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Contemporary Hawaiian carving, sculpture, and bowl-turning: An analysis of postcontact and cultural influences

Kay, Dianne Fife, Ph.D.

University of Hawai'i, 1990

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CONTEMPORARY HAWAIIAN CARVING, SCULPTURE, AND BOWL-TURNING:
AN ANALYSIS OF POST-CONTACT AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN AMERICAN STUDIES

December 1990

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is indebted to Philip J. C. Dark, retired Professor of Anthropology, University of Southern Illinois, whose address at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, taken from a presentation first made at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1984, "Tomorrow's Heritage is Today's Art and Yesteryear's Identity," provided the initial concept that evolved into this study. Appreciation is expressed to Dr. Dark for making the text of this address available to the author along with another paper presented before the Pacific Arts Association in 1989.

Without the cooperation of numerous individuals and the generous contribution of their valuable time this project could not have been possible. The author is especially grateful to those persons who participated in the interviews. Without exception, they generously consented to answer extensive questions and engage in discussions that transpired in workshops, homes, offices, galleries, and on the telephone, consuming many hours that might otherwise have been expended in productive activities related to their work. Those persons are: the Hawaiian artists—Rocky Asing, Ron Barboza, Tom Barboza, Lanakila Brandt, Sean Browne, Charlie Chow, Tom De Aguiar, Michael Dunne, David Eskaran, Bob Freitas, Alapa'i Hanapi, Henry Hopfe, Rocky Jensen, 'Imaikalani Kalāhele, Kana'e Keawe, Joel Nakila, Kanāk Napeahi, Bill Puou, and Levan
Sequeira; the non-Hawaiian artists—Geno Bergman, Dan De Luz, Phil Hooten, Richard Howell, James Kawamura, Mark Le Buse, Tommy Leong, Stewart Medeiros, Ray Murray, Tuione Pulotu, Chris Sorensen, Jack Straka, and Brian Takano; and others—Keahi Allen, Executive Director of the State Council on Hawaiian Heritage; Russell A. Apple, former Superintendent of the "City of Refuge" National Historic Park; Barbara Atkin and Patricia Connolly, owners of Barpa, no longer in business; Agnes Baro, former Educational Services Officer for the Department of Corrections; Ian Cameron, last proprietor of The Wood Rose Shop; George R. Ellis, Director of the Honolulu Academy of Arts; Don and Darla Gallacher, former owners of Coco Joe's; Dan Kaufman, former General Manager of Coco Joe's; Lynn J. Martin, Folk Arts Coordinator for the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts; Kunani Nihipali, President of 'Uhane Noa; John Popovich, Inmate Vocational Rehabilitation Worker for Oahu Prison; Jerry Shimoda, present Superintendent of Pu'uhonua O Hōnaunau; Malia Soloman, former Cultural Director of Ulu Mau Village; Mari Slack, Administrator for the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program; Jean Suzuki of Blair Ltd; Arthur M. Tarbell, former Honolulu Deputy Chief of Police and friend of Fritz Abplanalp; and Ronald K. Yamakawa, Art in Public Places Manager for the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts.

Appreciation is also expressed to prison authority Richard H. McCleery of Anahola, Kaua'i, who reviewed
Chapter IV and provided valuable insight relating to the social structure and control in the Hawaii State prison system.

Others who furnished valuable information, advice, and resources related to the study are: Frances K. Brossy; Vance and Donna Cannon of Kamuela, Hawaii; John Charlot; Agnes Conrad, former Hawaii State Archivist; Sue Darrow; Merri Carol Grain, Executive Director of the Consortium for Pacific Arts and Cultures; Marlies Harris of Santa Barbara, California, daughter of Fritz Abplanalp; Jack Hedrich, of Hedrich-Blessing photographers, Chicago, Illinois; author Irving Jenkins; Adrienne Kaeppler, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution; Richard Kennedy, Program Curator for the Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institution; Linda Moriarty; and Margaret Young.

Competent librarians have provided indispensable service in obtaining elusive materials and documentation for the study. Particularly commendable were the efforts of the staff of the Hawaii-Pacific Collection at Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, including, Chieko Tachihata, curator for the Hawaii Collection; Nancy Morris, and Karen Peacock.

Recognition is also extended to Junko Nowaki, Hawaiian Collection librarian for the University of Hawaii at Hilo; Ruth Horie, Reference Librarian at Bishop Museum Library; and personnel at the Academy of Arts Library, The Hawaiian
Historical Society Library, and the Hawaii State Archives, notably Della Kuana at the latter institution.

Mainland United States librarians who were helpful are: Ann Dora Morginson, Department of American Arts at The Art Institute of Chicago; Deborah Wythe of the Brooklyn Art Museum; and Linda Seckelson, Director of the Library at the American Craft Museum in New York City.

Alison Ledward corrected diacritical marks and offered suggestions regarding usage of Hawaiian words and phrases, graciously accomplishing the task under the pressure of demanding time constraints.

An arduous task was performed by the author's daughter, Candace K. Andersen, who transcribed many of the tapes of the artists' interviews. Two other daughters, Robin K. Deverich and Melinda Kay, proofread the document.

Finally, appreciation is expressed to the members of the author's doctoral committee: Floyd W. Matson, Chairman; Reuel N. Denney; and Seymour E. Lutzky; all from the American Studies Department at the University of Hawaii; Duane Preble of the Art Department at the University; and Roger G. Rose, ethnologist at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. The contribution of Dr. Rose is particularly appreciated. His extensive knowledge of Hawaiian culture and meticulous attention to detail enabled the author to provide clarification and correct many errors in drafts of the study.
ABSTRACT

This study describes the revival of Hawaiian carving and bowl-making that has occurred during the past fifteen years. Hawaiian art has long been regarded to be "dead." Extant examples in museum collections of the refined forms of wood bowls and full-round images, developed during a period of isolation for several hundred years prior to Western contact in 1778, are superior to any produced in the world during this period. Following the abolition of the state religion in 1819 by Liholiho, images could no longer be produced in this context. Traditional bowl-making also declined in the late nineteenth century.

There was little interest in wood-carving or bowl-turning in the twentieth century until the 1930s when a woodcraft industry developed, diminishing in the early 1960s. Concurrently, a successful industrial program and craft shop were instituted in the Hawaii State prison. (The study establishes that there exists an influential prison-carving tradition in Hawai‘i.)

In the late sixties an interest in traditional Hawaiian art began to be manifest, attributed to the Hawaiian Renaissance and to a permissive attitude of the present generation toward Christianity that allowed the people to create ki‘i once again.
Methodology includes interviews with nineteen Hawaiian and thirteen non-Hawaiian artists; and with Honolulu art establishment members, management of souvenir companies, former personnel at Oahu Prison, and others. Interviews were taped and the artists are quoted at length regarding tools, techniques, materials, a "link with the past," motifs and their meaning, commercial considerations, and personal goals. 116 photographs of the artists and their works are included.

Categories formulated to classify contemporary Hawaiian art are: Replicas and Reproductions of Traditional Art, Revised Reproductions of Traditional Art, Collectors' Art, Hawaiian Community Art, Adapted Art, Fine Art, and Souvenir Art. Work ranges from thin-walled bowls in traditional forms and reproductions of images to custom-made 'aumākua (guardian ancestors) for yards and abstract sculpture.

The study establishes that Hawaiian art exists today. Although the original religious complex that provided the impetus for traditional Hawaiian carving has been drastically altered, the spiritual significance of the objects to the artist and his Polynesian audience has not diminished.
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PREFACE

A tourist or scholar interested in learning about the state of contemporary Hawaiian carving would soon discover that the only literature available on the subject consists of a few articles in periodicals and brief references in catalogs for arts and crafts exhibits.

Several reasons might be suggested to explain the neglect of this topic. First, there is a prevailing notion, upheld by some members of the academic community as well as the general public, that Hawaiian carving is a lost or "dead" art. Discussing the lack of academic interest in this area, a faculty member at an educational institution in Hawai‘i comments: "No literature exists, because there's nothing to write about."

The rationale for this belief follows: Since there is insufficient evidence to document a continuous tradition of Hawaiian carving from post-European contact until the present time, contemporary carvers removed from their viable religious and social context for a number of years could not produce anything relevant to their culture today.

Albert Wendt of Samoa counters this type of logic with a question relating to the Western culture of "these experts on authenticity." Why don't they "demand the same of their artists?" he says, "... for their painters to continue painting like their cave-dwelling ancestors? ... The art of
our forefathers was for a time past. It is not (and should not be) the art of today. Let us study it for that, and not use it to dismiss today's art."

A second reason that this topic has been overlooked concerns a misconception regarding the diversity of forms and aesthetic quality of contemporary Hawaiian carving. The general public regards the "tiki"—loosely or accurately based on traditional Hawaiian images—to be the primary motif. The tiki is perceived by many to be a symbol of the corruption and commercialization of the Hawaiian art produced today. Tourists as well as most Hawai'i residents are familiar with Coco Joe's mass-produced sparkling-eyed tiki statuettes and key chains displayed in Waikiki souvenir shops and Duty Free stalls at the airport.

Less well-known, but familiar to patrons of museum shops and craft shows, are the replicas of traditional objects and images carved by Hawaiian artists and haole craftspeople who have made Hawai'i their home.

An elite group of mainland United States and Hawai'i collectors prize the handsome thin-walled turned wood bowls based on traditional 'umeke, or calabashes, made by Dan De Luz, Jack Straka, Michael Dunne, and others. Some visitors

and local residents purchase thicker-walled 'umeke at House of Kalai, Blair's or from individual turners such as Stewart Medeiros. But many are unaware that such bowls are still locally produced today.

Least known of all is the work of artists who execute creative derivations of traditional Hawaiian forms and themes in new and innovative ways.

When representative examples of these modes of work are examined and the artists disclose their motivation for creating these objects, it will become apparent to the reader that Hawaiian carving is decidedly not a lost or dead art nor is it irrelevant to the culture. It is, in fact, a contemporary manifestation of Hawaiian values and a vital means of establishing cultural identity.

Although the original religious complex that provided the impetus for traditional Hawaiian carving has been drastically altered, the spiritual significance of the objects to the artist and his Polynesian audience has not diminished.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Subject Matter

When this study was undertaken, the intent was to analyze contemporary carving in wood and possibly other media in Hawai'i in conjunction with the carving of at least one other Pacific group. The rationale for including another island culture was to compare the recent development of the two art forms. The primary motive, however, was the author's preconception that there was insufficient material worth assessing in Hawai'i. (See Preface.)

As research progressed, however, it became obvious that the interviews conducted with artists in the Cook Islands would have to be reserved for a future work since there was a plethora of art objects currently being produced in Hawai'i that had not been evaluated. The immediate problem then became not "insufficient material," but rather which forms, media, and artists should be included and which should be excluded. It would not be productive or feasible to appraise all of the three-dimensional work produced in Hawai'i today.

Criteria were established to facilitate the selection process: The objects had to be either based on traditional forms, created with traditional materials or techniques, or characterized by the expression of Hawaiian values or symbols.
As the title indicates, works in this study are limited to carvings, sculpture, and bowls. Canoe making, a topic worthy of a separate comprehensive study, is not addressed, although some of the carvers interviewed reproduce canoes along with other traditionally oriented items. Ceramics are also excluded since pottery was not produced in pre-contact Hawai'i. A few of the artists interviewed, however, use clay in combination with other traditional mediums. Materials employed in the carvings and sculpture include wood, stone, coral, bone, sea urchin spines, fiber, wicker, feathers, shell, human hair, kapa, metal, clay, glass, and plastics. The bowls are wood, but a few incorporate some of the above materials.

Definitions

A "bowl turner" is a person who produces wood bowls on a lathe.

The term "art" is used to refer to all artifacts and contemporary objects designated as "art" by the artists. The word as used in this study does not suggest a particular standard of aesthetic criteria. Similarly, the term "artist" is applied to those who consider themselves "artists," regardless of the quality of their work.

A "revival" is the process of re-creating an art form that has been discontinued in Hawaiian society. The original
context of the creation of the article is not necessarily reproduced.

A "replica" is an exact copy of a traditional object, of similar artistic quality, executed in the same size and medium as the original. A "reproduction" is any copy or likeness of a traditional object. The material, size, or process of creating the original object may be altered in the reproduction.

The definition of "revival" is similar to one proposed by Nelson Graburn in the introduction of Ethnic and Tourist Arts.² The distinction between a replica and reproduction is found in A Dictionary of Art Terms and Techniques by Ralph Mayer.³

The word "traditional" requires clarification. A printed placard at the "Pieces of Paradise" exhibit at the Australian Museum enumerates some of the different ways individuals use this term:

Sometimes they mean 'old' or not made recently. Others use the word to refer to an artefact made before Europeans reached the Pacific. Sometimes the word is used to imply that if an artefact is traditional, it must be better in some ways than


one made recently. For other people, the word suggests an unchanging past.

Adrienne Kaeppelin suggests that objects may be considered traditional following contact if the "basic structure and sentiment" are retained or if they "have evolved along traditional lines."\(^5\)

In this study, the word "traditional" will be used by the author to refer to post-European contact Hawaiian art and techniques as well as contemporary art that retains recognizable aspects of the early art and the culture that produced it. Some of the artists use the term to apply to whatever they believe is traditional, such as "traditional techniques" or "the traditional religion," although there may be no authoritative evidence to substantiate their concept.

"Contemporary," in the context of the Hawaiian forms discussed, does not refer to an art style, but rather to the period of time when the work was produced—approximately within the past fifteen years.

"Contemporary Hawaiian art" refers to art created by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians.


References to "Hawaiian artists," however, apply only to artists of Hawaiian descent. The validity of this appellation may also be challenged since there is little consensus regarding the definition of a Hawaiian. Is this designation appropriate for persons who are part-Hawaiian as well as part-Japanese, part-Chinese, part-Filipino, part-haole and/or part-something else? In some instances, the artists bear little physical resemblance to indigenous Hawaiians, and possess Oriental or Caucasian features and complexion. Furthermore, all of the Hawaiian artists are subject to the influence of Western mass media and art techniques, as well as other facets of Hawai'i's multi-cultural society.

After conducting interviews with a number of these artists, the author of this study is convinced that the term is valid. The basis for this viewpoint will be clarified in the chapters that follow.

Two reasons for this conclusion will be proposed initially: First, one of the primary motivations of the Hawaiian artists to produce their art is to elevate the status of "their brothers"; and, second, the artists identify almost exclusively with their Hawaiian heritage.

In Hawai'i Pono, Lawrence H. Fuchs notes that Hawaiians had been long regarded as a "dying race." Predictions indicated that its remaining members would be absorbed by intermarriage with the immigrant population. By 1959, the year of statehood, only 10,000 "pure" Hawaiians remained.
Interruption, however, did not cause Hawaiians to become assimilated. Most part-Hawaiians do not consider themselves cosmopolitan, but maintain their sense of "Hawaiianess." Fuchs cites a survey by the Social Science Research Council that indicates persons "with as little as one-fourth or even one-eighth Hawaiian blood" quantum identify with their Hawaiian progenitors. 6

The interviews conducted by this author support the results of the 1959 survey. As indicated above, all of the part-Hawaiian artists state that they identify with their Hawaiian ancestry.

In this study, the term "Hawaiian" as well as "part-Hawaiian" will be used to refer to those artists who claim any degree of Hawaiian blood. For the sake of clarity, the term "native Hawaiian" will not be employed in reference to the artists because disagreement has arisen recently within the Hawaiian community regarding the definition of the term.

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs prefers a single Native Hawaiian beneficiary class definition for Hawaiians rather than the two categories established in 1920 by the United States Congress for the Hawaiian Homestead Act. The two categories are: "Native Hawaiians" with fifty percent or more Hawaiian blood quantum and "Hawaiians" or "Part-Hawaiians" with less than fifty per cent Hawaiian blood quantum. OHA

statistics indicate that there were approximately 40,000 Native Hawaiians and 160,000 part-Hawaiians living among the one million residents of the state in 1989.

In November 1988, OHA conducted a mail referendum among the Hawaiians registered with the agency. Of the ballots returned, eighty-four percent voted in favor of the single definition. A trustee of the organization stated that he considered the action to be a mandate to change the legal definition of Native Hawaiians. Certain members of the Hawaiian community, however, claimed the referendum question was ambiguous and misunderstood by Hawaiian voters. Several lawsuits against OHA were initiated by Native Hawaiian beneficiaries who consider the agency to be breaking their trust.7

Of the eighteen Hawaiian artists interviewed, no one stated that he was "pure" Hawaiian. All indicated that they were part-Hawaiian and specified their ethnic descent. In Chapter II, "Artist's Profiles," each artist's ethnicity is listed as he reported it.

Some of the Hawaiian artists object to the use of the non-Hawaiian term "tiki" in reference to their traditional images, correctly noting that "ki'i" should be employed

"Tiki" is a Maori word, defined in that culture as "a personification of primeval man." A "tiki," however, represents to many of the Hawaiian carvers a commercial "corrupted" version of an image. A few of the artists utilize the terms "tiki" and "ki'i" interchangeably. Most of the non-Hawaiian artists refer to every type of image as a "tiki." "Ki'i," as used by the author in this study, refers to a traditionally oriented image, and "tiki" applies to a form of image created for the tourist industry.

Definitions for other Hawaiian words may be found in the Glossary on page 603.

The reader will notice what may seem to be inconsistency regarding the use of glottal stops and macrons in Hawaiian words and phrases. Diacritical marks are used throughout the author's text but have not been added to citations, official names, or to the names of individuals who prefer not to use them.

The following terminology, commonly employed by residents of Hawai'i, will also be used:

"The Big Island" for the Island of Hawai'i.
"The Mainland" for the continental United States.
"The Outer Islands" for Hawaiian Islands other than O'ahu.
"The Art Academy" for the Honolulu Academy of Arts.

"SFCA" or "The State Foundation" for the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts.

"PCC" or "the Cultural Center" for the Polynesian Cultural Center.

"Hōnaunau" for Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau (Place of Refuge of Hōnaunau--a Hawaiian historical site administered by the National Park Service on the Big Island.)

"The Market Place" for the International Market Place.

"Kamehameha" for the Kamehameha Schools.

OHA for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

"O.P." for Oahu Prison.

"O-Triple-C" for Oahu Community Correctional Center.

"Kulani" for Kulani Correctional Facility.

Since many of the prototypes for the contemporary carvings discussed are cataloged in Hawaiian Sculpture by Cox with Davenport, the Cox-Davenport classification by letter and number, preceded by a comma, follows the work described without citing Cox with Davenport. Since many contemporary carvers reproduce objects in the Bishop Museum collection, the Bishop Museum catalog number is enclosed in parentheses, again without attributing the object to the Bishop Museum. The Cox-Davenport classification precedes the Bishop Museum collection number. Objects from other collections are identified by catalog number, if appropriate, and the name of the institution or collector.
Literature Cited

Although personal interviews were the primary source of information for the study, certain published and unpublished written works have been useful. The writings of the three most significant nineteenth century Hawaiian historians, David Malo, Samuel Kamakau, and John Papa 'I'i were used extensively for reference.

The most influential of these writers, David Malo, was born in Keauhou, North Kona, Hawai‘i around 1793. His father was associated with the court of Kamehameha I, and the son is reported to have become well-acquainted with the traditions, ceremonies, and folklore of Hawai‘i from ‘Auwai, a favorite chief of the king. Possessing an intelligent mind and a poetic talent, Malo "came to be universally regarded as the great authority and repository of Hawaiian lore." He moved to Lahaina, Maui where he converted to Christianity, and was one of the first students at Lahainaluna Seminary. He was later ordained a minister, presiding over a small church in East Maui. Malo's manuscript and notes for the classic work Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawai‘i), translated by Nathanial B. Emerson in 1898, was first published in 1903. Notes by Emerson and W.D. Alexander were included with the text. Eloise Christian, editor of the 1951 edition writes: "It is

not clear just how much Alexander did. For that matter, it is hard to tell where Malo leaves off and Emerson takes over, or how much of the parenthetical material in the actual text is Emerson's."¹⁰

John Papa 'I'i, born in Waipi'o, 'Ewa, O'ahu in 1800, was a personal attendant and companion of Liholiho, who became Kamehameha II. 'I'i studied with the Reverend Hiram Bingham, was a member of the court of Kamehameha III, served as a member of the House of Nobles and the House of Representatives, as an associate justice of the Supreme Court of Hawai'i, and a Christian minister. Fragments of Hawaiian History is a compilation of articles he wrote from 1866 until 1870 for Kuokoa, a Hawaiian language newspaper.

Ka Po'e Kahiko: The People of Old, and its sequel Na Hana a ka Po'e Kahiko: The Works of the People of Old are compilations of articles relating to Hawaiian culture, written by Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, published in the newspaper Ke Au Okoa from 1869 through 1870. Kamakau was born at Moku-le'ia, O'ahu in 1815. An excellent student at Lahainaluna Seminary on the island of Maui, he was invited to teach at the school. Through the influence of the Rev. Sheldon Dibble he developed a lifelong interest in the history and traditions of Hawai'i. Kamakau was a district judge at Wailuku, Maui and served in the kingdom's legislature representing Maui and O'ahu.

Works by the twentieth century authority on Hawaiian culture and language, Mary Kawena Pukui, are also cited. Pukui, now deceased, was born on the Big Island in 1895. Bridging two cultures, she was the daughter of a Hawaiian mother descended from kāhuna, and a father from New England. Raised by her grandmother, she spoke Hawaiian and learned chants and rituals as a child. Pukui served as a staff member at the Bishop Museum and wrote extensively about Hawaiian culture and beliefs and compiled, with Samuel H. Elbert, the definitive Hawaiian Dictionary. Definitions and spelling of Hawaiian words in the text and glossary are from the 1986 Revised and Enlarged Edition. References to Hawaiian gods are from the 1971 edition of Hawaiian Dictionary and from Martha Beckworth's Hawaiian Mythology.

The Polynesian Family System in Ka'ū, Hawai'i by E. S. Craighill Handy and Pukui describes traditional Hawaiian life in the isolated Ka'ū district of the Big Island. Nānā i Ke Kumu (Look to the Source) by Pukui, Haertig, and Lee is another reference for this study. Volume One considers the traditional and contemporary significance of Hawaiian cultural concepts. Volume Two relates to social customs, practices, and beliefs.

Another important resource is Arts and Crafts of Hawaii by Peter H. Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa). Born in New Zealand, his father was Irish, his mother, Maori. A physician, Buck developed an interest in Polynesian culture when he served in
the Medical Corps treating Maori troops during World War I. He was ethnologist and Director of the Bishop Museum from 1936 until 1951.

Indispensable to this research has been the revised edition of *Hawaiian Sculpture* by J. Halley Cox, now deceased, who was an artist and professor of art at the University of Hawaii, and William H. Davenport, a professor of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. The authors discuss sculptural tradition and analyze style, but of greatest significance to this study are the catalog and photographs of most known extant examples of "figurative sculpture in wood." The excellent photographs enabled this author to compare contemporary carvings in Hawai'i with traditional prototypes in museums and collections throughout the world.

Articles in journals by anthropologists and art historians specializing in Pacific art are cited. Collections of essays particularly relevant to this study are: *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, edited by Nelson Graburn; *Exploring the Visual Art of Oceania*, edited by Sidney Mead; and *Art and Artists of Oceania*, edited by Mead and Bernie Kernot. Unpublished papers presented by anthropologists at the Third and Fourth International Symposia of the Pacific Arts Association are also cited.

References to the flora of Hawai'i are verbatim quotations from Marie C. Neal's *In Gardens of Hawaii*. 

13
The most complete records of Hawai‘i’s prison system are found in the collection of the Hawaii State Archives. Prison references in the bibliography, therefore, are listed as they are at the Archives, under the various agencies that administered the institution through the years: The Board of Prison Directors, 1931-39; the Department of Institutions, 1939-59; the Department of Social Services and Housing, 1959-87; and the Department of Corrections, 1987-90.

Methodology

The findings are primarily based upon interviews with thirty-two carvers, sculptors, and bowl turners, and three persons involved in the management of companies making tourist objects. Eighteen of the twenty-nine carvers and sculptors and one of the three bowl turners are Hawaiian. The owners of the souvenir enterprises are non-Hawaiians.

The artists interviewed for the study are representative of various ethnic backgrounds and training and their work demonstrates a cross section of contemporary Hawaiian art produced today. Unfortunately, because of time and space limitations, a number of well-qualified carvers and turners, both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian, have, of necessity, been excluded.

One of the Hawaiian artists expressed displeasure that the work and opinions of non-Hawaiians are included in a study about Hawaiian art. The author feels that the inclusion of
non-Hawaiian artists is justified in order to draw distinctions between the work made by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians. The motifs employed by both groups and their significance to the Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian artists are discussed in Chapter IX. The works and opinions of Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian artists are sometimes contrasted, but never combined. The non-Hawaiians met the criteria for selection on the basis of the subject matter of their art and the materials they employ as stated above. The fact that the artists are kama'aina or are residents of the state of Hawai'i and feel "Hawaiian at heart" is irrelevant to their inclusion in the study.

Insights regarding aesthetics, Hawaiian art shows, and state funding were provided by the Director of the Academy of Arts, George R. Ellis; Lynn J. Martin, Folk Arts Coordinator, and Ronald K. Yamakawa, Art in Public Places Manager for the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts.

Classification Models

Various categories devised by anthropologists to classify Oceanic or "Fourth World" arts were considered initially to determine their relevance to Hawai'i and to aid in the establishment of a model appropriate to analyze contemporary Hawaiian art.

Nelson Graburn's classification for "Fourth World" arts is of particular interest. The Fourth World is a collective name he employs to describe aboriginal or native peoples whose
land lies within geographical boundaries and "techno-bureaucratic administrations" of First, Second, and Third World countries. Isolated and autonomous no longer, they have become "... dependent part societies whose very thought and culture reflect the differences from, and accommodation to, the realities of the majority peoples surrounding them." Consideration of their arts "must take into account more than one symbolic and aesthetic system and the fact that the arts may be produced by one group for consumption by another."\(^\text{11}\)

Parallels with contemporary Hawaiian society may be drawn from this definition although Hawai'i does not have the colonial system typical of the "non-nations" Graburn describes. Hawaiians are subject to pervasive Western and Oriental influences and traditions that affect their art, and many of the artists sell their work to tourists.

Graburn finds the arts in these societies to be of two major types: Those that are inwardly directed or created for the people within the "part-society," and arts made for the external, "dominant" world. The inwardly directed arts serve to maintain ethnic identity and social structure as well as to instill values. Externally directed arts present an ethnic image to others, often in the form of "tourist" or "airport" arts. Graburn designates the following categories as "differing directions taken by the processes of artistic change":

\(^{11}\) Graburn, Ethnic, pp. 1-2.
1. "Extinction" refers to the decline or disappearance of an indigenous art.

2. "Traditional or Functional Fine Arts." Changes in technique and form are allowed in this category and even European-derived symbols may be incorporated provided "... these changes do not seriously disturb the transmission of symbolic meaning, and hence the culturally appropriate satisfactions." This is similar to Kaeppler's stipulation, previously cited, that the "basic structure and sentiment" be retained.

3. "Commercial Fine Arts." This category includes traditional forms made for sale that may be functional, or those that are "considerably modified."


5. "Reintegrated Arts." New forms from the Western industrial society are adapted to meet the needs of the group.

6. "Assimilated Fine Arts." In this category "... the conquered minority artists have taken up the established art forms of the conquerors, following and competing with the artists of the dominant society."
7. "Popular Arts" are Western art forms expressing feelings "appropriate to the new cultures that are emerging among the leaders of the Third World." \(^{12}\)

A summary of categories devised by Ronald J. May to examine Papua New Guinean art follows:

1. "True traditional art" is an object made within the society for religious or secular purposes or trade.
   a. "Pure traditional art."
   b. "Contact-influenced art." New tools, materials, and designs might be utilized in this category.

2. "Pseudo-traditional art." Corresponds with Graburn's "commercial fine arts" and "souvenirs" classifications. Examples of pseudo-traditional art range from careful reproductions made for sale by native artists to stylized objects with little relationship to the society that are mass-produced by outsiders.

3. "Works which combine traditional art forms with a degree of individual creativity."

4. "Adaptive art." Tapa handbags are an example of this category.

5. "Wholly introduced art forms." Corresponds with Graburn's "assimilated fine arts."

6. "The work of individual creative artists."  

Adrienne Kaeppler employs a framework of four categories to analyze Polynesian art. The following is a summary of her classification:

1. "Traditional art." Only art that can be traced to voyages of the first Europeans to arrive in each area, such as Cook's third voyage to Hawai'i, can be classified as traditional art, since objects from subsequent voyages might bear outside influences.

2. "Evolved traditional art." Similar to May's "contact-influenced art."

3. "Folk art." Refers to "the living art of the community." It "signifies a creative combination of traditional and non-traditional concepts and values."

4. "Airport art." Corresponds with Graburn's "souvenirs." Airport art is produced to sell rather than created for aesthetic, utilitarian, religious, or traditional

purposes. It may or may not have traditional precedents and is principally made to be appreciated by non-Polynesians who may know little about Polynesian culture. 14

The following is a summary of the categories that Philip Dark proposed in 1984 based on trends he observed in the development of art in the Pacific:

1. Artistic activities "which have a continuing link with the past even if modified." Included in this first category are "revivals" and "retentions."
   a. Activities that produce art for "internal consumption" within the culture.
   b. Those activities that produce it for outsiders as well. Commercial production and changes in context stimulate innovations in design and materials.

2. Artistic activities "which are devoted to the copying of old forms."
   a. For "educational purposes"
   b. For "commercial purposes"

3. Activities "which create new forms out of old Pacific ones, producing a Pan-Pacific style." These exhibit "a kind of internal eclecticism, largely lacking originality, which is manifest in a uniformity of style." It is typified by the wood figures carved in Tonga and Western Samoa today that incorporate certain traditional Hawaiian features. Dark postulates that this practice of reproducing composite Polynesian forms may have originated in Hawai‘i. His hypotheses is based on a photograph of Phil Hooten's work in a National Geographic publication. (Hooten is one of the contemporary carvers interviewed for this study.)

4. Activities "which create new forms out of old Pacific ones in a synthesis with non-Pacific forms, sometimes in non-Pacific media, producing a Pan-Pacific art." Dark regards the final category to show more promise than the third, since it is both "original and derivative."  

The various models proposed by Graburn, May, Kaeppler, and Dark were extremely useful in formulating the following categories that seem appropriate to classify the Hawaiian carvings, sculpture, and bowls produced today:

1. Replicas and Reproductions of Traditional Art
   a. For sale
   b. For educational purposes
   c. For ritual or personal use

2. Revised Reproductions of Traditional Art

3. Collectors' Art
   a. Bowls
   b. Carvings

4. Hawaiian Community Art
   a. Art that expresses Hawaiian values or ideals
   b. Art that depicts folklore
   c. Art that depicts non-traditional forms of akua
   d. 'Aumakua art
   e. Utilitarian objects, such as pigboards and bowls
   f. Musical instruments and hula implements

5. Adapted Art
a. Trinkets
b. Commemorative gifts and trophies
c. Poi pounder gavels
d. Leaf-form bowls and trays
e. Driftwood carvings

6. Fine Art

7. Souvenir Art

For clarification of the first two categories, refer to the definitions of "revival" and "replica." There is little incentive today for the revival of Hawaiian art forms made in the traditional manner. Only a few artists are willing to expend the time and energy necessary to realize this ideal. Carvers are motivated, however, to make replicas and reproductions using modern tools. The recent interest of Hawaiians in preserving their culture, as well as corporations, hotels, and individual collectors who are willing to purchase well-carved replicas and reproductions of traditional art have provided a market for the objects. Scale models of canoes, and replicas or reproductions of weapons and images are among the works most in demand. The artists study ki'i or objects in the Bishop Museum collection for reference or refer to the few art books and catalogs available.
The category of "revised reproductions of traditional art" is similar to May's "contact-influenced traditional art," but the "revised reproductions" are made by non-Hawaiians as well as Hawaiians. "Revised reproductions of traditional art" differ from Kaeppler's "evolved traditional art" since the "sentiment" of the original work is generally not retained when the "revised reproductions" are made by non-Hawaiian artists. Further, the "revised reproductions" do not in all instances "evolve." They are produced by artists who express their creative impulse by deliberately or inadvertently altering elements of traditional carving. Sometimes features of two different traditional Hawaiian images are intentionally combined, or an image is carved to resemble a traditional prototype except for the position of the hands or the direction of the head. In some cases, when a reproduction is made from a photograph in a catalog or book, the carver must improvise when he carves features that are not visible in the illustration.

The bowls and carvings that comprise "collectors' art" command high prices. The work, characterized by superior craftsmanship, is sold in galleries such as "Pauahi Nu'uanu Gallery" or "Following Sea" and museum shops, or is commissioned by private individuals directly from the artists. Rare woods indigenous to Hawai'i are the preferred material, but a wide variety of woods are carved or turned, and sold to collectors, wealthy tourists, and Hawai'i residents. Although
many of the turned wood bowls are in the form of 'umeke, they are not considered reproductions or replicas since they have exceptionally thin walls. The thin-walled calabashes can be considered revised reproductions. Many of the contemporary turned bowls, however, would not qualify for this category, such as Michael Dunne's epoxy coated bowls or Ron Kent's translucent conical-shaped vessels. Although Kent produces some of the highest quality turned bowls in the state, he was not included in this study because most of his bowls are contemporary forms made of Norfolk pine.

The "collectors' art" carvings are made from the same woods as the bowls in this category. Richard Howell's imaginative works at the Pauahi Nu'uanu Gallery are representative examples of this classification.

"Hawaiian community art" expresses contemporary Hawaiian values or ideals. It is sometimes created expressly to reinforce them. Subjects of Hawaiian community art include non-traditional forms of akua; 'aumākua; lore; utilitarian objects, such as pigboards and bowls; hula implements, and musical instruments.

The works designated "Hawaiian community art" in this study might be called "folk art" by Kaeppler or others.

The following description of "folk arts," that may be applied to "community art," is from a brochure published by the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts:
Folk and traditional arts grow through time within groups that share the same ethnic heritage, language, religion, geographic area or way of life. ... Because folk arts grow out of community, they are often a source of community identity and reflect the group's aesthetic. Though folk arts take many forms, they all share the following characteristics:

Folk arts are created for and enjoyed by neighbors, families, and friends. Therefore, whether they are produced for a daily need or to celebrate something special, there is a gift quality about them.

Folk arts are passed on from one generation to another and thus change slowly over time. Being true to the past is often more important than change or innovation.

Folk arts are learned informally, usually through a one-to-one relationship with another person or by imitating someone. ... 

The State Foundation has given financial support to some of the Hawaiian artists for traditionally oriented work under their Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program.

Although "folk art" is a valid term, commonly employed in literature related to art history and anthropology, and by institutions such as the Honolulu Academy of Arts, the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, and the National Endowment for the Arts; it imparts to many others an image of "primitive handicrafts" produced by the "folk" or ordinary people rather than artists. The terms "primitive" and "folk art," Graburn notes, "... are often taken to be either prejudicial or patronizing slurs upon the arts and artists in

16 Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, Folk Arts Program, Folk Arts Apprenticeship Awards: Living Heritage (Honolulu: HSPCA).
Three of the artists interviewed mentioned that they are greatly offended by the use of "folk art" in reference to the work of contemporary Hawaiian artists.

The subject or medium of "adapted art" has a traditional precedent, but the contemporary object may have a different form or purpose, such as a carved wood poi pounder gavel. Trinkets include mirrors, combs, boxes, hair picks, beads, pendants, and other small items. They are usually made to sell at fairs, craft shows, and gift shops. Trinkets are often carved of koa, milo, or other indigenous woods, or woods associated with Hawaiian carving and turning, such as 'ohai; or they are made of beefbone, ivory, shell, or coral. There are Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian "trinket-makers."

Commemorative gifts are another form of "adapted art." Hawai'i companies, institutions, and state agencies often present employees with carved or turned wood "Hawaiian" mementos at the time of retirement. A brass plate with an appropriate engraved message may be attached to the carved object or bowl or a message may be burned on the bottom of the object.

Other examples are carved wood trophies ordered by sponsors of sporting events in Hawai'i, such as canoe clubs and yachting associations. Popular motifs are miniature

17 Graburn, *Ethnic*, p. 3.
canoes, and mahiole. They are sometimes attached to a wood base bearing an engraved brass plate.

The driftwood carvings, most often of a woman's face or birds and fish, popular in the fifties and sixties, are still made on a limited basis. They are another form of "adapted art."

"Fine art" is the work accepted by the art establishment in Hawai'i, the mainland, or in Europe. It is art that is often, but not always, created by professionally trained artists who are recognized by the art establishment. Fine art is accepted in major juried or invitational shows, such as those sponsored by the Honolulu Academy of Arts. It may be sold in reputable art galleries or commissioned by individuals or institutions such as the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts.

The final category is designated "souvenir art," rather than "airport art," or "tourist art" because of negative connotations associated with these terms.

The author believes that souvenir art has been unfairly maligned. The popular opinion that tourism has produced a negative effect on Hawaiian art is erroneous. Tourism has actually had a positive influence in reestablishing and sustaining interest in the traditional art of Hawai'i. Moreover, souvenir art is a unique, valid expression of values different from those of other art forms and fulfills a need in contemporary society. This topic will be discussed further.
in Chapter X. Souvenirs in Hawai‘i range from tiki forms handcarved by Hawaiian or non-Hawaiian artists to items that are cast and mass-produced in factories.

Several of the categories in this framework overlap, and artists may work in more than one area. For example, some of the trinket makers carve miniature reproductions to sell with their trinkets, such as wood and bone varieties of niho palaoa (a whale tooth pendant formerly worn by Hawaiian royalty), carve replicas for educational purposes, and create collectors' art.

Chapter Content

Chapter II is comprised of brief biographies of the contemporary artists interviewed for the study. In Chapter III, an overview of the tradition and history of carving and bowl making in Hawai‘i is provided from the time of Captain James Cook's third voyage of exploration until the early twentieth century. Characteristics of traditional Hawaiian images are identified, and traditional bowl forms are described, not only to provide background information but to enable the reader to compare the contemporary Hawaiian art, discussed in later chapters, with traditional prototypes.

In Chapter IV, the story of the persistent and influential tradition of carving in Hawai‘i's prison system is related for the first time. The following chapter describes the efflorescence of carving that occurred from the 1930s
until the early 1960s when innovative motifs such as leaf and flower form bowls and trays and driftwood faces were in demand. Reasons the woodcraft industry diminished are considered. In the late sixties and early seventies, a renewed interest in traditional forms began to be manifest, largely attributed to the Hawaiian Renaissance, described in Chapter VI. Also in this chapter are descriptions of twentieth century cultural and historical restoration attempts. Various aspects of the contemporary Hawaiian art movement are examined that include: Hawaiian art organizations, Hawaiian art shows, art festivals, craft fairs, and state and federal programs that support Hawaiian art.

In Chapter VII, the tools, materials, and techniques employed by the contemporary craftsmen are identified. The following chapter considers the Hawaiians' link with the past and pervasive "traditional" beliefs they retain. Corresponding ideas of non-Hawaiians are also discussed. The purpose of this chapter is to apprise the reader of the spiritual context in which the present work is created. The motifs and meaning of the work to the artists are described in Chapter IX, and the Hawaiian artists discuss the reasons non-Hawaiians should or should not create Hawaiian art.

In Chapter X, the largest souvenir art and commercial establishments are identified and various aspects of Hawaiian art are examined from the viewpoint of the seller and the buyer.
The conclusion establishes why the author believes that Hawaiian art is produced today. Other topics include positive aspects of souvenir art, and the goals of Hawaiian artists. Following an evaluation of the direction of Hawaiian art, recommendations are proposed to further the contemporary expression of traditional carving and bowl-making in Hawai‘i.
CHAPTER II

PROFILES OF THE CARVERS AND WOOD TURNERS

Hawaiians

Rocky Wakinikona Asing (figure 1)

1960. Honolulu. Half-Hawaiian, Chinese, Samoan, Spanish. Asing lived in Honolulu until he moved to the Big Island ten years ago. He relates that he has been "into art" since elementary school. In intermediate school he developed an interest in music and began making instruments, designing an "over-under vibraphone."

Asing says that he has mastered the art of kālua pig (pork baked in an imu or underground oven). His family operated a piggery in Honolulu and he raised pigs from the time he was in the seventh grade. As a youth he sold piglets and kālua pig. Other occupations since that time have included cooking in restaurants, masonry, landscaping, carpentry, plumbing, electric and "iron" work, and repairing cars. He also weaves, hand-stitches and designs clothes, and makes his own durable shoes from tire rubber and nylon straps.

In 1985 Asing decided to give up all material possessions in order "to walk and live" with Robert Cox, an artist from California who lived at Captain Cook and has since moved to Ocean View, Hawai‘i. Asing says that his teacher was so
Fig. 1. Rocky Asing holds a stone puhí (eel) bowl, 3" x 12", in front of his house at Kamuela, Hawai‘i.

Fig. 2. Ron "Lona" Barboza stands beside an unfinished carving at his outdoor work area next to his home at Hōnaunau, Hawai‘i.
knowledgeable, he was "Just like education walking around the
place."

He describes Cox, who is called "Xoc" (Cox spelled
backward) by his associates, as a "genius, a grand master of
stone-carving. . . . a master in everything he does. He sews
his own clothes by hand. He built his own house. . . . He's
very creative with nothing."

Asing acquired an interest in stone carving from observ­ing
Cox work with the medium. "Because of him," Rocky says,
"I just totally took off." Asing carves only stone because
it will "last forever." He is best known for his "artistic
walls" that have faces or 'aumākua carved into the rocks of
the structure. He learned the art of rock wall construction
from Cox.

Asing accepts commissions and also sells his stone
carvings at the Gallery of Great Things at the Waimea Design
Center, Kamuela, Hawai'i, and at the Volcano Art Center. He
presently works full-time at Ace Hardware in Kamuela.

Ron Barbosa (figure 2)

Carving name "Lona". 1948. Hāna, Maui. Hawaiian,
Portuguese. Ron's initial experience working with wood was
in shop classes at school. He experimented first with tables
and later made surfboards, being preoccupied with sports at
that time. After serving in the United States Air Force he
attended Leeward Community College and "got really educated."
When he moved to Hilo, he became interested in the religious values expressed in the carvings created by his brother Tom.

Ron Barboza was employed as a maintenance worker for six months of the year for three years at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau on the Big Island. During the period of his employment he helped Bill Puou carve images for the Hale o Keawe heiau. Barboza was a coffee farm manager in Kona before purchasing his own coffee, macadamia nut, and avocado farm where he now works full-time.

He presently carves on a commission basis only, specializing in large "kānes," (male figures) six or seven feet tall. He works outside his house on a hill in the town of Hōnaunau. Barboza recently conducted a carving class for six months on weekends at Kona Country Fair, a gift shop with separate buildings and recreational facilities at Captain Cook, Hawai‘i that can be hired for community and family functions. At the time of his 1990 interview, he was negotiating with a corporation in Japan regarding the use of one of his carved images for a product logo.

Ki‘i carved by Barboza may be seen at the Mauna Lani Bay Hotel at Kalāhuipua‘a, Hawai‘i and in front of a private residence in Keāhole on the Big Island.

**Thomas Victor Barboza (figure 3)**

1947. Honolulu. Hawaiian, Portuguese. Figure 3. Tom and Ron Barboza's grandfather, on their mother's side, was a
Fig. 3. Tom Barboza turns a vase on his lathe at his outdoor workshop in front of his home at Kealakekua, Hawai‘i.

Fig. 4. Lanakila Brandt stands before hula altar to Laka, patron of the hula, at Kahanahou Hawaiian Handcrafts in Kealakekua, Hawai‘i. Revised Bloxam image on right, arms at side, T1 (7883); T2, Chicago Natural History Museum (272689).
canoe maker. Tom learned to operate power tools and work with wood in shop classes at school. He was encouraged to continue carving after he won first, second, and third place ribbons for a wood lamp, a canoe, and a bowl he entered in high school competitions at the Ala Moana Center in 1964 and 1965. In 1967, he began working with wood in earnest, producing tables, lamps, and bowls.

To support his family he was employed as a tree trimmer on O'ahu, as well as on Maui and the Big Island. When Barboza worked at Tedick's Creative Trophies in 'Aiea he became acquainted with the shop owner's son, Brian Takano, another carver interviewed for this study. Tom Barboza also worked at Blair, Ltd. in Honolulu for two and a half years finishing bowls and trays. Other work experience included teaching woodcraft for three semesters at Hale o Ho'oponopono at Hōnaunau.

He considers his greatest teacher to be Tony Grace, a gifted carver who taught him "the tricks of the trade" when Barboza carved images at Hōnaunau. He was also influenced by Clarence Medeiros, another carver at the Place of Refuge.

A Tom Barboza "tiki" is featured on the boxes and cans of Hawaiian Host macadamia nut products. Barboza carved the "tiki" that stands on the grounds of the company plant at Captain Cook, Hawai'i. He recently completed a commission for a twenty-one foot high Lono (one of the four major Hawaiian gods) 'aumakua (guardian image) for the yard of a Kona
resident. Barboza occasionally sells his work at gift shops and gives away many of the objects he carves to friends. His workshop is outside of his hillside home at Kealakekua, Hawai‘i. He is the father of five children.

**Lanakila Kahuokalani Brandt (figure 4)**

1922. Kaimuki, O‘ahu. Hawaiian, Portuguese, Austrian. Lanakila was the youngest of five boys in his family. None of his brothers showed any interest in their Hawaiian heritage and all became businessmen following the example of their Austrian father. Lanakila's basic knowledge of carving was attained through his great-grandfather, who said that the boy was the "one he had been waiting for" because he manifest an interest in the Hawaiian culture. His kupuna taught him to plant taro in the family's lo‘i (wet taro land) in the Kalihi Valley and took him to study with a neighbor who was "one of the great historic kumu hula (dance teachers)." Lanakila was also instructed by a "priest of the ancient temple," and was taken to study with a master chanter in Kalihi.

He relates that his great-grandfather was a good friend of "the man we call the Father of Modern Canoe-making," Uncle John Kaupiko. Lanakila's first "real involvement with serious carving" was learning to make canoes with Uncle John. The boy studied with about "half a dozen carvers, but with none of them very long." He learned to carve images from Kilipaki
Kanaele, a kahuna kālai kiʻi, who was carving at that time in the Kalihi area.

Lanakila recalls that he didn't really begin to carve until 1960 through 1965. He had been doing some Hawaiian carving at the Hawaiian village in Keaukaha, the Hawaiian homestead area in Hilo. Lanakila says he "really enjoyed a great opportunity" when a friend asked him to take his troupe to perform in Honolulu. They performed at various venues including the International Market Place in Waikiki. The vice-president and general manager of the Market Place was so impressed that Lanakila was offered a contract that was later extended for five years. Lanakila's troupe was representative of "all Polynesia" and included Tahitians and Tongans as well as Hawaiians. In the daytime they engaged in preparing native foods, fiber weaving, carving, and other crafts in an open grass area in the center of the Market Place. Lanakila considers this experience to have been "a great learning opportunity. I was paid to just sit down and carve."

In 1967, he returned to the Big Island with the intention of "going into the craft of carving." He says, "It never really worked out to being a business, let me tell you." Lanakila established a Hawaiian hula instrument-making shop called Kahanahou Hawaiian Handcrafts. The following declaration is printed at the top of his price list: "Serving the National Hula World Since 1967--If it is authentic Hawaiian, we make it!"
For the past three years he has participated in a project with Alu Like, Inc., an agency federally funded by the Native American Program of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Alu Like sends young Hawaiians to Lanakila's shop for a three month period to learn Hawaiian handcraft skills. Lanakila says the number of youngsters in each session varies from four to twelve. The title of the project is "Native Hawaiian handcraft skills as an alternative career goal." The young people in his program seem to enjoy themselves and were engaged in a spirited game on the day of the interview.

Sean Kekamakupa'a Lee Loy Browne (figure 5)

1953. Hilo, Hawai‘i. Hawaiian, Chinese, Irish. The strong, sophisticated stone and bronze sculptures of Sean Browne offer stark contrast to the work of the self-taught Hawaiian carvers. Browne's work is a blend of Hawaiian and Japanese forms and themes.

Raised on the Island of Hawai‘i in a propitious atmosphere by parents who collected Oceanic, African, and other non-Western art, Sean attended the Kamehameha Schools. He entered the University of Hawaii to work toward his M.F.A. degree after receiving a B.A. in studio art at the University of Redlands in 1975.

Interrupting work on his M.F.A., he traveled to Italy where he studied marble carving with Paoli Silverio in
Fig. 5. Sean Browne teaches a beginning sculpture class at Kapiolani Community College--Diamond Head Campus.

Fig. 6. Tom De Aguiar demonstrates carving in canoe hālau at Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau.
Pietrasanta, and served as an artist-in-residence at the Henraux Marble Company in Querceta. In 1985 he received his degree in Hawai‘i and was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship to study stone sculpture with Isamu Noguchi in Shikoku, Japan. Browne has participated in one-man and group shows in Hawai‘i, California, Italy, and Japan. The United States Information Service sponsored his one-man traveling exhibition at the American Centers in Tokyo, Fukuoka, Nagoya, and Sapporo, Japan in 1985.

In 1987, the gifted young sculptor was asked to exhibit in the invitational section of the Artists of Hawaii show at the Honolulu Academy of Arts. He returned to Japan for five weeks in 1989 and produced six granite sculptures in a period of two and one-half weeks. The works were commissioned by an acquaintance who had recently opened a new Tokyo art gallery.

Browne's sculpture has been purchased by the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, The Contemporary Arts Center, The Bank of Hawaii, Pacific Resources Incorporated, and the Commodore Condominium. His work is also included in private collections in the United States, Italy, and Japan. Commissioned sculpture may be viewed at Keaukaha Elementary School in Hilo, Maui Community College at Kahului, Kapi‘olani Community College-Diamond Head Campus, and at 1001 Bishop Square, Honolulu.

Browne teaches sculpture classes at the University of Hawaii--Manoa Art Department and at Kapi‘olani Community
College--Diamond Head Campus. He prefers teaching every other semester to allow sufficient time to concentrate on his commissions.

Tom Alan Kalani De Aguiar (figure 6)

1955. Kona, Hawai‘i. Portuguese, Hawaiian, Chinese, English. De Aguiar learned to carve from Anton "Ako" Grace, Jr., one of the principal carvers of the images at the time Pu‘uhonua O Hōnaunau was restored. The boy worked in the park as a volunteer from 1970 until 1971 while he was still a student at Konawaena High School. During this period, he and approximately twenty other classmates commenced carving an outrigger canoe at Hōnaunau under Grace's direction. Only De Aguiar and two others stayed with the project until the canoe was completed one year later.

In 1974, when De Aguiar was hired to work full-time in the park, he looked forward to learning additional carving skills from Grace. Unfortunately, the forty-eight year old carver died a short time later following a heart transplant.

Further carving experience was acquired when De Aguiar assisted a friend who was employed by American Factors at the Keauhou Beach Hotel at Keauhou, Hawai‘i. De Aguiar carved a Kū image, a number of "Lono-type" figures and completed a moa (chicken) begun by the friend who had personal problems and abruptly terminated his work. At the hotel, De Aguiar also
demonstrated weaving baskets, hats, and folded origami forms from coconut leaves.

At Hōnaunau, in addition to carving, De Aguiar thatched houses and taught the craft to young people. He presently demonstrates carving part-time in the canoe hālau at the park. He carved two of the images at Hale O Keawe heiau: the third figure from the left in the semi-circle of images within the enclosure (figure 43), and the guardian Lono image on the fence nearest to the two figures looking out to sea (figure 44).

His current job classification is "ranger." He says his duties include: "interpretation of the area" or giving talks to tourists, providing night security, preventing problems from happening, and trying to keep the park area tranquil and peaceful. He enjoys his work and says, "Sometimes I look at it—it's probably like the kōkuas that protected the grounds of the royalty."

Michael Ilipuakea Dunne (figure 7)


Before commencing his present career, Dunne had studied forestry and was a serious student of the hula, dancing with John Kaha‘i Topolinski's troupe. He had no formal art
Fig. 7. Michael Dunne wearing 1989 Festival of American Folklife t-shirt. Michael demonstrated bowl-turning at the Smithsonian Institution event.

Fig. 8. David Eskaran carves a top strake for a Maori wakataua (war canoe) at the Polynesian Cultural Center.
training but has sustained an interest in art since his youth. Dunne experimented with painting, ceramics, jewelry smithing, macrame, weaving, and stained glass. He learned all of the diverse techniques by observation.

Dunne became particularly proficient in various applications of glass art. When the sale of glass articles diminished he turned to bowl-turning in 1983, inspired by his grandmother's extensive collection of old calabashes, a traditional Hawaiian bowl form revered by local residents and valued by collectors. His bowls sold well and he began making them full-time. The wood bowls turned by Dunne often incorporate various elements of the media he formerly employed. He was given instruction in turning by Stewart Medeiros and Dan De Luz, two of the bowl turners interviewed for this study. Dunne was invited to be a bowl-turning demonstrator for the Smithsonian Institution's Twenty-third annual Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C. in 1989 and participated in that capacity again in 1990 when the Festival was presented in Honolulu. He was selected by Irving Jenkins to be one of three calabash turners featured in the 1989 exhibition, The Hawaiian Calabash, at the Focus Gallery of the Honolulu Academy of Arts.

In 1986, he and his mother, Lorna Dunne, established the Pauahi Nu'uanu Gallery in Honolulu. Some of the artists represented there who are included in this study are: Dan De Luz, Henry Hopfe, and Richard Howell.
Dunne makes about 350 bowls a year, working in a studio at his home in the Moanalua area of Honolulu. He is married and has one child.

David Hi’ilani Eskaran (figure 8)

1956. Honolulu. Hawaiian, Japanese, Filipino, German, English, and Spanish. When he was a child, David Eskaran used kitchen knives to carve pieces of driftwood he found on the beach near his grandmother’s house. His first ki’i, "the feather god Kū [Kūkā‘ilimoku] that Kamehameha would take into battle," was carved around the age of seven following a visit to Bishop Museum.

He was formally introduced to woodworking by his seventh grade shop teacher, Wright Bowman, Sr. at Kamehameha Schools. Bowman "made an impact" on the boy. Eskaran received additional instruction from Bowman after school. In the high school division at Kamehameha, the youth was "tutored along" in bowl making and carving by his industrial arts teacher Lewis Hubbard.

After high school Eskaran enrolled at Brigham Young University in Lā‘ie, where he majored in art. While attending school, he worked in the Hawaiian Village at the nearby Polynesian Cultural Center, a private, non-profit organization founded to preserve the culture of Polynesia. He interrupted his education to serve a two year mission in Anaheim,
California for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

When he returned home, he was anxious to learn the carving techniques of "Uncle" Barney Christie, the Maori master carver at PCC. Eskaran was hired after an opening occurred in the eight man crew that was producing low relief carvings at the center's restaurant under the direction of Uncle Barney.

Eskaran has worked full-time at the center since 1980. He was selected as one of two carvers representing Hawai‘i at the 1989 Pacific Arts Festival in Townsville, Australia.

Eskaran’s work may be seen in the Maori Village at the Cultural Center where he demonstrates wood carving. He also carves at his workshop in his Lā‘ie home where he resides with his wife Terry and their four children.

Bob Freitas (figure 9)

1951. Honolulu, Hawai‘i. Hawaiian, Chinese, Irish. As a member of a military family, Freitas was afforded the opportunity of traveling throughout Europe where he visited many of the major art museums of the Western world. He was raised in what he calls a permissive environment that allowed him to do as he pleased. Freitas possessed a creative nature and "built things" and painted. When friends admired his work
Fig. 9. Bob Freitas. **Balancing Stones.** Cast aluminum on koa mount. 18" x 4" x 6".

Fig. 10. Alapa'i Hanapi hollows a bowl with an adz outside his home workshop at Volcano, Hawai'i.
he would charge them only for materials, finding ample compensation in the enjoyment of the creative process.

By the age of 20, Freitas had served three years in the United States Army. He enrolled at the University of Hawaii with the intention of becoming an architect. When the Architecture Department lost accreditation, he studied, in succession, anthropology, archeology, and political science. Freitas continued taking classes, although he had earned sufficient credits to graduate, because his education was financed by the G.I. Bill. Having an "inclination toward art" he entered the Art Department. Following graduation, he commenced work on an M.F.A. but decided against completing the degree.

Freitas and other graduates of the Art Department opened and operated a short-lived gallery at the Hyatt Regency. He relates that after the close of the gallery, he fulfilled sculpture commissions for the Bank of Honolulu, First Insurance of Hawaii, the Hale Koa Hotel, and Liliuokalani Gardens at Waikiki, a condominium. His work may be seen at the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children's Center, in the lobby of the Hale Koa Hotel, and at the entranceway of Liliuokalani Gardens.

After becoming associated with 'Imai Kalāhele, Freitas renounced the commercial aspects of his sculpture and dedicated himself to creating and advancing Hawaiian art. He is owner of The Solar Electric Company in Honolulu.
Alapa'i Hanapi (figure 10)

1951. Moanalua, O'ahu. Hawaiian, Filipino, Portuguese. A talented self-taught Hawaiian carver, Hanapi says he always carved, and can't remember when he started. He relates that he made a variety of wood objects including skateboards, soap box derby cars, "little sculptured earrings," and model canoes. When he was about eighteen years of age he began working with traditional forms. "I taught myself," he recalls. "I researched myself. I started meeting more people who, all I can say, they were ex-prisoners. They were just brothers, friends of mine. They learned from prison." The older men had acquired the skill at Oahu Prison and the Kulani Correctional Facility on the Big Island. They would meet in Hanapi's garage and "pound wood" as they taught one another the techniques they knew.

In 1987 he moved his family from Moloka'i to the island of Hawai'i where he taught carving to inmates at Kulani. At the time of his first interview, he, his wife Mililani, and four daughters lived a simple life with few amenities in an isolated area of King's Landing.

Hanapi stated that he felt stress having a "conventional job." He preferred his former lifestyle beginning the day fishing before breakfast and hunting for two or three days at a time. He employed the daytime for family and domestic duties, and carved at night when the "gods come out."
At the time of the second interview, Hanapi had resigned from his prison job after being employed at Kulani for two years. His family had moved to an attractive well-furnished house at Volcano on the Big Island.

Hanapi gives away many of his carvings to friends, makes objects for contemporary ritual, and sells his work at shows sponsored by groups such as Hawaii Craftsmen. He accepts commissions but says he is making his "bread and butter" from lectures and demonstrations at schools, art centers, and hotels. He conducted a three month carving workshop for grades kindergarten through six at all of the elementary schools on Moloka'i, sponsored by the Moloka'i Makahiki Committee. In 1989 he conducted a month-long workshop at South Point at the Hawaiian town of Ka'ū on homestead land to make pā (wood dishes) and 'umeke for the Makahiki Festival there, a revived traditional celebration that combines sports and religious activities. Hanapi has received two Apprenticeship Awards from the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts. He represented Hawai'i in 1988 as a carver for the Fifth Festival of Pacific Arts at Townsville, Australia, and in 1989 as a carving demonstrator for the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C. He participated as a carving demonstrator again in 1990 when the Smithsonian Festival was reenacted in Honolulu.
He presently carves in a workshop outside his home at Volcano and intends to return to Moloka'i to complete his Kumulipo carvings. Hanapi describes himself as a "keiki o ka 'āina--a child of this land," intensely interested in Hawaiian culture, rights, and land issues.

Henry Hopfe (figure 11)

1949. Waipahu, O'ahu. Hawaiian, German. Hopfe began carving with a pocketknife when he was a child and made various objects with his father's tools, furtively borrowing them to avoid being beaten. He was raised in the quiet country town of Wai'anae and says he commenced carving out of boredom. He had no guidance, but would "just sit down and figure it out." He followed the counsel of family members and became a carpenter, working in that capacity for twelve years.

A turning point occurred when he introduced himself to Rocky Jensen who encouraged him to resume carving. Hopfe carved a bowl and was invited to display it in a show sponsored by Hale Naua, an art organization founded by Jensen.

One day as he meditated, Hopfe realized that he wasn't doing what God had intended him to do. He renounced carpentry and became a full-time carver. Hopfe enjoys teaching and has given wood carving demonstrations and lectures at Bishop Museum. He makes scale replicas of Hawaiian artifacts for Alu Like that are used in educational displays for children.
Fig. 11. Henry Hopfe carves a rock with a chisel and mallet in his backyard at Wai'anae, O'ahu.

Fig. 12. Rocky Jensen stands before display cabinet in the living room of his home in 'Aiea. Figure on the right is Kihanuilulumoku, The Great Spurting Breath that Shook the Island. Kamani-haole wood, human hair, kapa. 28" x 6".
An excellent craftsman, Hopfe now supports himself by carving gift items, reproductions and replicas, and other objects for four craft shows a year. He also sells his work at the annual Merry Monarch Festival, a hula competition in Hilo. He accepts commissions, and at the time of his second interview was completing some handsome carved wood trophies for the Hui Wa’ a Racing Canoe Club Association. His son Erich assisted him by sanding the work.

Hopfe, a talented, hard-working artist, is trying to build an inventory in stone and wood carvings for a one-man show. His workshop adjoins his house near the ocean in Wai‘anae. Hopfe’s imposing stone carvings, commissioned by the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, can be viewed a few miles from his home at Leihōkū School on Lulualei Homestead Road in Wai‘anae. He is the father of two children.

Rocky Ka‘iouliokahihikolo‘eahu Jensen (figure 12)

1944. Honolulu. Hawaiian, French, Danish, Irish. Rocky Jensen has worked tirelessly to revive the Hawaiian carving tradition. He is the founder and Director of Hale Naua III, Society of Hawaiian Arts. A number of contemporary Hawaiian carvers credit him with providing their initial motivation to carve.

Jensen’s family moved to Southern California when he was sixteen years old. Following high school he entered Compton Junior College where most of his formal art training took
place. He majored in art there taking drawing and painting classes. He excelled in sports and was an all star football player. Jensen remained in California for eight years.

He continued his education in Hawai'i, taking classes at Leeward Community College, the University of Hawaii, and the Academy of Arts. He has been employed as a martial arts instructor, a construction laborer in California, and a janitor at the Hawaii State Legislature. He worked for six months at Martin & MacArthur, a manufacturer of custom koa furniture. (Koa is the most highly esteemed native wood for furniture in Hawai'i.) Jensen taught drawing and carving to children from kindergarten through the sixth grade in the Artists-in-the-Schools program for the Hawaii State Department of Education.

Since founding Hale Naua in 1976, he and his wife Lucia Tarallo-Jensen have organized art exhibits, researched ancient traditions, written articles on Hawaiian art and a book on Hawaiian sculpture, arranged lectures and workshops, and encouraged Hawaiians to carve or work in other art media. Jensen carves at his hilltop home in 'Aiea. The Jensens' are pleased that their three children have chosen professions in "the arts." One is a musician, another a graphic artist, and the youngest is pursuing a career in photography.

Rocky Jensen's work may be seen at the McDonald's Restaurants in Waimānalo, Hale'iwa, and Lā'ie on O'ahu, and in Wailuku and Lahaina, Maui; and at the Host Inter-Island
Coffee Shop in the Hawaiian Airlines interisland terminal. He had one-man shows in 1985 at Ramsay's Gallery, in 1989 at the Contemporary Museum's Honolulu Advertiser Gallery in Honolulu, and in 1990 at the Bishop Museum Kāhili Room (another exhibit of the works featured in his 1990 show). Jensen no longer sells his art at craft fairs but uses his time between commissions for creative projects.

"Imaikalani Kalāhele" (figure 13)

Nickname "Snake." Hawaiian, French. Kalāhele is a creative, talented artist and an articulate spokesperson for the Hawaiian art movement. He describes himself as being "very unschooled," but recognizes that he had the good fortune to have three excellent teachers who influenced him at a critical time in his life. They were: Minnie Fujita, Charles Higa, and Louis Pohl. When Kalāhele attended McKinley High School, Charles Higa and Minnie Fujita were both in the Art Department. Kalāhele was exposed to a wide range of art disciplines there including weaving and ceramics. During the same period of time he studied with Louis Pohl on Saturdays at the Academy of Arts. When Kalāhele graduated from McKinley, his formal art education ended.

Following school, Kalāhele served in the United States Army. He has worked with "alienated" Hawaiian youth and was employed by the Kamehameha Schools as one of the organizers of a seven week work and study camp in the mountain area of
Fig. 13. 'Imaikalani Kalâhele. Pele. Stone and ceramic, feather lei. 15" x 8". Photographed at Queen Lili'luokalani Children's Center, Honolulu.

Fig. 14. Kana'ele Keawe carves the base of a pahu on the front porch of his newly constructed home in Hilo.
Pālama-uka. Much of his time and energy is expended in activities related to Hawaiian political issues. He supports his family by working as a custodian at the Queen Liliʻuokalani Children's Center in Honolulu.

Kalāhele has organized a number of art shows featuring Hawaiian artists. For the past ten years he has hosted the "Queen's Birthday Exhibit," to commemorate the occasion of Queen Liliʻuokalani's birthday. In his own art, he likes to build composites of various materials, such as combining wicker and feathers; or stone, feathers, and clay.

Dennis Kanaʻe Keawe (figure 14)

1944. Honolulu. Portuguese, Japanese, Hawaiian. Keawe was raised in the Kalihi area and attended the Kamehameha Schools for thirteen years, from kindergarten until his graduation in 1962. Keawe recalls that during this period Kamehameha "didn't have a very pro-Hawaiian attitude." Hula was restricted to sitting, kneeling dances because "we were still laboring under puritanical ethics that the swaying body was lewd and lascivious." At Kamehameha, he received his introduction to working with wood from Wright Bowman, Sr. In high school he studied carving with Swiss sculptor, Fritz Abplanalp.

Following graduation from Kamehameha, he attended Woodbury College (now Woodbury University) in Los Angeles for one year, returning to Hawaiʻi because of the city's smog.
He majored in architectural drafting at Honolulu Community College on Dillingham Boulevard. After receiving a two year diploma, he made residential blueprints, and later executed telephone diagrams and schematics for Hawaiian Telephone. He then worked in the survey department for Hawaiian Electric.

Keawe's interest in Hawaiian culture was awakened when he took an evening class in Hawaiian language at the University of Hawaii. Subsequently, he enrolled in craft courses sponsored by the Queen Emma Hawaiian Civic Club. After taking an instrument making class, Keawe began making traditional pahu (drums). Howard Kamau'u taught him to make ipu hula and John Kaha'i Topolinski demonstrated the procedure for making 'uli'uli. Keawe received basic instruction in drum making from Herman Gomes, but most of his knowledge and skills were developed through research and experimentation.

In 1969 Keawe helped his father buy a coffee farm in Kona and began spending long weekends and vacations on the Big Island. He transferred there in 1973, and presently works full-time as the Commercial Services Representative for the Hawaii Electric Light Company.

Keawe danced with the troupes of Hoakalei Kamau'u and Edith Kanaka'ole. He also worked with kumu hula Pele Pukui and Pat Namaka Bacon.

At the time of his interview, Keawe had made ten traditional drums. Of the two that were commissioned, one was made for Kalena Silva, assistant professor of Hawaiian Studies at
the University of Hawaii, Hilo Campus; the other for a kumu hula in Lihu‘e, Kaua‘i.

Keawe conducted the hula instrument field work for the 1989 Smithsonian Institute’s Festival of American Folklife, participating in the Festival as a hula instrument-making demonstrator in Washington D.C. He also represented Hawai‘i as a craftsperson at the 1976 South Pacific Festival of Arts, and the 1985 and 1988 Pacific Festival of Arts. He has been engaged in the revival of other Hawaiian crafts, principally, tapa making, and, more recently, makaloa weaving with Patrick Horimoto. Keawe produces his drums at his newly constructed home in Hilo.

In July 1990, he received a grant from the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program to organize the weaving of lauhala sails and deck covers for a traditional double-hulled voyaging canoe. The first sail will be woven by residents of Rurutu in the Austral Islands. Keawe will sew the thirteen panels together on his living room floor when they are completed.

Joel Ho‘olanai‘kamanu‘o Keawekuloa Nakila (figure 15)

1956. Honolulu, Hawai‘i. Hawaiian, Irish, English, and Chinese. Nakila graduated in 1974 from Kamehameha School in the same class as David Eskaran. He served a two year mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the
Fig. 15. Joel Nakila carves a model that will be cast for a master mold at Coco Joe's Kāne‘ohe plant.

Fig. 16. Kanāk Napeahi carves a pigboard with chisel and mallet on the porch of Tom Barboza's Kealakekua home. Tom Barboza's carvings in background (left to right): base of coffee wood lamp, kapu sticks, Lono images.
Nagoya, Japan Mission. Upon his return to Hawai'i, he studied art at Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus. Although he enjoys painting and printmaking, he has always felt a particular affinity for three-dimensional art. He learned new techniques when he took a non-credit sculpture course at the University of Hawaii from Sean Browne. Additional skills were acquired at the Polynesian Cultural Center when Nakila carved under the tutelage of "Uncle Barney" Christy, the master carver at the Maori Village.

Nakila has the distinction of being the first student at BYU-Hawaii to make a hollow cast bronze sculpture at the school. The sculpture of a hula dancer, entitled Ku'i, sold for a four figure amount within minutes after the opening of his art show.

Nakila was hired at Coco Joe's Kåne'ohe plant after he responded to a "Sculptor Wanted" classified ad. He worked for the company for five years designing Hawaiian souvenirs that were cast and mass-produced. The new most traditionally oriented tiki models are his design.

Nakila began a statue of Kamehameha when he was at BYU and cast two of them when he was an employee at Coco Joe's. One was a gift to Kamehameha High School at the school's hundredth anniversary celebration; the other was sold to a patron who admires Nakila's work. His employment at Coco Joe's was terminated recently when he accepted a commission to make a life-size bronze statue of a throw-net fisherman for
a Hyatt Hotel on the island of Kaua‘i. The sculpture will take him approximately one year to complete and will be cast in a mainland foundry. Nakila works at his home in Kāne‘ohe. He is married and has two children.

Kanak Kaoiwiokahakulani Napeahi (figure 16)

1940. Hilo, Hawai‘i. Three-quarters Hawaiian, one-quarter Chinese. Napeahi is a self-taught carver. All of his cousins carved and he says that he knew he had talent. He learned to carve when he was an inmate at O‘ahu prison by observing the "master craftsmen" there. When he began carving in the sixties, his first attempt was an intricate Hawaiian wood bracelet. He has since perfected his technique and although he carves other objects, from canoes and tigers to Pele (the volcano goddess), his bracelets are the most popular items he makes.

He presently carves full-time, formerly working as a heavy equipment mechanic. Napeahi is active with Tom Barboza in community associations and Hawaiian organizations, such as "Friends of Kona," and "Protect Kaho‘olawe Aloha ‘Aina," a movement that began in 1976 to protest U.S. military bombing and training on the island. Napeahi says he participated in the construction of the hâlau on Kaho‘olawe and made walking staffs for the use of the kahuna in religious ceremonies performed there.
He carved the perpetual trophy that has been awarded for the past six years at the annual donkey race during the Kona Coffee Festival. A twelve foot Kū'ula kai (the god of fishermen) was carved by Napeahi at Halapē, one of his favorite fishing sites on the Big Island. He helped New Zealand artist Shane Stevens create the forty-four foot Peace Pole that now stands on the grounds of Kona Country Fair, at Captain Cook. Napeahi carves at his home in Honalo on the Big Island or at Tom Barboza's Kealakekua workshop.

William Puou III (figure 17)

(Nickname "Mac") 1932. Kona, Hawai‘i. Hawaiian, Japanese. Wearing a malo, Bill Puou demonstrates carving for tourists at Hōnaunau where he has been employed since 1961. In his childhood, Puou used to accompany his father when he helped Charles Mokuohai construct canoes. Mokuohai resides in the town of Hōnaunau and is a member of a traditional canoe carving family. Puou's father did the "rough work." The boy watched the men carve as he played, jumping over the logs that would be used in the construction of the canoes.

Puou served two years in the United States Army. Before his employment at Hōnaunau he worked in a number of capacities including mending fences on a ranch, building stone walls in South Kona, working on a macadamia nut farm, pruning coffee trees, and spraying herbicides and fertilizers.
Fig. 17. Bill Puou carves a canoe at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau.

Fig. 18. Carver Levan Sequeira relaxes in the living room of his Lihu'e, Kaua'i home.
He had no formal training when he was hired at the park and learned to carve from Ako Grace, another member of a traditional canoe carving family. Puou helped carve the images for the heiau. The work commenced in 1966. A number of years after their completion most of the carvings and the reconstructed structure itself deteriorated and had to be replaced. Puou was supervisor of the reconstruction of Hale o Keawe. He rethatched and rebuilt the main structure and carved all but one of the large images presently standing in the semi-circle within the Hale o Keawe fenced area (figure 43).

He is presently hollowing a canoe with Tom De Aguiar at the Place of Refuge. Only traditional objects may be carved there. Puou says he does not do any carving at home since he works on his farm raising coffee, macadamia nuts, and avocados. Upon retirement, he intends to carve on his own.

**Levan Keola Sequeira (figure 18)**

1945. Honolulu. Hawaiian, Japanese, Caucasian. One of the most skillful of the Hawaiian carvers, Sequeira learned "the basics" from Fritz Abplanalp and Wright Bowman, Sr. at Kamehameha Schools. After graduating from high school in 1963, he attended Church College in Lāʻie (now Brigham Young University–Hawaii Campus) for one year.

Sequeira served in the United States Air Force for three and one-half years. Following his Air Force discharge, he
read about Hawaiian art. Sequeira was impressed to learn that the Hawaiians developed their own art tradition during a period of isolation and produced "the highest form of wood sculpture in the Pacific Islands." He says, "That intrigued me to the point that I wanted to know why and that's when I started teaching myself how to carve the images."

Sequeira is known for his authentic models of canoes. He also carves images and other traditionally oriented subjects. Most of his work is Hawaiian, but he occasionally carves Maori or Haida designs. Sequeira's work has been commissioned by corporations, restaurants, and hotels. He received a Folk Arts Apprenticeship Award from the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts in 1988-89.

Sequeira has been with the Maui Police Department for twenty years and is presently a Field Sergeant. He carves part-time at his home in Lahaina where he resides with his wife, who is half-Haida, and their daughter.

Non-Hawaiians

Dan De Luz (figure 19)

1934. Hilo, Hawaii. Portuguese. Dan De Luz is possibly the best known producer of high quality traditional Hawaiian bowls in Hawai'i.

De Luz formerly worked as a mechanic, an occupation that proved to be useful later in the design, modification, and
Fig. 19. Dan De Luz stands near his lathe and pile of shavings from turning bowls.

Fig. 20. Phil Hooten in his workshop next to his house at Hāwi.
repair of machinery employed in the production of his bowls. Following an accident that resulted in a back injury, he began to carve tiki figures and other items.

In 1970 he bought a Hilo shop that specialized in leaf-form trays and curios. A young man who had learned wood turning at Kulani Correctional Facility taught him how to turn legs for bar stools. After experimentation with turning and curing wood he began selling bowls to the increasing number of tourists who visited Hilo as well as to local residents.

When De Luz discovered that he could not compete with the inexpensive Philippine wood bowls sold by the other shops, he began to import bowls to sell along with those he produced. He discontinued the Philippine bowls around 1980 when his own bowls were in demand.

An indefatigable worker, De Luz arrives at his shop at six a.m. He works until five p.m. and often returns after dinner and remains until midnight. He produces around three hundred meticulously crafted bowls a month in his one-man operation. He also repairs old Hawaiian 'umeke. His workshop adjoins his retail outlet in Hilo, Hawaiian Handicrafts. Visitors there can see bowls in various stages of the production process. De Luz also sells his bowls in "high quality" shops on Maui, Kaua‘i and O‘ahu. A number of his bowls were featured in the Art Academy exhibition, The Hawaiian Calabash. His bowls have also been displayed at Bishop Museum and the San Francisco airport. In Honolulu
De Luz's bowls are sold at Following Sea, Pauahi Nu'uanu Gallery, and Martin & MacArthur. He is a member of the International Woodcarving Association.

**Phillip Hooten (figure 20)**

1915. Washington, D.C. Caucasian. Phil Hooten grew up in Illinois and attended Illinois Wesleyan University. He is a self-taught carver who says he always liked to whittle. His father was an architect and Hooten developed a discriminating eye in a family that often discussed what was "good work and bad work."

In 1943, the Army sent Hooten to Hawai'i. He carved a variety of Polynesian objects during this period, including Marquesan bowls. He married a Hawaiian woman in 1946 and traveled to Guam with the U.S. Engineer Corps. In Guam, he copied various objects from a "beautiful" hardwood called "ifi." When he returned to Hawai'i in 1948 he and his wife lived at Union Mill, Kohala on the Big Island. Hooten ran the Kohala Sugar Company warehouse there. He continued carving after work making Hawaiian "tikis" and other Polynesian forms.

Around 1950 he obtained a copy of *Canoes of Oceania* by A.C. Haddon and James Hornell and resolved to carve reproductions of all of the canoes featured in the three volume work. (*Canoes of Oceania* has since been published in one volume.) Today Hooten says, "I don't know if I'll live long enough to get it done." Two of the canoe reproductions, a Marquesan
canoe and a Hawaiian voyaging canoe hang from the ceiling of his workshop today in Hāwi on the Big Island.

When he built his shop at Hāwi, Hooten intended to resign from his warehouse job at the sugar plantation and carve full-time. His wife became pregnant, however, so he continued working for Kohala Sugar and built a house next to the shop. Hooten states that he "wasn't about to try and make it on carving" when he was responsible for the support of a family. He ran the warehouse for a number of years, worked with weed control, and finally was housing administrator at the plantation until the time of his retirement.

Hooten continued carving part-time through the years accepting commissions and selling his carvings at the Volcano Art Center. He presently carves enough to pay taxes, visit his children on O‘ahu and bring them to the Big Island occasionally. Hooten is the only artist interviewed who sometimes combines elements of different Polynesian groups in single pieces of work.

Alexander Spoehr, former Bishop Museum Director, commended Hooten for his "exquisite craftsmanship and ability to capture the feeling of Polynesian art." Examples of his carving may be seen at the Bernice Pauahi Memorial Chapel at the Kamehameha Schools in Honolulu.

Richard Howell (figure 21)

1942. San Diego, California. Caucasian (Welsh). Richard Howell is an imaginative, skillful self-taught carver. He has "not studied per se" but has associated with carvers throughout the Pacific and observed them at work. For twenty years his occupation establishing fisheries took him to Palau, Truk, Fiji, the Solomon Islands, Samoa, Guam, Saipan, Ponape, and other islands of the South Pacific. He was formerly engaged in "pioneering work" with heavy equipment in Alaska.

Howell began carving twenty years ago when he arrived in the Pacific area. He feels that he was influenced most by Samoan carver Sven Victor Ortquist (originally from Western Samoa and presently employed by the American Samoan Council on Arts, Culture and Humanities in Pago Pago), who showed him how to use tools in American Samoa, and by the "free flowing" work of Kauai Maueha, a Bellona, Soloman Island artist. Howell has not met Maueha, but attended an exhibition of the Soloman Islander's work in Fiji and was impressed by his carving style. Maueha's influence can be observed in Howell's playful carvings.

When he was interviewed he had settled in Hawai‘i. Howell said he had more time to carve consistently and felt that his work was improving. Formerly he "carved one here and one there." He has since moved to the Mainland, but has
Fig. 21. Richard Howell stands behind his milo carving, Hi'iaka Ika Poli o Pele, in the Pauahi Nu'uanu Gallery. (Photograph by Lorna Dunne.)

Fig. 22. Jim Kawamura stands before his oil painting of a lu'au in the living room of his Leilani Estates home near Pāhoa, Hawai'i.
agreed to continue supplying Pauahi Nu'uanu gallery with Hawaiian carvings. His work is eclectic and whimsical, often depicting human and animal forms intertwined. Although his themes are Hawaiian, his carving style has a pan-Pacific quality. He is employed by Pacific Sea Harvest, Ltd.

Jim Kawamura (figure 22)

Given name: Masashi. "Jungle Jim" or "Kimo." 1916. Hilea in the Ka'ū district of Hawai'i. Japanese. The versatile self-taught carver known in the Kona area for his unusually tall, rough hewn tikis, resides in a house he built, with the assistance of his wife Madge, set amid imaginatively landscaped gardens. In their living room an eleven foot six inch monkeypod "tiki" towers over other examples of Kawamura's carvings. Delightful bright primitive oil paintings, the artist's latest venture, hang on the walls.

After Kawamura was "kicked out" of the Merchant Marines in 1942 because of his Japanese ancestry, he subsequently became a farmer in Idaho Falls, then an interstate trucker between Utah and Arizona. In order to provide more stability for his growing family, he moved to Anaheim, California and remained there for twenty years, gardening, landscaping, and designing and installing sprinkler systems. In 1970, when his aging mother required care, he and his second wife returned to Hawai'i.
At a garage sale at the home of Filipino carver Fred Cabalis, the Kawamuras were so fascinated by a group of hápu'u tiki's, "Pele's faces," Hawaiian bottles, and other items that they bought the entire assortment. Not knowing what to do with their treasures, they opened an antique store on Kilauea Avenue in Hilo. The tiki figures and Pele faces sold well. While his wife was occupied running the shop, Kawamura began carving, inspired by the work of Cabalis. He was encouraged after he sold his eight foot high "Pele's head" that stood at the entrance of their shop to a couple who operated a museum in Alaska.

Kawamura was invited to be a woodcarving instructor for the Department of Continuing Education for the University of Hawaii-Hilo. He worked in that capacity from 1972 through 1973. His private commissions include another imposing eleven foot tiki that stands in the living room of a private residence in Kea'au. Most of his smaller carvings were sold in gift shops that placed orders for best selling items. He presently has work for sale on consignment at the Volcano Art Center. Because of the scarcity and expense of wood, his advancing age, and his recently developed interest in painting, his carving is "slowing down."

Mark Le Buse (figure 23)

1917. Orland, California. Caucasian. Le Buse began carving at the age of ten, when he whittled a propeller from soft
Fig. 23. Mark Le Buse cuts wood on a bandsaw in the garage workshop of his Pāhoa home.

Fig. 24. Tommy Leong sits in koa chair in the display room of House of Kalai on Auiki Street.
pine. A nail was driven through the propeller into a piece of wood that was held aloft as he rode in the back seat of his family's open 1918 Cadillac touring car. He fashioned the piece of wood into an airplane and thereafter carved detailed model planes.

He learned to turn wood as a teenager in Medford, Oregon, during a Future Craftsmen of America project when he helped build a small house for a woman on a pension. He credits his high school shop and mechanical drawing teacher, Leland A. Mentzer with giving him "the basics." In 1936 he enlisted in the U.S. Navy for four years. After his discharge, he worked in a bakery in Oregon; hitch-hiked to Southern California and took a job in the defense industry; was a ship-smith and wood turner in a shipyard; went shark and tuna fishing; and finally was hired by MGM Studios as a carpenter to make props and sets.

One of his first responsibilities was to turn enumerable wood "rivets" that were attached to plywood "plates" in order to simulate the side of a ship. From MGM he went to RKO Pathe and later to Twentieth Century Fox, Warner Brothers, and Paramount. Le Buse says he was "in demand" in the movie industry. Some of his carving credits include: work on the interior sets of "The Velvet Touch" with Rosalind Russell; the doll Punchinello in "The Big Top" with Dean Martin and Jerry Lewis; hotel columns in "The Bridges of Toko-Ri;" log cabins for "Shane;" the palace staircase in "Elephant Walk with
Elizabeth Taylor; and spaceship parts for "When Worlds Collide," and "Conquest of Space."

In 1954 his family moved to O'ahu from Los Angeles because his youngest daughter's health was adversely affected by smog. He drove a taxi and took tours around the island until he established himself as a carver. Le Buse carved for three years at the International Market place, sold his work at various shops, and filled commissions. He moved to the Big Island in 1960, and remained for a year and a half. Lahaina, Maui was his next workplace. When the carving business slowed down, he returned to O'ahu, went to New Zealand for eight months in 1970, and left O'ahu for the Philippines in 1973 where he worked as an actor and was ordained a priest after performing a miraculous faith healing. In 1975 he relocated in Western Australia, where he was employed by the Tokyu Corporation as a sculptor for the Atlantis Marine Park in Yanchet, Two Rocks, Western Australia.

Le Buse returned to the Big Island in 1984. He now carves at his Pāhoa home. Le Buse has worked intermittently for the movie and television industry in Hawai'i. The versatile artist has carved driftwood heads and figures, traditional Hawaiian reproductions, bowls, and contemporary abstract forms. He carved an eleven foot six inch styrofoam Shiva for the opera, The Pearl Fishers. Le Buse has been married four times and has four children. Examples of his
work may be seen at the Volcano Art Center and at the Gallery of the Pacific at the Mauna Lani Bay Hotel.

Tommy Leong (figure 24)

1917. Kalihi, O'ahu. Chinese. When asked where he learned to carve, Leong says:

Was in me. I wouldn't say I was a good carver. But my young days in school I used to draw a little. I was better than average. . . . You know all of this takes little common sense to do it, it seems to me. And I happened to do it a little better than the next man, you know. 19

Leong has carved commercially for forty-four years, working at Blair's for ten years before opening his own shop, "Tommy's of Hawaii," incorporated as House of Kalai. At age seventy-three, he still works every day in the Kalihi shop on Auiki Street that he established thirty-four years ago. Three part-time employees presently work in the factory that adjoins his display room.

His shop is geared for production. Power machinery is used whenever possible, and little hand carving is done. After machine sanding, the objects are sanded by hand before the finish is applied. Everything made in his factory is sold in his display room at the present time, except for custom orders. He formerly sold his bowls to exclusive mainland

outlets and had five outlying Waikiki shops that were closed eight years ago.

Leong makes a variety of wood objects including calabashes, leaf-form and free-form bowls and trays, woodrose bowls, pigboards, wall plaques, tiki figures, and poi pounders. A number of Hawai‘i companies and institutions commission the House of Kalai to make commemorative gifts for their employees. Leong personally makes the trophies for the Trans-Pacific Yacht Race every odd year. His shop made a set of monkeypod bowls for the State of Hawai‘i's wedding gift for Prince Akihito of Japan in 1959, a state gift of a monkeypod bowl for President Eisenhower in 1960, and a kou calabash (the traditional wood for Hawaiian bowls) for Queen Elizabeth in 1981 to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of King Kalākaua's visit to Queen Victoria.

Stewart Medeiros (figure 25)

1934. Honolulu. Portuguese. Medeiros was raised in Waikiki. The bowl-maker learned to turn at Kaimuki Intermediate School. He relates that he failed arts and crafts "by running outside of Kaimuki in recess and cutting monkeypod limbs and going into the shop and turning it. And the teacher said, 'That's not the project. The project is you have to make cabinets.' And I didn't want to, I wanted to turn." He would turn small bowls and lamps and recalls the teacher saying that he would never amount to anything. Ten years
Fig. 25. Stewart Medeiros with lathe he used for 30 years at Blair’s, now in his workshop behind his Hau‘ula home.

Fig. 26. Ray Murray. Murray designed the majority of Coco Joe’s figures now in production.
later when she went to Blair Ltd., a well-known woodcraft shop, to order a specially designed item, she encountered Medeiros who worked there as a bowl turner. "And so we both laughed," he recalls.

After high school Medeiros served in the Army and then sold women's shoes at McInerney's, a Honolulu department store, for a few months before he was hired at Blair's in 1957. He turned bowls for the company for thirty years until 1987 when he had a stroke and open heart surgery. Following his recovery he moved to Hau'ula, O'ahu and now works in a shop in the back of his home. He specializes in elaborately turned "Lili'uokalani" pedestal 'umeke, and also makes traditional calabashes and other turned wood items. Medeiros has three children from his first marriage, and two from his second.

He estimates that during his career at Blair's he turned 30,000 bowls—"more than any person in Hawai'i's history." He explains how he arrived at the figure: "If I was to make five, or six, ten bowls a day, Blair would fire me. Thirty years, ten bowls a day... come to over 30,000." His estimate may be conservative because some weeks he carved as many as five-hundred bowls. He also turned plates, cups, and chalices. Medeiros states, "If there is someone out there who
is more experienced making bowls, I'd like to sit down and have a conversation with him."^20

Ray Lutz Murray (figure 26)

1912. Thomas, Oklahoma. Caucasian. Murray majored in art at the University of Oklahoma. He was a designer for the ceramics industry before he moved to Hawai‘i in 1958. He operated a novelty ceramics shop at Kahului, Maui for three years before he relocated in Honolulu and established his own ceramics store. With the assistance of five employees, he manufactured tourist items, such as ashtrays, key rings, pendants, and tiki forms.

Ten years later, in 1972, he was hired as a designer by Don Gallacher, then owner of Coco Joe's. Murray worked in this capacity until 1988 when he retired. The majority of the tiki figures and other tourist items manufactured today by Coco Joe's were designed by Murray. He also helped Gallacher develop the casting method that is presently used by the company.

In 1987, while still employed by Coco Joe's, Murray again established his own business, this time designing, executing, and casting high quality sculptures of animals. The animals, cast in resin with a filler of powdered marble dust, were sold in the giftware department of Liberty House, Honolulu's

largest department store. He is presently developing a new line of jewelry.

Sione Tuione Pulotu (figure 27)

1938. Pangai, Tonga. Tongan. Pulotu arrived at Lā‘ie in March 1960, after being called in Tonga by leaders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to be a labor missionary. He and thirty-one other missionaries from Tonga were responsible for building the village structures at the Polynesian Cultural Center. Pulotu lived in a grass house in Tonga and gained experience as he helped his father and brothers construct their dwellings. When he completed his work in Lā‘ie he went home and later returned to attend Church College for three years. While he was at school he worked at the nearby Cultural Center in the maintenance department.

Pulotu took art classes at Church College. Carving instruction was not offered at that time, but he enrolled in a sculpture course, worked with clay, and learned to cast plaster molds. Pulotu first carved, he said, when he arrived in Hawai‘i "and saw those Hawaiian tikis and stuff. I liked it so I learned to do it on my own." He visited Bishop Museum and studied illustrations in books and catalogs.

He was employed for over a year casting molds at Coco Joe's when the souvenir company was located at Punalu‘u, O‘ahu. He also worked at Ulu Mau Village, first building the grass houses and later as a carver-demonstrator. Other
Fig. 27. (left) Tuione Pulotu sits in front of David Kaapu in top hat. Reproduction of Temple Image T25 on left. Photographed at his workshop near his home on a hill in Lā'ie.

Fig. 28. (below) Jack Straka turns 'umeke pālewa in his workshop next to his Kea'au home on the Big Island.
employment was often "Polynesian type of work" such as re-thatching the original roofs at PCC. He worked again for the Cultural Center for twelve years, directing the work for the construction of the Hawaiian Village. Although Pulotu was not employed by PCC as a carver, a large number of Hawaiian images there are his work, including the two large images at the main entrance to the parking lot facing Kamehameha Highway, the group of images in front of the Alii Luau Restaurant area, and a number of images in the Hawaiian Village, including one by the waterfall and another by the bridge.

His work is well-known in Tonga. Pulotu, a second cousin of the Queen, created the cement lions that guard the entrance to the home of the Princess Salote Pilolevu Tuita at Tongatapu. He also carved the elaborate throne of the King, presented to the monarch on his seventieth birthday. The lions and throne were made in Hawai‘i and shipped to Tonga.

Pulotu generally carves in an outdoor shed outside his hilltop home in Lā‘ie. He accepts commissions. At the time of his first interview he was carving the massive double front doors of an oceanside mansion across the highway from his home.

Jack Straka (figure 28)

1934. Mahanoy City, Penn. Caucasian (Czechoslovakian). Before commencing his successful career as a bowl turner, Jack Straka was a supervisor in the Custom Instruments department
for the Burrough's Corporation in New Jersey where he had worked for eighteen and a half years. He became interested in bowl turning as a hobby and traveled to England to learn basic skills in a two day workshop conducted by Peter Child, a prominent wood-turning instructor. Searching for a place to live with a warm climate all year, Jack flew to Hawai‘i and established his home on the Big Island. In Hilo he met Dan De Luz and showed him the new turning method. They became business partners and worked on the technique together in Dan's Hilo shop. Straka established his own shop in Hilo in 1976. They still maintain a close relationship and admire one another's work. Straka doesn't see any difference between his bowls and Dan's except in variations of some of the forms they employ.

At the present time Straka's immaculate workshop is adjacent to his house at Kea‘au. He turns thin-walled 'umeke and experiments with a variety of other forms. Everything he makes is sold wholesale to about twelve select stores in Hawai‘i. Jack Straka's name is recognized by bowl turners in the continental U.S. where he has been an instructor at wood-turning conventions. In 1987, at the prestigious invitational International Turned Object Show in Philadelphia, one of his bowls was selected to be in a two year traveling exhibit. Straka's bowls were featured with those of Dan De Luz and Michael Dunne in the 1989 exhibit, The Hawaiian Calabash, at the Honolulu Academy of Arts.
1946. Waipahu. Japanese. Takano first worked with wood in his father's trophy shop sanding bases and flat objects. He learned to operate power tools in shop classes at school. His knowledge of carving was acquired by observing Paul Fujimoto, now deceased, who made driftwood faces, tiki figures, and other wood objects to sell to Blair, Ltd. Takano lived with his employer for a period of time.

He was unable to work for a year following an automobile accident when he was twenty-one years old that left him paralyzed from the neck down. Confined to a wheelchair, he regained partial movement in his upper body. He lived with his father and saved his welfare payments. In about four years he had learned how to carve without the use of his fingers. He carved Monday through Thursday. On Friday, Saturday, and Sunday he sold carved driftwood faces from the hood of his car at the side of the road in Kane‘ohe.

After Takano married, his wife assisted him. He began selling to a few shops in Waikiki. When his workshop burned down they began anew. Brian sold faces and tikis and a few fish, birds, and turtles to the Waikiki shops. A spacious workshop was rented. After his carvings began selling well, he hired a professional sander and other workers. Soon he had more orders than he could fill.
Fig. 29. Brian Takano sits before shelves that display tiki, a fish caught in driftwood, women's faces, and dolphins in the office of his Waipahu factory.
Takano currently makes women's faces and tikis in various sizes, selling them under the trade name "The Carver" to Duty Free Shoppers, ABC Discount Stores, Products of Hawaii, and other retail outlets. He completes around three-hundred carvings a week at his factory in Waipahu. At the time of his interview he had seven employees. Five worked in the shop, and one was a salesperson.

Takano says he has produced over one hundred thousand carvings. He spends approximately one half of his time now creating art for his own pleasure.
CHAPTER III

THE TRADITION OF CARVING AND BOWL-TURNING IN HAWAI'I

Prehistory

At the beginning of *Hawaiian Antiquities* David Malo writes of the confusion and contradictions associated with Hawaiian traditions:

> The traditions about the Hawaiian Islands handed down from remote antiquity are not entirely definite; there is much obscurity as to the facts, and the traditions themselves are not clear. Some of the matters reported are clear and intelligible, but the larger part are vague.

> The reason for this obscurity and vagueness is that the ancients were not possessed of the art of letters, and thus were unable to record the events they witnessed, the traditions handed down to them from their forefathers and the names of the lands in which their ancestors were born....

> The ancients left no records of the lands of their birth, of what people drove them out, who were their guides and leaders, of the canoes that transported them, what lands they visited in their wanderings, and what gods they worshipped. Certain oral traditions do, however, give us the names of the idols of our ancestors.  

There has been much conjecture regarding Hawai'i's past from the time the islands were sighted on January 18, 1778 by men aboard the *Resolution* and *Discovery* commanded by Captain James Cook on his third voyage of exploration. The culture

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they discovered is thought to have evolved during a period of isolation that lasted for several hundred years.

The Marquesas may have been the home of those who first migrated to Hawai‘i several centuries prior to A.D. 500. Oral tradition and archeological evidence indicate that subsequent migrations from the Society Islands probably occurred as well. Various anthropologists and archaeologists date the introduction of significant Tahitian cultural influences to Hawai‘i some time between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.

It is widely believed today by anthropologists that the ancestors of the people of Polynesia migrated from Asia. David Malo speculates, "Perhaps this race of people was derived from the Israelites because we know that certain customs of the Israelites were practiced here in Hawaii." He refers to places of refuge, circumcision, and certain tabus and purification ceremonies pertaining to dead bodies and to women. A number of the contemporary carvers maintain that their forebears migrated from the Americas.

Hawaiians trace their origin and the birth of their islands to Wākea, the Sky-god, and his wife, Papa, the Earth-mother in The Kumulipo, a creation chant or cosmogonic genealogical account, that links the ali‘i with the principal gods.

22 Malo, p. 8.
Cook and his men encountered a complex hierarchically based society in Hawai‘i, comprised of the ali‘i; maka‘ainana or commoners; and kauwā, who were outcasts or pariahs sometimes used for human sacrifice. The islands were divided into domains ruled by warrior chiefs who possessed great mana or power because of their relationship to the gods. Conduct was governed by rank, and stringent kapu, or tabu, reinforced status.

Images

The people, both ali‘i and maka‘ainana, worshiped the four principal male gods, or akua, common to Polynesia: Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa. Images at heiau, stone platforms or terraced earth places of worship, often represented these akua. Various aspects of the gods were also worshiped and named accordingly.

Malo states that there was so much diversity that the gods of the ali‘i "differed one from another" as did those of the commoners. The chiefs and kings addressed those gods who could aid them in warfare or further their purposes in other areas. The female chiefs each worshipped still different gods, such as Kiha-wahine, Waka, Kalamaimu, Ahimu, and Alimanoano, commonly represented as mo‘o, or lizards.

Maka‘ainana often worshipped those akua related to their occupations. Separate houses served as sanctuaries for their
images. The people not only worshiped akua, but they sought protection from personal gods or ‘aumākua, described by Kamakau as "ancestral deities of the family."

Malo says that in addition to the aforementioned gods "... there was that countless rout of (woodland) deities, kini-akua, lehu-akua, and mano-akua whose shouts were at times distinctly to be heard." Translated, the words preceding akua are "40,000," "400,000," and "4,000." The numbers together constituted an expression to refer to the numerous deities of the woodland.

Gods also ruled different regions. According to Malo, "The number of the gods who were supposed to preside over one place or another was countless."

Images were created to facilitate the worship of the gods. The authors of Nānā I Ke Kumu write: "Abstract forces are more easily worshiped when they can be visualized as idols. And so Hawaii had carved wooden gods and earlier feather gods, said to accompany the first migration from Tahiti."

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23 Malo, p. 28; pp. 81-83.


25 Malo, pp. 83, 85.

Malo states that since no one knew how the gods actually looked, images were conceived to personify their imagined form:

All of these gods, whether worshipped by the common people or by the ali'i, were thought to reside in the heavens. Neither commoner nor chief had ever discerned their nature; their coming and their going was unseen; their breadth, their length and all their dimensions were unknown.

The only gods the people ever saw with their eyes were the images of wood and of stone which they had carved with their own hands after the fashion of what they conceived the gods of heaven to be. If their gods were celestial beings, their idols should have been made to resemble the heavenly. If the gods were supposed to resemble beings in the firmament, birds perhaps, then the idols were patterned after birds, and if beings on the earth, they were made to resemble the earthly. If the deity was of the water, the idol was made to resemble a creature of the water, whether male or female. Thus it was that an idol was carved to resemble the description of an imaginary being, and to give the actual likeness of a deity that had been seen. 21

Malo stresses that the people believed the images were gods: "The worship of idols was regarded as a virtue by the ancients, because they sincerely believed them to be real gods."

The innumerable gods were represented by images made of feather covered basketry; or carved wood, stone, bone, coral, bone, coral,
ivory, and sea urchin spines; as well as by uncarved stones, coral, shells, and pieces of wood.

The majority of extant images are human figures carved of wood, called ki'i. Those characterized by intricately carved details were probably created following the introduction of metal tools.

Cox and Davenport note that in Hawai'i there is more variety in the types of figure sculpture than in other areas of Polynesia. The authors state that some of the features unique to Hawaiian carved figures are: Elaboration of the head, dislocation of the eyes, the protruding jaw-mouth-tongue, the wrestler's posture, and faceted surfaces.

Other traits unique to Hawai'i in Polynesian art are: the fully three-dimensional form; body parts as discrete units; and supplementary material for teeth, hair, and eyes. Hair is utilized, however, "in rare examples of freestanding portable images" in New Zealand. Wood carvings with pearl


shell eyes are also found in New Zealand and Easter Island, but their shape is round rather than a "pointed ellipse" as in Hawai‘i. Shell eyes in Hawai‘i are generally distinguished by a wood peg in the center depicting an iris that attaches the shell to the image.

Traits noted in Hawaiian carving by Cox and Davenport that are found in other areas of Polynesia are: arms at the sides or separated from the body; flexed knees and heavy calves; natural proportions (except for an enlarged head in some instances); portraiture; sex differences (most asexual—three male "religious" images, eight female ‘āumakua); monumental scale (of principal heiau figures); and figures as supports and as supplements to utilitarian objects.  

Samuel Kamakau, writing in 1869-70, observes a number of these traits as he describes his impression of heiau images:

They were two fathoms long—some perhaps a yard in length—and were carved into resemblances of humans. The heads of some were carved grotesquely, and others were carved with helmetlike ridges; there were many kinds of resemblances. They were carved with wide-mouthed grins, ‘ole‘ole; protruding stomachs, and thick thighs, angular and bent. The carved images formed wooden paehumu [taboo enclosures] outside of the heiau. The lines of images . . . inside . . . were better carved than those outside the paehumu and had hair, eyes of mother-of-pearl, and real teeth. Some were girded (ka'ei) with ‘oloa tapa . . .  

31 Cox with Davenport, pp. 36-50; pp. 107-12.

By contemporary standards, the best examples of early three dimensional works in Hawai'i display rhythmic flowing design; intense emotion, vitality, and energy, all in perfect harmonic balance; and a remarkable controlled technique unequalled in the art of any other Pacific group.

The aesthetic qualities admired today, however, were not appreciated by some nineteenth century foreign observers of the images. In the journal of John B. Whitman (1813-1815), a visitor to the Sandwich Islands a few years before Liholiho revoked the kapu system, we read a description of images at an O'ahu heiau that differs significantly from Kamakau's account. Whitman's impression of the carvings is clearly influenced by his revulsion toward the heathen practices performed at the site:

A small area in front of the main building is enclosed by a high fence, and is occupied by a group of images of such rude and curious workmanship as almost sets at defiance the powers of description, . . . the rest present a group of distorted beings, bearing some resemblance to the human form, with hideous features of uncouth proportions. The forehead is low and wrinkled, the eyebrows large and prominent, the eyes are made of a black stone, and some of them are nearly two inches in diameter, set in a small wrinkled face, with a hawksbill nose, long chin, and a mouth extending from ear to ear, filled with teeth out of all proportion. Yet altogether bearing a something of expression in their horrid features, which combined with their various attitudes, leads to the conclusion that the sculptor had endeavoured to personify in them, every violent passion of the human mind, and those of anger, and love, could not be mistaken by a cursory observer, the vilest conception of the human mind, is not capable of forming a more odious, and disgusting picture, than is here presented, in such
glaring colours, as leaves not a doubt of the object of the artist.'

Although the visitor to Hawai‘i could not have comprehended the significance of the ritual to the Hawaiian, Whitman is undoubtedly correct in assuming that the function of the image was the primary concern of the artist as he conceptualized and executed his design.

Handy and Pukui support this idea:

One of the most notable things about the psychic (or subjective) relationship of our Ka-‘u folk to external things is the fact that whatever is noted and distinguished as significant, psychically, has some real, specific and definite role in the business of living. It may be utilitarian, or aesthetic, or psychic . . . One had relationship only with what was tangibly a part of one’s living. The old Hawaiians had no ‘pure science,’ and did not indulge in ‘art for art’s sake.’

The ritual associated with the worship of the images often included prayers in the form of chants, and offerings of pigs, bananas, and coconuts. At luakini heiau, human sacrifice was employed.

A kahuna, or priest, was intermediary for the male and female ali‘i, who did not offer direct prayers to the akua in


the manner of the maka‘ainana. Malo comments that "... great faith was reposed in the power of the priests to propitiate the idol deities, and obtain from them benefits that were prayed for."  

Although nineteenth century accounts describe the construction and use of some of the images in ritual, there is no consensus today regarding their classification or symbolism. For instance, the classification of the various types of carved images and certain aspects of their meaning postulated by Davenport and Cox have been challenged by Kaeppler, who has proposed a new theory regarding their iconography.  

Valeri suggests other iconological implications and considers Kaeppler's "attempt" to be "methodologically unsound"; although he does agree "within certain limits" with her argument relating to the stance of the figures. Jerome Feldman proposed further "modifications and new categories" to the Cox, Davenport work in July 1989.

35 Malo, pp. 81-82.

36 Kaeppler, Eleven Gods, pp. 5-7. Also Kaeppler, "Genealogy and Disrespect."


Nineteenth century writers established that many of the images were made in a religious context and that large numbers of them were destroyed in 1819 following the death of Kamehameha I when Liholiho (Kamehameha II), influenced by his advisors, deliberately violated the eating kapu, thereby abolishing the ancient religion.

'I'i states,

Kaahumanu and her foster son, Kamehameha II, were those who did away with images, lele altars for sacrifices, kuhau altars for offerings, and heiaus and luakini (temples) throughout the six districts of Hawaii and all the islands to Kauai and Niihau. Because they ordered it so, men ate with women out of the same meat dishes and food bowls, and they cast aside all oppressive kapus pertaining to the gods and the images.39

The high priest Hewahewa is said to have been one of the first to set the images and their sanctuaries afire following Liholiho's action. Attempts by Kekuaokalani and others who attempted to defend the gods and the ancient religious traditions were soon quelled.40


When Congregationalist missionaries arrived from Boston the following year in 1820, their task of converting the Hawaiians to Christianity was immeasurably aided by the recent abolition of the kapu.

Although there was no longer a formal religious structure to support the production of the images, evidence indicates that they may have been carved for an indefinite period of time. According to Buck, after the advent of Christianity in Hawai‘i, individuals continued making crudely hewn stone figures to represent ‘aumākua and also utilized unworked stone for this purpose. Fishermen, in particular continued the practice.

Stone images were also employed for modern ritual by the Hale Naua Secret Society, founded by King David Kalākaua in 1886. Roger Rose writes: "Material objects of the past, such as fishhooks, barkcloth beaters, shark tooth weapons, wooden and stone gods, etc., played a significant role in the Society's ritual, and not uncommonly, modern examples were manufactured whenever ancient specimens could not be obtained."  


41 Peter Buck, "Religion," Arts and Crafts of Hawaii, Sec. XI, p. 495.

Rose notes that in the 1880s Kalākaua kept a stone image, carved ten years earlier, in a tower shrine at 'Iolani Palace. When the image was observed by William T. Brigham, curator of Bishop Museum from 1890 until 1920, it was "decked with fresh leis" and offerings had been laid before it. Kalākaua told Bingham it had 'lots of mana.'

Rose reports another example that may indicate the continuation of the ancient religious carving tradition in the Christian era. He writes that in 1876, a shrine in a cave on Mt. Hualālai on the island of Hawai'i was discovered containing twenty-six crudely carved posts "arranged in two semi-circles around an 'alter'..." The post images were carved of 'ōhi'a, a wood employed for traditional images, with "wide grooves and shallow cuts utilized to delineate the large circular eyes and gaping mouths." The carving depicted human and shark features.

In the informative paper that describes the "'new' discoveries," Rose includes an account by Dr. Eduard Christian Arning, a British-German bacteriologist who visited the site in 1885. Arning declared: "It is definitely


not one of the caves in which idols, etc., were hidden during the time of the Tabu, but instead a place for the worship service itself." 46

Rose relates that another cave containing post images was discovered on the coast of Moloka'i thirty years earlier in 1846. Steen Bille, a member of a Danish expedition described the site. The cave, called 'Ke ana mano,' (cave of the sharks) was believed to be a temple used by fishermen. It is located on the shore at the base of a large rock, 800 to 900 feet tall. The entrance was often obstructed by high surf. Bille said that after the images were taken from the cave they were not all destroyed:

The missionaries told me that all idols were to be burned, but many of them were removed by the natives who kept them concealed in the mountains and forests, so slight is the rooting of the true Christian faith still in this place. 47

Apparently, counterfeit images were also produced by Hawaiians. In 1825, officers of the H.M.S. Blonde wanted to acquire "ancient idols" to take home for "curiosities." Ruschenberger, an 1836 visitor, writes: "The demand soon exhausted the stock on hand: to supply the deficiency, the


47 S. Bille, Beretning om Corvetten Galathea's Reise omkring Jorden 1845, 46 Og 47. Deel 1-3, MS, Trans. the Misses Hedemann, Honolulu, pp. 136-38.

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Hawaiians made idols, and smoked them, to impart to them an appearance of antiquity, and actually succeeded in the deception.⁴⁸

Although there is only a small amount of evidence to suggest the continuation of carving images for ritual and religious purposes, other than fishing gods, it is known that many wood images were hidden at the time of the 1819 cultural revolution. Rose refers to the public burning of images in 1832 by Ka'ahumanu, the regent queen, and her brother Kuakini, high chief and governor of the island of Hawai‘i. Members of a committee from the London Missionary Society, Rev. Daniel Tyerman and George Bennett, witnessed images being burned on three different occasions in June 1832. At the final conflagration, one hundred and two "idols" were burned "on the spot."⁴⁹

Rose comments: "Such a holocaust could hardly have failed to impress the onlookers, and rather than submit their gods to this sacrilege, many Hawaiians hid them away in caves and among the rocks."⁵⁰

⁴⁸ William Samuel Waithman Ruschenberger, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, During the Years 1835, 36, and 37 (London: Richard Bentley, 1838), II, 322.

⁴⁹ Daniel Tyerman, George Bennet, and James Montgomery. Journal of Voyages and Travels . . . in the South Sea Islands, China, India, etc, Between the Years 1821 and 1829 (Boston, New York: J. Leavitt, 1832), II, 3.

Informants indicate that a number of Hawaiians still believed the images possessed mana. Rose quotes missionary John S. Emerson, who wrote in 1892: "In the mind of the average Hawaiian, the old gods still exist as living and active beings, even though he may defy their power and abhor their worship."\(^51\)

An incident that illustrates the 1920 Christian Hawaiian's feelings regarding images is described by William T. Brigham. Tableaux vivants were planned to commemorate the centennial celebration of the 1820 arrival of the American missionaries, including a scene depicting the "overthrowing of the gods" prior to the missionaries' arrival. Brigham relates, "To the surprise of those who arranged this tableau the Hawaiians who were assisting in the presentation absolutely refused to be guilty of such desecration; so white men with blackened faces were called in for the work."\(^52\) Brigham may have misinterpreted the reason for the reluctance of the Hawaiians to participate in the scene. A fear of reprisal from the gods might be a more accurate explanation for their behavior.

The Rev. James Bicknell writes in 1890 about personal images associated with `aumākua: "Some have fetiches [sic] to represent their gods. The fetiches are consecrated by the


\(^{52}\) Brigham, "The Ancient Worship."
kahunas, and are greatly revered. It is like cutting off a limb for a Hawaiian to part with his fetich."

Bicknell also describes the kāhuna practice of relating the 'aumākua to Christianity:

Aumakua, (ancestral god), and unihipili, (familiar spirit), are names by which the gods are known. The designation 'anela kaia' (guardian angel), is now used by kahunas. This is a cunning device of theirs to make the people believe that the spirits are benignant beings.

Bicknell tells of a family of four whose 'aumakua was the manō (shark): "The mere sight of a shark used to fill them with fear. To touch a piece of one would throw them into convulsions." Bicknell relates that a family member picked up a piece of dried shark at a fish market, mistaking it for "albicore." When he was told it was shark "he fell into a fit and had to be carried home." The Secretary of the Association for the Suppression of Idolatry worked with the family until "he persuaded them to partake of a supper of shark flesh which he and two other members of the Association had prepared."53

Rose cites William D. Alexander, son of missionary William P. Patterson, who describes the enduring nature of the traditional religion:

The ancient idolatry was still cherished by many in secret, and their hereditary superstitions, hydra-headed in their variety and tenacity of life, were destined to survive for generations to come, and

necessarily blended with and colored their conceptions of Christianity.54

Kaeppler states that the production of feather and wood images "eventually ceased." Explorers and missionaries removed most of the images from Hawai‘i that were not burned or hidden in caves. She suggests that only the kāhuna who practiced sorcery may have retained knowledge of the religion and its "material manifestations." Hawaiians who embraced Christianity dismissed images as "things of the heathen past." She maintains that "only in the middle of the twentieth century have they been reintroduced to Hawaii--but this time in the form of airport art."55

Bowls

Today the traditional Hawaiian wood calabash ('umeke lā‘au) is universally admired for the beauty of its design and craftsmanship. Hawaiian scholar Henry Kekahuna discusses the high regard the "ancient" people had for the wood bowls and trays: "Calabashes and wooden platters were highly esteemed, favorite articles to the ancestors of these people." Kekahuna writes: "It is not known at what period this race began to make wooden bowls and platters, or what chiefs were then their


rulers."\(^{56}\) When Captain James Cook arrived in Hawai'i, he and those accompanying him noted the polished wood bowls that were as perfect as any made on a lathe.

Kekahuna relates that their use was varied and in some cases sacred. The calabashes "were used to carry food, water, things pertaining to the deities, implements, and precious objects."\(^{57}\) Kekahuna notes:

> Sometimes calabashes were carved in which their deities were kept, and also receptacles to contain the forbidden food of their deities. Such calabashes would be given the names of the gods or guardian spirits themselves. In such cases they would be of greatest sanctity. If the people named their calabashes in honor of their favorite chiefs, or relatives who had performed celebrated deeds, or their ancestors, such calabashes would be cherished as being very sacred. Only a favorite child (keiki punahele) would be free to use them.

A keiki punahele might be named after such a calabash. On some occasions, an owner would have a special chant composed for a bowl, reciting the deeds of the person for whom the 'umeke was named. After a first child was born, a wood bowl was made for the exclusive use of that child from the time solid food was taken, becoming an heirloom to his or her

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\(^{57}\) Kekahuna, p. 8.
family. It was called 'umeke mana 'ai, a "mouthful" calabash.\textsuperscript{58}

Because of the sacred nature of many 'umeke, they were elevated above the ground when not in use. Kekahuna explains:

One of the many tabus which honored the extreme sanctity of these favorite calabashes had to do with the place in which they were to be kept. They were not to be left on the ground, or on the floor where they would be desecrated by being stepped over, but carrying-nets were made so that they could be hung up. This was more especially so with the calabashes that were set apart for their deities.

The 'umeke were well cared for because of their significance to those who possessed them:

The important thing concerning calabashes and wooden platters is that they pertained to human life. In them were stored food and fish, and other articles of that period. Because of these things, and the numerous ways in which they entered into their life, the wooden calabashes and platters became greatly cherished by the ancestors of this race, and were always kept smooth and polished.\textsuperscript{59}

Kekahuna relates that each chief and chiefess had platters and bowls they esteemed, since "They were things which were associated with their court life and their gods." Although he says that these objects "were generally used by the great multitude of common people who were sharing well the benefits of the land," kou, the wood from which they were most

\textsuperscript{58} Kekahuna, pp. 2-3.

\textsuperscript{59} Kekahuna, p. 6.
often carved, was "forbidden to them in that remote time." Kekahuna states, "Only if the landlord (konohiki) permitted it could the commoner hew down and carve them. They were the valued possessions of the landlords and great chiefs." Consequently, gourd bowls were more often used by the maka'āinana than wood ones.

The calabashes were of great worth to the commoners fortunate enough to possess them. Kekahuna writes of personal property, including wood bowls and platters: "They were articles of value to be bequeathed to future generations. If a man lacked these things he was considered a descendant of a very low grade family, or of a very lazy one." David Malo writes: "Dishes, ipu, to hold articles of food, formed part of the wealth. . . ." Peter Buck believes that the large variety of bowls were developed in Hawai'i of necessity in order to contain the semi-liquid poi that was a staple in the peoples' diet. Other areas of Polynesia employed shallow plaited containers or platters for the solid food they partook. Bishop Museum anthropologist Kenneth Emory notes: "Nothing but shallow bowls

60 Kekahuna, pp. 2, 4.
61 Kekahuna, pp. 2-4, 6-8.
62 Malo, p. 79.
63 "Food," Arts and Crafts of Hawaii, Sec. I, p. 33.
were used in all the rest of Polynesia, and in Samoa and Tonga there were few bowls except the kava bowl."

The prototype for the carved wood bowl is thought to be the gourd. Kekahuna says gourds were replaced by wood bowls because they did not split open, particularly when heavy articles were carried great distances in them. The shape of the calabash suggests the form of a truncated gourd, full and rounded at the bottom, tapering toward the top. The bottom was made heavier than the sides to prevent the bowls from tipping over, although they were sometimes placed in hollows in the ground to provide stability. Occasionally the bottom was flat, but more often it was rounded. The bowls varied in depth and circumference; some were shallow platter forms, others, deep vessels. The largest calabash at Bishop Museum is 19.5 inches high and 89.5 inches in circumference.

Different forms of the traditional 'umeke lā'au (wooden bowl) have been identified by Kekahuna. The pākākā bowls, the largest calabashes made in Hawai‘i, are wide and low.


65 Kekahuna, pp. 7-8.

They were used to cut-up and serve meat such as pig, dog, and large fish, or to salt pork or fish. The 'umeke ipu kai is low and wide, thick-walled, with the upper edge slanted inward. It was used to "salt down" food or serve meat. The kūmauna calabash is deep and heavy, employed for the storage of pounded poi or sweet potato. A wood cover was designed to keep out flies.

Kekahuna states the 'umeke pālewa or kū'oho is a medium-size calabash used by family members to eat poi together. The puahala (named for the fruit of the hala tree) is a medium-size deep calabash. The upper rim of the bowl curves gently outward. The 'umeke kepakepa, used for poi, was carved in different variations with horizontal flat planes, or in a rare form, with narrow concave panels encircling the entire bowl, giving the appearance of ribs. A small bowl made for an individual serving of poi was called 'umeke puaniki. These bowls were made in various styles including small versions of 'umeke puahala, kūmauna, kepakepa, and pālewa or kū'oho. The 'umeke 'ōpaka, described as a polyhedral bowl by Brigham, was produced on Maui. The upper edge is slanted inward, the lower portion of the bowl has flat vertical planes similar to the "facets of a diamond."

The 'umeke 'apu lá'au was used for "medicinal potions." The form often exhibited a "waist" and had a scalloped rim with three concave curves. Kekahuna says the depressions were
employed for the dual purpose of pouring the solution and resting the medicine pounding stick after pounding the potion.67

The ipu holoi lima is a finger bowl, sometimes having a handle in the form of a niho palaoa hook. These bowls or wood hand basins were used by Hawaiians before and after eating. A flange was often carved inside to scrape poi from the fingers. One crescent shaped example has three separate compartments.

There were also ipu kuha, spitoons; and ipu 'aina that served as scrapbowls. The chiefs took great care to have their spittle, food scraps, nail parings, and excreta disposed of secretly, fearing greatly the kahuna 'anā'ana who "prayed people to death" by taking maunu or "bait." Pukui explains:

Such 'bait' was permeated with the victim's mana, his personal mystic 'power.' The kahuna 'anā'ana could control this mana, and therefore the victim. He did this through the power of his sorcery gods, and by the use of death dealing prayers or spells.68

The spitoons and scrapbowls that belonged to chiefs were sometimes decorated with inlaid human teeth or carved portions of bones from vanquished enemies to signify contempt. In other instances, according to Cox and Davenport, the teeth of

67 Kekahuna, p. 41.
ancestors or noteworthy individuals were embedded in carved objects as a sign of respect.

Kekahuna writes: "The wooden containers of the most outstanding craftsmanship were those upon which were carved the figures of human beings, deities, or animals, and which were ornamented with human teeth, or bones of men or animals." Delicately carved playful human support figures in acrobatic postures ornament elliptical meat platters, serving dishes, and small bowls. Some have pearl shell eyes and miniature individual inlaid teeth or teeth incised on a piece of bone. In some instances their mouths open wide on heads tilted back to receive condiments. One such platter is supported by two figures, said to represent Kahahana, an O'ahu chief, and his wife Kepuapoi, Sl, (408). Following Kahahana's defeat in battle, the Maui chief Kahekili had the platter made to commemorate his slain enemy's inferior status. Similar figures are found on other objects such as carrying racks, spear and pole racks, and drums.

The large platters, pa'la'au, were round, oblong, or in the form of a turtle-back. Some have a compartment for salt and kukui relish, others are on runners. Pa poepoe are round wood plates. The larger ones were made for serving; the smaller pa were for individual portions. Brigham says that

69 Kekahuna, p. 1.
since their form is prevalent all over the world, they should not be regarded as "distinctly Hawaiian." 70

Some of the other practical wood objects produced were medicine and poi pounding boards; cups—for water and 'awa (kava); knives of bamboo or hardwood with a beveled edge; and daggers with carved handles and sharks' teeth "set in rows."

Jenkins relates that in the late 18th century, visitors "continued to be impressed with the elegance of these bowls." The ali'i, however, were fascinated by Western culture. Kamehameha received a gift of imported tableware in 1792 from Captain George Vancouver, and by 1818, a visiting sea captain observed that the monarch possessed an extensive collection of imported silverware, crystal, and porcelain objects. The captain also noted that although the chiefs had begun to acquire and use western dinnerware; "the islanders" still produced and used gourd, coconut, and wood vessels. 71

Following the arrival of the missionaries in 1820, the high chiefesses strove to emulate the lifestyle of the women from New England, providing further impetus to acquire Western furnishings and domestic items. In 1822, missionary Charles Stewart wrote of the change that had transpired in Honolulu: "Their food was formerly served in wooden dishes and

70 Brigham, p. 168-169.
71 Jenkins, The Hawaiian Calabash, pp. 8-9.
calabashes; but now generally on china brought by the merchants from Canton.”72 Jenkins indicates that the bowl carving tradition lasted longest on the island of Hawai‘i but declined by the 1840s when missionaries gave instructions to groups of Hawaiians relating to the use of western table implements and manners.

A final factor that contributed to the downfall of traditional bowl carving occurred in the 1860s when a moth was introduced to Hawai‘i, destroying many of the kou trees that provided the wood Hawaiians favored for their bowls. Jenkins claims that the "Age of Wood," described by Brigham, formally ended by the 1870s. Brigham had noted that "the foreigner has come to the Islands and appreciating the workmanship and grace, [of the ‘umeke lā‘au] has tried to imitate them on the lathe, but with poor success and has ended in gathering to himself the choicest remains of the "Age of Wood. . . ."73 Jenkins writes that Western craftsmen and cabinetmakers had begun turning koa bowls on lathes in "significant numbers" and by the 1880s these men had displaced the Hawaiian bowl makers.74

74 Irving, The Hawaiian Calabash, pp. 7-15, 109
Jenkins' book is a well-written, documented, and beautifully illustrated history of the calabash until the early 1930s that should be consulted by those interested in this topic. His research indicates that in the 1880s the handmade bowls became collector's items. During the same period a large number of turned bowls were produced and sold as curios. A new form, an ornate turned pedestal bowl, was created. It exhibited a cover topped with a finial. In 1886, on the occasion of King Kalākaua's golden jubilee birthday, the monarch received hundreds of the turned pedestal bowls in addition to other gifts from the community. Many of the bowls were presented by various Hawaiian societies. One turner, Johann Heinrich Wicke, was reputedly commissioned to make "about 200 calabashes" for the Educational Society. Princess Liliʻuokalani, Kalākaua's sister and founder of the organization to educate needy Hawaiian girls, and other aliʻi women led an impressive procession of members to present the gifts. Following the event, many of the presentation bowls were used to decorate the palace.

Jenkins notes that at the close of the century the traditional calabash form regained popularity. Collectors sought the old handmade bowls while turners produced
calabashes to be used as presentation bowls instead of the elaborate pedestal bowls.

According to Jenkins, the names of only a few lathe craftsmen of this period are known. William Everett Herrick specialized in turning and repairing Hawaiian bowls. He worked in Honolulu from 1857 until 1893. Irving mentions that American cabinetmaker William Miller turned and carved bases and covers for two traditional bowls in Kalākaua's collection.

The 1884 census indicated that there were six Chinese turners, but it is not known if they made calabashes. Newspaper articles report that ornamental carving was produced in Chinese carpenter shops. A Chinese calabash maker, Ah Ku, is mentioned. One carver, Chen Mu, is particularly noteworthy. He used a Hawaiian name, Chun Moke. Jenkins believes that Chen Mu may have carved an elaborate pedestal table presented to King Kalākaua by Queen Kapi'olani for his 1886 birthday celebration. Ten wood bowls and two rectangular containers appear to be placed on the surface of the unique table. Upon examination, however, one sees that the receptacles and the table top are actually carved of one piece of thick kamani. Some of the bowls had covers. A cup and a carved bottle with a cover were the only removable pieces. In 1881 Chun Moke completed the pine carving of the Hawaiian government seal.

75 Jenkins, The Hawaiian Calabash, pp. 109-141.
that was cast in plaster and placed over the front and back entrances of 'Iolani Palace.  

In 1908 Brigham writes:

The ancient hand-made bowls are very uncommon now, although the turner makes tolerable imitations and applies French polish in a way unknown to the old natives, but which suits the taste of modern customers. It is seldom that one sees the fine curves of the old bowls in these modern mechanical imitations, and the makers seem to recognize their shortcomings when they put in patches and make cracks only to fill them again and thus impart a flavor of antique art where the age and art are both wanting.

Laborers from Japan were imported to Hawai‘i in the 1880s and the Japanese population increased in the islands through the years. Jenkins notes that by the 1920s the Japanese performed many of the skilled and semi-skilled jobs and produced most of the curios for American tourists. He relates an incident relevant to this study. A man and his wife were looking at koa bowls, platters and other items in a Waikiki shop. Suspicious of their "high finish" the man inquired regarding their origin. The shopkeeper said they were "native," made by workers on the premises, and allowed the visitor to observe the Japanese workers in a back room.


Jenkins mentions two significant Japanese craftsmen. Hikohachi Hikokawa arrived from Japan in 1913 and later established The Hawaiian Koa shop where he and two employees manufactured furniture, wood bowls, and curios from 1924 until 1932. An illustration of Hikokawa's showroom in Irving's book indicates that among the objects produced by the craftsman were koa calabashes, goblets on stands, plates, nested tables, 'ukulele, and decorative plaques carved with fruit and leaves.

Tadaichi Shintaku was a student, instructor, and later proprietor of the Hilo Boarding school where students produced bowls, trays, 'ukulele, and curios in the woodcraft shop. The school was established in 1839 and closed in 1925. The craft shop continued under Shintaku's direction with several employees until 1933 when he purchased the enterprise, operating the shop until 1968 when he retired. He was noted for his thin-walled bowls. According to Jenkins, the covered containers he produced have influenced the design of vessels in Hilo today.79

Franz "Frank" Nicholas Otremba, a German woodcarver who learned his trade in Italy, arrived in Hawai‘i around 1882. In his book, Hawaiian Furniture and Hawaii's Cabinetmakers, Jenkins refers to Otremba as the "finest woodcarver in Hawaii." He was known in Honolulu for his miniature carved wood reproductions of the famous full-length Kamehameha statue.

79 Jenkins, The Hawaiian Calabash, pp. 142-147.
by Thomas Ridgeway Gould, for carved decorative koa wood plaques with a motif of a branch bearing fruit and leaves, and for ornately carved furniture. He also made calabashes, and canes, and accepted commissions for various projects including the carved stone architectural embellishments at St. Andrew's Cathedral. He may have originated the practice of carving scenes on coconut shells and mounting them on wood pedestals. Otremba died in 1910.\(^80\)

A German-Hawaiian, 'Aukukuokalani (August) Herring, had a brief career carving coconut cups. He was recognized by King Kalākaua for his work and opened a carving shop before being sent to Italy by the kingdom to study sculpture. He was recalled in 1888 because of the political situation in Hawai'i. Herring eventually opened a curio shop for a short period in Honolulu where he sold engraved coconuts and calabashes, but his traumatic personal life, that included involvement in radical politics and being imprisoned six years for shooting a man, hindered his aspiration to become a sculptor.

Jenkins relates that a number of cabinetmakers, such as John Daniel Wicke, son of Johann Wicke, carved coconut cups,

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turned calabashes, and made curios. Wicke assumed his father's business in 1886. 81

Fine art began to be promoted during this period by the Kilohana Art League. In existence from 1894 until 1912, the League sponsored juried art shows.

The history of the League emphasizes that the organization deserved community support because kama'aina artists were involved. The historian's definition of "Hawaiian" might be challenged today:

The art-loving public of Honolulu, not a very large one showed considerable interest in this new venture and wished it every success. On the other hand there were not wanting the usual prophecies of speedy failure and collapse. Surely this is an institution that deserves the support and encouragement of the community, particularly as three of its originators are Hawaiians, Miss Parke, Mr. Hitchcock and Mrs. Graham all having been born in these Islands. 82

The history mentions the first exhibit:

The existence of the League was first made known to the public in May '94 when an exhibition of work by these four members, D. Howard Hitchcock, Annie H. Parke, Allen Hutchinson and Augusta Graham, took place. This was quite a large collection and a varied one, consisting of oil-paintings, watercolors, sculpture and woodcarving. It was exhibited in a small room in King's Art Store. 83

82 "A History of the Kilohana Art League" 1894-1907, Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu, MS, p. 3.
83 "History," 1894-1907, pp. 2-3.
Two of the four founding members, Augusta Graham and Allen Hutchinson, specialized in three dimensional forms. The history describes Mrs. Graham's work as "wood carving and poker etching to which branches of art our beautiful Hawaiian woods are well adapted."

Allen Hutchinson is also introduced:

Mr. Hutchinson, the fourth of the original members is an English sculptor who has made Honolulu his home. Since coming here he has executed a number of works, among them busts of King Kalakaua, President Dole and Robert-Louis Stevenson, the last of which was exhibited in the Royal Academy. 84

The May '94 catalogue lists the titles of works in the show. Although Hutchison entered portrait busts of President Dole, Alice Cooke, R. L. Stevenson, and Henry Carter, his sculpture also included Hawaiian themes:

Hawaiian Type, Boy
Hawaiian Type, Girl
Hawaiian Type, Old woman
Hawaiian Girl
Hawaiian Type, Child
Hawaiian Type, Old Man

Graham's work, however, had little relationship to Hawai'i, except for Koa Mirror Frame. Mainland woods were employed for most of her work that bore titles such as: Study of Sunflowers; Begonias in Spanish Cedar; Violets, in oak--

84 "History," 1894-1907, pp. 5-7.
Card Receiver; Paper Holder, in oak; Incised Lilies; and Cat-Tails.\textsuperscript{85}

At the second show, the Autumn Exhibition 1894, some of her carvings included motifs more relevant to Hawai'i:

- Panel--Mangoes
- Panel--Pineapple
- Panel--Guava
- Panel--Breadfruit

These were undoubtedly in the style of the Otremba plaques.

In this show, Hutchinson had no Hawaiian themes. Typical titles for his sculptures are: \textit{Wild Boar, Tiger, Jaguar [sic] Irish Setter, Lion Couchant, and Dragon}.\textsuperscript{86}

In subsequent years other three-dimensional art accepted in the exhibits included two carvings entitled \textit{Head of Hawaiian Girl} by Nettie King in 1903,\textsuperscript{87} and \textit{Native Girl--Bas Relief (Study from Life)} by J. Rosenstein in the 1907 Fall Exhibition.\textsuperscript{88}

In October 1895 Mrs. Graham had introduced a means of enlarging the League. The historian writes:

As all the members were not artists and were therefore denied much pleasure by not being able to contribute any work she proposed that circles be

\textsuperscript{85} May 1894 Exhibit in "History," 1894-1907.
\textsuperscript{86} Autumn Exhibition 1894 in "History" 1894-1907, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{87} 1903 Fall Exhibition, in "History" 1894-1907, p. 75.
\textsuperscript{88} Fall Exhibition 1907 in "History," 1894-1907, p. 13.
formed in other branches of art which the different members could join as best suited their tastes and inclinations. For instance their might be a musical, a literary and a dramatic circle. 89

The "circles" established were so successful that the Kilohana League, formerly the Kilohana Art League, was disbanded 4 April 1912, since it had "in a measure accomplished the purposes for which it was established." 90 A number of socially prominent Honolulu women present on this occasion spoke highly of the League. Two of the organizations formed under the auspices of the Kilohana League are still in existence today: the Outdoor Circle, whose purpose is "to work for a more beautiful city;" and the Morning Music Club.

Two of the artists mentioned in association with the Kilohana Art League, Allen Hutchinson and J. Rosenstein, were the most prominent sculptors of this period in Honolulu. A 1927 Advertiser article states that Hutchinson was "well-known in Hawaii 35 to 40 years ago." A letter from Hutchinson, then living in New York City, to a librarian of the Archives of Hawaii described an event that occurred as he made a clay bust of King Kalákaua. It was the day of the Wilcox revolution, July 30, 1889. Hutchinson's workshop was on an Iolani Palace lānai. The Advertiser describes the scene:


90 Resolution recorded by Catharine E. B. Cox, Secretary, Kilohana League; "History," Minutes of Meetings, II, 23-24.
The revolutionists took possession of the grounds, but were prevented from capturing the palace by Capt. Robert Waipa Parker, who commanded a detachment of 12 men of the King's Guard. Sharpshooters of the citizens' forces who took up vantage points in buildings surrounding the palace grounds, poured in a deadly fire upon the revolutionists.

Hutchinson quit work around noon. The sculptor writes: "I was in the palace at the time of the Wilcox revolution. One of the shots from the court house actually struck the clay bust of the King I was working on."91

William T. Brigham writes that Kalākaua commissioned Hutchinson to make "a replica" of a small kneeling female image "in a standing posture," considering the original "unsuited to the dignity of the divine being represented."92

Julius Rosenstein was born in 1866 in Cologne, Germany. He attended schools in Europe and the United States, and moved to Hawai'i in 1899 at the age of thirty-three. Between the years 1917 and 1935 he created architectural sculpture for the YWCA, the Cooke Trust Company, the Princess Theater (since demolished) and Hawaii Theater, and the Matson Navigation Company. A newspaper article describes his facade for the Cooke Trust building:


92 Brigham, "The Ancient Worship."
Stone work for the entire front of the new Cooke Trust building was modelled and cast at the studio of J. Rosenstein, 901 Waimanu St. The motif is Hawaiian in effect, the theme of the design emphasizing banana and taro leaves, the whole effect is pleasingly modern and reflects well the spirit of Hawaiian architecture.

He donated to the Bishop Museum a death mask of Queen Liliʻuokalani he made in 1917 and a bust executed from the mask with reference to photographs. Among other items, he also presented the museum with a death Mask of Prince Kūhiō. The statue of Prince Kūhiō in Kūhiō Park, Kauaʻi is his work. Rosenstein died in 'Aina Haina in 1955. He was featured in the media when he pledged $75,000 toward the release on bail of six of the seven Smith Act "conspirators" convicted in 1953 for conspiring to teach the violent overthrow of the United States government. In 1950, Rosenstein's second wife, the former Adele Kensinger, had been one of the thirty-nine hostile witnesses who appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Hawai'i.


For information regarding Rosenstein see:

CHAPTER IV

PRISON CARVING AND BOWL-TURNING

Influence of Inmate Carving and Turning

In the thirties, a foundation was established that would permit carving to flourish in the Oʻahu prison system. The tradition of story-board carving at the jail in Belau is well-known in the Pacific, but many readers will be surprised to learn that a significant prison carving tradition also exists in Hawaiʻi. Remarks about prison woodcraft made by seven of the artists interviewed for this study provided the motive to research this area. As information was disclosed, it became apparent that no analysis of contemporary carving and bowl-turning in Hawaiʻi would be complete without consideration of the work of inmates in the state correctional system. Prison carving has influenced the work of carvers on the "outside," particularly during the period from the nineteen-forties through the sixties.

The Beginning of Rehabilitation

The penal institution of the monarchy, known as "The Fort" in the nineteenth century, was situated in downtown Honolulu at the waterfront. According to the 1939-1949 Report of the Department of Institutions, the rehabilitation of prisoners was not a consideration until recent years:
The general principles governing the administration of 'The Fort,' later to become 'Oahu Prison,' differed only slightly from the almost universal attitude then prevailing in the so-called 'civilized world' in the treatment of felons. This medieval concept of retribution and revenge prevailed into the 20th century and has only in relatively recent years given way to the modern concept of rehabilitation.

The philosophy that was to allow the establishment of a woodcraft program at Oahu Prison and its camps was formulated in the thirties. In his Annual Report for the year July 1, 1931 to June 30, 1932, Oahu Prison Warden Gordon C. Ross made the recommendation: "That shops of a nature to give the inmates a chance to learn a trade be provided." His suggestion was implemented the following year.96

The 1934-35 Annual Report describes the new rehabilitation program: "For the first time in the history of the prison" teachers were hired and "classes in elementary subjects such as reading and writing have been organized on a systematic basis and instructed daily five days per week." Shorthand and typing were also initiated, and classes in radio operating, navigation, and bookkeeping were projected. All instruction was to occur during the inmate's leisure time.


"after he has performed his 8-hour service for the Government."

Other activities that comprised the "Rehabilitation Program" in the 1934-35 report are: The Band and Bugle Corps; drill teams; sports; religious services; the Paahao Press—a magazine staffed and published by the prisoners (pa'ahao); monthly "Governor's Nights" with inmate talent or invited artists; and a discussion group "formed among the intellectual inmates."97

In 1936-37, rehabilitation classes were augmented to teach auto mechanics, gardening, cabinet making, plumbing, and electrical, welding, and carpentry skills. The 1937-38 Annual Report notes that a new shop was built by the carpenter class. The former tool house was demolished and a new one was constructed in the wood yard, complete with racks to contain the saws, axes, and other tools. The prisoners also made a road that extended to the shop to facilitate the delivery of shop equipment and trees for the woodpile and to transport trash to the trash pile for burning.98


In 1938-39, the shop was provided with new wood-working machinery that included wood-turning lathes, a drill press, and a band saw, and shaper. The Board of Prison Directors Annual Report for that year states: "with the above machinery, wood-carving can also be taught."99

In a 1939 survey of Oahu Prison by a University of Hawaii committee, the authors note that the shop is "equipped with a forge, two motor driven emery wheels, a lathe which is convertible for machine work, a drill press, sixteen-inch band saw, and an ample assortment of small tools for all sorts of artisanship."

Even during the period when there were no formal wood carving classes conducted at Oahu Prison, there is evidence that some of the prisoners in Honolulu and at the outlying camps made wood items in their spare time. The UH report states: "The facilities of the shop are available for the maintenance men who desire to make objects for themselves or for sale on their own time."100 Further evidence is provided in 1938 issues of the Paahao Press that advertise the sale of


100 Hawaii University Committee on an Educational Program for Oahu Prison, Educational Survey of the Oahu Prison with Suggestions for an Educational Program, January 1939, p. 24, Hawaiian Collection, Hamilton Library, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.
"ukuleles and guitars--satisfaction guaranteed." The ad states "all instruments camp produce [sic]." 101

In order to determine what type of program would be suitable for O.P., the 1939 University of Hawaii committee examined the intelligence level of the inmates. Using a sample group of 152 men who were the new entrants during a six month period, the committee found that thirty-five men, or twenty-three percent of the total, were in the I.Q. range of 80 to 89, "the mental level considered slightly dull." The next largest group, thirty-three men, or twenty-two percent of the total, were found to be within the 70 to 79 range, "classified as definitely dull." The percentages of low I.Q.'s were considered by the committee to be "disproportionately high and very probably higher than would be found for the general population of the Territory." The members of the committee concluded that "for a rather large group of inmates academic education . . . will not be practicable."

An academic program "limited in scope only by the demand of the prisoners. . ." was recommended for those prisoners with average I.Q.'s and the eight percent who had "superior" intelligence.

Vocational education was to be provided in the "present set-up" since "every person sent to the Oahu prison works from


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six to eight hours a day at some useful occupation." Some recommendations were: "that the lunas [foremen] in charge of maintenance, service, and production work be luna-teachers, that each task performed be analyzed for its teaching units. . .." and "that the prisoner's preference be considered in assigning tasks. . .." One of the proposed measures indicated that woodworking skills should be developed:

The carpenter shop would seem to need a classroom for theoretical instruction and an instructor. A more aggressive educational program in this department would be more than one man could reasonably be expected to handle. 102

The 1938-39 Annual Report states that the UH committee's report was adopted "in toto with the hope that the program might be put into effect."103

The Industry Program

In 1939, the appointive non-salaried Board of Prison Directors that had administered Oahu Prison and its outlying camps was replaced by the newly created Department of Institutions. The Department's policy regarding industry is defined in the 1939-49 Report:

Under Department of Institutions leadership, the old understanding of the prison as a place of punishment and isolation of offenders has given way to the broader and more enlightened concept that a

102 Hawaii University Committee, pp. 10, 31, 34-36.
103 Board of Prison Directors, 1938/39, p. 3.
prison should serve also as a center of rehabilita-
tion and treatment.

Proceeding on the premise that no program of
rehabilitation could hope for success with prisoners
confined in idleness, or engaged only in jobs on a
menial level, a reorganization of Hawaii's prison
system seemed in order, to provide an industry
program, and a range of training opportunities, as
a foundation upon which such a program could be
built.

The rehabilitation program introduced in the thirties was
replaced by the Department of Institutions' ambitious industry
program that proclaimed the innovative goal of developing a
"more nearly self-supporting institution" at O.P. Future
plans included:

... an industrial and crafts production program
utilizing raw materials produced at Kulani, tied to
a trades program to train inmates in various skills
incidental to the operation of various industries.

The report includes a photograph of a guard who observes
an inmate carve a monkeypod tray in the craft shop.\(^{104}\)

In a 1947 letter to Warden Joe C. Harper, Deputy Warden
James Pitman recommends wood carving as a potential project
for the industry program:

The manufacture of high grade furniture, glass
etching, rug making, lauhala weaving and wood
carving would bring a sizeable income to the
Territory as well as being a means for on the job
training and rehabilitation of the inmates.\(^{105}\)

\(^{104}\) Board of Prison Directors, 1939/49, pp. 13, 17.

\(^{105}\) 27 February 1947, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
John H. Bergen, Assistant Director of Institutions, also made recommendations for possible industries at O.P. in a letter to Joe Harper. Three of his suggestions were implemented: the manufacture of office and school furniture for Territorial and County use; the establishment of a hâpuʻu mill; and "an expanded craft shop for the manufacture of craft articles and occasional custom built articles on special order."\(^{106}\)

In 1948, Stanley Porteus commended the Kulani forestry project and indicated that "koa timber is already being shipped in quantities for seasoning at Oahu Prison, and is available for the making of carved bowls, furniture, etc."\(^{107}\)

Material for woodcraft was also obtained on Oʻahu by inmates for a limited time. Richard McCleery states that in the 1946-47 era, inmate crews worked throughout the island in all of the parks. Called "outside worklines," inmates went out under guard in a rather haphazard manner and cut down trees or cleared away fallen ones and brought the material back to the institution. McCleery remarks, "In American penology the rude initiation of new inmates is ordinarily thought of as 'the rockpile.' In Texas they speak of having a choice between a sixteen pound sledge and a twenty pound


sledge." In Hawai'i the term was "the woodpile." Great trees and logs were brought in and the best of it was diverted to the craft shop. 108

According to McCleery, outside work lines were closed and access to local woods on O'ahu was curtailed following publicity related to the Wilder Case—the rape and murder of a local socialite by escapees.

Camp Woodcraft

Woodcraft was a popular hobby among inmates assigned to the outlying camps. The sale of prison woodcraft was an attraction at the Maui State Fair. In a letter from the office of Thomas B. Vance, Director of Institutions, to Deputy Warden William D. Holt "proper bills for Mr. Thurston's ukuleles" were requested. Three of Thurston's instruments were made at Waiakea, a camp near Hilo on the Big Island, and two at Olinda on Maui. 109

A reference to camp carving occurs in an account of the activities of pa'ahao at Kanaio, the road construction camp on Maui. The warden notes, "Some of the men engage in the making of woodcraft articles in their leisure time ... ." 110


109 3 December 1945, Dept. of Institutions, "Oahu Prison, Misc.," Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


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Deputy Warden William P. Mottz sent a memo to the Warden to ensure that O.P. would receive appropriate reimbursement for camp produced objects:

... INMATES WHO SELL ITEMS FABRICATED DURING THEIR SPARE TIME FROM MATERIALS FURNISHED OR TRANSPORTED BY THE TERRITORY, WILL PAY INTO THE OAHU PRISON SPECIAL FUND 10% OF THE TOTAL SALE VALUE OF SUCH ITEMS. ITEMS FABRICATED DURING TERRITORIAL WORKING HOURS, FROM MATERIALS FURNISHED BY THE TERRITORY, ARE THE PROPERTY OF THE TERRITORY AND WILL BE SOLD AS SUCH, THE TOTAL PROCEEDS OF THE SALE TO BE CREDITED TO THE OAHU PRISON SPECIAL ACCOUNT. THIS HAS BEEN COMMON PRACTICE AT OAHU PRISON FOR SOME TIME, BUT HAS NOT BEEN ENFORCED AT THE OUTSIDE CAMPS. 111

The O.P. Craft Shop, Hapuu Shop, and Gift Shop in the Forties and Fifties

Carving was also a popular pastime in the O.P. craft shop, located in the industrial area outside the prison walls in Honolulu. Zaida Nelson describes a 1942 visit to Oahu Prison: "... another shop building, on the outside, is used by a special privilege group who have earned special consideration." The author continues, "after work hours the men enjoy wood carving in the woodwork shop." 112

In the 1947 letter to Harper, Pitman complains that the craft shop facilities are hazardous and inadequate for the


112 Zaida Nelson, Stripes and Bars, (Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii Dept. of Institutions, [1942]), p. 15.
large number of men utilizing them. He also expresses concern regarding the inmates' lack of supervision:

There are no safety rules which apply to the craft or carpenter shop and the equipment is in such a poor state of repair that serious accidents may happen at any time. Permission has been granted to approximately 60 inmates to use the equipment in the craft shop, after regular working hours but no instruction is given in the operation of lathes and other equipment with the result that the machines are heavily loaded and inadequate for the work being done. The craft shop is outside of the prison walls with no guards on duty when men are working there.

Pitman suggests that a safety fence enclose the area. 113

Some of the carved and turned wood objects made in the shop may be observed in a 1949 Honolulu Advertiser photograph. A member of the California board of prison directors is shown with Thomas B. Vance, Director of Institutions; Hiram Fong, then speaker of the Hawaii State House of Representatives; and other "Territorial officials" who examine "products of the prison workshop." The men are posed with an array of calabashes, turned wood goblets, leaf-form trays, and a miniature outrigger canoe. 114

In a 1950 Advertiser story, the fourth in a series on Oahu Prison, Sanford Zalbourg seems impressed with the work produced in the craft shop:

The machine work these apprentice-craftsmen turn out is beautiful. Gleaming koa and monkeypod wood lamp stands, cribbage boards, trays, salad forks and spoons, bowls in all shapes and sizes. Even big, turtle back-shaped luau pig boards.
Hawaiiana designs and usefulness of ware—not only decorative pattern—are stressed.

Zalbourg observes that objects made by the prisoners are sold in the prison gift shop at prices comparable to those "in better shops." The story misleads the reader by stating that "Money collected goes to a special fund to buy sports equipment and pay for prison movies." In 1950, when the article was written, inmates still received, as mentioned previously, ninety percent of the sale; the remaining ten percent was placed in the special fund to be used for electricity and maintenance of the craft shop and tools. Any excess amount was used to purchase items not provided by the recreation fund.

Archie Eriksson, prison enterprise executive, is described as being "enthusiastic about the latent ability of the inmates." Prisoners in the craft shop acquire "a skill that will enable them to earn a living on the 'outside.'" Eriksson says, "By creating something, a man finds himself. It gets the creative feeling in his blood."

Plans for an 'exploratory program' in hobby crafts are discussed with the goals "(1) to fill leisure time nicely; and (2) help men prepare themselves for a trade." Woodcarving is
one of the crafts mentioned in the article for the projected new program.

The Advertiser story also itemizes the machinery in the craft shop:

The shop is superbly equipped. It has four turning lathes, five spindle sanding units, two high-speed spindle carvers, a heavy duty router, a 30-inch band saw, a circular saw, a six-inch joiner, and a disc sander.115

Charlie Chow, a talented inmate carver, affirms that facilities in the shop were excellent:

They had all the power equipment that they needed. They had lathes. They had band saws. They had table saws. They could build furniture. There wasn't any tool that was restricted. People were allowed to buy their own carving tools--to have their own tools which they kept in the shop. They each had a locker to put their tools in. And the shop also had tools to accommodate those people who were starting and didn't have tools.116

The last article in the Advertiser series describes the trades training program of the Oahu Prison master plan:117

... With standards set by the vocational division of the Department of Public Instruction, this program seeks the blessings of the Apprentice Council of Hawaii.

Inmates could serve apprenticeships in these trades: auto mechanics, cabinet making, carpentry,


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printing, wood crafts, tailoring, cooking, baking, and butchering.

Zalbourg states that "the first priority up until 1951 goes to completing the industrial area. The job means repairing and relocating craft shops, putting up a maintenance carpenter shop . . . ."\(^{118}\)

The administration in 1950-51 apparently did not agree with the newspaper reporters' enthusiastic evaluation of the craft shop. The Annual Report observes:

This department has been slow to show a profit. Inmates learn the necessary skills so slowly, the amount of supervision required is so great, the number of inmates employed so low and the expense of maintaining the machinery so high that we seriously doubt whether the continued existence of this shop is warranted.

The report also refers to activities in the O.P. Hapuu Shop:

Although most hapuu (tree fern) activity is centered at Kulani, we employ a small number of inmates, featuring hand-cut pots, chips and fibre, becoming by-products for local sale. Many experiments are underway to find new uses for hapuu . . . .\(^{119}\)

Charlie Chow was involved with the hapuu project at O.P., experimenting with the mechanization of fiber and chips


\(^{119}\) Department of Institutions Reports. Annual Report for Year Ended 30 June 1951, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 20.
and pots. He believes that he was the first artist to carve tikis from hāpu'u in Hawai'i. Chow relates:

At that time I was an avid reader; so I was very interested in this South Pacific stuff--from New Hebrides and from all the other places... I read about the natives carving their deities on live tree ferns and then they throw lime on it to accent it. And this is entire forests of tree ferns that they carved-up that way. And this led me to start thinking, why can't I carve some of this stuff on the tree ferns I'm working on now?...

After carving and selling a number of hāpu'u tikis, Chow says, "When I saw everyone else doing the same thing, I gave up because the challenge was gone." 120

John M. Popovich, Inmate Vocational Rehabilitation Worker at O.P., says that Chow was one of "maybe the top three or four craftsmen in all the years I was there." He recalls that other outstanding carvers were Andrew Bumatai, who "specialized in tikis," and Andrew Kim.

Charlie Chow said that most of the work in the hobby shop was "flat" rather than three dimensional sculpture:

... it was limited to the kind of materials that they were getting. It was planks, boards. Didn't have full round logs or things like that. Although they could request for it at that time. If someone was interested in doing something like that I would have been glad to get them a log. 121

120 Personal interview with Chow, 11 January 1990.

121 Personal interview with Chow, 11 Jan. 1990.
Chow was an O.P. trusty, and directed the activities of the hobby shop. Popovich had as many as four inmates on the hobby shop staff. He appointed a tool room clerk and two assistants to "show the boys how to use the sanders and what not." "O.P.'s" (O.P. trustys) were given the option of living in special "O.P. quarters" apart from the dormitories "because it prevented undue peer pressure."

There was no guard on duty at the hobby shop, now located within the prison walls. Popovich refers to security:

It was after I got there that they built a second deck on top of the bathhouse where the boys have their showers and baths and lockers. When I got into the picture they had it on the second deck up there. Then we, of course, had better control, or you might say less control, because then you had all the tools and gouges that you could tear a man's insides out in five seconds. It was a calculated risk. Now we never had anything like that happen, as far as I know, got hurt purposely up there with a fight of that type. But yet it could have happened—that no one would have reported it.¹²²

The 1951-52 Annual Report notes that the Oahu Prison Gift Shop was "converted to a salesroom for the exclusive display and sale of Inmate Hobby Shop products and is now well-stocked with a wide variety of woodcraft and other articles."¹²³


¹²³ Department of Institutions Reports, Annual Report for Year Ended 30 June 1952, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, pp. 100-03.
Popovich relates that the gift shop was "up front in the main building where visitors could come and buy stuff." It was open most of the day and items sold were subject to his approval:

I think it was 8:00 in the morning until about 4:00 in the afternoon except for a lunch hour period about one hour, 12:00 to 1:00, I think. Anything that they sold there had to go through me and our committee which was composed of inmates and myself.

He controlled the expenditure of the ten percent withheld by the state from the sale of gift shop objects. In addition to paying for electricity, tools, and bookkeeping, Popovich says he bought wood for the inmate's projects with the money. "Then they bought the wood from me at the same price I paid for it. So it was a revolving fund, actually." The gift shop had sales of "fifty to seventy-five thousand a year minimum and this was no advertising, no nothing, strictly word of mouth."

Popovich states that most of the customers in the gift shop were tourists "that got the word from various people:"

Taxis used to bring people out because word got around to even tour agents. They'd bring people out there. . . . Taxi drivers--'cause let's face it--if a taxi driver treats you nice you leave him a good tip. It's all a circle--what goes around comes around. Or ride a bus--bus fare's only fifteen, twenty cents. On a rainy day go out to the prison, visit it, see what bargains they got because downtown is more costly than you'd find at the prison.
Occasionally, the gift shop received complaints that prices were too high, but Popovich felt his prices were justified:

At one time some people were complaining that our prices are just as high as outside. And it should be equivalent because we're not supposed to be cut-throat ing people on the outside.

He told the inmates that if they "undercut" people the gift shop's image would be damaged, "I wasn't about to let one or two inmates get us a bad reputation if I could help it." 124

Koolau Boys' Home

In the 1951-52 Annual Report, woodcraft classes for the Koolau Boys' Home are mentioned:

Before the resignation of our Recreation Director in June, 1952, regular hobby classes were conducted for the wards wherein bowls, plates and other objects were made from Hawaiian hardwood. This program will be carried on and improved as soon as our equipment is made available. 125

Prison Open Houses

The Annual Report of the Department of Institutions for the year ended 30 June 1950 mentions the prominence of wood carving at Oahu Prison's first open house:

125 Department of Institutions Reports, 1952, p. 44.
Hobby activities need to be expanded. Such hobbies as string work, wood carving, and others that require little equipment have been encouraged. The results of the work showed up conspicuously at the occasion of the Open House.  

The May 1950 issue of Paradise of the Pacific displays two pages of photographs of the open house. The text indicates that over a thousand persons attended the event. In one picture, visitors observe an inmate carve a koa relief map of the Island of Hawai‘i in scale. In another, Archie Eriksson and Miss Irene Markham, gift shop supervisor, pose in the gift shop, "recently redecorated by inmates." Shelves behind Eriksson display a large pig board, turned bowls, and a tiki. Featured in another photograph are two small boys who stand by a Hawaiian quilt, a painting, and an 'ukulele—the first, second, and third place prize winners in the hobby show.  

The following September, stories in the Honolulu Advertiser and Honolulu Star Bulletin describe the inmates' hobby show at the second prison open house. Both articles are accompanied by photographs of Charlie Chow. In one, Chow is shown inspecting a kidney-shaped slicing board "which will eventually add a novel touch to some housewife's kitchen." Chow is identified as "the artist whose carvings of Hawaiian

126 Department of Institutions Reports, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 50.
war gods in hapu'u stand in the entrance hall to the hobby display." The article states that a line of "several thousand Honoluluans . . . sometimes two blocks long waited in patient but jovial mood" to enter the show. The copy continues: "The tours have proven so informative and effective in acquainting the public with the scope of rehabilitation work at the prison that they'll be repeated semi-annually."128

In the Honolulu Advertiser photograph, Chow poses beside a life size bas-relief of a man in profile carving a tree with a mallet and chisel. The caption reads:

Oahu prison inmate Charles Chow points to a life size bas-relief he has just completed. He calls his work, 'A symbolic prisoner carving out a new future.' The project, cast from gypsum, took seven weeks to complete. Although he is a woodcarver by profession, this is the first time Chow has worked in this medium. The work will be placed at the prison entrance.

The reporter informs the reader that the bas-relief took seven weeks to complete and "was begun under the direction of Archie Eriksson, prison enterprises executive." Chow's technique is described:

The figure was first made from modeling clay and then a shell casting made of the model. Gypsum was poured into the shell and when it hardened the shell was removed.

After the casting was completed another three week's work were needed to smooth out and add the finishing touches to the figure. . . .

128 "Honolulans Line Up to Go to Prison (For Open House Only!)," Honolulu Star Bulletin, 22 Sept. 1950, p. 12.
Chow said he used regular modeling tools, a pocket knife and sandpaper to complete the work.

The bas-relief was to be permanently displayed at the prison entrance "to point the way to the prison gift shop where work of the inmates is displayed for sale." Chow had ambitious plans to transform the austere decor of the prison with his artwork:

The next projects planned are murals for both the wardens and deputy warden's office. After that, he said, he intends to start putting panels over the bars on the doors at the entrance to the prison to give the place 'that home look.'

The following month a feature article on the open house with photographs appeared in the Weekly section of the Advertiser. The rehabilitation program was praised again:

. . . The men are given as much free time as possible to indulge in whatever hobbies they have, and the result has been the development of many expert craftsmen now producing many useful and attractive articles which have found a ready market, and which provide them with funds against the day when they will find freedom.

Some of the items produced are enumerated:

Such things as ukuleles and all sorts of bowls, trays, stands, lamps and other items fashioned from koa, monkeypod and other Hawaiian woods are among the products shaped by these craftsmen who take a personal pride in each achievement.

Levu P. Ishimatsu is shown using a chisel to shape the inside of a monkeypod bowl on a lathe. In another photograph, inmate Abraham Kealoha poses with objects he has fashioned from 'ōhi'a: a lamp, a small calabash, and a salad serving fork and spoon. The caption states "... Items such as this find ready sale in Honolulu to residents and to visitors."\textsuperscript{130}

Over 1,500 guests were present on the first night of the third prison open house in September 1951. Equivalent numbers of visitors were expected the following two nights, according to a Star-Bulletin article. "Spectators gathered in two huge tents" to hear Harper and Mottz describe the rehabilitation program.

Chief attractions were a miniature Polynesian village that was being constructed by an inmate, the chair manufacturing section, and the display of woodwork and sculpture pieces, "many of which were sold to visitors." Items mentioned were: "tables, desks, chairs, trays, lamps, ukuleles, book ends and many other articles, all made of koa from the Kulani prison camp." This last statement is probably inaccurate, since, as previously stated, wood was purchased from O'ahu lumber yards for objects produced in the O.P. hobby shop and sold in the craft shop. Wood for the chair project and state gifts came from the camp.

\textsuperscript{130} "Prison Project," Honolulu Advertiser, 15 Oct. 1950, Weekly Sec., p. 5
The article reported that Archie Eriksson spoke about the work and skills the inmates were acquiring. The story is accompanied by a photograph of a female visitor watching inmate Melvin Freitas carve a monkeypod head of a horse in-the-round.\footnote{131}

Although Charlie Chow's picture did not appear in publicity for the third prison open house, his handsome pigboard was featured in a Honolulu Advertiser photograph that accompanied a story about the event. The caption states: "... Ernest Grunz, supervisor of the inmate hobby shop is shown holding the grand prize winning exhibit, a monkey pod pig tray, made by Charles Chow." Wood products in the foreground are a carved head with horns, a koa jewel box, and a sea horse table lamp. The text relates that visitors may see wood carvings exhibited and take a tour of the prison that includes a visit to the hobby shop. In the new chair manufacturing shop, guests could watch a chair being constructed from "start-to-finish."\footnote{132}

The Barbara Thurston Workshop

The "Barbara Thurston Workshop," defined as a "design club" created to teach inmates "such skills as pottery-making,


wood carving, leather work, and pastel painting" was dedicated in February 1952. A story in the Honolulu Advertiser identifies Mrs. Lorrin P. Thurston as being "instrumental in obtaining financial aid from the McInerny Foundation to install the design club building."

Thirty-seven inmates were enrolled in the club at that time. Archie Eriksson originated the concept of the organization: "to provide each of its members with a particular skill which he can use to train other inmates in the nearby hobby shop, or can be put into actual practice when the inmate returns to the community." 133 The Annual Report for the Hawaii Prison System that year announces: "... the Barbara Thurston Workshop was completed and is now functioning as the locale of the Oahu Prison Design Club. . . ." 134

Press Idealizes Industry Program

Two stories in the Honolulu Advertiser in 1953 extol the virtues of the industry program at Oahu Prison. Gordon Morse writes:

Twenty years ago Americans, like the rest of the world, thought that once a man had committed an offense against society, he was to be excluded from everyday living, learning, and loving into a

133 "New Prison Workshop To Teach Skills Dedicated," Honolulu Advertiser, 20 February 1952, Sec. 2, p. 15.

134 Department of Institutions Reports, Annual Report for Year Ended 30 June 1952, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 100-103.
secluded cage of concrete, hard labor and solitude . . .

He describes the change of attitude and O.P.'s program "that rehabilitates an inmate to the extent that he finds his maximum ability in a trade or profession." Referring to the woodworking program he comments:

From this program Oahu prison has 'graduated' many men who are now employed as carpenters, cabinet and furniture makers in Honolulu. These men learned a useful trade in prison. Some of them got their start in the prison hobby shop where everything from carved figures to monkey pod pig platters are designed and made. . . .

In one of the photographs that accompanies the story, John H. Beukema, director of education in the training and treatment division of O.P., and an inmate examine a large calabash and a leaf-shaped bowl. The caption states: "... Often prisoners take personal orders for a special piece of woodwork or design of furniture that isn't made commercially."

In another illustration, a prisoner in the hobby shop fashions an enormous leaf-form tray. The caption mentions that objects are sold "in the prison's sales room" and the payment "goes into a bank account for future use."

A third photograph shows the now completed Hawaiian village mentioned in the Star-Bulletin story about the 1951 open house. Standing to the side of the pole fence surrounding the village are at least two large wood images. One appears to be a reproduction of the Bishop Museum "temple
image" T3 (7654). Only one knee and elbow of the other figure is visible in the photograph. The caption states:

... Individual traits in hobby craft and arts are encouraged as part of the rehabilitation program. Here an inmate has become an authority on ancient Hawaiian villages and ceremonial rites through research in the library and has built a miniature village complete with shells, coral and idols.135

In another story by Sanford Zalburg, the third of a different series about Oahu Prison, the writer praises the industry program: "About 100 prisoners work daily in the industrial area. Few come to OP with a skill. But a man who is willing can learn a trade...." Among the listed trades is "wood work." Archie Eriksson is lauded. "He is a find. When there isn't material or machinery available, frankly he scrounges it."

Although the series is entitled, "What's Wrong at Oahu Prison?," Zalburg expresses enthusiasm for the industry program: "In a HOBBY SHOP prisoners turn out koa and monkeypod wood work. In the Barbara Thurston work shop, prisoners often discover that they are possessed of a talent they never dreamed they had in art and design."136


Complaints Against the Industry Program

A legal opinion from the Attorney General's office found that the Department of Institutions could legally engage in productive activities even though there was competition with private business. Protests regarding this competition were lodged from time to time, including one from Thomas R. Shields, Executive Secretary of the Retail Board for the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce, objecting to the Territory "selling merchandise to privately owned and operated institutions." 137 Another protest was registered by Rep. Esther K. Richardson in behalf of Kona Koa and Lumber Mill, charging that C.S. Wo furniture company in Honolulu bought Kulani koa from Mr. Erickson [sic] "at a much lower price" than the lumber mill, "In some instances a difference of $125.00" per 1000 feet. 138

A different type of complaint was filed by a Mrs. Hill who charged that a Kulani carver copied one of her designs. Upon investigation, Harper learned that the carver was not at fault. He explains the circumstances:

... a local handler of craft items had brought a sample to camp and placed an order with one of the

137 Thomas R. Shields, letter to Vance, 6 March 1953, Dept. of Institutions, Oahu Prison, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

inmates to fill for his concern. No one at camp, least of all the inmate, realized that this particular design had been originated by Mrs. Hill and that the party who placed the order was not entitled to have it.

When the complaint was registered at Kulani, the order was dropped and as far as Kulani is concerned the whole matter is closed.\textsuperscript{139}

\textbf{The Use of Native Woods}

Archie Eriksson expressed interest in propagating kauila, Hawaiian ebony (uhiuhi), and sandalwood at Kulani for use in his program. L. W. Bryan, associate Forester for the Division of Forestry in Hilo, noted that Kulani was too high for kauila and Hawaiian ebony but affirmed that sandalwood grew well in the area. Bryan also suggested naio and koa as being appropriate trees to propagate and stated that "The Division of Forestry on Hawaii stands willing and ready to cooperate with Kulani Enterprises at anytime."\textsuperscript{140}

In 1990, the vast quantities of koa used by the Department of Institutions to mass-produce furniture in the fifties seems to be extravagantly wasteful. It is possible that O.P.'s Industry Program contributed to the shortage of native woods that the carvers and bowl turners lament today. The

\textsuperscript{139} W. V. Bolling for Harper, memo to DIR, 16 Aug. 1955; Harper, memo to DIR, 21 Nov. 1955, Dept. of Institutions, Oahu Prison, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

\textsuperscript{140} L. W. Bryan, letter to Colin G. Lennox, 21 July 1950, Dept. of Institutions, Oahu Prison, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
observations of Stanley Porteus regarding Kulani Camp are typical of the attitude in the late forties and early fifties:

A sawmill is now operating there, and there are great supplies of koa that can be exploited without doing the forest any permanent injury, provided as is already the case, a judicious system of replanting goes forward to balance logging operations... Ohio timber is also available in huge amounts and though its use in building has declined, it seems to me that by sawing the logs on three sides semi-permanent buildings could be erected for dormitory and other purposes at the prison site and the Boys Training School... probably some permanent concrete buildings are necessary but for the rest, quonset huts and ohia lodges would seem to be sufficient for the present. 141

An example of the quantity of lumber utilized by the program may be found in the Advertiser story that describes the third open house. The reporter mentions that approximately one thousand koa chairs were manufactured each month for the city and county schools from wood furnished by Kulani. 142 The Annual Report for 1950-51 indicates that the prison was awarded a contract to manufacture 11,500 koa chairs for the City and County of Honolulu. They were to be constructed in four sizes and would be placed in kindergartens, schools, and public buildings.

Other examples of the Department's exploitation of native woods may be found in correspondence in the early fifties

141 Porteus, pp. 35-36.

concerning the manufacture, by mainland firms, of koa plywood panel board from lumber logged at Kulani, and an offer to sell koa and ‘ōhi’a "in carload lots" to the State of California's Department of Corrections for the construction of furniture at the San Quentin and Chino facilities to be used in California penal institutions and schools.143

Special Orders and Territorial Gifts

Prison correspondence from 1948 until 1955 indicates that in addition to fulfilling contracts to produce large quantities of koa chairs for the schools, the industry program was implemented by having inmates at Oahu Prison and Kulani make a large number of Territorial gifts and fill orders for koa furniture and other items for prominent individuals and organizations. Richard McCleery explains the significance of such gifts:

... crime was minimal here and the needs of the prison system had little standing on the political agenda. The provision of gifts to politicians and other influentials was critical to obtaining the most minimal resources needed to operate the system. Hence, prison management was obliged, among other things, to subsidize inmate craftsmen who could produce distinctive gifts and reward those necessary services with exceptional privileges. Of course, all this had to be done within the constraints of security considerations, but one consequence of the arrangements was the emergence of an inmate elite

with powerful motives to maintain order and the status quo.\textsuperscript{144}

The types of work commissioned varied, but native woods or monkeypod were always specified. The objects made during this period are noted chronologically.

Two koa bowls were ordered by Maurice Sapienza of the Attorney General's office when he visited Kulani Camp.\textsuperscript{145} Thomas B. Vance, Director of Institutions, at the direction of the Governor's Office, ordered paperweights in various "native woods" including "koa, monkeypod, milo, unfinished naio, mango, coffee" for the collection of Oscar Chapman, new Secretary of the Interior in 1949.\textsuperscript{146} Archie Eriksson wrote Vance informing him that the woods then available at O.P. were: "koa, kiawe, monkey pod, opuma [opiuma], milo, mango, palm and kamani." Eriksson described the design of the

\textsuperscript{144} Letter received from Richard H. McCleery, 16 June 1990; For an enlightening discussion of the social structure at O.P. during the years 1945 through 1955 when the change in administration resulted in a transformation from an authoritarian to a liberal, individualized approach to prison management, see McCleery's monograph \textit{Policy Change in Prison Management} (East Lansing, Michigan: Governmental Research Bureau, Michigan State University, 1957.)

\textsuperscript{145} Joe C. Harper, letter to Takumi Kono, 14 Aug. 1948, Dept. of Institutions, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

\textsuperscript{146} Thomas B. Vance, letter to Joe C. Harper, 14 Dec. 1949, Dept. of Institutions, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
paperweights and said he would request help from Olinda and Kulani to obtain the other "indigenous Hawaiian woods." 147

In a memo to Joe Harper, Vance reminded the warden of an order of a koa table for the House Finance Committee, forty-eight gavels and bases for all legislative committees; two large size gavels and bases—one for the President of the Senate and one for the Speaker of the House; carved wood nameplates for all legislators, the Mayor, and Board of Supervisors, City and County of Honolulu; and cribbage boards or some other small item for all members of the Territorial Legislature. 148

In April 1951, Harper wrote the Superintendent of Kulani to order a gun rack, requested by Vance, for Governor Stainback "upon an occasion to be given in his honor." Harper related that "Mr. Vance felt it would be most suitable if this gift were made from koa . . . " Regarding the size, Harper wrote, "I have no idea how large the Governor's arsenal is but believe a rack to hold six guns would surely meet his needs." 149


In a letter dated June 8 the same year John H. Bergen, Assistant Director of Institutions, wrote in Vance's behalf to Harper informing him that Governor Stainback "is in a hurry" for his koa dining table and six chairs since "he has no table of any kind in his new home."150 In June 1952, further correspondence from Bergen to Harper concerned a monkeypod platter ordered from O.P. by H. E. Emmons, president of Tacoma Sash and Door Co. as a gift for his wife. Although the item was made by a gifted craftsman who achieved recognition for his carving in prison and after he was released, Mrs. Emmons expressed dissatisfaction with the workmanship. Bergen remitted Mr. Emmons check for $83.90 and requested the return of the tray.151

In 1952, Vance ordered koa desks for the county chairmen of Maui, Kaua'i, and Hawai'i; corresponded with Robert H. Butterfield, Jr. regarding table tops for the Hotel Hana-Maui, suggesting that koa be used instead of monkeypod; and ordered a koa "welcoming sign" for the Kamehameha Lions Club at the Kona Airport entrance. Vance indicated that members of the organization expected the sign to be a donation since "the Lions Clubs of the Territory financed and sponsored the


initial steps required to create community demand for construction of the Mauna Loa Summit Road." In a letter to William P. Mottz, Vance wrote:

While I do not agree with that point of view I would, from the standpoint of good public relations, like to make the sign available without cost. I explained to Mr. Gomes, however, that we might find it impossible to do this work on government time and that the sign might have to be done by a prisoner after hours in the hobby shop making it necessary for us to charge for the prisoners time required. . . .

In June 1953, Farrant L. Turner, Secretary of Hawaii, thanked Charles H. Silva, then Director of the Department of Institutions, for the "magnificent koa desk trays" and "name plate," "designed and made under the supervision" of Archie Eriksson at Oahu Prison. Governor Samuel Wilder King also thanked Silva for a "beautiful koa letter tray" made by the inmates of Oahu prison. King obviously appreciated the quality of the work, writing: "The design and craftsmanship displayed in this gift is of the highest quality, and I wish to not only thank them [the inmates] for it but at the same time commend their workmanship."  


153 22 June 1953, Dept of Institutions, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

154 Samuel Wilder King, letter to Dr. Charles H. Silva, 22 June 1953, Dept. of Institutions, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
A. C. Baptiste, chairman and Executive Officer of the County of Kaua'i thanked Silva for "the fine-looking gavel." He remarked that "Favorable comments were made by the boys around the table concerning the workmanship and durable quality of the gavel and the base."\textsuperscript{155}

On July 16, 1954, Silva wrote Mrs. H. F. Towill, President of the Hilo Women's Club, to advise her of a gift she was to receive:

\begin{quote}
At the recent open meeting in the Hilo High School Auditorium sponsored by your Club, Warden Harper and I noticed that you were using a makeshift substitute for a gavel in conducting the meeting. We are sending you, under separate cover, a monkey pod gavel made in the Prison workshop as a token of our appreciation for your gracious sponsorship of the Department of Institutions public meeting. . . \textsuperscript{156}
\end{quote}

Virginia Harloe, President of the Outdoor Circle, corresponded with Governor King to request that "rustic signs on sapling posts" be made "in the workshop of Oahu Prison" to be installed on Tantalus Road. Harloe was complimentary of the inmates' workmanship and felt that there would be a moral benefit to the prisoners when they engaged in such activities: "The quality of work is excellent and participation by the prisoners in useful civic projects would be of desirable

\textsuperscript{155} 23 Oct. 1953, Dept. of Institutions, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

\textsuperscript{156} Silva, letter to Mrs. H. F. Towill, 16 July 1954, Dept. of Institutions, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
influence." Harper wrote Bergen and indicated that Mr. Eriksson was meeting with Harloe and the Head Traffic Engineer of the City and County Division of Traffic Safety regarding the matter. 157

In a letter to Joe Harper in October 1954, Adele Rogers of Bethesda, Maryland, wife of William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General of the United States, wrote that she and Bill were "thrilled by the perfectly lovely salad bowl!"

The Bennetts insist that we can't pay for it—that you people insisted on sending it as a gift. That seems terrifically generous—way beyond the call of duty. We certainly do appreciate it, and will always enjoy using it for the thoughts it brings of our wonderful visit with all of you, as well as for the beauty, and usefulness, of the bowl itself.

She also mentions being informed that "you had wanted to have some of your people make a bowl for President Eisenhower." Rogers indicates that she had secured approval from the White House and requests information from Harper regarding the bowl's presentation. She closes by thanking him again for "our gorgeous koa bowl." 158

Correspondence in May and June 1955 concerns arrangements for a koa bedroom set to be made for Senator Kazuhira Abe of Hilo. The set consists of two night tables, a headboard with


sliding doors, a bed frame, and a chest of drawers. The total cost of the furniture, constructed of the best grades of koa, was $265.159

In a memo, Bergen advises Mr. Bolling that Governor King has requested two koa conference tables for the Palace cabinet room. King again wants them "as soon as possible."

The lack of funding was also mentioned: "Obviously, this is a high priority project which should be completed as soon as possible. Unfortunately, there are no funds anywhere to pay for it and Dr. Silva has instructed me to see that this is to be manuahi. Will you please have the shop get busy on this at once."160

Eriksson, apparently concerned about his budget and contract obligations, disagreed with Bergen's approach. Bolling sent a memo back to Bergen the following month:

Mr. Eriksson informs me that he has contacted Mr. Turner personally and has been assured that our present priorities should have preference over the work here described. Mr. Turner also indicated that he would be able to cover the actual costs of the material and it is therefore my understanding that we are to await further instructions from him before proceeding.161


160 John H. Bergen, memo to Mr. Bolling, 26 August 1955, Dept. of Institutions, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.


166
In December another memo was sent from Bergen remarking that the Governor had "requested twenty-four (24) koa chairs to complete the furnishing in his cabinet meeting room for which you made the very beautiful koa tables." The funding problem was addressed:

As a matter of information and to ease Mr. Eriksson's apprehensions, Mr. Turner assures me that there will be some money available to pay for these tables and chairs. Just how much he can get from the Department of Public Works he does not yet know, but he feels that the prison should at least be reimbursed for the material.\(^\text{162}\)

John Popovich says that the territory or state gifts were produced in the Hobby Shop by the men who had work assignments there. He says, "For a while we used to make gavels for the legislature. They used to love to get them. We made nameplates for them because the boys were good carvers." The wood was often monkeypod "slabs" furnished by Olinda. Kulani furnished koa until their sawmill broke down. The men accomplished the work on their own time. Although they were not paid cash, they were often rewarded:

I would tell them what I wanted--a bowl here or this type of tray or this type of letter opener or whatever the case may be. The way I'd reward them, I'd have maybe a slab of wood, let's say that would get me three nice bowls. I'd say, 'Okay, you keep one bowl and I want these two for the state [or territory].' And so they'd have to put in their own time, their own lacquer, their own sandpaper. Their

\(^{162}\) Bergen, memo to HAPS, 7 Dec. 1955, Dept. of Institutions, Misc., Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.

167
reward payment is that third one. I don't say in every case they'd get one out of three, because sometimes they'd get nothing. Sometimes if it was a bad board, I'd just let them have the board. There again you maneuver and you manipulate and compromise. You handle the rapport. If you got a good working relationship there's no problem. Because you're not taking advantage of them. You're trying to give them a break, too, because wood in those days was very hard to get. Now it's even worse.\textsuperscript{163}

The Hobby Shop in the Sixties

In 1960, the Department of Social Services hired Milton F. Nuremberg, former chief of the Division of Corrections, Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department, to make recommendations for improved security in the Hawai'i prison system. Nuremberg found security to be lax at the hobby shop and anticipated a problem that was to arise later at Kulani. He proposed the following recommendation for O.P. relating to the Hobby Shop:

Move Hobby Shop from present location to the top floor and in the center of the cell blocks. A trusty is assigned as policemen to conduct operations of the Hobby Shop. A guard should be assigned in the Hobby Shop in place of the trusty. A Hobby Shop program can readily become a racket if it is not supervised properly.\textsuperscript{164}

The 1961 Holiday issue of Paahao Press has an informative feature story on the hobby shop. A photograph is included of a large carved wood "tiki," a stylized version of the Bishop

\textsuperscript{163} Telephone interview with Popovich, 9 Jan. 1990.

\textsuperscript{164} Milton F. Nuremberg, Report, TS, 26 Sept. 1960, Hawaiiana Collection, University of Hawaii, Honolulu.

168
Museum temple image T3 (7654). The text provides information about the carving:

The tiki pictured here is eight (8) feet tall and took twenty-one (21) days to complete. This beautifully carved piece of workmanship was made from Nawiliwili wood, which was used in many of the early Hawaiian Surf Boards. An inmate whose first name is Harold carved this Tiki with his own carving tools from Germany. This fine piece of hobby work is one example of many such works being turned out right here in the Oahu Prison Hobby Shop.

"Trays, bowls, tiki's, and lazy susans" are reported to be the items most in demand in the gift shop. The hours men may work in the hobby shop are also specified:

The inmates have free time everyday from Monday through Sunday to work at their desired hobbies. The schedule for hobby time is rotated so each and every inmate interested in working there may do so. The insides (sic) worklines, such as the laundry, store, kitchen, etc., may go up to the Hobby Shop from 11:10 a.m. to 3:00 p.m. Mondays through Fridays. The outside workline, may work from 3:10 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. daily. Both lines are free to work from 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., weekends.

The percentage received by the inmate and the state for the sale of items produced in the shop is itemized:

The inmates themselves purchase all the needed materials such as wood, tools, lacquer sealer, thinner, bandsaw blades, stain, woodfiller and anything else that might be needed. Of course the inmates get 90% of the finished article after it is sold in one gift shop. 5% goes to the State for Electricity and use of the shop. 3% for the hand tools and repairs to equipment in the hobby shop and the other 2% to an insurance fund where an inmate may benefit if he is hurt while working or at play.
Other benefits from the Hobby Shop fund related to the recreation program were still realized by the inmates:

The Cinemascope screen and attachments to the cameras in our Recreation Hall was paid for out of the Inmate's Hobby Shop fund and did not come from the State as was announced in the newspaper. The men were having only grade "B" movies and since the screen was purchased, the movies have improved very much.

The popularity of the shop is indicated by the demand for lockers and a need for more working space:

Lockers are provided in the Hobby Shop for the individual, but due to the popularity of the shop, it is impossible to furnish all with locker space, but a list is maintained to give everybody a opportunity to secure a locker as soon as one becomes available.

Over 200 men work in the hobby shop and space is what is needed at this time, with luck, and the cooperation of the administration the hobby shop will be expanded a little so that the men will have the much needed room.

One reason for the popularity of the shop is inferred by the author of the story: "The Hobby Shop, originally created for a leisure time activity, has become an asset to the inmates and their families here at Oahu Prison."165

John Popovich maintains that the primary reason so many men spent their leisure time in the hobby shop was that they were provided an opportunity to earn money in prison. "The

Hobby Shop, the bottom line it was dollars. When you can make bucks, it means you're going to go for it." Popovich relates that the shop was extremely popular: "At times you had no room to work except sit on the floor. And that's after hours." Asked if a love for carving was a factor, he said, "No, it's the bucks that start it. They don't go in there just for the fun of it."

Popovich compares carving to basic education classes at O.P.: "Expose them to it, sooner or later something will rub off, and it does." He describes a potential carver who may have to start by assisting someone else, since he may not have money for wood or even sandpaper:

A lot of them never saw a piece of woodwork in their lives and they start helping some guys like Charlie Chow. Let's say he's turning out ten bowls a week to sell in the gift shop. He puts them on the lathe, roughs 'em down and then he gives 'em to someone, a greenhorn, that he likes. Maybe he's going to give him a start.

He says 'Okay, you sand these for me and I'll give you ten cents' or whatever the case may be. So this kid learns to sand a little bit. Gradually he sees that nest egg of his grow a little bit.

He's at the office and he says, 'Hey Charlie, how about giving me a little more work?' First thing you know he mingles with other people. Then they start working in cliques and groups and this knowledge rubs off.

Then this guy takes a little interest in it. 'Gee I got ten dollars or fifteen dollars!' Because some of them don't have families that can give them any money in the first place. So first thing you know they got a little bank account and they're feeling like King Tut.
Popovich says that inmates weren't allowed to have money in the prison:

But they did have a store that they could purchase from with what they called store tickets. Our business office took in the money for them from the gift shop and put it in their account. Then they would go to the business office to get a ten dollar store ticket to buy their candy and cigarettes and toothpaste and so forth. These provided all the personal articles that they needed. Families didn't have to send them in anything. And I know some of the people definitely helped their family with a little bit of it. 166

Clare Loring, columnist for the Advertiser's "Music and Arts" section and an artist herself, suggests that the motive for prison carving was not solely mercenary: "Though the sale of the work earns money for the men who make it, some of the inmates prefer to give their work away to friends, rather than to sell it, so highly do they treasure it."

The popularity of the program is affirmed by her observation that "both in the craft shop and in the Barbara Thurston Shop the men have their own lockers, and there is always a waiting list for these lockers."

She is extremely complimentary of the program and much of the work she viewed:

Delicacy, imagination, creativity, dedicated craftsmanship.
These are not words one usually associates with the name Hawaii State Prison, yet they are not only

found, but are nourished behind the guarded walls.

In the Corrections Division for the State of Hawaii, the importance of creative art is recognized as a necessary part of life for many of the inmates in its institutions. Emphasis, however, is being put on the quality of work turned out, rather than on its quantity.

THE QUALITY of work in the gift shop is as individual as are the men who produce it. It varies from rather ornately carved and highly varnished salad sets to delicately fashioned, abstract forms in which the grain of the wood and its natural beauty have been deeply considered in the creation of the piece of sculpture.

Although power tools are available to make the "bowls, trays, tikis, and sculpture," Loring observes that "the emphasis is always on hand work." She is impressed with the originality of the work: "The men are encouraged to do their own designing, and even those designs which are copied from other work have individual characteristics incorporated."

One of the photographs that accompanies the article features an abstract wood sculpture, a representative example of fine art of the highest order. The grain is revealed and encircles an oval opening in the center of a bending elongated form. A round opening near the top is repeated in the contour of the circular base connected to the sculpture by a brass support rod.

In another photograph, Ishmael Manus, superintendent of the prison, and John Popovich examine a large monkeypod leaf-shaped tray with scalloped edges and a random pattern of low-relief venation. A variety of compartmentalized wood trays
are in the foreground—a round one with fluted edges, another circular form with a curvilinear border and compartments, and several less-complex, more restrained leaf-form trays.167

The 1965 Department of Corrections Annual Report is illustrated with a photograph of a carver's hand clasping a concave chisel being applied to the top of a leaf-form tray. The close-up photo shows a bulbous-ended hollowed stem that curves upward to a knot in the wood before leading into the tray. The leaf's surface is closely faceted with undulating waves that seem to emanate from the delicately fluted edges. Although the report does not refer to carving or the hobby shop, the photograph alone testifies of the superb craftsmanship that was developed within the prison walls.

John Popovich describes the work produced in the hobby shop. He says that most of the men who made tikis did not refer to books:

They weren't necessarily following the ones that are in the Bishop Museum books—a lot of them were free lancing. Just like Charlie Chow and his artistic work—most of his was originals. In that shop that was another advantage of working up there in that Hobby Shop, you could let your imagination run wild. Some of them did.

He also mentions the varying quality of the carvings:

"Some of the work you'd have to marvel at and then other work

you wouldn't even want to own." 168 Stewart Medeiros concurs: "The prison always had a shop. The only thing, they did some crude work, they did some good work. They were good tiki carvers. They did the best they could, but they never cured." 169

Levan Sequeira had a negative impression of prison carving. He says:

... if you look back at the images that the prisoners made. You look at they call it their tikis and such--grotesque! I mean, they had toenails, they had mouths that were two holes that were drilled in. They never--they did a horrible job. The carvings that were coming out of prison at that time--I don't know who their teacher was, but there was a certain form that they taught. ... Whoever the teacher was, it rubbed off. Everybody carved his style. 170

Sequeira's assumption that the inmates carved in the style of their teacher is correct, in a sense, but there was little formal training. The typical method of learning to carve at O.P. was to watch another self-taught carver work. The "grotesque" tiki style observed by Sequeira was probably adapted by an inmate from another carver and then copied by others who thought it was a traditional form.

In 1967, an event occurred that was to have an irreversible effect on leisure-time carving and bowl turning at O.P.

A fire destroyed the 19-year-old wood frame hobby shop built above the concrete bath house. The incident was described in an Advertiser story:

... The blaze started at 5:45 p.m. when a blower fan in the hobby shop spray room short-circuited and ignited paint thinner fumes. Inmates working in the room yelled and ran, and other inmates in the hobby shop fled down the stairs to safety. Two men tried to get back near the spray room to fight the fire, but were overcome by smoke as the flames erupted through the building. The two men were dragged and carried out by other inmates. ...

The O.P. hobby shop fire is believed to have been accidental, unlike the fire at the Kulani workshop that will be discussed hereafter. Prison Superintendent Robert "Naauao" [Naauao] is quoted:

We believe what the inmates said about it being an electrical cause. That was their hobby shop and, if nothing else, they'd protect that. In fact, several of them tried to stop the fire. Everything in there is gone. All their monkey-pod work and all the equipment. The building is gutted. ... 171

John Popovich concurs:

... they policed themselves. They knew how valuable it was. That's why it was a total surprise to me it even burned down because when we had small smoking incidences up there previously, they took care of it. Because it was theirs, you know.

As far as I'm concerned, that's one place that they would rush to put out even at the risk of their own safety.

Popovich scoffs at the idea of a black market at O.P. similar to the one rumored to have existed at Kulani, or that illicit activities of guards or inmates could be the reason the shop burned down:

They had a different condition up there [Kulani]. They have an open camp situation. As far as I was concerned ours was more tightly run down here. I was personally involved with it. I kept records of every individual that used that hobby shop. They had to have passes—I signed them, I screened them. I brought in the wood for them. I sold the wood to them for cost that we picked it up by the truck-loads. I was directly involved. If there was any employee involved it would have to be behind my back. And I'm not saying that there wasn't one here and there. But it was not, shall we say, an openly ongoing shady operation, because I would have caught it.\textsuperscript{172}

One abuse of the system that angered prison administrators occurred when inmates sent gifts home to be sold by relatives for higher prices than could be obtained at the gift shop. The practice was difficult to control because many of the pa'ahao wanted to make presents for their families, particularly at Christmas. The prison charged the inmates ten percent for family gifts, but Popovich would put a lower value on them than for gift shop items. For instance, a bowl that

\textsuperscript{172} Telephone interview with Popovich, 9 Jan. 1990.
would be sold in the gift shop for ten dollars would be worth five dollars if sent home.

Ray V. Belnap, Administrator of the Corrections Division at that time, refers to the effect of the hobby shop fire in his Annual Report:

Earlier this year, a fire, which demolished the hobby craft shop, resulted in a great deal of tension and the morale, among a small segment of the inmate population, was at its ebb. As a consequence, the majority of the inmate body was coerced into staging a day-long sit down strike. This mass demonstration prompted the prison staff to take immediate action to tighten security measures. . . .

The woodcraft program at O.P. never again regained its former prominence or support from the administration. Popovich speaks of his disappointment that Belnap made no effort to reinstitute the program on its former level:

Some of us felt it was such a very definite asset to the prison. It wasn't the end, but he had it put together under very restrictive conditions which didn't materialize too good and it just sort of died on the vine.

When asked to describe the restrictions and reason the program didn't succeed, Popovich explains:

You were only allowed to make so much articles and only allowed to make so much money. And when you start doing that you kill all incentive for individuals. Prior to that the sky was the limit as long as you did it within our rules and regulations.

Popovich says the restrictions were imposed because Belnap and several others believed that the inmates were making too much profit from the sale of their woodcraft. Popovich disagrees:

I felt that was to their benefit because they got out with gate money. Some of them had two, three, thousand gate money when they left. And to me those are crucial moments when you get out of any prison. You have to have something to be self-supporting in case, you know, you have a tough time getting a job or wait getting your first pay check. If you're broke you go right back to crime, so to say. Of course, you're talking about different philosophies. 174

Finally, was the matter of security. McCleery states that the institutional climate and level of hostility determine whether a carving program can be in effect. As Popovich suggested, carving tools can be rapidly turned into weapons. There was substantial participation in the craft shop during the time the atmosphere was most relaxed, but as violence and hostility increased it became necessary to establish rigorous controls.

Correctional Master Plan

A 1969 survey by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency prompted the 1970 Hawaii State Legislature to commission the Hawaii State Law Enforcement and Juvenile Delinquency Planning Agency to propose a master plan for the

state corrections' system. In 1973, the Hawaii Correctional Master Plan was enacted by the Legislature. Unfortunately, the CMP did not anticipate the mounting increase in inmate population. By 1980, when the recommended correctional facilities were constructed that included the renovation of Halawa Jail into the Halawa High Security Facility and the conversion of Oahu Prison to the Oahu Community Correctional Center it was apparent that there was a critical shortage of space.

The 1980 Annual Report asserts: "Of grave concern is the current (as well as future) capability of the correctional system to provide secure and humane living conditions, with adequate services and programs, for all persons confined in the state."\(^{175}\)

Subsequent reports in the early eighties substantiated this appraisal. The 1981 report begins:

The worsening crisis of overcrowded prisons was of main concern for the corrections system in Hawaii . . . Public concern over the incidence of violent crime has caused changes in sentencing laws, mandatory imprisonment for certain crimes and imposition of mandatory periods of confinement for repeat offenders, as well as a high rate of detention of persons accused of crimes. As a result, the volume of people incarcerated greatly surpassed the capabilities of the corrections facilities to provide adequate housing, services and programs. By the end of this fiscal year, there were 958

\(^{175}\) *1980 Annual Report*, Dept. of Corrections, p. 12, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu.
persons in the State's corrections system, which has a capacity of about 777 bed spaces.\textsuperscript{176}

The problem was reiterated in the 1982 report. In 1983, the report relates that accommodations were not only overcrowded but inmates had to "spend much more time in their cells and in inactivity. There are simply not enough work opportunities within the prison and space in inmate educational and recreational programs to accommodate the much larger population's needs." A graph illustrates the prison's increase in population--from 323 felons in 1975 to 970 in 1983.\textsuperscript{177}

By 1986, there were over 1,900 adults incarcerated in Hawai‘i. The 1986 Annual Report, however, makes the promising announcement that the Corrections Division will "embark" on the expansion of Correctional Industries. If this policy is followed, carving could regain its former status in the prison system.

An analysis of the decline and reintroduction of industry programs in the nation is included in the report:

Correctional industries have had a place in the American prison system from its inception. At the turn of the century, 80 percent of inmates in U.S. prisoners [sic] were involved in industry operations; today less than 10 percent. The decline is due to numerous reasons, but the primary cause is


found in the imposition of legal restrictions on the operation of industries and the sale of products. In the past ten years, though, Correctional Industries have been experiencing a renaissance. Industries programs are instrumental in reducing inmate idleness, training inmates in marketable job skills, and helping to defray the costs of incarceration.  

Kanâk Napeahi reveals that he learned to make Hawaiian carved wood bracelets at O.P. when there was no hobby shop or woodcraft program. When asked how he learned to make them, he replied, "What you got to do is learn by looking—-they're not going teach you. You just got to hang around." He confides that he got the wood "outlaw and the blade also. When they don't have any hobby shop you're not supposed to be carving. Carve at night when nobody watching." This information would seem to indicate that carving in prison fills a more basic need than merely serving as a means to produce income.

The Department of Corrections

In September 1988, overcrowding was alleviated when inmates were admitted to the new multi-million dollar Halawa Medium Security Facility near the high security prison. Drawing and painting and ceramics classes are offered there. A more comprehensive arts and crafts program will be instituted when staffing problems are resolved. At O-Triple-C,

classes in ceramics have recently been discontinued, but one class in "feathercraft," two classes in painting and drawing, and one class in needlepunch are conducted, sponsored by the Kalihi-Palama Cultural and Arts Society. There is no gift shop at either facility and sale of the works is not permitted. At the present time, there are carving and bowl-turning facilities only at Kulani. Some carving is being done at Waiawa, a minimum security facility at central O'ahu in operation since 1985 that provides remedial education and vocational training. Agnes Baro describes the carving there as "kind of informal impromptu inmate art expression."

The situation regarding the lack of inmate work programs is summarized in a 1989 Department of Corrections report:

Inmate idleness is a significant problem in all of Hawaii's institutions with the exception of the camps at Waiawa and Kulani and the Hawaii Youth Correctional Facility. In touring all the other facilities, one is struck by the number of inmates who remain in the housing units and appear to have nothing constructive to occupy their time during the work day.

Prior to 1970, prison industrial programs played a role in keeping many inmates busy. The combined influence of a decline in the number of prisoners during the early 1970's and the adoption of the correctional Master Plan which minimized the importance of work, resulted in the elimination of most such programs. This resulted in the situation today where inmates have only limited opportunities to use their time constructively.

During the early 1980s, correctional administrators recognized the problem and began attempts to reintroduce prison industries as a means of reducing idleness. The new department [the Department of
Corrections) has continued these efforts, but to date, with only limited success.\footnote{179}

John Popovich speaks of the former industry program that "wasn't costing tax payers a nickel. It was a self-supporting program." He wonders today if the program could function:

You have a different type of individuals out here now. At the moment I don't know if it would work with the present type of inmates you're getting today. You've getting drug addicts. You're getting violent type inmates nowadays. Where before when I was working there you had a sort of a good mixture of elderly, middle aged and younger ones. So the old timers sort of took care of things and controlled things and the young ones learned from the old timers. So you had stability there a little, a lot more than you have now.\footnote{180}

Kulani Camp

Kulani inmates gained a reputation for quality carving and wood-turning just a few years after the camp was established in 1946. The 1951 Annual Report notes: "The inmates, during their leisure time busy themselves with craft work or hapuu products. The woodwork consists of handmade picture frames, trays of various sizes and shapes, carved lamp stands and wood turning." Although the state was later to provide power machinery and tools, the report indicates that "The tools, wood lathes and other equipment used in the


\footnote{180} Telephone interview with Popovich, 9 June 1990.

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manufacturing of the products are the property of the inmates." As at O.P., not all of the objects carved were intended for sale at the camp. "The finished articles are sold to visitors, with some being shipped to the inmates' relatives."181

The 1952 Annual Report refers to the popularity of carving and turning at Kulani:

Craft work constitutes the main hobby of the greatest number of inmates. Excellent koa craft work is produced by these men who start by helping another man sand an article in return for a few packages of cigarettes. In turn he finds an interest in woodworking and ability to create he never knew existed. A wide variety of craft articles is made ranging from large pig trays to individual poi bowls. Some men are excellent wood carvers and wood turners and create beautiful lamps, calabashes, etc.

The Territory discontinued selling hāpuʻu products that year and the Kulani Inmate Council adopted the project as a "leisure time program." The '52 Report notes that at Kulani "Several inmates carve hāpuʻu logs into Hawaiian tikis and realize a profit from their hobby."182

A Star-Bulletin article reports a typical story of a paʻahao who developed carving skills at Kulani. Harold Kaili, age 28, had been at the camp since 1957, except for a period at O.P. where he was sent because of illness.

181 Department of Institutions Reports, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, p. 31.

Working in the prison shop, he has become a gifted woodcarver. Tikis, trays and coffee tables take shape beneath his chisel in a never-ending line. 'I don't know how many items I have made,' he said. 'I lost count long ago.'

Raili carved a "an elaborate statue of Pele" and "an ancient Hawaiian sacrificial god." He relates that he 'designed them after studying a Hawaiian history book.' He learned "the rudiments" of carving from another prisoner "but he feels that most of his success has come through things he has learned himself."

The article mentions that Raili buys Government savings bonds with the money he earns from the sale of his work at the crafts shop. "When he completes his term he will have a trade, a bankroll and offers of several jobs."183

Work sold at the Kulani crafts shop may be obtained for "a pittance" according to an Orchid Isle article:

---Lamps come in all colors, shapes and sizes. Prices vary from $10 for a 10 inch high job, to $27 for a 27 inch high beauty. Each has a different finish, to bring out respective qualities in the rich Koa wood.

Lazy susans are mentioned that "revolve noiselessly. They feature scalloped edges, dainty fringe-work--polished to a glass-like finish. Cost runs from $60 to $75. It may sound

high, but check the work. Each is close to perfection--set on a solid, same-colored base."

"Koa lady trays" are also produced: "This wood has been fashioned to resemble a woman--and does to the last detail. Prices range from $25 for a medium sized effort, to $60 for a jumbo size that will hold a host of table tidbits."

Other objects in the shop are itemized: "Spoon and fork sets". . . "Or the gigantic fish-shaped serving platter, it sells for $39 and is well over two feet in length." A little koa bowl is reported to be just $8.00, but "Shelves are stocked from end to end with great Koa bowls, monsters--why you could almost bathe in any one of them. Costs vary, median price might be $40."

Inmates are taught to carve "in a hand-me-down system, from old inmate to new inmates." When the prisoners are released "many open their own shops, some work wood on a part time basis, while others maintain it as a hobby."\textsuperscript{184}

The continued popularity of the program is indicated in the 1982 Annual Report for the Corrections Division. One of the positive achievements listed was "...80% participation by inmates in the Kulani Correctional Facility crafts program."\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{184} Robert G. Ursul, "Wooden Products available At Kulani," \textit{The Orchid Isle}, 28 Feb.- 6 Mar. 1971, Orchid Isle Tabloid, p. 3.

In 1984, a fire destroyed the Kulani workshop. The Nuremberg Report admonition that an unsupervised Hobby Shop program could easily become a racket had been justified. Immediately before the fire, an intensive investigation was in the process of being conducted by the state concerning a suspected "black-market" operation in the craft shop that involved both pa'ahao and maka'i (guards). The temptation had been too great for some of the men who realized that the high quality koa carvings and bowls, sold for a nominal amount in the craft shop, could command high prices in the tourist market. Prison officials do not know who set fire to the shop. A former Kulani employee believes the prisoners did it. "They got tired of the maka'is skimming and pressuring them for stuff. But it was pretty much a give and take in some areas." He relates that the carvers were a "pretty tight group":

... That's how they learned. They learned from the older guys. The veterans and the masters who'd been there the longest and had more time to develop. It was passed down from inmate to inmate. When they thought they were being pushed around, I feel, they just retaliated by burning the shop down. They figured it was in the best of their interest because they were being ripped off.

A released inmate confides that the Kulani shop fire was "purposely accidental" because the pa'ahao were not "treated right."
Agnes Baros, former Educational Services Officer of the Department of Corrections, says that as soon as funding was available the shop was rebuilt. The new shop has 150 work stations:

The equipment is state of the art... The craft shop they've got now is like something they've never seen before in their history. Beautiful lathes, hand-tools, and all kinds of power equipment. A special painting-spraying room. Big ventilation system. It's very sophisticated. We're building the right infrastructure. We'll get there; in fact, we'll probably come back stronger than ever before with the crafts.\textsuperscript{186}

The 1986 Annual Report notes that "The newly completed Craft Shop is having a retail outlet added to it to allow the public once again to purchase koa wood products handcrafted by inmates."\textsuperscript{187}

Alapa'i Hanapi was hired to teach carving and operate the gift shop. His motivation was an altruistic desire "to try to educate our Hawaiian brothers and sisters inside institutions so that we eliminate the numbers of Hawaiians inside there. We want them all out."

An inmate gave his wife Mililani a "priceless" sandalwood bracelet that the Hanapi family regards as an heirloom. The beautiful bracelet with intricately carved maile and bamboo

\textsuperscript{186} Telephone interview with Agnes Baro, Sept. 1989.

leaves was a gift expressing appreciation to Alapa'i for reinstituting the carving program.

Although Alapa'i enjoyed the teaching experience, the gift shop was "a headache" with "all the wheeling and dealing." Alapa'i observes: "Everybody likes nice koa bowls." The "politics" and administrative problems eventually caused him to resign. Baro says that he was "tied-up" waiting for equipment and "there were staff shortages--problems with security coverage. We didn't have an account clerk. We had problems with the infrastructure."

The Department of Corrections 1988 Annual Report mentions "a Visiting/Crafts Display Structure" as one of the "In-Facility Capital Improvements" and announces that "the Koa Craft Shop commenced operations, providing State gifts as well as allowing inmates to earn money to support themselves upon parole or termination of sentence." A qualified crafts-person is still being sought to fill the position vacated by Hanapi.

According to Hanapi, a variety of objects are produced in the Kulani shop today including: "Sculpture--three-dimensional; high, low relief. All kind from personal adornment . . . bracelets, pendants, to all kind of bowls, shapes, platters." He learned that several of the best carvers on his workline have since transferred to the kitchen. They prefer

"busting suds," or washing pans, he says, because there was so much pressure to fill state orders they weren't given their recreation time.

Kulani inmates had some of their work accepted for Time on Our Hands, the 1989 juried prison art exhibit at Honolulu Hale. The name was originated by Mary-Ellen Hancock, a ceramics instructor who has worked thirteen years for the Kalihi Palama Culture & Arts Society at O-Triple-C and Halawa. She says, "All the inmates have is time. But if they're focused, they can put that time to good use, can put all their energy into something and make it beautiful . . ."189

The show was juried by Elaine Murphy, Coordinator of the Mayor's Office of Culture and the Arts. Kulani inmate Sam Paulo won a first place prize for an openwork carved koa bracelet (figure 30). According to Hancock, she had helped Paulo learn to carve clay in one of her classes, but at the time he was transferred to Kulani he had never worked with wood.190 The quality of the handsome bracelet, carved on the inside as well as on the outer surface, attests to his aptitude and diligence. He also won a second place prize for a turned calabash. Norman Santiago, another Kulani inmate,


190 Telephone interview with Mary-Ellen Hancock, 17 Aug. 1989.

was awarded a third place prize for a calabash. His koa poi pounder, included in the exhibit, is illustrated in figure 31.

Evaluation

1. Carving and bowl turning are traditional leisure time activities in Hawai‘i's correctional system.

Although documentation of this occupation exists only from the 1930s there is no reason to believe that carving was not practiced earlier by inmates, perhaps from the time O.P. was established in 1857 or earlier in makeshift jails. Carving would seem to offer a pleasurable occupation for under-educated Hawaiian pa‘ahao who wished to fill hours of solitude in a confined area. The simple tools and materials—a piece of wood and a cutting instrument apparently could be acquired. So tenacious was this tradition that even when carving was banned at O.P., prisoners are known to have had tools and wood brought in from the "outside" in order to furtively pursue their hobby. The intricately carved bracelets may have originated in prison because they required a small amount of wood that could be brought in by a relative or friend and be easily concealed from the māka‘i.

Further, the tradition of Hawaiian carving is well-known and may have provided an incentive to pursue the craft. It is possible that a member of a canoe-carving
family taught the skill to others in prison, or perhaps the intuitive feeling that inspires many of today's Hawaiian carvers prompted them to engage in the practice.

2. Most of the wood objects carved and turned in the prison system may be considered "Hawaiian" art.

The subject matter was generally "Hawaiian." Some of the most popular subjects were tikis, calabashes, leaf-form trays and bowls, pigboards, and Hawaiian bracelets. There are several reasons Hawaiian subjects were popular: First, a large percentage of the inmates were part-Hawaiian and community art would be their most natural expression.

Second, the men most often learned in a hand-me-down method from one inmate to another and would therefore make variations of the same subjects originated by long time Hawaiian pa'ahao.

Third, the administration encouraged the creation of Hawaiian art because traditionally oriented objects were considered to be the most "appropriate" territorial or state gifts, an important means of gaining support for the prison system from legislators and government officials.

Finally, the men produced Hawaiian art to sell to tourists in the gift shop.
Another criterion that distinguished the work as Hawaiian was the material employed. Woods identified with Hawaiian crafts such as monkeypod or koa and other native woods were generally used, even when lamps and non-Hawaiian objects were produced. While koa and monkeypod were logged at Kulani or Olinda and furnished for the production of state gifts, men also preferred to have these woods purchased "outside" in O'ahu lumber yards for their hobby shop projects.

3. Carving and wood-turning in the prison had an influence on work produced "on the outside."

Some men became proficient carvers in prison. They often learned fundamentals by observing another inmate work, or by assisting him, but they developed skills on their own as they carved to occupy long hours of confinement. During the thirties, the Oahu Prison rehabilitation program included instruction in woodworking skills. An ambitious industry program in the forties and fifties also developed these skills and promoted carving and bowl-turning as potential vocations. The skills were refined as the men learned to make furniture and other wood objects for state and territorial projects and gifts as well as producing their own articles for sale in the gift shop.
Craftspeople on the "outside" were acquainted with the inmates' work through the press. The hobby shop activities and the industry program in the forties and fifties were well-publicized with numerous illustrated stories in Honolulu periodicals that idealized the program. Well-attended prison open houses and gift shops were another means of acquainting the public with the inmates' work. Further, when the pa'ahao were released, they brought the skills they had acquired and refined, and the designs they had copied or created in prison back to their island communities.

In the Kona area, Kanāk Nepeahi carves full time. He makes a variety of objects including elaborate wood bracelets, a form originated and passed on to prisoners at Oahu Prison and Kulani. He learned by observing master carvers at O.P. After Charlie Chow was released, he sold his bowls and freeform platters to Ian Cameron at the popular Wood Rose Shop in Honolulu and eventually had his carvings sold in New York City. The hapu'u tiki Chow believes to have originated at O.P. is still being produced by carvers today for hotels, restaurants, bars, and gardens on O'ahu and the outer islands and in other parts of the world.

The fact that influential Hawaiian master carvers were produced by the prison system is substantiated by a number of the artists interviewed for this study.
Kanâk Napeahi speaks of O.P., "There were the best in there. There were two, three greatest master carvers that I learned from. . . ." 191

Referring to the ex-prisoners he knew on Moloka‘i, Alapa‘i Hanapi says:

They learned from prison. That’s where you find a lot of the old people who were old masters who still have traditional style wood-carving training from their family or something or before.

His decision to work at Kulani was influenced by the reputation of the carvers:

I’ve always heard of Kulani since I was a small kid. I’d had uncles and people who’d been inside there and the woodwork has always been bragged about. And to me to have something to do with the Kulani workshop was a real honor. I was all thrilled. 192

By the sixties, the carvings and bowls turned by inmates were well-known in the Hawaiian community. Some young people, such as Levan Sequiera, may have rejected the idea of becoming full-time carvers because the craft was so closely associated with the work produced at O.P. and the outlying camps. In 1963, when Levan graduated from Church College in Lā‘ie, he remembers that carving had a "stigma" because "prisoners were doing it." He

says, "That's why, maybe, I never really went into it full-time." Others, however, developed an interest in the craft because of prison carving. Dan De Luz first learned to use a lathe from an ex-Kulani prisoner and some of Alapa'i Hanapi's initial carving experiences were with ex-prisoners on Moloka'i.

4. Although some inmates carved because of artistic inclination or to fill lonely hours, the majority engaged in the activity in order to earn money in prison.

The O.P. hobby shop had a waiting list for lockers and was most crowded during the efflorescence of the Industry Program when inmates sold their work to tourists in the gift shop and retained ninety per cent of the sale. Financial gain is considered to be the chief motivation for carving and turning at Kulani today.

The reader may be interested to learn, as the author did while engaged in research, that circumstances allowing carving and turning to flourish within the prison system corresponded almost exactly with what was happening on the "outside" during the same time period.
CHAPTER V

HAWAIIAN CARVING, SCULPTURE, AND OWL-TURNING IN THE THIRTIES THROUGH THE SIXTIES

The Development of Interest in Hawaiian Carving

In the 1930's an avid interest in "Hawaiian" carving and woodcraft commenced among kāmaʻaina and malihini. Evening carving classes were conducted at adult education centers and the Academy of Arts while young people learned woodcraft skills at McKinley High School, Kamehameha Schools, and Mid-Pac Institute. In a 1940 "Survey of the Cultural History and Resources in Honolulu," one of the authors wrote: "wood carvers sprang up like mushrooms, making salad bowls, trays, boxes, calabashes, and many other articles from local woods." New woodcraft shops, as well as established stores, sold the innovative floral and leaf-form bowls and trays.

In the 1930s, the traditional gourd-shape turned wood calabash was overlooked in favor of bowls carved to resemble leaves or flowers. Jenkins states that the leaf-shaped bowls "may be considered a continuation and extension of the Hawaiian bowl-making tradition, for this new shape was clearly an interpretation of the same aesthetics that had resulted in the gourd shape." To establish this premise he writes:

193 American Association of University Women, Honolulu Branch, MS, p. 129, in possession of Margaret Young, Honolulu.
Both designs were based on Hawaiian plant forms, and leaf-shaped containers, like gourd-shaped bowls, used the dramatic grain of wood to best advantage. Furthermore, like the bowls of old, these new forms were made by hand, for their irregular shapes could not be turned on lathes. Finally, like most old Hawaiian food bowls, the majority of leaf-shaped containers were made in medium and large sizes to hold food for a number of people.  

Leaf-form trays, some with compartments, and wood dishes with low-relief carved tropical flowers were popular. The bowls and trays were purchased by tourists as well as Hawai'i residents who bought them for gifts or to entertain guests in their homes. An appropriate message was often wood-burned on the bottom of a gift bowl or tray. As Jenkins notes, the leaf-form bowls were not used for poi as the calabashes were in Hawai'i's past. For Island entertaining, the large bowls were used for salads, the small ones for nuts or individual salad servings. The leaf-form trays were generally employed to serve pûpû (hors d'oeuvre) or to contain condiments for curry and rice. The most common woods utilized were monkey-pod and koa. Other woods indigenous to Hawai'i were also used, particularly by the better carvers.

Jenkins believes the new bowls and trays may have been a collaboration between George Moody, head designer at S. & G. Gump & Company, an exclusive San Francisco based home furnishing establishment in Waikiki; and Fritz Abplanalp, who

194 Jenkins, The Hawaiian Calabash, p. 151.
was hired as a wood carver at Gump's in 1935. Jenkins notes that the Honolulu Beacon magazine attributes the design of the leaf-form bowls to Moody.

The popularity of the leaf-form bowls and trays and a preoccupation with other modern applications of Hawaiian art forms in woodcraft continued in the forties and attained a peak in the early fifties. The Star-Bulletin notes that in 1956 there were over twenty woodcraft shops in Hawai‘i.195

By the end of the sixties the interest had waned. In this chapter, the woodcarvers and turners, sculptors, commercial establishments, and institutions associated with this phenomenon will be examined.

In 1932, a Star-Bulletin story tells of Tosuke Akamine, a barber: "Without the aid of an instructor, Mr. Akamine has turned out admirable pieces of art." He would carve squatting on a little stool in the yard space adjoining his shop on the corner of Alapa‘i and Hotel Streets, interrupting his work only when a customer arrived. Akamine "turned out a number of interesting pieces among them Buddhas, snakes, monkeys, and owls."

A photograph shows the carver, in coat and tie, standing next to a five foot ten inch, two-hundred pound elaborately carved monkeypod Buddha. According to the article, two of his

carvings, a lion's head and a Buddha, had been exhibited at the Honolulu Academy of Arts.

Akamine's comment at the close of the article indicates that there was no carving instruction available to him at that time: "I wish there were other wood carvers in Honolulu," he said, "then I could have some competition and learn something. I am handicapped without a teacher here."196

Three years later, a wood-carving instructor arrived: a Swiss sculptor who is often credited with the revival of Hawaiian carving.

Notable Carvers, Craftspeople, and Sculptors

Fritz Abplanalp

A 1940 Star-Bulletin story entitled "Wood Wonder-Workers" refers to Fritz Abplanalp, "known widely as Fritz of Gumps." The reporter writes:

It is not mere coincidence that the revival of the craft locally corresponds in point of time with the period of Fritz' residence in Honolulu. In his five years in Hawaii he has taught more than 300 people in his classes at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, at outlying Oahu communities, and on the other islands."197


The story was written two years before Abplanalp began teaching wood carving at Kamehameha Schools where his influence extended to several thousand young men of Hawaiian descent.

In a 1956 *Star-Bulletin* article, Robyn Rickard writes:

Woodworking, for years a lost art in the Islands, has developed into an industry in the last 20 years. Much of the credit belongs to Fritz Abplanalp, who arrived in 1935, full of energy, talent, and a desire to help others.

Rickard reports that after carving hundreds of wood perfume containers Abplanalp "looked around for something else that would be practical as well as artistic." After studying ancient Hawaiian carving, he originated modern forms of bowls, plates, leaf and flower-shaped dishes, and 'curled' calabashes, progressing to carved lamp bases and furniture.

Rickard writes: "As the demand for the carvings increased, it became clear that more artists and craftsmen would have to be trained." The journalist reveals that M. A. Blair and Chris Sorensen, both proprietors of commercial woodcraft shops, studied carving with Abplanalp. The caption above a photograph of the sculptor proclaims "Fritz Abplanalp may well be termed the 'father' of modern woodworking in Hawaii."\(^{198}\)


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Fritz Abplanalp was born in Brienz, Switzerland in 1907. He attended the State Carving School there for three years and carved crucifixes in a Christian art shop for one year. In 1929 he traveled to the U.S. to carve the interior of the Convent of the Transfiguration Chapel in Glendale, Ohio. His work at the chapel included carving approximately fifty carved ecclesiastical statues and statuettes, his own interpretation of the Stations of the Cross, as well as embellishments for doors, railings, pews, and walls. While in Ohio, he attended evening classes for three years at the Art Academy of Cincinnati.

Alice Spalding Bowen, Honolulu manager of Gump's, learned of his woodcarving skill from one of the sisters at the convent and sent Abplanalp a cable offering him employment in Hawai'i. While employed at Gump's, Abplanalp carved wood perfume bottle containers and trays, and filled custom orders. A 1938 Advertiser article describes the work produced at that time by Gump's:

In response to a need for gifts that were truly expressive of the Hawaiian Isles, the S. & G. Gump company of Honolulu has developed a thriving little industry of unique wood carvings from native tropical woods. Probably their best known creations are the perfume bottles originated and designed by Alice Spalding Bowen, manager of Gumps. These are carved, each to represent the flower of the perfume which it holds, achieving a perfect gift idea of Hawaii. Salad and fruit bowls, hors d'oeuvre plates, nut dishes, trays, cigaret boxes, lamp bases and table decorations are among the other articles they may make. Hawaiian flower and foliage motifs are
usually depicted by these wooden art objects in an unusual and original way.

Abplanalp is mentioned in the article:

Gump's designs in wood are particularly interesting because of their meticulous execution, the carving being done by a talented Swiss carver. His ability has made it possible to complete the distinctive modern furniture now being designed at Gump's through the use of unusual flat carving.

Again we read that no local carving talent was apparent before his arrival: "Abplanalp was brought to Honolulu by Gump's to do their wood carving after a wide search for local professional talent of the type needed proved unsuccessful."199

Abplanalp taught carving classes at the Honolulu Academy of Arts from 1936 until 1941 and was a carving instructor at "McKinley Community School, Ewa, Luke Field and on the islands of Kauai and Lanai." The Star-Bulletin reports: "He has brought relaxation to hundreds of adults, guided them in the development of their creative talents, and provided a hobby that will make their years of retirement a joy instead of a curse."200

Abplanalp was hired at Kamehameha Schools in 1942. He taught carving, mechanical drawing, and art for twenty-six years at the Boy's School before retiring in 1968. Following


his retirement he moved to Carmel, California where he was active in the art community, exhibiting his work at the Carmel Art Association gallery and teaching art classes. He died in Carmel at the age of seventy in 1977.

Abplanalp won the "grand prize" for wood sculptures submitted for exhibits at the Honolulu Academy of Arts in 1939 and 1941. The titles of his works, "Hiiaka" and "Offering," suggest Hawaiian themes. His sculpture was accepted at other juried shows at the Art Academy in 1937 and in 1940 when he was awarded an "honorable mention." His wood sculptures were also exhibited at The Contemporary Art Center of Hawaii, at Gima's, an established art gallery that is no longer in business today, and at John Young's gallery.

Arthur M. Tarbell, Honolulu Deputy Chief of Police from 1956-66, enrolled in one of Abplanalp's classes at the Honolulu Academy of Arts. The instructor recognized Tarbell's carving ability and a friendship developed between the two men and their families.

Tarbell believes that Abplanalp was the first to carve driftwood in Hawai'i. "He saw unusual convolutions, color, and form in the driftwood," Tarbell recalls. "The carvings had an ethereal quality." He notes that Fritz recognized that the driftwood had been well-cured after being exposed to the wind, sand, and water over a period of time. 201

He first employed the medium in 1947 when he took home a piece of driftwood he found in the Wai'anae area where he was fishing. He soon discovered that his driftwood pieces sold well and entailed less time than full-round sculpture. Abplanalp was known to scavenge the beaches of Hawai'i and the mainland for driftwood suitable to carve. The Star-Bulletin reports: "Almost every weekend he is at Waianae, Kalama or Kailua scanning the shore for driftwood which has woodcarving potentialities. . . . To date he has carved more than 500 heads, figurines and animals from salvage driftwood."\textsuperscript{202} In his collection of Abplanalp's work, Tarbell has several driftwood female faces and two fern-design wood perfume bottle containers (figure 32).

Rickard relates that Abplanalp's favorite "all purpose wood" for carving was monkeypod. He employed milo and hau "for special types of work." The sculptor had purchased some sandalwood logs from the Big Island and states he "cherishes this traditional Hawaiian wood very highly."\textsuperscript{203}

In addition to executing fine art and collector's art, Abplanalp carved replicas and reproductions of traditional Hawaiian objects and images. He and Karl Axel de Flon, formerly of Sweden, were commissioned to carve reproductions of seven images in the Bishop Museum collection for the Aloha

\textsuperscript{202} Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 28 June 1950, p. 29.
\textsuperscript{203} Rickard, p.22.
Fig. 32. Fritz Abplanalp. Wood perfume bottle containers with fern motif. Carved for S. & G. Gump and Company. 4 3/8" x 2 1/8" x 1 3/4". Collection of Arthur M. Tarbell.

Fig. 33. Charles J. J. Chow carves year-end gifts for Hedrich-Blessing of Chicago in 1962. (Photograph by Hedrich-Blessing)
Theme building of the State of Hawaii's pavilion at the 1964 World's Fair. Reproductions were made of popular temple image T3 (7654); Bloxam image T1 (7883); Kalaipahaōa male image A9 (132); a female image from Forbes Cave, A2 (9072); the water deity, Waiānuenue, T24 (8049); the comb-crested image with a pig's face and man's body, T28 (D2772); and the 117 inch temple image found in a Kaua'i swamp, T11 (11096). The figures were carved from 'ōhi'a, milo, and mahogany. Mark Le Buse says he furnished the wood and "roughed the stuff out for them." Le Buse recalls that the Bloxam image was made of Cuban mahogany "that grows in Hawai'i. The same kind of tree that grows up the medial strip of Kalâkaua Avenue in Honolulu." 204

An unusual request was filled by the versatile sculptor in 1947 for Miss Theo Redwood of New York City who desired "a small reproduction of an ancient 'aumakua for her collection of dolls." 205

Abplanalp believed there was a difference between an artist and a craftsman. In two newspaper interviews he expressed the same idea regarding the creative nature of the artist. He said: "An artist is one who creates his own designs in wood, while a craftsman is one who has a mastery

204 Telephone interview with Mark Le Buse, 15 Aug. 1990.
205 Paradise of the Pacific, Nov. 1948, p. 8.
of the trade, but does not necessarily have the creative qualities.\textsuperscript{206}

Chris Sorensen recalls the beautiful simplicity of Abplanalp's sculpture of a kneeling Hawaiian woman, saying, "He was a marvelous carver." Sorensen remembers Abplanalp as "a wonderful man, gentle and giving. Just the nicest little man you would want to meet. Would withhold nothing. And show you in patience and all that. I really cared a lot about Fritz."

The inspiration Abplanalp provided to his Hawaiian students at Kamehameha is still felt today. David Eskaran says that he first decided to be a carver when he visited his grandmother's home and observed his uncle's wood-carvings made under the direction of Fritz Abplanalp at Kamehameha Schools. Eskaran was greatly disappointed when the sculptor retired the year he entered the high school division at Kamehameha.

Levan Sequeira acknowledges that his work has been influenced by his Kamehameha instructor's "delicate, smooth, flowing way of carving." Sequeira says that although Abplanalp's carving style was recognizable, when he executed a replica, the original would be duplicated "almost perfectly." He speaks of a replica at Wailuku, Maui made by Abplanalp: "He did a terrific job on it. Fantastic. It was

almost like a caliper carving of the original. Fritz again is a very special person. Fritz had an eye to do that."

Sequeira says that not only could Abplanalp recognize and recreate a form, he could capture the essence and spirit of Hawaiian carving. A 1948 Paradise of the Pacific article affirms Levan's opinion: "A Hawaiian war-god, a spray of shell-ginger, a hibiscus blossom may be the inspiration but it is Hawaii speaking through the skill of a Swiss woodcarver."207

Geno Bergman

In 1957, Bergman was hired to "sculpt" for tourists at the Hawaiian Village Hotel in Waikiki (now Hilton Hawaiian Village). Clad in a lava lava, the non-Polynesian of German, French, and English descent, carved and answered questions about Polynesian history in the garden near the hotel lū'au area. He carved monkeypod and koa that was purchased from Blair's. Bergman says he created wall-hangings "that were quite interesting" and "tall coconut tikis." Hotel guests would either buy what he had already carved or place special orders. His carvings were primarily "Polynesian from the South Pacific" because he did not want to compete with local Hawaiians.

207 John Field Mulholland, "Fritz Abplanalp: Artist from Switzerland," Paradise of the Pacific, Nov. 1948, p. 22.
Bergman says that he was a "double threat" at Hawaiian Village, since he was also a Tahitian dancer at the Tiare room. On Sundays during the Kodak show he participated in "an act." He would be carving as "people were milling around. Then once the drums started going I'd jump up and start dancing with the girls." Bergman was a serious actor, also, performing at Alexander Oumansky's Magic Ring Theater in the Tiare Room.

His only carving instruction was from "Captain Bart," a carver who created New Guinea style objects at the International Market Place. Bergman recalls at that time Tahitian entertainer Tavana was carving a large canoe, his first big project for Don the Beachcomber's nightclub.

For several years Bergman filled commissions and did commercial work for architects, such as carving the porch columns for a Vancouver golf course. In 1958 he moved to the Big Island and opened a "tiki shop" called "Geno's of Kona" in downtown Kona on Ali'i Drive across from the Kona Inn. Bergman recalls that he carved mainly Tahitian and Marquesan style objects for his shop, as well as a few bowls and imaginative driftwood carvings. Woods he used were monkeypod, koa, coconut palm, milo, kamani, and kiawe. Bergman says he won awards at art shows for his lava rock carvings.

Telephone interview with Geno Bergman, 1 October 1989.
He is remembered in the Kona area for a fifty foot carved tiki that stood in front of his house on the ocean side of the road at Kailua. A tortoise shell inscribed with the name "The Tiki House" lay nearby. It was here that Geno carved the "tiki" figures and other objects sold in his shop.

Bergman recalls that he had to decline when Russ Apple asked him to assist with the images at Hōnaunau because he was involved with the opening of the Kona Steak House. Bergman was also instrumental in establishing the Kona Coast News, a twenty page weekly tabloid.

After leaving Hawai‘i in 1981, Bergman carved for awhile in Fiji, and finally moved to the San Francisco area where he resides today. He still carves occasionally, and has retained his original carving tools, including a lathe-turned kiawe mallet.

Charles J. J. Chow

The Chinese-Hawaiian carver, born in 1922 in Honolulu, had no formal art education. Chow says he was trained to be a machinist, a tool and die maker. He began carving in the early forties as a hobby and remembers giving away everything he made until someone told him, "Golly, you could make a living doing this stuff."

He worked at The Wood Rose Shop for Katherine Reid, carving low-relief flowers on plates and bowls. Chow continued the same technique for a short time after he left, but
"got tired of it because it didn't leave any room for growth."

He further developed his carving ability during the period he was an inmate at Oahu prison from 1942 until 1953 and gained a reputation for being one of the best carvers there. (See Chapter IV.) Following his release he changed his style of carving. Chow recalls: "I decided I was going to revolutionize everything that I ever did before that. This is when I drifted into the contemporary things and I stayed away from all these leaf and floral forms."

Chow says he carved "a lot of stylized things during this period. I did a lot of specifically bird forms, abstract forms." When he is asked if his birds resembled those made by Fritz Abplanalp, Chow remembers, "Well, Fritz had a little bit more detail with his. Mine was a lot more abstract. And I allowed the material to dictate to me where I should begin and where I should end and I left a lot to the imagination." He had formerly lacquered his work "like everybody else." When he changed his style he threw away his lacquer and limited his finishes to hand-rubbed wax and oil.

Ian Cameron, proprietor of The Wood Rose Shop after Reid, bought Chow's work. He recalls that Chow made "very modern bowls, not the strict calabash type, and freeform platters." Cameron liked Chow's work and paid whatever amount the carver requested when he delivered an assortment of handcrafted items to the popular shop.
Chow was particular about which establishments sold his carvings. He remarks, "I was limited as to who I could sell wood to because I didn't want to get involved in those shops that sell a bunch of Hawaiian junk." When an Ala Moana shopkeeper wished to sell his work, Chow told her, "If you want to carry my things, you have to separate it, you can't mix it up with what you've got . . . I'll wind up being junky just like the rest of them."

In addition to carving, Chow created mountings for John Young's pre-Columbian and African artifacts and considers the experience to have been profitable. He also furnished the lamps for the first two-hundred units at Henry J. Kaiser's Hawaiian Village Hotel. He had the bases made by a ceramics factory in Los Angeles and the shades produced locally in Honolulu.

An East Coast neurologist, Sam Parker, met Chow when he visited the Islands, and, subsequently, made arrangements for the carver's work to be shown in New York. As a result of Parker's efforts, Chow's work was exhibited at The Museum of Contemporary Crafts (now the American Craft Museum) on West 53rd Street in New York City. His carvings, entitled Animal Form and Bird Forms, were included in a 1961 show, Contemporary Craftsmen of the Far West. Concurrently, a number of Chow's works were sold at America House (closed in
1971), a retail outlet near the museum that was a subsidiary of the American Craftsmen's Educational Council.209

When asked if the work he made for New York was Hawaiian, Chow replies, "Well, I think I went away from that Hawaiian feeling I had before. Everything was contemporary. As I said, I allowed the wood to dictate to me what I must do to it. . . . I did no two things alike." He remarks, "I don't want to alter nature, I just want to enhance it."

He moved to Moloka'i and set up a shop in an open shed attached to the building that housed his father's former restaurant in Kamiloloa, a mile east of Kaunakakai.

In 1962 he was commissioned to make year-end gifts for Hedrich-Blessing, a photography establishment in Chicago. Each year a different craftsperson or artist was selected to create functional one-of-a-kind gifts. An exception was apparently made in Chow's case since some of the gifts he carved were non-functional. Chow made several hundred carvings and turned objects that included abstract bird and animal forms; bowls of various sizes and shapes, from tall truncated cones to shallow flared rectangles; and long breadboards with open handles (figure 33). Jack Hedrich recalls that the bird forms were particularly popular with friends who were hunters. Chow remembers receiving the order in April with a request to have the wood carvings ready by


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September. Shortly after he began, he was "flooded out" during a storm and had to replace wood as well as the motors for his machinery. Hedrich-Blessing contracted with a man in the mid-West for packaging the company's gifts. He had boxes fabricated in appropriate sizes that were then wrapped in tapa made in the Pacific "to reflect the Polynesian feeling."

Representative examples of the Hedrich-Blessing year-end gifts to friends and clients from the years 1952 to 1971 are included in the American Arts collection at The Art Institute of Chicago. One of these is a carving by Chow, identified in the museum records as "An elongated shallow dish, flat at one end, with cylindrical handle at opposite end." An incised script signature, "Chow," is on the bottom of the object.210

After carving full-time on Moloka'i for a year and a half, Chow returned to Honolulu, establishing a shop on Ward Avenue at the site where GEM of Hawaii Inc. is presently located. In 1963, Chow moved to Kona.

He remembers that he discontinued carving the wood he formerly used, finding new specimens on lava fields of the Big Island:

I even stayed away from monkeypod wood. But I dealt only with the more exotic Hawaiian woods, which as near as I can recollect I probably used as many as forty different kinds of wood. Some of it Hawaiian woodcarvers have never heard of. Some of it I had to research to find the names to. I had to describe

this particular tree that I cut it out of. Most of it was deadwood when I found these trees up on the lava flows of Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa—on the Big Island and on the Hamakua coast. I find this lonely deadwood lying on a lava flow and curiosity prompted me to carry a little chain saw with me, cut into it, see what it looked like, what the wood looked like. And this is how I discovered a lot of Hawaiian woods that no longer exist except on the lava flow.

In Kona, he established another open-air workshop. He relates that his work was sold at the Mauna Kea Hotel and in two "casuals and hair styling shops," in which he had a one-third interest, located in Kona and Hilo. In 1969 his work was included in a crafts exhibition, "The Excellence of the Object," at the Academy of Arts. Sponsored by the American Craftsmen's Council and the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, the show featured works from around one-hundred American craftsmen. Eight other Hawai'i artists were represented in the show.

Chow left the Big Island in 1971 to conduct business in Honolulu. When he returned to Kona, his tools, power equipment, and all of the materials he had collected through the years were gone. He returned to Honolulu with his family and found employment with Lear Siegler as a quality control inspector. He later worked as a shop superintendent and in food services. In order to support his five children and wife Carol, Chow had worked intermittently as a cook throughout his


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carving career. After the theft of his equipment and materials, he didn't carve again.

Karl Axel de Flon

Karl Axel de Flon was born in Sweden in 1907. He was apprenticed to a furniture maker for two years after high school before attending the government trade school. After working for several furniture factories, he returned to school because of a desire to teach. de Flon attended the Naas International Training College, the Swedish Teachers Training College and the Stockholm Training College before teaching woodwork at an experimental school. He was later chairman of the arts and crafts department of the Uddevalla Trade School. During the depression, de Flon was an arts and crafts consultant for the Swedish Government and became the director of the State Craftsmen's Guild.

He moved to Tahiti with his wife in 1948. He remained there for one year, then relocated in New Zealand where he worked in a studio and taught crafts for seven years. A mutual friend told Chris Sorensen about meeting de Flon in Christchurch. Sorensen, in need of a carver, corresponded with him and de Flon subsequently moved to Hawai'i in 1956. After working initially for Sorensen, he opened his own studio-factory on Hopaka Street in 1960.

In an Advertiser story by David Asherman, de Flon indicates his appreciation of the calabash form and compares
the traditional Hawaiian use of wood with Scandinavian woodcraft:

The ancient Polynesians . . . were true artists. It is obvious that they loved the grain and the feel of the wood.

The Hawaiian calabashes for instance, are not only a delight to behold, but are thrilling to touch and handle. They have the same quality which makes contemporary Scandinavian woodcraft so sought after throughout the world.

In both cases the objects are not only designed for function, but they make maximum use of the beauty of the material from which they are made.

At the Studio de Flon, he and his business partner Charles E. Martin, established criteria for their wood products: "Each piece of wood will dictate what it is to become and will be developed to its highest potential. Nothing will be mass-produced—all objects will be carefully hand-finished."

de Flon was appalled by the common use of high-gloss varnish in Hawai'i and stated that his products would be soaked in linseed oil and hand-rubbed with wax. Again relating his work to traditional Polynesian art, he remarks:

If, in a contemporary manner, we can even partially achieve the simple beauty, the functionalism and the craftsmanship which characterized the work of the ancient Polynesians . . . we will have attained at least one of our major objectives.  

de Flon was particularly critical of the popular leaf-form bowls and trays. In a 1956 Star-Bulletin article he stated: "I do not think leaf shapes are representative of Hawaiian craft... "I saw nothing resembling them in the Bishop Museum."213

Photographs of his work that accompany the newspaper articles show understated free-form or rectangular plates and trays with rounded corners, with and without handles; an abstract figure in a dancing attitude; an elongated head with a stylized hair pattern, nose and turned-down mouth; a bird mobile; and crescent-shaped fish candlesticks. All of the objects are well-designed and distinctly Scandinavian in feeling. Forms that could be considered Hawaiian are two stylized 'poi pounder' gavels," said to be made of "kamani," that "may also be used for paperweights." One of the gavels has a narrow neck above the base that flares upward to a bulbous shape on top, suggesting an egg cup more than a traditional poi pounder. Chris Sorensen recalls that de Flon created "very beautiful modern things--simple, modern, functional." Sorensen possesses an ebony free-form bowl made by the Swedish craftsman (figure 34).

Fig. 34. Karl Axel De Flon. Free-form bowl. Ebony. 6 3/8" x 3 3/8" x 1/2". Collection of Chris Sorensen.

Fig. 35. Paul Fujimoto. Driftwood faces at Blair's. Note two small cast figures on right by Frank Schirman.
The Bishop Museum commissioned de Flon, along with Fritz Abplanalp, to make reproductions of images for the 1964 World Fair. de Flon died of cancer in October 1963 in Stockholm.

Archie Eriksson.

Archie Eriksson was president of the Honolulu Association of Artists and taught wood carving at McKinley High School before he was hired at Oahu Prison to work in the production division. Richard McCleery retains "a vivid memory of Archie expounding on the design of a leaf he had picked up on the way to that meeting of the prison staff." McCleery believes that Eriksson's "ability to see and share possibilities in the most prosaic things must have influenced some of those with whom he worked." While he was employed at O.P. Eriksson taught evening wood carving classes for the adult education division at McKinley.

An indication of the interest in wood carving during this period is provided in a 1953 Advertiser story entitled "Fascinating Project Wood Carving Class Creates Novel Hobby." The adult evening class taught by Eriksson was said to be "Unique in that it was given as a free lance class for beginners, with students working on projects of their own selection . . . Work was done on torsos, abstractions, masks, . . ."

214 Letter received from Richard H. McCleery, 16 June 1990.
full round figurines, plaques, drift wood and classroom tool exercises."

Wood was furnished by the students and included "monkey pod, ohia, Philippine mahogany, koa and Chinese teak." Carving tools were provided by the adult education division, but most of the students bought their own tools in order to work on their projects outside of class.

A photograph shows Eriksson and Mrs. Athel Smith, a kindergarten teacher, admiring a "primitive mask of Spanish cedar" that Smith has carved. The caption identifies her as "one of the talented students" in the wood carving class:

... Mrs. Smith has no workshop of her own at home but with makeshift arrangements, manages to work in her back yard much to the interest of her neighbors. The wood carving class has just completed its year's assignment and will be resumed in September."

After retiring from the prison, he pursued his interest of converting garbage into mulch to restore barren hillsides. In a Star-Bulletin interview the "seventy-two year old conservationist," at that time "chairman of the Windward Citizens Planning Committee's beautification committee," describes the beneficial effect of his plan. The reporter writes, "With all the foresight of a modern-day Johnny

215 Honolulu Advertiser, 17 April 1953, Sec. 7, p. 1.
Appleseed, Eriksson doesn't let people who can't focus on his visions discourage him."²¹⁶

Paul Fujimoto

Carver Paul Fujimoto was born in 1918 in Hawai‘i. He remembers first "whittling" between the ages of ten to twelve. At 21, he began carving in a small shop behind the Libby cannery. He worked there for two years before moving to Silva Street in 1940 where his workshop remained until his death at age sixty-four in 1983.²¹⁷ Although he sold carvings at the Kalihi location, most of the work produced in his shop was sold by Blair Ltd. or other outlets. Fujimoto used the trade name "Hawaiian Wood Products Company."

An Advertiser article indicates that in 1954 he had a staff of five who worked "mostly on curios and articles of utility such as bowls and trays." Fujimoto was said to carve "artistic forms exclusively." The article reports that his shop provided the outrigger canoe trophy for the "Transpacific Yacht Racing association" every other year.

Fujimoto obtained the material for his driftwood carvings "on the ocean floor from 100 to 300 feet from the beach," by

diving with an Aqua-Lung. Pieces too large to be towed ashore would be cut in place with a handsaw.

The carver considered milo to be most appropriate for Hawaiian figures, "as the original pink color darkens to a reddish brown resembling native skin color." He used mango and guava "core roots" for religious carvings "because of their pure ivory color." Other woods "best suited" for his work were "lehua, monkeypod, kamane [kamani], hau, avocado, koa and sandlewood [sic]."²¹⁸

Additional woods utilized in his shop are identified in a 1960 Star-Bulletin article. They are: "incia bejuca [intsia bijuga], coffeewood ... ohia, mango, croton, pemphis and fern stump."

The article indicates that Fujimoto had learned through experience that acceptance of his product was dependent upon the kind of wood he used and the authenticity of the carving. He told the reporter that "Polynesian woods" were the "best sellers." He conducted extensive research for his subject matter at Bishop Museum to "assure authenticity." The newspaper story also mentions that Fujimoto was an "avid member" of the Malacological Society of Hawaii and was currently "reproducing shells in wood."

The specialty work of the six men who worked in Fujimoto's shop at the time is described:

Two employees are his brothers, Mune and Nobu. Mune is interested in authentic Hawaiian canoes, tools and weapons. Nobu does carved flower arrangements and makes many of the smaller items turned out by the shop.

Tony Pratt specializes in images and Hawaiian and Polynesian art.

An example of Pratt's work is the 17 foot exact copy of an ancient tiki which stands in front of Bishop Museum.

Made of the hardest wood found in Hawaii, lehua ohia, it took him a month and a half to complete the huge two-ton image.

Richard Suzuki works on trophies.

Two other employees are described as "all-around helpers" in the shop.\(^{219}\)

According to Bishop Museum accession records, three canoe models were gifts to the Museum from Paul and Francis M. Fujimoto in 1952 and 1956: a model of a Hawaiian outrigger canoe, a Hawaiian double canoe, and a Society Islands outrigger sailing canoe. The Hawaiian double canoe model was presented to Premier Tanaka of Japan during the 1972 Nixon-Tanaka Conference in Hawaii. Fujimoto was commissioned that same year to provide a koa replacement for the museum collections. In December 1971 or January 1972 he had been commissioned to make other models of Hawaiian canoes and a Tuamotuan double canoe for the Nanakuli Model Cities Project.\(^{220}\)

\(^{219}\) Hunter, Sec. 1, p. 4.

\(^{220}\) Accession Records, Paul Fujimoto, (Ed.1972.325), Bishop Museum, Honolulu.
Carvers contemporary with Fujimoto--Chris Sorensen, Mark Le Buse, and Tommy Leong, have various opinions regarding the quality of his work. Chris Sorensen liked his manner, saying, "He was helpful . . . generous with his time. He sold me milo."

Brian Takano, who lived with Fujimoto for a short period and worked as a laborer "carrying logs" in his shop, says, "He did faces, tikis, all kinds of weird sculptures. To me, he was the best. . . . He did ten foot tikis and stuff like that. He was a self-taught, self-made man."

Jean Suzuki of Blair's relates that "Paul could carve anything and everything." She says "He used to make cake servers, ladles--things most people wouldn't bother to make. All these fishes." Blair's sent his carved faces all over the world. (Two Fujimoto driftwood faces are illustrated in figure 35.) Suzuki remembers that Fujimoto's carving of Father Damien was an attraction and topic of discussion in the showroom for fifteen years until it was sold. She says that he carved "about twelve" large tikis of milo and monkeypod for the movie "Hawaii" that were "really authentic." Suzuki notes that Paul "did a lot of research before he carved anything." After the movie was filmed, Blair's sold the images "one by one."

Fujimoto's obituary relates that "a statue of Kamehameha the Great done by Fujimoto has a place of honor in the polaris submarine named after the Hawaiian monarch." The text
Fig. 36. Paul Fujimoto. Image at Alapaki's Hawaiian Gifts, Keauhou Shopping Village. 6' x 24" x 24". Keauhou, Hawai'i. Reproduction of T25, Musée de l'Homme, Paris (79-10-11); T26, Temple Square Museum, Salt Lake City (102).

Fig. 37. Chris Sorensen. Leaf-form tray. Walnut. 19 1/4" x 14 1/8" x 1".
continues, "Known for authenticity and detail, he carved tikis, Buddhas, faces and forms, birds, animals and shells in wood, jade, ivory and marble."221

Examples of Fujimoto's driftwood faces and birds may be seen at Blair Ltd. on Ward Avenue. A six foot monkeypod image, attributed to Paul Fujimoto, is displayed at Alapaki's Hawaiian Gifts at the Keauhou Shopping Village on the Big Island (figure 36). The figure is named "Pele" and is a large scale modified reproduction of T25, from the Musee de l'Homme, Paris (79-10-11) with some details taken from its pair, T26, Temple Square Museum, Salt Lake City (102).

Mark Le Buse

(See Chapter II.) Star-Bulletin and Advertiser stories in February 1956 report that wood carver Allan Busey had moved to Hawai'i from Los Angeles to escape the smog. The Advertiser article notes that Busey arrived in the Islands in the summer of 1954. When asked by the Star-Bulletin reporter how long he had lived in Hawai'i, Busey replied, "I never lived until I got here.'"

Advertiser reporter, Ella Chun, writes: "All of Mr. Busey's pieces are signed Le Buse, his family name from away back." Le Buse indicated in interviews for this study that he replaced "Allan" with "Mark" and resumed his ancestral

name, even though its meaning had been corrupted to suggest "kind of like a drunken buzzard in some parts of France," because a reverend in Honolulu told him the name Allan Bussey could "lead to a shortened life." Regarding his acquired name, Le Buse says, "The sign appropriate to that and the way it works out and the numbers and one thing and another is a sun rising to the heavens, handsome, well-aspected, a leader of men. . . . Can't beat that."222

Both newspaper articles refer to Le Buse's past experience carving props and building sets in the movie industry. The Star-Bulletin quotes Le Buse: "'My boss at Paramount said I was crazy for giving up security for a risky business selling wood carvings to tourists.'"

Chun relates that Le Buse carved a piece of driftwood to resemble Honolulu radio talk show personality J. Akuhead Pupule (Hal Lewis). She mentions other subjects he carves:

. . . tikiis and faces with the Oriental and Polynesian blend. He puts the melting pot influences into his art. . . .

He also goes in for architectural and ecclesiastical carvings. He now is working on a Hawaiian Madonna and Child, and then will be carving the figure of St. Francis on a teak wood log.

He also did the plaster mural of a giant fern at the Koa St. entrance to the Waikiki Biltmore hotel.223


Le Buse first visited Hawai'i in 1939 when he was in the Navy. At that time he purchased a set of English carving tools from Katherine Reid at The Wood Rose Shop. They belonged to an English woman, a nurse, who had intended to retire in Hawai'i and carve with her friend, Reid. The nurse returned to England following an urgent request from her country to assist with the war effort, leaving her tools behind. The twenty-four piece set cost Le Buse fourteen dollars, a large amount for the carver since his salary was thirty-six dollars a month. He still uses the tools.

When Le Buse and his family first established their permanent residence in Hawai'i, he drove a taxi. In 1955 he sought employment from Millard Blair and Chris Sorensen but circumstances did not permit either of them to hire him. He worked for McCully Judd at Hawaiian Lumber Company, slicing wood into thin slats and weaving them on a "particularly interesting kind of a homemade loom." The woven slats would then be "plasticized and put between wax paper and padded masonite and squeezed in a big press until they were real, real flat." The sheets were then cut into placemats Le Buse called "Waikiki Weave."224

When Judd went out of business, Le Buse began carving on his own. He sold his work to Blair's, John Young, and Woods of Hawai'i. From 1957 until 1958 he carved at the

International Market Place, returning again in 1960 after a movie assignment. At the end of 1960 he moved to the Big Island. Le Buse carved driftwood and black coral in a shop at the Kona Inn, across the street from Geno Bergman.

Frank Schirman

Frank Schirman is known for making the first Hawaiian figures that were cast and reproduced for tourists. He also carved and sold large numbers of driftwood faces at the International Market Place where he had a stall. Some of his work was sold at Blair's. Tommy Leong says, "He put out some good carvings. Frank Schirman did wonderful carvings, beautiful carvings." 225

Schirman was born in Mt. Vernon, Washington. He was a commercial artist in Puget Sound and later sold insurance, dishwashers, plastics, and vacuum cleaners. He first moved to Hawai‘i in 1939 when he was buying used gold to sell to the United States Mint. Schirman moved to the mainland and back several times and finally returned in 1954 to settle permanently in Hawai‘i.

The artist mentions in a 1957 newspaper story that he had become accustomed to the crowds at the International Market Place that almost prevented him from moving around. He did the rough carving before spectators, and accomplished the 225 Personal interview with Leong, 17 Aug 1990.
finish work at home. Schirman related that he was always asked the same questions:

Most everybody wants to know what 'it' is, and what kind of wood it is. I can tell them about the wood—it's usually koa or other hardwoods such as milo, ohia, kamani, silverwood or java plum—but you'd think people would look before they ask me what it is. 226

A 1958 Star-Bulletin story reports that Schirman uses "only his imagination. He has never used a model for any of his carvings or oil paintings." 227

Schirman told newspaper reporters that his initial artistic endeavor was carving animals and "other figures" from bars of soap as a boy. Through the years he experimented with various media, but the one he favored was driftwood: "'There's no other medium quite like it; none that offers quite the challenge.'" He said he found each piece different because the shape of the wood dictated the form.

The Star-Bulletin columnist apparently was impressed with Schirman's artistic ability. He writes:

The truth is that an awfully lot of people in this old world can carve a human face or figure on a piece of driftwood, or stone, or bronze, but it takes an artist to give the carving life. Among Island artists there's at least one I know who has this ability to find the real living girl


who lurks potentially in every one of these pieces of driftwood.

Schirman worked between ten and fourteen hours a day using German made chisels and a worn mallet at his workbench outside his "little bamboo hut" display room at the International Market Place almost every day. His working hours grew longer after Statehood when more tourists arrived and the demand for his carvings increased. He not only sold carvings and cast objects at his stall, but furnished them "to a dozen or more other shops throughout the Islands."

Apparently, driftwood carvings were still in demand in 1960. Their increase in popularity is mentioned in a discussion of the prices for his work:

The cost of his carvings ranges from a few dollars to several hundred, depending upon the time and creative effort that went into them.
At one point he devoted a part of his time to doing portraits for individuals who were willing to pay $400 for them.
Now the demand for driftwood carvings is so great that he has doubled the price of the portraits, in order to avoid doing them.

Schirman mentions that he has sold approximately three-thousand examples of his work. The reporter observes: "Schirman's name on the base of a carving has come, in recent years, to mean a great deal to connoisseurs of his type of art and his carvings have come into greater and greater demand."

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Chris Sorensen recalls that Schirman had an office job before he began making "particularly small figures." He made "a master" and cast "a lot of them" from rubber molds.

Sorensen describes Frank Schirman's shop as "a tiny, tiny hole in the wall down at the Market Place at the 'ewa corner . . . A little stall that was only five feet wide and maybe ten or fifteen feet deep right off of the sidewalk."

According to Sorensen, Schirman sold a great number of the cast objects. When asked to describe the subject matter, Sorensen replies, "Mostly it was kind of a simpering haole head . . . a sweet cloying face." He comments, "I liked Frank. He'd say, 'They're not much good, but they're selling.'" 229

Other work by Schirman included a larger than life monkeypod bust of King Kamehameha for the lobby of the King Kamehameha Hotel in Kailua, Kona; and a koa bas-relief of the head of Christ, commissioned by the Honolulu Council of Churches for display at the Protestant Pavilion of the Brussels World Fair. A newspaper account indicates that The Rev. Dr. Thomas Crosby, minister of Central Union Church, would present the bas-relief to the Belgium Protestants in April 1958. Although the carving was intended to be a gift, it was returned after the fair and displayed again at the

229 Telephone interview with Chris Sorensen, 2 July 1989.

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Christian Witness Pavilion of the Seattle World's Fair in 1962. 230

Schirman died in Hawai'i in 1979 at the age of sixty-six. Examples of his cast figures may be seen at Blair Ltd. on Ward Avenue.

Other Carvers

Many other carvers, less well-known than those just discussed, worked either commercially or participated in the craft as a hobby. Representative of a commercial carver is August P. Jordan, a non-Hawaiian employee of Hardwoods Hawaii. A 1961 Star-Bulletin article by Paul Lovinger reports that "fashioning wooden idols of ancient Hawaiian gods" is the carver's specialty. "Jordan has made hundreds of them in the six or so years they've been commercially popular, half of his wood-carving career. . . ."

Jordan researched Hawaiian art and describes the appearance of the god of war: "'It would have large staring eyes, a big growling mouth, usually very elaborate head-dresses, bodies very strong-looking to show power, and bulky legs.'"

The article indicates that "his idols resemble the originals . . . although he makes variations from figure to figure." Unlike traditional images, Jordan's "idols" have a "smooth finish and polish."

The carver's technique is described:

On the large monkeypod statues, he uses a double edged ax to remove the bulk followed by gouges and chisels for the details, a liquid wood filler, linseed oil to prevent cracking from the sun, and lastly paste wax for polish.

A photograph shows Jordan standing on a sawhorse, applying a mallet and chisel to a large "image of Kukailimoku." He is carving the figure into a monkeypod support column at the front of the Hardwoods Hawaii store in Waikiki.

Lovinger writes that Jordan also carves hāpu'u and produces "a rough idol that looks as though it has been dug up by an archaeologist."231

An example of a carving hobbyist of the period is Ethel Chang Au, "a busy Lanai City housewife." In a 1959 Star-Bulletin article, she is described as "One of Hawaii's best, but least known, carvers of Hawaiian woods." Married to the proprietor of Lāna'i's only hotel, the Lanai Inn, the story relates that "Mrs. Au carves faces into native Hawaiian Tree branches and logs."

A well-known New York City commercial photographer purportedly wanted to buy her carving of a "Hawaiian warrior head cut out of a piece of milo wood log" for a "four-figure price." Ethel Au refused. "I have never sold any of my work," she said, "But I have given several carvings to my friends."

The Star-Bulletin mentions that Au took an art class at Kamehameha Girl's School, "but wood carving was farthest from her mind." When she was pregnant with her fourth child she bought a set of carving tools.

She employed wood she found on Lāna'i: "milo, lehua, olopua, naio (false sandalwood) and iliahi (true sandalwood)."

In the past three years Au produced approximately thirty works. She is not a prolific carver since other activities take precedence:

Mrs. Au uses no machine tools and her finished works take about three weeks. This is interrupted by mothering four children . . . plus serving as cook and bottle washer and hostess for her husband Wally in the Inn. 232

Sculptors of Fine Art

Several sculptors, in addition to Fritz Abplanalp, produced fine art during this period. Although their work was

not traditionally oriented, they used local woods and chose Hawaiian subject matter.

Marguerite Blasingame

Marguerite Louis Blasingame was born in Honolulu in 1906. A 1956 article in *Paradise of the Pacific* relates that Blasingame could "never remember a time when she wasn't interested in art. As a child she preferred paints to dolls; in high school she asked for an easel instead of a tennis racket." She received her B.A. from the University of Hawaii and married artist Frank Blasingame after receiving an M.A. in art at Stanford University.²³³

In 1940 the *Star-Bulletin* reports that she "now gives instruction in the art of wood carving at her Kaimuki studio" and previously conducted wood carving classes at the YWCA and YMCA. The gender of Hawai'i carvers is of interest to the female reporter:

You might be inclined to think of the art of wood carving as belonging definitely to the kanes. But no. There are several well-known women artists. Most outstanding among them is Marguerite Blasingame . . . She will tell you that among her most talented students are women who are making lamp bases, decorative panels, coffee tables and other carved objects particularly suited to their Hawaiian homes. Mrs. Blasingame is a true artist, for she is especially noted for her beautiful original designs.²³⁴


The versatile artist was an accomplished fresco painter as well as a sculptor. She is best-known for her frescoes of old and new hula at the Waikiki Theater and for the bas-relief facade on the old Water Supply Building. The AAUW survey maintains that "Margaret Blasingame should be credited with giving wood-carving an impetus, although she did only the decorative panels and murals."

Her low-relief carving was simple and decorative, reminiscent of art nouveau design. Blasingame's figures were often rendered in an Egyptian style, with the faces and feet in profile, the bodies facing the viewer. She generally selected Hawaiian themes. Some examples of her sculpture are listed in the AAUW survey:

- Two Marble Carvings--Nose flute
- Rubbing Noses Ala Moana Park
- [Lester McCoy Pavilion]
- Old Hawaiian Games--cut local bluestone in corners of court, Ala Moana Park
- Fountain at Kawanakoa School--cut in local blue rock
- Black Walnut Door--Sacred Heart--Breadfruit design
- Bases of statues using fish motifs
- Head of Hawaiian Girl--Terra Cotta (Eleanor Peacock)
- Teakwood Screen--C. Brewer and Company

The artist died in Mexico in 1947.

Cornelia Macintyre Foley

Cornelia Macintyre Foley was born in 1909 in Honolulu. Her art instructors were Huc Lucquiens at the University of Hawaii, and Madge Tennant in Honolulu; Ambrose Patterson and Walter Isaacs at the University of Washington, Seattle; and Henry Tonks, at the Slade School in London. Foley was awarded first prize in 1931 for a "wood engraving" at the Slade School where she learned the technique. She also won awards at the Honolulu Artists Association and Honolulu Printmakers shows, and designed the 1937 gift print for Honolulu Printmakers.

Her work is mentioned in a brief biography of the artist:

Cornelia Macintyre was a consistent exhibitor at the annual exhibits of the Honolulu Print Makers until her marriage in 1937 to Lt. Paul Foley, Jr., U.S.N. . . . She has frequently sent work back from different stations, Seattle, or Washington, D.C. but her time has been divided between her family of three children and her art.

. . . upon her return to Honolulu opened an art studio where she held classes in drawing, painting and modelling. In her work in wood engraving and painting she made the Hawaiian figure her chief interest.

She has exhibited frequently on the West Coast, as well as in Hawaii, where her work is found in the collections of the Honolulu Academy of Arts and in private homes.

Macintyre wrote of her future work: "I intend going on with [my] own work wherever I am, and to continue Hawaiian subjects as far as possible."236

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236 Cornelia Macintyre Foley, TS; and Biographical Outline, Library, artist's file, Honolulu Academy of Arts.

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The AAUW paper describes her cast cement bas-relief for the Varney Circle fountain at the University of Hawaii:

The figures of Hawaiian idols are cast in cement in relief. The design of the whole fountain is simple, with a modern feeling, which is in keeping with the squatty little figures of the Hawaiian gods represented.

**Other Artists**

Katherine Harland Kelly was also mentioned in the AAUW report: "She has established a well deserved place for herself in the community and has many beautifully executed pieces to her credit." Three examples of her work with Hawaiian themes are listed: "Kalakaua Tablet--Honolulu Police Station, Liliuokalani Tablet--Washington Place, and Head of Hawaiian Fisherman--Art Academy."

Other artists mentioned in the paper who "have also done some fine sculptured pieces" are Miss Alice L. Judd and Miss Carolyn Shepherd.237

**Woodcraft Shops**

**Barpa**

Wright Bowman recalls turning plates and bowls and carving pineapple bowls for the shop at the Royal Hawaiian

237 AAUW, p. 24. 243
Hotel run by the daughters of Mr. White, the president of Hawaiian Pineapple.

Patricia White Connally recalls that she and her sister began their business venture in 1948, selling linens and lingerie from their Diamond Head Road home. In 1949 they moved to the Royal Hawaiian arcade. "Barpa," the name they chose for their enterprise is a contraction of their first given names—Barbara and Patricia. When Barpa appropriated Gump's crystal and china patterns, following the closing of the San Francisco based store, a number of local residents began to buy wedding gifts from the shop.

Barbara White Atkin says that when they opened at the Royal they didn't intend to have any "touristy stuff." There continued to be a demand for this type of merchandise, however, because of the store's location. The sisters were able to obtain additional space for a "Hawaiian Room," decorated with woven lauhala on the walls. Floral and leaf-form bowls, trays, and plates were displayed in custom made bookcases on one side of the room.

Barbara Atkin remembers Bowman's special pineapple bowls, made to resemble the fruit cut in half, with the sides carved to suggest the exterior pattern. "They were very pretty and they were expensive," she says. Barpa also sold, on a consignment basis, free-form and leaf-shape monkeypod coffee tables. The shop was closed in 1956.
Blair Ltd.

Millard Blair arrived in Hawai‘i during the war to work as a shipwright. In 1945 he borrowed six hundred dollars to begin a woodcraft business but two years later it was necessary to dissolve his interest and return to the mainland for six months. When he returned he reestablished his enterprise. Blair's company prospered as tourism increased in Hawai‘i, and by 1951 he had fifteen employees.

The wide variety of wood products sold at Blair's in 1953 is described in a Paradise of the Pacific story:

A man who feels wholehearted enthusiasm for the Hawaiian pattern of living is M. A. Blair. In his shop Blair's at Waikiki may be found enchanting supplies of his craftsmanship. Hawaiian woods are utilized to form decorative items or whole sets of furniture with which the Hawaiian homemaker can furnish her home in the Island tradition.

Whether one wants a custom made koa bedroom, living or dining room set, calabash or coffee table, driftwood carving or hand carved lamp, Blair's at Waikiki can fill the order.  

A 1955 newspaper article indicated that M. A. Blair Company had twenty-six employees. Nineteen worked at the Ward Street Factory. Two new shops were to be opened in Waikiki, making a total of four in that area.  

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incorporated and the name was changed to Blair Ltd. The company announced that year it would establish a sawmill in Kona. 240

According to a story in Hawaii Business, Blair Ltd. grossed around a quarter of a million dollars in 1960. In 1961, when competition with low-cost wood products imported from the Philippines threatened his business, Blair reacted by buying forty-five percent of a Hong Kong woodcarving factory that had eighty-five employees. Later he purchased twenty-five percent of a factory in Cheng Mai, Thailand that employed three-hundred persons. He shipped a sawmill, fabricated in Formosa, to the Thailand site to mill monkeypod grown in the area. The wood products made in the Philippines and Thailand that were to be marketed in Hawai'i were designed by Richard (Sonny) Gayagas in Honolulu, a talented carver at Blair's. Although machinery was utilized as much as possible, the final stages and finishing were all accomplished by hand. The 1971 Hawaii Business article indicated that ninety-five percent of Blair's merchandise was produced in Asia. 241

In a 1968 Honolulu Beacon story about Blair calabash turner Stewart Medeiros, no mention is made of the company's


imported products. Medeiros is said to be the "prime commer­
cial creator of Koa wood products" turning almost two thousand
kalabashes a year. The calabash appears to be in demand at
that time, but the carved floral motif introduced in the
thirties was still produced in limited numbers:

Although most of the bowls are finished with plain
lustrous surfaces, Stewart does decorate some bowls
with carvings of Hawaiian flowers. In these
decorative carvings, of Hibiscus or Anthuriums for
instance, his artistic talents beyond simple wood
carving are revealed.\footnote{242}

A series of four major fires engulfed Blair's woodcraft
plant: in 1958, $45,000 worth of damage was reported; in 1964,
$60,000; in 1968, $75,000; and in 1969, $50,000.

The \textit{Hawaii Business} article reported that Blair Ltd. was
the "largest manufacturer and retailer of wood products and
carvings in the Islands." Blair expected to gross two million
dollars in 1972. Although the last fire had destroyed the
main office and showroom the previous year, business was
resumed without difficulty since most of the merchandise was
manufactured at the Asia factories and stock was distributed
among the branch outlets. At the time the story was written,
the company had seven stores on O'ahu, one at Lahaina, Maui,
and branches at Kona and Hilo on the Big Island.

\footnote{242 Doris B. Batcho, "Calabash Artist: Stewart Medeiros
of Blair's Preserves an Old Hawaiian Art," \textit{Honolulu Beacon},
July 1968', pp. 32-33.}
The reporter writes that in order to compete for the tourist dollar, at the Waikiki locations "the line has been expanded to include jewelry, island perfume and a rack or two of Hawaiian sportswear." At that time Blair's also furnished wood bowls and trays to "the big department stores, such as Liberty House, Sears, Penney's, and many of the smaller retailers in the Islands."

Approximately five percent of Blair's merchandise was produced locally. Around fifteen carvers worked at the factory behind the Ward Avenue showroom, producing bowls and trays or finishing and assembling monkeypod tables shipped from Hong Kong or Thailand. The author of the story notes that these carvers "turn out most of the unusual designs the company offers, not only in monkeypod, but in koa, milo, and the other indigenous Hawaiian hardwoods. A woodcarver in Blair's facility on the Big Island also supplies salad bowls and calabashes of milo."

Paul Fujimoto's faces were included in the inventory:

Although most of Blair's offerings are standardized items, the distinctive products are carved heads, often representations of the volcano goddess, Pele, some priced as high as $4,000. Most of these are done outside the plant by woodcarver Paul Fujimoto, and sold through the Blair shops as the high end of the line.243

A variety of item's from Paul Fujimoto's shop were stocked. Jean Suzuki notes, "... one man that really had a lot to do with this company besides Mr. Blair, it's Paul Fujimoto."

Hale O Laau

A 1956 Advertiser article reports that Hale O Laau, a "Filipino concern" established in 1946, is "the oldest among local wood carving industries to survive the economic trials and tribulations of the years." Twelve employees worked at the Waiakamilo Road shop in Honolulu, operated by the Philippine-Hawaiian Engineering Company.

According to the Advertiser, the company exported its products, "is known all over the mainland, has popularized the islands, and clinks in its share to the territory's tax coffer."

Monkeypod logs were milled at the back of the shop, cut into blocks and sent to a distinctive router described in the article:

Hale O Laau is the first of the local wood shops to use the largest of this type of machinery. With its many sets of knives which turn at 20,000 revolutions a minute, the router not only cuts out the traced patterns but hollows out the blocks for desired objects. Requiring manipulation by skilled hands, the complicated machine is a source of interest to visitors who tour the factory.
Photographs that accompany the story show a wide range of monkeypod items including: tiki's, lamp bases, pineapples, leaf-form bowls and trays, carved plates, a wall hanging of a woman's face, and the figure of a seated woman.

The author of the article, Marcy Rosario, writes: "President and manager, Modesto Salve, is "inherently an artist." Rosario continues, "it took Mr. Salve many years to get into the field which was a combination of his background, training and business experience." Salve had the distinction of being the first Filipino to graduate from the "new" McKinley high school in 1924. He was also a graduate of the Honolulu Theological Seminary and Honolulu Business Collage and attended the University of Hawaii. Salve had been an employee of the Bishop National Bank for seventeen years, territorial manager of the Crown Life Insurance Company in 1946, and was "a leader in cosmopolitan and Filipino civic and community affairs."

Like many other Hawai'i residents at this time, his hobby was "sculpturing." Modesto Salve's versatility is described:

Designer and artist for Hale O Laau, Mr. Salve, who has created original patterns in tableware and other objects has one little-known aspect of his artistic inclinations. Currently doing sculpturing as a hobby, he holds a diploma in singing, is a wizard with all string instruments, especially the mandolin, and once sang in Prince Leilani's troupe at the Liberty Theater.244

Tommy Leong, proprietor of House of Kalai, is one of the contemporary carvers featured in this study. (See Chapter II and Chapter X.)

Leong met Millard Blair at Pearl Harbor when they were defense workers. Leong says that when Blair left Pearl Harbor "he bought a little shop, a carpenter shop from some guy. Him and I did a little cabinet making and then we went into turning of bowls and things like that, you know." When asked if Blair had experience, Leong says, "No, he didn't have experience. That goes for me, too. Then I think I picked up pretty quick--I picked up pretty good. And that little art work I did in school, that helped me."

When he is questioned about how he learned to use the tools, Leong replies, "Just little common sense would tell you how to use it. Lot of time I make mistake like everybody else, you know, not perfect."

Leong worked for Blair for ten years. While there he said he "did leaf-shape" and furniture. In 1956 he opened his own shop in Kalihi on Auiki Street. Among the items sold in his shop were leaf-form bowls and trays, plates, tikis, poi pounders, and driftwood faces. Leong sold numerous detailed figures of King Kamehameha carved by Siso Chung, a talented carver from Korea who later moved to the mainland. Chung also carved Olympic swimmer Duke Kahanamoku on a surfboard.
Tommy Leong managed to survive the adverse conditions that drove other wood shops out of business. He has continued selling only locally made wood products through the years, although in the sixties he imported "raw" monkeypod from the Philippines.

Sorensen The Woodcarver

Christian M. Sorensen was born in Tonapah, Nevada in 1917. When he was three years old his family moved to Pomona, California. Chris enjoyed whittling from the age of nine and gradually collected tools over the years. His formal study was limited to about twenty hours of instruction from Fritz Abplanalp and a sculpture course at the Honolulu YWCA.

In 1937 he sailed to Hawai'i on the Lurline in order to study tropical agriculture at the University of Hawaii. He worked for Hawaiian Telephone while he attended school. Sorensen relates that his first woodcraft experience in Honolulu was "carving octopus, fish, and seaweed on a solid redwood plank surfboard I made in the basement of the Kalihi Telephone Exchange. It was my personal surfboard. I figured it would be less slippery than a smooth surface. Kinda rough on the chest. . . ."

He dropped out of school for financial reasons and gained employment at the Hawaiian Pineapple Company. He carved during his free time on Lāna'i where he was a field time-keeper.
Sorensen started his woodcraft business shortly after he was discharged from the Army in 1943. He says, "When I got here I saw that this was maybe a lovely place to live . . . so I started that carving. It was imitative, I suppose." His workshop was above a garage in Mānoa Valley until neighbors complained about the noise. He moved to Ward Street, then to the Ala Moana area at a site opposite Fisherman's Wharf, and finally relocated his factory showroom on Waimanu Street. At that time he also had a shop in the Princess Kaiulani Hotel.

Initially, he worked alone, then hired another craftsman. Through Fritz Abplanalp he found two competent "part-Hawaiian" carvers. By 1957 he had twenty-four employees. Sorensen says that he was "into machine manufacturing" and didn't have much time to do hand-carving himself. He describes his work at that time:

We had a great many leaf trays and bowls which I designed, of all kinds. And it was pretty well thought of, but from this viewpoint I don't know really how good they were. They were better, I think, than most. . . . but I would do it so differently now. I think I have gotten a better sense of style than I had then. But I'm not going to make trays and bowls any more anyway. . . .

He also carved animals for his shop, but not driftwood faces. Chris remembers that after carving the first trophy for the Trans-Pacific Yacht Race after the war in 1952, the winner, motion picture actor Frank Morgan, visited his shop:
He came down to my little hole in the wall there and thanked me as though I had donated it. Of course, I got paid for it. . . . It was a double-hulled outrigger canoe with four little crouched tiki figures just bent over and holding it on their backs. Really well-done. Professionally woven lauhala sail and coconut fiber sennit cord for the rigging.

Sorensen recalls that "there were a lot of machine shops turning out bowls and trays and such. It was the hey-day of particularly monkeypod." When asked who his competition was, he replies, "Tommy Leong, Paul Fujimoto, and Blair. There were others, there were quite a few. The good ones were, of course, the Wood Rose Shop and Gump's in the early days, right after the war. That changed rather rapidly, I think."245

Sorensen's work is highly regarded by other carvers. Tommy Leong says, "You know, talking about all the old time, I think Chris Sorensen had his own ideas; he does a little different from everybody. . . . Chris, he made these leaf-shapes and things like that but he is original."246 A representative leaf-form tray with low-relief veins and surface faceting by Sorensen is illustrated in figure 37.

245 Telephone interview with Sorensen, 2 July 1989.
The Wood Rose Shop

Katherine Reid was the first proprietor of The Wood Rose Shop on Kalakaua Avenue in Waikiki. In a 1954 Star-Bulletin story that describes the phenomenal growth of the Hawai‘i woodcraft industry, Reid is mentioned following a discussion of Fritz Abplanalp:

Other artists and sculptors began working with Island woods, and under the guidance of Mrs. Katherine Reid, a small shop began turning out handcarved and hand-crafted articles, large and small.\footnote{247}

A reference to Katherine Reid is also found in a 1940 Star-Bulletin article:

Another outstanding woman wood carver is Katherine Reid, who has turned a fascinating hobby into a profitable profession. Any day you can find her at work at the Wood Rose Shop on Kalakaua Ave., where she makes vases, trays, cigarette boxes, hurricane lamps and other distinctive objects artistically carved in Hawaiian leaf and flower motifs.\footnote{248}

Reid was born in Sydney, Australia and arrived in Honolulu in 1923. She was in the nursing profession for a few years before she established her woodcarving and glass etching business. The Wood Rose Shop was first listed in the 1938-39


Polk-Husted Directory. During World War II Reid resided at the Halekulani hotel.

Charlie Chow worked for her in the late forties. He relates that she designed Hawaiian floral motifs and had them carved onto wooden plates and bowls that were purchased from other craftsmen. The carving was done in her workshop.

Mark Le Buse considered Katherine Reid to be an excellent carver. He remembers the work produced in her shop:

She did trays maybe with a spray of plumeria flowers on it. She'd like to take a piece that was half light and half dark wood and she'd carve a spray of flowers that went right across the intersection of the grain and things like that. One of her specialties was making little tiny boxes; this was kind of a cover for a box of matches—sort of cute. She'd put a couple of flowers and a leaf on top of it.249

Reid is also commended in the AAUW survey: "Miss Katherine Reid, of the Wood Rose Shop, has done, perhaps, the best commercial wood-carving."250

The same advertisement for the Wood Rose Shop appeared in the City Directory each year from 1947 until 1954: "Hand Carved Native Woods, Etched Crystal & Glass, Ceramics & Paintings, Special Orders Accepted."

Ian Cameron bought the successful Wood Rose Shop from Reid in 1946. The retired former owner then embarked on extensive travels throughout the world for a number of years.

250 p. 129.
Honolulu newspapers reported her activities and printed her commentaries about foreign lands.

Before purchasing the Wood Rose Shop, Cameron operated two gift shops in Hilo and one in Kona at the Naniloa Surf Hotel. When interviewed for the study, he had retired and lived in an apartment in Waikiki, surrounded by many of the wood objects from his popular shop on Kalākaua Avenue. He, too, recalled that Reid specialized in carved floral designs on platters and trays. Cameron did not carve, but acknowledged that he was creative. "Creating new things was my field," he said. He would specify to skilled craftsmen exactly what he wanted. Cameron changed some of the merchandise formerly sold by Reid in The Wood Rose Shop. Etched glass was discontinued because he had never really liked it. An article in *Paradise of the Pacific* describes the attractive apartment Cameron designed for himself, converted from the studio where the glass was etched.251

The style of woodcarving was also altered to suit his taste. "If the carving was worked in with the grain in the wood, I liked it. But just to put a flower on a piece of wood didn't do much for me." He began selling more "contemporary" things including the unique work of Charlie Chow. Cameron related that Charlie, at that time, "would never think of doing a flower." Cameron bought "tikis" from Paul Fujimoto

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and driftwood carvings from Clifford Carpenter, a part-Hawaiian specializing in driftwood pieces, who carved after work as a hobby. Carpenter's work was notable, Cameron said because the design was always executed in the direction of the grain.

His shop was frequented by kama‘aina as well as tourists. Cameron remembers that some patrons would buy individual salad bowls, purchasing one each month until a set was completed. The size of the bowls would be uniform, but the designs and wood varied. He recalled that milo was the wood most in demand, followed by koa and monkeypod.

After Cameron retired, he would occasionally encounter some of his former customers in Waikiki who told him that they still had bowls purchased in his shop. He particularly appreciated a letter from a former customer who recalled the pleasure he always experienced upon entering The Wood Rose Shop. Ian Cameron recently died of cancer.

Woods of Hawaii

Mark Le Buse claims that Boris Horn's company realized greater financial gain than others during this period. A press release for Woods of Hawaii was published in an April 1952 issue of the Advertiser and reprinted again in the March 1953 Paradise of the Pacific. The Waikiki establishment, owned and managed by Mr. and Mrs Boris H. Horn, was said to have the largest factory in the territory.
Some of the wood merchandise produced by the company is listed:

Among the many beautiful wood pieces designed and manufactured by Woods of Hawaii are leaf-shaped hors d'oeuvre trays, salad bowls, pig boards, calabashes and many others, in different varieties of Hawaiian hardwood. Monkey pod, however, is the favorite with tourists.

Monkeypod furniture manufactured in the factory included free-form coffee tables, end tables, lamp tables, and bridge tables.\footnote{252}

**Mid-Pacific Institute**

In 1919 Cecil Martin began conducting manual training classes for boys at the school. Jenkins relates that Martin's father taught him cabinetry on a farm in Kansas and he received further instruction at Los Angeles Polytechnic Institute. After teaching for two years at Mid-Pac, Martin returned to the mainland. He conceived the concept there of a craft shop that would be self-supporting and allow the Mid-Pac boys to earn money toward their tuition. Irving states that the program Martin initiated in 1924 was patterned after the Hilo Boarding School operation.

Some of the items produced by the boys under Martin's direction in the Mid-Pac basement shop were picture frames,

\footnote{252 "Island Woods Produce Many Lovely Items, Honolulu Advertiser, 6 April 1952, Sec. IV, p. 3; Paradise of the Pacific, March 1953, p. 16.}
book ends, and lamp stands for a Hotel Street art shop; and collection plates for Central Union Church. Later a new workshop was constructed at the school. In The Story of Mid-Pacific Helen Pratt writes:

In the new shop, the boys began at once to make picture frames for the Cross Roads Studios. Mid-Pacific shop had lost the business previously done with the Art Shop on Hotel Street, because that shop had hired two Mid-Pacific graduates trained under Mr. Martin to do all their work! As time went on Mid-Pacific shop filled many commercial orders.

Pratt relates that "in 1935, the shop employed two of Archie Ericson's [sic] protegees, skilled in wood-carving." Pratt believes that Cecil Martin made a significant contribution to the carving revival in Hawai'i: "Mr. Martin himself pays high tribute to Archie Ericson and Fritz Abplanalp as having the most to do with the revival of handcraft in the Islands but his own name should be added to that list."

In addition to filling commissions for business concerns, institutions, and individuals, Pratt relates that "Visitors to the Islands as well as local residents visited Mid-Pacific shop to buy the charming hand carved articles of linden wood, and local woods including even the rare sandalwood." Examples of wood carvings executed in the shop were displayed in the 1939 San Francisco Exposition. 253

Government Support for Crafts

Various government agencies recognized the potential for the development of Hawaiian crafts. The tourist industry provided a ready market, but there were not enough locally made craft articles of good quality to supply the demand. Carved and turned wood articles were more plentiful than many other types of crafts but their quality varied considerably.

The 1940 AAUW report affirms that this disparity existed among carved wood perfume bottles:

Gump's created the first carved, wooden perfume bottles, which still set the standards for beautiful perfume containers. The market is now flooded with carved, wooden perfume bottles, most of which are bad, both in design and execution, although a few are outstandingly good.254

Terence Barrow, authority on Maori art, was appalled by the quality of the carvings he observed in Waikiki. In a 1960 Star-Bulletin interview, Barrow indicated that he felt "with a few notable exceptions, much of the work in Waikiki shops is 'decidedly poor'." He recommended that carvers study the traditional work:

If Hawaiian craftsmen would pay more attention to ancient artifacts their work would improve in quality. Hawaiian wood sculpture ranks with any national art and should be especially appreciated.

Great would [sic]. sculpture is a tradition. It is a pity to neglect it. 255

In 1953 a Paradise of the Pacific writer considers the potential of Hawaiian crafts to the tourist industry:

Handicraft workers of the Islands have a proud heritage, handed down by the native Hawaiians, and further enriched by the cultures of other peoples who have come to these shores. . . . Next to the natural beauty of the Islands, Hawaii's handicrafts form one of the chief tourist attractions."

The writer notes the current state of craft production:
"At present, Hawaii does not have enough handicraft of high quality to supply the local market, and only a few types are produced in quantities sufficient to supply a potential Mainland trade."

A 1950-51 survey that examined the status and potential of the handicraft industry led to the formation of the Handicraft Development Project in 1952, administered by the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce and funded by the Territory's Industrial Research Advisory Council. One venture of the project was the establishment of a permanent Hawaiian Craft Exhibit on Kalākaua Avenue.

The Paradise of the Pacific story defines the criteria for objects to be included in the display: "A committee on Selection considers each entry on the basis of workmanship,

design, and appropriate use of material." Three examples could be submitted by a manufacturer for the exhibit. Those chosen were rotated over a period of time to allow a greater number of qualified craftspeople to participate. The merchandise was not sold at the exhibit but potential buyers were referred to the producers' places of business.

Photographs that accompany the article include a sculpture of a woman's face by Fritz Abplanalp, the interior of Blair's at Waikiki with a variety of leaf-form trays and bowls displayed, and a "Hand carved ivory lamp base by John Roberts Ivories." 256

The project also funded a mainland exhibition of Hawaiian craft products "to expand the mainland market for Hawaiian handicraft." The exhibit was previewed by Hawai'i residents at the Honolulu Academy of Arts the first week of February 1953, before the articles were shipped to the Matson Navigation Company's offices in San Francisco.

Carved wood objects were well-represented. Although only commercial products were supposed to be displayed, an eight foot hāpu'u "Polynesian figure," carved by University of Hawaii sculpture student Tom Collingwood, was placed in the center of the exhibit for dramatic effect. 257


The Honolulu Advertiser reports that the main purpose of the Chamber of Commerce project was to "organize craft producers so they could assume responsibility for the direction of continued craft development activities." The Hawaii Craft Association was established in 1953 to accomplish this goal. Woodcraft shop proprietors were active in the organization. The first president of the Association was M. A. Blair; Modesto Salve of Hale O Laau was treasurer.258

The potential of Hawaiian crafts was addressed again in 1966 by a representative of another agency. Alfred Preis, Director of the State Foundation for Culture and the Arts announced that his organization was "considering a seminar to explore the educating of craftsmen and the marketing methods needed to take advantage of our resources." Preis said "Hawaii craft products are 'among the world's best' but their potential is scarcely realized." He referred to non-traditional as well as traditional crafts, saying, "the Islands should become world-known for woodcarving, ceramics, furniture, weaving, and jewelry.259


Motifs

In her 1940 *Star-Bulletin* story, Eleanor A. Lambert specifies some of the flowers that served as motifs for wood carvers:

Torch ginger, hibiscus, pikake, plumeria, ape, and other native blossoms lend themselves to designs for perfume bottles, bracelets, vases and other artistic objects. Occasionally the carver utilizes the striking patterns of the night blooming cereus or the graceful Chinese lotus flower.

Lambert may have intended to list 'ape in the category of leaves rather than flowers, since bowls and trays of that period most often were made in the shape of 'ape or taro leaves. She mentions some other leaves incorporated in the carved designs:

An exquisite monkeypod bowl carved in the shape of the ulu, or breadfruit leaf, was one of the features of the 1939 Hawaiian products show. This fine piece of workmanship may still be seen at a shop on South King St. near McKinley high school. The leaves of the hau, koa, mango and many other trees have figured in the fashioning of many bowls and trays. When artistically planned the swirls in the wood appear like the veins in the leaf.

The fruits most often depicted at that time are also identified:

The pineapple, king of Hawaiian fruits, is a popular motif with the commercial carvers who turn out trays for the tourist trade. Artists and students prefer to use the more unusual mango and breadfruit.

In one of the shops you may see an interesting paper weight carved in the shape of a mango. There
are handsome hurricane lamps on which clusters of breadfruit have been chiseled.

She refers to wood fish: "You may see a fish in rare bluish gray hau wood looking smugly at the world with his shell eyes. Another fish shaped of dark brown kou wood has eyes of ivory."

Birds are another motif:

For the uncommon combination of extinct birds carved out of rare woods you should see Fritz' collection of Hawaiian birds. It includes an oo of golden milo and an ou chiseled from noni. . . . Then there is that bird well known today for his sassy manner and lively antics, the mynah, made of kou. There is a gentle turtle dove made of hau and a proud looking cardinal of kamani.

Finally, Lambert refers to a common motif selected by the sculptors who created fine art during this period. She writes, "The people of Hawaii and their legends have inspired many designs. Many a decorative panel bears the handsome figure of a Hawaiian man. Hawaiians [sic] are favored models for sculptors in wood."

The driftwood carvings by Schirman, Abplanalp, Paul Fujimoto and others most often portray female faces. Other subjects were human figures, animals, and birds. (The tradition of carving driftwood faces is continued today for the tourist trade by Brian Takano who was influenced by Fujimoto.) None of the faces are Hawaiian; they appear to have Eurasian features. The lips are thin, seldom full; and
the nose is petite, narrow, and tilted, rather than prominent and broad. Only a portion of the wood is carved and finished, leaving the remainder in its natural state, subject to the viewers imagination. The effect is of an underwater creature, such as a mermaid, with long entangled hair floating above the head. Fujimoto carved similar faces from black coral. Examples of driftwood faces, birds, and fish carved by Fujimoto during this period may be seen at Blair Ltd. on Ward Avenue in Honolulu figure (see figure 35). Mark LeBuse has a Paul Fujimoto black coral face at his Pāhoa, Hawai'i home.

The Rise and Decline of the Woodcraft Industry

The 1940 Star-Bulletin story refers to the revival of carving in the thirties:

Within the past five years hundreds of Honolulu people have become enthusiastic about the art of wood carving. . . .
Challenged by the craftsmanship of ancient Hawaiian wood carvers, boys and girls, men and women are learning the age-old art. They are coming to know the beauties of many local woods and the uses to which they are best suited. . . .
Hands that have never done anything more strenuous than beat cake batter or swing a golf club are becoming strong and sure in managing wood carving tools.

The tourist industry provided a source of income for some of the enterprising woodcarvers and turners. By 1946,
Paradise of the Pacific referred to woodcraft as "an important minor industry:"

The native woods of the Hawaiian Islands, such as milo, kou, false sandlewood [sic] have inspired wood carving to the status of an important minor industry. Hand-carved, custom built furniture, trays, salad bowls, cigarette boxes, lamps and book ends are coveted by residents and visitors alike. Although, like other businesses, it suffered from shortages of labor and materials during the war, wood carving should take its place again in the months and years to come.

A photograph shows an elaborate hand-carved leaf tray with numerous compartments, and "a cigarette and match box with bamboo motif from the Sign of the Sea Horse Shop in Honolulu."  

In 1954, Robyn Rickard of the Star-Bulletin writes: "From little perfume bottles, a large industrial tree of woodworking has grown in the Islands, spreading into many companies and giving employment to a great number of people." She reports that "interest in the art took an upswing" when Abplanalp began carving for Gump's. Soon Katherine Reid and "several pupils" of Abplanalp opened wood shops. Following World War II, she said, the industry flourished:

... other plants opened, and manufacturing commenced on a larger scale. Mainland markets were found, both in the retail and wholesale field, and

tourist interest boomed. As the industry grew, new designs, and a greater variety of woods were used.\textsuperscript{262}

A 1955 \textit{Advertiser} story suggests that carving grew from a hobby to an industry in Hawai'i. Described as "one of Hawaii's many small but growing industries--carved native woods and furniture of native woods," its growth rate is indicated:

In five years the dollar value of the industry has nearly tripled.
Some producers say the rate of growth could be stepped up considerably except for a shortage of raw materials; others insist too little effort has gone into developing new products and new market outlets. Despite the many problems, producers of carved objects and furniture have boosted the gross sales from $583,000 in 1949 to about $1,500,000 in 1954.

Regarding the number of employees in the industry, the \textit{Advertiser} reports:

In 1949, according to a survey sponsored by the Industrial Research Advisory Council, 171 persons were employed in the manufacture of carved wood and furniture from native woods. Today the Hawaii Craft Association estimates that between 350 and 400 are employed in the same endeavors.\textsuperscript{263}

The growth of the woodcraft industry corresponded with the expansion of tourism. Between 1950 and 1959 tourist expenditures increased 350 percent, from $24,000,000 to

\textsuperscript{262} Rickard, 1954, p. 4.

$109,000,000. One reason for the increase was the availability of vastly improved air service. Commercial airlines began to fly tourists to Hawai‘i connecting with cities throughout the United States. Flying time from the West Coast was reduced from ten hours to just four and one-half hours with the advent of the jet engine. In 1959, half a million visitors arrived by air, compared with 520 in 1939. Before the war there were only three major hotels in Waikiki. Afterward, hotels were built in rapid succession to accommodate increasing numbers of visitors. Publicity during the period preceding and following statehood in 1959 generated further interest in Hawai‘i as a destination for tourists.

Tourism continued to accelerate but by the close of the sixties the local woodcraft industry in Hawai‘i had ended. Contributing factors were the rising cost of labor, the scarcity and high price of monkeypod and native woods, and competition from low-cost imported Philippine monkeypod products. Larry Kekule, owner of Aloha Wood Products, is said to be the first to move his shop from Honolulu to the Philippines. Most of the specialty wood shops were forced to close and the public's interest in wood products diminished. The carvers, however, continued to work on their own.

Of those prominent during this period, Fritz Abplanalp, Archie Eriksson, Karl Axel de Flon, Katherine Reid, Paul Fujimoto, and Frank Schirman have died. All but one of the surviving carvers residing in Hawai‘i, are still active in their trade. Mark Le Buse carves reproductions and fills commissions on the Big Island. Millard Blair is semi-retired and has moved to the mainland, but a number of the carvers and turners he employed continue working with wood: Sonny Gayagas and Terry Revera carve on their own and furnish handmade items for Blair Ltd.; Stewart Medeiros turns bowls in Hau‘ula; and John Aperto, Blair’s longtime foreman, operates a woodcraft shop on Maui. Ed Pratt, former Fujimoto employee also sells carvings to Blair’s. Chris Sorensen works in a shop in his Wai‘alae Kahala home (figure 38). He hand-carves ornamentation on Martin & MacArthur furniture and occasionally sells creative works on consignment at the Artist Guild in Ward Warehouse. Only Charlie Chow no longer carves; he sells fish in China Town (figure 39).

Of the O‘ahu woodcraft shops so popular in the forties and fifties, Blair Ltd. and Tommy Leong’s House of Kalai remain. Both establishments continue to sell some flower and leaf-form platters and trays to tourists, but today’s customers have once again become interested in the calabash along with other traditionally oriented objects. This renewed appreciation for traditional forms began in the late sixties.
Fig. 38. Chris Sorenson carves in the workshop behind his Wai'alae Kāhala home in Honolulu.

Fig. 39. Charlie Chow stands in front of Chinatown Seafood, his place of employment.
and seventies, coinciding with the advent of the Hawaiian Renaissance.
CHAPTER VI

THE CONTEMPORARY HAWAIIAN ART MOVEMENT

The Hawaiian Renaissance

In remarks made to the Rotary Club of Honolulu in March 1977, George S. Kanahele, Hawaiian scholar and business consultant, defined the Hawaiian Renaissance:

... It is a rebirth of artistic and intellectual achievement accompanied by a revival of interest in the past, and an increasing pursuit of knowledge and learning. Some have called it a "psychological renewal," purging of feelings of alienation and inferiority. For others it is a reassertion of self-dignity and self-importance. Of course it is both, for neither can happen without the other.

What is happening among Hawaiians today is probably the most significant chapter in their modern history since the overthrow of the monarchy and loss of their nationhood in 1893. For, concomitant with this cultural rebirth, is a new political awareness which is gradually being transformed into an articulate, organized but unmonolithic movement.

... When seen in its totality, the Hawaiian Renaissance is truly unprecedented—a remarkable comeback for a people and culture that seemed to have been doomed to extinction...

Kanahele suggests that the Hawaiian Renaissance is related to "cultural activism" in other Pacific islands, and has been influenced by the United States "Age of Ethnicity," in existence for several decades, and the civil rights movement, that granted ethnic groups new rights and appreciation for their heritage.

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Among examples he cites to indicate the resurgence of Hawai'i's arts are the revival of the hula, and the increased interest in Hawaiian music. The carvers today believe that their art, too, is developing because of this reawakening.

Alapa'i Hanapi speaks of the direct effect the Renaissance had on his choice of a career:

When I was living on O'ahu, like when the Renaissance was first started coming back when everybody was starting to identify--I would say the last fifteen years, yeah? I wanted to do something to help perpetuate the tradition and the culture and that's why I got into it and I decided to take the traditional Hawaiian art form of woodcarving.

Bob Freitas has noticed that Hawaiians are beginning to appreciate new indigenous artistic expression. He believes that art is "the reflection of the society where people are at right now." He says:

And where I think the Hawaiian people are at right now is reawakening, rediscovering that they have a valid art form. They have things that are theirs and they're unique. Nowhere else in the world will you find contemporary Hawaiian art other than Hawai'i.


Cultural and Historic Restoration

Individuals, organizations, and government agencies have endeavored to revive, restore, and perpetuate elements of the Hawaiian culture. Pu‘uhonua o Hōnaunau on the island of Hawai‘i is a noteworthy restoration, initiated in 1961 when the Department of Interior commenced work that culminated in the reconstruction of the dry masonry great wall, heiau platform, and surface features that included carved images and the Hale o Keawe. Today the site is visited by thousands of visitors each year. Among other tourist attractions have been a number of villages established in various locations to demonstrate crafts, traditional lifestyles, and performance arts. One of the earliest of these was Lalani Village.

Lalani Village

George (Keoki) P. Mossman, the founder of Lalani Hawaiian Village, had a Scottish father and a "full-blooded" Hawaiian mother. Soon after his birth his father died; hence he was influenced most by his mother's people who lived in Honolulu's Pauoa Valley where he was raised. His first business venture was the Mossman Bell-Tone Ukulele Factory, founded in 1914. The instruments he produced sold well and many were exported.

One day a voice from "within" told him that he did not know the language of his forefathers. Since Mossman already spoke fluent Hawaiian he determined to become familiar with
other aspects of his culture and sought instruction from several "ancient patriarchs." Mossman learned from them that he had not attained an adequate understanding of Hawai'i's language.

In 1928 he instituted the "Hale Hoonauaao Hawaii" (Hawaiian Culture Academy) at his 'ukulele factory on Lusitana Street in Honolulu. Classes were conducted in handicrafts, hula, Hawaiian language, and 'ukulele-playing. Mossman toured the islands with his Hawaiian school troupe teaching cultural traditions and speaking about cultural preservation.

Unable to find a wealthy patron to subsidize the school, he established a Hawaiian Village in Waikiki that could be supported by charging admission and selling crafts to tourists. Named Lalani Village after his wife, the site was located in a grove of coconut palms across from Kūhiō Beach. Seven pili grass houses were constructed for the Village that opened May 19, 1932. Activities included courses in Hawaiiana, demonstrations of traditional crafts and customs, and lū'au nights. When World War II suspended tourism Mossman's venture ended.268

Keaukaha Hawaiian Village

In 1921, "native Hawaiians," (see "Definitions" in Introduction) were permitted to lease certain government owned lands for ninety-nine years, under the provisions of the Rehabilitation Act, or Hawaiian Homes Commission Act. The community of Keaukaha, located two miles east of Hilo in the district of Waiakea, was established on Hawaiian Homestead land at this time.

In the mid-fifties, tourism increased in Hilo because of the city's location near Kilauea volcano. Hotel administrators, the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, and the Keaukaha Community Association originated the idea of establishing a crafts and entertainment cultural center in an "authentic setting" to accommodate tourists. Pili grass houses and stalls to sell crafts were erected for the Keaukaha Hawaiian Village. Buses transported visitors to the site where they watched demonstrations of traditional crafts. In the evening, entertainment was provided by hula troupes. The village was also utilized by community members for lūʻau celebrations and meetings. Lanakila Brandt demonstrated carving at Keaukaha Hawaiian Village during this period. The Village closed in the early 1970s when tourism diminished. 269

Ulu Mau Village

Ulu Mau Village was founded by Malia and Herman Matthew Solomon in 1960. The Solomans were proprietors of a Hawaiian woodcraft and lauhala products shop from 1945 until 1949. When the strike that year ended their business, they relocated in Los Angeles where they operated a catering service, organizing and catering Hawaiian parties for entertainment celebrities.

Ulu Mau was the first cultural village to be established following World War II. Initially located at Ala Moana Park in "dilapidated grass houses" that had been constructed for a past Aloha Week pageant, the village moved to He‘eia on windward O‘ahu in 1969. At that time the tax status of the village was changed from a non-profit tax-exempt organization to a profit-making enterprise. Malia served as cultural director of the village while her husband attended to business matters.

Tuione Pulotu was hired to direct the construction of seven grass houses when Ulu Mau Village was moved to He‘eia Lookout. He was also the carving demonstrator at the Village. When Malia Solomon was asked if she tried to find any Hawaiians who could carve, she replied, "No, we didn't try; we had Pulotu. He was a Polynesian. It didn't matter if he was Hawaiian or not. He was willing to do it."
Pulotu says he demonstrated tiki-making, and carved several large tikis that stood at the village entrance. He also carved poi pounders and pigboards. Woods he employed were kamani, monkeypod, and koa. His tools were a metal adz, hatchet, and chisel and mallet.

Malia Solomon recalls that there was a staff of eleven; of these, ten were craftspeople. She recalls that they were all constantly learning—even the elders: "We all learned very much all together working very hard. It was a very wonderful, wonderful village."\(^{270}\)

The Polynesian Cultural Center

Prior to the construction of the Cultural Center, many Lā'ie residents opposed the visitor attraction, fearing that their community would become another Waikiki. Others welcomed the idea since there were few job opportunities on the north shore of O'ahu. The Polynesian Cultural Center was opened to the public in 1963. Operated by The Church of Jesus-Christ of Latter-day Saints, objectives of the Center are: "to preserve the culture of the Polynesians, to provide employment and work-scholarships for the students attending the Church

College of Hawaii, and to provide direct financial aid to Church College."\(^{271}\)

Brigham Young University--Hawaii campus (formerly Church College) is primarily concerned with the education of students from the Pacific area. The 1989 catalog states:

> Given its physical location, the University is asked to assume a special responsibility for those coming from, and willing to live and serve in, Hawaii, the South Pacific, and Asian Rim area. BYU--HC thus emphasizes gaining knowledge about and developing empathy for other cultures, and fostering a climate of intercultural understanding.\(^{272}\)

Many of these students are employed at the Cultural Center, as demonstrators in the villages, guides, or as performers at the evening show. Polynesian carving, 106R, is offered as an elective course by the Art Department at the school.

Most of the large Hawaiian carved images that stand on the premises and within grass houses in the Hawaiian village were carved by Tuione Pulotu.

Maori master carver Barney Christy, who directed much of the other carving at PCC, presently serves in an administrative position in his village and no longer carves at the

\(^{271}\) Max E. Stanton, "The Polynesian Cultural Center: Presenting Polynesia to the World or the World to Polynesia," East-West Technology and Development Institute, "Impact, of Tourism on Development of Pacific Island Countries," TS, May 1974, Hawaiiana Collection, Hamilton Library, Honolulu.

Center. The carving demonstrators work in the Maori Village, attired in Maori costume. One of the carvers there said he would prefer to be in an area disassociated with any particular Pacific group. He explains:

If we're doing Marquesan carving in the Maori Village and someone next to me is doing Hawaiian, and another one is doing Samoan, everybody's mixed-up. And we're all wearing Maori uniforms. And they expect Maori carving and every person that goes through, we have to explain that this isn't Maori carving. It could alleviate the problem if they could relocate us somewhere else.

Apparently there aren't enough carvers to have one situated in each village. Also, if they worked alone they would accomplish little carving since they must talk to several hundred visitors a day. The carvers are pleased that they have been permitted to do contemporary work since 1989; previously only traditional carving was allowed. An administrator has promised the carvers a public art show.

According to David Eskaran, Tapasoa Cassell, a Samoan carver, is particularly skillful and fast. He uses a ko'i (adz), and when he works "the chips just come pouring off." Eskaran remarks, "if he works at his top speed and he paces himself, he . . . could do a canoe in a month."273

Pu'uhonua O Hōnaunau

A pu'uhonua is a sacred place of refuge or sanctuary designated by a ruling chief. Persons who had broken a kapu or had been defeated in war could find asylum at one of these sites. The pu'uhonua at Hōnaunau, built on an early lava flow in the Kona district, is one of six places of refuge on the Big Island. Its origin is uncertain. Hale o Keawe or Kaiki 'Āle'ale'a (the little 'Āle'ale'a), named after an earlier large heiau within the complex, is said to have housed the bones of the chief, Keawe. The heiau, having a steep-pitched thatched roof, was originally built around a.d. 1650. It stands at the north end of a thousand foot long, seventeen foot wide, and ten foot high great wall. On the platform were a number of images. At the time of the cultural revolution, Hale o Keawe was not destroyed because it contained the bones of Liholiho's ancestors. The bones were removed and hidden in 1829, under Ka'ahumanu's direction. Present Park Superintendent Jerry Y. Shimoda writes that the site was then razed, but Russell A. Apple, former Superintendent, believes the Hale o Keawe was allowed to "disintegrate through natural forces after 1829."274 On July 1, 1961, the City of Refuge National Historic Park was established. (The name was changed in 1978

to its traditional Hawaiian name, Pu'uhonua O Hōnaunau ([Place of Refuge]). Russell A. Apple (figure 40) was Superintendent of the City of Refuge National Historical Park from 1961 until 1967 during the period of reconstruction. When the work was initiated, the methods of research available were to consult existing literature, interview older Hawaiians, and examine the archeological evidence on the premises. In 1963 the staff was increased from seven to over one-hundred persons and the grounds were cleared of non-native vegetation. The site began to appear as it had been described by visitors in the 1790s.

The work force was composed of a large archeology crew directed by Edmund J. Ladd, an archeologist with the National Park Service, and a surveyor. Apple and Ladd realized that the most significant feature of the site was the Hale o Keawe heiau and mausoleum. There was visible only a large flat terraced platform that did not correspond with the descriptions or graphic depictions of seventeenth and eighteenth century authors and artists. Research disclosed that Samuel Damon, a trustee of the Bishop Trust, had hired a crew in 1902, directed by Walter A. Wall, to rebuild the temple platform, relying on the memory of the foreman's grandmother who had seen it as a girl. Fortunately, the first platform was preserved and the original surface of the platform and post holes for the semi-circle of images were discovered.
Fig. 40. Russ Apple, Superintendent of the City of Refuge National Historical Park from 1961-1967.

Fig. 41. Anthony ("Ako") Grace. Lono image. 10 1/2" x 5" x 3". Similar to Lono fence image (Fig. 44). Collection of Russell A. Apple.
Apple and Ladd realized that if the Hale o Keawe were reconstructed, the images would need to be restored and would require particular artistic attention. Engravings of the structure, based on sketches by missionary William Ellis in 1823, and by Robert Dampier in 1825—artist with the HMS Blonde, were used as references for the characteristics and placement of the images. Other resources were photographs of images in museums. 275

Jacob Lindberg-Hansen first supervised the carving of the figures. Hansen had been apprenticed as a boy in a Denmark shipyard where he carved mastheads. He directed the woodcarving program at the University of California at Santa Barbara and became affiliated with the Bishop Museum when he was on Sabbatical leave from the school. Hansen had been impressed with the quality of Hawaiian carved images he had observed in European museums. At Bishop Museum he experimented with the reproduction of traditional carving cuts with modern tools.

He taught at Santa Barbara for one semester before returning to work on the Hale o Keawe project. Apple relates that when an advertisement was placed in the newspapers to

hire carvers, a large number of applicants arrived claiming to be experienced. Hansen gave them a chisel and mallet and told them to carve. Only those who applied the chisel in the proper direction were hired—the beveled edge of an experienced woodcarver's chisel blade faces down. Among those employed to carve images were: ivory carver John Roberts; traditionalist Sam Ka'ai; Virginia Bickerdite, a recognized carver from California; Bill Puou; Ako (Anthony) Grace; Clarence Medeiros; and Paul Rockwood, an artist with the National Park Service.

The carving of the images was commenced in 1966. Hansen retired from his teaching post in California and brought his wife to Hawai'i. He carved images himself, instructed others, and worked on designs with Ako. The carving was performed at the site, witnessed by tourists. G.I. picks were converted to serve as adzes.

Although Hansen had assumed responsibility to write a report on the technical aspects of the image carving, he left the project abruptly following a dispute regarding wages. The carving project remains undocumented. Ako Grace directed the carving after he left. Grace, a gifted artist from a canoe carving family, exerted considerable influence on those working with him. Examples of his carvings are illustrated in figures 41 and 42.

The images on the platform were installed in post holes comprised of two fifty-five gallon oil drums welded together.
Fig. 42. Anthony ("Ako") Grace. Temple image. Revised reproduction of T3 (7654). 9 3/4" x 3 1/2" x 3 1/2". Collection of Russell A. Apple.

Fig. 43. Hale o Keawe images carved under Bill Puou's direction.
The majority of the figures carved at that time eventually succumbed to dry rot and were recently reproduced under Bill Puou's direction.

The images at Hale o Keawe remain the focal point of the Place of Refuge, as in pre-contact times (figures 43, 44). Replicas and revised reproductions of the present images are often made by local carvers (figures 41 and 45).

Hawaiians today sometimes assemble at the heiau to engage in religious ceremonies. Lanakila Brandt's group visits each year. Jerry Shimoda, the present Superintendent, says he restricts the public from the immediate area during these occasions. When he is asked what individuals or organizations may be granted permission to worship at the site, he says, "If they say they're Hawaiian and wish to use it for traditional purposes, I give it to them--even if they're blond and blue-eyed."276

Hawaiian Art Organizations

Hale Naua

The first Hale Naua was related to the establishment of genealogy among the ali'i. Malo states that the king's relatives "were a protection and re-enforcement to his strength. A hale naua was then built for the king, and when this was

276 Personal interview with Jerry Shimoda, 17 July 1989.
Fig. 44. Akua pā lā`au—Lono fence image at Hale o Keawe. Carved by Tom DeAguiar.

Fig. 45. Tom De Aguiar. Image in the style of Hōnaunau Hale o Keawe figures. 28" x 7 1/2" x 6". Collection of Russell A. Apple.
accomplished an investigation was entered into as to what persons were related to the king.\textsuperscript{277}

King Kalākaua, concerned with the preservation of the Hawaiian culture, established the second Hale Naua in 1886, as stated previously. The purpose of this Hale Naua society, as defined in the organization's by-laws, is "the revival of Ancient Sciences of Hawaii in combination with the promotion and advancements of Modern Sciences, Art, Literature and Philanthropy."\textsuperscript{278}

Rocky and Lucia Jensen established Hale Naua III at Wai'anae in 1975. Rocky Jensen recalls that it was comprised of eight or nine artists. Most were part-Hawaiian and two or three were pure-Hawaiian. The Society sponsors art exhibits, engages in research, and fosters the appreciation of Hawaiian history and traditions.

A sign at the entrance of the Amfac Exhibition Plaza during a 1987 Hale Naua art exhibit defined the purpose of the society:

In 1975 a Society of Hawaiian Artists was founded and named Hale Naua in honor of the 19th century forerunner established by King Kalākaua in 1886. Like its forebear, the modern Society has as its objective to rediscover and maintain "Hawaiianness" to infuse contemporary Hawaiian culture and art with vital elements of traditional learning and lore.

The Society's members seek to keep alive the wisdom of their kūpuna, or ancestors, through the

\textsuperscript{277} Malo, pp. 191-192; 199-200.

\textsuperscript{278} Constitution and By-Laws of the Hale Naua or . . . Temple of Science (San Francisco: Bancroft Co., 1890), p. 6.
study of language, genealogy, history, religion, mythology, and related forms of traditional knowledge . . .

Culture is a living entity which should grow and change with time. Therefore, to understand our past, for the solutions to today's problems lie therein. The form which culture takes today must have its roots in what has come before. The remolding of an "injured" culture is a slow ongoing task. It must begin with the gathering of the material about the past. Only then can we give new meanings to the culture of the present and insure the security of our future. 279

Rocky remembers that the first group of artists in Hale Naua were from Wai'anae. Many of them had creative ability, "but they just didn't have the ideas to get their culture together, what to create from their culture." At a three day workshop at Hānaia-kamalama, Queen Emma's Summer Palace, he says, "All they could think of was the Battle of Nu'uanu."

He remembers:

Some dropped out just because they couldn't find the time to do their research, and this is where a lot of the artists make the same mistake 'cause they don't want to learn the symbols. They can't tell the difference between Tahitian art, Marquesan art, Samoan art, Tongan art with Hawaiian art. They don't make that—that separation yet. They have not been able to. Polynesia is very popular so you can grab anything you want. But when you're talking about Hawaiian art you have to have the symbolism because in Hawai'i, Hawai'i refines it. 280

Jensen has convinced a number of Hawaiians to express themselves through art and has been more influential than any

other single person in the contemporary revival of Hawaiian carving. Nevertheless, a number of the artists left Hale Naua and formed another less-structured organization.

'Uhane Noa

'Imai Kalâkele explains the exodus from Rocky Jensen's group by applying an analogy:

What had happened was there was just too many creative people. And the organization was really not set up for a great number of very creative people. Because of how its structure was. So when we started to break away, my analogy was we had one lo'i--one taro patch in Hale Naua. The nature of taro is that it continues to grow, continues to send up shoots. Well, the nature of that is if you do not clean out your patches, then the core will rot. So now that we have one overfull taro patch, the only logical answer is to make another one, and then to make another one, and then to make another one. Because you've got to constantly replant the huli. The huli is the young growing part of the taro. And because we grew so big, we needed a lo'i, we needed different things. And in that we have strength.281

Kunani Nihipali, the president of the alternate association, states that 'Uhane Noa is not an offshoot of Hale Naua but instead represents an evolvement. Hale Naua was a highly structured organization. Kunani says that those who joined the new organization felt that Hawaiian artists should be allowed to create with an open mind and open spirit and no inhibitions. 'Uhane Noa means "free spirit." He says, "It's

281 Personal interview with 'Imai Kalâkele, 23 Aug. 1990.
a loose organization. Everybody comes together when necessary. We meet all the time but it's not on the basis where you got to submit a director's report, because we don't have the resources to hire somebody to do that. It's a full-time job."

"The society we live in," he relates, "imposes a lot on us and it affects the creativity." Nihipali, married to painter Ipo Nihipali, speaks of his role in 'Uhane Noa:

What I mean by that is the artist has got to be the artist to create. They cannot be creating their business and they cannot be promoting themselves. They can't be running around doing this, doing that. Cause then it leaves them no time to create. It's a dilemma that we have right now. Basically that's been my mana'ō, my thoughts, and my involvement with the artists.

Nihipali says his job has been to create situations "so that the artists can get together, so that they can exhibit, so that they can interact." In 1989, under the auspices of 'Uhane Noa, a group of Hawaiians participated in an "exchange" with MASPAC, the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council in New Zealand.282

Council of Contemporary Hawaiian Artists

The newest association of Hawaiian artists is even more informal than 'Uhane Noa. 'Imai Kalāhele states that the

Council of Contemporary Hawaiian Artists has no prescribed structure nor officers and will not seek tax exempt status. "Political clout" and "chasing money" are not concerns. The sole purpose of the group is "to further and promote the state of art for the Hawaiian people." Kalâhele says the artists are interested in demonstrating that Hawaiian art is not dead. He remarks, "We are alive. We're doing very well in the twentieth century. Maybe not financially. . . ." Kalâhele stresses that "artistic tradition, like the artistic traditions for all people, unless the people die, the tradition carries on."

Members of the group are "contemporary people." He relates, "We paint and we sculpt and we do it in a very contemporary vein" rather than recreating "historic" objects. Membership is comprised of a cross-section of "global people," such as Sean Browne, and "community people." A number of the artists interviewed for this study are members. Plans for the future include art shows and public discussions to clarify the group's position on contemporary Hawaiian art. Kalâhele says, "We would like it in our forum, so that we're not put in a position of defending ourself--but presenting ourself."283

Hawaiian Art Shows

Hale Naua's first exhibit was at Honolulu Hale (City Hall) in 1976. Jensen was disappointed when a newspaper article was written about the event with the slant "it beats stealing cars" because he had hoped the exhibit would have a serious impact. Another attitude he encountered was the impression, conveyed by John Miller--the mayor's former coordinator of Culture and the Arts, that the purpose of the exhibit was to let others know that Hawaiians were becoming aware of their artistic potential. Jensen emphasized, "No, no. We're making you aware of our artistic capabilities."

Jensen runs his shows in a professional manner and expects the artists to meet established deadlines and framing requirements. He has encountered problems with members who operate on "Hawaiian time" and resent authority. He relates an incident that occurred when an activist artist approached him the day a show was to be installed in the Federal Building. The artist informed him he would not submit his work, saying, "I don't want to show this in the building of the enemy."

Jensen replied, "Boy, If I wouldn't know any different, I'd think you were the enemy."

Hale Naua's 12th Annual Fine Arts Exhibit celebrated Ho'olako 1987, the Year of the Hawaiian. Entitled He Iwi 'Ekahi Makou--We Are of One People, the show at Amfac
Exhibition Plaza in downtown Honolulu featured "historical works of art from the monarchial period" and works from other Polynesian artists as well as Hale Naua members.

In 1989 Jensen had his own exhibit Born of the Night of the Gods, When Man Came From Afar at the Contemporary Museum's Honolulu Advertiser Gallery. Based on the Kumulipo, his media incorporated wood, clay, and sheet metal. In response to a stinging review by Star Bulletin columnist and artist Marcia Morse, Jensen wrote in his OHA newsletter column, "I like to tell the ka po'e akea (people at large) that our people had no critics. We did not believe in critiques. Our creation, that is 'the act of doing' was the ho'okupu to Akua. . . . therefore all was accepted."

The show was repeated at the Bishop Museum Kāhili Room in 1990. Jensen was particularly pleased with the setting at Bishop Museum. The room had been painted midnight blue for a previous exhibit and contributed an illusion of space and infinity.

Bob Freitas believes there should be a reciprocal relationship between the artist and the culture. This is why he enjoys the community shows he and 'Imai Kalâhele organize:

I look at the mechanism that really goes on, for instance, the artist functioning in the society, functioning in this world, and being like a sponge, absorbing a lot of data and synthesizing that data and expressing himself in creating his art and

putting that back into that sphere or that cycle, basically by showing it to the people that he got that from in the first place.

He and Kalāhele reach a new audience with their community art shows:

The point I'm trying to make there is that 'Imai and I for many years now have done community art shows rather than go to a gallery. I mean, we can, but the community that we're interested in educating never gets access to the art in galleries. Because they don't hang around in the galleries.

Freitas finds that the Hawaiian audience responds well to the art and its message:

But what we've been finding is that when we go around to the different islands and interact with different people in different communities, they're very, very appreciative of having exposure to the contemporary art--to see what's, you know, going on, the messages that we're able to evoke in our work. And there's a really rewarding relationship. But what slowly starts to evolve, too, is the point of the political nature of the art even. Because you need to have that kind of ability to basically say, 'here we are,' and at least take recognition of the fact that there are people still here doing things.

'Imai Kalāhele says that when he was a member of Hale Naua the organization encountered problems with the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts and the National Endowment for the Arts when they wanted to do things "very Hawaiian." This occurred because "the way we wanted to do things kinda wasn't the way you did things." For example, the Hawaiian art shows are not juried. He explains:
You have an open art exhibit and the exhibit must be juried. We fought that for a long time. I still personally refuse—I refuse to enter anything that I must be judged in because I do not enter competitions. I don’t think competition, for the most part, in art does art any good. I think there may be competitions in where it’ll be all right to compete if that’s what you wish to do. But I think if you enter a juried show, one, you’re competing blindly... I don’t like competition to begin with and to compete with somebody blindly, meaning that there is no recourse—I just go ahead and throw my children in the room and hope the lions give ‘em back to me, you know— I don’t like that with art. I think it tends to demean art. I think it tends to relegate art to a very biased point.

He does not believe a mainland juror can understand or appreciate island art:

There is almost never a Hawaiian juror. And I’m not speaking ethnically. I’m speaking of most of the major shows. The jurors come from outside. And my problem with that is not that I question their authority. Or not that I question what they are. What I do question is that when you have especially places like islands as opposed to like L.A. and Dallas and Chicago where there are no boundaries between New York and California—there’s just distance. Like we have boundaries, so a lot of what happens in the art world here for us is different. We stew a little more than they do. Which means that our art is different and understanding of our art may be different. So to take someone that comes from somewhere like, say, New York and to say, ‘Okay, you’re going to come and juror this show here on the Island and the artists will be mostly Island artists,’ be them of whatever ethnic races, ah, I think does an injustice to the Island artist.

Frequently at their art shows, Freitas and Kalāhele will conduct an ‘awa (kava) ceremony. Freitas explains its purpose: Even though many people may not acknowledge it—
actually strips us all. It puts us all on the same plane."

He describes the ceremonial occasion:

We gathered everyone outside and we had our mat down . . . And then the artists were serving the 'awa to the audience. Now normally in a normal contemporary gallery you go in and you have your finger sandwiches with your champagne and you toast everybody as you see everybody and then that's it. You don't really interact with anybody.

And then 'Imai was mixing the 'awa and I think Kekuni spoke and we artists were serving the people and so just the act of me offering you some 'awa ceremonially and you became . . . but the idea is you don't have the simple observer status watching what's going on. In a normal gallery I've got my own little space and I don't want to be bothered. I'm here to see what you're doing. What we did was we stripped everybody of that by involving them in the 'awa ceremony so that what happened was everybody was like you say at the same plane. There was this openness. There was a relaxed air about everything. And real interaction then occurred between the artists and the people that were there and the people among themselves even.

Kalâhele says that the primary thing about an 'awa ceremony is the cleansing. He emphasizes: "And you don't have to drink it to cleanse." It may even be poured on the ground. "It's again the receiving. And within the gift of the receiving the bond becomes participation. You are now a part of this. Ah, the thing about separate status."

A Festival of Contemporary Hawaiian Art was exhibited in the courtyards of the Honolulu Academy of Arts in July 1987. Artists interviewed for this study participating in the show were Sean Browne, Bob Freitas, 'Imaikalani Kalâhele, and Alapa'i Hanapi. Rocky Jensen was invited to enter the show,
but elected not to participate. Members of the art selection committee for the exhibit was Bob Freitas, Ipo Nihipali, Sean Browne, and 'Imai Kalåhele. The media for three dimensional works included bronze, Italian marble, brass, wood, stone, coral, wicker, rope, clay, feathers, ivory, and ebony.

Freitas and Kalåhele consider the exhibit to have been an enormous success. They say the work of contemporary Hawaiians is too often regarded as merely "folk art" and that images produced by artists are confused with commercial "tikis." They believe that placing the work in the Art Academy setting altered viewers' conception of Hawaiian art. Kalåhele says:

Too often because our sculptures use the tiki imagery as one of their metaphors they get relegated to these points. Where you take these things and you put it into a setting like we had at the Academy where we respected everything as contemporary art, then it takes on a totally new aspect. All of a sudden, it is, in fact, a piece of abstract sculpture. It's using different kinds of metaphors. It's using more Hawaiian visual metaphors. But in fact it is not a touristy thing. It is as sophisticated as this nice round clean bronze. It is as abstract as that cast aluminum. Again our artists have had difficulties being placed in the proper place. . . . You know people really didn't know how to handle the show. They didn't understand what this was. I guess because it had never really been done quite that way. . . . People came with stereotypes in their heads as to what they were going to see and I think they were overwhelmed at what in fact they did see. I think what they had a chance to see was through the stereotypes. Yes, there were paintings of hula dancers.
Kalāhele acknowledges that Rocky Jensen established the foundation for such shows:

Rocky and them was responsible for putting the first art shows like this of that kinds together. Taking contemporary people and using it in a very modern contemporary setting. All Hawaiian. And letting the Hawaiianaeness take over. And I think that's what happened with our show.285

None of the artists interviewed exhibited their work at the Hawaii Craftsmen Annual Show at the Amfac Plaza in September 1989. Alapa'i Hanapi has entered past Hawaii Craftsmen shows. Members of the organization produce high quality craft articles that are collector's art or fine art. A few of the works in the 1989 exhibit bore Hawaiian titles and themes. Hawaiian oriented pieces in the show included a traditional calabash of milo by Scott Sullivan, and Pahu Tunkui, a wood sculpture with carved symbols representing the arches of a traditional Hawaiian pahu by Ray Nitta.

Craft Fairs

Some carvers and turners prefer selling their work at craft fairs rather than art galleries, since a nominal flat fee is generally charged at the fairs instead of the fifty percent commission charged for each sale at many galleries. The fairs are popular retail outlets for craftspeople in


The Pacific Handcrafter Guild fairs are well-attended by the public and attract talented artisans. PHG was founded in 1974 and has over two-hundred members. Membership is limited to those who meet standards established by the board and are admitted by "screenings" conducted twice a year. There are four major fairs each year: the Spring and Fall Fairs at Ala Moana Park and the Summer and Christmas Fairs at Thomas Park. There is an annual juried exhibit at the Ala Moana Center in conjunction with the Fall Fair. Henry Hopfe says that the cheap imported trinkets and craft items sold at many of the other fairs are not allowed at PHG sponsored events. He explains why he prefers selling his work through Pacific Handcrafters:

They're geared toward getting the craftspeople and wholesalers, retailers kinda all together. Sort of a meeting ground to make sales and also make contacts. Lot of opportunities that are available. That's how I meet wholesalers who buy something or set up appointments and sell samples in my portfolio and stuff like that. People know that when they come there it's all like the best in the state. And it's all there finished. And it's all different, it's all unusual.  

At the PHG October 1989 fair at Ala Moana Park, Hopfe had a booth set-up at a prime location near the entrance to the

area reserved for the fair. His impressive display included wood figures, bowls, koa chopsticks, hair picks, decorative combs, mirrors, pendants, necklaces, earrings, and two cases of carved ivory and bone jewelry. Hopfe was assisted with sales at his attractive booth by his congenial son Erich.

The "Hawaiian Accessories" booth featured koa wood jewelry. Plain circular bracelets were displayed, as well as strands of tiny koa beads that had been made in a tumbler, then fashioned into necklaces and bracelets. The company is operated by Curtis Wilmington (figure 46), of Hawaiian, Chinese, and Caucasian descent, and his wife Leslie.

Jerry Kermode displayed skillfully turned thin-walled bowls at his booth (figure 47). Several Norfolk Pine bowls were turned so thin they were translucent. Jerry specializes in koa kitchen cabinets and also makes furniture. His wife Debby assists with the furniture making and serves as business manager for their enterprise. They are both from California.

Another craftsman from California, Michael Cohen, displayed wood bracelets and turned bowls at his booth. Woods he employed were Christmas berry, kamani, Norfolk pine, plumeria, banyan, monkeypod, lychee, and sea grape. Cohen had moved to Hale‘iwa, O‘ahu from San Diego the previous year.

The Pacific Festival of Arts

In the September 1982 issue of Pacific 2000 the objectives of the first South Pacific Festival of Arts are listed:
Fig. 46. Hawaiian Curtis Wilmington (right) owner of "Hawaiian Accessories," a manufacturer of koa wood jewelry, with James Louis (left) who assists with the business.

Fig. 47. Jerry and Debby Kermode, originally from California, at Pacific Handcrafters Guild Fair. Kermode makes bowls, koa kitchen cabinets, and furniture.
1. Against the dying out of most traditional arts in most countries.

2. Against the fact that they were snowed under with other cultural influence.

3. For the preservation and the development of different local arts.

4. For friendship between the peoples in this region.\textsuperscript{287}

Hawai‘i was not invited to be a participant at the first South Pacific Festival of Arts at Suva in 1972. At the second Festival in 1976 at Rotorua, Hawai‘i was an "invited guest." Easter Island was also in this category. The invitation was referred to the State Council on Hawaiian Heritage by Alfred M. Preis, former Executive Director of the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts. The State Foundation declined to fund a Hawai‘i delegation to the Festival. The Council was initially instituted by Preis to administer grants from the State Foundation. It is now a private non-profit organization. Keahi Allen, Executive Director of the State Council on Hawaiian Heritage, recalls that after seeing a short film about the first Festival, her group elected to raise money and send a small delegation to Rotorua. It was comprised of sixteen members of two hālau who doubled as craft demonstrators. Carving was not represented. Kana‘e Keawe was included


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in the delegation as a dancer and also demonstrated featherwork and hula implement-making.

Hawai'i was again invited to attend the third festival at Port Moresby in 1980 as an invited guest. The State Council on Hawaiian Heritage accepted the invitation, deciding to raise the money for the festival once more.

Allen flew to Papua New Guinea to attend planning committee meetings for the festival in order to better understand the purpose of the event. She also wanted to learn why Hawai'i was an invited guest rather than a member. She recalls that when she arrived in New Guinea she learned that Hawaiians were regarded as "stepchildren" who had "nothing but Hawaii Five-O." At the end of five days of listening at the meetings, Allen spoke for the first time, stating that Hawai'i would be present at the next festival. She assured the committee members that "Hawai'i does, in fact, have an indigenous culture, one that is rich and one that still continues to live, albeit very much watered down."

Keahi returned to Honolulu and her group raised forty thousand dollars and sent a delegation of thirty-six to Port Moresby, consisting of elders, craftspeople, and dancers. Rather than sending a particular hâlau, the dancers were required to audition. Again, no carvers were selected to represent Hawai'i.

When Allen was invited to be a planning committee delegate for the fourth festival, she traveled to Port-Moresby
and lobbied to have Hawai‘i accepted as a member of the South Pacific Arts Council. Allen says she realized:

Being so isolated to the north, being so Westernized, being, quote, American, the rest of the Pacific does not really think of us as indigenous people. And they had to know that we are and we are part of them even though we are so far away from them.

Another problem Hawai‘i encountered was related to Chile’s status. Easter Island was also an "invited guest" and sought the same recognition as Hawai‘i. The Chile delegate wanted his country’s name to precede Easter Island, a viewpoint not acceptable to the Council. Allen, who did not want the United States to be listed with Hawai‘i, relates that she convinced the Chile delegate to allow Easter Island to precede the name of Chile by telling him that "he was a dominating government again demeaning these people as well as preventing Hawai‘i from being recognized as a Pacific group." Hawai‘i and Easter Island then became members of the Council. Upon Hawai‘i’s admittance, the name was changed from the "South Pacific Festival of Arts" to the "Pacific Festival of Arts." 288

The State Foundation sponsored the delegation for the Fourth Pacific Festival of Arts at Pape‘ete, Tahiti. Sam Ka‘ai and Rocky Jensen were selected as carving demonstrators, but Rocky was unable to attend at the last minute. An eight

hundred pound log was sent to Tahiti for Ka'ai to carve, but he did no carving. According to Lynn Martin, Ka'ai was afflicted with a number of allergies. The uncarved log was shipped back to Hawai'i following the Festival.

Townsville, Australia was the site of the Fifth Festival in August 1988. The Kamehameha Schools sponsored the Hawai'i delegation. Ten craftspeople and their haumāna, apprentice students from Kamehameha, worked in an "open-sided, thatched roof 'hale' in the Festival Crafts Village, located next to a creek at Dean Park near the center of town." Alapa'i Hanapi and David Eskaran demonstrated wood carving.

The Festival of American Folklife

Hawai'i was invited to participate in the 23rd Annual Festival of American Folklife at the National Mall in Washington, D. C. in 1989. The event was co-sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service.

A description of the multi-ethnic character of Hawai'i's contemporary culture was included in a catalog published by the Smithsonian:

The Hawai'i program teaches us about a unique multicultural state, where a long-lived native culture has vitalized not only Hawaiians, but also generations of immigrants from China, Japan, Portugal, the Philippines, Samoa and other nations. The

contemporary panoply of Hawaiian peoples and cultures signals to us the influence of the Pacific rim upon our national consciousness, in the past and increasingly now and in the future.290

According to former OHA Culture Officer Keone Nunes, of the one-hundred forty persons representing the culture of So
take someone that comes from something like, say, New York and
to say 'Okay, you're going to come and juror this show here
on the Island and the artists will be mostly Island artists,'
be them of whatever ethnic races, ah, I think does an injust­
tice to the Island artist Hawai'i's ethnic groups at the
festival, seventy-five were Hawaiians.291 Demonstrators were:
Alapa'i Hanapi and Michael Dunne, wood carving and bowl-turn­
ing; Calvin Hoe and Kana'e Keawe, hula instrument making; and
Wright Bowman, Jr., canoe-making.

Hawai'i coordinator Linda Moriarty says that efforts were
made to accommodate the artists' requests for physical
facilities. Dunne demonstrated calabash making on his own
lathe that was shipped from Hawai'i and installed on the mall.
Since the focus of the festival was folk arts, Hanapi was
asked to limit his carving to traditional art. He brought
eamples of his traditional work from home.


Fieldwork was conducted prior to the festival. Keone Nunes interviewed traditional Hawaiian carvers, compiled brief biographies of the artists and photographed their work. Kanaʻe Keawe did similar documentation for instrument makers. The reports will be stored at the Smithsonian Institution's Office of Folklife Programs and in the Hawaiʻi State Archives. In October 1990, the festival was restaged in Honolulu at Magic Island, Ala Moana Park, sponsored by the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts. It was entitled "Folklife Hawaiʻi: A Festival in Celebration of the 25th Anniversary of The State Foundation on Culture and the Arts." Demonstrators again included Hanapi, Hopfe, and Hoe. Keawe was unable to participate because of other commitments.

The Hawaiʻi State Foundation on Culture and the Arts

In 1965, the Hawaiʻi State Legislature established the state's official arts agency, the Hawaiʻi State Foundation on Culture and the Arts. The SFCA has two programs that benefit Hawaiian carvers, sculptors, and bowl turners: the Folk Arts Program and the Art in Public Places Program.

Folk Arts Program

In 1983, the SFCA Folk Arts Program was initiated in Hawaiʻi with support from the National Endowment for the Arts. Goals of the program are:
To promote public awareness of the beauty of folk arts in Hawai‘i and the importance of preserving our folk heritages for future generations.
To identify and document the diverse ethnic, cultural and occupational folk traditions in Hawai‘i.
To assist in the perpetuation of folk traditions in Hawai‘i. 292

Three of the Hawaiian artists interviewed have participated in the Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program. They are: Rocky Jensen, Alapa‘i Hanapi (twice), and Levan Sequeira. The purpose of this program is "to encourage master folk artists to pass on their knowledge and skills to experienced apprentices so that these important traditions will continue as part of our living heritage." 293

Artists are apprised of the Apprenticeship Awards each year through press releases sent to local newspapers and to the newsletters of various community and art organizations. According to Folk Arts coordinator Lynn Martin, in 1989, mailing lists were compiled and applications were sent directly to individuals.

The master and apprentice apply together. To be eligible for an award, the master artist must "have demonstrated experience and/or expertise in the folk art form" for which he or she has applied and "have a genuine interest in

292 SFCA, Hawai‘i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts Folk Arts Program (Honolulu: SFCA).
293 SFCA, Folk Arts Apprenticeship Program.
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perpetuating the technical and cultural aspects of that tradition.\textsuperscript{294} The apprentice applicant must also be experienced in the same discipline.

The review committee makes the selection on the basis of:

- the clarity of the proposal—whether the applicant's goal is defined, artistic excellence (slides or photographs are submitted by the artist), and the traditionality of the art form.

A final report and photographs of work accomplished are supposed to be submitted at the conclusion of the apprenticeship experience. It is difficult to evaluate the success of the training immediately afterward, Martin observes, because sometimes a person will experience a "quiescent" phase. The acquired traditional skills may be resumed at a future date. Martin also notes that very few people in the working age category have a livelihood that allows them enough time for serious carving.

Thirty-eight apprenticeship grants have been awarded since the successful program, competently supervised by Lynn Martin, was instituted in 1984 in such fields as traditional Hawaiian woodcarving, rawhide saddle making, canoe building, slack-key and steel guitar, lauhala plaiting, coconut weaving, petroglyph carving, traditional Okinawan dancing, lauhala hat weaving, pha khouane—traditional Laotian flower arranging, traditional Hawaiian chanting, traditional Hawaiian

\textsuperscript{294} SFCA, Apprenticeship Program.

Art in Public Places Program

Act 389, relating to Art in State Buildings, was established in 1967 by the Hawaii State Legislature. It is the forerunner of similar fine arts legislative funding in other states. The original law provided that one percent of the construction cost of any new state building be allocated for the commission or acquisition of works of art.

The statute was amended in 1989. Included in the new provisions are the extension of the one percent allocation to include state renovation projects and the authorization to fund consultant or staff services to implement the program. According to Ronald Yamakawa, Manager of the Art in Public Places Program, the new bill could increase the budget ceiling of the department from three-quarters of a million dollars a year to three or four million dollars. In addition to purchasing and commissioning more new works, he hopes the State Foundation will now be able to hire project managers to reduce the workload in his department.
Under the Art in Public Places Program, artists are commissioned to design and execute works for specific buildings or their grounds, and relocatable art is purchased to rotate within state buildings on all of the islands.

Yamakawa says the State Foundation is sensitive to the community's wishes and level of artistic appreciation. A local advisory committee is established for each site where a work of art is to be commissioned. Committee members make recommendations to the SFCA board regarding the artist they favor and placement of the work. In several instances, a committee representing a school has selected an artist who was a former alumnus or one who resided in the neighborhood. Yamakawa believes that this is a positive way to encourage the student community, not necessarily to become artists, but to be successful.

Hawaii Artreach writes: "The APP Program identifies emerging artists and helps support established artists." Often Yamakawa will be attracted by the work of a talented new artist and will follow that person's progress until the art develops to a level of proficiency suitable for purchase by the state. Hawaii Artreach continues, "It [the APP] provides an incentive for artists in Hawaii to live and work in the state, to improve their artistry, their technical skills, and their capability to communicate with the public meaningfully."

Around 4000 relocatable works presently grace state buildings and grounds in Hawai'i. The SFCA selection
committees for relocatable art "generally are composed of SFCA board members, the SFCA Executive Director, Art in Public Places staff members, and volunteer consultants selected from a pool of consultants." The committees view approximately sixty to seventy shows a year. Since invitations are extended to visit many more shows than the staff and volunteer committee members can reasonably be expected to attend, major juried or curated shows are selected that are known to attract the most serious professional artists. Hawaii Artreach states that works may be selected from "juried exhibitions that are open to the public or from shows for which works are pres-lected by a juror, group of jurors, gallery director or exhibition coordinator." 295

Criticism has been directed against the State Foundation by some Hawaiians who feel that the art of their people is being overlooked. In his OHA newsletter column, Rocky Jensen writes, "It has been a 15-year battle for this writer with the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, Legislature, Alu Like and OHA for the recognition and support we rightfully deserve. . . ." In a later column he observes, "I've only received two purchase awards and those came from the Preis regime. I've never received a commission. . . ." 296


Kunani Nihipali states that representatives of the State Foundation did not visit 'Uhane Noa's short lived gallery at Kawaiaha'o Plaza and feels that the SFCA doesn't support or recognize Hawaiian artists.

Yamakawa explains that the legislation was not designed to support a specific ethnic group but to furnish art for public buildings by providing opportunities for contemporary artists engaged in producing fine art as a profession. According to the State Foundation's monthly publication Hawaii Outreach, a "major purpose" of the Art in Public Places Program is "to acquire, interpret, preserve, and display works of art expressive of the character of the Hawaiian Islands, the multicultural heritages of its people, and the various creative interests of its artists."

As stated previously, the State Foundation receives many more invitations to art shows than the selection committee can attend. Since the Hawaiian shows are unjuried, a number of the entries are immature works unsuitable for purchase and display in public buildings. Although the shows serve a vital function in the Hawaiian community, the art often does not indicate the same command of the medium as the juried exhibits.

Another factor is related to subject matter. In the late sixties the board determined the kind of work to be collected. Preis told Yamakawa that the SFCA would not commission art that has become associated with tourism, such as the typical examples of tikis and kapa found in Waikiki and at other
tourist destinations. Yamakawa notes, however, that Preis was one of the first in Hawai'i to promote craft as an artform.

A further limitation is that Hawaiian artists often work with perishable materials. Nevertheless, a number of talented Hawaiians have profited from the Art in Public Places Program. Sean Browne and Henry Hopfe have both received major commissions from the State Foundation. Relocatable art has also been purchased from these two artists as well as from Alapa'i Hanapi, Rocky Jensen, Bob Freitas, and other Hawaiians not included in this study. Yamakawa says that he has seen the work of "a lot of promising young Hawaiian artists in juried exhibits."297

Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program

In 1986, Title XV, an amendment to the Higher Education Act was enacted. It is entitled "American Indian, Alaska Native, and Native Hawaiian Culture and Art Development." The definition of "Native Hawaiian art and culture" includes "the traditional and contemporary expressions of Native Hawaiian language, history, visual and performing arts, and crafts." The term "Native Hawaiian" applies to "any descendent of a person who, prior to 1778, was a native of the Hawaiian Islands."

The Secretary of the Interior was authorized to make grants to fund the program to "any private, nonprofit organization or institution" that "primarily serves and represents Native Hawaiians" and is recognized by the governor to receive the allocation.

The legislation also decreed that the institution was to establish a governing board to "manage and control the Program." The members, to serve fixed terms of office, were to be "Native Hawaiians or individuals widely recognized in the field of Native Hawaiian art and culture" and were to include a representative of OHA, the president of the University of Hawaii, and the president of the Bishop Museum.\textsuperscript{298}

Grants were to be used:

1. to provide scholarly study of, and instruction in, Native Hawaiian art and culture
2. to establish programs which culminate in the awarding of degrees in the various fields of Native Hawaiian art and culture, or
3. to establish centers and programs.\textsuperscript{299}

The Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program (NHCAP) was established by Congress in 1987. Bishop Museum was selected as the institution to receive the grants. Moses K. Keale Sr.,

\textsuperscript{298} 20 U.S. Code, sec. 1521, 1522 (1986).

chairman of OHA, was appointed chairman of NHCAP. Vice-chairman is W. Donald Duckworth, director of Bishop Museum. Albert J. Simone, president of the University of Hawaii is an ex-officio member. Trustees appointed by Governor John Waihee are: Agnes Cope, Randi Fong, John Dominis Holt, Herb K. Kane, William Kikuchi, Marie A. McDonald, Abraham Pi'ianai'a, Oswald K. Stender, Myron Thompson, and Nainoa Thompson. Daniel K. Akaka is an honorary trustee.

The following "mission statement" was drafted by the governing board:

The Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program is dedicated to preserving, revitalizing, perpetuating and developing Native Hawaiian culture, arts and artisans through encouraging and supporting excellence in Hawaiian traditions, for greater personal and public pride, understanding, appreciation and enjoyment.  

In 1987 Congress appropriated $200,000 to develop a five-year plan. The following year Bishop Museum received $1,600,000. $600,000 was appropriated for NHCAP program planning and operating expenses and one million dollars for the Maritime Center.

When the five year plan was completed February 26, 1990. The mission statement had been revised:

The Native Hawaiian Culture & Arts Program is dedicated to making a meaningful and continuing contribution to the well-being of Native Hawaiian

people through the perpetuation of traditional Native Hawaiian culture and values.

The objectives of the program are:

Research to recover ancient and develop new knowledge about our traditional culture and values.

Perpetuation of our culture by the development of new traditional Masters, and the passing on of our traditions primarily to Hawaiians, in Hawaiian environments.

Dissemination of research results through public schools and other venues.

Improving access to and availability of natural and cultural resources.

Development of Native Hawaiian professionals with cultural expertise, particularly in natural and cultural resource management fields.

The program will be administered in three areas in order to achieve the objectives: Cultural Research and Education, Research and Education Support, and Development of Native Hawaiian Professionals.\(^{301}\)

In the first draft of the "Mission, Goals, Objectives and Program Description document, an objective was listed that would support "the perpetuation of traditional culture through contemporary expression, through national and international exchanges with other indigenous artists." Also included in the November 29, 1989 draft was a fourth objective, "Perpetuation of Traditional Culture through Contemporary Expression."

These provisions were eliminated in the final draft. There is now no reference whatsoever to contemporary expression.\textsuperscript{302}

In July 1990 Bishop Museum announced that $192,000 had been granted by the Department of the Interior to fund NHCAP projects including: The design and construction of a traditional double-hulled voyaging canoe; planning and coordination of lauhala weaving for sails and covers of the canoe (awarded to Kana' e Keawe); cultural and ecological study of wauke and hala (also related to voyaging research); documentation of the knowledge of living cultural specialists; surveys of archival resources and "native Hawaiian" oral histories; transcription of oral interview tapes of Ka Ha Mai Na Kupuna Mai No Ke Ao Hou Values Project; assistance for kapa and petroglyph research; provision for up to twenty individuals to attend a grant writing training workshop; and "preservation of an access to visual materials documenting NHCAP projects."\textsuperscript{303}

\textsuperscript{302} Native Hawaiian Culture & Arts Program: Mission, Goals, Objectives & Program Description, 30 Nov. 1989.

\textsuperscript{303} "Native Hawaiian Culture & Arts Program FY'89 Contract Award Descriptions," NHCAP, Bishop Museum, July, 1990.
CHAPTER VII

TOOLS, TECHNIQUES, AND MATERIALS

Traditional Tools and Techniques

The Adz and Other Traditional Tools

Malo writes, "Ax [adz]-makers were a greatly esteemed class in Hawaii nei. Through their craft was obtained the means of felling trees and of cutting and hewing all kinds of timber used in every sort of wood work."\(^{304}\)

The hafted stone adz was the most important tool of the traditional carver. Made in various sizes ranging from less than an inch to twenty-one inches long, the blade was usually of fine-grained non-porphyritic rock. There are thirteen known adz quarries in Hawai‘i; the largest being the Mauna Kea Quarry. Kekahuna writes that the adz-makers "would not go to a quarry that had not been consecrated, or in other words, had not been made ready through sacrifice and consecration to the gods of this art."

With adz-hewing stones called haku kā ko‘i and pieces of hard wood such as kauila, uhiuhi, alahe‘e, "they would break and overturn the rocks until they were cracked and well-split into the shapes into which they desired to make them, and became adzes in the rough." The potential blades were then

\(^{304}\) Malo, p. 51.
soaked in water containing green kukui nut and "pala'e" fern juice (palai or pala'a?). As "in the pursuance of all callings" this act symbolized "the cleansing away beforehand of all the evil aspects." The kukui is "a giver of light . . . Because of this light the tasks would progress without great effort, and without interference by the spirits that attack one unaware." The name of the fern signifies fruit that has become ripe; "In short, the time had arrived for the adz to be made use of, as is fruit that has ripened."

Finally, the cutting edge of the blade was ground with different grades of sand and water. Hau was most often used for the adz handle. The stone blade was bound to the handle with olonā or pulu niu (coconut husk or fiber). A small amount of kapa, pandanus, or banana leaf was placed between the stone and the wood to serve as a buffer. Kekahuna writes that hau bark was wrapped about the lashing to protect it from fraying when the adz was in use. 305

In his discussion of canoe making, Kamakau describes the stone used for adzes:

They were made of compact waterworn basalt, 'alā--'alā lelekepue, 'alā piamakahinu, or 'alā haumeku 'olokele. Wherever such stones were to be found the expert stoneworkers went there to examine the quality and the grain of the stones to see which would make good solid adzes."

305 Kekahuna, pp. 9-12.
He mentions other materials that were employed for the tool:

Some adzes were made of shells with long sharp edges (pupu makaloa). Other adzes were made of walahe'e--this is a wood. Ka po'e kahiko had a saying, 'The seashell is the adz at the shore, and walahe'e the adz in the uplands.' 'O ka pupu ko'i makai, 'o ka walahe'e ko'i mauka. 306

Malo also confirms the manufacture of the wood adz: "The wood of the wala-hee was formerly much used in making a sort of adz (to cut the soft wili-wili wood) ..." 307

Other tools used by the carver were stone chisels, gouges, often of shell; a shark's tooth carving tool with a wood or bone handle; and the pump-drill. A smooth finish was achieved by rubbing the object with porous stone, coral, shark or sting ray skin, and sand.

A small amount of jetsam iron was present in post-contact Hawai'i; therefore the natives appreciated the value of the material when Cook arrived. Jenkins indicates that a few iron nails, spikes, or adz blades would be traded by seafarers for vast quantities of provisions from Hawaiians. Forges were set-up in Alaska by Cook's men to manufacture different sized adz blades shaped like carpenters' planes to trade in Hawai'i.

307 Malo, p. 22.
Iron barrel hoops were also cut-up and converted to this purpose.

Iron had lost its value as a significant trade item by the beginning to the nineteenth century in Hawai‘i. A sufficient amount of the material seemed to have been obtained. In the 1830s Malo writes, "Iron is plentiful now, and so are all kinds of iron tools, including the kitchen ax, the hatchet, the adz, broad-ax, chisel, etc. . . . The stone-ax (koi-pohaku) is laid aside." Rocky Asing espouses a theory, unsupported by archaeologists, that the first Hawaiians brought metal tools with them from their former homeland. He explains:

This is just my opinion. The first Hawaiians came here they could of had metal tools. . . . Being that the Easter Island guys could of had, too, you see? But then they could have done stone on stone. But what I'm saying is the first Hawaiians came here, if they did have their metal tools, would only last so many generations, being that the salt water and all of this and they don't have the basic knowledge to take care of metal tools. It disappeared.

His theory is founded upon the belief that Hawaiians initially came from a relatively advanced civilization:

Hawaiians had to have come from some civilization. Because a knowledge of reading stars and all of this. Because they had to be masters to come over on those little boats. They could have had metal tools.


309 Malo, p. 51-52.
Hawaiians would have produced more stone work, he says, if the metal tools had not disintegrated:

But what I'm saying is the metal tools probably only lasted two generations as far as when they got here. So whatever they did, they continued on—they continued with stone adzes. But you noticed that the stone work was limited to ‘aumākuas which they had from eight to maybe fifty in stone, poi pounders, implements of hula, war, and pottery. And that's all. And because of this, their culture is minimum in stone work. 310

Asing's supposition is not unique among Hawaiians. Kamakau writes of metal adzes in "remote times":

Adzes are older than the time of Wakea. The adzes used to hew Kumu'eli and Kalolimaiele [Kaloloa-maile]—the canoes of Wakea ma—were ko'i meki, of iron, possibly. Their names were Haumeku and 'Olopu, and they were adzes that belonged to Hawaii nei from remote times. Makilihoahoo'aikalani was the large chisel, kila nui, that gouged the canoes; it was also iron. 311

The Technique of Making Traditional 'Umeke

Early Hawaiians used two methods to hollow their bowls, according to Kekahuna. In both procedures, after the bowl was shaped, a groove was cut inside the upper edge of the rim. In 'umeke fashioned with the grain horizontal to the base, poho kua (cross-grain hollowing), the wood was easily removed

in layers with an adz, working with the grain, beginning at the top groove on the side, rather than in the center.

Bowls produced with the grain vertical to the base, poho ku'oho (vertical hollowing), were more difficult to hollow. An adz was first utilized. A straight stone adz, similar to a chisel lashed to a hardwood handle of kauila or lama, was then employed, using a stone for a mallet. The center was carefully burned out using dried twigs after rubbing the cavity with kukui nut oil.

Bitterness was removed from the wood by soaking the bowls in sea water, drying them in the sun, placing taro or sweet potato waste parts to ferment in them for about a week, followed by fermented taro-poi or potato-poi for another week, and finally allowing them to stand for about two days filled with ordinary water. The surface was finished with pumice and sometimes shark or sting ray skin. They were polished first with bamboo leaves, using a few drops of kukui nut oil, then with yellowed breadfruit leaves. The final step was rubbing "vigorously" with "a tapa cloth wet with a few more drops of kukui nut oil." The oil was applied sparingly because it was important to have the grain enhanced rather than obliterated. Kekahuna writes that polishing "took days and sometimes fort­nights." \(^{312}\)

\(^{312}\) Kekahuna, pp. 21-31.
Mending 'Umeke

Six methods were described for mending the treasured 'umeke. The artful repairs, sometimes employed during the manufacturing process, did not detract from the beauty of the bowls and often increased their worth. Best known is the pewa or "Crotch of Fish-Tail," often called "butterfly patch" by contemporary bowl makers. An hourglass-shaped piece of wood was tapped with a mallet into a slightly smaller corresponding depression carved to intersect the crack in the bowl. Other methods are "huini or kui-laau (sharp point or peg of wood), kepā or kepakepa (cut on a bevel or bevels), pohe (to patch decayed or broken places), kiki (plug), and 'aha or 'aha-maka (cord or net-work)."

Carving Traditional Images

Little is known about the process of carving images except that it was accomplished in a sacred context. The accounts regarding the ritual related to the carving of the principal image of a luakini heiau by David Malo and John Papa I'I are often quoted. (Another description is provided by Captain Charles Wilkes.)

The tools were first consecrated. Malo relates that the night before going to the mountain "... another kahuna conducted the service called Malu-koi, in which they

313 Kekahuna, p. 32.
consecrated the axes that were to be used in hewing the timber for the new idols, and laid them over night (in the little house Mana)." I'i refers to consecrating the "sacred adz" called an "'olopu," that had been "handed down from ancient times."

According to Malo, the next morning a procession ascended the mountain composed of "the king, chiefs, people and the priests, including that priest who conducted the service of malu-koi." He was called "kahuna haku ohia, because haku ohia was a name applied to the idol which they were about to carve." The "idol" was also called "moi." They carried with them "pigs, bananas, cocoanuts, a red fish (the kumu) and a man who was a criminal, as offerings to the deity." Malo continues: "A suitable ohia tree had previously been selected—one that had no decay about it, because a perfect tree was required for the making of the haku ohia idol. . . ."

I'i's version this far is similar:

The king, the kahunas, and the feather gods and their keepers went upland with adzes to the place where the 'ohi'a trees grew. The one whose duty it was to select a suitable tree for the haku 'ohi'a went ahead. Having noted how to reach it, the kahunas, the king, the bearer of the 'olopu adz, and one who carried a pig healthy from its birth went together.

Malo writes that following a prayer, the pig was sacrificed "by dashing it against the ground." After the kahuna cut a chip from the tree, "the criminal was led forth; and the priest, having taken his life by beheading, offered his body
as a sacrifice. The tree was then felled, the pig put into the oven, and the work of carving the idol taken up and carried to a finish by the image carver."

I'i also mentions that the pig was sacrificed after the prayer, but he says the kahuna first touched the tree with the 'olopu adz. Both authors write of cooking the pigs and after the feast, burying the remains of it and the man's body at the root of the felled tree. I'i does not indicate that the image was carved on the mountain. He writes:

The men made ready all the logs, which were stripped of their bark, and bore them down to the lowland and to the grounds of the heiau. They walked in pairs, in front of and after each log. So it went, from beginning to end of the procession. If the carriers had many large logs, they also had many small ones . . .

Malo and I'i relate how the members of the procession descended the mountain with their burden, shouting and chanting, and describe the fate of anyone they should encounter. Malo writes: "Thus they went on their wild rout, shouting as they went; and if any one met them on their way, it was death to him; they took his life." In Malo's version the image was taken to the heiau and placed "on the level pavement of the temple court" covered with "ieie leaves."

I'i writes:

They kept up the shouting until they came to the outer grounds of the heiau, a fearful and terrifying procession. . . . When they arrived all of the logs
were set upright there, and everyone returned to his own house.

Malo describes additional ritual that includes another sacrifice of a criminal, "his body thrust into the hole where the [haku-ohia] idol was to stand." More ceremonies were conducted and hundreds of pigs were killed and eaten by the priests before "the ceremony of cutting the navel-string of the idol." The navel string consisted of "a long girdle of braided coconut leaves about the belly of the haku-ohia idol." Finally, after a prayer "they arrayed the idol in the malo [of kapa] and a new name was given to it, Moi, lord of all idols. After that all the idols were clothed with malo, and each one was given a name according to the place in which he stood."314

Contemporary Tools and Techniques

Most of the contemporary artists interviewed use modern tools and techniques almost exclusively because they consider them to be more efficient than traditional methods. Some of the men are defensive regarding this practice and explain that they don't live in the past or insist that they couldn't make a profit if they followed traditional techniques because of the time involved.

Many of the craftsmen express regret that they cannot afford the time to use the old tools or techniques and indicate that they would like to experiment with an adz in the future. Only three are proficient in the use of an adz and a few of them work with traditional tools on occasion to achieve a special effect, to make traditional objects, or to demonstrate how the tool was formerly employed. A number of the artists use their modern tools to create the impression that their work was actually made with traditional tools.

When the artists are asked if they use power tools, some are evasive or respond cautiously, apparently convinced that their patrons prefer handmade rather than machine-made articles. Still others manifest pride in their skill with modern tools and specially adapted machinery.

**Hawaiian Artists**

Tom and Ron Barboza readily admit that they use modern tools. Ron says, "If you have to go the ancient way we can, but just the idea—it's time consuming. You got to put a time limit on it because of the different amount of tools you have to use. But we normally use chisels and mallets—real modern tools." On occasion they will use a metal adz to rough out large images.

When asked if they use power tools, Ron replies that he occasionally uses a power drill to make holes. His brother Tom, who has a lathe in the work area outside his house, says,
"Sometimes we do cheat; we use chain saws. Eliminate the big cuts. But it takes a lot of work even with that. You still got to make it—the form itself. Not cheat but . . ."  

"Improvise," Ron suggests.

"You know, modify it," Tom continues. "Simplicity is what we work for. And make it easier on yourself. And you can take the big chunks off and then you bang away and make it really form. . . ."  

Rocky Jensen confesses to a fear of machinery. When he worked at Martin & MacArthur for six months he was "leery about the machines there." He says, laughing, "I still got all of my fingers. Every time I think of working with those kinds of things I get really paranoid. I have to get over that fear. But they gave me the chance to work at the bench so I still have that fear. I don't know what I can do."  

Jensen wishes he had taken more shop classes in high school. Today his work with power tools is generally limited to buffers and hand drills.

Henry Hopfe works in a shop well-equipped with various types of machinery. He has fashioned some of it specifically to suit his purposes. He keeps two Doberman pinchers, trained to attack on command, at his Wai'anae property to prevent the theft of his valuable machinery and artwork. Hopfe was


formerly a carpenter and considers his skill and familiarity with all kinds of tools to be a great asset.

One of his favorite tools is a pneumatic air sander and grinder. It has a "little cheater valve" to regulate the air flow that enables it to achieve faster and slower rpms than a switch operated machine. Hopfe became tired of having to replace switches in order to maintain a slow enough speed for koa. The wood has a tight grain and if sanded at too high a rate it burns and turns black. "It's a drag to try to sand the black stuff off," Hopfe explains. His pneumatic tools also have the advantage of being light weight. "I need no heavy grinder all day long. After awhile your muscles up there--oh my--it hurts!"

When he performs carving demonstrations or gives lectures at Bishop Museum, Hopfe says he is frequently asked by tourists, "How come you no use the old stuff? You're doing traditional Hawaiian art work."

He replies, "You know, I got feet, but that doesn't mean I'm going to walk all the way down here either. I got a car --I use a car. We're getting smarter. I use the metal tools." When the tourists question him further, he explains that the stone blades are too fragile and time consuming to make, sharpen, and use:

Well, the stone tools are going to make you try to chop into it. The stone is like layered inside so you might hit a vein, and it'll crack the edge of the tool. And once you lose that edge it takes you a long time to re-grind it 'cause they just forge
their tools from stone to stone. They find a harder stone and rub this stone to it and shape it and sculpt it to whatever your desired design is you're making. And so it'd take you a lot of time just to make tools and repair it. So you'd not get work done. You wouldn't be a very productive Hawaiian. That's why you'd be skinny—you wouldn't eat too much. The metal tools has the advantage where it doesn't do that. You can just chop away and don't worry. You spend maybe a whole week making your stone adz; where the chisel, you can buy it for twenty bucks or ten bucks or whatever.

At the time of the interview Hopfe was in the process of making an adz with a stone blade. It was for educational purposes and would not be used. He also intends to manufacture one after a "Christian contact adz—like when they had this forged flat metal and created a beveled edge and lashed it to the handle."

Hopfe is impressed with the quality of work achieved by ancient Hawaiians with their simple tools.

I can tell the difference by looking at recent work and the old traditional Hawaiian work that was done with the adz. It's really surprising looking at what their finishes that they acquired and the super primitive tools that they used compared to what they have now, and the finishes they had and like the trueness of the bowls. It's pretty true compared just doing them by hand and spinning them on the ground if someone starts putting them on a lathe.

Hopfe looks forward to trying an adz, but doubts that he would ever use one to carve in the traditional manner. He notes that the old technique was different:

The carving the Hawaiians did is not like chopping in with a regular chisel, like a hatchet kind of effect, it was more like scraped. So all those
canoes and gods and everything was more or less carved at an angle. It's like just shaved. Just shave the wood.

One traditional stone tool Hopfe has used effectively is a canoe rubber. He made a variety of them for educational purposes from different types of stones in various shapes—smooth ones for "garnishing" and porous ones for a "rasp effect."

He describes how he used one of the canoe rubbers successfully in his work:

In fact, I used that oval one there for when I did turning some bowls and the koa wood was really hard and I'm out of sandpaper. So I just stuck it in there and I just smoothed out pretty much at least all of the checking in the wood. Then I went with the sandpaper and just got rid of the scratches. Came out a really beautiful finish. It still can be applied to today's . . .

Kana' e Keawe would like to use the old tools "as a matter of discipline, for the appreciation to go through and do something with stone, if possible." He says:

. . . with working in my steel tools, the German bits, the German chisels and gouges that I use, I can really appreciate the old efforts because those were just staggering to see how the cuts, the executions of a certain line, the sweep of the arch could have been done in stone tools.

Keawe has been using German tools (figure 48) since he was a student at Kamehameha where he learned to carve from

Fig. 48. Kana'ẽ Keawe's German carving tools and mallet used to carve his drums.

Fig. 49. Phil Hooten's chip carving tools. (Left to right) Wood with typical cuts; 'ōhi'a turtle wax container of Tahitian kuʻula design, Marquesan figures back-to-back on top of lid from canoe paddle motif; German chip carving chisels; ironwood mallet of Marquesan design with Hooten's logo "Maka'io" from a Marquesan tattoo.
Fritz Abplanalp. He says that Abplanalp knew the best tools at the time. 318

Alapa'i Hanapi primarily uses modern tools because of their efficiency, but he has done some of his traditional work with an adz. His definition of the old method of carving differs from Hopfe's. Hanapi comments:

I've traditionally done some things with adzes . . . It's a different technique, but its basically the same. Except with the Western style you have two striking objects, where with the traditional style adz you have one tool and the striking motion is different.

Hanapi explains that traditional tools are "outdated." Years ago he was approached by the Lahaina Arts Society to get "a gang of carvers" together to make a traditional six-man canoe. He said, "I'd like to do it in the traditional way because I believe in the way of my ancestors." He specified that he would agree to make the canoe only if he could choose the tree, fashion the tools, and carve it in the traditional manner. According to Hanapi, those who had approached him declared, "That's going to take you years!" and found another group of carvers.

Some of Hanapi's work has the appearance of being carved with an adz since the artist prefers a tool finish rather than "having to sand it down in the haole style—the western style." He says that his technique is an exacting procedure:

You need a certain type of wood, a hardwood, which has been seasoned just right, you have to make the cut just right going against the grain, with the grain where the cut will cut cleanly and burnish the wood at the same time so it seals off the pores and don't have to sand and oil it. 319

Rocky Asing's feelings regarding the use of an adz are similar to Henry's. Asing believes that using the traditional tool to create contemporary Hawaiian work is "crazy":

I would never do adz because I'll tell you why. If the old Hawaiians were here and they had adz and they knew that we had iron tools, they would never use their adz. That would be the craziest thing to do is to go and try to repeat what ancient Hawaiians did. That's what I believe. I believe that that's not right. That was for them, then, at that time and we look back and that's what we're going to see. When we look back twenty, forty years, hundred years from now, this is what we're going to see. Because we have the tools; so it would be crazy not to use them. If the old Hawaiians was here they would tell you, 'You're crazy you be using the adz when you got iron tools.'

He says that the adz is utilized under certain circumstances today "... only for show today--tourists," but Asing would never use it to make a living. He continues:

I would do it for tourists to see how they did it long ago. I would show them how we did it long ago, but I wouldn't do it as a living. That's crazy. That's almost insane to me. That's like, 'Hey why don't you use your fingers now we got spoons?'

Lanakila Brandt comments that he has worked with "ancient tools" and recalls that he once carved a canoe using them with three other people. He says, "It was the hardest job I've ever done in my life." He notes that students in his program "learn to do it both ways." They learn to make pū'ili (bamboo rattles) using "shell drills, that sort of thing." He says, "Since we're here to teach them to make money doing it, then we show them how to make it using modern production methods." When asked if they're taught to use a stone adz, he replies that they learn to use a metal adz. Lanakila smiles and says, "I don't carry my authenticity that far."

David Eskaran has used a metal adz for several years. He decided to use one when he saw how effectively Tapasoa Cassell worked. Eskaran would like the Cultural Center to obtain some Maori greenstone tools, because visitors don't believe that clean cuts can be made with stone tools. Eskaran also uses chisels and mallets. For his ivory and beefbone objects he uses carving tools that are "almost like engraving tools."

Levan Sequeira uses the adz only on big work. In his workshop he has around ten metal adzes; whereas, he possesses approximately one-hundred carving chisels. When asked if an adz is more difficult to use than a mallet and chisel, he replies:

Well, let's put it this way, an adz can take off in five minutes what you can do in half an hour with
a hammer and a mallet and a chisel. It just takes that much time. The more you work with it the more skilled you get to be. But, you see, it's not all the time that you're working on big images; so you don't use it that much. . . . It takes a lot of skill and practice to develop. Today we don't have time. It's too valuable when you're charging people.

When Sequeira experienced difficulty copying a traditional kapa beater with metal tools, he tried carving it with a shark's tooth. Only then was Pua Van Dorpe, the kapa maker who commissioned the tool, able to duplicate the original pattern of the kapa.

Sequeira refers to his carving technique as "Zen" carving. He says:

There's total focus only on what you're doing. I get completely oblivious to what is going around away from me. Some people that are watching me carve says, 'Wow, how come you can do that without checking the thickness and you still know where you're at? If it were me I'd go right through it.'

I says, 'I project my mind down into my hands and into the tool itself, the cutting edge of the tool.' And I says, 'I don't have to see it sometimes, my mind is already there where the tool edge is.' When you start achieving that, how you teach that to somebody? Got to have a clear mind, very focused clear mind when you're carving. \(^{320}\)

### Non-Hawaiian Artists

Richard Howell enjoys carving with an adz. He has perfected his technique working with this traditional tool.

\(^{320}\) Personal interview with Sequeira, 10 Oct. 1989.
Unlike most of the other carvers, he considers an adz to be quick and efficient. The artist says he associated himself with carvers and just "picked up" techniques and "incorporated some tools."

Like in Palau I saw the way they were using an adz. Like in Palau, that's a sign of manliness to have an adz or use it. . . . Where I lived in Palau they used these things. Through 1965 they used them still to make a lot utensils and things for the home--bowls and coconut scrapers. I used the tool; so I've always used an adz and stuff. . . .

Not many people use them over here [O'ahu]. But for roughing out and working fast and taking things down in a hurry from basics--there's nothing that compares. You've got to know how to use them. I've done it so much they're second nature. It's terribly dangerous but they're second nature once you get used to them.321

Michael Dunne describes Howell's carving technique:

He's a big man, you know. About this tall. About this wide . . . But the size of his hands are like two of my hands. And then when he grabs on a piece, he just hangs on to a piece like this and he just carves away with an adz, or he'll put it between his lap and hang onto it and just carve away.322

Howell makes all of his adzes. He explains that they are no longer like those he used in Palau. When he makes them now, he attaches chisel blades to homemade handles.

When asked what other tools he employs, the artist replies:

I have a collection of funny little tools that I've collected through the years. I have expensive ones. I have cheap ones. Just things that feel comfortable. I have some chisels I picked up in Fiji when I lived there. They cost about one dollar-twenty apiece. I have some forty-five dollar chisels. Whatever. Whatever feels good.

All my sanding is done completely by hand. You know I use about maybe ten tools is my total. My mallet is a piece of wood that--I made the mallet. Well, it's not a mallet. I just use a rounded thing that looks like a baseball bat, you know, that I made myself. It's not a baseball bat, it's just a piece of Philippine wood that I found extremely hard and durable that I use. A friend of mine who's a boat builder had it laying around and I just took it. I've used that for years.

The only power tool Howell employs for his intricate carvings is a drill. He explains its function: "Maybe I'll use an electric drill to drill holes. You know to take out a big area instead of digging it out. I'll use an electric drill to soften up areas. But that's the extent of it."323

Tuione Pulotu also uses a metal adz. Other tools he employs are a hatchet, ax, and chisel and mallet. He utilizes a chain saw for cutting out rough outlines.

Phil Hooten sold his adzes to traditional carver Sam Ka'ai who resides on Maui. One of Hooten's favorite mallets is a copy of one from the Marquesas. The artist constructed it himself of ironwood. He orders a variety of chisels from catalogs. Illustrated in figure 49 are German chip-carving chisels, a turtle shaped wax container of Tahitian design.

taken from Bishop Museum's "photographic files," and Hooten's ironwood mallet inscribed with his logo. Wax is applied to the chisel blade in the chip-carving process, "brought to a high state" in the Austral and Cook Islands. Hooten believes that these islanders may have used a shark tooth to obtain the intricate detail that characterizes their work.

Power tools he employs include a band saw, sanding machines, and a Foredom flexible-shaft grinder. He uses dental cutters for his ivory and bone jewelry.

Brian Takano taught himself to carve with a chisel following his accident:

Well, when you carve you go into any store, you can buy carving chisels. So here you have all these carving chisels and then you start carving something. And so through that you learn which chisel carves what.... most of the chisels I used to use was only a few of them--two types of chisels. Mine is not like huge heavy carvings. Mine is little things .... It took me about four years to learn how to carve without the use of my fingers. So I had to learn how to hold a chisel. So it took about four years. In the meantime I'd saved. I was living with my father so I saved as much as I could--the welfare money. I'd buy a tool here and there. It took about four years to get a little over a thousand dollars worth of tools.

After he had achieved some success as a carver, his father's trophy shop, where he carved, burned down. Brian lost all of his tools and had to begin anew. He bought a small die grinder at Sears with "little tiny bits" and gradually replenished his inventory. Eventually he purchased Paul Fujimoto's multi-duplicator machine (figure 50) that
Fig. 50. Paul Fujimoto's multi-duplicating machine. Now owned by Brian Takano.

Fig. 51. Some of Jim Kawamura's mallets and various shaped chisels. Heavy mallet at top is koa-haole (Leucaena glauca) and center mallet is milo; both were handmade by Kawamura.
enables him to produce around three hundred "carvings" a week in his Waipahu factory. Brian creates his "artwork" by hand with a mallet and carving chisels.

He says the reason that carvers use power tools and machinery is: "It's lazy. Because my personal opinion and observation is the reason why we don't do it with machinery and tools is because the whole piece becomes one total effort. If the guy's lazy doing it--he's lost something there."\textsuperscript{324}

Jim Kawamura uses chisels and mallets for his carvings. He decided to carve for the first time when he visited the home of recently deceased Fred Cabalis and saw all of the carver's tools. Cabalis had carved the "Pele faces" and tikis that Kawamura first sold in his antique shop. Jim uses different sizes and weights of mallets, some handmade, and a variety of carving chisels (figure 51).

Mark Le Buse had a Filipino make round mallets for him in two different sizes. He explains their advantage:

\begin{quote}
You take one of those square cornered mallets, you pick it up, you got to look at it to see where it's at before you use it. This one you pick it up and it's always ready to go. And if you miss the tool and you roll off your knuckle, you're not going to cut yourself--see, it's round.\textsuperscript{325}
\end{quote}

He uses a wide variety of hand tools. In addition to those made in the Philippines and the English carving tools

\textsuperscript{324} Personal interview with Brian Takano, 28 May 1988.

\textsuperscript{325} Personal interview with Le Buse, 25 July 1989.
he bought at The Wood Rose Shop, Le Buse has tools that were made in Sweden, Germany, and Bali. Perc Westmore, the make-up artist, gave him half a dozen unusual tools, including a back-bend gouge which Le Buse used to shape the ribbed bowl he exhibited at the Academy of Arts in 1989.

Former mechanic Dan De Luz designs and repairs his own machinery. His brothers-in-law and friends help him build equipment to facilitate the production of his bowls. His homemade lathe, run by an electric motor, incorporates parts from a 1947 Chevrolet truck. It was constructed high because De Luz had a bad back when he began turning bowls. His buffing and sanding machines are also fabricated. He buys his wood chisels from the mainland.

De Luz developed his present technique by experimentation. While the wood is still green, he cuts the forms on a band saw, glues a block of wood to the base and turns the bowls to a thickness of an inch to an inch and a half. The outsides are waxed and the bowls are placed on racks for a year to cure. De Luz emphasizes the importance of curing the wood adequately:

I'm very particular, because this is the thing now, I do the work for myself. My customers come back and they buy from me. I cannot tell them, 'Eh, I got rid of the others that brought cracked bowls in.' I got to make it good. But most of my customers come from Honolulu and the mainland. And they come through every year. On vacations, for the past, maybe sixteen or seventeen years. If it's cracked they gonna bring it back. I gotta make it good. We guarantee 'em. If a bowl comes back we
fix it, or we give them another one. That's how we run our business. \(^{326}\)

De Luz says he is "on a cycle." Every month he adds and removes from the drying racks approximately three hundred bowls. After a year the bowls are turned thin and painted with a lacquer sealer. When they have dried overnight, they are sanded with rough sandpaper, sealed once more, then meticulously sanded around six times inside and out. Like Hopfe, De Luz uses an air compressor for sanding.

Next, the blocks are cut off, the bottoms sanded, and the bowls are buffed on a buffing wheel. Finally, they are dipped in mineral oil (figure 52), left overnight, and wiped dry.

Jack Straka's procedure is similar to the one employed by De Luz with several exceptions. After Jack obtains his wood he cuts it with an old meat band saw. The cut pieces sit for about a month under plastic bags to allow them to dry out before they are turned. "What happens, I rough-turn them and all the sap comes flying out. If I let it sit a month, a lot of that dissipates." He then rough-turns the bowls to the desired shapes, waxes the outsides, and puts them on the racks in his drying room (figure 53). Each bowl remains there for about six months. A person in town does his finish sanding. Straka turns off the bottoms of his bowls by reverse mounting

\(^{326}\) Personal interview with Dan De Luz, 26 Jan. 1988.
Fig. 52. Dan De Luz dips bowl in mineral oil. It will be left overnight and wiped dry the next day.

Figure 53. Jack Straka's drying racks. Kea'au, Hawai'i. After the bowls are rough-turned and their outsides are waxed, they are placed on the racks for approximately six months to season the wood.
them on the lathe, while De.Luz cuts off his base with a bandsaw, and then may spindle-carve the bottom. Straka also dips his bowls in mineral oil for the final process.

He says that his tools, unlike those of De Luz, are almost all "commercial ones." Some of his face plates are custom-designed and his lathe is homemade.

When Straka is asked if he has tried using any of the traditional tools or methods, he replies, "No, I think it would drive me nuts trying to do it 'cause I'm in a hurry to make bowls. I've often thought about it."\(^{327}\) He mentioned hearing of a part-Hawaiian carver on Maui who burns the center of his bowls in the traditional manner.

Straka employs advanced turning techniques in his work. He was taught the fundamentals of the cutting method of turning by Peter Child in London. This method results in clean cuts rather than bruising the wood, as is common with the scraping method of turning. He received one day of instruction from Child in bowl or face-plate turning and one in spindle-turning or between-centers turning. He perfected the execution of these techniques after he moved to Hawai‘i (see figure 28).

The technique Stewart Medeiros devised to make koa bowls is described in a 1968 Beacon Magazine article. Initially, "about half of his efforts ended on the scrap heap" because

of the wood's tendency to crack. Determined to succeed, he experimented with different processes until he was satisfied. Medeiros would cut table tops and trays "on a slant" and calabashes were fashioned from blocks cut with the grain of the tree. To cure the koa, he dipped the rough-cut bowl in a barrel of "highly refined" oil every day for approximately two weeks until it would float. It would then be put aside to cure for up to a year.  

He says he taught his technique to a number of turners including Michael Dunne and Ron Kent. "We have an old saying," he remarks, "'you want to learn--watch.'"

Today Stewart Medeiros turns "directly into the trees like the old Hawaiians did" rather than first cutting a slab of wood. He turns on the same lathe that he used at Blair's for thirty years. It was presented to him after he left the company, and now stands in his outside shop in Hau'ula (figure 25). Medeiros comments, "It's like an old buddy to me."

Tommy Leong describes his production process at the House of Kalai:

You see there is a slab of wood. This is really clean--ran through the planer. We don't have very many of those. We mark out pattern on them, and then we carve it on this table here. This is the router. We gouge it out. After its gouged out we band-saw it. After its band sawed we carve it. This is a spindler. We put the cutter on--it's a sharp thing. And this is run a high speed. You

call that a spindle-carving machine. We carve it, round it off. After its completed there it is. So next thing this is round inside here. This is the thing, the best, that's what we looking for--production. So you can see how important it is. This is ready for sanding. Our first thing is to sand outside--outside sanding. After the outside sanding completed then we do the inside sanding.

On the day Leong was interviewed, two employees wearing safety glasses and dust and mist respirators were busily engaged in the process of sanding calabashes and leaf-form bowls with power equipment. Saving production costs is a paramount consideration at House of Kalai. Leong indicated one of the men, saying, "This is the spindle-sander. He's the one that sands the inside. If you have little compartments--very difficult for him; then the cost goes up." Tommy said the other employee was the "drum-sander. He's the one that sands outside here."

Leong describes his final process which includes extensive hand-sanding:

After the inside sanding is completed, now we oil it--Varathane Natural Oil. All rubbed by hand after it's dried. We shoot with our sanding sealer. Our sanding sealer is shot on. After, it's hand-sanded. We use fine paper--we sand 'em. After it's completed sanded we shoot our lacquer on.

Traditional Materials

As mentioned in Chapter III, the preferred wood for the traditional calabash was kou. Milo was also highly regarded, but was more difficult to carve since the wood is harder. Kekahuna indicates that after milo, wiliwili, and hau were the woods most favored by traditional bowl-makers. Irving disagrees and writes that the other woods most used were true kamani and koa. He notes that the majority of bowls in the Bishop Museum collection are kou, but mentions that others are made of nenelaau [neneleau], monkeypod, rosewood, coconut, loulu palm, koai'a, koa, and breadfruit.

As previously stated, images were generally carved of wood. Other traditional materials included feather covered basketry, stone, bone, coral, ivory, shell, and sea urchin spines. Shells, seeds, human hair, dog and human teeth, and kapa were sometimes utilized for ornamentation.

Certain woods have been identified with particular types of images. Both Malo and I'i, as cited in this chapter, indicate that 'ōhi'a is used for the central image of a luakini heiau. Therefore the assumption has been made that most temple images are made of 'ōhi'a. Cox and Davenport write: "Of the woods used for the religious figures, especially the temple images, the wood from the 'ōhi'a-lehua tree was the most important." Davenport notes in his revised edition that other woods used for sculpture are being identified by
Adrienne Kaeppler and her associates. Kaeppler has challenged some long held assumptions. In 1979 she had a wood sample from the well-known Bishop museum temple image, T3 (7654), reputedly of 'ōhi'a, subjected to scientific analysis at Kew Gardens, London. It was determined to be breadfruit.

A research project that includes the goal of identifying the woods of all extant Hawaiian images is currently being conducted by Kaeppler in association with Dorota Starzecka of the Museum of Mankind at the British Museum in London and Paula Rudell, a botanist chemist at Kew Gardens. In a preliminary report, presented at the Pacific Arts Association 4th International Symposium in August 1989, Kaeppler announced that initial research indicates that the tentative wood identification of a number of the Hawaiian images is incorrect. She announced, "It is instructive to note that most, if not all, wood identifications in museum labels and published catalogues have so far been based on visual identification, traditions, and guess work--most of the identifications for wooden images are wrong."

Examples she cites include three temple images, formerly thought to be 'ōhi'a, now all confirmed to be carved of breadfruit. The image of a woman from a burial cave at Kawaihae, A2 (9072), tentatively regarded in the past as koa, now is known to be kou. Kaeppler notes that "the images that are carved of 'ohia lehua are not the figures that one would have expected, while some images that one would have expected to
be of 'ohia lehua are not, but instead are 'ohia ai, mountain apple." Other woods identified in the study, not formerly associated with traditional images are kou, as indicated in the analysis of wood from the Kawaihae cave image; milo; and sandalwood. Kaeppler writes "should we throw out all visual identifications, even for bowls, and start over again?"

In a few instances, the tentative past identification was verified. For example, the Lono pole image, K1 (7659) was analyzed and determined to be kauila.330

Contemporary Materials

Most of the artists prefer using the woods they consider to be traditional, based on their research, and choose native over imported varieties. They are often forced to improvise, however, and use whatever wood is available because of the high cost and scarcity of native woods. Most commonly used woods are milo; koa; monkeypod, called 'ohai by some of the carvers; and 'ōhi'a. Botanical names and brief information about these woods and other varieties the carvers employ is listed in the Glossary.

Stone is used extensively by two of the carvers, and a number of them carve trinkets or jewelry from ivory or bone.

"Beefbone" is often used because of its availability. The carvers express concern about the use of ivory because of the "Endangered Species Act" (of 1973). The restrictions established by this federal statute and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) are enforced by the Division of Law Enforcement of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the United States Department of the Interior. Stringent regulations make it unlawful to import or export ivory from restricted wildlife, including the African and Asian elephant and certain marine mammals. It is also unlawful to possess ivory that was illegally imported.

Other materials such as wicker and coral are used by the carvers less frequently. The addition of pearl shell eyes and human hair to contemporary images is not uncommon. Non-traditional materials such as bronze, other metals, clay, and plastic are also used.

**Hawaiian Artists**

Since he generally carves Hawaiian motifs, Levan Sequeira uses the "Hawaiian woods," such as milo, ōhi‘a, kauila, and koa. He researches his work and tries to use the most appropriate traditional wood for the images and objects he carves. For instance, in his living room are images of ōhi‘a and milo, weapons of kauila, and a red cedar Haida canoe model.
The Barboza brothers and their friend Kanâk Napeahi use primarily koa, milo, and monkeypod for their carving. They all decry the shortage of milo and koa and the scarcity or disappearance of many other varieties of woods such as lama, uhiuhi, kaula, sandalwood, and wiliwili because of exploitation and poor conservation measures. They say that those who build homes and "business people" have no respect for the land. They set up machinery in the mountains, denude the hills, and never restore the forests.

Rocky Jensen is often limited by his material since wood is difficult to obtain and is not always the size he might prefer for a particular subject. He says, "... you have to go according to what nature's offered you." Jensen doesn't mind substituting one kind of wood for another. He will use monkeypod, sometimes cutting the white portions off. At the time of the interview he was looking for 'ōhi'a.

Jensen considers himself fortunate when people telephone and offer him wood from a tree they have cut down. He had only received one of these calls in the prior eight months. It was from a Samoan tree trimmer alerted to his need by a woman who formerly helped him find wood when it was more plentiful. Jensen wishes that Hawaiians had the resources of the Maori carvers at Rotorua who have a nearby forest to supply their wood.

331 Personal interview with Jensen, 28 May 1988.

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In addition to wood, other materials he employs include stone, metal, feathers, clay, fiber, human hair, mother-of-pearl, and kapa.

Henry Hopfe has friends who call him when they find wood. When this happens, he eventually gives them a reward. Usually what I do, too, I make something for them later on. It might be a year down the road or two or something. . . . It leaves a good impression with them. And good feeling. And, you know, also leaves me with a good feeling. So they got something to remember the tree that was in their backyard for so many years and they had to rake the leaves or something. . . . Also something to remember me by.

Hopfe is particular about wood he purchases for his craft. At Winkler Wood Products or Sanders Trading Company in Honolulu he remains all day making his selection, and sometimes returns the following morning. "I just go through the whole stacks of lumber, several thousand board feet."

He has received gifts of logs from the Big Island property of "Uncle" John Dominis Holt, who Henry says "sort of patronizes my work." They met "years ago." When Holt initially saw Hopfe's work he inquired if the carver did anything larger. Hopfe replied, "I got no wood. You think koa's easy to find?" Holt then phoned his caretaker on the Big Island and had wood cut and shipped at his expense to Hopfe in Honolulu.
Hopfe says:

I brought it home and cured some of them. Some of them I just made 'em right away. Made 'em into bowls, a pigboard, poi board, some, I sold 'em. I made him a little oval shaped bowl and a kava bowl, inlaid. He was really tickled . . . He was there when I needed him so I just gave them to him.

Hopfe mainly uses koa and milo, but he works with other indigenous or suitable woods available. He finds some varieties more difficult to carve than others. Although he loves the beauty and grain of koa, he considers it to be one of "the worst" to carve because it bruises easily. This does not deter him from using the wood, however, because it is a "hot seller on the market."

He has tried carving sandalwood, which formerly grew in abundance in the mountains above his Wai'anae home. He noted that pig hunters have found a few fallen trees "here and there." "I like it," Hopfe said. "Really easy to work with. Has its own like oils in the wood. So you just sand it down and everything and that's it--it's finished. Has its own oil and excretion and it has a smell. Doesn't groove like koa."

The wood he would prefer carving most of all, if it were not so rare, is kou. He said that it was the primary wood Hawaiians worked with prior to European contact. They favored it, he said, because it grew rapidly, was an "easy workable wood," and was not toxic.
The toxic nature of some woods is of great interest to Hopfe. He discusses the ancient Kālaipāhoa wood and "poison gods" from Maunaloa, Molokaʻi. Hopfe believes that the images were carved from a variety of wood that was actually toxic:

The Hawaiians realized that the wood had mana or powers because, that was the point I'm building up to, because the wood was toxic and if any of the sap or whatever entered your body through your pores or skin you'd die. It was that toxic. Kālaipāhoa wood carvings are really something special because artisans or craftsmen that carved that would have to know or do a certain thing so that they would be immune or whatever or somehow detox [sic] themselves or whatever from this poisonous wood. And the wood had the power to kill people because if you touch the raw wood you die. So it had mana, it had power to take life. So they recognized the strength. So they took the wood and they carved for the sorcerer to take life as well. So they figured, hey, more the evil of take-life forces in it because the wood itself has the power supposed to be used as the sorcery part . . . 332

Hopfe believes that if the wood still exists, its toxicity may have dissipated through the years as the sap evaporated.

Today, Hopfe finds milo to be "somewhat toxic" because when he works with the wood he sneezes frequently. He says, "Some people just break out in a lot of rash because of the sap in the air from the wood."

332 For a discussion of Kālaipāhoa gods and their wood, see Kamakau, Ka Poʻe Kahiko, pp. 128-31, 135-38, 141.
He said koa would have to be cured in a "certain way" if it were to be used in a bowl or it would leave a "bitter tinge" in the food caused by the sap the wood excretes.

Hopfe uses various finishes to seal the wood depending upon the purpose of the object he has made. If the carving will be used out of doors he finishes it with resin, kukui nut oil, or Danish tung oil. He rejects varnish or lacquer because of their tendency to peel. Marine work is always coated with resin because of its durability.

Another material that Hopfe utilizes is driftwood that he finds as he walks along the beach near his home.

Driftwood pieces that I pick up and bring home I carve a pele sculpture--stuff like that--all kinds of forms and stuff. I know plenty guys they used to laugh at me, "Oh you rubbish picker." I got all of the driftwood. But after some of the guys saw what the outcome was they was really blown away. "O wow, that's nice." And now there's a lot of pickers--competition! Everybody's just picking and picking and picking ... nobody can leave a good thing alone.333

Other mediums Hopfe works with include stone, bone, coral, and ivory. He frequently carves vesicular basalt, finding it brittle and more difficult to carve than marble or granite. At the time of his first interview he had just ordered soapstone from California. He now has in his possession a ton and a half of the material. He thinks the soapstone will enable him to be more productive since it is easy

333 Personal interview with Hopfe, 9 Nov. 1987.
to carve. The artist considers the finish to be similar to marble.

Rocky Asing prefers stone to wood. He says that stone is "more of a forever media, and wood, it doesn't last."

Asing continues his argument for stone:

And wood you have to take care of and stone you don't really have to, so long it doesn't get vandalized. OK? So when I do my stuff I don't want to do it in vain. So I don't do it in anything else unless it's in stone.

Asing says he carves "... all kinds of rock. Any kind so long as preferably it has a Hawaiian look to it." He believes that porous rocks "look more Hawaiian." Asing seldom carves dense rocks. He explains:

I will do it on certain stuff, because you can only do certain things with porous rock and you can only do certain things with dense rocks. But the dense rocks don't look that nice as far as it don't look Hawaiian. But if you're going to do dense rock you might as well do marble, but then that's not Hawaiian. Everybody does it. What I'm saying is very few people do Hawaiian lava rock. And I do only lava rocks. I don't do too much else.

Asing has loved rocks since he was a child. He recalls, "I grew up with rocks. I remember when I was young I loved my walls. 'Cause I used to play in these walls like little tunnels and this and that." He claims that through the study of rocks one can become aware of all shapes and dimensions:

So I was really intrigued by rocks because, see, rocks will teach you every shape and dimension there possibly is in the whole universe. If you look on
a rock lava flow, and stuff broken-up rocks, you'll see that they have every shape and size and dimen-
sion that you can possibly think of.

Asing lives on the right island to obtain materials. Rock strewn lava flows are abundant on the Big Island. The carver acknowledges that he is fortunate to live near "unlimited resources of materials."334

Alapa'i Hanapi says that he had never seen so much koa and sandalwood in his life as he has since he has been working on the Big Island. Although he has used other woods, he works primarily with milo:

I like it best because it's a hard wood and the colors range from dark cocoa to white to all shades of brown, pinks, reds, even blacks, yellows - it has all this range of colors and is a hard wood . . . I like it a lot better. I work with it best . . . I can tool finish it better . . .

Hanapi relates that he seasons his wood at least one year. On Moloka'i he would cut his wood every three years. He says:

I just let it sit. I cut it, leave the bark on, and I cover both ends with tar or some type of paint or something so that the moisture escapes slowly, because if the moisture escapes too fast, it cracks the wood. The moisture content is very important. It takes at least one year. But the longer you let it sit, the composition of the wood changes. . . .335

'Imai Kalâhele explains that he is too lazy to work with wood. He likes to "build things" rather than carve. He considers himself to be a "constructionist", and makes composites of various materials that he calls "mind tools." These are materials that are important to the Hawaiian people, such as wicker and feathers. 'Imai says, "I feel something about working with them."

When questioned if he uses feathers from rare birds or traditional techniques, Kalâhele responds:

'If you're going to do this, shouldn't it be pure?'
I say, 'Yeh, sure.' Just as way back then when there were a whole lot of birds and we had support systems to do that. My support system is being a custodian for this office, otherwise I could not put out these kinds of things, because they don't sell. They're not a means of income for me. So to play with these kinds of things I have to really--and I think, again, because I'm not in the olden days, I deal with things that I have and I deal with feelings and that's all. I'd like to make a 'ie'ie basket, I'd like to go and do the whole thing but it would take a . . . long time for me to do that and that would be a very treasured piece for my family because there's no way I can mass produce any kind of that.'

Fine artist Sean Browne works primarily in metal and stone. Typical materials the artist employs are bronze, granite, and marble.

Bob Freitas utilizes glass, marble, plastics, stone, metal, and wood. Recently he has been using natural fibers. He likes the juxtaposition of different textures and forms in his work.

David Eskaran says that woods used by the carvers at the Polynesian Cultural Center are koa, monkeypod, and milo. They sometimes use totara \textit{(podocarpus totara)} from New Zealand for Maori carvings. At home he uses beefbone for his 'aumâkua necklace pendants. He says beefbone is "safer," referring to the Endangered Species Act. His sister in Washington state is trying to obtain elk horn for him.

Kana'e Keawe mentions that the known traditional woods for drum-making are coconut, 'ulu, and kamani. He says that Adrienne Kaeppler informed him that the wood of all traditional drums will soon be identified by scientific analysis. Although he has made pahu of coconut, he doesn't intend to carve many more drums of that material in the future. His preferred material for drum-making is true kamani. Keawe obtained a truckload of the wood five years ago that is stored at his Hilo home. He says it is enough to last him "an entire lifetime.

Keawe discusses the grades of coconut and difficulty of choosing the right tree:

\begin{quote}
We have several grades of coconut. Some of them are so soft and pithy it's almost like carving balsa. Yet on the other hand, there are some green, that soon as the tree is cut you can see a reddish glow to the wood. It looks almost like the color of
\end{quote}
redwood. And that one is an extremely hard wood. I would prefer to work a coconut log with that reddish cast. So if it's coconut I would be very selective and look for the harder green woods because the instrument will last. The color will be the tipoff. How it looks on the outside before it's felled—I have no idea what the inside would be.

He does not cure his wood, saying that it gets harder as it dries out. Keawe has painted the ends of his kamani logs with latex house paint to seal the moisture in. He describes his technique to prevent the wood from cracking:

As you work the log you have to hollow it out as quickly as possible to reduce some of the inner stresses and tensions. That is what causes, I believe, the woods to crack. So if you can relieve the interior and then just chance it.

Keawe clarifies why wood cracks:

Some woods are a little more volatile than others and it's the escape of the water from the wood cells that the cellulose structure will start to collapse on you. So that's the reason for all of the checking on some of our woods. Particularly 'ōhiʻa is such a water laden log that it causes a lot of volatile cracking.

When Keawe was commissioned to make a drum for a kumu hula in Lihuʻe, Kauaʻi, he allowed the hula instructor and her son to "be involved" in order to learn the procedure. After a reddish coconut stump was selected:

I showed them the steps in how the drum is carved out and hollowed from top and bottom. The Hawaiian drum, by the way, has a septum chamber; it's not hollowed out from top to bottom like a pipe.
Keawe describes the method of finishing the wood:

It was stained in the traditional manner of burning green sugar cane leaves, the extract of kukui bark juice that was burnished into the coconut wood. I did several applications; so the drum is pitch black in color as all of the old Hawaiian drums are.

He says that some drum makers don't use the traditional finish today: "Just leave it with the ordinary finish that it is--the coconut tint."

Keawe uses sharkskin, the traditional material for the membrane of the drum. He says that cattle skin was an innovation following the arrival of Captain George Vancouver who introduced the animals to Hawai'i in 1793. Keawe compares the two skins:

The ring of the sharkskin is so pure versus cow skin that there is just no comparison. Maybe for lay persons understanding, maybe I could explain a cow skin as being a dull thud no matter how hard you pull the tension on it. Sharkskin is very sinuous; lot of sinew in it. It's crossed on a bias ply--the fibers.

He obtains his sharkskin from "any friendly fisherman who's willing to bring one home." He remarks, "My dad was a fisherman in Kona before he retired the boat and he never wanted to bring home a sharkskin for me at all." Keawe prefers tiger shark for his drums. He describes which part of the sharkskin he uses:

If I've got the option to be there and working it --the carcasses come to me whole and intact. I
would have to slit it down the back behind the gills before the anal opening. I would like to keep the belly intact because the drumskin will be from the side of a shark. I need a portion of the belly so that you can see the gradation of the dark flowing into the white belly section.

Keawe mentions that in *Ancient Hawaiian Music,* author Helen Roberts states that the right side of the kala (unicorn fish) is employed for the membrane of the pūniu or coconut shell drum. He continues:

Now with that belief in mind I'm thinking in a bigger version I would prefer the right side of the shark likewise. Now the Hawaiians have a belief—the word belief and superstition is interchangeable here—the right side of the Hawaiian culture is the best side. The right hand or right side is called "ākau;" the word for left is 'hema.' And that also is in the same frame as 'hemahema' or awkward.

The sharkskin must be dried before it can be used:

. . . the sharkskin has to be skinned of excessive meat that might be on the backside as you peel it off the carcass, dried flesh side up, nailed to side of barn or some other wood floor. Maybe three days until that hide is sufficiently dried out. From then I just roll it and put it away in a nice safe spot until ready to lash a drum with it. I avoid salting any kind of hides maybe because of my residency here in Hilo. Salt will attract humidity and it will always be sloppy wet. Be it cow skin or sharkskin--just naturally dry. It will be tough and sinewy; it will be like a stiff cardboard.

He explains how the membrane is stretched and applied to the carved base:

. . . everything is going to have to be marked and scribed about two inches larger from the diameter of the drum, the wood finish and the holes
perforated and then everything soaked in water. The hide, that perfect circle, will have to be immersed in water for about maybe a three hour stretch to give it the pliancy because the skin is lashed when its wet. And you've got to lash as tightly as possible and then over the course of about another three days when the leather starts to shrink, that's when the pitch of the drum finally sets and we'll accept it as such. . . . when it dries out, eventually, it will jack itself up several pitches higher, and you'll get a very high pure quality with sharkskin.

When he asked about adjusting the pitch of the drum,

Keawe says:

The chanter back of that drum does not pitch his or her voice according to the skin tension. The voice of the drum is just accepted for whatever it dries out to be. . . . There are no tuning pegs. . . . The chanter will just be taking his pitch whatever is comfortable for his range. That drum is just pure accompaniment, that's all that it is. Just for the beat. 337

Lanakila Brandt believes that the pitch of the drum is important. He says:

For the kumu hulas, either they come here and I record them chanting or they send me a tape of their chanting. I want to hear their chanting voice so we can pitch for that kumu hula. If you have to chant with a drum that is the wrong pitch it's really terrible. It's like playing the 'ukulele and singing in the wrong key.

His drums are constructed so that the pitch may be altered without dismantling the instrument. When the pitch needs to be lowered, the drum is soaked head-down in a pan of

water before the cords are loosened. Lanakila says "We don't make them too high to begin with." The drums can also be tightened to raise the pitch when necessary. He says that ipu heke (double gourd drums) are also tuned "quite meticulously in any key that the chanter chants in." Lanakila also receives tapes from the chanters.

According to the Kahanahou Hawaiian Handcraft's price list, pahu hula are made of a "Hollowed coconut log with split steerhide (sharkskin, if you get it [cured])." Pūniu (small knee drums) are made of coconut halfshells with either "kala (fish) skin" or "goatskin." The sharkskin and kala are traditional materials for the membrane.

Gourds and various woods are used for the hula implements and other items sold by Lanakila's company, including ʻōhai, as well as indigenous woods such as "ʻohe maoli (rare endemic) bamboo" for kāʻekeʻeke (bamboo organ) and kauila for hohoa and iʻe kuku (tapa beaters).³³⁸

Michael Dunne turns his bowls from a wide variety of woods. His catalog lists the following: koa, milo, kou, hau, naio, māmane, kamani, ʻiliahi, lama, neneleau, ʻōhiʻa, mango, and Norfolk pine. He sometimes combines the woods with precious metals, such as gold and silver, and stone, ivory, and glass.

Non-Hawaiians

Dan De Luz and Jack Straka also utilize a large number of woods for their bowls. Straka's brochure says he has "successfully turned fifty Hawaiian woods" and lists koa, milo, naio, ʻōhiʻa, kou, Norfolk pine, hau, and mango. Straka says that around eighty per cent of his bowls are koa because it is the biggest seller. The others are mostly milo, kamani, mango and a few others like Norfolk pine.

De Luz works with numerous woods grown in Hawaiʻi including koa, sandalwood, hau, Portuguese cyprus, mountain apple, guava, cedar, magnolia, ʻōhiʻa, macadamia nut, Cook pine, Norfolk pine, milo, monkeypod, avocado, ʻulu, banyan, wild plum, and olopua. He has glass display cases in his showroom that contain bowls made of various woods. Many people, he says, don't want to sell the rare woods such as sandalwood or koa. "They want a couple of nice bowls, we trade them off."

His mainland customers have also sent him wood, such as peach and different varieties of walnut. De Luz intends to establish a separate collection of mainland wood samples.

Straka cuts his own wood in the mountains. He has a permit to enter a ranch area where he is allowed to cut trees on the ground. He brings blocks of wood back to his Keaʻau workshop near his house.

De Luz formerly went to the mountains to cut his wood with a chain saw. Today he prefers spending all of his time
making bowls. A shipment of milled wood is delivered to his shop each month.

He thinks he is currently getting a good price for the wood and says, "It's hard to get it for the right price because bowls go to a lot of waste. . . . almost all the wood goes on shavings, not like furniture (figure 19). Because the wood's thin you can use it. There's more that goes to the rubbish dump than stays on the shelf." 339

Straka formerly had a collection of numerous varieties of rare and endemic woods. It collected dust since he didn't have time to care for it. He eventually sold some pieces and gave others away to fundraising sales of philanthropic organizations.

When Stewart Medeiros worked at Blair's he used monkeypod for the first two to three years. He claims to be the first turner in a commercial woodshop of that period to turn koa. When he began, he says, all the others were making monkeypod bowls. Koa bowls were only produced in the prison. The majority of bowls he turned through the years at Blair's were koa, but he also made some of milo and Norfolk pine. He cuts his own koa trees now, on private property near his home. The day preceding one of his interviews a neighbor had given him a Norfolk pine he had cut down in his yard.

Some of the woods Tommy Leong utilizes are: koa, monkeypod, true kamani, milo, 'iliahi, mango, yellow poinciana, and Norfolk pine. He says he obtains "very little" kou. The monkeypod he currently uses is all from Hawai‘i. Leong relates that people today associate monkeypod with the Philippines because of the numerous cheap bowls imported from that country. He says, "... monkeypod--it seems to me so many people get brainwashed about that. They feel monkeypod from Philippines. They think I'm using that from Philippines. No, no!"

Michael Dunne supplies Richard Howell with his wood. Howell says:

He [Dunne] collects a lot of wood; he uses a lot of wood. But he has a lot of things--I wouldn't call them rejects. But I just go up there. He likes my work; so I kind of just walk in and take what I want. It's not much. I do one piece at a time. It's a matter of whatever I feel comfortable with I take. I like the milo wood. I've been using that a lot.\(^\text{340}\)

Brian Takano primarily employs milo for his mass-produced items as well as for his art. He also uses driftwood.

Jim Kawamura employs milo and other woods that are available. The eleven and a half foot tall tiki in his living room and a taller one in the home of a Kea‘au resident are carved from a monkeypod log. Kawamura remarks that he arrived "right


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in time" as county workers began cutting a large tree felled by a windstorm near the highway. He notes a koa log that size would cost him "maybe five-hundred dollars."

Kawamura formerly carved tikis from hāpuʻu, but the tree ferns are too scarce now. The hāpuʻu that the Kawamuras do obtain is used to cultivate their anthuriums. At one time he also carved stone.

Among the woods Phil Hooten likes to use are milo, kauila, 'ōhiʻalehua, uhiuhi (when available), lama, and true kamani. He also carves whale ivory; beefbone; walrus and elephant ivory; black coral, when he can obtain it; and has one piece of hippopotamus tooth.

Mark Le Buse says the best wood to carve in the world is Turkish boxwood. In a 1956 Star-Bulletin story, written two years after he had arrived in Hawaiʻi, the craftsman indicated that he primarily carved milo, "Hawaiʻi's finest wood, next to sandalwood." He said, 'Monkeypod is popular but only a fair carving wood. Of course, the best is sandalwood--if you can get it at four dollars a pound.' Since that time Le Buse has experimented with many varieties of wood.

He obtained lignum vitae and other woods he liked from a "rubbish heap" he found on Sand Island where the debris from Paul Fujimoto's shop was dumped after his death in 1983. Recently Le Buse and Dan Cunningham sent for "big black

chunks" of African blackwood, "the blackest, hardest, heaviest and toughest of all the rosewoods." He feels fortunate to have acquired the scarce wood that is reserved for woodwind instruments.

In 1990 he acquired a "huge sandalwood stump" about seven feet long by four feet wide. He says, "It's been out of the ground for forty years laying in the sun. It's beautifully aged and gray." Another prize acquisition that year was a kou tree "harvested" from Kaimū Beach immediately prior to the destruction of the area by the lava flow. When the stump was dug out and the tree was hoisted up by a wrecker to put on a pick-up truck, it weighed a ton.

Le Buse wasn't surprised when he learned that the Bishop Museum temple image, T3 (7654) was actually breadfruit wood. He says he doubts that 'ōhi'a was ever used for traditional images because "you don't carve anything out of 'ōhi'a with stone tools." He explains, "You use a soft wood, you kind of beat the edge away and scrape it."

Tuione Pulotu says that 'ōhi'a isn't hard to carve if it isn't dried out. He used the material for the two tall images facing the highway in front of PCC and for the image in front of the hut by the bridge in the Hawaiian Village. He says the wood has a close grain and will crack if you put it in the sun and dry it too fast. The other images he carved for the Cultural center are monkeypod.
Casting Techniques and Materials

Don Gallacher believes that at one time Coco Joe's may have had the most sophisticated molds in the country. The initial casting processes were developed by artist Andy Kuhn and Gallacher, who learned about fiberglass resin when he was a tuna boat captain in San Diego. Later Ray Murray, experienced in ceramics production, altered the technique.

Kuhn would carve the model directly from a block of Hydrocal, a hard plaster compound, rather than from Plasticene, the clay favored by other artists. When Plasticene is employed, an arduous process is required to remove the clay from the plaster of Paris mold before a model can be poured. But even with Kuhn's faster method, it was only possible to produce eight to ten objects a day in the full-round molds because each piece had to be handled individually.

Molds for tiki key chains and similar items could be poured in a string, since they are "flat-backs." When Gallacher and Murray developed a "spin-casting" process for polyester resin, similar to the technique used for producing jewelry, around thirty pieces could be cast in three minutes. During the experimental phase of the process, Gallacher imported silicone from France because the catalyst they employed corroded the rubber molds.

When Ray Murray worked for Coco Joe's, he returned to the process of modeling the original full-round tikis or other
designs in modeling clay. This technique was followed by Joel Nakila. When the original model is completed, a "waste-mold" of plaster of Paris is taken, the clay dug-out, and a model of Hydrocal is poured. The production molds are PVC or silicone rubber.

Murray used the same modeling and casting technique for his animals sold at Liberty House, but his final product was cast in resin containing a filler of powdered marble dust.

Gallacher originated the idea of mixing lava sand, wood shavings and ground coral with various resins to produce the Lava, Hapawood, and Coralei lines. The use of these three elements appealed to him because "they're the only three things we've got in Hawai'i." Dan Kaufman says that formerly the product was heavier, since it was composed primarily of lava stone. In the seventies, Gallacher substituted plaster for resin, but found the new material too fragile.342

Observations

There seems to be little distinction between the tools, techniques, and materials employed today by Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian craftsmen. The majority of carvers in both groups say that they prefer modern to traditional tools because of their efficiency. Those few, however, who regularly use a modified traditional tool, the metal adz, claim the adz is

faster and more efficient. Their finished work indicates that comparable technical proficiency can be achieved with the tool. Three carvers interviewed, in addition to those who demonstrate at Hōnaunau, regularly employ a metal adz. Of these, only one, David Eskaran, is Hawaiian. Eskaran, who also uses Western tools, was introduced to the adz by a Maori master carver. The two non-Hawaiians, Richard Howell, a haole, and Tongan Tuione Pulotu both use the adz almost exclusively. A few of the other carvers use a metal adz occasionally when roughing-out large images and canoes. For most of the Hawaiian carvers, the adz was not an option when they began to carve since they became acquainted with Western woodworking techniques and power tools in shop classes at school.

Both Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian carvers and turners use indigenous traditional woods whenever they can obtain them. The Hawaiians, in general, are more motivated to do this for the sake of accuracy and to educate others regarding traditional materials. A number of the non-Hawaiians and some of the Hawaiians use indigenous woods because of their greater potential for sale.

The results of Kaeppler's study will be of great interest to many of the artists, both Hawaiian and Non-Hawaiian, who strive to use traditional woods for their images and will have an effect on the materials they choose in the future. The carvers will learn that their research in catalogs and
literature was often misleading and caused them to use the wrong wood for certain images. 'Ohi'a may be abandoned in favor of 'ulu when a Kū is carved, particularly since the breadfruit tree is plentiful in Hawai'i.

Needless to say, the process of obtaining materials and carving an image today is not restricted to a particular class of kahuna nor does it involve the extent of ritual that was practiced in the past. Ritual is still employed, however, by some contemporary Hawaiian carvers and the reader will learn that many of the artists' beliefs associated with the "traditional religion" persist and have a profound effect upon their art.
CHAPTER VIII
A LINK WITH THE PAST

The Continuation of Traditions

Rocky Jensen says fishermen used fishing gods and shrines for an indefinite period into the twentieth century. He relates that his great-grandfather, his grandfather, and his grandfather's brother carved and used stone fishing gods at Pelekunu, Moloka'i. During visits to the island when he was a child, Rocky would watch them tie these "little things" to a boat they used for fishing and onto spear gun spears. Two of the contemporary carvers interviewed indicate that they make fishing gods today (see the end of this chapter and Chapter IX).

Certain forms of sorcery and healing are still practiced by those who have been empowered with these gifts and a belief in 'aumakua is widespread, particularly on the outer islands of Moloka'i, Hawai'i, Maui, and Kaua'i.

Mary Pukui recalls her grandmother saying to her every day:

'Do you remember the place we went yesterday and the 'aumakua who guards it?' and then, three days later, 'Now, tell me again. What was the name of the 'aumakua? How far does his kuleana extend?'

I had to memorize all the family 'aumakua by name. We had 50. I had to know which ones would help in


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a certain problem; which ones to call on in another kind of trouble. . . .

Pukui states that only occasionally are the akua worshiped today. Lono was invoked before a 1971 public Hawaiian meeting and a publicity-minded practicing kahuna was known to pray to Lono in his healing art. Kahuna Sam Lono, now deceased, utilized images in his ritual.

Mary Pukui says,

In general, the Hawaiian who today retains, emotionally, if not intellectually, his old beliefs, also retains the division between the awesome and the approachable deities. The 'aumākua, not the akuas, remain the personally significant supernatural beings.

Today 'aumākua sometimes appear as departed ancestors, or take various forms, such as sharks, owls, lizards, and other creatures, or reside in rocks and flora as they did in the past; but as far as can be determined, carved images are no longer employed to invoke them. Nevertheless, images are created today by Hawaiian carvers in association with this belief to commemorate their ancestors or the ancestors of their patrons, or to serve in a guardian capacity outside a home.

344 Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, II, 55.
Occasionally, images are also carved for modern ritual such as those made for Makahiki ceremonies. This practice is considered by all but one of the carvers to be a recent revival rather than the continuation of a tradition.

Only Lanakila Brandt believes that the religious carving tradition was passed down from pre-contact times to the present generation. He states that one of his figure carving teachers was Kilipaki Kanaele, a kahuna kālai kiʻi in Kaimuki who also instructed others in the art. According to Lanakila, following "ka hālana kea," the great white tidal wave:

Many aspects of the culture really got smothered along with it. I wouldn't say that it [image carving] was totally dead, but everybody that was doing it just quit doing it because there wasn't the need for it. . . . It didn't die . . . As far as carving, the tradition of the kiʻis, I think it has always been done. I don't think there's anybody who really has it who is handing it out left or right because it's like the knowledge of the priesthood and our religion. . . ."

Lanakila explains that the knowledge of these traditions are not indiscriminately disseminated and are only taught to a select few. To substantiate his argument regarding the continuation of religious carving, he relates that he intends to carve a "major Lono kiʻi," around twenty-five feet high, for the central image of a Lono Temple on the Big Island. It will serve a ceremonial function for his religious group. Lanakila must complete a number of pending instrument orders
before he can take time to "go up and get the tree and bring it down." 346

An Inherent Legacy

In the introduction to his brief, poignant book, On Being Hawaiian, John Dominis Holt states, "We are links to the ancients: connected by inheritance to their mana..." Most of the artists who were interviewed maintain that following the cultural revolution, traditional religious carving "went underground" for a period of time and finally died. Although they do not believe that the religious carving tradition was transmitted to the present generation in a literal sense, a number of the carvers say that they have an inherent legacy to revive the art. They speak of instinctive behavior or of spiritual manifestations in dreams.

Lucia Tarallo-Jensen relates that Rocky's grandfather and his brother began carving saddles and thereby continued the tradition as they transferred the technical aspect of carving to another media.

Following the abolition of the kapu in 1819, Rocky states that formal religious carving "hold right in its tracks." Although he concedes that the knowledge was almost destroyed by Christianity and Western civilization, he believes the technique was "kept alive" by men who carved bowls and other

functional items for the ali'i. Rocky says that when the ali'i lost status and influence in Hawai'i and no longer functioned as patrons of the arts, Hawaiian carvers began exploiting their craft for commercial purposes. During this "transitional period" he believes an "instinctive force" caused them to continue carving trinkets, particularly during the nineteen-twenties, thirties, forties, and fifties.

According to Rocky and Lucia, Kâne "has allowed the light to remain lit until it was time to resurrect and revive this art." They believe that Rocky has been commissioned to accomplish this revival as a descendant of ali'i and a contemporary kahuna kālai ki'i, or master sculptor, by virtue of an inheritance of talents "from a strong genetic code, a family tradition from Moloka'i, and countless lifetimes of evolving 'selves.'" 347

When 'Imai Kalāhele is asked if he believes that the ancient carving tradition ended, he says he knows of no one who learned from his grandfather or from his father. "Not even Rocky," he says. "He learned on the mainland."

"Unfortunately," Kalāhele continues, "with our people we really got secretive with a lot of stuff to the point where it was better for it to die than to pass it on."

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Kalâhele believes that the ancient "imagery" is what has been perpetuated:

I think inherently some of us have imagery that, I don't know, that come out of our hands. That we tend to lean towards as opposed to being the other way.

You know, the first time I picked up baskets. First time I started ... making a basket, I was just trying to make a functional little basket. It turned into a piece of sculpture which started my thinking about our basket images, our feathered images, and all of the sculptural forms that we actually played with in our basketry. All of a sudden, wicker became very important to me. This whole basket image became important. It became old to me. It was like an old friend. It was like I knew these warps. When things would just kind of create itself because I twisted wrong here and did this there. It was like an old thing for me. Like I said, I taught myself how to make baskets. My technique's kind of bad. But it was that kind of a thing. It was like I had known this for a long time.

Like when I first made rope. As soon as I learned how to do it--it took me a little while to get to that point--but as soon as I learned how to do it, it was something that was with me for a long time. And that helped me in my sculpture in the sense that as a contemporary Hawaiian, I look at anything and say, 'Ah, is this a nice movement? Oh, this is a nice movement, let me go play with this.' But these things, the images come out of different places for me. And I think that's where it comes from. I think it comes from a history. I don't know if I've seen it before or if it's just something in the genes that hang out and burst when you meet things. I don't know. I know that I tend to hair, I tend to feathers, I tend to stone, I tend to baskets. I tend away from wood because I'm basically lazy. But I think that's where the arts part for all Hawaiians come from. I think it's kind of in us somewhere and once we start something these things start to happen and open the little doors back there and say, 'Hey remember this?'

But as far as learning it from any direct ...
Kalâhele also speaks of touching and working with wood as being "primal with us."  

Kanâk Napeahi expresses a similar idea, saying that carving was "instilled" in him. It "just kinda came out. . . . My ancestors were doing it."  

Bob Freitas is aware of the phenomenon, but takes a more scientific approach. He suggests that heredity is a factor:

... there are things that are inside of us just because of our blood lines that have continued to evolve. I think that is real true, because they've been proving it with genetic studies. You know how the different generations can retain things. Like you can have two or three or four generations--later a super artist coming out, you know, if you look at the long term.

So I think what 'Imai's saying basically about having these feelings about certain types of materials--working with certain types of materials—it really does come out from an earlier time that he's not aware of. Only because he's so removed from that maybe four generations ago, or five generations ago in his own family and nobody's done it since.

I look at my own grandfather, actually great-grandfather, who lived in Kalihi. When I look through the old history books in the archives, he was a woodworker. And I never knew that. 'Cuz see my grandfather and my father on both sides of my families never got into anything. . . . So they could never understand how come I was always into building things. Just naturally I liked to build things. Naturally talented with my hands—could put things together. And they said, 'Where do you get that skill from, because none of us had it and our parents didn't have it.'

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But then I said, 'Wow!' when I started finding out that my great-grandfather had that kind of skill and ability I said 'Woo, maybe there's something here.' And it does happen. . . . It could be an element of heredity. . . . It's somehow being projected. That's how come we can have a connection back to the old ways, because we're perceptive enough to allow those kinds of feelings and things to come forth. And it's something that can't be explained in many cases.  

Lucia Jensen maintains that her husband often responds to an "echo of the past" and instinctively performs certain traditional procedures automatically without any conscious intent. An example she cites is his persistent habit of peeling off thin layers of wood as he carves, and later sweeping up the wood shavings and burning them. After noting his behavior, she conducted research and discovered that there was traditional precedence for this practice. The wood was sanctified initially when an 'aumakua was to be carved; thereafter, the carving and wood by-products remained sacred and were burned.  

Jensen also receives direct inspiration in his dreams. He obtains some of the ideas for his work from an old lady, a kupuna, or ancestor, who appears to him as he sleeps. For instance, at one particular time he could not decide what to do. 

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do with a piece of wood. One night he received instructions in a dream:

I have this old lady come down the street. 'Auē, what you doing here, what's up?'
I said, 'I'm trying to use this piece of wood.'
And she goes, 'Oh, you know what I see, I see this and I see that, and you could really incorporate this idea.'

The next morning Rocky began carving Kauakahi, "the chief of the owl clan." When his father saw a photograph of the completed work, he informed Rocky that it was their "family totem," the totem of Rocky's grandmother. Rocky then realized that the kupuna was from his grandmother's clan.352

Another carver who attaches significance to dreams is Henry Hopfe. His interpretation of a dream changed the direction of his life. He gave up carpentry, became a carver, and began to understand and appreciate his Hawaiian culture:

In fact I had a dream in the house. I carved a club, like in the shape of a beetle. And to me it symbolized I left ten years before I got inaugurated--formed, inaugurated. After ten years I reawakened and I found out my Hawaiian part of me. 'Cuz all the time I guess I was just going through a maze. . . . did everything my parents told me, did everything, you know, survived--was a carpenter for twelve years. But I started realizing that, chee, there must be more to life than this, you know.

Following the dream he "didn't want to cut through Hawaiian land anymore. It was part of my new awakening."353

Lucia believes that Rocky's grandmother "instilled back into him" . . . "this Hawaiian thing" when he was a newborn infant.

After Rocky was born, his mother was bedridden with an infection. His father's mother, a kahuna, came to care for the child. Rocky's mother became upset when she realized that the grandmother was continually chanting over the baby and told her husband to ask his mother to leave.

Lucia thinks the grandmother "sensed something" in the baby at that time. "... because that's how Hawaiians pick you, from the time you are born."

Rocky's mother was upset, Lucia says, and rejected the Hawaiian part of herself because she had been "indoctrinated in doing things the Western way. She didn't want this to be a hindrance to them as they grew up.354"

Christianity and Hawaiian Beliefs

A number of Hawaiians belong to one of several Christian denominations and consciously suppress any reference to their Hawaiian past. Those who profess to be Christians often say

353 Interview with Hopfe, 9 Nov. 1987.

they do not subscribe to the old beliefs but they "respect" them. Many others find no difficulty incorporating elements of what they consider to be the traditional ancient religion with Christian tenets, such as referring to 'aumākua as "guardian angels."

The carvings in the new Bernice Pauahi Bishop Memorial Chapel at the Kamehameha Schools represent a deliberate attempt to enable viewers to associate "traditional" Hawaiian elements with Christianity. Non-Hawaiian carver Phil Hooten was commissioned to execute specific subjects in koa panels. The articulate Kahu at the school, David Kaupu, offers an interpretation of the symbolism of the art. Speaking of the panel of carved kāhili, he says:

The kahilis for our Hawaiian people were and are the emblematic symbols of royalty. It was only the royalty that were eligible to have kāhili. So that whenever you saw a kāhili, for example, in the days of the Hawaiian Kingdom, you knew that you were in the presence of the aliʻi, or the royalty. We here in this architectural scheme in our chapel have translated that feeling and sense of royalty with the royal nature of Jesus, the son of God. That he for us is our Lord. He's King of Kings and Lord of Lords and so we profess him in a royal sense.

He discusses the second panel that has a pattern of carved waves representing the ocean:

Hawaiʻi is, of course, an ocean culture, land as well as the people. The Hawaiian creation story of the Kumulipo makes the strong suggestion that creation for the Hawaiian began with the ocean or literally out of the ocean. And so that understanding of the ocean being the beginning of life, the ocean being the foundation of life, or even the
ocean as being synonymous with the creation is an understanding of our Hawaiian people. Now the so-called Christian application that we have given to that is that in Psalm twenty-four there is the reading of the words 'The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. For he has founded it upon the seas, and has established it upon the floods.' And that's a very so-called 'ocean culture' understanding. Our Hawaiian people could really get into that. And so that symbolism of the ocean affirms for us the Christian understanding of creation or the foundation of life.

The next carved panel represents the shark. He admits its relationship to Christianity may be "a bit tenuous":

The understanding is that the shark was one of the major forms of 'aumākua. The 'aumākua were defined as both ancestral deities as well as family gods. And so being that we are an ocean culture people, we use the symbolism of an ocean 'aumakua, the shark. Having done so, we then we apply the meaning of the 'aumakua to give it a kind of Christian application or Christian understanding. The understanding for us here at Kamehameha is simply that Jesus Christ is our family God. The God of Kamehameha School—-the Kamehameha family—and He is the God of the Christian family.

The final carved panel depicts Hawaiian Temple images. He explains:

What these images were, for our Hawaiian people of old, were the physical presence of the gods or the goddesses in whom they believed. They had a very important part in their own existence because these gods or goddesses affirmed for them the particulars of creation. Like the god of the wind. So whenever they would feel the wind, in a very real sense, they had a kind of mystical relationship with the god who had primary responsibility for the wind. And so they just carved out these images to remind them in a very physical sense that these are the gods that we adored, that we worshiped. And it also allowed
for them the sense of their own so-called religion or spirituality, wherever they were coming from.

The Christian application that we have given for that particular panel of the temple images is that we today, and even in our own chapel here at Kamehameha, we use images. I don't like to say 'idols,' but something like that. The physical things to remind us of our faith, of our religion, like the altar, for example, here in our chapel. On the altar we have the communion cup and the cyborium and those are images that remind us of the blood and the body of Christ shed for us. There's that image of the Bible that is there--the word of God. And, of course, there's that central image that stands high above the altar which is the central figure in our chapel and that is the cross. In terms of imagery, the cross reminds us indeed of God's love given for us in particular, and then all of us, the world in universal terms.  

Bob Freitas finds a conflict between Christianity and the ancient Hawaiian religion. He explains:

Christianity is a patrilineal religious structure. The Hawaiian religion is a matrilineal religious structure--if you categorize it. What that simply means is that the Hawaiian religion was based on the land--the 'aina--the things that are here: the ocean, the mountains, the way certain mountains come together, the way the skies come together, our natural environment. That is where the elements of the Hawaiian religion are. That's what you had to respect because that's what keeps you alive.

He believes that Christianity is more abstract than the Hawaiian religion:

Now in a Christian patrilineal religious structure there are very abstract ideas that can be easily disseminated to people irrespective of the physical environment that they're in. So that you
can have a religious structure of Christianity existing in the desert as well as existing in the tropics or existing in the Hawaiian Islands, for instance. And it was the conflict that really occurred between these two religious structures. Because Hawaiian people treated everything as being alive. That was energy. So they would respect everything. Really they had that kind of a relationship. They understood the balance.\textsuperscript{356}

Alapa'i Hanapi and Henry Hopfe don't recognize a conflict between the religions; they believe that Christianity and the ancient Hawaiian religion are the same.

Hanapi explains:

I think we all believe in the same thing. I'm open to all religions just about. . . . My wife believes in that kind [Christianity]. I find that I believe in everything. I walk outside there--ask my family. Everything is living. That's the thing about working with wood--that it was once a living thing and through my efforts and my gift I make it live forever.\textsuperscript{357}

Hopfe identifies himself as a Christian. He explains the old beliefs in terms of Christianity:

Actually religion is all the same. You believe in Christ, our Father, Jehovah. Actually, it's where it actually comes from. All cultures actually believe that there is a supreme being. It's the identifying him. Hawaiians, I guess, they perceived him when filled with anger so they labeled him, I guess, as Kū, because Kū would be destructive God. And then Lono would be the agricultural god so they believe in him. But they really didn't realize they was all one entity that they were getting the mana from. From Kū, this big light, Kane the water. But they didn't really know, they just kinda spread 'em

\textsuperscript{356} Personal interview with Freitas, 23 Jan. 1988.

\textsuperscript{357} Personal interview with Hanapi, 26 Jan. 1988.

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all out. Just like a lot of other primitive cultures. . . .

He believes there is one god and people were confused in the past thinking his different "essences" were other gods.

But now that I know and I recognize from meditation and prayer and stuff that we only got one, you know, one supreme God and it's just all these different essences that confused people back then. But now we're educated and read the Bible, the word, and all that.

Then all of that stuff, I don't take it literally, I just try to look for the meanings in the comments. A lot of time it's just words. And some things people just use different words to describe it and I go more by feelings—the essence what they're trying to actually capture instead of just taking the words, you know, literally.

He discusses the hà, or "breath of life," and the creative process:

... Because if you believe in God and Christ, I guess, are guided by the light or you have the breath or the hà, that's the difference between humans and animals. Because you have actually the spirit and the hà, the breath from the creator. Other than that, like I can create, I can make all kinds of stuff, but I can't make it breathe. So in a way I'm a creator. Kinda like playing God. But nobody can do the whole thing and like actually give the breath into a living animal—or a living being. And therefore, it's very important that I do believe in God.

Hopfe says that he compares evil spirits, such as those that emanated from Kālaipāhoa images, with Satan. He explains:

Positive and negative, yin and yang, good and evil, side by side from the beginning of time. 'Cuz that's actually life itself. Because if you didn't
know pain you wouldn't know happiness. You wouldn't have nothing to compare. Just like beautiful and ugly or whatever. If you didn't have, you know, beautiful, you wouldn't have ugly. . . .

You can either go this way or that way and so I look at good things as being from up there and bad ones as being from down there. And a lot of times the guy down there is just going to create all kinds of stumbling blocks. And it's up to you as a spirit­ual being. . . .

Because of this belief, Hopfe will not carve certain types of images. He speaks of Kamehameha's war god, Kūkā‘ilimoku, noting that its teeth indicate that it was used for sorcery:

Hawaiians say when you carve kiʻis like that with teeth, then the spirit can come. Always have to be careful and not carve that kind. I believe that. I think you do stuff like that, do some weird stuff, it's kinda like inviting trouble. A lot of spirits on the land is restless and want to take up the opportunity.

Hopfe tells of two experiences that convinced him he should not "tempt things." When he was a child, an imu was dug in the yard. His mother became ill and the doctors could not find the cause. She sought advice from a kahuna who told her that the uncovered imu was her grave. When a sheet of corrugated iron was placed over the hole she recovered. On another occasion, a large tree fell and narrowly missed his ex-wife and her friend when he accompanied them to visit a heiau.358

358 Personal interview with Hopfe, 9 Nov. 1987.
Alapa'i Hanapi does not fear the mana of images and says that he feels "perfectly comfortable" making ki'i for himself or for traditional occasions.

According to 'Imai Kalâhele, Hawaiians were afraid to look at the ki'i for a number of years following their conversion to Christianity. He explains that this is one reason their sculpture was so bad in the twenties, thirties, and forties.

Levan Sequeira recalls the reaction of his grandmother when he brought some kauila home:

I brought a piece of kauila wood home one time. My grandmother was in fits. Boy, she didn't even want it in the yard. 'That's bad.' I told her, 'Grandma, this is just a piece of wood. I'm going to carve it.'

Sequeira has brought home objects he found in shelter caves, but he doesn't like to take anything from burial caves. Nevertheless, he once removed a piece of sennit from one. He comments, "I knew that the sennit itself did not have that kind of significance. Certain things like that, you can feel it. You can feel when you can and when you can't."

Sequeira remarks:

Once Christianity came in, it destroyed the Hawaiian religion. And once you did that, like even me, my grandmother says, 'Well, don't carve Hawaiian stuff. Be careful of it.' All this kind of stuff. I went ahead and did it anyway. But that's the kind of thinking that came about. If it's not Christian, --then it's not acceptable. Actually, the
missionaries said that everything that was Hawaiian was evil. So Hawaiian art kinda just went psst. Stopped. 359

According to Kalāhele:

The more you stay away ... the less you remember and you know and the less you have to pass on. So you do that for a couple of generations and people don't know why. They don't know why they're afraid. They don't even feel they should examine.

He says that Hawaiians have a hard time "dealing" with his work, particularly if the media he employs includes materials with former ritual or religious significance, such as stone, feathers, wicker, or human hair. To prove that the materials are harmless today, he says, "Wait a minute. My children all have all their legs and arms and eyes and they're running around. Nobody's sick yet." He believes if there is bad mana, it did not emanate from the stone, or hair, or feathers. It came from man who put bad mana into the materials. "You know, we just give good mana," he comments, referring to Bob Freitas and himself.

‘Imai believes that mana is another word for spirituality. He says:

Religion, I don't know about religions, okay? I think what we're talking about when we're dealing with art is we're talking about spirituality. Spirituality really has no religions. And I think the word mana is the word spirituality. And I think that's what we do. I think we shake up the spirituality of people one way or another. We touch the

fibers of morality, you know. Is this tolerable to you? Is it not tolerable to you? ... getting back to the point when the first sculptures were actually things dealing with spirituality. I think that message in art has always been. Unfortunately, we've been taken over by a lot of entrepreneurs that kinda changed the spirituality around a little bit. 360

Fear of Rocks

Sequeira relates that he once wanted a stone at Mākena site on Maui: "There's a village site there that I saw a stone that I wanted to take out; so I slept on it that night and had a bad dream about it. So its still there. Somebody else'll take it out. Not me." 361

Kalāhele acknowledges that many Hawaiians fear rocks, believing they may be possessed of supernatural power. When he is asked if this is because of the mana associated with ki'i and stones, he replies, "No, "I think it's more because of Christian fear."

Kalāhele says that when he was a child he was not allowed to touch stone or bring it into the house. Bob Freitas had the same experience and would be scolded if he brought a rock home because he was brought up in a "Roman Catholic environment." Both artists employ stone in their work today.


Kalāhele relates that as an artist it was necessary for him to break away from "that fear of dealing with things that were ours." He explains what happened after he had overcome this fear:

As a sculptor . . . once I was able to deal with stone, once I was able to understand it for myself and it felt good, stones came to me. You know, people said, 'Well, where do you find your stones to carve?'

I said, 'I go to one favorite place.'
They said, 'Why?'

'Because the stones are clean and it's really easy to get to. . . . I mean when you got to carry stones, they better be easy to get to. But once I get there I have no problem. These guys come on and they bite my feet, man. You know, boom!

'Take me home.'
'Okay, I'll take you home.then.'
And I think that has to do with being Hawaiian.362

Bob Freitas accompanied Kalāhele several times to select stones. He describes his experience:

And when 'Imai had told me that about the pōhaku, the stones, just grabbing him. You know and then when I went with him a couple of times and they grabbed me, too. I thought 'Wo, this is kind of neat. . . . But again it's very, very difficult to explain those kinds of things. I can't explain why the rock came out and grabbed me. And there was really that feeling that out of thousands, really where we go there's just thousands and thousands and thousands. I mean, a normal person would get totally baffled by how many stones there are out there. And to have this one kind of just reach out and grab you and say, 'Wow, pick me up and do something with me. It's hard to explain.'363


Henry Hopfe also senses which stones he should choose, but he exercises great caution in the selection process:

So I don't really tempt things. I kind of go by feel. Like as a stone carver I don't just take any stones. I'm sure you've heard Hawaiian legends of people taking stones and weird stuff happened to them. So as a respect to the Hawaiian and as a human being, I respect the land and the stones and only certain ones I feel it's okay to take. Certain ones I get weird feelings, and certain places I just stay away.364

When choosing rocks, Rocky Asing follows certain procedures that he says are "the Hawaiian way." He explains:

Number one, one must ask permission. So what I do is I go to a kahuna which is up Captain Cook, Lanakila, or some other kahunas around the island, and I take my rocks to them and I get them blessed. And I get myself blessed.
And then I choose the rocks as far as I ask the rocks. I talk to the rock. I go the Hawaiian way. . . . I says, "Can I take you?" I put it on a platform higher and if I come back and that rock is on the ground then I don't take it and I put it back where it is.

Asing says he feels entitled to carve rocks because Hawaiians traditionally used them in the past:

Number two, I'm Hawaiian. That's my rock. You know what I'm saying? It's like my materials. Hawaiians before took rocks and made pottery and did whatever they had to--poi pounders. And they asked; they got it blessed.

364 Personal interview with Hopfe, 9 Nov. 1987.
Most of the carvers, including Asing, would never remove a rock from a heiau. Rocky explains, "And also it does matter where you get it from. Like if you get it from a heiau then you got trouble."

Asing believes that dire consequences might follow if one does not ask permission, or is not blessed, or removes a rock from a sacred resting place. He says "... if I send it to New York, which I have, I want to make sure that nobody gets hurt. I don't want to see the rock coming back. You know what I'm saying?"

His beliefs are similar to those of Henry Hopfe. Asing says he is a Christian and relates the evil spirits in rocks to demons. He refers to Revelations:

... I'm not really afraid of it because it's rock. But I'll tell you one thing, I do respect it, because if you believe in God, if you're Christian, you'll know that a third of the stars fell from the heavens and these third are demons and they're unnumbered. But the thing that you have to understand is you do not bring these spirits into your house and they possess anything. They can possess the rocks because back in Hawaiian days they did put a lot of spirits into rocks. So with bringing a rock into your house and not asking and not finding out what that rock is, you'd be in trouble. As a Christian, I respect that I do not bring demons into the house--they be from voodoo or kahuna or black magic or whatever.

Although Asing believes that one must respect certain traditions regarding rocks, he has had positive feelings about them since his childhood. He recalls, "I grew up with rocks.
I remember when I was young, I loved my walls. 'Cause I used to play in these walls like little tunnels and this and that."

Asing, like many Hawaiians, believes that rocks live. He also maintains that all things emanate from them:

I have respect for the rock itself and I talk to it. Because a rock is also a living thing and I believe in that. Because all things does come from the rock. Our gold, our minerals, the things we eat. There's dirt; our plants grow in it. A rock is a basic. It's the mother earth. The rock is everything—that's what I believe and it's always alive.

To prove that stones live, Asing tells a not uncommon story of a male and female rock that "gave birth":

... when I was young, my mom had a male rock and a female rock. And she put them on the bottom of this little fish bowl tank—a little round one. By the time I got out of high school I found out that this male and female was outside of the bowl. And it was on this little platter. And the fishbowl was filled with baby rocks all to the top of the fishbowl.

Asing attributes the Hawaiian fear of rocks to the "the lack of knowledge." He recounts an incident relating to a rock with three faces carved on its surface:

I was staying at the Royal Sea Cliff [hotel]. And I did it out there in the front of the Royal Sea Cliff. And everybody was scared of it so they called the people to come out and get it—pick it up... All the local people that works there they were real scared of it... They was all so scared of it they covered it; they didn't want to look at it.

But when I told everybody I made it and what it's supposed to be they kinda loosened up. They put it on display in the front lobby for a few months. And
then I came to pick it up because I only left it there a few months.

So convinced were the local people of the mystical qualities of the rock, when Asing removed it "... everybody was scared. They thought it walked away."365

Kalāhele has devised a number of positive modern applications for traditional beliefs. One of them concerns stones. Today in addition to carving stone, he has stones in the bedroom, the living room, and outside the house; and all of his children have "pet stones." Although Kalāhele is comfortable with stones, many of his Hawaiian acquaintances only associate rocks with evil spirits. Mary Pukui speaks of "affectionate stones" that help people, but all Hawaiians do not seem to be aware of their potential for good.366

He relates an incident about taking his "family stone" to a friend in the hospital who had broken his neck. The rock did not come from his ancestors, he says, but was one he had found. It had been present at the birth of each of his children:

Well, sometimes I will let people have this stone for awhile, because it's a way for me to transfer my mana into something tangible so that they can have it to stop their suffering. But I have been cursed as being blasphemous, I have been almost booted out of hospitals... The last time it happened this friend of mine broke his neck and was paralysed at that time from

365 Telephone interview with Asing, 16 July 1990.

366 Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, II, 179.
the chest down. And he called me up one night. He was having fevers and hallucinations and he was talking about the kiapulō—kiapulō are negative spirits to Hawaiians—about how they were attacking him.

So I came down—he was my brother—and I left him something of me. . . .

After Kalāhele went home, his friend's mother arrived and discovered the stone in her son's hospital room. The next morning when Kalāhele returned, the mother, her pastor, and the injured friend's sisters, aunts, and uncles were there. "They were all talking about how Snake came in last night and gave him a stone."

According to Kalāhele, the mother reacted negatively "because things had happened to her when she was young that were attributed to the old ways. So she had strong negative things plus the Christian paranoia that this must be evil because it is not Christian."

Kalāhele resents the first missionaries who brought Christianity to Hawaiʻi, not only for their "racist attitude," but because the introduced religion created "anti-Hawaiian feelings by Hawaiians. . . Some of our bigger fights within our communities now happen to actually stem from these kinds of things."

A curious aspect of the Hawaiian fear of stone is the transmission of this fear to non-Hawaiian tourists. Each year hundreds of rocks are returned in the mail to the Volcano National Park, The Place of Refuge, and other locations in
Hawai'i by mainland visitors who have reconsidered their decision to remove them in the first place. Notes accompanying the returned stones may recount a series of unfortunate events that have befallen the individuals or their families. Sometimes a detailed description or map of the terrain is included with instructions to replace the rock in its precise former resting place.

Outside the administration office at Hōnaunau, employee Sophie Gomes piles the returned stones in one area. The mound is referred to as "Kilipaki's Heiau," (figure 54) named after Gilbert Tanaka, former Chief Ranger at the site. (Kilipaki is the Hawaiian name for Gilbert.)

Superintendent Jerry Y. Shimoda emphasizes that tour guides, not rangers, tell visitors that they will be subject to the curse of Madame Pele, the volcano goddess, if they take home rocks. Russ Apple, former Superintendent, claims that the superstition was originated by Park rangers who wished to enforce the policy that native materials should not be removed from National Parks. When Apple began working as a ranger in 1951, his co-workers at the Park were telling visitors in their talks that "Hawaiians believe it is unlucky to take rocks."

Mardie Lane, a ranger at Kilauea Volcano Center at Hawaii Volcanoes National park confirms Shimoda's statement that rangers today don't tell the legend to visitors. When asked by tourists if the curse is authentic, Park rangers say "no,"
Fig. 54. Kilipaki's Heiau, named for Gilbert Tanaka, former Chief Ranger. Returned rocks outside Administration Office, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau, Hawai'i.

Fig. 55. Stewart Medeiros holds calabash with Diamond Head image that mysteriously appeared. (Lower right of bowl.)
since "no oral tradition has been discovered to substantiate it." Nevertheless, Lane says that Hawaiians in the volcano area showed respect for the rocks by asking permission to take them and by making appropriate sacrifices when stones were needed for their walls.

The ranger remarks that the rocks never look as good at home on a desk as in their natural environment. She says the law is the "best motivator" and comes from the "universal idea" that the land belongs to everybody. "It's based on respect for the land." She offers advice to "take only pictures and leave footprints." Unfortunately, "rock hounds" among the two million visitors to the park each year take home large quantities of lava rock and are actually altering the appearance of popular scenic trails and sites.

According to Lane, in 1977, a reporter from The Inquirer interviewed a ranger and wrote a story about the rock superstition. When it was printed, numerous stones were sent from all over the mainland as well as other parts of the world. The article is reprinted annually and each year when this occurs there is an enormous increase in the number of rocks mailed back to their former home on the Big Island.

A prominent display at the Kilauea Volcano Center consisting of returned rocks and letters that accompanied them was removed by Lane who felt that the exhibit encouraged people to take home more rocks. Further, she received angry
letters from individuals who had returned rocks and later learned that their letter was not included in the display.\footnote{Personal interview with Mardie Lane, 25 July 1989.}

The day Mardie Lane was interviewed, thirty boxes of rocks and two packages containing Coco Joe's tikis arrived in the mail at the Volcano Center. The figurines were discarded, but the stones were placed in piles with other returned rocks at the rear of the main building.

The following letter was included in a package accompanying rocks that were returned to one of the National Parks in Hawai‘i:

Dear Sir,

I am returning the Lava Stones I took home as nice souveniers [sic], from the Big Island, in hopes that the curse that goes with them will be removed. I certainly believe in your Madam Pele now. I did not get them from the . . . but found them elsewhere on the Island. The perfect round one was found at the blow-hole at the Keauhou Golf Course, and we laughed and called it Madam Pele's golf ball. We aren't laughing anymore.

Early in 1982, we lost my husband's mother to cancer. Within a week, my best friend died suddenly from a brain tumor. Shortly after, my own mother was murdered in her bed. We had a bankruptcy [sic] in a business we were involved in. Then to top it all off, another member of my family is facing many years in jail, if convicted, for a charge that we believe him to be innocent of. We've had it, and I'll enjoy the Lava more on the ground in Hawaii than in my home.

Yours Truly, and with great respect for your Madam Pele Legends.\footnote{Anonymous letter from individual returning lava rocks to Hawai‘i, n.d. Copy of letter in possession of author.}
A more subtle message follows:

To whom it may concern:

When I visited . . . recently I picked up two stones on the grounds. I usually do this when I visit unusual places and keep them in my collection as souvenirs.

After my return home I had a discussion about volcanos, etc, and I was told it was not proper to take anything from areas of this type.

In the event this holds true of . . . and not wanting to offend anyone I am returning the 2 rocks with apologies.

My name is not important--but my intentions are.369

Russ Apple has observed Hawaiians working with stone. He says that when a good rock mason is building a wall or a platform and he sees a void, he will look in the stockpiles for a suitable stone. After mentally turning it he will try the rock in the void. If the stone doesn't fit, he will put it aside and try it again later in another place. The third time it is tried, if the rock still doesn't fit, it is considered to be "bad" and is placed in the inner-core rubble of the wall. Apple has also noticed that Hawaiians building and rebuilding an ancient structure recognize that some rocks have more mana than others and put them in particular places.370

369 Anonymous letter from person returning two stones to Hawai'i. Copy of letter in possession of author.

Modern Ritual

Some of the carvers make implements and ki`i for contemporary revivals of traditional ceremonies and religious practices. Kanak Napeahi and Tom Barboza carve "kapu sticks," "walking sticks," or "kahuna sticks" for Makahiki and hula festivals. They are used, according to Napeahi "for ceremony and for keep out evil spirits. And they also use that in chants. Also in the house, protect people, ward off evil spirits." Candace Barboza relates that at hula festivals kapu sticks are sometimes employed to "kapu" a particular area that may not be entered.

On a boat trip to a Kaho'olawe Makahiki in the early eighties, Kanak Napeahi says he carved a miniature reproduction of a canoe with a head of Lono on the prow. Following the Makahiki ceremony it was released in the ocean as a ho'okupu. He says, "when the winds came, the waves took it out into the ocean towards keala Kahiki, meaning the path to Tahiti."371

Alapa'i Hanapi says, "I'm a traditionalist. I believe strongly in the beliefs of my people. I follow the old traditions. It's a lot more easier and simpler for the soul. . . ." Hanapi makes contemporary traditional ki'i for ceremonies. He carved a Lono-makua for Kaho'olawe's Makahiki

festival. The image was used to reclaim the land and to bring rain to the dry island. He made others like it to be used for the Makahiki games on Moloka‘i and one for Sam Lono, the O‘ahu kahuna who was, according to Alapa‘i, "the last of the priestly lines."

When he carves a ki‘i, two procedures that he says are traditional must be performed last:

When you make a ki‘i, there's two things you have to do in order to prepare the ki‘i to receive the god. The god can only come in the ki‘i when certain things are done. And the two things that a kahuna kālai ki‘i did in order to prepare that image for the god to come into it was the piko [navel] cut and you put the pupū inside the eyes.

He relates that the last cut made, the piko cut, and the shell eyes bring life and "the essence" to the image.

Hanapi prefers carving at night when his daughters are sleeping because "the gods are closest then." He says, "We call that 'wana'ao.' Time for when the gods come out."372

Rocky Jensen carves during the day. Before he begins work in the morning, he intones a Hawaiian chant "to break the morning, to speak to the ancestors; to let them know that we're going to be in a one to one communication." In the evening "a night prayer is the last thing that leaves, because

that also opens my mind while my body is at rest—to also com-
municate with my moe'uhane, my dreams.”

Kanak Napeahi carved a Ku‘ula-kai at a secluded fishing
site in Halapē. It was not a commission. He says, "I just
felt the urge and I did it." He explains the purpose of the
fishing god: "Used for when you catch fish you put the fish
in front of the god. It's a fish god. The more fish you
catch, you know. In other words, you always have fish if you
pay homage to this god." When he is asked if the procedure
is effective, he replies, "Oh, yes. If it wasn't for Kū, I
probably would have died. If I never did that I probably
would have starved. Had a lot of fishes--a lot of
lobsters."373

‘Imai Kalāhele and Bob Freitas say that they are inter-
ested in reintroducing Hawaiian ritual. They adapt certain
traditional customs to suit contemporary circumstances. For
example, they sometimes include an ‘awa ceremony at their art
shows (see Chapter VI).374

Kalāhele is also interested in creating public sculpture
that may be used for ritual by Hawaiians. He has submitted
drawings for "ritualistic sculpture" for the projected
Hawaiian Studies complex at the University of Hawaii--Manoa

373 Personal interview with Napeahi, 15 July 1989.
Campus. Kalāhele laments the lack of opportunities for ritual available to Hawaiians today:

I've used, I think, ritualistic, you know, use, for something other than 'one per cent of this building's got to be poured into something; so let's give it to Pope and he'll put together some copper things and we'll look at it forever and go, 'Oh!' 'Cuz I think there's a lack of rituals. Just something and some places for people to do something. We're too complacent with buildings and things.

Kalāhele would like to see sculpture that is more accessible to the public:

We Hawaiians like to leave things to people. We like to put a lei someplace. We like to do these kinds of things. Really no places to do that. What do you do, you put it on the doorknob. So you go find some statue. When nobody's looking, you put it on them, you know. [Kalāhele refers to the bronze statue of Kamehameha who stands with his right arm outstretched in front of the old Judiciary Building, Ali'iolani Hale, on King street in Honolulu.] Because I think that's the one nice thing I like about the statue is that when people feel something important, those people will go to that and make it important. They'll put a lei on and you say 'O, wow! This must be something important!' And I think that's one of the basic uses of sculpture. And I think that has been lost, kind of. To where you have sculptures that says, 'don't touch, smell, look, feel, don't take no pictures, don't breathe on it.' Oh, wow, then why do you put 'em over here, man? Oh, specially in public places. Aren't you supposed to touch public things, man?  

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Non-Hawaiian Carvers and Hawaiian Beliefs

Because he has worked extensively with Polynesian themes and was married to a Hawaiian, Phil Hooten feels close to the culture. He tells of the confirmation he received following the selection of a name for his home:

I named the place "Maka'io" because I figured that was the eye of God. . . . and at the same time its the eye of the hawk. So I had that name. The day before I decided on the name I was down in Hauleula and a hawk came by and landed on this vine support and locked right at me. I told my Hawaiian friend what had happened and he said 'Pololei hō'ailona kēlā.' Hō'ailona is a signal from the supernatural. 376

According to Stewart Medeiros, a unique feature of his bowls are "images" that sometimes appear as the wood is turned. "Hawaiian scholars" who have observed them tell him he possesses mana. An example may be seen in figure 55. Medeiros says that the image of Diamond Head he displays miraculously appeared as he turned a calabash and also reappeared when he created a Liliʻuokalani pedestal jewelry box. He explains, "I was born beneath the slopes of Diamond Head. That's the tie." An eagle with a sickle in its beak could be discerned in the top calabash of the Liliʻuokalani ʻumeke designed for Gorbachev, and a "guard and castle" within the Queen of England's ʻumeke. Among other images that have

376 Personal interview with Phil Hooten, 26 July 1989.
spontaneously emerged are likenesses of an orchid and hibiscus blossom, a butterfly, "a Hawaiian crab," the word "he" beside a skull, a "swami," mountains and pine trees, and Donald Duck.

Some of the non-Hawaiians prefer not to carve images of Hawaiian gods. Chris Sorensen relates that he made tikis initially because "I did whatever I had to do." He says:

I made some tikis, but not very much. I didn't feel comfortable really with replicating Hawaiian gods. Made this fella uncomfortable doing it; so I didn't make very many. It was a symbol. The Hawaiians used to pray to them and that's up to them. That's their business. I'm a Christian. It just didn't fit. And I never really felt very comfortable; so I stopped making them a long time ago. \(^\text{377}\)

Jim Kawamura has no such feelings regarding tikis but realizes that some Hawaiians fear them. Kawamura relates that carving and looking at tikis affords him genuine pleasure.

Kawamura remarks:

Like Hawaiians they don't even want to bother with tikis. They're really superstitious. Oh, they have nothing to do with tikis. . . . But me, I want it for my pure enjoyment. Some people think that guy's crazy--got a tiki in his living room. \(^\text{378}\)

Brian Takano says he used to get sick when he carved tikis. He relates, "I had a lot of fears that I shouldn't be carving these." He realized, however, that he was not making a tiki for the same reasons as a kahuna and says: "I'm

\(^\text{377}\) Telephone interview with Sorensen, 2 July 1989.

making something to make a living. They had tikis for prosperity, good crops. In other words, the Hawaiian philosophy cannot go against me wanting to survive." Nevertheless, when he became sick he believed that there was a personal reason. Takano decided that he should better himself and says, "When I did it I didn't get sick."379

Stewart Medeiros believes that tikis brings bad luck. He says that he tried to convince Dan De Luz to stop carving them:

He's real good, a good artist, but he was not turning bowls. In the old days, all he did was pig trays and tikis. Then he came along and saw my work and I told him, 'The money is in calabashes, Dan.' So he went to calabashes. Calabashes have a lot of good luck. Tikis, we have bad luck. . . . I told him I know stories of bad luck with tikis.

Stewart remarks that Dan became convinced tikis brought bad luck, too, after Nixon and Agnew visited his Big Island shop: "Nixon and Agnew came down and bought a whole batch of tikis. Within six months Watergate came. Dan came and told me the story."380

Returning to the Past

Some of the Hawaiian artists resent the intrusion of white society and the destruction of their former culture,

379 Personal interview with Takano, 28 May 1988.
and long to return to the past. Henry Hopfe says of an artist who claims to be more Hawaiian than Henry because he is not a Christian:

I tell him, 'Why you drive a white man's van? Live in white man house? Let me go cut your pipe outside, your water pipe. You walk up the mountain, you carry your calabash and you bring home your water for your family. An you like flush the toilet down. You go bring couple buckets... You can be ridiculous. Tell him, 'You go walk to town. You true Hawaiian, brah, get rid of your van. You get one canoe. You walk to town every time you like go. That's one true Hawaiian.' But does that really make you Hawaiian—if you walk?"381

Kana'e Keawe says he thinks of himself "as being kind of a unique person." He says, "I've got a foot in the old world and a foot in the very technological moving modern world of today. I think maybe that's the best solution for me. I don't know if it could be the best for somebody else." Because of his work, Kana'e is aware of "all of the developments that are coming onto the island; so I see our lifestyle get impacted." When asked if he is troubled by the changing Hawaiian lifestyle, he replies:

I think I've got to compromise because I realize that our young people have to have jobs to survive. . . . But I realize the modern world has to subsidize my traditionalism. And if I can take from one and feed the other, I guess that's the Robin Hood in me.

381 Personal interview with Hopfe, 9 Nov. 1987.
Returning to the past is impossible, he says, and admits he would not want to go back:

There's no going back. It's impossible. It's utopic. For those people who'd like to go back they would have to be making tapa clothes and ti leaf sandals. . . . Get rid of their cars and walk everywhere. Who wants to do that? We're soft and cushy. It's very idealistic to want to go back.

Keawe considers that he has the best of both worlds. He says, "That's why I make do with the best of both. And I enjoy it; it's okay."\(^{382}\)

Rocky Jensen believes it would be a mistake to attempt to return entirely to the past and revive the former heiau ceremonies associated with carving. He remarks, "I don't want to live this way." What Jensen would like to do is "recapture the confidence and natural ability, the spiritual ability in which they used to create."\(^{383}\)

Observations

The Hawaiians of the present generation seem to have overcome many of the fears expressed by their parents and grandparents relating to the images and gods associated with the "traditional religion." This new freedom allows the artists to engage in modern and traditional ritual, to use

\(^{382}\) Personal interview with Keawe, 15 July 1989.

\(^{383}\) Personal interview with Jensen, 28 May 1988.
formerly restricted materials, and to create images once again of 'aumākua and certain akua. This freedom, still in the process of emerging, also enables an Hawaiian audience to view the images without apprehension.

The artists extol the virtues of their culture, identify with their Hawaiian past, and want their children to appreciate and learn about their heritage. But most are unwilling to relinquish the material luxuries bequeathed them by the Western world.

The non-Hawaiians artists express two diverse viewpoints: either they are deeply affected by Hawaiian spiritual beliefs and values or they totally reject them. Surprisingly, this is true not only of local people but of tourists, as typified by their response to the Pele legend.

Lanakila Brandt claims that he perpetuates the continuous tradition of the kahuna kālai kiʻi today. Other Hawaiian artists do not believe the religious carving tradition continued but acknowledge that they possess inherent tendencies to carve. Speaking of the state of Hawaiian carving following the cultural revolution, Alapaʻi Hanapi says, "I wouldn't say it was pau [terminated], but there is a broken line. It's carried down through the 'aumākua."

The comments made in the interviews with Hawaiians related to the topics included in this chapter confirm the persistence of "traditional" Hawaiian beliefs, even when they are deliberately suppressed by the individual or by outside
forces such as various denominations of Christianity. It is, therefore, not surprising to discover that many of the artist's motifs have religious implications or reflect a strong affinity for the culture.
Chapter IX

MOTIFS OF CONTEMPORARY HAWAIIAN ART AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE TO THE ARTISTS

General Characteristics of Motifs

Many of the Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian artists carve replicas or reproductions of traditional artifacts using Bishop Museum objects or museum catalogs and art books for reference. Some of the carvers learned to appreciate Hawaiian art and taught themselves to carve by studying the traditional objects in museums, catalogs, and books.

The reproductions are seldom exact and reflect the artists' style, individuality, and the limitation of their materials. The carvers intentionally include their own interpretation of the reproduction or deliberately revise dominant features of the prototypes, sometimes combining details from two or more images. If motifs from different images are synthesized, an attempt is made to chose a compatible form and remain within the same style. The unique beauty of Hawaiian art is appreciated and the craftsmen want to preserve its integrity. Only one artist deliberately incorporates more than one culture in a single work of art. The carvers at the Polynesian Cultural Center have a tendency to merge artistic traditions and materials since they work together in the Maori Village. The distinctive art forms of the different cultures,
however, are maintained in the permanent carvings situated in the Hawaiian and Maori Villages.

Many of the Hawaiian artists are motivated to execute replicas and reproductions of traditional objects solely to perpetuate their culture and educate Hawaiian youth. Most of the non-Hawaiians make the objects for financial gain.

Adaptive art is prevalent, traditional motifs are adapted for jewelry and apparel as well as for novel use in homes and gardens.

The art of Hawaiians is characterized by spiritual values as well as forms unique to Hawai‘i. Some art is still produced in a religious context, such as carving Kū‘ula kai, ‘aumākua, and Lono Makua for Makahiki ceremonies.

Most of the carvings by Hawaiians are representative rather than abstract. Subjects depict gods, demigods, heroes, or historical figures as well as recognizable traditional forms such as Hawaiian fishhooks, poi pounders, and variations of kiʻi and ‘umeke. Political statements are sometimes expressed in the art of Hawaiians, and occasionally ecological issues are explored. Popular political themes are the reawakening of the Hawaiian people and the plight of Hawaiians following their exploitation and domination by haole individuals and institutions. The relationship of Hawai‘i to other Polynesian groups is another topic that interests Hawaiian artists. The titles they select for their work are generally self-explanatory, allowing little scope for the
imagination of viewers. Although this could indicate the artists' lack of experience or interest in Western art establishment practices, it may be a deliberate device to ensure that the theme will not be misinterpreted. The artists may believe that their educational goals or political statements will have a better chance of being realized if they select explicit titles for their work.

A few of the Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian artists employ original innovative motifs that relate to Hawai‘i and one utilizes symbols that bear universal implications.

Thick bowls are manufactured for the tourist market and local residents who prefer them or can't afford thin-walled 'umeke. Thin-walled bowls are turned for collectors and wealthy tourists and residents.

When examples of commercial tikis were compared with photographs of traditional images, in every instance, a Hawaiian prototype for the contemporary form could be readily identified.

**Hawaiian Artists**

Sean Browne does not create representative sculpture, nor does he bestow literal titles on his work. His abstract sculpture, however, often reflects Hawaiian values with greater impact than more obvious symbols.

**Spirit Way** is a dramatic bronze sculpture, commissioned by the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, situated
above a flight of steps leading from the main parking lot to the Diamond Head Campus of Kapi'olani Community College in Honolulu (figure 56). Browne relates that he was thinking of the idea of a gateway or an entrance way, something that had existed throughout civilization, as in early castles or entrances to cities. "At one point in time," he says, "they functioned as a protective barrier as well as a welcoming kind of symbol." He notes that in Japan they have entrance ways to castles but they also have torii, gate-like structures associated with a spiritual entrance to the shrine itself. Browne says he was impressed by the concept of something that could be symbolic as well as functional. The idea seemed to be suitable for the campus entryway for visitors, students, and faculty. The sculptor met with the advisory board, comprised of representatives from the college, and convinced them to approve of the location where he believed the sculpture could function both practically and symbolically.

When asked if the sculpture has a Hawaiian connotation, Browne replies, "Sure, look at the outline of it. It kind of reflects the volcano. . . ." He says that although it does not represent a symbol of Hawai'i's culture, "It's a celebration, in a sense, of the environment of Hawai'i's lifestyle, being that it's outdoors, sort of thrusting up to the sky--the heavens." He can also relate it to the form of a Hawaiian two-part fishhook. A Polynesian artist from New Zealand told
Fig. 56. Sean K. L. Browne. *Spirit Way.* Bronze. 18' x 2' 6" x 7' 9". Kapi'olani Community College—Diamond Head Campus, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

Fig. 57. Sean K. L. Browne. *Hui,* 1983. Bronze. 4' x 6' x 6'. 1001 Bishop Square, Honolulu, Hawai'i.
him that the sculpture "evoked something in her." She saw "fingers lifting up to heaven."384

Browne tends to think in universal terms that include Hawai‘i, rather than limiting his focus to the Islands. He says that he embraces the Hawaiian culture, but it is not his single standard. He remarks:

I think I'm an artist. I'm Hawaiian. I'm a native Hawaiian artist. That's what I am. . . . I think what I do is a response to what I have experienced in my life. I've been born and raised here. That's been part of my experience. . . . I've done college work on the mainland. I've been lucky and fortunate to travel around the world to both Europe and Japan. So, I mean, that's all in my work.

Browne's bronze sculpture Hui, situated at 1001 Bishop Square, exemplifies this all-embracing philosophy. He describes it as "a formal arrangement of two right angles developed a little further to make it more human" (figure 57). Browne relates that when he conceived the idea for the work he felt that two parts uniting would be an appropriate symbol, since hui means, among other things, a union and a coming together. He says the sculpture could represent "a coming together at many different levels."

When asked if he is thinking of the unification of the Hawaiian people, Browne replies that if he were to really think about it, he is sure "part of it's in there." He adds

that it doesn't necessarily have to be Hawaiian but could refer to all people.\textsuperscript{385}

A radically different depiction of a similar theme may be observed in the Peace Pole, a forty foot "tiki", that stands in a park below the Kona Country Fair gift shop at Hōnaunau, Hawai‘i (figure 58).

Big Island carvers Tom Barboza and Kanāk Napeahi and others helped Maori artist Shane Stevens carve the Waimea cypress tree that was transported to the Hale Halawai pavilion in Kona. The project, conceived by Stevens, was completed in a week to commemorate Ho‘olako 1987, the year of the Hawaiian, and "the dawning of a new age." The Hawaiian carvers say it was also carved to celebrate the harmonic convergence of the planets. Topped by a "big crystal" it incorporates over eighty images or symbols of creation in a totem-type tiki. The manager of Kona Country Fair, Tom Jones, who resides in a tree house in the parking lot adjacent to the gift shop, purchased the tiki from Stevens and hauled it to his park, installing it in a twelve foot bed of concrete. Jones explains that the carving represents the people of the world.

The images carved on the pole are identified by Pacific Museum Studios, Wai‘ōhinu, Hawai‘i (from top to bottom):

\begin{quote}
Three Dolphins (Three Quartz Crystals) Transcending Peaceful Beings
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{385} Telephone interview with Browne, 1 December 1988.
Fig. 58. (left)
Shane Stevens, Kanâk Napeahi, Tom Barboza, and others. Peace Pole. 44'.
Cypress. In park area of Kona Country Fair, Captain Cook, Hawai'i.

Fig. 59. (below)
Bob Freitas. Detail of That which is within must never be forgotten . . . for it is the Essence of us all. Teak, pōhaku, rope, composition wood base. 60" x 24" x 24".
Sperm Whale, Higher Intelligence
Sun & Moon (Indigo Lapis)
Maile Lei, Gift of Peace
Spiraling Kundalini Energy (Blue Turquoise)
Turtle, Grandmother Earth
Androgynous Deity
Bird Priests
The Hundreth Monkey
Mother Earth (Rose Quartz)
Faces of the World Ethnic Groups
Shiva (Bronze) in niche
Madame Pele (Citrine-yellow Quartz)
Pyramid
Ankh, Eternal Life
Lovers (Orange Carnelian)
Gecko
Lotus, Ultimate Enlightenment
Hawaiian Deity
Kalaua, [sic] Hook Symbol, Hawaiian Royalty
Human Embryo
Double Helix, DNA Molecule, The Beginning of Life
Rabbit, for Year of Rabbit
Double Trinity, As Above So Below
Ti Leaf
Seed of Life & Om, First Seed, Syllable of All Sounds
Hands of Peace
International Peace Symbol
Taro Leaf
Phoenix, Winged Heart
Infinity
The First Peaceful Man

Listed also are "Additional Symbols to be Discovered on the Spirit Pole":

Volcano, Musical Staff, Seven-note Scale, Easter Island Image, Moray Eel, Heaven & Earth, Yin & Yang, Negative & Positive, Man & Woman, Sacred Circle, The Cross, Seed, Third Eye, Wave of Bliss, Hopi Indian Cross, Star, Petroglyphs, Eagle, U.F.O., I Ching, Peace Symbol, Tree of Life, Venus--Goddess of Love (New Zealand Greenstone), The Flame of Light, Earth and Living Plants, Heart (jade), Angel, Sea Shells, Visible-Invisible Man, Lion Mandala, Dove, Wizard, Fish, Shaka [a contemporary hand sign used in Hawai'i with thumb and small finger extended, signifying that all is well], Family Symbol, Pueo [Hawaiian short eared owl], Indian Peace Pipe,

Ron Barboza, who worked on the Peace Pole for a short time, relates that the local clergy accused the artists of "idol worshiping" and "erecting demi-gods and all these things. But it was just artwork."

Stevens, a New Zealand artist, spent a year on the Big Island. In March 1988 his carvings were exhibited in a Hilo show entitled Mana of the Trees: where wood flows and spirits dance. He also carved another forty foot Peace Pole for the University of Hawaii-Hilo Campus Ho'omalu Hia Peace Festival. This "Peace Missile," carved in eight days from a Kona oak tree, was dedicated May 1, 1988 and stands near the entrance to the campus library. Stevens is quoted in reference to the Peace Pole in a Hawaii Tribune-Herald article: "My contribution is carving the pole, which is like a 40-foot acupuncture needle healing the island and the planet." The artist carves with chain saws and utilized twenty-five gallons of gas and an equal amount of oil for the project. Stevens describes the completed carving: "It's all organic. It looks a lot like

386 "'Spirit Pole:' An Offering to Hawaii and her Peoples," TS. Pacific Museum Studios, Wai'ohinu, Hawaii'i.
flowing, liquid lava." An earlier Tribune-Herald article refers to the style of Steven's work: "His style is considered contemporary Polynesian and evokes strong feelings for the many diversified cultures of the Pacific Nations." Steven's goal "is to put healing poles all over the planet for love, peace and truth."

Another advocate of art with a message is Bob Freitas. He considers the commissioned sculptures that he did in the seventies to be "very avant garde" and "the leading edge type of art." He recalls that he was "characterized as a contemporary sculptor" who did "modern things."

When he is asked if it was Hawaiian art, he says, "Yeah, it was Hawaiian because I'm a Hawaiian person and therefore it was Hawaiian, although I didn't classify it. I didn't label it." He later recognized a need to label his work. He says, "To label myself even."

Freitas remarks, "What I eventually realized was that there was a lot more to art. It should have a lot more meaning. So I started really questioning what am I doing all


my art for?" After he met 'Imai Kalâhele, Freitas realized that "the art really is a reflection of the people--the culture of a place. That's what it amounts to."

The art school training of Freitas is apparent in his disciplined technique and in some of the materials he utilizes such as bronze, cast aluminum, and marble. Although his sculpture would be classified fine art, his current orientation and the titles of his work suggest Hawaiian community art.

That which is within must never be forgotten, ... for it is the Essence of us all (Figure 59) is from Bob's Ritual Series, so named because a number of the pieces serve specific functions.

The sculptures in the series concern the reawakening of the Hawaiian people. The Hawaiians are beginning to realize that the ideas of yesterday disclosed to them by their kupuna are relevant in today's world. This theme is depicted in another work in the series, a circular koa form, severed at the top, bound with rope to a pyramidal base, entitled When yesterday meets tomorrow (not illustrated).

In the work illustrated, an oversize bisected teak fishhook cradles an ovoid stone carved with petroglyph figures. The fishhook is lashed together with rope wound down the top of a five foot pyramidal base of composite wood. Bob says, "... I term it part of the Ritual Series only because
Bob describes Balancing Stones as a "playful piece."

Two realistic-looking lava rocks, actually fabricated from cast aluminum appear to be precariously balanced on a triangular koa base (figure 9).

'Imai Kalâhele reveals that the purpose of his art is to make people think:

I think what art's purpose is to shake thinking. To shake people up, make 'em think. That's why I don't care a lot of times what people think about my stuff as long as they react to it, I'm fine. Just don't break it--I might get mad. Other than that I'm fine because I'm really not so concerned as to governing their thoughts as much as I am into making them think and that's why I like to go into Hawaiian communities.

As mentioned in Chapter II, Kalâhele has worked with Hawaiian youth. He feels a "necessity" of "turning kids on. . . and putting positive strengths and thoughts back into our Hawaiian community--a community needing that."

Two examples of his work are illustrated. The first is a composite of "mind tools," defined in the previous chapter as materials that are important to the Hawaiian people. Popo Ahi O Pele is a twisting vertical wicker form with prongs raised aloft to support a spiraling wicker band tipped with

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a crimson feather plume. It depicts the fireball Pele rides when she wants to travel quickly (figure 60).

In Pele, an irregular carved oval stone represents Pele's head. Her body is an elongated freeform ceramic pot with an oxide glaze flowing down the sides that suggests lava. A yellow feather lei encircles her neck (Figure 13). Kalāhele explains that "Pele just came out of the stone. This is actually the third body this particular Pele has. First one was stainless steel. The second one was the other half of the stone, and this one is this pot."391

Rocky Jensen is a skilled woodcarver who also experiments with other media. He alternates with ease between reproductions of traditional art, personal family images, and contemporary motifs. Jensen engages in meticulous research, to the extent of examining chants from all areas of the Pacific in order to better understand the characteristics of the "four fixed ancestors."

When Jensen was interviewed, a reproduction of the female 'aumakua image, A2 (9072) from a burial cave at Kawaihae, Hawai'i was in the living room of his 'Aiea home (figure 61). According to Lucia Tarallo-Jensen, her husband believes that an image's original meaning is perpetuated when it is re-created.

Fig. 60. 'Imaikalani Kalāhele. Poho Ahi o Pele. Wicker and Feathers. 48".

Fig. 61. Rocky Kaʻiculiokahihikoʻehu Jensen. Kiha-wahine. Koa, human hair, mother-of-pearl shell, kapa. 28 1/2" x 14" x 7". Artist's reproduction of wood image from burial cave at Honokoa Gulch, Kawaihae, Hawaiʻi, A2 (9072). Presently at Osaka Museum of Ethnology, Japan.
The reproduction, *Kiha Wahine*, was purchased and is now displayed at the Osaka Museum of Ethnology in Japan. Jensen gives his reproductions and replicas names, not only to identify and commemorate the personage he has carved, but to discourage museum personnel from bestowing nicknames on his images. Although the stance and measurements of the prototype and reproduction are similar, Jensen's sculpture is not intended to be an exact replica. His female figure has longer arms than the original and conforms better to modern standards of beauty, having an indented waist and rounder hips and thighs.

An unfinished koa head of Kaha'ī, the son of Hema, is illustrated in figure 62. Jensen says that it represents all of the Pacific migrations. Pukui and Elbert write that Maui and Hawai'i chiefs trace their decent from Hema.392 The top-knot, a variation of the hairstyle worn by men in different Pacific groups, signifies not only their identity, but "the knowledge that was being handed down through these people." Jensen reveals that the sculpture signifies the unification of Polynesia.

The artist occasionally works in stone. An example is the basalt *Pohaku Kū'ula* he carved for the McDonald's restaurant in Lahaina, Maui. The fishing god has a fixed staring expression. Jensen would like to carve a stone monument at

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Fig. 62. Rocky Ka'ioiuliokahihiikoloe hu Jensen. Kaha'i the Navigator. Koa. 26 1/2" x 6" x 10". Unfinished.

Fig. 63. Alapa'i Hanapi. Mo'o climbing toward 'awa plant. Low-relief carving example for Kulani inmates.
the Pali Lookout to commemorate those who died in battle and another monumental work at Keauhou to commemorate all of the kahuna clans that died during the "fall of the kapus in 1819."

Alapa'i Hanapi utilizes only Hawaiian themes. He says, "I get most of my inspiration from legends and actual happenings in history and from my own personal observations and from my surroundings and my environment."

He says his work reflects his masculine Hawaiian orientation and does not have hidden meaning:

I'm a Kāne, I express strong values and strong content of Hawaiian traditions. And like any of the Polynesian cultures, the man's strong; so most of my work is bold, strong. But there's not really any kaona or hidden meaning in my carvings. Everybody interprets it in their own way.

Although viewers may attribute complex ideas to his work, Hanapi says his sole motive is to perpetuate the culture: "I try to preserve the traditions and chants, the stories and legends through my art work."

His traditional work reflects his individual style. When asked if a pigboard he carved is an exact replica of an original one, Hanapi says, "There's a variation--it's my own style. It goes along with traditional lines, same technique and style. But just a little variation." He laughs as he continues, "I'm not two-thousand years old."

At the time of his first interview he was beginning a series of three carvings from the Kumulipo. The State
Foundation may purchase the first carving in the series for installation in a new state building on Moloka'i.

Figure 63 is a demonstration piece that Hanapi made to illustrate low-relief carving to the Kulani inmates. It was a gift to his mother. A lively mo'o climbs upward toward an 'awa plant (Piper methysticum). The textured background provide contrast to the smooth mo'o and veined 'awa leaves. Hanapi explains the significance of the motif. The 'awa was "a gift from the gods." He explains:

That was like the food of the gods. You always gave 'awa when you ho'okupu—when you make an offering to the gods. . . . the mo'o was the guardian of the pools. The mo'os migrated here during the age of Kâne and Kanaloa. They have been here a long time. Even before Pele and her family came. Because when Pele and her family came, the mo'os were already here. Together they drank. So this was during an older age when the gods walked. And Kâne and Kanaloa—when Kâne use to go around with his o'o and poke for the waipuna, the springs, and Kanaloa planted the 'awa. And together they drank the water and the 'awa. . . And so that association with water and 'awa and the mo'os resting and living in the waipuna, the punawais that Kâne had poked . . . and their association with stone. The mo'os make [die] they turn to stone.

In another carving (not illustrated), hands uphold a stone adz head. This signifies the mo'o that represents the 'aumakua of the woodcarver. Hanapi relates that the 'aumakua shows the woodcarver where to get the stone to make his adz.

Hanapi seldom creates ki'i now because of their

393 Personal interview with Hanapi, 26 July 1988.
commercialization as "tikis." He will only carve a Lono-makua "third eye" image for special occasions. The ki'i he carves for Makahiki ceremonies is a reproduction of the Lono image K1 (7659). He notes that Lono Makua went around the long way of the island along the beaches to collect the tribute from the people.

Another Hanapi carving illustrated is Makau Uma, a milo fishhook with a turtle peering over the top of the shank (figure 64). The turtle represents an 'aumakua of Hanapi's family.

Kiha, a nude female figure carved from plumeria wood, stands in a pool of water, her long hair thrown back as she gazes upward to the sky (figure 65). Hanapi relates that he carved Kiha because she is the 'aumakua of Mili's family "on the Maui side." Kiha was the most noted of the mo'o chiefesses and became a mo'o and goddess when she died. Hanapi says, "The mouth is shaped like in a traditional form of an akua. That's like the traditional blend I put in with the contemporary female form."

At the Smithsonian Festival he demonstrated traditional food containers. Hanapi carved three pieces: an eight foot large village style pā pua'a of 'ohai, a milo 'awa bowl, and a Lono ki'i.

Kana' e Keawe is also interested in the preservation of the Hawaiian culture. He makes only traditional drums. Keawe says:
Fig. 64. Alapa'i Hanapi. Makau Uma. Milo. 7" x 4". Turtle atop the fishhook is the 'aumakua of Hanapi's family.

Fig. 65. Alapa'i Hanapi. Kiha. Plumeria wood. 24". Kiha, the 'aumakua of Mililani Hanapi, stands in a pool of water.
Of course I know that there are some drum makers who are taking their work into a kind of a modern slant. And I'm more or less, in everything that I do, a very traditionalist—a purist. There are other artists who can exhaust the traditional influence and move that into a modern medium. But I think there are too few of us who want the older version to survive. I'll always be in that avenue.

Keawe comments that although the shorter drums were used for dance and the taller ones, the "heiau drums," for the call to worship, some craftspeople today make tall ones for dance performances. He says they are exercising "craftsmen's license." Although Keawe adheres to the traditional materials and form for his pahu, they are not replicas:

The one that I'm working on now for myself out of kamani wood, which has multi-figures on it on the bottom, it's not a replica. But it's on the same lines as the very elaborately carved drum in Christchurch, New Zealand. [S28, Canterbury Museum (150.1185)] Has a double row of multi-gymnastic sort of perched figures on the bottom [figure 66].

There are not as many figures on Keawe's base as on the Christchurch drum. Their pose is similar, however, with the top figures supporting the drum and holding aloft a human head in each hand. They stand on the shoulders of squatting figures. Keawe's little men appear to have more latent energy, with gentle quisical expressions on their faces unlike the grotesque aspect of those on the Christchurch drum. Keawe says, "They have that 'Why me?' look. 'Why am I here?' Nobody can walk off the job."
Fig. 66. Dennis Kana'e Keawe. Base of pahu with human figures. Kamani. 19 1/2" x 15 1/4". In the style of S 28 at Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, N.Z., (E150.1185).

Fig. 67. Kahanahou Hawaiian Handcrafts, Kealakekua, Hawai‘i. (Back) Kua kuku or kua kapa (tapa pounding anvil); halihali (food tray); (center) papa hehi (treadle board); kālā‘au (dancing sticks); pahu with traditional base—coconut wood, steer hide; ka‘eke‘eke in two sizes (bamboo organ) with coconut cloth pad); (foreground) halihali.
Adrienne Kaeppler suggests that the images of the Christchurch drum "may be a genealogical metaphor" that symbolizes "genealogical succession back to the beginning." Keawe explains that he believes the figures represent defeated enemies of the king: "Carved figures and imagery is always a symbolic gesture of a king for his defeated enemies. They're always going to be remembered in a servile pose."

The pahu and pûniu produced by Lanakila Brandt's Kahanahou Hawaiian Handcrafts company are made in traditional and non-traditional designs. Variants from traditional forms include low-relief carving of figures and faces as well as paintings on the sides of the septum. The openwork bases are generally traditionally oriented with multi-rectangular legs, arches, inverted arches, circular and triangular openings, or modified support figures. Pahu heiau temple drums may be ordered "of either historic or original design."

The youth participating in the Alu Like program learn to make the drums and many of the implements and musical instruments sold at Lanakila Brandt's shop (figure 67). Another item that may be ordered with carving is a kā'eki'eke, (bamboo organ). The pipes are made in various lengths according to the pitch desired, and have a coconut cloth pad tied on one end. Other products include: pū'ili with "slim fingers" for

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better tone; 'ohe hano ihu (bamboo nose flute); pū 'ohe (bamboo trumpet); ni'au kani (sounding coconut rib or "Jew's harp"); kālā'a'u hula (hardwood dancing sticks); papa hehi (treadle board to keep time with kālā'a'u); and a number of gourd items such as ipu heke; 'uli'uli (feathered rattling gourd); ipu hula (hula gourds); and hōkiokio (gourd whistle or flute).

A traditional màkini, (paddler's mask or head gourd) with "dry 'uki'uki grass crest and tapa lihi of 'fringe'" may also be purchased. The mask's figure-eight opening, crest, and "lihi" resemble the headgear in the famous portrait by John Webber, Capt. James Cook's artist in the 1778-1779 voyage to Hawai'i. The figure-eight opening is wider in the Kahanahou version and the central prongs are longer, narrower, and more rounded than those of the helmet in the Webber engraving.

Papa konane (board for Hawaiian game resembling checkers) are produced in a "natural" irregular shape or carved in a turtle form and are furnished with "customary lava-coral pieces." Beautifully carved and finished monkeypod and koa halihali (food trays) are made for the shop by a local resident.

Traditional ki'i may be ordered. On the price list they are described as: "Museum quality replications of historic pre-European native god figures, of any size, and in any wood." A small "Bloxam" revised reproduction, T1 (7883) or T2 from the Chicago Natural History Museum (272689), stands
among other objects on a hula altar to Laka, patron of the Hula, at one end of a large room at the Kahanahou shop. (See Figure 4). The image, with arms at the sides instead of forward, has atypical legs consisting of narrow thighs that gradually flare wider toward the ankles. The planes of the body are intricately faceted. A larger "Lono" image stands to the right of the altar.

Brandt states that when he studied with the kahuna kālai kiʻi, Kilipake Kanaʻele, he learned to distinguish between the characteristics of the different gods. He says, "So when I carved I would not make the mistake of putting a Lono head on a Kū figure or vice versa, or a Lono mouth, which is so distinctive, on a Kū god."

Brandt relates that the youth in the three month program learn some fundamentals of kiʻi carving. "All it is really," he says, "is an introduction to tools and carving to learn enough about it so they could take a chisel and work on their own and develop their talent and their skills." 396

Henry Hopfe states that he dislikes doing too much traditional carving "unless they're commissions, because to me they're like mimicking or copying another artist." A koa pig tray he designed has a face with a protruding tongue at the top of the board. Henry explains that it is his own expression, and not necessarily Maori. He feels that the

396 Personal interview with Brandt, 27 July 1989.
tongue adds "more character." He says, "As an artist I can appreciate other cultures. That's why I do some work that looks Maori. He has also carved a large number of traditional Hawaiian reproductions and replicas for educational purposes such as stone sinkers or squid lures, stone ring pounders, and ivory and bone fishhooks. An example of one of his reproductions is illustrated in figure 68. The only apparent variation from the original "knuckle duster" is that Hopfe's version incorporates ten shark's teeth and the prototype has eight.

In 1989 he received a commission to carve a number of trophies for the Hui Wa'a Racing Canoe Club Association. Hopfe says he wanted each one to be different. A milo palaoa was carved for the coach of the year, and a poi pounder for the secretary award. He carved a petroglyph design of a canoe with six people aboard for the canoe club award. Three different sizes of the "ali'i Hawaiian helmet" were made in milo for male and female canoe paddling (figure 69). Hopfe says, with justification, "It's actually not really trophies, it's sculptures and something that they'll be proud of. They'll really want to display it in the house." He enjoyed filling the order and will accept other trophy commissions "as long as they don't ask me to do ho-hum hum-drum kinda stuff. I like that kind to give me the freedom. Just kind of tell me what you like and then I can just take off and create something nice." He designed the bases "so that they will
Fig. 68. Henry Kila Hopfe. Knuckle duster. Koa with pegged sharks' teeth. 6" x 2 3/4" x 3/4". Reproduction of weapon in Cook Collection, Vienna. See Arts and Crafts of Hawaii, Section X, p. 452.

Fig. 69. Henry Kila Hopfe. Unfinished mahiole trophy for Hui Wa'a Racing Canoe Club Association. Milo.
accept the plaque and also properly present the sculpture itself."

Hopfe must be constantly productive in order to make a living from his craft and keep sufficient inventory to sell at the fairs. One way he maintains his productivity is by changing his pace during the day. He says: "When I get tired of grinding and working hard woodwork, after awhile, you know, my back hurts from bending over all the time and sanding. So then I still want to be creative so when I get tired of that, my legs get tired of standing for hours, ten-twelve hours a day, then I sit down and I carve the itty-bitty stuff." He refers to his ivory and bone pendants and earrings (figure 70). The style of many of his pendants appears to be Maya. When asked about their derivation, Hopfe says he got the idea of making the miniature incised block-like figures on scraps of ivory after looking at illustrations of the work of John Charlot. Charlot was influenced by Maya art when he worked as an artist with the Carnegie Expedition on the Yucatan peninsula at Chichen Itzá from 1926-1929. Hopfe's ivory pendants and earrings are made with meticulous care. If he can find one scratch or a mark made by his grinder, he resands and polishes the piece. Hopfe's faces have Hawaiian, rather than Maya features. Hopfe believes that Hawaiians are related to the Maya and migrated to Hawai'i from the American continent. He notes similarities in the religious symbols and language of the two cultures.
Fig. 70. Henry Kila Hopfe. Ivory pendants and earring. (Top row left to right) "Ukulele Player, 1 3/8" x 1"; Kumu Hula, 1 3/4" x 1 1/4"; larger "Ukulele Player, 2 1/2" x 1 1/2"; (middle row) Paddler, 1 3/4 x 1"; Rainbow Warrior, 1 5/8" x 1 1/4"; Pele's sister, 1 1/2 x 1" and 1 5/8" x 1"; (bottom) earring with petroglyph design 1 1/4" x 1/2".

Fig. 71. Henry Kila Hopfe. Ke Kumu Hula. Vesicular basalt. 19" x 10 1/2" x 3 3/4".
The motif of an incised ivory pendant inspired by a Charlot painting of a Hawaiian drummer was adapted to become a particularly effective vesicular basalt carving entitled Ke Kumu Hula (figure 71). The front, back, and sides of the three and three-quarter inch thick rock are carved in low-relief. When the carving was exhibited at the Mayor's Aloha Week Exhibition at Honolulu Hale several weeks after the photograph was taken, it had been mounted on a koa base supported by two brass rods. It was subsequently purchased by the City and County of Honolulu. Ke Kumu Hula was originally intended to be entered in the 1989 Artists of Hawaii juried show at the Honolulu Academy of Arts. Hopfe missed the deadline because he had to complete his trophy order.

The compact unified design of Ke Kumu Hula is particularly well-conceived. The line of the hair leads to the fingers of the right hand and then is deflected by the plane of the left hand that leads the eye to the beatific expression on the face. If the eye rests first on the diagonal of the leg in front of the drum, the reverse direction is followed by the eye, up the fingers of the right hand, through the hair and to the face.

The State Foundation commission for Leihoku Elementary School is located in a courtyard amid a profusion of red ginger. Hopfe discusses the motifs and their meaning:
One piece depicts the male and the other piece depicts the female...the three generations of granddaughters and then the mother and the grandmother and then on the other stone I had like the grandson, the father, and the grandfather, and together they make the ohana concept. And you know, the name of the school is Leihoku. It means lei of stars. So I ended like the busline with the lei of stars like floating around the stone, like overlap. Kinda like fish scales you know.

Hopfe obtained the rocks along the coastline on his side of the island from Ka'ena Point to the Ko Olina resort area "which is all the different ahupua'as." He says that this signifies "people that came from all different areas to one place--to one learning center contributing to the community." The stars and monumental Hawaiian faces with thick lips and wide noses are carved on two large partially unworked vesicular basalt rocks set in raised foundations of embedded rock. Four stars at the top of the stones symbolize the four corners of the earth. Hopfe says: "I made the four stars to represent the four corners of the earth to seek knowledge and learn more to strive for knowledge and excellence."

Hopfe states that another of his fine art carvings, Ke Kuni, the runner, is from a petroglyph that depicts "the messenger who used to run for miles from one chief to another." Carved of monkeypod, the stylized figure, seems to be suspended in motion with one leg touching a rock base (figure 72). Hopfe is presently working on two new basalt

397 Personal interview with Hopfe, 19 July 1989.
Fig. 72. (above)
Henry Kila Hopfe.
Ke Kuni. Monkeypod.
31" x 11 1/2" x 1 5/8". Photographed at Pauahi Nu'uanu Gallery.

Fig. 73. (left)
Levan Keola Sequeira. Lono Image. ʻOhiʻa. 17" x 5" x 5 1/2".
carvings, one of a canoe paddler; and another, of a fisherman, around fifty inches square.

When he is "unwinding" in the evening, he works inside his house on an intricate thirty-six inch double-hulled canoe.

Levan Sequeira relates that about ninety-five per cent of his work is Hawaiian. He often carves replicas and reproductions. In his living room is a reproduction of Kamapua'a, the pig demigod, from a cave on Maui, T28 (D2772). Sequeira carved the milo image from photographs. It is close to the size and design of the original, but the planes of the reproduction are more sharply defined. The entire figure of the copy is stained rather than just the head and crest as the Bishop Museum image. The wood glows with a soft patina.

In his living room there is also an 'ōhi'a Lono makahiki image with pearl shell eyes (figure 73). It has been enlarged, but resembles the original carving, K1 (7659). A unique feature is the pole beneath the neck, truncated and flared at the bottom to form a pedestal. Referring to the Lono image, Sequeira says, "I didn't take that much liberty. I kept the shape and everything, the style, the same. I just made it bigger. I'll take that kind of liberty."

Another reproduction (figure 74) is of the Bishop Museum Kālaipāhoa, A4 (7655). Sequeira says. "I don't change much." He discusses his innovations:
Fig. 74. Levan Keola Sequeira. *Kālaipāhoa Image*. Milo. 11" x 8 1/2" x 4 1/2".

Fig. 75. Levan Keola Sequeira. Female figure on featherwork tool. Milo. Black pearl-shell eyes, human hair.
The original doesn't have one arm—it's broken. The original doesn't have the eyes. I only got one line of hair there. I got to wait for somebody to give me more hair. But you see, now I put the eyes back in. Now all it was was holes there. I don't know if they meant it to be just holes or as pegs actually put in. So what I did was I put the eyes back in. Now I think I'm still in the ballpark. I don't think I went wrong in doing that. But you see, in a subtle way, I don't like to go too far. Like somebody was telling me, 'Oh, this thing would look great. Why don't you take crushed opal and laminate it into his eyes?'

And I said, 'No, no, I ain't going that far.'

The poison god carved by Sequeira has a shock of gray hair and a facial expression that seems to emanate as much evil as the museum image. When he is asked if the figure has a cavity in his back (for sorcery purposes), Sequeira replies, "No, it was bad enough as it is. It doesn't need that."

Sequeira says that he has a difficult time carving Kālaipāhoa, or Kū images, because they are foreign to his nature:

When you do the Kālaipāhoa image there, that was the poison god. In order to carve something like that—it was basically an evil thing. I know what it is and I don't really want to capture that evilness so to speak. Because that's got to come from someplace and it's going to come from yourself. So when I do something like that, I kinda got to hold back on myself. Kū images, the war gods, I carved a few of them. I don't seem to do that well on them. I got to work on it a little bit more. But there again because basically I'm a peaceful person... I have a lot easier time carving Lono.

Another reproduction is of one of the Bishop Museum images found in a burial cave near Kawaihae, Hawai`i, K3,
(9068). The reproduction is close to the size of the original and appears to be an identical copy. If one counts the units of prongs in the headdress, however, the prototype has six, and the one by Sequeira has seven.

After making a number of replicas and reproductions, he began creating his own Hawaiian figures:

To replicate it is one thing. If you know it well enough, if you know the form well enough, you can start going into something. You make new images but they still come out Hawaiian, okay? That's when you have your background, your training. You do that.

He refers to an example of revised traditional art that he has created:

When you're talking about form, once you know it, then you can change things. It's like that right there, the one on the top of the TV. That's, ah, it's actually a tool for making featherwork. You run a string between the two. Basically what happened is that I studied the Hawaiian form long enough. You know, you can look at the Bishop Museum—you're never going to see those figures. But by knowing enough about the art, about that form, about their thinking, I could start moving the figures around and it still comes out to something Hawaiian.

A figure is carved at each end of the featherwork tool. A koa male reclines, a milo female kneels. Both can be recognized as Hawaiian carvings. The reclining figure has "U" shaped feet similar to those on a number of traditional support figures. The kneeling figure is carved in the same style as 'aumakua image A2 (9072). Sequeira's figure is
plumper than the prototype, has well-formed breasts, and black pearl shell eyes (figure 75). Long black human hair is pegged into the head.

Sequeira has two driftwood faces displayed in his house. Both represent females and are carved and finished in the manner of those popular in the fifties. One was carved when Sequeira was a student of Fritz Abplanalp at Kamehameha and exhibits the style and Eurasian features favored by the Swiss sculptor for his driftwood faces. The other, carved more recently, is still reminiscent of Abplanalp's style, but the eye's are closed instead of open, the lips are fuller, and the nose is broader (figure 76). A feather lei rests on the brow and the facial expression is contemplative. Sequeira relates that he put some of "his spirit" into the carving:

When I was carving it, I thought of carving this woman probably in her middle age, with her eyes closed, Hawaiian features, and thinking with her eyes closed. But thinking, maybe, of the days past, of Hawai'i past. And when I carved it, that's what I was thinking of. And that's what I hope that I captured.

He also carves jewelry, niho palaoa, and fishhooks. Sequeira remarks that his made-to-scale-canoes are "very high-detail models." He describes the work entailed for two canoes in his portfolio:

... Like this one here is nine feet long and it's all done one inch to one foot. There's something like five thousand holes in that that had to be stitched up. That one there probably has four-hundred something pieces in it.
Fig. 76. (left)
Levan Keola Sequeira. Hawaiian face. Driftwood. Kou. 38" x 18" x 9".

Fig. 77. (below)
David Eskaran. Maori canoe bailer. Monkeypod with paua shell. 16 1/2" x 7" x 11".
At the time of the interview, he was working on two canoe models, one Haida, the other Maori. Sequeira states that working outside of his culture makes him feel "contaminated." He remarks, "I have a hard time doing stuff that's not Hawaiian." Sequeira believes that when a Polynesian copies the art of another Polynesian group, the distinctive style of the artist's culture will be manifest in the work:

... the Maori canoe--I'm carving it from a Hawaiian standpoint of view. A true Maori artist right now would look at it and say, 'Okay, you got it close, but it's not Maori.' The untrained eye can't see that, only an artist can. See, because I'm not Maori. It's coming on, it's going to look nice and all, but it's not going to be one-hundred percent Maori. 398

David Eskaran believes that he "can rival Maori carvers themselves." The surface embellishments make carving in the Maori style enjoyable to him. He says, "You can really take your creative juices to the limit. There's no redundancy in it. There's so much you can do." A Maori canoe bailer carved by Eskaran is illustrated in figure 77. Eskaran notes that Hawaiian and Maori art have different kinds of beauty. He remarks: "... of late I feel a need to really delve deeper into the Hawaiian area." The artist believes that there are not enough Hawaiian carvers and therefore he wants "to cling closer to doing Hawaiian things."


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Eskaran has the opportunity to explain the significance of his art to hundreds of visitors at the Cultural Center each week. On the day of his first interview, he revealed the symbolism associated with a low relief portrait of Kanaloa carved on a monkeypod paddle form (figure 78). A squid rests on Kanaloa's head. Fish and moving water are carved beneath the face. The fish have bone eyes and the water design is accentuated with paua shell (abalone), an indication of the influence of his Maori teacher, Barney Christy. The theme and motifs, however, are intended to be Hawaiian. Two white incised petroglyph figures face one another on the squid's body. Balanced atop the paddle handle are two small "support figures" carved in the traditional style, clinging with their legs to a flat oval surface decorated with the spiral symbol for the piko, or umbilical cord. Eskaran explains: the carving:

This one is Kanaloa, the god of the sea. You see the look on his face? Kanaloa is lamenting the loss of clean ocean. So now all the fish populations have to find cleaner waters to survive in. He would change into different animals. The most popular forms would be a squid or octopus; so I carved a squid right here. These two petroglyph forms represent the two factions in modern times who fight against one another constantly, the groups that would want to conserve, the other group tries to prostitute constantly the ocean and their resources. . . . The figures [not illustrated] represent these two groups again. The flat part represents the plane of the earth and the piko--man's connection directly to the earth, relying on it only for sustenance. Sitting on top of this pole, that represents the fine balance of nature.
Fig. 78. David Hi'ilani Eskaran. Kanaloa. 'Ohai. 69 1/2" x 15 1/2" x 2"

Fig. 79. David Hi'ilani Eskaran. Lidded bowl. Koa. 14 1/2" x 49" x 7 7/8". Upside down 'ahu 'ula will be mounted on a rod above bowl.
Another message is embodied in a lidded bowl resting on a broken pediment embellished with carved laua'e (a fragrant fern), illustrated in figure 79. It is carved "in the style of European furniture." Eskaran explains that the bowl represents emptiness and the future of the Hawaiian people. He says:

I didn't carve it very deep, partly for the structure of the piece . . . and also because of the significance of the bowl. The future isn't really set yet. We're not really sure where we're going. So it'll not be a finished bowl that's carved very deep.

When asked if there are negative implications regarding the European influence portrayed in the carving, Eskaran replies, "I'm just saying it like it is. It's here. I'm not saying whether it's good or bad, I'm just stating what's here."

Above the bowl will be an 'ahu 'ula, a Hawaiian feather cape, that will be mounted upside down on a rod. Eskaran explains:

'Ahu 'ula, in general, I don't think should be displayed upside down. But I'm displaying it upside down for a purpose. You look at the American flag when it's flown upside down and what does that represent? It's a sign of distress . . . .

In reference to this theme Eskaran mentions that Hawaiians are losing their culture. Many can't speak their
language and some can't even pronounce Hawaiian street names.399

Works such as these are original and creative. Eskaran also makes exact replicas when they are requested by the Cultural Center, and reproductions, including spittoons with human teeth inlays, shark tooth weaponry, ki'i, and bowls. He studies Peter Buck's *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii* for dimensions and to learn details regarding traditional techniques. Two revised reproductions of shark-tooth daggers are illustrated in figure 80. The daggers are made from illustrations of two shark-tooth clubs in the Buck "War and Weapons" section of *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*. The dagger on the left is from a club in the Webber collection at Berne, the one on the right is from the National Museum of Ireland.

Eskaran has not worked with stone extensively. At the time of his first interview he was making a poi pounder and had fashioned a number of stone fishing lures and anchors.

The carver is also working "on a line" of miniature 'au-mākua and fishhooks carved in beefbone or ivory to be worn as pendants (figure 81).

One of Rocky Asing's primary concerns is originality. He relates that Robert Cox told him:

> Don't copy me, don't do nothing I do. Just do something that you want. Create something that nobody's created. If you see somebody that created something--throw it away. Start all over again.

399 Personal interview with Eskaran, 5 August 1989.
Fig. 80. David Hi'ilani Eskaran. Shark-tooth daggers. Kiawe. (Left) 10 1/2" x 2 3/4" x 1"; (right) 11 7/7" x 4" x 1 1/8".

Fig. 81. David Hi'ilani Eskaran. Shark 'aumākua and fishhooks. Beefbone.
Don't let nobody see what you're doing until you're done.

When Asing designed his "over-under vibraphone," he took apart the instrument and destroyed the plans because he didn't want anyone to steal his idea. He devised a method to thwart a potential thief and extends the concept to art:

... when I master the technique of playing it, then I'll bring it out. You see, so if they do take my idea, they're going to take awhile to play it. But that's how it is in the world, see? You can't just bring things out unless you're really good at it. They're going to steal your ideas. Ideas are a dime a dozen and they can be stolen just like that.

Asing has developed his own style of carving and does not imitate the work of his mentor. He was told by Xoc that "you cannot teach art." Xoc said to him, "If anybody asks you who taught you art, you tell them you taught yourself." Asing relates that Xoc also teaches "self-thought." "This is important," he says, "in that you don't need a teacher. "You can also teach yourself just from experience, experiment, and mistakes."

Asing's first carving experience was with Xoc. He says, "We probably did the biggest stone sculpture in the state of Hawai'i." The subject is a clown's profile that incorporates a performance stage. Asing describes the work:

It took us eight months to carve it down by hand. And all the rocks that we generated off this lava flow that we carved down we put into a wall. And we made a great retaining wall... Kind of a
clown face. Just the face. Actually it's a stage. We carved this thirty by thirty foot lava flow down and we left this stage in the middle of it and carved around it flat. . . . You know like about eight feet in diameter—a stage, a platform about a foot high that you can stand on. It's generally flat but it has relief in it. . . . And it's the only live sculpture that I know. What I mean by live is the rock is still in the ground.

The carving may be seen at Captain Cook on the Big Island near the Ohana O Ka Aina Health Food Store. Asing says you can get "a good view—it's a narrow view. So you can see it better from the sky really; but you can still see it."

Asing remarks that his recent carvings "kinda pertain to Hawai'i." In July 1989, a number of his stylized stone fish could be seen at the Gallery of Great Things (figure 82). At the same time, two of his carved stone faces were at the Volcano Art Center. Ku (not illustrated) is an impressive strong portrait. The 22 1/2" by 12" face, carved of vesicular basalt, has an elongated, irregular shaped head that is unworked on top; round staring eyes; a broad straight-bridged nose; and thick Hawaiian lips. Another successful carving, also of vesicular basalt, is in the artist's collection at his home in Kamuela. Entitled "Pului Bowl," a bulging-eyed eel is wrapped about a shallow bowl beneath the rim, biting the tip of his tail (figure 1). A partially unworked three foot high stone in his yard has the features of three faces carved on different planes. Asing reveals they represent Pele, her brother, and sister Hi'iaka.
Fig. 82. Rocky Wakinikona Asing. Waha Nui. Vesicular basalt. 15" x 18 1/2" x 3 1/2".

Fig. 83. Ron "Lona" Barboza. Ku. Monkeypod. 7'. In front of a residence in Keāhole, Hawaiʻi.
Asing fills commissions for "wall 'aumākuas." He says: "I do all these guard 'aumākuas. I did a baby whale for this girl." Rocky remarks, "... the 'aumākuas--they're just gods that protect your yard and your house. It really is just a decoration to me. Nobody really worships it as a god. If I make it ugly they might be scared."

Vance and Donna Cannon commissioned Asing to construct a rock wall for their new home at Kamuela with Vance's 'aumākua, a pueo, carved into one of the stones. Vance is a kama'āina haole. Other rock walls by Asing may have oriental, European, Hawaiian, and African faces carved into the stones. He says, "What I do, I try to reflect Hawai'i now."

Asing relates that in addition to custom stone walls, he makes carved walkways and fireplaces. He also incises in rock innovative petroglyphs from the cast shadows of his patrons. Another traditionally oriented form he carves is a poi pounder in a "sculpture style." He does this, he says "because a lot of people today are going to buy it and put it on the shelf." He does not use artifacts as reference for his poi pounders. The terminal round knobs are wider than those of typical knobbed pounders and the curved line from the top to the base is convex rather than concave. Asing says, "I don't want to do poi pounders they did before; so I do poi pounders for
today. . . . It still could be used for pounding things. I kinda like it different. One of a kind thing.400

The Barboza brothers, Tom and Ron, also fill commissions for yard 'aumákua. In 1989 Ron Barboza completed a seven foot monkeypod "Kū" for a kahuna lapa'au who had dreamt throughout his life that he was going to have an image that would represent part of his family heritage (figure 83). Barboza says he carved the Kū "in such a way that he is a healer." It stands on a lava rock base in front of the kahuna's house like a bent-knee sentinel. Striated faceting circumscribes all the planes of the image. The elongated ovoid eye indicates the prototype to be either T4 from the Peabody Museum (E 12071), or T5 from the British Museum (1839-4-26-8).

Tom Barboza carved an 'aumakua for the back yard of a woman in the Kona area. The 'ōhi'a image measured twenty-one feet, nine inches before it was installed. A unique feature is a compartment in the back of the base designed to hold an urn that contains the ashes of the woman's husband. After she dies their ashes will be combined and scattered at sea. Barboza says he carved a Lono Makahiki image with "arms up for happiness when they are both joined together" (figure 84).

Tom Barboza's work is characterized by a smooth polished

400 Personal interview with Asing, 17 July 1989.

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Fig. 84. Tom Barboza. Lono image. 'ōhi'a. 21' 9" tall (before installation). Compartment in back of base contains funerary urn with ashes of patron's husband. Backyard of Kona area home, Hawai'i.

Fig. 85. Tom Barboza. Mom and Friends. Milo. 15" x 12" x 6". Mermaid, baby mermaid, squid, seal, and dolphin
finish, unlike the surface faceting on the carvings of his brother Ron.

A unique form by Tom Barboza is illustrated in figure 85. Entitled Mom and Friends, Barboza describes the subject matter:

You got to look at it and understand it to really like it. This is the mom, the mama, the mermaid. And her tail comes right back up in there. And this is the baby right here. And this is her hair. And right here is the he'e, the squid. And then here comes the baby's tail right back in here. I never made a face. Okay, now you swing it right back around again and now you get one Hawaiian seal and you get one dolphin on top of it.

Barboza explains, "They're all protecting her." He says that the carving signifies: "We'll all join together. Unity is what it is." 401

The first time Tom Barboza was interviewed, a lifelike twelve by twenty by seventeen inch milo turtle stood upon the table of his porch, his head cocked inquisitively to one side. Initially, Barboza had intended to place a coconut scraper in the turtle's mouth, but friends convinced him to let it remain a non-functional carving.

Tom Barboza produces a wide variety of Hawaiian community art and furniture including coffee tables, lamps, clocks, bowls, vases, goblets, candle holders, kapu sticks, pigboards, letter openers, and tikis. He also makes miniature sets of

401 Personal interview with Tom Barboza, 15 July 1989.
the major gods—Kū, Kāne, Lono, and Kanaloa, often using the present Hōnaunau carved images for prototypes.

After he turns a wood vase, he makes a hole with a drill press and inserts a glass tube in the opening. His wife Candace says, "This is where the modern meets the ancient." The kapu sticks often have faces and headdresses from Hōnaunau images carved on the top portion with the remainder of the pole finished smooth.

Tom's brother Ron says the amount of carving on the stick depends upon the "class—what class you belong to." A completely carved staff is "the highest class to give to a mōʻi or to give to a kahuna." He remarks that he recently was awarded second place in an art show for a kapu stick that was carved from top to bottom. He relates, "It had the four gods on it and all the 'aumākuas. . . . there was a turtle, and squid, hula dancer—-a hula girl, a whale, Pele, the sun, all the natural elements around us, a shark . . . ."

In the carving class he conducted at Captain Cook in 1990, a variety of motifs and techniques were explored. A twenty-two foot koa canoe was constructed by the eight class members and Barboza. They also carved a five foot "Kū" and an eight by four foot low-relief "mural of whales, mermaids, turtles, and islands" from a slab of monkeypod that was over one-hundred years old.402

Kanâk Napeahi, says he is best known for his "gigantic carvings." He carved the six foot high, four foot wide perpetual trophy for the annual West Hawaii Youth Council donkey race. Another substantial carving is his Kū'ula kai at Halapē, Volcano, Hawai‘i. He reaches the site of the twelve foot high coconut wood fishing god on horseback. Napeahi relates that after he had carved his image "somebody else came by and did another one; and so there's two down there." He does not know the identity of the other carver. Napeahi's friend Tom Barboza carved a fishing god at a less secluded beach and was disappointed when it was stolen.

Napeahi's bracelets are delicately carved in low-relief with different varieties of flora entwined about them. (figure 86). Each is personalized to suit the prospective owner, often incorporating not only a carved Hawaiian name but a motif related to the person's occupation or special interest. In the foreground is a milo bracelet for a nurse featuring a caduceus—emblem of the medical profession. Carved on the opposite side of the bracelet (not visible in the photograph) is an "open blossom" and an anthurium. A rainbow and hands are the motif of the center back bracelet, carved for a masseuse or "lomilomi" named Anuenue, which means rainbow. Kanâk says, "It shows open hands, hands touching, hands holding, hands massaging, and hands praying. . . . The rainbow

Fig. 87. Kanāk Kaoiwiokahakulani Napeahi. Pele O Volcano. Milo. 27 1/2" x 6 1/2". Red fabric headband, feather lei, and heliconia. Note flames on neck.
goes right from hand to hand." Hibiscus leaves are carved on the surface of the milo bracelet for Pam on the left; and breadfruit, anthurium, and heliconia leaves are incorporated in the design of the one for Leilani on the right. Napeahi comments that the bracelets sell so quickly he cannot "keep up" with the demand.

A driftwood carving, *Pele O Volcano*, by Napeahi is illustrated in figure 87. Carved of weathered milo that was buried in the sand, it represents "Pele the fire goddess coming out of the volcano." The hair of the goddess extends upward and flames are carved at the base of her throat. Napeahi has adorned the carving with feather lei, a red tied headband, and has placed heliconia, suggesting flames, in Pele's hair. He relates that he carved another likeness of Pele on one side of a piece of kauila; on the reverse side was Kamehameha wearing a mahiole."

Napeahi reveals that he carved the following figures on the Peace Pole: the gecko, ti leaf, taro leaf, Hawaiian deity, and the niho palaoa.

Michael Dunne calls himself an "artist in bowls." He likes to mix woods and combine them with precious metals such as gold and silver, or with ivory or stone sculpture. Since he formerly worked with glass, Dunne sometimes makes conical

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404 Personal interview with Napeahi, 15 July 1989.
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wood bowls and inserts carved quarter inch plate glass for feet. An unusual effect is achieved in a turned mango bowl with an epoxy glaze that makes the bowl appear to be ceramic. The bowl is in the form of an 'umeke ipu kai with a low pedestal base. One of six in his Kilauea Series, Dunne says the bowl, entitled Confrontation, represents lava meeting the sea (figure 88). The interior is mottled blue to represent the "lights and darks" created by varying depths of the ocean. Thick crimson epoxy runs down the exterior of the pedestal. Also illustrated is a broken edge koa bowl of his design that he considers to be a "transition type" (figure 89).

Dunne says that the calabash form is most in demand at his gallery. His customers prefer the traditional wood bowls to be thin-walled. He makes them in traditional forms similar to those of Dan De Luz and Jack Straka.

Non-Polynesians

Most of the bowls produced by Dan De Luz and Jack Straka are thin-walled versions of traditional 'umeke lā'au designs. The pākākā, pālewa or kuʻoho and puahala 'umeke are commonly represented, and the 'umeke ipu kai and kūmauna are turned less frequently. Both craftsmen make bowls with "butterfly" or pewa patching. De Luz produces more of these than Straka. A De Luz Norfolk pine 'umeke puahala with pewa patches is illustrated in figure 90. De Luz repaired and appraised old
Figure 88. Michael Ilipuakea Dunne. Confrontation: Kilauea Series. Mango with epoxy finish. 6" x 16 3/8".

Fig. 89. Michael Ilupuakea Dunne. Broken edge bowl. Koa. 7" x 8".
Fig. 90. Dan De Luz. 'Umeke puahala with pewa patches. Norfolk pine. 8" x 9".

Fig. 91. Dan De Luz. "Maile Bowl." Koa. 'Umeke palewa with maile lei (a fragrant native twining shrub) design. 7" x 13".
bowls for a number of years, providing him with the opportunity to become familiar with the craftsmanship and style of traditional 'umeke. Straka first saw traditional bowls on the shelves of the "back workrooms" at Bishop Museum. De Luz has never seen bowls in a museum, but he often refers to books and catalogs. Both he and Straka rely on Peter Bucks illustrations of bowl forms in *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*.

Although the style is reproduced from an original source, each bowl the men turn has individual qualities. For example, an unusual configuration of the grain in an 'umeke pālewa made from a koa tree crotch by De Luz produces the effect of a maile lei (figure 91). Another distinctive pattern is created in a Straka 'umeke pālewa with a tight burled curly grain, sometimes called "fiddleback," and spalting, a distinctive design created by a fungus (figure 92). Also illustrated are a rare kou covered 'umeke kūmauna with pewa patches by De Luz (figure 93) and a chinaberry 'umeke pākākā by Straka (figure 94).

Regarding the originality of each bowl, De Luz comments:

> It's not something where you put it on, you have a pattern that you follow. Every one is individually made. Sometimes I make the different shape bowls because the wood calls for it. You can't do anything else.

He says the thin bowls are "high quality, they show the skill of the craftsmen." But he notes that salad bowls must be thicker:
Fig. 92. Jack Straka. Koa. 'Umeke pālewa with curly grain and spalting. 3" x 9".

Fig. 93. Dan De Luz. Covered kou 'umeke kūmauna with pewa patches. 5" x 6 1/2".
Fig. 94. Jack Straka. 'Umeke pākākā. Chinaberry. 6'' x 11''.

Fig. 95. Jack Straka. Free-form turned sculpture. Mango with spalting. 4 1/2'' x 10''.
... when you making salad bowls you got to make them just a little bit thick so when they pick it up it won't break. I have trouble with some of mine that used to break so I corrected it. We have to make it a little thicker because people use the bowls. Small ones, fine, you can make them nice thin, and show bowls.

Straka likes the thin bowls "because it's a skill to get them down thin." He relates that many people prefer the lighter bowls to the heavier ones for practical use; noting that occasionally a patron will request a thick-walled bowl. Although his bowls are thin, he explains that the bottom is thicker and tapers toward the rim as in traditional 'umeke.

Straka and De Luz also make free-form bowls. De Luz generally produces his from bowls that have cracked. He allows the vessel to retain an irregular top edge. Straka makes a variety of unusual designs. A mango free-form turned "sculpture" is illustrated in figure 95.

Stewart Medeiros comments that at the Art Academy show (The Hawaiian Calabash, August-September 1989) he noticed all of the bowls were "going into the thin, which is great." He comments, "But I don't want it so thin." He explains that a thin bowl can't be sanded down and refinished again and again after years of use because there would be no "room":

I never go personally into downing the other turners--I just don't like thin bowls. For many years ... I worked on bowls that I resanded--a hundred years old, a hundred fifty years old--and

they all would have room. You get one of these thin bowls—I don't like bowls you can't use. I'm a Hawaiian—I love using it and my neighbors to use it. I try to give it room.

After making 30,000 koa calabashes for Blair's, Medeiros realized he needed a change: "Where would I take it? It is boring. I already reached the highlight of my career. There was no challenge...." Being a "maverick" he began turning his own form of the ornate pedestal presentation bowl made in the late 1890s, similar to those produced in quantities for Kalākaua's fiftieth birthday. The version designed by Medeiros, a "nested functional calabash," is called "the Lili'uokalani." He explains how his 'umeke differs from those Kalākaua received:

I'm just modifying. I'm making all units. This is a bowl here. It all comes apart. This is a jewelry box. I make the top always unique. In the old days, Dianne, they made only one thing that was useful—a calabash. So this was taken off, you got to see the calabash. Now I have a unit here for a little jewelry box. I turn this upside down, you can put cookies here, you can put pin. I turn this up, this becomes a bowl.

Medeiros had previously made several of the bowls for the show windows at Blair's. In June 1989 his one-man show at the Richards Street YWCA gallery in Honolulu featured the "Lili'uokalani 'umeke." The invitation to the reception announces what guests will behold:

... The reception will honor Stewart Medieros [sic], master craftsman of nested calabashes.
monumental and functional presented in black koa, island norfolk pine and milo.

Mr. Medieros' gifts to President Bush and Soviet President Gorbachev will also be on display for public viewing.

These statements in wood are available through the month of June to collect or purchase as gifts, or for special commemorations. ⁴⁰⁶

Regarding his 1989 show and future work, Medeiros says:

That show I had, it was the first of its kind ever. . . . Last time a show was put on, any display of Lili' uokalani was at King Kalākaua's 50th birthday. My show was the Lili' uokalani and calabashes of all different sizes. I want to be known for two. I don't want to just make calabashes. I want to be able to be commissioned by the state when dignitaries come over to do some work for the state.

Medeiros has made Lili' uokalani 'umeke for Presidents Bush and Gorbachev, as indicated on the invitation, and for the Emperor of Japan, the Queen of England, and the State of Hawai'i. The bowls were not commissioned and were made to be presented as gifts. The 'umeke for Bush, Gorbachev, and the Queen consist of five units each. The Emperor's bowl has six. The one for Hawai'i is comprised of eight units.

He made a 'umeke for President Bush, he says, because when he worked for Blair's and made bowls for four presidents (and for the state), he was not allowed to put his name on

⁴⁰⁶ Stewart Medieros, invitation to reception, nested calabashes show, 8 June 1989, Richards Street YWCA Gallery, Honolulu.
them. He remarks that "Blair Hawaii by Stewart" could only be inscribed on the bottom of a bowl if a customer requested his work. In June 1990, before the ‘umeke was sent to Washington, D.C., it was exhibited for two weeks in Hawaiian Hall at Bishop Museum.

He remarks that the bowl for the state was made because of his love for Hawai‘i. Its eight units represent the eight islands of Hawai‘i. Medeiros says there are "three different colors of wood representing the colors of different nationalities." The milo top represents the crown brought from England. When inverted, it becomes a poi pounder "for a Hawaiian party." The other woods in the bowl are koa and Norfolk pine.

The top of the four unit bowl made for the Emperor of Japan converts to a rice pounder. Medeiros says, "They pound rice the way we pound poi so I thought it would be kinda nice giving the Emperor." When asked why the Japanese pound rice, he explains, "They pound rice to make mochi. They can actually make mochi out of this." The top of Gorbachev's bowl represents the Kremlin (figure 96), and the lid of the bowl made for President Bush signifies the dome of the Capital.

The presentation bowls in the 1880s were sometimes encircled by a brass band. Attached to the band of a bowl believed to be a gift from Kapi‘olani to Queen Victoria are oval medallions engraved with the English queen's coat of
Fig. 96. (left) Stewart Medeiros. Presentation bowl for President Gorbachev. Norfolk pine. 54" x 18". Note rope near top and on base. Belt with penny affixed encircles pedestal.

Fig. 97. (below) Display room at Hau'ula home of Stewart Medeiros. Presentation bowls, chalices (on table back right) and calabashes. Note poi pounders on top of two presentation bowls at left.
Medeiros adapted ornamentation similar in appearance but with deep personal significance. He has glued pieces of narrow rope within some of the grooves of the large turned 'umeke. The pedestal of each presentation bowl is encircled with a section of leather belt that has a penny affixed in place of a medallion.

Medeiros explains the symbolism of his embellishment:

The rope is 'get a grip on our life.' The belt is 'buckle up and buckle down,' both, whatever you want. It's when I buckled up and I just said 'Hey, it's time, get your life together.' ... The penny that's on the belt represents, since I was a child, the beginning of something. You begin small whether you like it or not and you go on. On it is Abraham Lincoln. This time in my life I will be honest. ... I like honest Abe; so the penny fulfills everything. Honest Abe--the beginning.

Medeiros reveals that the Gorbachev and Bush 'umeke "actually have the belt I wore." He likes making the Lili'uokalani calabashes because they are "more creative." He emphasizes, "See, I don't copy; it's in my mind. I'm doing which has never been done." Medeiros insists that he will not make two alike since he is "trying to create for the guy who wants something unusual." The Lili'uokalani 'umeke are "catching on," he notes with pride, and "the Hawaiians are buying it." In 1990 he completed his largest nested calabash yet, in honor of his daughter Marseé. The eight unit 'umeke

measures six feet one inch high and has a diameter of twenty-two inches.

Medeiros also makes chalices and turns "thick" calabashes that are often purchased by local residents who desire gifts for a baby lū'au (a party celebrating the child's first birthday). Some of the bowls in the display room of his Hau'ula home are illustrated in figure 97. Because the bowls for Blair's had to be made in uniform sizes, Medeiros says, "Now I won't make anything the same size. . . . I make them into whatever size I can get out of them." 408

Mark Le Buse skillfully carves reproductions and replicas that include: shark-tooth knives, bone fishhooks finished with a genuine Hawaiian coral file, niho palaoa, a carrying pole (copied from the Cox-Davenport book), and calabashes. A transluscent hala bowl with horizontal ribbing, similar to the McCandless bowl in the Bishop Museum collection, was hand-carved by Le Buse and displayed at The Hawaiian Calabash show at the Academy of Arts in 1989. Another choice hand-carved bowl is called "the kau-kau man" by the artist. The support figure at one end has an expressive face with an "O" shaped mouth and round ivory eyes with black coral pupils.

His eclectic motifs range from traditionally oriented Hawaiian objects to abstract fine art. Le Buse has carved mermaid figures, heads of Pele and Hi'iaka, and Marilyn

408 Personal interview with Medeiros, 15 August 1989.
Monroe. The *Hawaii Tribune-Herald* describes his work at the Atlantis Marine Park at Yanchet, Two Rocks in Western Australia:

. . . he did the numerous sculptures of famous people for the world's largest timepiece, "Celebrity Clock," 80 feet in diameter with such notables as John Wayne, Elvis Presley, The Beatles, Marilyn Monroe, Charlie Chaplin, Olivia Newton-John and Prince Charles and Princess Diana posed together at 12 O'clock. Included in the Atlantis are many of sea creatures. Seven playful porpoises greet the patrons at the entrance and dugongs, elephant seals, a giant turtle, a pair of dancing penguins and a seal balancing a rotating ball on his nose. The most eye-arresting is the 36 foot statue of King Neptune who seems to be arising from the sea to survey his kingdom and is pleasantly surprised at what he sees. He is depicted from his elbows up and there is enough room on his outstretched left hand and forearm for an entire school class to stand for photos. The staff of his trident is a 30-foot long power pole. The trident itself weighs more than 800 pounds. It is estimated that this sprayed concrete figure weighs about 160 tons. . . .

Le Buse states that he won the wood sculpture award at the Hilo Spring Art Festival in 1988 for *Aftermath*, an abstract circular form enhanced by the use of whorling grain (figure 98). When asked what the handsome sculpture represents, Le Buse replies:

It's the first, brace yourself, new embedded minimal surface in two hundred odd years. An embedded minimal surface, by definition, is a topological form that does not intersect itself. I picked up a copy of *Omni* magazine and they had a computer readout with this picture there and I thought . . . I got to do that. So I wrote to the

Fig. 98. Mark Le Buse. *Aftermath*. First Minimal Embedded Surface. Mango. 20" x 20".

Fig. 99. Phil Hooten. Whale ivory sash buckle with turtle from relief carved rock at Kohala Ditch. Miniature shark, fishhooks, whale ivory in various stages of carving.
professor of mathematics at the University of Massachusetts, Amhurst and told him that I wanted to do this thing, you know, and I admired his calculations. Actually he'd taken another man's formula, a mathematician, that had kind of abandoned this formula and he worked it up again. And of course now they've invented the computer so he got somebody to program it into the computer so they can show you what it looks like. . . . and he sent me his whole mathematical dissertation. I've got it lying around here someplace. It's got sections and all these kinds of things.  

The sculpture is considered to be an example of Hawaiian fine art, even though it was created by a haole artist and its inspiration was a computer image, because of the artistic use of the grain, the organic form, and its Pāhoa origin.

At the time of his last interview, Le Buse was making sandalwood Buddahs. A future project is carving "the largest kou calabash ever made" from the kou tree he obtained at Kaimū Beach. He says his twenty-two and one-half inch by twenty-six inch deep kou calabash is presently the largest known example, but the new one will be even bigger.

Hanging from the ceiling of Phil Hooten's workshop is an accurate miniature reproduction of a Marquesan canoe from the book Canoes of Oceania. The canoe was made approximately one inch to the foot. A nearby Hawaiian voyaging canoe was carved about three quarters of an inch to a foot. Hooten says the proportions are accurate. He used the woods described by authors Haddon and Hornell for various parts of the vessels.


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Another traditional reproduction is a kauila Makahiki Lono that Hooten carved for the Kona Hawaiian Civic Club.

One reason Hooten prefers not making exact reproductions is that some modern reproductions and replicas in Hawai'i are misrepresented as artifacts when they are sold to collectors and museums. He says,

I think that museum people kinda get scared sometimes when they see something that is too close. So I try to either pasteurize it, or sign it, or take it to a polish that they couldn't obtain. That sort of thing.

Hooten was distressed by an incident that occurred when he took an ivory fishhook he had carved to a Honolulu art dealer, after hearing that the dealer was interested in such items. The carver had drilled a hole in the fishhook so that it could be worn as a pendant. The dealer examined it and told Hooten that the hole would cost him a hundred dollars. The artist believes the dealer "wanted to stain it in chicken manure or something and say it was found in a cave." He says another method of simulating age is to force-feed a small carved object to a duck.

The other reason Hooten does not render exact reproductions is that he prefers rendering his own interpretation of the work. An example of one of his revised reproductions is a "Kanaloa," carved for the sugar boat Moku Pahu that transports Hawai'i sugar to the mainland. The image's title is Ka Haku Moana (Master of the ocean). For reference, Hooten used
a photograph of the 'aumakua image, A8, in the collection of the National Museum of Ireland (1607/80). Hooten made a number of variations from the original. Instead of looking over his shoulder, the image faces forward. Hooten did not peg hair onto the head as in the prototype, but carved a helmet instead. The right hand was brought from the front to the side of the figure. Hooten relates that the image was placed on the chart table in the Moku Pahu's chart room and stands on a tall iron base that was fabricated to enable him to see out of the window.

Although Hooten's innovative reproductions deviate from their prototypes, he says, "I try to use their techniques, their chisel marks and all the rest." Among Hooten's other revised reproductions are the support figure, S45, on the cover of Cox with Davenport; the Forbes cave images, K2 (9067) and K3 (9068), carved without their "headdresses;" and an 'ōhi'a Bloxam image, T1 (7883), with his hands at his sides rather than extended, carved for the Waiakea Village resort in Hilo.

As mentioned in Chapter II, Phil's motifs are not limited to Hawai'i, but are derived from other Polynesia areas as well. Examples are an elephant ivory reproduction of a "little Tongan lady" from an illustration in a museum catalog carved for a patron in Kona; and a Tahitian feather box he keeps in his studio. At the time of his interview he was carving "Tongan ivories" for a friend's grandchildren. He
developed an interest in other Polynesian cultures when he made visits to Bishop Museum and was allowed to examine the material culture photograph files, observing work that included Hawai‘i, the Cook Islands and Tahiti. Another source of inspiration for Hooten's carving is his copy of *Arts and Crafts of the Cook Islands* by Peter Buck.

The name of Phil's house and trademark, "Maka'io," is taken from a Marquesan tattoo on the arm and leg of a woman in another of Hooten's favorite reference books *Die Marquesaner und ihre Kunst* by Karl von den Steinen. Hooten's wife prevented him from having the tattoo applied to both of his shoulders.

When asked why he is particularly attracted to Marquesan art, he replies, "Because I was a Marquesan. Hawaiians came from the Marquesas Islands." He cites Chapter XV of the *Journal of William Ellis*, remarking that when Ellis visited Kohala, Hawai‘i in 1823 the Hawaiians had traditions regarding visits to "Nu‘uhiva and Tahuata," two islands in the Marquesas. Hooten says, "Anyway, I'm satisfied there's a close connection between the Marquesans and the Hawaiians."

Sometimes the artist makes a composite of elements from several sources or cultures. The surface of an innovative collapsible saw horse, held together with removable pegs, is


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covered with intricate carvings similar to those made in the Cook Islands and the Australs. Hooten says, "That's coarse work compared to what they did." He believes the original detailed carvings may have been executed with a shark tooth.

Recent jewelry carved from ivory and beef bone includes Tongan, Maori, and Hawaiian designs. A turtle motif in figure 99 is carefully drawn on a piece of whale ivory that will be fashioned into a sash buckle. It is taken from a relief carving on a rock at the end of Kohala Ditch, Hawai`i. Hooten remarks that the carved rock is located on a heiau that may have been dedicated to Kānenuiakea. He intends to carve the turtle in bas-relief. Replicas of Hawaiian fishhooks may also be seen in the illustration along with a miniature shark and various stages of carved whale ivory. When he is asked if the shark is made in the style of any particular Polynesian culture, he says "It's just a shark. . . . I make what I can get out of the ivory. I have to on that."

Hooten often designs his ivory carvings to become either pendants or pins. He sends them to a goldsmith in Hilo to be fashioned into jewelry.

A carved ivory fishhook wedged into a notched curling wood wave is entitled Ka Makau o Maui. An undulating incised white line, with broken curves beneath it representing water and waves encircles the base (figure 100). Hooten refers to the story that was the inspiration for the carving:
"When he [Maui] was pulling up the island of Maui, the hook came out of the fish's mouth and skipped across the water."
"This is Ka Makau o Maui. When he [Maui] was pulling up the island of Maui, the hook came out of the fish's mouth and skipped across the water and hit a rock at 'Upolu Point [Kohala, Hawai'i]. And the mark is on the rock today; so that's how I know its true." 412

When Tuione Poluto arrived in Hawai'i he recalls that he was motivated to carve when he observed the Hawaiian images. He says: "I fell in love with this Hawaiian things. I think they are the most beautiful. That's what I do most of the time--I do Hawaiian stuff. . . . Somehow I just like the Hawaiian ones. I prefer that over all other." He goes to the Bishop Museum and studies books to get inspiration for his designs. Pulotu makes revised reproductions of the images rather than exact replicas, believing that he works as the traditional carvers did, limited by materials, and uncertain of the outcome when the image is begun:

I look at the books. I study them. I like to stay as close as I can. My style, my idea of doing the Hawaiian stuff--I don't actually copy them. But I study how they are made and the style how they made them and I carve it doing it my own way. To me, whoever came out with that idea of carving that, he didn't know exactly that's how the thing's going come out. He has the idea. He sees the idea but as he carves, it depends on the size of the wood and the kind of wood he use, you know. And he work with that and when he come out with the finished product, now we say, 'this is it.' To copy it--to always be a copy of somebody elses work.

412 Personal interview with Hooten, 26 July 1989.
He keeps each image within a particular style:

But to me, if I use the style, and, you know, like your mouth is like that, and that kinda eye they also have in the different shapes. There's another kinda eye that they also use—I can use that. But you have to stay within the style of that kind of tiki. It's very much the same, but I guess it depends on the size of wood you have. You know you have a wider wood you make it the same way, but it will appear a little bit different because you have wider arms and whatever. 413

His ambition is to carve all of the Hawaiian "tikis."

Three of his six images that stand in front of the Alii Luau Restaurant at the Polynesian Cultural Center are illustrated in figure 101. They are (left to right) revised reproductions of T5, British Museum, London (1839-4-26-8); K2 or K3, (9067 and 9068); and T26, Temple Square Museum, Salt Lake City (102). An image Pulotu carved for the Hawaiian Village at PCC is also illustrated (see figure 102). Standing next to a waterfall, the image is an effective, but tongueless, version of T3 (7654).

Among his best works are two enormous calabashes, one five feet high with a three foot one inch diameter; the other forty inches high, with a forty-one inch diameter. Both bowls are upheld by carved human support figures. One of the calabashes has a lid with a carved breadfruit on top. The oversize 'umeke are locked in a building on his property.

Fig. 102. Sione Tuione Pulotu. Image by waterfall in Hawaiian Village, Polynesian Cultural Center. Monkeypod. 6' x 26" x 13".

Fig. 103. Richard Howell. Kua Paka'a (The Wind-blower). Milo. 18 3/4" x 15" x 5 3/4". Photograph taken at Pauahi Nu'uanu Gallery.
When he was interviewed, Pulotu was carving a lifesize likeness of David Kaapu, called by Fuchs "the philosopher prince of Punalu‘u," clad in a malo and tophat and holding a cigar. His "fluffy dog" is at the Hawaiian's side (Figure 27). Kaapu, who stood at the roadside in Punalu‘u, thus attired, smiling and waving to people in passing cars, was a familiar sight to residents driving to the North Shore of O‘ahu. Fuchs writes that Kaapu was "trying desperately to be faithful to the old ways and said, more with sorrow than with bitterness, that he had been destroyed even before he was born."414

The titles of Richard Howell's most recent carvings relate to Hawaiian folklore. He says that since he has never taken an anatomy class his figures "won't match up anatomically." This does not detract in any way from the charm of his work. His innate sense of design is apparent and the movement and vitality of each piece is impressive.

The wind-blower Kūa Pāka‘a depicts the pot-bellied son of Pāka‘a, clasping a spear and blowing, his head tilted back and cheeks puffed out, for all he is worth. (figure 103). The figure squats next to a miniature calabash on an irregular vesicular basalt base. Pukui writes:

... Because of jealousy, Pāka‘a was banished to Molokai where he taught his young son Kū-a-pāka... the wind chants. In one story young Kū called out more than one hundred wind names for various

414 Fuchs, p. 9.
Hawaiian islands, including twelve for the single valley of Hālawa, Molokai.\textsuperscript{415}

In \textit{Maui Fishing up the Islands} a small boat abounds with commotion as entwined figures paddle or try to club the angry fish lunging across the stern (figure 104). A brief explanation of the scene accompanies the carving at Pauahi Nu'uanu Gallery: "A demi-god with an ulua fish form that was hooked by Maui in his efforts to unite the islands." The boat, with a benign human face carved on the prow, rests on a separate koa stand of carved undulating waves.

Also illustrated is a smooth polished mo'o 'aumakua carved from Bali ebony (figure 105). The gecko with a looped tail and scalloped toes is reminiscent of a Maori greenstone hei-tiki.

When Jim Kawamura first began carving, he followed the procedure of Fred Cabalis, a craftsman he admired, and produced hapu'u tikis and Pele heads. As tree ferns became more difficult to acquire he turned to stone and wood. Jim recalls that "the first several of them--the first couple of dozen maybe wasn't even looking very nice, but the tourists just bought it, see? And then later on I got to carving a little fancier." Madge Kawamura observes "Sometimes when they're ugly people appreciate them and like them just as much."

Fig. 104. Richard Howell. Maui Fishing up the Islands. Koa. 24 1/2" x 9 3/4" x 12 1/2."

Fig. 105. Richard Howell. Mo'o. Bali ebony. 4 1/2" x 3 1/4".
He formerly produced bowls on a lathe, but finds tikis easier to make. He remarks, "But boy you have to cure the wood and dis and dat and this--I just carve it and I don't even need to sand it or anything. All you have to do is slap some what-you-call."

"Salad oil," Madge explains.

His images are not copied, but are novel revised reproductions. The tall monkeypod tiki (figure 106) in his living room appears to be a variant of the pair K2, K3 (9067, 9068). The bent knees, pointed down toes, the arms akimbo, the figure-eight mouth inner-ringed with teeth suggest the originals, as does the furious scowl produced by crenelated eyebrows. The headdress, however, is stylized, and the braid is not an integral part of the headdress and extends down the back beyond the feet. The eyes are slanted rather than triangular. The main image stands on the heads of a double figure below that is balanced upon the back of a turtle. Jim says the turtle is from Turtle Back Cave in Kohala. Phil Hooten used the same motif in his belt buckle.

When he is asked about the double figure, Kawamura says he originated the idea. He relates that some of his other tikis had a male and female image, back to back. He remembers that they sold well.

Another image in the Kawamura living room (figure 107) entitled 'Aumakua is a modification of the familiar "temple image" T3 (7654). The original headdress is suggested and the
Fig. 106. (left) James Kawamura. Tiki. Monkeypod. 11' 6" x 20" x 12". Photographed in the living room of his Leilani Estates home in Pāhoa, Hawai‘i.

Fig. 107. (below) James Kawamura. ʻAumakua. Milo. 2' 9".
stance is similar, but the knees dip lower. The eyes are dislocated and the figure-eight mouth and teeth can be recognized as typical of this image style. The tongue, however, instead of projecting upward toward the nose, hangs loosely down from the mouth to the middle of the body. Kawamura remarks, "He doesn't say very much with the tongue hanging down . . . . Some people like that kind, you know."\textsuperscript{416}

Tommy Leong produces traditional forms such as calabashes, pig trays, and poi pounders. He believes that he may have made the first wood poi pounder in modern times. Actually, "poi pounder" may be a misnomer. The name is used by contemporary carvers because the carved wood pounders are in the form of traditional stone "knobbed pounders" made to mash cooked taro for poi. Bishop Museum has a "wooden pounder," C.5514, shaped like a stone knobbed pounder, in its collection. Peter Buck classifies it as "aberrant" and writes that it was used for pounding sea weed and breadfruit.\textsuperscript{417}

Today wood "poi pounders" are produced by a number of carvers. They are often designed to be used as gavels, but they may also serve as decorative objects. Leong describes his influence in adapting the traditional tool for contemporary use:

\textsuperscript{416} Personal interview with Kawamura, 26 Jan. 1988.

You know some years back, maybe about twenty-five years ago, this guy Buster McGuire, he was some kind of executive with United Airlines, he comes here every year buys gavel from me. I said, 'Why you waste your time, why don't you get a poi pounder?' When I introduced that to him, by golly, you ought to see, they went for it. And when they went for it, I started getting orders.

Tommy relates that after United Airlines purchased the wood poi pounders, he received orders from Kamehameha Schools and others. "... all different people buy it from me. Even the City Councilmen, they all buying it from me."

A handsome koa pounder from the House of Kalai is illustrated in figure 108. The upper terminal knob is typical of traditional stone knobbed pounders. Variance from the traditional form is apparent in the slender neck that flares to an exaggerated convex under-surface. The pounder, or gavel, rests on a one and three-quarter inch circular wood base.

Another innovation attributed to Tommy Leong is the design of the woodrose bowl. The bowl, with the rim carved to resemble the petals of the woodrose blossom, was most popular in the 50s and 60s, but is still produced today. He also has continued making leaf-form and free-form bowls and trays (figure 109).

The tikis currently produced in his shop are simplified rather than exact reproductions because of the high cost of labor. Nevertheless, Leong's tiki can be recognized as a

Fig. 108. Tommy Leong. House of Kalai. Poi pounder gavel. Koa. 7" x 4 1/2". Stand 1 3/4 x 6 3/8".

Fig. 109. Tommy Leong. House of Kalai. Leaf-form tray. Koa. 14" x 19" x 2".
modified version of the popular temple image, T3 (7654) from Bishop Museum (figure 110). The pectorals and bent knee stance are reduced to diagonal planes. The arms hang at the sides, the elongated eyeball protrudes, and the mouth is hollowed into a wide figure eight grimace. The bevel of the eyeball, the elaborate headdress, and the bicep, elbow, and hand of the prototype are suggested by incised lines. Altogether, the design is pleasing and the face is no less expressive than the original image.

Leong has also carved a number of decorative and functional wood objects for churches, such as crosses and collection plates.

Brian Takano's motifs today are primarily "women's faces and tikis." He says that his favorite subject has always been driftwood faces. He remembers: "My favorite thing to carve was faces because I thought that once I knew how to carve faces--I heard it was the hardest thing to do--then I could carve practically anything. It's not really true." Brian relates that the faces he carves do not represent Hawaiian women: "Mine are more like a pleasant feeling. When the person has it, they look at it--they feel good. It's my way of making a person feel good." Some of the faces are mass-produced in graduated sizes and others are hand-carved from driftwood in the tradition of Fritz Abplanalp, Frank Schirman, and Paul Fujimoto. A handcarved face is illustrated in figure 111.
Fig. 110. Tommy Leong. House of Kalai. Tiki. Milo. 9" x 3" x 3 1/2".

Fig. 111. Brian Takano. Woman's face. Milo driftwood. 34" x 24" x 21".

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Takano uses only Hawaiian motifs for his tikis, stating that Hawaiian art is "more warm" than other Pacific carving. He considers the work of other island groups to be crude and inferior. Takano studies photographs of Bishop Museum images for inspiration.

He can not afford to carve replicas. He explains:

... I wouldn't be able to make a living. So I just make a basic shape similar to it. I got to work with my tools. How the sandpaper can fit—the carving fits. How to do it the fastest way so that you can keep the price down. 419

The current tiki he manufactures in different sizes is a simplified version of the Bishop Museum temple image, T3 (7654). The headdress is tall, the upturned tongue angular rather than rounded; knees and arms are bent. As in the Tommy Leong tiki, details are intimated by a few incised lines.

Takano reflects that his work has been influenced by stories his father told him about his grandfather, a samurai who was "related to the emperor of Japan." Takano says, "A lot of the samurai way of life is trying to find the truth. ... Actually the true martial arts, the swordplay, are all leading to a higher level of understanding." He saw a Japanese movie about a legendary samurai "who wanted to be the best in Japan." He developed the ability to cut a flower with a knife so precisely that it could not be reproduced by

419 Personal interview with Takano, 28 May 1988.
another cutting instrument of any metal in the world. Takano relates this idea to the "clean cuts" on images executed by the kāhuna of the past. He read that the cuts were "so clean that it didn't seem like any primitive tools" were used. He believes that the samurai and the kahuna produced superior cuts because of the higher spiritual qualities they possessed.

One day a customer who ordered a tiki from Takano said he had heard that the best carvers in the world were the prison carvers. Takano said, "Oh, yeah? You mean to say that a criminal produces the best product? . . . Your thinking is wrong. The kahunas never did live a criminal life. That's why they could sculpt such sculptures."

Takano's explanation of his carving is sound and sensitive:

What you do is you study a lot of forms and you try to look for beautiful lines and pleasant things, right? All those type of stuff. And when you carve you taking away stuff that interferes with those beautiful lines. 420

Don Gallacher relates that initially he intended to have reproductions of traditional Hawaiian images modeled, cast, and sold at Coco Joe's. At his home on the Big Island, he still has in his possession a handsome black reproduction of a well-known Bishop Museum 'aumakua image A1 (C9595). The

pattern of the figure's plaited sennit skirt has been carefully incised. The tongue and jaw jut forward, as in the museum image, but the missing shell eye has been replaced. A glowering expression disquiets the viewer. The figure manages to capture both the form and feeling of the original. Although the image was expertly modeled by Andy Huhn and painstakingly cast and hand-finished, the ‘aumakua did not sell and was discontinued.

A variety of tiki forms have been designed since that time that cater to the taste of the public. Although based on traditional prototypes they are simplified in order to be cast without difficulty and to reduce cost. Designs are either provided by employees of the company or are purchased from free-lance artists. Valjeanne Budar of Budar Advertising, Inc. assisted Gallacher in marketing research to determine what products should be produced.

Many of the souvenirs sold today by Coco Joe's are designed by Ray Murray. Murray used reference books for the various tiki motifs, sometimes combining details from different images. Dan Kaufman says that the company has a library "of sorts" comprised of museum catalogues, tourist magazines, and South Pacific books. Often the artists obtain reference material at the public libraries.

Scale is generally not a consideration. The items are almost always smaller than their prototypes since they are designed to be transported in tourists' carry-on bags or
suitcases. Kaufman emphasizes the fact that his company produces souvenirs rather than replicas and adapts forms to meet the demands of customers. He remarks:

We don't profess to be authentic. We're in the souvenir business. A lot of the stuff that was authentic—we had to make changes because it's too authentic and it won't sell. You know, maybe it's too ugly. Like a real statue of the queen would not make it. She's got to be a pretty little queen. Same thing with the king. We had to dress him up a little bit. Some of the tikis and pieces that we've done, they said they want prettier faces. This is the comments we get back.

The revived interest in traditional forms has influenced Coco Joe's. Kaufman says, "... where possible we've done some that we feel are as close as we can get to an authentic piece—a couple of the newer ones." Joel Nakila produced some of the recent authentic tiki designs and feels strongly that more traditional images should be manufactured at Coco Joe's.

The current catalog lists a variety of tiki models that are designated "Ku," "Lono," "Kane," and "Kanaloa," cast in Lava, Hapawood, and Alii Gold. Others bear names such as: "Lucky Tiki," "Winner Tiki," "Aloha Tiki of Love," "Long Life Tiki," "God of Peace & Plenty," "God of Money," and "Kaula God of Truth." The tikis are either free-standing figurines, or serve as keychains, magnets, letter openers, pen holders, bottle openers, or bookends.

According to Kaufman, the most popular tiki models are identical free-standing figures designated as "Lono" in Lava,
Hapawood and Alii Gold (catalog numbers 16-159, 26-153 and 36-041); Hapawood figures "Lucky Tiki," (No. 24-030), "Lono" (No. 26-017), "Ku" (No. 26-137), and "Winner Tiki" (No. 26-151) and a Lava "Kanaloa" (No. 12-062). Several sparkling-eyed Lava tiki keychains are also bestsellers: "Aloha Tiki of Love" (10-095) and "God of Money" (10-205); and a Hapawood keychain, "Aloha Tiki" (20-093). Another favorite is "Ku Bottle Opener" (26-154) of Hapawood.

Individual labels identify the so-called function of each tiki. Printed on the tag for "Kaula God of Truth" is: "Kaula the prophet teacher believes the Hawaiian virtue of speaking the truth with Aloha from the Heart." A label attached to the "God of Money" offers assurance: "Keep this kala (money) Tiki in your possession and money and good fortune will be yours."

A red-eyed free-standing Lava "Kanaloa" bears a label describing the god's traits: "Eternal tiki God. Endowed with strong and weak human traits. Kanaloa was the eternal tiki god." A Lava "Lono Tiki" is simply identified as "God of Peace and Prosperity." The tag for the Lava tiki keychain designated "God of Peace & Plenty" offers hope: "Malo a me Nui brought peace and good fortune to the people and will for you too."

Kaufman says that an attempt is made to have some of the names and labels authentic and notes that they are "as close as we can get." He explains:

We have tried--I know a lot of the pieces it was just pulled out of the air. But we've tried to have an authentic base, you know, as far as where we can
get a name for a piece . . . But we make many more products than there are legends; so a lot of them are duplicated and the rest are made-up.421

The tikis themselves are well-proportioned and artistically designed. They retain a number of the traditional features unique to Hawaiian carving noted by Davenport and Cox, such as elaboration of the head, dislocation of the eyes, and the wrestler or dancer's posture. Other traits depicted that are common to Hawaiian traditional carving are an emphasis on the shoulders and pectorals, pendent arms slightly apart from the body, hands cupped down and facing inward or forward, and flexed knees and heavy calves.

One or more traditional Hawaiian images can be identified as the prototype for every Coco Joe's tiki. For example, the popular "Lono" figures (Nos. 16-159,26-153 and 36-041) are a squat version of one of the images found at Honokoa Gulch, Kawaihae, Hawai'i, K3 (9068). The best-seller "Ku" (26-137) is a fairly accurate reproduction of the well-known temple image, T3 (7654). Even the pattern of the wood grain of the original figure is indicated. In some of Coco Joe's figures, heads and bodies of the traditional images are interchanged. The prototype for "Kanaloa" (No. 12-062), another best seller, is the "slab image," called Waiānuenue, or Water-Rainbow, T24 (8049). In the Coco Joe's version, a body with faceted

421 Interview with Kaufman, 29 Nov. 1988.
surfaces replaces the slab base. As previously mentioned, motifs may be simplified or altered in order to be cast more easily. In some instances the artist has made changes to unify the design. All of the tiki motifs are readily identified as Hawaiian and no other Pacific influences are apparent.

In addition to tikis, the company mass-produces figurines of historical personages such as King Kamehameha and Ka'ahumanu, as well as a "Royal King," and a svelte long-haired "Hawaiian Queen" who wears a spaghetti strap evening gown and holds a brisé fan. Her head is adorned with a wreath of flowers (lei haku) and she wears a niho palaoa suspended on a necklace. Other full-round figures include "Hawaii Honeymooners;" "Aloha Keiki;" various Menehune; the goddess Laka, patroness of hula, surrounded by maile leaves; a Hawaiian "Kane Dancer;" a Samoan "Fire Dancer;" Tahitian males; and curvaceous women in different poses and states of dress representing Tahitian, Hawaiian, and "Polynesian" dancers and "beauties." A nude pregnant "Goddess of Fertility" designed by Andy Huhn was one of the best-selling items during the years Don Gallacher operated the company. A pot-bellied "Laki (Lucky) Menehune" resembling a Buddha is a companion piece. The majority of full-round figures have "Hawaii" inscribed in the front of the base.

Ashtrays feature pineapples; a whale; "Coco Joe" reclining beneath a coconut tree; the "Hang Loose" or shaka sign;
and "Hula Girls" or "Polynesian Girls." According to Kaufman, the best-selling ashtrays are two of Ray Murray's "Hula Girl" designs that depict bare-legged women surrounded by swirling skirts.

Although most of the keychains feature tikis, other motifs include "Coco Joe," pineapples, orchids, hula girls, a Tahitian Dancer, a surfboard, a whale, the "Hawaii State Fish," "Hang Loose," and a laughing figure similar to "Laki Menehune" named "Akaaka." The "Hang Loose" (shaka) hand is a popular keychain.

Among other manufactured souvenir and gift items are a variety of desk sets; plaques; plates decorated with dolphins, humpback whales and Hawaiian scenes; 'ulu or breadfruit leaf dishes; "Flowers of the Island" dishes; and pineapple napkin holders.

At the present time, everything at Coco Joe's is cast, but some customers mistake the Hapawood figures for carvings. On some of the Hapawood tiki models (Nos. 26-039 and 26-017), a surface pattern gives the effect of faceting. Other Hapawood surfaces suggest wood grain artistically exposed (Nos. 26-061, 26-1371, and 26-153.) The Lava tiki models have an overall pattern that simulates the rough-pocked surface of vesicular basalt found in Necker Island images. Coco Joe's Lava tiki designs, however, do not exhibit traits found in Hawaiian stone carvings but are taken from traditional wood images.
Feelings of Hawaiians Regarding Non-Hawaiians who Utilize Hawaiian Motifs

Rocky Jensen vehemently objects to non-Hawaiians using Hawaiian motifs. He relates that he had a long discussion with the owner of a company that produces tiki souvenirs:

I wanted him to stop making these things. And I said, 'I realize you have a business,' but I said, 'so do I. But as a native it's going to be very difficult for me to sell my things because I don't have the facilities you have.' And I said, 'And what makes it very wrong at this point is that it's not part of your culture, so you really don't care morally. Physically everyone can do what they please.'

In addition to talking to non-Hawaiians who produce traditional work Jensen says: "there are many times I've gone to the legislature, talking to the various senators and representatives to stop this type of thing." Speaking of a local carver of Japanese descent, he adds, "They can make a living, but if he's Japanese--make a living off the Japanese then. Tell them how you Japanese came here. They don't know that on the Mainland."

Lucia Jensen remarks, "And see, this is America where anyone can do anything. Freedom is Number One. So it's like I can come from Timbuktu and create whatever I want to create because I'm an American. That's the problem that we have." She states that another reason her husband is opposed to
non-Hawaiians doing traditional carving is that he hopes to establish a carving program for Hawaiian youth. 422

When Hanapi is asked how he feels about non-Polynesian artists adopting Hawaiian forms, he replies, "I don't look at it too good. I don't look at it too good because they're making money off my culture or understanding what they're doing." He is not pleased that Hawaiian images have been commercialized:

That's why I don't make too many images anymore. Except every once in awhile, I'll make an image, something special for a traditional ceremony. . . . otherwise I don't. . . . There's so much more to bringing a ki'i into an existing image, you know, of a god, and there's so much more to it than a lot of people know who've been commercializing it and making it into a tiki, which really shouldn't be called a tiki. It should be a ki'i, you know, an image, the proper way of saying it. And I just got to seeing it everywhere--you know, magazines, books, marketplace, stores. It just turned me off to the point where I just got sick--disgusted with it--commercially done of our culture. And I just stopped doing it myself except for special occasions.

He concedes, however, that "you can't stop that. That's somebody's expression if he wants to express something from the Hawaiian culture. It's just like if I want to do something African." Hanapi says the significant factor is "the attitude of the people doing it." 423


Ron Barboza objects to the large number of mainland artists who have moved to the Big Island and adversely affected the market for local carvers. "A lot of free lance artists is coming in from anywhere and just occupying space [in shops] that we could have occupied as far as local artists are concerned. They just make anything and sell it as local art."\(^{424}\)

Thomas Kalahele is unconcerned if non-Hawaiians copy calabashes or other Hawaiian forms.

What do you say about people who are copying anything? If they're copying it because they're marveling at the technique and the form and all that --far out. If they're copying it to make a god--well, I'm sorry, but you are not empowered with that mana to do that. So you can do all that you wish.

If the purpose of copying is to make money, it makes no difference to Kalahele.

That's usually the reason for copying it. Well, I think again then, should we be mad with all the Filipinos turning out monkeypod bowls? I think it gets back to that kind of a thing. If we're going to relegate our art back to purely things that we can put our fingers on that only belong to us. Nobody else can do this, otherwise everybody else is wrong--I have a problem with that.\(^{425}\)

Another Hawaiian artist who is not disturbed by others creating Hawaiian art is Michael Dunne. Michael admires the


fanciful carvings depicting Hawaiian folklore by non-Hawaiian Richard Howell, represented in his gallery.

Michael's impatience with Hawaiians is one reason he doesn't object to artists with Richard's talent exploring Hawaiian themes: "Sometimes I feel like I can't wait for my people to do something, because sometimes they're kinda slow doing things. So I feel if someone else comes in and does it, that's good." 426

Kana'e Keawe concurs: "We have a goal of preservation. And if it's going to be a non-Hawaiian who can preserve it, I'm all encompassing, I'll take them in and teach them." He says,

I would not have any qualms about teaching a non-Hawaiian at all. In my past of teaching all the musical instruments, tapa making, featherwork classes, I have taught non-Hawaiians because the State Foundation funded classes and the Council on Hawaiian Heritage funded classes, they have to be non-discriminatory because these funds are federally subsidized. So you cannot discriminate.

Keawe is perplexed by the fact that non-Hawaiians demonstrate more interest in Hawaiian craft courses than Hawaiians:

And I've always realized that our non-Hawaiians are the greatest participants. They're the ones doing the quilting, and the weaving and other things. And I've always questioned, where are the Hawaiians when a class is advertised and I'm the teacher? I look through the first night of enrollment. Where are our Hawaiians? They're probably home watching TV or drinking. Anybody


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and everybody I will teach. So if we want to save ourselves and go back [to the traditional culture]—where are the enrollments? Where are the students?

Keawe says "if you're looking at somebody who wants to go back, he'll say Hawaiians and Hawaiians only" can produce the art. Keawe asks the question often raised by non-Hawaiians: "But are we of pure Hawaiian extract to make that claim?" He describes his confusion when he first realized he was "of mixed racial extraction:"

It was about maybe when I was about eight years old when I began to ponder the possibility that I was of mixed racial extraction. That if and when there was ever a governmental decree that everybody has to go back to where they came from, was a part of me going to go back to Japan, part of me to Portugal, a part back to the mainland? My dad's mother is pure Japanese. She was the one of my set of Hawaiian grandparents that I thought was pure Hawaiian. I think it was maybe about twelve that I began to realize that I was part Japanese. But I realized back at eight years old I was mixed—have to go here and there. 427

Rocky Asing states that it would be a violation of a basic American and human right to restrict particular individuals from making Hawaiian art. He declares: "I think this is Hawai'i now. This is America. You cannot deny these people as human beings. I can't deny them of what they should do and shouldn't do."

He believes, however, that if the non-Hawaiians do not follow traditional procedures they will be prevented from creating the art. He explains:

I think that they have the right to do it if they ask the stones the way they should. . . . And if they shouldn't do it, then something's going to happen and they're not going to be in the circumstance of doing it. And if they're able to do it, they're going to do it. And if they're still doing it, that means they're able to do it.

Asing questions, however, whether the art produced by non-Hawaiians can be regarded as authentic Hawaiian art since it would have no cultural value. He observes:

Only thing I think is that when they look back and they say, 'Did a Hawaiian do this?' They're going to say, 'No, it was a haole guy that moved there from the mainland.' And that's the truth behind it. But when you going to look back and you got a stone from Easter Island and the Easter Island guys carved it— or did somebody from Europe bring it down? What is it worth really? Does it have a meaning? Does it have a life? Does it have a culture behind it? Does it have a tradition following it?

But the thing is, I think that if they're haole people, which is 'foreigner'— they could be Japanese or whoever—and they decide to do Hawaiian carvings, I don't think that it is very much of a Hawaiian carving, although their subject could be Hawaiian.\footnote{Telephone interview with Asing, 16 July 1989.}

Levan Sequeira feels that non-Hawaiians experience difficulty capturing the "Hawaiian feeling." He explains:

Because to carve Hawaiian you've got to understand it. It's like, there's a certain frame of thinking. You think only along a certain channel of thought.
That's the way a lot of carvers think in this state. You get guys that come down and say, 'Okay, I'm a woodcarver; I learned in Massachusetts.' So they say, 'Well, I'm going to carve a Hawaiian image.' They do it. Well, what it ends up is a god by this carver because they don't know how to catch the essence of . . . this Hawaiian feeling. That is so very important. If you don't have that it's not going to come out Hawaiian.

He does not object to others making Hawaiian objects if they are able to capture the feeling. He says, "More power to 'em. Do it right. If you can do it right, fine." 429

CHAPTER X

COMMERCIAL CONSIDERATIONS

Contemporary Commercial Establishments

Blair Ltd.

Formerly on Auahi Street, the Blair Ltd. sales room is located on Ward Avenue. All of the branch shops have closed. Millard Blair still maintains an interest in the business but has moved to Arkansas. Jean Suzuki, an employee since 1951, continues to be involved with the daily operation of the establishment. The company's workshop was finally closed in February 1989, according to Suzuki, because "Everything's too expensive--material prices, everything went up. Rent went up. Can't hire anybody for six or seven dollars any more." She now purchases handmade items from carvers who have "one-man shops." She says, "If I buy something, I know my costs." Although Blair's workshop has closed, "... nothing's changed because I've still got my merchandise."

She buys most of the turned bowls and carved wood objects from three men on O'ahu. Two are former employees: past foreman Richard (Sonny) Gayagas, who carves leaf-shape and free-form trays, bowls, and tikis; and Terry Rivera who turns calabashes. A koa leaf-form tray by Gayagas and a koa bowl by Rivera are illustrated in figures 112 and 113.
Fig. 112. Richard (Sonny) Gayagas. Leaf-form tray. Koa. 28 1/2" x 17 1/8" x 2".

Fig. 113. Terry Rivera. Calabash. Koa. 4" x 10 3/4". Blair's Ltd. on Ward Avenue.
Terry Rivera, of Filipino-Chinese descent, worked at Blair's for six years, beginning in 1952, when he produced leaf-form and flower trays operating a spindle-carving machine. He opened his own woodcraft shop, Nani Ohia Woodcraft, in 1959. When Rivera moved to Kāne'ohe in 1963 he changed the name of his business to Kaneohe Woods. Now operating his one-man shop under the name Polynesian Woods, he sells his products to Blair's and several other outlets. In addition to calabashes, he produces free-form bowls, "tiki gods," fish, and birds.

The third craftsman, Ed Pratt, was formerly employed by Paul Fujimoto. Suzuki says that Pratt does "beautiful work." He carved the seventeen foot image that stood in front of Bishop Museum. Suzuki buys canoes, catamarans, and takis from Pratt.

She relates that wood items are no longer imported directly, as they once were, from the Philippines, Hong Kong, and Thailand. Some of the Thailand objects remain in Blair's showroom, but no more will be imported after they have been sold. The quality of wood from Thailand was not satisfactory, Suzuki says, and overseas shipments often contained a significant number of defective or cracked bowls. She now purchases and regularly stocks monkeypod made-in-the-Philippines bowls from a local distributor in Hawai'i (figure 114).

Many of Blair's "old" customers continue buying bowls and trays at the shop. As in days past, inscriptions can be wood
Fig. 114. Calabash made in the Philippines. Monkeypod. 4" x 9 1/4". Blairs Ltd.

Fig. 115. Mirror, letter openers, jewelry box, "Post-it" holder. Koa. Blair Ltd. on Ward Avenue, Honolulu.
burned on the objects. A few carvings on the shelves at Blair's are mementos of the period when woodcraft was most popular. Among them are faces, birds, and fish by Paul Fujimoto, a plaque by Chris Sorensen, and two small cast figures of a man playing a 'ukulele by Frank Schirman. Suzuki recalls that "Mr. Blair and Paul had a real good working relationship all through the years." When Blair moved to Arkansas, he took many items made by Fujimoto, including a "treasured" five and a half foot kou carving of a nude woman.

Today the best-sellers are the monkeypod and koa calabashes. Suzuki says that in addition to the "traditional" bowls, locally made koa items that are stocked include: leaf and free-form trays and bowls, "buffet trays," condiment trays, clocks, desk sets, mirrors, in-and-out letter trays, pen sets, memo clip holders, and business card containers (figure 115). Furniture has been discontinued, but Suzuki mentions that Blair's has a "big operation" in "fashion jewelry." The jewelry is bought by tourists and local residents, and is exported to the Mainland. It is made of shell, semi-precious stones, and wood.430

Coco Joe's Products, Inc.

Don Gallacher was a tuna boat captain in San Diego when he decided to move to Hawai'i and "fish lobsters." He was

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unable to establish a place for himself in Hawai‘i's fishing industry and bought Coco Joe's in 1961, then a small gift shop at Punalu‘u, O‘ahu. Gallacher purchased some black coral trees and began making jewelry to sell with the other items in the shop. After he was afflicted with a health problem caused by inhaling coral dust, he switched to casting "tiki heads" in resin.

Upon the recommendation of a friend, Gallacher hired Andy Huhn, an artist of considerable talent, to design souvenir items. During the period Huhn worked for the company, he and Gallacher developed molds and casting procedures together. The products sold well and eventually Coco Joe's became the largest manufacturer of souvenirs in the state. As business expanded, a factory and offices were established at the site of Yamashiro Building Supply in Kāne‘ohe on the windward side of O‘ahu.

A setback occurred when a former employee was hired by a rival company and duplicated Coco Joe's designs and molding processes. The competitor offered almost half of Coco Joe's line to Duty Free for a twenty-five percent discount. Gallacher says, "I was asleep at the switch. You know, I'd had the market all to myself. One day I'm in and the next day I'm out on the curb." The rival company was not successful, however, and Gallacher soon regained his former customers.

When artist Ray Murray was hired in 1972, he and Gallacher developed additional innovative casting techniques.
New products were designed and introduced as advanced sales procedures were instituted. Computer spreadsheets indicated which items were "top sellers." Salesmen who worked on commission promoting their favorite items were replaced by housewives assigned accounts in Waikiki, trained to stock shelves and take inventory. Delivery trucks met the women at designated times and merchandise was placed directly onto shelves rather than in stockrooms where it had often remained for a number of days. Business continued to expand and Coco Joe's was designated the "Small Business of the Year" in 1973.

Gallacher decided to retire in 1984 because of poor health. He and his wife Darla felt that they had "come up to a plateau" in the company and did not believe it was possible to attain a higher level. After the business was sold to Sam Kaufman from California, the Gallachers moved to the Big Island. They presently reside in a hilltop home at Hāwi (Figure 116).  

At the time of his interview, Dan Kaufman, one of Sam's sons, served as General Manager of Coco Joe's. He has since been replaced by his brother Dave. Another brother, Don, is assistant manager. Dan said that when his family purchased the company it was well-known and thriving. Today the products are sold to Duty Free Shoppers; ABC Discount Stores; other smaller chains; the Army, Navy, and Air Force military

431 Personal interview with Gallacher, 26 July 1989.
Fig. 116. Don Gallacher relaxes at his home in Hāwī. Authentic ‘aumakua image discontinued by Coco Joe's in the 60s is on table in foreground.
exchanges; and hundreds of small gift shops. Referring to the long-standing success of the company, Kaufman said he remembered his grandmother in California bringing home a Coco Joe's lava souvenir from Hawai'i in 1965.

House of Kalai

Referring to Coco Joe's, Tommy Leong says, "They don't carve it, they just mold it. We don't even think about that." Tommy's wood products are still produced at the Kalihi site where he first established his business in 1956. Leong formerly sold his work to prominent mainland stores: Marshall Field in Chicago, Bullocks Wilshire in Southern California, and Woodward Lothrop in Washington, D.C. He also operated five shops in Waikiki in addition to his factory salesroom on Auiki Street. The retail outlets were located at the Sheraton-Waikiki Hotel, the Hyatt-Regency Waikiki, the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, the Ilikai Hotel, and McInerny department store in Waikiki. The outlying shops were closed eight years ago because of "too much overhead and competition with the imports."

Leong observes that buyers' tastes have changed through the years. When he first opened his shop, driftwood faces sold well. He remarks, "Now I try to give one of mine away they won't take it." He says, "You know, one time the tiki was good seller. Now it isn't that good. Occasionally you find people that want that." Leong recalls that formerly the
leaf-shape and free-form bowls and trays were in demand, but today everyone wants a round calabash.\footnote{432}

House of Kalai makes commemorative gifts and decorative and functional wood objects for a number of Hawai‘i businesses and institutions including: the Honolulu City Council, Kamehameha Schools, the University of Hawaii, Punahou School, First Hawaiian Bank, Honolulu District Court, the Kahala Hilton Hotel, the Halekulani (hotel), the Sheraton-Waikiki Hotel, Hilton Hawaiian Village, and Canlis Restaurant in Honolulu and Seattle. Leong made the perpetual trophy as well as individual trophies for Aloha Week. He also presently makes the trophies for the Trans-Pacific Yacht Race. See Chapters II, V, VII, and IX for further information about Tommy Leong.

**The Tongan Trading Company Ltd.**

The proprietor of Tongan Traders is a Caucasian who uses a Tongan noble name, Mulikihaamea Matekitoga. The carved images, sold under the trade name "Hawaiian Discovery," are rough carved at an undisclosed location outside of Hawai‘i and finished by Matekitoga at Pier 2 of the Foreign Trade Zone. An informant indicates that the images are initially carved in Taiwan. According to Matekitoga's wife Elizabeth, the

\footnote{432 Personal interview with Leong, 17 Aug. 1989.}
business began twenty years ago, with Tongan tapa and lauhala products as the principal merchandise.

She says the wood utilized in the carvings today is primarily mahogany, although cypress and camphor are sometimes employed. The majority of the subjects are Hawaiian images, reputed to be scale replicas. The sizes are reduced to accommodate the limited capacity of tourists' luggage. A number of books and catalogs on Polynesian art are in the office at the Foreign Trade Zone. The carvers are said to have photographs and line drawings for reference as they carve.

A tag attached to each carving includes a name and general information relating to the object; its provenance; present location; and the approximate scale of the object to the original. Authenticity is suggested by the seal of the Tongan Trading Company stamped over the statement: "This is to certify this is a Hand Carved Reproduction of the Original Privately Commissioned by Mulikihaamea Matekitoga." Another tag declares: "Made in Hawaii USA with Aloha." Hawaiian Discovery images are sold at the gift shops of the Bishop Museum and the Polynesian Cultural Center and at numerous other Hawai‘i retail establishments.

The Woodcarver

When Brian Takano sold his first carving, a coral flower, to his sister for ten dollars, he thought, "This is it; I'm
on my way up!" He then began carving driftwood faces, selling them from the hood of his car at the side of the road in Kāne'ōhe on Fridays through Sundays, earning around two hundred dollars a weekend. Next he produced simple forms of tikis, little birds, turtles, and fish that his wife could help him sand. They were sold to Waikiki gift shops for three dollars and fifty cents each. The stores charged seven dollars for the items.

When his wife tired of sanding wood, they experimented with cast resin products. Takano admits that their products were inferior to those produced by Coco Joe's and Hawaii Island Products and they lost around three thousand dollars. He then decided to return to what he did best—carving wood faces and tikis. After his shop burned down he was left with two-hundred dollars. Within nine months, working "night and day" he had saved forty thousand dollars. He then rented a shop and earned eighty-eight thousand dollars the following year. The next year he hired additional employees and increased his income to one-hundred thousand dollars.

The Woodcarver produces approximately three-hundred wood carvings a week. Takano says he is able to achieve this volume with the aid of the multi-duplicator machine that formerly belonged to Paul Fujimoto. He relates that the machine can reproduce twenty-eight objects up to six feet in length at one time. The final products are finished and sanded individually.
Takano's milo faces and tiki figures are produced in graduated sizes--fourteen inches, twelve inches, ten inches, eight inches, six inches, and five inches high. A printed tag, "By Brian of Hawaii," is attached to each carving. He discontinued making birds, fish, and dolphins. When the fragile objects broke, Takano recalls, they would be returned to his factory.

He also hand-carves driftwood female faces that retail for one hundred to one hundred forty dollars each. His wholesale price in 1988 for a driftwood face was around forty-nine dollars. In December 1989 prices for his mass-produced faces in different sizes at the ABC Stores in Waikiki ranged from $19.00 to $60.00; tiki figures were $22.00 to $104.00.

As noted in the preceding chapter, Takano's tiki design is a simplified version of the most popular traditional image in Hawai‘i. He explains: "You see, a lot of it has to do with the faster you can make them the more money you can make, because you cannot charge outrageous prices."\(^3\)

The Woodcarver's primary outlets are Duty Free Shoppers in Waikiki, ABC Discount Stores, and Products of Hawaii Too at the Hyatt Regency. For further information regarding Brian Takano see Chapters II, VII, and IX.

\(^3\) Personal interview with Takano, 28 May 1988.

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Sales from the Perspective of the Artists and Craftsmen

Commercial considerations are generally paramount for the artisans who carve full-time. When Mark Le Buse is asked why he carved a particular abstract sculpture, he replies, "To make money, I think."134

As indicated in their biographies, some of the artists carve in their spare time and work full-time in other occupations that provide their primary income. The part-time carvers usually have the freedom to carve the subjects of their choice and are not handicapped by constant financial considerations.

Kana' e Keawe says,

I don't rely on drum making for an income. I work for the electric utility here on the Big Island and that pays my mortgage and charge cards and other expenses. . . . We have to have another job to keep us going. You just cranking them out and you going to lose control in quality, just in the interest, perhaps, of producing volume--getting food on the table.135

Some of the full-time carvers recognize that they work under limitations that restrict them from producing their best work. Stewart Medeiros discusses his experience working at Blair's:

I'm a very productive person. I had to. When I worked for Blair's, Blair was a kind of a school.

When you work you gotta beat five, six people.
. . . . I held a record for a two by six. We used to
take time and I'd make a two by six bowl in thirty­
six seconds . . . . I made five-hundred two by sixes
one week.

Working under such circumstances, Medeiros admits he was
unable to turn bowls of the highest quality. He says:

My work was never fine at Blair's--Dan's and all
the rest. 'Eh,' I said, 'If I do that kind of work,
Blair,' I used to tell him, 'You gotta charge more.'
Because I was rushing and when you rush you can't
do this kind of work. . . . I can do fine work too,
but you can't make a good living doing fine work.436

Tommy Leong says:

The way how I look at it--my carving is production.
And then, I think you will be successful if you have
original and production. I'd be able to put out
lots of fine work, but I don't think I'll be able
to find somebody that will pay that price. So all
these years I've been studying, you know, it's the
cost. Even today, I'm not putting out the finest.

Leong recalls that in past years a great deal of hand-
carving was done in his shop, "being that cheap labor costs
and things like that was pretty good. But now the cost is so
great." His operation today is almost entirely mechanized.
Leong explains, however, that the human element is still
present: ". . . we have to do it with machine carving tool.
We guide 'em by hand, of course; you know, somebody have to
know how to handle it. I wouldn't say mass-produce, I would

say for faster. Every piece have this contour. It have to be guided."

He says that it is not economically feasible to produce and sell detailed hand-carved tikis in his shop today:

"We talking about commercial. We talking about production. You see, I have a Hawaiian guy that carve by hand. That's all hand done. Now who's going to pay for that? If he should work for me on my payroll I give minimum wage--I give four dollars an hour. How many hours will he do? Can I sell it--no. So what I do? 'Here the wood, you go home and carve and when you get through with it, you and I talk price.' So he comes with forty-five dollars for this. So I said, 'Well, maybe I can get ninety dollars.' Now who's going to buy it? This thing growing over here. Been a long time here.

He contrasts the detailed carved tiki with a modified version produced in the shop: "For this it takes me about maybe fifteen or twenty minutes to carve. We sand it. Will take us another thirty minutes. Ten inch--sixty bucks. You buy from me I give you twenty percent off. Compared with the ninety bucks . . ."

His customers' preference today for the calabash rather than the leaf or free-form bowls and trays creates a problem for Leong since the calabash is more time consuming to produce.

He says, "I always try to discourage people buying calabashes, you know, yeah? But they seem to go for it. So better keep my mouth shut. Because the calabash is taking me too much time." He explains that the curing process for a
calabash is of a greater duration than for leaf-shape and free-form bowls and trays. Warping is apparent in the round bowls but is difficult to discern in irregular objects.

He compares the prices of a leaf-form bowl and calabash of similar size in his shop: "Koa, we're talking about koa. This one here--fifty bucks [the leaf-form bowl]. This one here--one hundred thirty-five." Pointing to the calabash, he says, "This takes little more time. This cost me four months to have this completed." The leaf-form bowl was made in three weeks.

A benefit of the leaf and free-form bowls and trays is that optimum use of the wood can be obtained. Leong explains:

I get a slab of wood like this and then this slab of wood it isn't perfect like the way you buy this mainland wood--all uniform--all clean and clear. The wood we have--there's a big crack here, there's a big knot over here. Have to avoid a lot of things to make it. And then, that's my advantage, I have all kinds of patterns. Me, I know a little bit art so I make a free-form thing here, see, a partition here. And then my router routs these out. And then over here, maybe it's a good piece, work out a tray here, like this--you know, use the best I can. I work it out. We rout it out, we band-saw it perfect shape. Those little things my advantage. Maybe a leaf-shape tray. We like to get the bowls out of every one, but there's a lot of free-form piece. You be surprised how it's in the wood.  

Some of the part-time carvers do not feel they have to produce their work within a particular time limit since they

are not dependent upon their art for an income. Rocky Asing says:

I usually do a job and I tell them, 'I'm an artist and it gets done when it gets done. And nobody pushes me. And if you think you're going to push me, well, I'm going to stop right now.' Because I can't do that. I have to do it when I'm comfortable and there is no time limit to art. Art is forever. There is no time. I could do a sculpture and then go work on it twenty years later . . . and make it better. But art is done when its done. Nobody can tell you nothing because you're the artist. And if they did, they should do it themselves.

Asing is influenced by his mentor Robert Cox who believes in "doing things right no matter how long it takes."438

Some of the artists are good businessmen. They charge patrons an hourly wage commensurate with their skill for the amount of time it takes to complete a work. Others set a price that does not remunerate them adequately for the time they have expended. When Keawe decides to sell a drum, he realizes little profit from the endeavor. He says:

. . . if I could look at the time and do some time and motion studies, eventually, when the drum is completed I think maybe my wage would be fifty cents an hour--if you look at the time to go and cut the sugar cane leaves, burn it down, make that black pigment for it. And you start to lump sum all of this work and hours to the project--fifty cents an hour, maybe; for a thousand dollar drum.439

Another part-time carver, Levan Sequeira, charges an hourly rate that he feels makes his time worthwhile. One reason he doesn't use an adz for more of his work is that "today we don't have time. It's too valuable when you're charging people." He explains his philosophy:

When I first started selling stuff I was charging about five bucks an hour. Look at the stuff in stores that they buy from the Philippines and Taiwan. These guys were getting paid twenty-five cents an hour when I was there. That was in the sixties when I was out in the Philippines [in the Air Force]. There's no way that you can compete with that. You cannot work for twenty-five cents an hour. The only way I found to survive is to go high-quality low-volume and then you can start charging twenty-five, thirty, sixty bucks an hour. That's how I charge. I'll start out at twenty-five bucks an hour and that's it.\(^{440}\)

Full-time carver Henry Hopfe must work constantly to produce enough suitable merchandise to stock his booth for four fairs a year. He generally sells most of the items he carves. Hopfe says, "If I don't, that's okay, too, 'cause I'm getting started for the next one. Building inventory all the time." When a patron orders something, however, Henry must neglect his work for the fairs. He remarks:

That's why the inventory's a little lacking now because all year I've just been working on commissions. It was great, there was instant money right there. But on the other side of the coin, it takes away time from me making all my inventory which I just sell outright. But the other side of the coin of the selling outright, you don't know exactly

\(^{440}\) Personal interview with Sequeira, 10 Oct. 1989.
what's going to sell. You just gotta make, and just, you know, hope.

Hopfe explains his philosophy regarding supply and demand: "I believe that for everything made in the world somebody's there to buy out there somewhere. The right person, the right place, and the price is right. It depends on a lot of conditions."

Formerly, he was concerned about his financial circumstances but discovered that negative thoughts interfered with his creativity. Now he does not permit himself to worry. Henry believes that if he helps others, the Lord will provide his sustenance:

Like a lot of times in my past I don't really bog myself down with worrying about money--my next job, if I'm going to get one. I just like kind of go day by day, but I plan and I advance and I'm bound by this part spiritually. Physically I live, you know, day by day. But, you know, I'm not worried about money. . . . And I don't worry about it because I know somehow, somewhere when I need some money, really do, the guy up there, he sends it down. All the time whenever I've said, 'Oh, no, I'm really desperate; try sending some manna at all costs.' . . . Don't worry about money because then it gives you stress. And I can't create because my mind is preoccupied and my spirit's not free. And I can not have that; so I don't even worry about it. I just be a good guy and do what I gotta do and help people here and dere . . . and be a good kid, you know, good guy."

David Eskaran says he has never sold his carvings at craft fairs because he can't make them fast enough. When he

441 Personal interview with Hopfe, 9 Nov. 1987.
went to Australia with the Fifth Pacific Festival of Arts, he received about thirty orders from the dancers from Hawai'i. It took him a month to fill them. He says that unless he can devise a way of mass-producing his carvings, he won't sell his work at craft fairs. He doesn't carve anything for the gift shop at PCC, saying that the average person doesn't want to spend enough to make it worth his time. Visitors who observe Eskaran carving at the Cultural Center may buy his work there or call the office to commission a particular object. In these cases, the PCC retains a commission of thirty percent. Eskaran also sells carvings to buyers who come directly to his home.

Part-time carver Sequeira refuses to sell his carvings at fairs. He remarks that he was given advice by an acquaintance that it is better to have his work considered to be art rather than craft:

If I put my stuff in a fair it cheapens it. Because if you're going to sell it as craft then your price is going to be lower. If you sell it as art there's going to be a difference. . . . Don't label these things as craft. It's art.

He observes that in the fifties all carving was considered a craft: "... back in the fifties, when I went to school all of the wood-carving came from the Philippines or from the prisoners. So it was never pushed as art, it was like a craft."
Sequeira sometimes rejects offers to exhibit his carvings if he feels that the setting is not appropriate for art. He says, "So that's why I'm very skeptical about where I put it on display. Certain people ask me to put it someplace--no, ain't going to do it. It cheapens it. Gotta present it as art."

He prefers selling his work to corporations. Sequeira generally does not sell his carvings through galleries because of the high commission they demand. He remarks that the worth of one of the images in his living room is "three thousand or something like that. But then the gallery will turn around and sell it for six thousand--if it will move at six thousand."\textsuperscript{442}

Tom and Ron Barboza also resent the galleries' policies. When Tom is asked if he sells his work in galleries or craft shops, he replies, "I try to, but a lot of time it just sits there."

His brother Ron explains, "The mark-up's too high. They'll say, 'Okay, what is your price?' They'll quote your price, but then they'll mark it up a hundred percent and then they can't sell it. You're discouraged... And then they'll sell your object and then not tell you a lot of times. You're having to wait all the time."

Ron prefers filling commissions. He says:

\textsuperscript{442} Personal interview with Sequeira, 10 Oct. 1989.
I'd rather do things that way. . . . Bless the project then it goes on to a new owner. You know that was what they wanted. It's not sitting around where I'm worried about it and they're not taking care of it. Certain amount of instruction goes with caring for the wood itself.443

Dan De Luz overcomes this obstacle by operating his own retail outlet, although his bowls are sold at select shops as well. He also promotes his work with videotapes. De Luz had a twenty minute tape produced that describes how he began and demonstrates his process of bowl-making. The tapes are presented to patrons who show them to friends on the mainland.

The part-time carvers have the luxury of being able to retain as much of their work as they like and can afford to be more selective about who buys their carvings. Kana' e Keawe prefers not selling his drums at all. He has only sold two, and says, "I just don't have the heart to sell things I've completed because for all of the time and personal involvement in it. The attachment that you gain with an inordinate chunk of wood--it becomes like unto a child." When a prospective buyer approaches him, Keawe asks himself:

Will this person be the fitting parent for my child? Because that's the attachment that I get to the finished drum. And I've seen some people who are, I feel, who are not that adept in their hula skills yet to warrant the instrument.444


Levan Sequeira is also selective about his patrons. He says:

Selective to the point that sometimes some people approach me to do something and I talk to them and I don't like their personality. And I won't do it --especially with some of the images. Very careful about when they want it, I'll ask them what they want it for. 'What you going to do with it?' And if I feel that there's any wrong vibes, I'm not going to do it.\textsuperscript{445}

David Eskaran is concerned about how buyers use the traditional reproductions he carves. In those instances when he substitutes different materials for original ones, he is adamant that the object not be used in traditional ceremonies. Representatives of hālau have asked him to make reproductions of kūpe'e, bracelets or anklets of boar's teeth, cast in plastic, but he has turned down the requests. Eskaran states that rules of the hula competitions generally specify that the costumes must be of authentic materials and he does not want to participate in "any form of deception."

He will not sell a niho palaoa to anyone without knowing how it will be used because he believes that only certain individuals are entitled to wear it. He remarks, "It's one thing if they're going to keep it in a cabinet. But I make sure what their intention is. If they plan to wear it, I want

\textsuperscript{445} Personal interview with Sequeira, 10 Oct. 1989.
to know who that person is. And if I don't feel good about it I don't care how much money they offer me."

Sequeira has a different perspective. He says:

I made one [niho palaoa] about two inches out of ivory for this woman in California. It doesn't bother me. But in the same token, that one's mine but I never felt wanting to wear it. You know, when my grandmother passed away, they said we got royalty. Big deal, it must be in the end of my fingernail or something, you know. But I think there's certain things that are sacred that you have to respect. I made it for other people. They wear it—Hawaiian, non-Hawaiian, it doesn't matter.

Sequeira has kept a representative assortment of his work. In addition to recent carvings, he has retained some objects he made at Kamehameha Schools under the guidance of Fritz Abplanalp. Referring to the carvings in the living room of his Lahaina home, he says, "All of this stuff in here is not for sale. This is all personal."

Sequeira recalls that his grandmother said to him, "If you do anything, keep the first one." He remarks, "You make the first one and see the mistakes; so when you do the next one it's going to be better. She never explained it that way, but I figured it out."446

Henry Hopfe likes to save some things for himself and his family. He keeps the carvings in his house apart from his display room. He remarks:

446 Personal interview with Sequeira, 10 Oct. 1989.
A lot of people want to buy 'em. And I hate to say 'No.' It's not part of my make-up, I guess. I just say 'Naa,' I sort of tell 'em. 'Naa, I sell 'em, or whatevah.' I tell 'em a ridiculous price so they go 'Ohhh!' Then they don't want to buy 'em. So I just put it away, just so I can appreciate it. 'Cause actually, just about all the things I created, actually I create for myself. So if I don't sell it, I don't get upset. I feel comfortable with it.

There is a traditional precedent for the retention of the first thing made. Handy and Pukui write: "When some skillful piece of work was completed" it was blessed and consecrated "to its proper use." The authors continue:

This was essential, not for every product of craftsmanship, but for the first thing made: a first mat, quilt, fish-net, bowl, etc. ... it consecrated not only that first thing, but all of the same type that would be made by that person. The first-thing-made, and consecrated, was never given away: it must be put by and guarded carefully, for it was given to the 'aumakua and held the mana for that work for the person who had made it. It remained the precious possession of its maker.

Rocky Asing also saves some of his work. He says, "Sure, I love to keep it. I just have a hard time letting it go if it's really good." He saves some carvings, not only to enjoy, but to sell at a later time if they appreciate in value. Asing explains why he retained the stone puhi bowl: "If my art

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447 Personal interview with Hopfe, 9 Nov. 1987.

448 Handy and Pukui, pp. 102-03.
ever gets valuable, at least I know I'll have something. He continues:

... You know what I think? A carver should keep some of his sculptures, because one day his sculpture might be worth a lot of money. And if he has it in his house it's something that he can look upon. I always thought that maybe one day I just might sculpture for myself—for my own yard, for my house, because there's no way I could afford to buy any. So do it for myself. 449

Alapa'i Hanapi does not generally keep his work for posterity. He comments that his daughters "have me, that's enough. We have a wood carver so we don't need anything else." But he notes, "Certain things we keep. My mother has some and my grandparents. Yeah, I can save." One of his immediate family's most treasured possessions is the sandalwood bracelet carved for Mililani by a prisoner in appreciation for Alapa'i's work at Kulani. Hanapi remarks, "It's priceless, you cannot price this."

Hanapi dislikes parting with his work and prefers selling it to residents of Hawai'i:

Me, as an artist, I become attached to my pieces. I like them in the islands because I like look at them every once in awhile. I like go back and be able go see them. 'I think that's all right! Looks kinda nice.' 450

Since he traveled to Townsville and Washington, D.C. demonstrating carving, he has begun to make exceptions and sells his work to certain individuals who are not local residents "... if they really appreciate it and they really like it."

Many of the artists prefer giving away their art to selling it. When asked where he sells his carvings, Tom Barboza replies, "The majority of the time, I give them away and my wife gets so angry with me!"\(^{451}\) In some instances, the wives control the sale of the art. They are usually less emotionally attached to the work and are often more practical regarding money matters than their creative husbands. Hanapi says, "I always give everything to my wife first, because I would give it all away--'cause I don't like the money trip. So I give it all to my wife; then she decides where it will end up."\(^{452}\)

Fortunate friends of the artists are often the recipients of carvings for special occasion gifts. Understandably, Kanak Napeahi says, "I get more people who tell me, 'I don't want you buy me something, I want you make me something.'"\(^{453}\)


\(^{452}\) Personal interview with Hanapi, 26 Jan. 1988.

"Alapa'i Hanapi remarks, "Like when we go party, we get baby party or birthday or something, we looking around first what fo' we can give 'cause we can give a personal gift that you make. Usually we give a lot of our stuff away."

Some of the artists are idealistic, and carve, not for the money, but to perpetuate the culture or simply because they enjoy what they're doing. Hanapi likes to think of himself as a "people's artist." He says:

I'm not really interested in the money. Enough to keep me and my family together--I have the basic conveniences. But we're not really worried about that. Life is so short that we look for other values and meanings. Money is not . . . we no take the kâlâ--the dollar--we take the o ka 'aina."

Kana'ī Keawe is asked why he carves, since financial remuneration for producing his drums is clearly not an incentive. The artist replies: "Stress release from the regular workaday world and for the cultural traditional preservation."455

The family of David Eskaran wanted him to be an architect. He did well in school and a family acquaintance wanted to finance his higher education. Eskaran went to California, but returned home and explained to his parents that this was not what he wanted to do. He says,

I'm glad I stuck with carving because I'm doing what I like. . . . If you're in it for the money—that's wrong. There's no money in it. There's a few dollars to be made, but if you're in it, it's because you really feel a love for what you're doing. 456

Rocky Jensen relates that he doesn't say, 'Well, I've got to get ten of these things out because I've got to make money.' He states, 'I do them because these are things that I need to know, these are things that I need to portray. These are ideas that I need to express in public.'

He says, 'You see, the joy wasn't, 'I'm creating this because I know I can bring in twelve hundred dollars for this.' I don't do that. . . . You know, when something catches my eye—this catches my eye, so I'm going to work on it.'

Jensen believes that the culture should be embraced and protected, not exploited for financial gain. He mentions that he creates different kinds of images and says, 'I don't sell ancestral images, that's something totally different from my commercial.' He indicates that he was "forced to creating things with no idea of sales and money, with no idea of commissions in mind." Jensen continues, "The idea was that


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my responsibility was to create as many ancestors as I possibly can within my time."^57

Rocky Asing, speaks idealistically of art for art's sake. The clown face he and Robert Cox carved was created "just for meditation" rather than for a fee. Asing refers to his mentor: "He's into doing things just for itself. Most people do it for money." Asing, however, does not dismiss the idea of ultimately selling work that was created "for itself." He continues, "... I think doing it for itself is better, because once the quality goes in, it'll sell itself."

When Asing mentions a future goal, creating monumental sculpture, although he speaks of doing it "for itself," nevertheless, the commercial aspect is present:

... None of this small stuff--commissions for resorts, corporations, stuff like that. Because it's going to be really big and there's nobody I know going to be able to afford something like that. But I'm going to do it for myself, for itself, for fun, because I put good stuff in it, good feeling, and time, and work. It's going to sell itself and the only guys are going to be able to afford it.

Asing who presently works in a hardware store and is not dependent upon his art for a living, says he is not interested in selling to tourists: "I don't want to cater to tourists, because that's not what I'm there for. I'm there for the art

itself. If they want it, they can recognize it. And if not, maybe somebody in twenty years might appreciate it."458

Buyers and Patrons

Brian Takano classifies his buyers by nationality. He states that for three months each year, from July until September, his business diminishes. This occurs, he says, because most summer visitors are middle-class Americans who stay in low-cost Waikiki hotels. Takano claims that few Americans buy art objects, least of all, the numerous coeds who arrive in the summer to attend the University of Hawaii. The Japanese buy most of his carvings, he says, followed by Canadians. The Japanese also purchase large quantities of Coco Joe's souvenirs. Dan Kaufman says the gilded product called Alii Gold is more expensive than the other lines and is mainly purchased by tourists from Japan.

In his paper, "Tourism and the Artifact Industry in Papua New Guinea," Ronald J. May discusses the structure of the artifacts market. He finds two markets: one is established by collectors, the other by tourists. Collectors require a certain 'quality'—either "ethnographic authenticity, aesthetic appeal, rarity, or some combination of the three." He notes that although they generally prefer "true traditional art" or the best pseudo-traditional art, they may purchase


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'transitional' art. He classifies tourists into two groups: those who desire something 'genuine' "which captures the spirit of the primitive and exotic" and those who want something "decorative, useful or 'amusing'" which may or may not be representative of Papua New Guinea. Both of the latter two groups prefer small and inexpensive objects.\(^459\)

In Hawai‘i, there are the similar categories of tourists and collectors, but an important additional market for Hawaiian art is provided by local residents. Stewart Medeiros maintains that the Hawaiian Renaissance has changed the buyers carving market. He says:

> Then the Renaissance. The younger people all of a sudden went into baby lû'aus--everything changed. There was a time that mostly tourists bought the hardwoods. Today less tourists buy it. The locals are our biggest buyers. And it wasn't that way.\(^660\)

Those collectors interested in ethnographic authenticity or rarity, who wish to purchase only authentic traditional calabashes and artifacts, have found this market to be extremely limited in Hawai‘i. The few extant images, bowls, and other traditional articles of value have remained in museum and private collections for a number of years. These


collectors, and some museums, sometimes resort to contemporary reproductions and replicas of images. Revised reproductions, creative new forms of Hawaiian art, carved bowls with support figures, and turned bowls of excellent quality are purchased by collectors who care more about aesthetic appeal than authenticity.

Collectors' preferences, and local residents' renewed interest in traditional forms have defined the subject matter for craftspeople originally from the mainland, now working in Hawai'i. Many of the artisans specialize in 'umeke and reproductions of traditional artifacts. Referring to the traditional calabash form, Jack Straka says: "I didn't have any direction or specific direction I wanted to go. That's what you saw here and that's what sold here. And that's what I went with. And it sells. Hawaiian-shaped bowls are very good sellers."

Buyers who are not collectors often demand a utilitarian object. Straka remarks that tourists who want a bowl for practical use don't know what to do with a calabash that isn't wide-rimmed. He observes that patrons like his free-form bowls but comment that they don't know what to do with them.

Straka guesses that more than half of his 'umeke remain unused. He is not offended if people want to serve salad in his thin-walled, beautifully finished bowls. He says:

See, I'm doing it as a business. I know there's people that are going to use it for a salad bowl kind of thing or a serving type bowl and then
there's others that are going to use it for a decorative type piece and then there's others that aren't really using it, they're buying it as a gift for somebody else. I'm looking at sort of a wide market approach.

Jean Suzuki acknowledges that "a lot of times people buy bowls just to look at." But most of Blair's customers, she reports, want bowls that are practical. She refuses to stock thin-walled bowls because they not functional.

That kind of bowl, the thin one, I guess many people collect them. Everyday people can't use them because of the wear and tear on the bowls. Over here most people that come here to buy the bowls, buy the ones that they can use. Sometimes the bottoms are kind of thin and when you put your thumb on it kind of moves. So I have to close it out for something that's maybe one hundred and fifty dollars, I have let it go for fifty dollars because they can't use the bowl. The water will go right through it after awhile. So I don't have that kind of workmanship. I tell them not to make it too thin.

The buyers' tastes determine the type of wood grain they choose. Jean Suzuki says that the demand is generally for dark wood, but some customers look for light and dark contrast. Many of the Philippine bowls are light-toned since a large amount of sapwood is employed.

Suzuki notes that most buyers prefer the "dull, natural finish" of Blair's bowls. Lacquer is used to protect the

finish. She has an extra coat of lacquer applied for those who request a "high polish."\textsuperscript{462}

Tommy Leong says that many of his customers say they prefer an oil finish and assume a lacquer finish is inexpensive. He explains:

You know that oil finish, I think the people cheating the public on that oil finish. Like everybody else, when I say, 'Oh dis is hand rubbed, oil-finish, you know.' You know, the first impression you get, 'Chee, that's good stuff, that's worth money.' That's what you're saying, but you never see it.

He discusses the difference in his cost for the two procedures:

You know what I'm doing over there? After I oil, it, after its dry, I shoot my lacquer-sealer on. Do you know what forced me to buy a compressor--three hundred dollars up to two thousand bucks? Then you have to buy the spray gun. The spray gun run you anywhere from hundred dollars to three hundred bucks. Then your lacquer; you have to buy your lacquer--forty dollars, five gallon. Then your sanding-sealer--forty dollars. And then your thinner--forty dollars. And then all those when you end up cost a lot of money.

So now I'm going to tell you something; I'm lying to you now. I say, you know this, all oil finish. You know what I do? I buy a tub of oil--Wesson oil--a tub now. My tray, I dip it in there. I put it up, I dry it. After its dried I wipe it off. Oil finish. You know what my cost? My cost is the quart of oil.

\textsuperscript{462} Personal interview with Suzuki, 21 Aug. 1989.
Leong says it would not be economically feasible to expend the time necessary to duplicate the oil finish on traditional bowls.

Old time Hawaiians—oil finish is something that you really like. You know why? They put that oil on; they rub it maybe thirty, forty times, you know, to get that sheen on, that oil finish. You try to tell me to hire me do oil finish—hand-rub. Take me about forty hours to finish rubbing that. That's the difference on oil finish. A lot of people think we don't know oil finish. This oil finish, if I should make all mine like this, I'll make money. It cost me less. You know mainland people, when I tell them the truth, they don't like that.

Tourists often consider a carver or turner's prices too high, and usually have no concept of the amount of time required to produce the work. Jean Suzuki says, "You know people walk in [to Blair's] and they look at a bowl and say what is this—made out of gold? They don't realize how much time goes into it."\(^{464}\)

Mark Le Buse speaks of a woman who wanted to commission him to carve a wood chain in one piece:

I had a call from a lady from the mainland who had heard that I was a good carver and so forth. And she had seen this thing hanging around the neck of some Episcopal preacher here in Hilo. This is one piece. Its a carved chain in wood. There's a three link thing here and the chain going down and a cross all one piece. I went down and looked at it . . . I'd carved chains . . . I'd never carved that type of a chain. It was kind of an interesting piece for

\(^{463}\) Personal interview with Leong, 17 Aug. 1989.

me to think about. I really wanted to do the darned thing. A challenge, right?

Because of his interest in carving the chain, Le Buse says he quoted the lowest possible price:

I figured I'd give her a price the least I could possibly see I'd come out--six hundred dollars. She winced like a wounded doe.

'How much did you actually anticipate getting the thing for?'

'Oh,' she said, 'I thought if I could get it for maybe less than a hundred.'

I said, 'You teach school, right?' I said, 'Would you teach school for less than five thousand a year?'

Small carvings are easier to sell than large ones, particularly to tourists who must consider luggage space. When Jim Kawamura taught carving for Continuing Education he had his students make fifteen inch tikis because "that sells fast, you know." He was unable to find a buyer for the twelve foot tiki that stands in his living room.

Dan Kaufman mentions that Coco Joe's sells hundreds of thousands of key chains and other small items. The mid-size tiki's also sell well. He notes that a twelve or thirteen inch "Lono tiki" is probably best selling "mainly because its the nicest looking of the gods. It's not real strange." 466

Presumably, most tourists would prefer an article hand-carved or turned in Hawai'i from start to finish, but the high


466 Personal interview with Kaufman, 29 Nov. 1988.
cost of local labor and materials makes these items too expensive for the average visitor. At Blair's, a popular size monkeypod Philippine calabash sells for $31.50. An equivalent made-in-Hawai'i koa bowl is $150. When Suzuki is asked how Blair's customers feel today about bowls made in the Philippines, she replies:

The ones that've been coming here for years, that come back every maybe four or five years, they'll still come and they still go for koa. Because it was made in Hawai'i, they like to take it home and say it was. But there's some people that come and they will still go for monkeypod because it's cheaper.

Dan Kaufman states that one reason buyers appreciate Coco Joe's souvenirs is that they are "handcrafted" in Hawaii. He says "it's not like we turn on a machine and those things all pop out. They're hand-poured and they're hand-finished and all that. We're more of a large craft business than a big manufacturing plant."  

Kaufman takes the position that Coco Joe's products are a form of contemporary art. He comments: "In a way, some of the pieces that we've done have become contemporary art because people copy our stuff. So I guess that means they're looking at us as a reference."

468 Personal interview with Kaufman, 29 Nov. 1988.
Those who wish to take home a memento or a gift from Hawai‘i for friends and relatives might well prefer a "hand-finished" object cast in Kâne‘ohe to a hand-carved image from Taiwan or a monkeypod bowl turned in the Philippines.
CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

Overview

Research indicates that there was little commercial or public interest in Hawaiian carving in the twentieth century until the early 1930s when Gump's introduced carved wood perfume containers and innovative floral and leaf-form bowls, plates, and trays to accommodate increasing numbers of tourists. Wood-carving instructors were influential. Carving became a popular hobby for both young people and adults under the expert instruction of Fritz Abplanalp, Archie Eriksson, Cecil Martin, and Margaret Blasingame. Soon a number of specialty wood shops began producing variations of the objects sold at Gump's to meet the demands of tourists as well as local residents. The quality of the work ranged from a few outstanding examples to many objects of inferior workmanship.

Although World War II adversely affected the tourist industry, it accelerated rapidly afterward. Improved airline travel and new hotels accommodated numerous visitors who were anxious to buy Hawaiian wood products. Yet in the sixties production of the hand-carved local wood products decreased.

The reasons are varied. Trade unions drove wages up. The high cost of labor in Hawai'i combined with the scarcity and increased expense of Hawaiian woods raised the cost of
locally made wood items. Competition from low-cost monkeypod leaf-form bowls and trays imported at that time from the Philippines finally caused most of the shops to go out of business. Tourists concerned only with expense bought the imported copies. Those visitors, however, who demanded articles actually produced in Hawai'i turned to other types of souvenirs. Many local residents registered their disapproval of the imported "Hawaiian" bowls and trays by refusing to purchase them.

Both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians participated in the woodcraft industry. A prison carving program flourished during the same era that involved many Hawaiians since they constituted the largest ethnic group among inmates. A summary in Chapter IV describes the significance of prison woodcraft and its influence on the community.

On the outside in the late sixties, the woodrose and leaf-form bowls and trays from the Philippines and other areas where labor was cheap continued to be sold at Liberty House and gift shops on O'ahu and the outer islands. At that time, however, local residents and tourists began to manifest an interest once again in the calabash and other traditional forms.

There are a number of reasons for the renewed interest in traditional Hawaiian art. One was the evolvement of the Hawaiian Renaissance which created a new kind of Hawaiian consciousness. Artists became better acquainted with their
culture and aware of their "inherent legacy" to the mana of the ancients. This awareness enabled Hawaiians to appreciate their culture and promoted a desire to preserve their art and recreate the techniques by which it was produced. Those interested in the revival of the carving tradition began to study references to Hawaiian art and its religious context in works by Malo, I'i, Kamakau, Haleola and others. Manuscripts began to be retranslated from Hawaiian to English in order to insure accuracy. Peter Buck's *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*, Mary Pukui's writings, and museum catalogs and books were consulted. Artisans studied images and other carved objects at Bishop Museum before they rendered careful replicas or reproductions from "traditional" woods identified in their research. Even the pseudo-traditional images at Hōnaunau, based upon drawings and engravings by European artists, were used for models by Hawaiians. The more creative artists realized that they could not be confined to the art of their past and began experimenting with innovative new forms they regarded as an extension of the Hawaiian carving tradition.

The more permissive attitude of the present generation of Hawaiians toward Christianity that allows them to incorporate Christian tenets with former "traditional" beliefs is a significant factor. This attitude permits some Hawaiian carvers to produce images of certain akua and 'aumākua for themselves or for their patrons' homes or gardens or at the beach to insure a good catch. Although "respect for the old
ways" may provide restrictions, such as choosing certain materials and avoiding the representation of particular gods or symbols, the "fear of Christianity" felt by the carvers' parents and grandparents has either disappeared entirely or diminished considerably. Although many Hawaiians still "believe" in Pele or honor her as a family member, tourists visiting the Big Island appear to be more fearful of her retaliation than the younger generation of Hawaiians today.

The recent interest in traditional Hawaiian Art is not restricted to Hawaiians. An international awareness and interest in Pacific and Polynesian art is beginning to develop from such resources as published research by anthropologists and art historians who meet to share information at seminars of the Pacific Arts Association; art festivals, such as the Pacific Festival of Arts and the Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife; and major shows of Pacific art at recognized museums, in particular: The Art of the Pacific Islands at the National Gallery of Art in 1979; Te Maori, from 1984-86 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The St. Louis Art Museum, the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum of Fine Arts in San Francisco, and the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago; and Dreamings: The Art of Aboriginal Australia, presently touring the United States.

Specific interest in traditional Hawaiian art has been generated recently by Cox and Davenport's book Hawaiian Sculpture, first published in 1974 and revised in 1988, and
articles and catalogs published in the late seventies and in the eighties by Adrienne Kaeppler, formerly of the Bishop Museum, presently with the Anthropology Department of the Smithsonian Institution, and Roger Rose of the Bishop Museum Anthropology Department.

Attention was focused on Hawaiian carving and turning at the Fifth Pacific Festival of Arts in 1989 when Hawai‘i was well-represented by carvers Alapa‘i Hanapi and David Eskaran and at the 1989 Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife by Hanapi, Kana‘e Keawe, Calvin Hoe, and Michael Dunne. Washington, D.C. residents and tourists had viewed admirable examples of traditional Hawaiian art at the 1979 National Gallery show, previously mentioned. In 1980 through 1982, museum patrons in Washington and other cities were exposed to additional examples of traditional and contemporary Hawaiian carving and bowl-turning at a Bishop Museum exhibit, Hawai‘i: the Royal Isles. The show, organized by Rose and Kaeppler, traveled to the Art Institute of Chicago, the Denver Art Museum, the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, the Seattle Art Museum, the de Young Museum, the Cooper-Hewitt Museum in New York City, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and finally, returned to Honolulu where local residents were able to view the exhibit at the Bishop Museum.

Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians in Hawai‘i are beginning to indicate a renewed interest in Hawaiian art. The Hawaiian Renaissance is a contributing factor. The art produced by
Hawaiians in their own shows, such as those sponsored by Hale Naua, has been widely publicized and the best work of some Hawaiian artists is available in galleries and museum shops. Most of the Hawaiian art in the best galleries and shops, however, is produced by skillful non-Hawaiians who have attended art school on the mainland.

Further interest in the art of Hawai'i has been created by major exhibits at the Bishop Museum: in 1978, Artificial Curiosities: An Exposition of Native Manufactures Collected on the Three Pacific Voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N. to Commemorate the Bicentennial of the European Discovery of the Hawaiian Islands by Captain Cook; and Hawai'i: the Royal Isles.

Irving Jenkins' detailed and beautifully illustrated books on Hawaiian furniture and the calabash, published in 1983 and 1989 also helped create an awareness of the beauty of Hawaiian craftsmanship. A calabash exhibit organized by Jenkins at the Art Academy in conjunction with the publication of his recent book made some Honolulu residents aware for the first time of the work of talented contemporary bowl-turners. The plethora of Hawaiian trinkets, bowls, and carvings at craft fairs expose another segment of the local population to this art form.
What is Hawaiian Art?

Some of the artists discuss the characteristics of Hawaiian art. Rocky Jensen believes that many people are unable to distinguish Hawaiian art from craft. A reproduction of a traditional image is regarded as Hawaiian art. He considers his bust of Kaha'i to be contemporary art. The kāhili in his living room, however, are craft. He remarks that it is important to distinguish between a calabash and a ceremonial bowl and notes that separate artists' guilds created the different categories of objects. The "higher" guilds were involved in "revering the ancestors."

Many of the artists say that Hawaiian art possesses a kind of "essence" that sets it apart from the art of other cultures. Levan Sequeira states that Hawaiian art can be recognized if one studies it over a period of time:

If you look, if you study it long enough and find an image someplace, whether it be New England, or whatever, you can pick it up and you look at it and you can tell if it's Hawaiian or not. It might vary from even anything you've seen in the museum, let's say. But there's a certain framework that the artist took; there was a certain 'essence' that labeled it as being Hawaiian.

The carver, he emphasizes, must be aware of this phenomenon and strive to retain it:

But that certain essence--that's the thing you have to capture. When you do that--that's why I don't like to go too much outside of it--I specialize only
in Hawaiian stuff. Because once I start going outside of it I can't capture that essence.

Sequeira believes that Hawaiian art must project the spirit of the carver:

Certain images that we know what they're all about --the Lono image--peace, agriculture, that when I carve it, yeah, I would put some of my spiritualness into it. If you don't, it doesn't project right; that's the difference. Some people carve stuff, and take a look at it and it's Hawaiian. But there's something missing in it. And what is missing sometimes is the power to project what it is. That's what I feel makes my images stand apart from other peoples. Okay? Because I'm able to put that in. That can only come--well, you almost have no choice. If you want to do a good job, you going to have to put some of your spirit into it.

He states that the kahuna kālai kiʻi had the ability to capture an abstract thought:

You take a kahuna back in the old days--a kahuna nui. Now he's thinking of, 'I'm thinking of the god Lono. I want him to show strength, I want him to show...'. Just on and on, okay? All these traits that he wants. He's telling this kahuna kālai kiʻi, let's say.

Now the kahuna kālai kiʻi goes--he's got a block of wood or a tree. He says, 'Okay, how do I project all of those things into what this image should look like? He probably sleeps on it, dreams on it, and such, and he comes out with something like that. It's an abstract thought that he captures. And that's the real beauty of it when these guys can think in that kind of abstract form to have it project that way.

I have never gotten to that point where I can do that, because it's like, you know, if you ever could go back and talk to a kahuna kālai kiʻi and say, 'How can you come up with that kind of ideas?' That is really a gift and it's fantastic. And that's what set the Hawaiian sculptures apart from the rest

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of the world. And that is what has to be taught to the world. 469

Is Hawaiian Art Produced Today?

At the Fourth International Symposium on the Arts of the Pacific in 1989, Philip Dark said:

If a linking can be made of the image of the new and the old with what has passed, then it is possible to revive an art form, albeit one which is different to its forerunner but which is, in a subjective sense, the continuity of a heritage, because the linkage is there in the form of stylistic threads of connection with what is past. 470

One who sees enough traditional Hawaiian art in museums or catalogs, as Sequeira says, will soon learn to recognize the symbols, the style, the types of images and bowls, the materials, the technique, and the "essence" or feeling the carving evokes.

One question that must be asked in relation to this study is whether the art produced today should be termed "Hawaiian," and if it should, does it achieve the same level of artistic and technical proficiency as traditional Hawaiian art? Although the part-Hawaiian artists identify with their Hawaiian progenitors, their multi-racial genetic make-up can


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not be denied. They are not members of an isolated Pacific group, but are subject to the same Western influences as other residents of Hawai'i. Considering these circumstances, a person attempting to be a traditional Hawaiian artist might seem to be operating in an artificial milieu.

Other questions that might be raised are whether there can be ethnic identity in contemporary art and whether art should be used as a vehicle to further ethnic goals. A trite Hawaiian theme or a political statement as a starting point is not the ideal approach to art, nor is saying, "We are Hawaiian, and through our work we will become even more Hawaiian." It is far better to be an artist first and allow the Hawaiinanness to express itself through the art as Sean Browne does. In her review of a Hawaiian artist's show, Marcia Morse writes: "... issues of advocacy, no matter how sincere, are not, in the final analysis, what determine aesthetic distinction."471

After talking in depth with the Hawaiian artists and examining their work, it is apparent that for many of them, attaining aesthetic distinction is secondary to their sincere desire to reawaken Hawaiian consciousness. For this reason, and because the art is distinctive and traditionally oriented in many respects, it is termed Hawaiian art today. In

response to the question of whether the work attains the level of artistic expression and technical proficiency of the traditional work produced in the past, the answer is "yes," in some cases. In others, the potential is yet to be realized.

Contemporary Hawaiian art can often be recognized by its subject matter which includes work based on traditional Hawaiian prototypes, such as bowls, poi pounders, and images; organic forms; non-traditional Hawaiian gods or 'aumākua; and Hawaiian folklore.

Hawaiian art can also often be distinguished by the traditional materials utilized by the artists, including indigenous woods with exposed grain; or stone, ivory, bone, wicker, coral, shell, and human hair; although Hawaiian motifs are also explored in contemporary Western media, such as bronze and plastic.

Techniques have changed since the introduction of metal blades and power tools, that save the artists time and allow them greater technical proficiency. Yet an attempt is frequently made to simulate traditional techniques with modern tools, such as surface faceting with a steel chisel or achieving a shark-tooth effect with German chip-carving tools.

Most contemporary Hawaiian art is still functional. Pukui and Handy were quoted in Chapter III, stating that the
people of Kā'u 'did not indulge in 'art for art's sake.'

Mililani Hanapi explains the function of contemporary Hawaiian art and how it differs from Western art:

Most of the people who are recognized critics of art, when they judge their art, they judge it by its perfection or judge it in a Western concept. Where a lot of the Hawaiian artists, when they create a piece, say like 'Imaikalani--his work is very bold and it's real symbolic, and if you know enough of the culture, enough of the background, when you look at the piece, you'll understand what it is. Many will walk into a place and not understand what it is or somebody will come in and criticize it but not understand what's going on in it or that they are sharing a part of their heritage or a message that's in there about their past, or about their culture. It's really important. These are like the first steps that we all find really exciting because they have a need now to interpret Hawaiian art. Hawaiians are feeling that they have a need to do this now, to discover what is Hawaiian art.

Alapa'i and Mililani believe that art is a viable and effective means of education that is necessary at the present time. Alapa'i notes that many Hawaiians today are "defensive and get offended" when they learn of the past. But he says "this is just what we were left with so we have turn it around and regain that dignity and respect that went along with our culture."

Mililani says "How do you educate and not offend? You get offended--then you let it go. You do what's right. The education process is a long one."

Alapa'i also believes it is imperative to "educate sensitivity out of the rest of the people here in recognizing us as the host people and that we are the natives of this land and this is our culture." He says, "We don't want to be respected just because the tourist industry is the main industry over here."^73

Hawaiian artists identify with their heritage; they maintain a psychological link with the past, or as Alapa'i Hanapi says, they have a link with the past through their 'aumáku'a. A major goal of the artists is to perpetuate the traditional Hawaiian culture. And finally, their art is representative of late twentieth century Hawaiian society.

Rocky Asing believes that whatever is produced by Hawaiian artists today with local materials is Hawaiian art:

"... whatever you do is Hawaiian because you do it on Hawaiian material and it's coming from a Hawaiian. You can't get any more Hawaiian than that. So basically, what I'm doing is continuing the culture, my Hawaiian culture. ... so I'm just trying to upkeep a culture and continue it from there."^74


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It is important to preserve the culture, and appreciate the craftsmanship and beauty of the remarkable Hawaiian traditional carvings and bowls. There are some individuals within the Hawaiian community, however, who would only look to the past. One should realize that to continue making canoes and replicas and reproductions of images and not acknowledge modern tools, technology, ideas, and art forms is to regress, deny reality, and forsake the creative process.

David Eskaran remarks:

Some of the things that we're creating now might be radical in a lot of people's views but even way back the first person who carved a Kona style ki'i would have been considered a radical. The first ki'i ever created didn't automatically look like that. So it was developed over many years. The spirit of what they feel, how they think, all of this works upon the outcome of the piece. That's what we're doing, too--most of the artists that work today. Everything that they do in daily life affects the piece. And whether my contemporary piece or somebody else's cannot compare with the ancient days, it's just a matter of somebody's state of mind.

Rocky Asing says,

As far as I'll do poi pounders and things that the old Hawaiians do, but that's not where it's at. That was then. This is now. We live in the now. We must do in the now, okay? . . . So whatever I do is the now Hawaiian; so when we look back twenty years--this is what the Hawaiians did back twenty years ago.

475 Personal interview with Eskaran, 5 August 1989.
The prevalent belief that Hawaiian art ceased at the time of the cultural revolution in 1819 and was never revived can no longer be supported. It would be logical to assume that when the state religion was abolished, the art associated with that religion would lose significance to its society. This occurred to a degree. As indicated in Chapter III, some of the images were hidden, and secret ritual may have been practiced. But the majority of Hawaiians abandoned their gods, as Pukui noted, except for their personal 'āumākua. For a number of years following Liholiho's edict until the 1960s, they were uncomfortable with traditional images, not only because of Christianity's condemnation of idols, but because of former ritual associated with the images. As mentioned in this chapter, and elsewhere in the study, this attitude began to change with the advent of the Hawaiian Renaissance. Now that the fear associated with the carvings has begun to dissipate and Hawaiians are demonstrating pride once again in their former culture, the art is regaining its former place of importance in the society. The religious context of the carving was altered, but, as indicated in the Chapters "A Link with the Past," and "Contemporary Hawaiian Art Motifs and their Significance to the Artists," today's work has meaningful spiritual significance to Hawaiian carvers and many members of the Hawaiian community as they strive to reestablish their identity and culture.
Can Hawaiian Art be Created by Non-Hawaiians?

Some of the Hawaiian artists deny that work produced by a member of another race can be Hawaiian. In a literal sense, it may be true that only a person of Hawaiian ancestry can be a Hawaiian artist, but the author believes that Hawaiian art can be produced by non-Hawaiians. Consider Phil Hooten and Stewart Medeiros who have dedicated their entire adult lives to perpetuating traditional Hawaiian art forms, who feel that they are Hawaiian and believe that they possess the mana to produce their work? Or Pulotu, who only loves Hawaiian art and has a lifetime ambition of reproducing all the Hawaiian images. Or Brian Takano, handicapped by an automobile accident, who strives to perfect himself in order to achieve the spirituality of a kahuna to enhance his carving. Many members of the Hawaiian community consider the work of such men to be Hawaiian also. Hooten was invited by Hawaiian Wright Bowman to do the carvings for the chapel at Kamehameha School, and Keone Nunes, former OHA Culture Officer, submitted the names and biographies of Hooten and Dan De Luz as two of the six traditional Hawaiian carvers he interviewed in a field survey for the Smithsonian Institution in conjunction with the Festival of American Folklife in 1989.

In Ku Kanaka George Kanahele reiterated a suggestion he had previously expressed that "These days any resident of this State who considers Hawai‘i his home and who has a [true]
understanding of the values of Hawaiian culture ought to consider himself or herself a Hawaiian.  

A positive aspect of non-Hawaiians creating Hawaiian art, mentioned by several of the artists interviewed, should also be acknowledged: Hawaiian art is being perpetuated by a number of non-Hawaiians, enabling it to be recognized and appreciated by others.

One complaint of some Hawaiian artists is that non-Hawaiians exploit the culture when they commercialize traditional images. The assumption is generally made that only non-Hawaiians are involved, when, in actuality, a number of Hawaiians are participants in the commercialization process. For instance, Tom Barboza, grandson of a traditional canoe carver, can be credited with the design of the "tiki" on the Hawaiian Host packaging, and talented sculptor Joel Nakila created a number of the most recent tikis for Coco Joe's.

Although prohibiting other artists from employing Hawaiian motifs, as desired by some Hawaiian artists, would partially resolve the problem, the idea violates the principle of free expression in America and in the art world.

The concerns of Hawaiians who object to non-Hawaiians creating or reproducing Hawaiian art, however, do have some validity. The artists with professional training from mainland art schools who have moved to Hawai'i because of the

lifestyle or to take advantage of the generous State Foundation's Art in Public Places Program offer serious competition to Hawaiian and other local artists and craftspeople. Despite protests by some Hawaiians that one must have the koko to create Hawaiian art or it will lack "the essence," a tourist or collector may not be discerning enough to recognize this quality, and will select work on the basis of craftsmanship, excellence of design, or the artist's ability to infuse life into the work. The carvings by Hawaiians who have not had access to adequate training are often overlooked in favor of the work of mainland art school graduates.

One solution to the dilemma, besides the obvious one of providing intensive art training to more Hawaiians, would be to attach a tag to the work of Hawaiians with an official logo and declaration "Made in Hawai'i by a Hawaiian" (or "native Hawaiian" if OHA is the agency involved). A similar procedure is utilized to identify Eskimo and native American art in some areas. OHA would be the obvious choice for an agency to undertake this project. Tags could be printed and issued to Hawaiian artists registered with the organization. Such identification may be desirable because at the present time it is impossible to distinguish the work of Hawaiians from non-Hawaiians in galleries and gift shops. The labels presently employed are often deliberately misleading. Many tourists and local residents would like to purchase the work of Hawaiians if it were identified. Of course, others would
continue collecting art solely on the basis of aesthetic appeal, and some would buy cast souvenirs because of their low cost.

The Tourist Industry and Hawaiian Art

Although tourism is one of Hawai‘i's major sources of income, the visitor is not accorded respect by many kamaʻāina residents and is the subject of derision or ridicule. Recently, certain Hawaiian activists have begun to perceive the tourist as a haole who perpetuates the pattern of exploitation established at the time of contact. At a graduate seminar on O‘ahu, a local student, supported by his professor, stated that Hawaiians were justified in robbing tourists at the beach and in hotels because their race was responsible for the injustices incurred by Hawaiians.

Most kamaʻāina have a more good natured perspective, and are merely amused by visitors clad in the gaudy costumes they purchase in Waikiki or at other Hawai‘i resort areas. Local residents would not be seen in such attire. Other kamaʻāina resent tour buses on the roads, stretch-limousines transporting wealthy tourists, the intrusion of visitors at favorite beaches, and the "jungle" created in Waikiki to accommodate them. This derision extends to unauthentic tourist entertainment and the "corrupted Hawaiian tiki," the symbol of souvenir art.
For many years, however, the tourist industry has provided a source of income and an incentive for Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian artists to continue carving images and turning bowls, both in prison and without. On the Hawaii Visitor Bureau's itinerary for tourists in the fifties was a tour of the prison and a stop at O.P.'s craft shop. The majority of buyers there were tourists. On the "outside," too, the woodcraft industry, prominent in the forties and fifties, was supported largely by mainland visitors, although local residents also purchased the bowls, plates, and trays.

Hawaiian art was altered for the tourist. The floral and leaf-form designs of the bowls and trays in the thirties, forties, and fifties, were creative innovations to attract sales, as were the driftwood female faces. The "tiki," however, as produced by the largest manufacturers of the form, Coco Joe's, The Woodcarver, House of Kalai, and Blair's, remained remarkably true to its original prototype at Bishop Museum or in catalogs of traditional images. Upon examination, the much maligned tiki is most often a simplified but recognizable version of the familiar Bishop Museum temple image, T3 (7654), loved by Honolulu school children. The form was simplified for mass-production, sometimes cast in synthetic materials, and reduced in size to fit in luggage. Nevertheless, the souvenir provides the visitor of limited means with an appropriate memento of a venerable tradition that might have been lost.

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From the late nineteenth century the wealthy tourist and mainland or foreign collector sought high quality turned wood 'umeke and other traditionally oriented objects to purchase. Today this market is accommodated to an unprecedented degree. With the impetus provided by the Hawaiian Renaissance, elegant thin bowls are turned in a variety of woods in many of the forms described by Kekahuna, and artistic well-finished hand-carved reproductions of images and other traditional objects are carved in indigenous woods by Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian artists in Hawai‘i.

Through the years, visitors desirous of capturing the elusive enchantment of Hawai‘i and bringing a portion of it home with them have bought whatever was available, according to their financial status, and will continue to support the culture in this manner if traditionally oriented locally-produced objects are available for sale.

Pan-Pacific Art in Hawai‘i

In his paper presented to the Pacific Arts Association in 1984, Philip Dark postulated that the Pan-Pacific style may have originated in Hawai‘i. His theory was based upon a photograph of Phil Hooten at his workshop in a book by William Graves published by The National Geographic Society. Dark noted that the illustration revealed three Marquesan style carvings in addition to Hawaiian based forms. Dark was correct in identifying Hooten as a carver who employed motifs
from several Polynesian groups; in fact, as was mentioned in
this study, Hooten sometimes combines diverse elements from
different cultures in a single carving. The only other
evidence of this tendency was found at the Polynesian Cultural
Center where "Polynesia Carving" is taught as an elective
course for BYU-Hawaii Campus students. All of the artists
interviewed, other than Hooten, however, confine their motifs
to a single culture. Particular care is taken to keep the
Hawaiian work "uncorrupted." Even the souvenir art remains
true to traditional Hawaiian forms.

The origin of the prevalent Pan-Pacific art that may be
observed in restaurants, bars, and hotels in many parts of the
world, then, lies somewhere other than Hawai'i. Tonga, bereft
of a wood carving tradition, might be the source. The Pan-
Pacific art that proliferates on boat day at Nuku'alofa, as
Dark observed, includes a number of Hawaiian motifs.

This author purchased there a forty-two inch ironwood
post of four heads carved totem style. Each face has a
Hawaiian figure-eight mouth, and two of the heads possess
dislocated eyes in the style of T4 and T5. The carver, V.
Tomokino, related that he had traveled to various Pacific
islands, carving and selling whatever motifs he felt were most
appropriate for each area.

Tuione Pulotu mentions that when he returned to Tonga
from his mission in Hawai'i he brought his carving tools with
him and carved there a wood "tiki face." His older brother
indicated interest in the work and Tuione promised that when he returned to Hawai‘i he would give him his tools if he could duplicate the carving. Pulotu was satisfied with his brother's work and left his tools behind. Later when he was employed at Coco Joe's in Hawai‘i, he sent his brother some imperfect cast tikis for inspiration. Pulotu was unhappy with the work that was subsequently produced there, calling it "rubbish stuff." He relates:

Couple of years later, [after sending the tikis from Coco Joe's] stuff start coming from Tonga and I see those things. You know they started to make it. Those people do not know the cultural background of those things because each one does represent something and there's meaning for it. So what it is they start mixing up all those stuff into one. Like they do a Hawaiian tiki with Maori tongue and they do all the Maori decoration. And when I saw that I was so sad because it was bad. 478

Goals of the Artists

Many of the Hawaiian artists entertain the hope of eventually establishing some form of a carving hālau. Rocky Jensen would like to duplicate the favorable circumstances at Rotorua. Since this is probably not feasible, he believes the Bishop Museum grounds would be an appropriate location for a carving hālau. Further, the Jensens would like to initiate an apprenticeship program to organize carvers to teach young


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Hawaiians so that they can become self-sufficient. Tarallo-Jensen says:

And then you can really say, 'This is milo wood which is endemic to Hawai‘i, made by a native,' And the symbols will be authenticated, maybe a little history sold along with the piece, and can be done in a price area that can be affordable to all tourists because these are young, inexperienced carvers.

She remarks that fine artists like her husband could not produce this type of work, but it would be appropriate for the youth. Later, she says, "they can become topnotch artists and commanding the price if they want to."

Another ambition of Jensen is to refurbish at least one heiau. To put the "right images for the right heiau." He notes that the art would be different for a luakini heiau, where human sacrifice was practiced, and a mápele, a heiau dedicated to Lono. He believes that tourists would like to visit the site because what attracts most of them to Hawai‘i is "the mystery of the place." The Jensens maintain that Anton Grace did not understand the symbolism of the original images at Hōnaunau and remark that the present carvers are copying Grace's work. 479

The Barboza brothers, Tom and Ron, and Kanāk Napeahi would like to operate a state funded carving shop and school. Tom Barboza says "we can get the wood. But all we need is

funding so we can open up a shop and say, "Hey, anybody interested? Come on down." Speaking of the carving tradition, Napeahi says, "If we don't keep up with it, it'll be lost." Ron Barboza describes the school they envision:

There would be a wide scope of variety of arts and crafts in Hawaiian. The teachings would be separate. Would be a class certain times of the week, but we would hope that this place would be open every day of the week. And it would be funded by the state.

Tom Barboza adds, "And have all our kids here, man."

His brother raises the issue of the criteria used by the state and Bishop Estate to grant funding. Ron Barboza believes that the carvers would be denied the opportunity to establish such a program because they do not have college degrees:

There's another problem there where they'll fund you but they'll ask you for a degree. They'll ask you for some knowledgeable background in the culture. . . . We are totally stuck for words, but give us time and the input, just to business backup, to tell us where to go get all this stuff. I mean, we're easily led. But to tell us we can't do it because you have to do all this paperwork and then you got to be in business for one year. I don't see the college professors coming out of the college as carvers. I don't see none of them coming out of there. They're coming out of the jails. . . . If you don't have that degree you are totally useless.480

Hanapi wants to have a piko or center with different "learning hālaus" established on Moloka'i. He would like to teach the Hawaiian people how to make a living doing traditional wood-carving and declares, "It can be done." In addition to making carvings for tourists, he maintains: "We could dress the lobbies of all the hotels and the buildings. We could probably corner the market because they want Hawaiian art done by Hawaiians." He notes that they have the land on Moloka'i. All they need is a sponsor to erect a structure and supply tools and materials. Hanapi believes if he begins on a small scale with four or five students it will be easier to find a sponsor than if the project is proposed on paper.481

David Eskaran has discussed with acquaintances the idea of establishing a Hawaiian museum. He says, "One of my goals is to get other Hawaiians to appreciate the art and to make them more aware of it through doing it themselves." He describes the museum:

A type where all the arts can be housed under one roof, have administrative offices and also classes and also have a gallery downstairs where tourists can come in. Kinda like Dole pineapple cannery, you know, where buses can come in and see people work. Like Rotorua.

Another goal is to pass on what he has learned:

Hopefully, in the years to come there'll be someone just like me willing and wanting to learn. What I


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really hope is that someone I teach will be able to out-do those things that I've made myself. . . . If you have something good to share, teach your student everything you have, don't hold anything back, all the tiny little secrets, too. And if he can out-do you, that's the greatest complement a student can show for their master. 'Cause people will say, 'That guy is so good, I wonder who taught him.' And then it's a reflection on the teacher.\textsuperscript{482}

Eskaran believes that "what really matters is the retention of the cultural values and things. That's what's going to be lost if everybody becomes computer operators."

According to Levan Sequeira, during his senior year at Kamehameha, Fritz Abplanalp wrote on his report card "that in his twenty years of work, he saw in me the finest carving." The talented carver comments, "That taught me not to try to carry on his work, but what that taught was carvers are hard to come by, especially in this culture."

Sequeira would like to find a good apprentice some day and "pass it on." He participated in the State Foundation Apprenticeship Program in 1988-89, but felt that the time was too short to accomplish his goal. (The program requires "a minimum of eighty total hours of contact time over a period of four to eight months.")

He believes that education is one way to implement the restoration of the former carving tradition. Sequeira remarks that Hawaiians don't understand or appreciate their art. He explains:

\textsuperscript{482} Personal interview with Eskaran, 5 Aug. 1989.

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[Hawaiians] walk into the museum; they look at an image. They say... 'That is the most grotesque thing. The face is all distorted. I'm almost ashamed to be a Hawaiian.' The thing is, they don't know what they're looking at. They don't understand what the thing is all about and that is education --when you understand.

The artist applied for a grant from NHCAP and says he was disappointed when it was denied in favor of constructing a traditional canoe with stone adzes. Sequeira describes his proposal:

... to do something like about twenty of the images--strictly Hawaiian wood carving images only. And to do that to interpret them, because a lot of the meanings behind it are not found in books any more. Because that all died; that got buried when Christianity got here. So nobody knows. But I think if you delve into it far enough, I think you going to find out where a lot of this meaning's going to come from. And I think that's where my research was going to be important to do that.

He then wanted to apply the principles he had learned and create several contemporary images. Sequeira continues:

And once I did these [traditional images] I also proposed to do one or two images of my own design. But knowing the framework, or the basis of what went into those images first in order to do that. That's what I wanted to do.

He and other Hawaiian artists are critical of what they perceive to be NHCAP's bias toward traditional crafts and techniques:

Fiji you still got a lot of woodcarvers down there that work with stone tools. Here in Hawai‘i, you
can't even count it on your fingers how many guys want to work with stone tools and dig out a canoe. It's premature, I says. What you should do now is preserve what you have now, make an apprentice program so that it can be furthered. And then once you get that base of artisans, as it's expanding, then you can take on a big project like that. But they putting the doggone cart before the horse. They're really going about it the wrong way.

He says the State Foundation has asked him to submit slides of his work to be considered for a project to cast an image in bronze. His desire is to see contemporary Hawaiian art develop to the level of current Maori and Haida art. Sequeira intends to work toward this goal when he retires and is able to carve full-time. When he is asked if he would be willing to give up his job to carve full-time, Sequeira replies: "If they paid me I would. You know, I don't want to take it to the grave. I'd rather share it with somebody, because, you know, what I learned--I really want to share. But you got to find the right program."483

Kana' e Keawe hopes to participate in the State Foundation Apprenticeship Program. He would like to take an apprentice in order to perpetuate the skills and knowledge he has acquired.

Rocky Asing would also teach others "the skill and the basics of carving," but he says, "that's it." As mentioned previously, he believes that art cannot be taught. Asing

remarks, "They can go create their own. I'd rather they do it for themself--for itself."

He would like to execute monumental stone sculpture in the future. Rocky explains his rationale:

In fact all of my sculptures I do, I'll tell you the truth, they're small. And the only reason why I'm doing a lot of small sculpture now is because where I live. And I really want to do things in greater scale, like nine feet tall. Because this way my stuff cannot be vandalized, cannot be stolen, and it'll last even longer. And that's the kind of art I really want to get into.

He has a unique ultimate project planned for the future:

Eventually, I'd like to build myself a castle if I ever get land. I can build a castle, sure, 'cause the rocks are abundant here. I don't know why a lot of people build their houses of wood and pay a hundred and fifty thousand dollars for it when they can have free material here. And their house will last for their fifth generation, you know, and they have something to pass on. They don't have to upkeep rocks like you do wood. That's exactly what my goal is.

Asing would also carve his furniture of stone. The castle and its contents would be a legacy for his posterity:

... And to do my house as a work of art. Carve my own furniture in it out of stone--yeah, everything in there. What I'm thinking of--my things will last forever. It's something I'd like to pass on to my kids if I ever get any. Pass on a house and furniture that lasts. . . .

Asing confides he "kind of promised that to my girlfriend." When asked about the size of the castle, he says,
"That means big; you're talking big. It's a fortress. It's a private secluded place." Asing has confidence in his ability to accomplish such a feat: ". . . because I have a lot of knowledge in doing it. I'd love to do it! I love to do great things." 484

Joel Nakila tells of the contribution he would like to make to the "fine art world":

Deep inside I'm a kama'aina. There's a line of sculptures that I have partially on paper, partially in my mind, and partially done that I've been trying to get going for the past couple of years. It would be basically centered around the Hawaiian culture-different levels of the Hawaiian culture. The ali'i on through the common folk. Differences between what they represented, differences in the values of the Hawaiians. The feeling of love, identifying with Mother Nature, those type of things.

He says the works would be representative rather than abstract in order to make them accessible for every person. 485

Tuione Pulotu's ambition is to have a one man show at Kualoa Ranch in Kāne'ohe when he completes his "set" of all the Hawaiian "tikis."

An advantage of the professions of carving and turning is that these activities may be continued throughout the artists' lives. Many of those interviewed have no intention of ever retiring. Tommy Leong says:

484 Telephone interview with Asing, 16 July 1989.

485 Personal interview with Joel Nakila, 29 Nov. 1988.
I cannot quit. You know, when I have a three day
holiday I go nuts. I don't know what to do. I have
a lot of fun here meeting different people.
Sometimes I get bored, I just go in the back and do
dis, do dat. Sometimes I get different ideas. I
like to see how it comes out, you know.486

Some of the non-Polynesian carvers are also interested
in teaching young people the skills they have acquired, but
they would instruct the youth of all ethnic backgrounds. Dan
De Luz would like to close his Hilo shop in five years and
establish a school in Mountain View to teach young people to
turn bowls.

Stewart Medeiros laments the closing of Blair's shop
because he thinks that turning would be a good skill for "kids
that are not educated--that are good in their hands." He
says, "I always had hoped one day to have a place for kids
that did not enjoy studying. And they could learn math and
how to measure and so forth like that. But if we had Hawaiian
shops where they could apply. We have Martin [& MacArthur]
and the other cabinet shops . . . But I'm talking about a
calabash shop--a turning shop."487

The Direction of Hawaiian Art

Further training was a solution suggested to resolve the
problem of competition between mainland art school graduates


and local artists. Some Hawaiians make a living with their art, demonstrating carving, executing commissions, or producing work for craft shows. But many others are frustrated because their art isn't purchased by the State Foundation and is refused by galleries that carry Hawaiian reproductions made by mainland artists. The work of the talented carvers is rejected because it is not fully-realized.

The unjuried shows have provided little incentive for improvement, since a standard of competence is not required. Work at the exhibits is accepted because it is Hawaiian rather than on the basis of merit. The shows of Hawaiian art have been well-received within the Hawaiian community and fulfill an important function. There would be no problem if the art was still produced primarily for ritual or if Hawaiians sold their art to one another. But many of the artists seek acceptance in a Western art context. Mainland artists have a difficult time making a living, too, but an artist without adequate training is greatly disadvantaged.

Those members of the Hawai'i art establishment who are familiar with the work of Hawaiian artists believe that acquiring a greater mastery of their technique would enable them to better define their artistic expression. One individual states that the Hawaiian artists are not a "clear enough channel" at the moment. In the Eastern artistic discipline of pottery making, a beginning artisan repeats a shape thousands and thousands of times. After expending ten
years to master the technique, the skills are so proficient that artistic inspiration flows through the artist like a clear channel. Most Hawaiian artists are not a clear channel, the individual says. They have "too many stumbling blocks in the way."

George R. Ellis, director of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, would agree:

I think there's a lot of talent here and it's a question, in my mind, in many instances, of professional training which would allow the artists to express themselves in the most creative and meaningful manner, whether or not those expressions relate directly to Hawaiian culture or not.

He says, "Training is a tool. It doesn't teach you to be a great artist. It doesn't teach you to be an insightful, thoughtful person. But it provides the means for you to do that." Ellis would like to see more Hawaiians apply for art school at the University of Hawaii.

One idea proposed by another individual as a solution to the dilemma would be an "international exchange." Hawaiian artists would be sent to New Zealand, Australia, New Guinea, Fiji, Alaska, the Southwest, and Africa, and teachers would be transported from those areas to Hawai'i. As mentioned in Chapter VI, such an exchange program for artists was proposed in the first draft of NHCAP's five year plan, and withdrawn in the second.
Although this would seem to be a logical proposal since the arts of these indigenous cultures, particularly those in Polynesia, employ similar techniques, materials, and spiritual implications with those of Hawai‘i, this author believes that the proposal is premature. The artists should first become thoroughly familiar with their own noteworthy artistic tradition. Otherwise, the pure form of Hawaiian art that has been retained for so many years could become merged with other cultures. The Pan-Pacific art that Dark alluded to in Hawai‘i would then become a reality.

Recommendations

1. In order to obtain the best possible art training, those Hawaiians with talent and an interest in art who possess the necessary academic qualifications, should be encouraged to apply at the University of Hawaii-Manoa Campus Art Department. Perhaps a scholarship might be established by a benefactor wishing to provide financial assistance for a gifted Hawaiian high school graduate each year. Brigham Young University in Lā‘ie also offers a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree.

2. A carving hālau should be established at O‘ahu and on the Big Island, funded by NHCAP. Since the largest number of active Hawaiian carvers already reside on Hawai‘i, the institution of a hālau is particularly warranted there.
It would be ideal if funds were available to establish them on the islands of Maui, Kaua'i, and Moloka'i, as well. Since this may not be feasible, funds might instead be provided to fly carvers from these islands to Hawai'i or O'ahu for training. An alternative would be to have the instructor conduct workshops on the Outer Islands.

Instruction should be offered at the hālau in stone and wood carving and bowl-turning techniques. The students should learn to use traditional tools and gain competency with modern tools, including power equipment. Ideally, there would be separate classes for Hawaiian youth. Traditional as well as contemporary forms of expression should be encouraged. The traditional work would employ materials and subject matter as authentic as possible in order to educate Hawaiians regarding their heritage. The contemporary art instruction should explore various media and encourage freedom of expression. The combination of traditional and contemporary media and forms should not be discouraged, but the artist should be able to distinguish between the two disciplines.

Instructors could be selected from some of the talented carvers interviewed for this study who have already expressed willingness to be involved in such a program, or sculptors or turners from the mainland or
Europe, proficient in the use of Western tools appropriate to create contemporary Hawaiian art, could be invited to participate in the program.

The Renaissance in Hawaiian art is at an incipient stage and has not yet attained the level achieved by hula and music. The potential is unlimited, however, considering the distinguished Hawaiian carving tradition, if the gifted carvers and turners continue developing their skills.

Hopefully, this study will create an awareness of the talent, ability, and potential of artists currently involved in Hawaiian carving, sculpture, and bowl-turning. The author would consider her research worthwhile if scholars will acknowledge that Hawaiian art is being produced today; if collectors, Hawaii residents, and tourists will seek out the artists who were interviewed and purchase their works; and if those agencies, institutions, and individuals in a position to further Hawaiian art will actively do so. Hawaiian carving may then be reestablished to its former vitality and prominence in the culture.
HAWAIIAN GLOSSARY

'āina Land, earth.

'ahu 'ula Feather cloak or cape made of the feathers of the 'ō'o, 'i'iwi, and other birds, usually red or yellow trimmed with black or green, formerly worn by high chiefs and kings.

ākea Broad, wide, spacious, open, unobstructed, public, at large; full, as a skirt; breadth, width.

akua God, goddess, spirit, ghost, devil, image, idol, corpse; divine, supernatural, godly.

'alā Dense waterworn volcanic stone, as used for poi pounders, adzes, hula stones; hard lava basalt.

'alālelekepue Hard volcanic rock, as used for adzes.

'alā pia maka hīnū Shiny-faced arrowroot.

'alā haumekū 'olokele A kind of stone used for adzes. Rare.

ali'i Chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch, noble, aristocrat, king, queen; royal, regal, aristocratic, kingly.

'apu 1. Coconut shell cup; to drink. 2. General name for medical potions, as made of taro, yam, or herbs.

'aumakua Family or personal gods, deified ancestors who might assume the shape of sharks, owls, hawks, etc. A symbiotic relationship existed; mortals did not harm or eat 'aumakua, and 'aumakua warned and reprimanded mortals in dreams, visions, and calls.

'aumākua Plural of 'aumakua.

'ava The kava Piper methysticum. A shrub, the root being the source of a narcotic drink of the same name used in ceremonies, prepared formerly by chewing, later by pounding. The comminuted particles were mixed with water and strained.

hā To breathe, exhale; to breathe upon, breath, life.

hālau Long house, as for canoes or hula instruction; meeting house.

hale House, building, institution, lodge, station, hall.
haku kā koʻi Stone for chipping.

haole White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; formerly, any foreigner.

heiau Pre-Christian place of worship, shrine; some heiau were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces. Many are preserved today.

hōkiokio Gourd whistle; flute.

hoʻokupu Offering. Tribute, tax, ceremonial gift-giving to a chief as a sign of honor and respect.

huli 4. Taro top, as used for planting; shoot.

ʻieʻie Freycinetia arborea. A native vine that grows commonly in woods between altitudes of 1,000 and 2,000 feet. The many long, narrow, aerial roots emitted from the stems formerly furnished material for baskets. The ʻieʻie was considered sacred and was dedicated to ceremonial purposes.

imu Underground oven.

ipu The bottle gourd. Lagenaria siceraria. Also L vulgaris).

ipu ʻaina Scrap bowl, slop basin, refuse container.

ipu heke Gourd drum with a top section.

ipu holoi lima Finger bowl.

ipu hula Dance drum made of two gourds sewed together.

ipu kuha Spitoon.

kāʻekeʻeke Bamboo pipes, varying in length; usually with one end open. A player held one vertically in each hand tapping down on a mat or on the ground. The tone varied according to the size of the tube.

kāhili Feather standard, symbolic of royalty.

kahuna Priest, sorcerer, magician, wizard, minister, expert in any profession (whether male or female).

kahuna ʻanāʻanā Sorcerer who practices black magic and counter sorcery, as one who prays a person to death.

kāhuna Plural of kahuna.
kahuna kālai  Carving expert, sculptor.
kahuna lapa‘au  Medical doctor, medical practitioner, healer.
kai  1. Sea, sea water; area near the sea, seaside.
kālā  Dollar, silver, money, price, currency.
kālā‘au  Stick dancing; to stick dance.
kālai  To carve, cut, hew, engrave, hoe.
kālua  To bake in the ground oven.
kama‘aina  Native-born.
kāne  Male, husband, male sweetheart, man.
kapa  Tapa, as made from wauke or mamaki bark.
kapu  Taboo. A prohibition. Sacred or consecrated.
kauwā  An outcast, pariah, or untouchable. A member of a caste used for human sacrifice.
keiki  Child.
ki‘i  Image, statue, . . . idol . . .
kila  3. Steel, knife blade, chisel.
ko‘i  Axe, adz.
koko  Blood.
kōkua  Help, aid, assistance, relief, assistant, associate, deputy, helper.
kōnane  2. Ancient game resembling checkers, played with pebbles placed in even lines on a stone or wood board called papa kōnane.
kua kuku  Wooden anvil, as used for beating tapa.
kuleana  Small piece of property within an ahupua‘a; Right, responsibility.
kumu  Teacher, tutor.
kūpe'e Bracelet, anklet.

kupuna Grandparent or relative of the grandparent's generation. Ancestor.

kū'ula Any stone god used to attract fish, whether tiny or enormous, carved or natural, named for the god of fishermen.

laua'e Microsorum scolopendria. Maile-scented fern.

lei haku Braided lei, as of ferns and flowers.

lo'i Irrigated terrace, especially for taro . . .

lomilomi Masseur, masseuse. Massage.

luakini . . . large heiau where ruling chiefs prayed and human sacrifices were offered; to perform temple work.

luna Foreman, boss, overseer, officer of any sort.

mahiole Feather helmet, helmet.

maile Alyxia olivaeformis. A glossy leaved fragrant twining vine used for adornment.

maka'āinana Commoner, populace, people in general; citizen, subject.

māka'i Guard, policeman.

makau Fishhook.

mākini Gourd mask; as used by canoemen.

malo Male's loincloth.

mana Supernatural or divine power.

mana'o Thought, idea, belief, opinion, theory, thesis, intention; meaning, suggestion, mind, desire, want.

mano Shark (general name). Sharks were 'aumākua to some; they were said to have never harmed and frequently to protect those who fed and petted them.

manuhia Gratis, gratuitous, free of charge.

maole Native, indigenous.
māpele Thatched heiau (temple) for the worship of Lono and the increase of food; the offerings were of pigs, not humans.

maunu Bait; objects used in black magic, as hair, spittle, parings, excreta, clothing, food leavings.

meki 2. Ancient name for iron, as found on driftwood; nail, spike.

Menehune Legendary race or small people who worked at night, building fish ponds, roads, temples; if the work was not finished in one night, it remained unfinished.

moa Chicken; for some people, an ‘aumakua.

moe‘uhane Dream; to dream.

mó‘i King.

ni‘au kani A true Jew's harp, made of a thin strip of wood with a coconut midrib or bamboo strip lashed lengthwise.

niho palaoa A whale tooth pendant worn by royalty.

noa Freed of taboo, released from restrictions; freedom.

nui Big, large, great, greatest.

‘ohe hano ihu Bamboo nose flute.

Olona Touchardia latifolia Gaud. A shrub native to Hawai‘i, 4 to 8 feet high. The bark was formerly valued highly by Hawaiians as the source of a strong, durable fiber for fishnets, for nets (koko) to carry containers, and as a base for ti-leaf raincoats and feather capes.

pā 2. Dish;, plate, pan; elongated food bowl used for meat or fish; flat basin.

pā lā‘au 2. Wooden dish or tray.

pā pu‘a Pigboard.

pā poepoe Round dish or tray.

pa‘ahao Prisoner, convict; to be imprisoned.

paehumu Taboo enclosure about a chief's house or heiau.

pahu Drum
pala'á Lace fern. *Sphenomeris chusana*. One of the commonest wild ferns in Hawai‘i. Also known in other parts of Polynesia to eastern Asia and beyond. Hawaiians extracted a dark brown dye from the lacy fronds.

papa hehi Footboard used for dancing; treadle. Lit., board to step on.

papa kōnane See kōnane.

pau Finished, ended, through, terminated, completed, over, all done.

pewa 1. Tail of fish, shrimp, lobster. 2. Rectangular patch or wedge used for mending bowls, perhaps so called because of a resemblance to a fishtail.

piko Navel, navel string, umbilical cord.

pili 2. A grass. *Heteropogon contortus*. Known in many warm regions, formerly used for thatching houses in Hawai‘i.

pōhaku Rock, stone, mineral, tablet; sinker.

poʻe People, persons, personnel, population, assemblage, group of, company of.


pūʻili Bamboo rattles, as used for dancing.

puhi 4. Eel. Some persons considered puhi as ‘aumākua.

puka Hole.

pulu niu Coconut husk or fiber.

pūʻōhe Bamboo trumpet.

pūniu 2. Small knee drum made of a coconut shell with fishskin cover, as of kala.

pūpū 3. Relish, appetizer, canapé, hors d'ourve; formerly, the fish, chicken, or banana served with kava.

puʻuhonua Place of refuge, sanctuary, asylum, place of peace and safety.

ʻuhane Soul, spirit, ghost.
'uki'uki *Dianella*. A few species of a native Hawaiian lily are seen wild in woods, as around Kilauea Volcano.

'uli'uli A gourd rattle, containing seeds with colored feathers at the top, used for the hula. At one time there were no feathers.

'umeke Calabash or traditional Hawaiian wood or gourd bowl.

'umeke *ipu kai* Bowl, as for serving meat or salty meat.

'umeke *kūmauna* Deep wooden bowl with a thick base, as for poi.

'umeke kepakepa Bowl with horizontal flat panels.

'umeke *ku'oho* See palewa.

'umeke *l'au* Wooden bowl.

'umeke 'ōpaka Bowl with vertical panels with vertical edges between them.

'umeke pākākā A low wide wooden bowl, according to Buck, the largest ever made.

'umeke *pālewa* Also ku'oho. Low wooden bowl.

'umeke puahala A medium-sized bowl, as used for serving poi, named for a supposed resemblance to a pandanus key.

'umeke puāniki 2. Small wooden bowl, as for an individual serving of poi.

waha Mouth.

wahine Woman, lady, wife; sister-in-law, female cousin-in-law of a man.

wauke The paper mulberry. *Broussonetia papyrifera*. A small tree or shrub, from eastern Asia, known throughout the Pacific for its usefulness. It belongs to the fig or mulberry family. The bark was made into tough tapa used for clothing, bed clothes.
Hawaiian Gods, Demigods, Family Gods, and a Few Heroes

Hema  Maui and Hawai'i chiefs trace descent from him.

Hi'iaka  First part of the names of the twelve younger sisters of the goddess Pele.

Kaha'i  A hero who traveled to 'Upolu, Samoa, and brought back breadfruit to Hakipu'u, O'ahu or Pu'uloa, Kohala, Hawai'i. He went to Kahiki to find his father, Hema, who had lost his eyes.

Kanaloa  One of the four great gods. His name was not coupled with innumerable epithets, as were the names of the others. His companion and leader was Kāne. They were renowned as kava drinkers, and they found water in many places. Some considered him a god of the sea, and in Christian times he was equated with Satan. Emerson gives a healing prayer to him as god of squids (he had this form, as well as that of the 'ala'alapuūloa weed).

Kāne  The 'leading god among the great gods;' a god of creation and the ancestor of chiefs and commoners; a god of sunlight, fresh water, and forests to whom no human sacrifices were made. In prayers to Kāne his name is followed by more than seventy epithets. Kanaloa was his constant companion, but Kāne's name always was listed first.

Kīha-wahine  The 'most famous' of mo'o; she was a Maui chiefess who at death became a mo'o and a goddess worshiped on Maui and Hawai'i. She had dog, chicken, mullet, and spider forms. Lit. female lizard.

Kū  In some accounts Kū and Hina were the first gods to reach Hawai'i. Kū represented male generating power and also refers to the rising sun. Various forms of Kū were appealed to for rain and growth, fishing and sorcery, but he is best known as a god of war. Lit., upright.

Kūa Pāka'a  Because of jealousy, Pāka'a was banished to Moloka'i where he taught his young son, Kūa Pāka'a the wind chants.

Kūkā'ilimoku  The most famous of the Kū war images owned by Kamehameha, both wooden and feather.

Kū'ula kai  The god of fishermen. All fishermen's stone images and heiaus were named for him and were taboo.
Laka Goddess of the hula, maile, 'ie'ie and other forest plants.

Lono One of the four great gods, the last to come from Kahiki, considered a god of clouds, winds, the sea, agriculture, and fertility. He had also the form of the pig man, Kamapua'a. He was the patron of the annual harvest makahiki festivals, and his image (Lono makua) was carried on tax-collecting circuits of the main islands. Some fifty Lono gods were worshiped.

Māui The famous trickster demigod known elsewhere in Polynesia as Māui-tikitiki. His many adventures include pushing up the sky; getting fire from a mudhen; fishing up the islands; snaring the sun at Haleakalā. He attempted vainly to draw the islands together near Ka'ena point.

Pele The volcano goddess born as a flame in the mouth of Haumea. Countless stories attribute rocks and land forms to Pele's wrath. She appeared at different times as fire, a wrinkled hag, a child, and a beautiful girl.

Woods Employed for Carving and Turning

False kamani Tropical almond. Kamani-haole. Terminalia catappa. A small to large tree from the East Indies is grown in many tropical countries for ornament and shade, for timber and edible nuts. The wood is reddish, strong, elastic, and good for constructing boats and houses.

hala Pū hala, Pandanus, Screw pine. Pandanus odoratissimus. Native to Hawai'i, other islands of the Pacific, Australia, and southern Asia. Wide-branched, 20 feet high or more, conspicuous because of aerial roots (ule hala) emitted at oblique angles from the leaning trunk. The leaves (lau hala) have been plaited into many kinds of light durable articles since ancient times.

hāpu'u Cibotium splendens. An endemic tree fern that may grow to sixteen feet. Tikis are sometimes carved from the trunk.

hau Hibiscus tiliaceus A much-branched tree common near the sea in many tropical countries. Light, tough wood, white with a brown heart, was used for outriggers of canoes, cross sticks of kites and to produce fire by rubbing with olomea wood.
'iliahi Sandalwood. *Santalum*. Shrubs and trees with fragrant heartwood. Hawai'i has around eight native species. From about 1790 to 1840 the trees were cut and exported to China.

**kamani** Alexandrian laurel. *Calophyllum inophyllum L.* Called true kamani by contemporary craftspeople. A handsome, low-branching, more or less crooked or leaning tree, to 60 feet tall. Native on shores of the Indian and western Pacific Oceans. The hard, tough wood is valued in tropical Asia for cabinet wood and boats, formerly in Hawai'i for calabashes.

**kauila** *Alphitonia ponderosa*. 1. A native tree in the buckthorn family found on the six main Hawaiian islands; its hard wood was used for spears and mallets. Its wood was one of three kinds from trees on Mauna Loa, Moloka'i, that were rumored to be poisonous from that location alone, and were used in black magic. 2. *Colubrina oppositifolia*. Native found only on O'ahu and Hawai'i. Its hard wood was valued for spears and tools, and was not reputed to be poisonous. (Pukui.)

**kiawe** *Algaoba, mesquite. Prosopis pallida*. The commonest and most valuable tree introduced to Hawai'i, with sinewy trunk and branches. Pods used for fodder; wood for fuel; lumber for piles; flowers for honey; the tree for reforesting dry, waste places.

**koai'a** Also called koai'e. *Acacia koaia*. A native tree, much like the koa, but smaller. The wood is harder, formerly used for spears, fancy paddles and for the i'e tapa beater; later for furniture. (Pukui p. 157, Neal, p. 405)

**koa** *Acacia koa*. The monarch of native Hawaiian forest trees is the koa. Its height of 50 feet or more and its crown of far-spreading branches are attained slowly. It is common on mountain sides between altitudes of 1,500 and 4,000 feet. Koa wood, used extensively in Hawai'i, is called "Hawaiian mahogany." When polished, it is a beautiful red through which wavy lines show. Now used for furniture, woodwork, 'ukuleles, and novelties, it formerly was carved into canoes, surf boards, and calabashes, and was then as now perhaps the most valuable lumber tree in Hawai'i.

**kou** *Cordia subcordata*. An evergreen tree about 30 feet high, found on seashores from east Africa to Polynesia probably brought to Hawai'i by early Polynesian immigrants. From its soft but lasting wood were made cups, dishes, and calabashes, beautifully grained with wavy
Rhus chinensis var. The wood is soft, dark and light lines and bands. A moth destroyed many of the trees.

kukui Candlenut tree. Aleurites moluccana. A large tree in the spurge family bearing nuts containing white, oily kernels which were formerly used for lights; hence the tree is a symbol of enlightenment.

lama Ebony. Diospyros. A native forest tree. The hard, red-brown wood of some forms was highly prized by the ancient Hawaiians.

māmāne Sophora chrysophylla. A native tree found on all islands except Moloka‘i between altitudes of about 1,000 and 9,500 feet. The hard, durable wood is used in fences, and it was used formerly by Hawaiians for sled runners and farmers' spades.

milo Thespesia populnea. A native of coasts of the eastern tropics. Formerly commoner in Hawai‘i than at present. It was popular as a shade tree, growing not in forests but around homes. In Hawai‘i the beautifully grained wood was made into calabashes for poi but was not so popular as kou for that purpose. The wood is superior to hau and is favored by contemporary carvers.

naio Myoporum sandwicense. Called bastard sandalwood. A native tree found from near sea level to about 10,000 feet, common on the slopes of high mountains. The wood is hard, dark yellow-green, and scented like sandalwood. During the sandalwood trade, when the supply of sandalwood gave out, naio was substituted.

neneleau A wild native Hawaiian sumach. Rhus chinensis var. sandwicensis. Also called neleau. The wood is soft, light, yellowish gray, tough.

‘ohe 1. All kinds of bamboo. One to a few species of eight genera are cultivated in Hawaii. The wood is hard, strong, elastic, light, and easy to split. 2. A native tree Reynoldsia sandwicensis, an araliad. The wood of this kind of tree growing at Mauna Loa, Moloka‘i was reputed to be poisonous. It was used for making poison images.

‘ōhi‘a ‘ai The mountain apple. Eugenia malaccensis. A handsome tree, native of India and Malaya, is found on many islands of the Pacific. In Hawai‘i, it grows in shady valleys to an altitude of about 1,800 feet.

‘ōhi‘a lehua Metrosideros collina. The lehua, a favorite native Hawaiian tree, is the commonest kind between
altitudes of 1,000 and 9,000 feet in some forests of Hawai‘i. Flowers are conspicuous because of numerous bright red stamens, forming tufts at branch ends. The wood is hard, good for flooring and furniture, formerly used for images, spears and mallets.

**Olopuu** *Osmanthus sandwicensis*. A native Hawaiian evergreen tree with hard, heavy dark brown wood with black streaks, formerly used for spears, adz handles, and digging sticks.

**Uhiuhi** *Mezoneuron kauaiense*. Also called Hawaiian ebony. An endemic Hawaiian forest tree with hard, heavy wood formerly used for hōlua (sleds), spears, digging sticks and house construction.

**‘Ulu** *Artocarpus communis*. Breadfruit tree. One of the most attractive tropical trees. Common in Hawaii. Originated in Malaysia and grows throughout tropical Asia and Polynesia. The wood is light and good for canoes.

**Walahe‘e** Var. spelling of alahe‘e. *Canthium odoratum*. A large native shrub or small tree growing wild in dry regions, as on lava flows. Hawaiian and some other Pacific islands.

**Wiliwili** *Erythrina sandwicensis*. A native Hawaiian tree found near sea level to 2,000 feet on the lee side of all the large islands. It thrives in dry regions. The wood is said to be the lightest of Hawaiian woods and was formerly used for surf boards, for outriggers of canoes, and for net floats.
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