESTABLISHED 1869)  
Opposite the TABERNACLE GATES,  
No. 1242 South Temple Street, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH  
OPEN DAILY, SUNDAYS EXCEPTED ADMISSION 25c  
CHILDREN 10c  
JOSEPH L. BARFOOT.  
Curator and Manager.

*The Deseret Museum contains almost everything that is found in Utah, which is of interest to the tourist or visitor, seeking reliable information respecting the minerals, ores and natural resources of the rocky Mountains. For the convenience of visitors, the following synopsis of the contents of the Museum has been prepared for, and is respectfully presented to the public by the*

Deseret Museum Curator,  
March, 1880

*OPPOSITE the entrance to the Museum, is a fine specimen of the buffalo, the mountain eagle, and the wild turkey of our southern settlements.*

***In the center cabinet (No. 1),** are shown the minerals of this region. Quartz minerals are grouped on the west side of the cabinet, where the several forms of silica may be seen in great variety. In the centre of the cabinet, gold, silver, sulphur and native elements are seen. Halites—rock salt, transparent as glass; transparent gypsum (selenite); salt from the Great Salt Lake, etc. The east side of the cabinet is devoted to carbonates of copper, silver and lead, from the mines of Utah. The velvet, copper, azurite, and malachite, are unique, and specially attractive.*

*In front of this cabinet is placed the last spike and tie of the U. C. Railway, with the hammer used at the ceremony of opening the first railway introduced into Salt Lake City; which was performed in the presence of fifteen thousand spectators, by President Brigham Young, January 10, 1870.*

***No. 2 Cabinet** is on the west side of the Museum, and contains every variety of silver and gold-bearing ore of Utah, the several mining districts being represented. There are the Silver Reef ores; silver-bearing sandstones, which are curious and new to science; silver ores from the Horn silver mine, and the Ontario or Park district. The first silver-bearing ores, and first bullion made from the ores of Utah are shown; with the celebrated "Emma Mine" products.*

***No. 3 Cabinet** shows the reptiles and insects of Utah; the curious mountain alligator; the horned toads and frogs (phrynosoma); turtles (testudo and emys). Curious insects: the tarantula and nest (mygale), the scorpion, centipede, etc. The curious mud puppy, or "fish with legs" (siredon or amblystoma). Above this cabinet may be seen the various life forms of the Great Salt Lake—a lgaee and crustacean (artemia).*

***No. 4 Cabinet** is devoted to coins, and contains the gold coins of Utah, the silver and gold of this region, the first nugget of gold found here, the first silver brick made here, the first manufactured gold of Salt Lake, etc. In the coin collection, many rare coins of the kingdom, republic and empire of Rome, are shown, together with many rare antiquities in gold, silver, bronze, etc.*

## APPENDIX D

### HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM [DESERET MUSEUM], 1880 AND DESERET MUSEUM ADVERTISEMENT

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#### HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM

**No. 5 Cabinet** contains a fine collection of Utah birds, set up by Mr. Allan, of Coalville, Utah—the sage hen, in variety; prairie chicken, mud hen, orioles, wax wings, etc.

**No. 6 Cabinet.**—Relics from Kirtland, Nauvoo and Carthage; likeness of the Prophet Joseph Smith, the late President Brigham Young, and representative men of Utah. Curiosities relating to the early history of the Latter-day Saints, or "Mormons." Here, also, are photographs and engravings of the Temple at Kirtland, the Nauvoo Temple, St. George Temple, and the beautiful Temple now building in Salt Lake City, etc.

**No. 7 Cabinet** contains rare antiquities and curiosities from Europe. An apron embroidered by Queen Elizabeth, which is made of silk, and the work filled in with threads of silver and gold. It is exceedingly curious, the initial letters of the Queen being wrought into the general design, in a most artistic manner. This cabinet contains part of the private museum of the late President Brigham Young.

**No. 8 Cabinet.**—Oriental curiosities—formerly part of the private museum of Brigham Young—Hindoo and Brahminical Shasters, manuscripts, etc.; curiosities from Burmah, China, Japan, etc.

**No. 9 Cabinet.**—(Brigham Young's museum, continued). European curiosities and antiquities; portrait of Calvin, by Hans Holbein; sacramental bowls and plates; an ancient rapier—"The Twelve Apostles." This cabinet also contains souvenirs of Ridley and other reformers.

**No. 10 Cabinet** (Brigham Young's museum, continued). Curiosities from the Sandwich Islands—idols and relics of interest to the antiquarian and ethnologist; Kapa, Waki, Kanaka swords made of shark's teeth, etc.; portrait of kings, chiefs, etc.

**No. 11 Cabinet**—American antiquities; relics of the May Flower; Boston newsletter, 1704; revolutionary curiosities, etc.

**No. 12 Cabinet.**—Shells, corals and seaweeds; "Venus' comb" (*murex tenuispinosa*); beautiful *avalonias* (*haliotis*); the "watering pot shell" (*aspergillum*); harp shells; mitres; nautilus, in variety; and a large collection of rare marine curiosities.

The visitor may now pass into the Indian room, where Edison's phonograph is kept, and the powers of this wonderful "talking machine" may be tested.

In this room, ancient and modern curiosities of the aborigines are shown: chiefs' robes, dresses, weapons, scalps, tomahawks, the calumet (pipe of peace), pottery, stone axes, meal stones, (metals) crania and relics from mounds, etc. A complete chief's dress, a squaw's dress of elaborate workmanship, papoose robes; sketches of Indian villages, by local artists, etc.

Here, also, are temporarily kept living specimens of birds and reptiles of Utah. Kit Carson's boat is also shown, with a photograph of this early pioneer of the west, etc.

**Nos. 13, 14, 15 and 16 Cabinets** are devoted to ethnological exhibits, Stone Age relics, etc.



## APPENDIX D

### HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM [DESERET MUSEUM], 1880 AND DESERET MUSEUM ADVERTISEMENT

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#### HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM

**No. 17 Cabinet**—Minerals—groups of sulphides, calcite and silicates, very rare and beautiful specimens.

**No. 18 Cabinet**—Paleontology—fossil elephant, mastodon, tapir, horse, bison, etc.; fossil fish, reptiles, coral, etc.

**No. 19. Case.**—King's reports, Wheeler's reports, Haydon's reports, patent office reports, local maps, etc.

**No. 20 Cabinet.**—Typical insects, collected by Professor Putnam, of Davenport Museum, in central Utah.

**No. 21 Cabinet.**—Home manufactures in silk, cotton, cloth, sugar, etc.; iron, lead, type, etc.; groups of iron ores of Utah; pigments and paints; mineral wax; coal, coke, etc.; iron castings, marbles, fire bricks, etc.

**No. 22 Case.**—Calcareous tufas, "petrified moss," sage brush.

**No. 23 Case.**—Slags from smelting works; crystals from smoke chambers, etc.

**No. 24 Case.**—Silk and cocoons, etc., from the late e President Young's cocoonery.

*In the Museum are fine specimens of antelope, deer, birds etc.; photographs of the principal buildings of Salt Lake City in the olden time; portraits of Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, and other celebrated men of the community, with those of President Taylor, the presiding bishop, and the present leading men of the Church.*

#### SALT LAKE CITY

*Salt Lake City is the capital of Utah. It is situated at the foot of a spur of the Wasatch Mountains, at an elevation of 4,261 feet above the level of the sea; its latitude is 40° 46', longitude 112° 06' west. The city was founded by the late President Brigham Young, in 1847. The Temple block is surrounded by a wall, enclosing ten acres, on which stands the Large Tabernacle, with a dome shaped roof, and contains an audience room, 250 feet by 150 feet; height to ceiling, 62 feet; Now being built of granite from the Cottonwood canyon, is at the foundation 186½ feet by 99 feet; walls 8 feet thick, and the towers are to be 225 feet high. The south-west corner of the block contains the Assembly Rooms, a magnificent structure, built on the site of the old Tabernacle. The population of the city is about 25,000. The hotels are the Walker House, the Continental (formerly the Townsend House), the Valley House, the White House, the Clift House and the Overland House.*

*The famous Sulphur Medicated Baths are north of the city. All of these places are accessible to the street cars.*

*The city is laid out in blocks of ten acres each; the streets are 132 feet in width, the sidewalks being 20 feet wide. Street cars connect all parts of the city. The principal public buildings are the Temple, Tabernacle, and Assembly Rooms, on the Temple Block; to the south of this is the MUSEUM, which is about to be enlarged, or suitable buildings erected; the Theater, City Hall, residence of the late*

## APPENDIX D

### HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM [DESERET MUSEUM], 1880 AND DESERET MUSEUM ADVERTISEMENT

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#### *HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM*

*President Brigham Young, and a large number of fine buildings. The city is lighted with gas, and water-works supply the principal parts of it. Statistics and works of reference relating to the Territory, are at all times available to visitors of the Museum.*

#### *NOTICE.*

*SPECIMENS of minerals, ores, fossils, etc., of this region, put up in convenient boxes, each specimen labelled to show the mineral species, etc., embellished with the Museum map of Salt Lake City, can be obtained at the Museum; or forwarded by mail, postpaid, on receipt of draft or post office order. Price from \$2.50 to \$10.*

*Typical specimens of minerals for schools, in boxes, from \$5.*

*Quartz, calcite, sulphur, salt, gypsum, azurite, and other carbonates of copper of great beauty, in different varieties, can be obtained.*

*Indian curiosities, in varieties, suitable for the ethnologist or for museum purposes, can be supplied.*

*Also slabs, containing fossils from this region, can be sent for school purposes, at reasonable rates.*

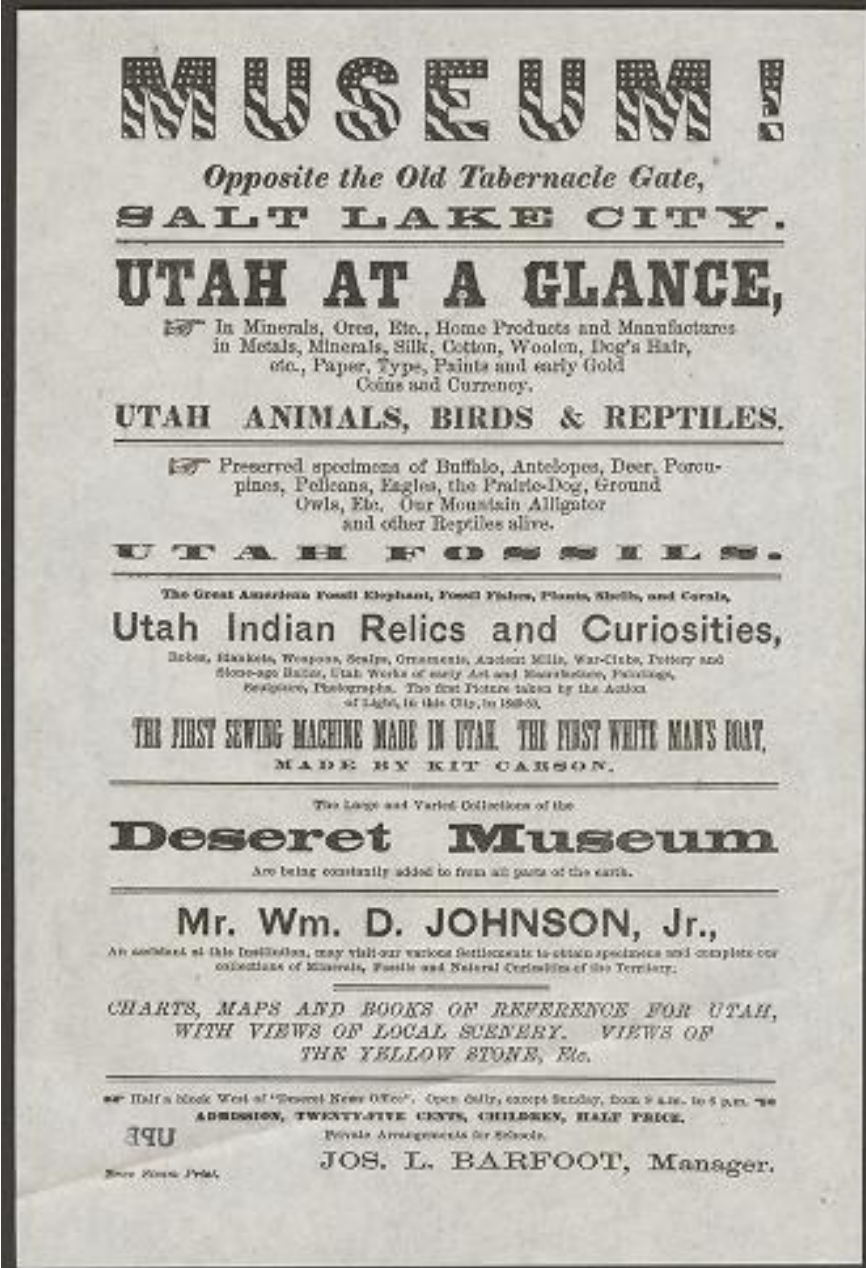
*Views of Salt Lake City, as it appeared in the olden time; residence of the late President Brigham Young, 1860; Tithing Office, the Old Tabernacle, Main Street, and the most interesting localities and buildings, of early times. These views in sets of nine, with descriptive letterpress, are sent by mail (registered) for \$2.15 per set. Articles required, illustrative of the natural history or mineral resources of this region, bought or sold on commission.*

*Apply to JOSEPH L. BARFOOT, Museum, P. O. Box 332. Salt Lake City, Utah.*

## APPENDIX D

### HANDBOOK GUIDE TO THE SALT LAKE MUSEUM [DESERET MUSEUM], 1880 AND DESERET MUSEUM ADVERTISEMENT


*Deseret Museum Advertisement*<sup>250</sup>

A vintage advertisement for the Deseret Museum, featuring bold typography and a list of exhibits. The text is arranged in a vertical column with various headings and sub-headings. The museum is located opposite the Old Tabernacle Gate in Salt Lake City. Exhibits include minerals, home products, animals, birds, reptiles, fossils, Indian relics, and a sewing machine made in Utah. The manager is Jos. L. Barfoot.


**MUSEUM!**

*Opposite the Old Tabernacle Gate,*  
**SALT LAKE CITY.**

**UTAH AT A GLANCE,**

 In Minerals, Ores, Etc., Home Products and Manufactures  
in Metals, Minerals, Silk, Cotton, Woolen, Dog's Hair,  
etc., Paper, Type, Paints and early Gold  
Coins and Currency.

**UTAH ANIMALS, BIRDS & REPTILES.**

 Preserved specimens of Buffalo, Antelopes, Deer, Porcu-  
pines, Pelicans, Eagles, the Prairie-Dog, Ground  
Owls, Etc. Our Mountain Alligator  
and other Reptiles alive.

**UTAH FOSSILS.**

The Great American Fossil Elephant, Fossil Fishes, Plants, Shells, and Corals.

**Utah Indian Relics and Curiosities,**

Bowls, Baskets, Weapons, Sculpture, Ornaments, Ancient Mills, War-Cloths, Pottery and  
Stone-age Bases, Utah Works of early Art and Householdware, Pottery,  
Fossils, Photographs. The first Picture taken by the Author  
at 14,000, in this City, in 1869-70.

**THE FIRST SEWING MACHINE MADE IN UTAH. THE FIRST WHITE MAN'S TOBY,**  
**MADE BY KIT CARSON.**

The Large and Varied Collections of the

**Deseret Museum**

Are being constantly added to from all parts of the earth.

**Mr. Wm. D. JOHNSON, Jr.,**

An assistant at this Institution, may visit our various Settlements to obtain specimens and complete our  
collections of Minerals, Fossils and Natural Curiosities of the Territory.

**CHARTS, MAPS AND BOOKS OF REFERENCE FOR UTAH,**  
**WITH VIEWS OF LOCAL SCENERY. VIEWS OF**  
**THE YELLOW STONE, Etc.**

See Half a Block West of "Deseret News Office". Open daily, except Sunday, from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. No  
ADMISSION, TWENTY-FIVE CENTS, CHILDREN, HALF PRICE.  
Private Arrangements for Schools.

**JOS. L. BARFOOT, Manager.**

Stone Press Print.

<sup>250</sup> Archive.org <https://archive.org/stream/museumoppositeol02dese2#page/n0/mode/2up>.

## APPENDIX E

### TWO INTERIOR VIEWS OF DESERET MUSEUM BY CHARLES ROSCOE SAVAGE

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Charles Roscoe Savage (1832-1909)

Two Views of Main Room, Deseret Museum (24 x 29 cm), ca. 1895

Courtesy Church History Collections, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and Intellectual Reserves, Inc. (PH 2353 2 and PH 2353 1).



## APPENDIX F

### STATEMENTS ON THE LAMANITE STATUS OF PACIFIC ISLANDERS BY INTERNATIONAL LEADERS OF THE MORMON CHURCH <sup>251</sup>

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In the opening sentences of his dedicatory prayer for the New Zealand Temple on April 20, 1958, President David O. McKay stated:

*We express gratitude that to these fertile islands thou didst guide descendants of Father Lehi and hast enabled them to prosper”.*<sup>252</sup>

Reflecting on the same event, Elder Gordon B. Hinckley – a later Church President - commented upon Europeans being assembled with the Maoris of the Pacific:

*Again, there was something prophetic about it. Here were two great strains of the house of Israel the children of Ephraim from the isles of Britain, and the children of Lehi from the isles of the Pacific.*<sup>253</sup>

In his Church-wide conference message of 1962, Elder Mark E. Petersen stated that:

*The Polynesian Saints are characterized by a tremendous faith. Why do they have this great faith? It is because these people are of the blood of Israel. They are heirs to the promises of the Book of Mormon. God is now awakening them to their great destiny. As Latter-day Saints we have always believed that the Polynesians are descendants of Lehi and blood relatives of the American Indians, despite the contrary theories of other men.*<sup>254</sup>

After quoting Alma Chapter 63 to a group of Samoan Mormons, Spencer W. Kimball, 12th President of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (1973-1985), stated the following:

*And so it seems to me rather clear that your ancestors moved northward and crossed a part of the South Pacific. You did not bring your records with you, but you brought much food and provisions. And so we have a great congregation of people in the South Seas who came from the Nephites, and who came from the land southward and went to the land northward, which could have been Hawaii. And then the further settlement could have been a move southward again to all of these islands and even to New Zealand. The Lord knows what he is doing when he sends his people from one place to another. That was the scattering of Israel. Some of them remained in America and went from Alaska to the southern point. And others of you came this direction.*<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>251</sup> Quotations excerpted from: Parsons, Robert E. 1992: 249-62 “Hagoth and the Polynesians,” in *The Book of Mormon: Alma, the Testimony of the Word*, ed. Monte S. Nyman and Charles D. Tate Jr. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University.

<sup>252</sup> McKay, David O. “Dedicatory Prayer Delivered By Pres. McKay at New Zealand Temple,” *Church News*, 10 May 1958, 2, 6.

<sup>253</sup> Hinckley, Gordon B. “Temple in the Pacific.” *Improvement Era* (July 1958) 61:506–509, 538.

<sup>254</sup> Petersen 457.

<sup>255</sup> Kimball, Spencer W. “Official Report of the Samoa Area Conference Held in Pago Pago and Apia, Samoa, February 15, 16, 17, 18, 1976”.

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