



TE WHARE WĀNANGA O
AWANUIĀRANGI

HĀWELE:
A JOURNEY IN RECLAIMING
CULTURAL IDENTITY AND MAULI
OLA THROUGH HANA KAPA

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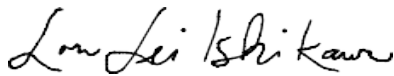
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Lori Lei Ishikawa



Signature:

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Ua ola loko i ke aloha

To Wayne, my best friend, husband, and most significant support in this journey, aloha wau iā ‘oe! Mahalo to our children and their spouses, Sommer & Ali‘i, Trina & Brandon, Leilei & Mike, Kealoha & Sarah, for your encouragement and strength. My dad and mom, Robert and Loretta, you are my teachers of love, ‘ohana, and commitment. My in-laws, Donald, Barbara, and Edith, I love you! To my kūpuna, you are always there when I call upon you for your guidance, ‘ike Hawai‘i, and my foundation of welo ‘ohana. My sister Lisa Lani, you always supported me every step in my journey. To our beautiful ‘āina Paeloko and the many lives that you have taught.

Ka leo o ke ola. (Pukui, 1983, p. 156). To the many voices that have given this research life and breath, mahalo nui! To my Rubbah Slippah Gang - Dr. Mera Penhira, Dr. Ohai Daniels, and Dr. Shavonn Matsuda, your guidance, encouragement, and believing in me! Dr. Hōkūlani Holt, for your aloha, wisdom, and friendship. Mahalo Kili & Mike Yasak, for all your help, aloha, and writing space. Dennis Kana‘e Keawe, for sharing your ‘ike and expertise in tools. Kiope & Lisa Schattenburg-Raymond, for your support and research in Kapa. To Leina Wender for your encouragement and inspiration. Dr. Kalei Nu‘uhiwa, for all the adventures! Peter & Lynn, I will always be grateful for your advice and support. David & Nalani for teaching me the value of recognizing that every child is gifted and talented. To Hete, Ariki, & ‘ohana Rapa Nui for sharing your traditions with me. To ‘ohana Pūnana Leo o Lahaina for welcoming me into your space. Dr. Wiremu Doherty and Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangi team of Marama, Kahurangi, Te Whiki, Dr. Green, and staff that have supported me. Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Dr. Kamana‘opono Crabbe, and Dr. David Sing, for your vision and encouragement. Dr. Chancellor Lui Hokoana and UH Maui College for being my biggest advocate for higher education and role model of leadership. To all my kumu and the many people that have helped enlighten, encourage, and believe in me, mahalo!

I dedicate this mo‘olelo to my mo‘opuna ‘Ale‘a, Naehu, Leilani, Kualī‘i, Chloe, Lauka‘ie‘ie, Ka‘imipono, ‘Ōlena, Nāmo‘olau, Hāwele, and their future mo‘opuna. Your ancestors’ mo‘olelo will live on when you retell and live our cultural practices.

Abstract

Reclaiming Hawaiian cultural-identity and maui ola (wellbeing) through Hana Kapa can be achieved through the place and space of Hawaiian cultural practices. This research will explore the ancient wisdom and traditions of the practice of kapa making. In achieving cultural reclamation, the importance of learning directly through an indigenous lens will empower the Hawaiian woman as she learns and teaches the practice of kapa. Using kānaka ‘ōiwi (Indigenous Hawaiian) methodologies of mo‘olelo (stories) and metaphors of the indigenous people’s point of view, a deeper understanding of these practices will be gained.

For more than two hundred years, the living resources of kapa (bark cloth) making, have all but died. With the death of the authentic kapa practitioners, knowledge of producing the finest kapa, significance of cultural traditions, and importance of rituals has been asleep. Kapa played an important role in the everyday life of the Hawaiian people. Pre-contact, kapa was a significant utilitarian commodity for clothing, bedding, wrapping of iwi kūpuna, ceremonies, rituals, and healing.

At present with the revival of Hawaiian culture, contemporary practitioners have used kapa as a medium for art pieces to be viewed on the walls of museums, great galleries, and private collections. In addition, innovative practitioners have duplicated patterns and kapa designs to produce clothing and accessories for the contemporary Hawaiian. However, the once utilitarian kapa pieces are very few and difficult to obtain. By understanding the importance and significance of kapa in pre-contact times, the practitioner can have a deeper connection to the production of kapa. Through the examinations of artifacts, mo‘olelo, and the process of kapa making, the contemporary practitioner will reconnect to the importance and significance of the production of kapa. Most important is to define, recognize, and practice the native Hawaiian intelligence that ancestors have left for us in the production of authentic kapa.

This research will explore the significance of the Hawaiian cultural practice of kapa in the broader socio-political context of global indigenous and native cultural reclamation. It has a

specific focus on women's reclamation of kapa and the multi-generational potential for teaching and learning of this practice, intersections of gender, cultural identity, and wellbeing.

Ko‘u Mo‘olelo

‘O keia ka mo‘okū‘auhau ka ‘Ohana Hāwele

‘O Paaoa Hawele ke kāne, ‘o Keohiwa ka wahine

Noho pū lāua a hānau ‘ia ‘o Keawe Hawele.

‘O Keawe Hawele ke kāne, ‘o Kailianu Kalehua ka wahine,

Noho pū lāua a hānau ‘ia ‘o Emily Kalunahana Nu‘uhiwa Hāwele.

‘O Charles Thomas Saffery Sr. ke kāne, ‘o Emily Kalunahana Nu‘uhiwa Hāwele ka wahine

Noho pū lāua a hānau ‘ia ‘o Emily Waikipoha Saffery

‘O William Eugene Ayers ke kāne, ‘o Emily Waikipoha Saffery ka wahine,

Noho pū lāua a hānau ‘o Loretta Kehau Ayers

‘O Robert Noboru Nagamine ke kāne ‘o Loretta Kehau Ayers ka wahine,

Noho pū lāua a hānau ‘ia ‘o Lori Lei Nagamine

‘O au ‘o Lori Lei

‘O Wayne Paul Shinichi Ishikawa ke kāne, ‘o Lori Lei Nagamine ka wahine,

Noho pū maua a hānau ‘o Sommer Jean Kehau Ishikawa, ka wahine

‘O Trina Ann Lani Ishikawa, ka wahine

‘O Noelle Emily Lei Ishikawa, ka wahine

A me ‘o Kevin Kealoha Ishikawa, ke kāne.

‘O keia ka mo‘okū‘auhau ka ‘Ohana Hāwele,

E ola ka hā loa ka ‘Ohana Hāwele!

As a native Hawaiian kapa practitioner, my passion is to enrich native Hawaiian students, families, and community members in a culturally based foundation to become leaders and stewards of our Hawaiian Islands. I want to create hands-on opportunities to produce Hawaiian kapa practitioners.

Noho mai Maui

Honored to be of the eighth generation living on the island of Maui, Hawai‘i. My Hawaiian mother has always cared for and nurtured little babies and children, she is my role model, my

hi'ilei that cares for children. My Okinawan father was a fisherman, woodworker, and my hero, my piko (center). Today he is my 'aumakua. He watches over our family, guides me, and reminds me of my kuleana. My parents would have celebrated their sixty-two years of marriage this past December. I mention their marriage because they are my role models and have nurtured my own marriage for forty-two years to my best friend Wayne. We are so blessed to have four beautiful children Sommer Jean Kehau, Trina Ann Lani, Noelle Emily Lei, and Kevin Kealoha with their awesome spouses. They have blessed us with ten beautiful grandchildren, five girls and five boys. Our grandchildren have been given the kuleana of being the tenth generation on Maui. Words cannot express the pride that I have in seeing our children become loving parents and strong active members in our community. Wayne and I have committed our 'Ohana (family) to protect and mālama (care) our island Maui through 'āina aloha (love for land), cultural practices, and 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language).

'E Ola Ko'u 'Ohana

My Jiji (grandfather) Yasutada Nagamine came from Okinawa as a young man to work in the plantations. My Baban (grandmother) Kama Arakai also came from Okinawa when she was nine years old. My Jiji and Baban lived in a two-bedroom home in Waikapu, Maui. Jiji was a farmer and fisherman, and Baban washed plantation workers' clothes. I always remember Jiji and Baban with smiles. They showered the grandchildren with tender love and attention. My fondest memory was how my Jiji loved fishing and working in his garden. My Baban was a tiny woman with strong hands always working to keep a tidy home and nourishing meal for the family.

Ko'u Piko

My dad Robert Noburo Nagamine was the middle child of nine siblings. My dad remembers waking up early in the morning to feed the farm animals then going to school. As soon as he finished school, dad would rush home to pick up food waste from the neighborhood to cook for their pigs. Because my dad had a truck, it was his responsibility to take care of his five younger brothers. He would pile his siblings up in his truck to take them to school and his various jobs. He told me there was never enough time to play sports, and there was always lots

of work on the farm. My dad said right after graduation he found a job to help support his family. He remembers that my Jiji and Baban were always working, there was no idle time and they would not have time to talk story with him and his siblings. Dad said he did not know what his father and mother's lives were like as young children.

Dad was a general manager for a food co-op, and he loved working with the farmers. He also was a fisherman and a master woodworker. He enjoyed making things with his hands and saw the beauty in the woods even before anyone else could see it. I loved watching him make things; there was always an intention when he did his woodwork. He shared his love of his woodworking with my husband and me. We created my kapa tools and many other projects together. He shared his passion for fishing with my children as they carry on his traditions of holoholo.

Dad recently passed away this past October at the age of 86 at our family home on Maui. He told me before he passed that he did not know much about his parents and their parents. Time never allowed his parents to talk to him and that made him sad. However, my dad was so happy that he had the time to share his stories with our family, to know his grandchildren, and great-grandchildren were very special to him. He shared his stories of growing up in a large family, going fishing, catching frogs, and pigeons to help feed the family. Dad told me they were always busy, but he had a good life with his siblings. His sisters and brothers were very important to him, and he kept in touch with them. Sadly, dad only has one brother of the nine that are still living.

Dad's time with Mom were the most important moments in the world to him. He would spend hours creating the perfect gifts for her from spider smashers which were two thin boards shaped like slippers to beautiful koa wooden bowls. Every day they spent hours talking stories over hot coffee and snacks. Dad understood my desire for creating opportunities for children to learn and practice na mea Hawai'i.

Besides Wayne and my children, my dad was the biggest supporter of my passion and my desire to pursue my Doctorate. One of the last words he said to me a few days before he died

was what I was doing was important, not only for me but for the future generations--my great-grandchildren and their great-grandchildren. For my dad, 'ohana was always important, and he made time to talk, laugh, and sing with his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. I know his legacy lives on in his descendants.

Mai 'Ōlelo

My grandma was Emily Waikipoha Saffery; her parents were Charles Saffery of Paehu, Ulapalakua and Emily Kalunahana Nuuhiwa Hawele of Kaupo. Grandma's father Charles was the Sheriff of the Lahaina prison where she spent most of her youth running around in the courtyard of the prison. My grandmother Emily Waikipoha was eight years old when her mother Emily Nuuhiwa Hawele died. Charles's father was Captain Edmond Saffery from England, and his mother was Kawa'aiki Naehu, she was the granddaughter of Ali'i Alapa'inuiaua. There is more research to be done on Alapa'inuiaua. My grandma Emily Waikipoha was the 6th generation who was raised and lived on Maui. She was amazing, she raised all nine children by herself, sent them all to private schools. She saved enough money to buy property to build three homes on it.

Grandma could speak fluent Hawaiian but would never 'Ōlelo Hawai'i in front of the children. This was a time when the Hawaiian language was outlawed, and my grandma did not want her children separated from the white children. At that time, it was better to look and act American to protect the children from the slander of being recognized as a Hawaiian. This reflected the White viewpoint to assimilate "Natives". Despite trying to protect her children, my grandma was very active in the Hawaiian Societies and Associations in the community. My grandma's home always had people visiting, one memory was she had a gathering of Hawaiian women at her home, and they were quilting this large blanket. They sat around a large frame in her living room with the quilt and they spoke 'ōlelo Hawai'i to each other. As they laughed, I hid below the quilt and watched the quilting needle going in and out as they would talk in Hawaiian. Once I was discovered they all would stop speaking in 'ōlelo Hawai'i and would switch to English. Of course, I got scolded and sent away to play outside.

That memory always made me happy to know that my grandma loved her ‘ōlelo but sadly she was careful not to speak in front of her own children and especially her grandchildren. My mom told me that Grandma wanted to protect them from being ridiculed for being Hawaiian. Mom said she would use some words in Hawaiian, but never spoke in Hawaiian to them or in front of them. However, mom did remember her chanting in the early morning by herself. Mom said her voice was deep and the words were choppy and intense. Mom compared grandmas chanting voice to master chanter and composer Kekuhi Kanahele. She described her chanting as scary. Perhaps my grandmother’s chanting was done in private and not discussed or translated to my mom and her siblings, explaining why she was afraid of the chanting. However, for me as her granddaughter, I was so happy that my mom gave me the ‘ike to know that my Grandma Emily practiced the ritual of pule every morning. Most important to witness the language of my ancestor is living now in our own children and grandchildren.

As mentioned before my Grandma Emily built three homes on her ‘āina (land), we lived in one of them. My ‘ohana lived in the back house of the ‘āina; there were two bedrooms, a large living room, and a big porch. My two brothers, sister, and Jiji slept in one room. Every evening I would go to my grandma’s house to sleep with her. I do remember sleeping with her until we moved away when I was in tenth grade. As a little girl I slept on Grandma’s bed, and as I got older, I slept on my bed next to her. Every evening she would say her rosary, take a swig of Robotuson and rub Vicks by her nose. I loved the smell of her, Vick’s vapor rub. Although every night I slept at my grandma’s, my mom’s oldest brother Uncle Eugene lived with her. Uncle Eugene would help take care of my grandma’s ‘āina that was full of fruit trees; mangoes of different kinds, papaya, banana, long-gon, lychee, mountain apple. She raised rabbits and pigeons for food, and her yard was full of plants of all colors. Grandma’s yard was ‘āina momona, there was always plenty of food for our family and the neighbors.

Mai Po‘ina

My grandfather is William Eugene Kealoha Ayers; his parents were William Alama Pelio and Namoolau Kaikali. William Alama’s parents were Juan Bello (Pelio in Hawaiian) a son of a diplomat of Caracas of Venezuela and Kaleohou o Ka‘ahumanu a chiefess and descendant of King Kahekili. My grandfather’s mother Namoolau’s parents were Kaukali and Mikahala both

of Maui. Namoolau was a Hawaiian language teacher and English interpreter. My grandfather William Eugene Kealoha Ayers was a bottler for Star Soda in Wailuku, but he became sick and died when my mom was nine years old. Her dad was a patient in the Manulani Hospital in Pā‘ia for the last five years of his life. Mom does not remember too much about him except he was a quiet and tall Hawaiian man. My mom’s memory of her dad was that he would rock on the porch of their home in Wailuku. But my mom’s older sister Florence Rishi told me a story about her father and his grandfather.

In this mo‘olelo told by my Aunty Florence as we sat near the river in Kahakuloa, Maui. My grandfather William talked about his adventure with his grandfather (Kaukali) as they were hiking in Kahakuloa Valley when they heard marchers approaching them. His grandfather told him to put his face in the ground and not to look up or move. As the sounds approached, he heard heavy footsteps and the sound of drums. Aunty Florence said her father didn’t move until his grandfather told him that it was okay to get up and move. His grandfather described to him that they were the menehune (first people before the arrival of the Hawaiians) and that we were not allowed to look at them.

Although my mom does not have memories of her father, this story that was retold to me by Aunty Florence will forever be lessons in our families lives. My grandfather’s story tells of the people of old, his beliefs, and values of his grandfather. This ‘ike kūpuna teaches me to listen, respect the environment, and the elements that surround us.

Ko‘u Hi‘ilei

My mom Loretta Kehau Ayers was the youngest in her family of nine siblings. My aunts told me that she was the youngest and she could do no wrong. Moreover, if she did, her siblings took responsibility, because it was their responsibility to watch over her. One of mom’s sisters, Aunty Geri Moriki, always adored and was very protective of my mom, she told me a mo‘olelo when they were young.

Their family would go to the beach in Olowalu on Maui to visit relatives and go swimming on the shoreline, however, my mom had to stay on the beach. On the

shoreline, a group of small sharks swam around them as they played in the water, but my mom stayed on the shore. Aunty Geri told me that the sharks were our ‘aumakua (family god) and visited them. They played with the sharks, but my mom was never allowed to play with them or touch them, she could only watch. My mom does not remember this story, but her older sisters remember this mo‘olelo very well.

Aunty Geri believed that my mom had a connection to the sharks that greeted them in Olowalu, and my mom’s responsibility was to watch over her older siblings. This mo‘olelo connects our ‘ohana to the mano (shark) as our ‘aumakua, the ‘āina where my ancestors are from, and the kuleana of my mom. I feel grateful that mo‘olelo like these are the foundations that our ancestors have given to me so that I can share with their descendants. My aunts have shared stories with me that are real and should be understood that these mo‘olelo are not only from the past but also for the kuleana of future generations.

Growing up I always remember my mom greeting us when we came home from school. She would have a snack of cream crackers with butter and sugar with hot cocoa. Mom stayed home and took care of the babies and they all lovingly called her “Nana”. Mom loved taking care of babies, she had a special gift of taking the time to read books, coloring, and playing in the back yard with the babies. She is my Hi‘ilei (cares for the child) and has the heart of an angel, always giving with love and compassion. Our home is filled with love and adventures. My dad loved to fish, and he would go as often as he could. Many times, Mom would pack up our dinner, and when Dad finished work, we would go to Paukukalo beach to throw in his fishing poles, and we would play on the beach. We would spend the later afternoon playing in the sand while my dad would holoholo (fishing) until the sunset then we would return home. Holoholo was a big part of my life; it was those memories that bring back times of simplicity and ‘ohana.

I remember every Sunday we would go to Saint Anthony Church in Wailuku and if we were good, we would go to Hale Lava or Tasty Crust for breakfast. My kuleana at church was to make sure my brothers (that loved to sit in the front) did not fall asleep during mass. After breakfast, we would go home, back up our car with food, and drive down to Ma‘alaea at a rocky beach. My Dad and his brothers Uncle Yoshi, Uncle Machan, and Uncle Stanley had a

spot on the shoreline that they would dig for worms. The mixture of sand and dirt made a perfect place to find bloodworms for the bait. All the kids would be on shore to pick through the mud to pull out the long slimy blood worms. When we collected enough for our family and my uncles then we would go to Ma'alaea Harbor to holoholo with my dad, his brothers, and their families, and my Jiji. My Jiji would always be the first to catch the fish and like clockwork my mom would catch the next one. After fishing, we would all go to my Jiji and Baban house for dinner. There we would cook the fish and share in a feast of Japanese food that my Baban had prepared for us to enjoy. Our family was huge, but we were always able to fit in their tiny house in Waikapu. Those were memories that keep me grounded to the past, today I want to continue to nurture those adventures that we went on as a family.

As mentioned, I have two brothers Bobby and Randy, and a sister Lisa Lani. We were all brought up in a very close-knit family, but we are different, and all pulled traits from our 'Ohana. Named after my dad, my oldest brother Bobby enjoys fishing and is very passionate about caring for the ocean. Bobby also loves working with his hands just like my dad. My younger brother Randy loves bowling and always enjoys a good hand of cards. Randy's strongest trait that he has from my dad is the responsibility to take care of his family. He is a great husband, father, and role model for his son Russel and wife Corrine. Like my mom, Lisa Lani has the biggest heart that loves to share and nurture her family and friends. Then there is me; I love working with my hands as my dad, I love being of service to my community like my mom. From my grandma Emily, I serve my community, I get her strength to protect my children and future generations. I believe she guides me to continue Hawaiian cultural practices.

Ko'u ku'uipo

My husband is Wayne Ishikawa, and we met in Oahu whilst going to Honolulu Community College. My first semester there I took five classes and Wayne was taking four of the same classes. It was funny because I didn't notice him as he would always be in the back of the classes. Wayne just got out of the Air force and was using his service benefits to go to school. For several weeks we did not talk until one day we ended up walking together to our next class. We became good friends and hung out a lot at the shopping center and the beach. We both had

no money, no transportation, but we enjoyed each other's company. Several months into our friendship we grew to love each other. Wayne made me laugh and smile all the time, and he is my best friend and my ku'uipo (sweetheart).

After a challenging first year of college, I decided to move back home to Maui. My hua or reason to be in school was not strong enough to stay in Oahu to pursue a graphic artist degree. This was the year my Jiji died, I missed him so much that I wanted to be home with my 'ohana. Although Wayne lived in Oahu, I felt lonely and disconnected to what was real. I always felt like I did not belong there in Oahu. I know now that I was not prepared for my ha'alele or the things that I needed to give up going to school. My hua changed from wanting to go to school to spending time with my family in one short year. I told Wayne that I was moving back home, and he followed me a couple months after I left. I am so grateful that I was his hua. Wayne was prepared to give up his life in Oahu to be with me.

We had a challenging first year living with each other on our own. I had to learn how to cook, organize our household, but most challenging was listening and valuing Wayne as my partner. A year and a half after meeting Wayne, we got married. I think about it all the time that we were so young, I was nineteen and Wayne was twenty-two. A year after being married we had our first daughter Sommer Jean Kehau. Sommer is named after her two grandmothers, my mother-in-law Barbara Jean, and my mom Loretta Kehau. Two years later we had Trina Ann Lani named after my sister Lisa Lani and sister-in-law Edith Ann. Then came Noelle Emily Lei "Leilei", she was our Christmas Eve baby named after her three generations of grandmother's and me. Finally, to our surprise, Wayne got his boy, Kevin Kealoha, named after my grandfather William Kealoha and Uncle Eugene Kealoha.

Today after forty-three years of marriage, we are blessed with ten mo'opuna (grandchildren) all living on Maui. My children and their spouses have chosen to raise and nurture their children on Maui making our mo'opuna the tenth generation raised on Maui. My mo'opuna are immersed in Hawaiian Language and work hard on our 'āina. We are so blessed to be able to see our mo'opuna daily and teach the values that we hold on to, such as 'ohana, kuleana, and mālama 'āina. It is critical to share what we have learned with our children and mo'opuna

from as early as possible. We desire to connect to the ‘āina and protect the resources entrusted to our ‘ohana. ‘A‘o mai, ‘A‘o aku — we learn, and we teach. We choose to teach our descendants our ‘ohana values, traditions, and mo‘olelo. Besides our teaching, there are times that I am being taught by my ancestors. These are my teachable or learnable moments that are important to discover who I am and what I can give to my community and especially my descendants.

Alaka‘ina

Celebrating two decades at the University of Hawai‘i Maui College (UHMC) working with Native Hawaiian students and community has enriched my life to the importance of Ma ka Hana ka ‘Ike (in working one learns). I have witnessed the effects of Ma ka Hana ka ‘Ike with the students in their community as well as in their families. At UHMC through the positions that I have held I have gained a deep appreciation for the teachers and practitioners that have given their ‘ike (knowledge) and time to the kānaka ‘ōiwi ¹(Native Hawaiian) community.

There are people in my life that have mentored me to become an active member in our Hawaiian community. First is Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla, she is a mother of three, a Master Kumu Hula and Hawaiian Cultural practices, Historian, and my friend. She has shown me what it is to be a strong Indigenous woman in our Hawaiian community and as world Indigenous leadership. She has taught me to look through a Hawaiian lens and think of the global impact of everything we do from the ceremonies to the protection of Mauna Kea, to supporting Native Hawaiian Scholars in higher learning, to the kalo farmer that fights for water rights. Through the Hawaiian lens, we are all connected in how we take care of our land, ocean, and each other. One of the most important lessons that Dr. Holt-Padilla has taught me was to listen to my ‘ike kupuna (knowledge of ancestors) and to call upon them when I need them for guidance and help. She reminds me that my kūpuna are always with me to help me make the next step in my life.

¹ Kānaka ‘ōiwi represent the bones of the people. This is the term that is used in place of native Hawaiian.

Another important mentor is University of Hawai‘i Maui College Chancellor Dr. Lui Hokoana. His outstanding leadership in our community is reflected in his actions every day in his life. He has always been an advocate for higher learning which is reflected in the many programs that he has created to promote the well-being of the Hawaiian community. I believe one of his greatest prides is his loving family and the values that he was raised with. Dr. Hokoana is a local boy, raised on Maui, and an active member in the Hawaiian Community. These values are reflected in his view on how he approaches leadership in the college. He is a humble man and does not boast on his achievements, but more important he is the first to work hard and lead. Dr. Hokoana is one man that I would follow because he is the perfect example of leadership.

My next mentor is Dr. David Kekaulike Sing, he is the founder of Na Pua No‘eau, a Native Hawaiian program for children that are gifted and talented. Under the leadership of Dr. Sing, he has shown me that all children are gifted and talented, we must give the children the opportunity to discover their passion and place in their community. He has taught me to look at each child and listen, watch, and identify their individual talent. Most important to help develop their talent in providing hands-on opportunities to experience their own talents. The opportunity to enrich the lives of Native Hawaiian children brings us to why my ‘ohana with other hui members created Paeloko, a site and space for kānaka ‘ōiwi children to have a place to do and be Hawaiian.

‘E komo mai i Paeloko

In 2002, I purchased some land to support the Hawaiian community’s practical learning experiences based on Hawaiian values and mo‘olelo. The land purchase facilitated the establishment of the Paeloko Learning Center, a thirty-two-acre cultural-based education farm in Waihe‘e, Maui, Hawai‘i. Each year we serve over two thousand children and community members in authentic culturally based enrichment activities. Through mo‘olelo our activities include kaula (cordage), pahu (drum), la‘aulapa‘au (medicine), hula (dance), lo‘i kalo (taro patches), and kapa. This is the place where I have learned to become a kapa practitioner. Raised knowing the importance and values of being able to give opportunities to the Native Hawaiians and community, Paeloko Learning Center honors the mo‘olelo of Māui’s connection to

Paeloko (hidden pond). In Hawai‘i’s history, Paeloko was the place where demigod Māui came to gather his resources of coconut fibers to make his magical lasso to capture the sun. Using his magical lasso, Māui’s quest was to slow down the sun so his mother Hina could dry her kapa (Sterling, 1998, p. 48).

In honor of Māui’s mother Hina, a one-acre parcel has been dedicated for the practice of kapa at Paeloko. As a kapa practitioner, mother, and grandmother, the kuleana (responsibility) to perpetuate the tradition of kapa to my keiki (children), mo‘opuna (grandchildren) and kānaka ‘ōiwi in the community is vitally important. Honored and guided by pili i nā kūpuna (ancestral memories) that they have passed on to me through “conscious migration” (Kanahele, 2011, p. xi) of knowledge that I am of my ancestors. My reflection of conscious migration is.

My fourteen-month mo‘opuna Lauka‘ie‘ie sat next to me as I made kuku wauke on the beach of Kahului. As the gentle waves brushed against my legs, Lauka‘ie‘ie would cup her tiny hands to fill with salt water. She gently sprinkled the salt water on the kapa as I am beating, and she would stop sprinkling the water without me saying a word. How did she know this was what I needed to do...even when I didn’t know I needed the sprinkle of salt water? Simultaneously, my daughter Noelle Ishikawa, reacted to the sight that unfolded in front of her, “Today’s kapa makers had to learn on their own because they had no one to show them, but Lauka‘ie‘ie has you, her Puna to teach her how to make kapa and I can witness this with my own eyes (N. Ishikawa, personal communication, 2014).

Today, at six years old, my mo‘opuna can uhole the bark of the wauke plant and kuku a piece of kapa on her own without me even touching the piece. I ask myself, how is the welo ‘ohana (generational transfer of knowledge) in me holding Lauka‘ie‘ie hand as passing on pili i nā kūpuna tradition? How can I take my ‘ike hānau (instinct) to teach my mo‘opuna the importance of Kapa without an understanding of the uses, significance, and ‘ike hānau of kapa making? How can we keep alive the passion of importance to produce and use kapa in contemporary times?

I find myself at a place where I can learn the production of kapa from master kapa practitioners, and I am honored to have this opportunity. However, I desire the guidance of a Native Hawaiian practitioner that will help me recognize and identify the layers of significance of traditional kapa in practical and ceremonial use. Pualani Kanahele writes:

We must pay attention to our Hawaiian native intelligence and experience. We should be able to look for them, define them--because nothing is lost. In fact, we still have a lot of knowledge that was left to us by our ancestors. It's still there; we just must go and look for it. That's what we are all about--research. (Kanahele, 2011, p. 27)

I believe this is an excellent opportunity to learn the ways of old from our ancestors and create innovative learning pedagogies in contemporary cultural practices without the loss of our 'ike kūpuna. I recognize that as a Native Hawaiian woman practitioner and academic I am contributing to a global body of Indigenous women's research that is necessarily political and revolutionary in its process and intended outcomes.

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Nā Hua‘ōlelo

In reclaiming ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, I put forth nā Hua‘ōlelo (words) at the beginning of this document instead of traditionally the end. Nā hua‘ōlelo arranged in the pī‘āpā (Hawaiian alphabetic) order. In addition, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i has so many words that start with ‘ (okina); the hua‘ōlelo that begins with okina will follow pī‘āpā w. Note that this is not a complete list of Kapa huā ‘ōlelo, and I encourage the reader to expand the use and practice of Hana Kapa. The following is the standard order of the pī‘āpā:

a e i o u h k l m n p w ‘

A

aahu (a cloak; bark of wauke)
ahonui (patience)
aiokahaloa (grey kapa dyed with charcoal)
akua (gods)
ala (dense waterworn volcanic stone)
alaka‘ina (leadership)
ali‘i (chief)
anana (arm length)
au ‘āpa‘apa‘a (timekeeping)
a‘a (root of the wauke)

I

iho (sheets of kapa moe, beneath the kilohana)
iwi kūpuna (bones of ancestors)
i‘e kuku (kapa beater) (Stokes:Norm)
i‘e kuku ho‘oki (small nao)
i‘e kuku ho‘opa‘i (medium nao)
i‘e kuku pepehi (broad nao)

O

oihana (occupation)

okioki (half tone patterns)

oli (chant)

U

ūa (rains)

uhole (peel off the stock or scraped off, separate, peel)

H

hā‘ana‘ana (bark of wauke)

ha‘i‘ōlelo (speech)

hālau kapa (school of kapa)

hale (house)

hale kuku (kapa beating house)

Hāloa (first man)

Hāloa-naka-lau-kapalili (long stalk quaking trembling leaf)

hana (work)

hana no‘eau (arts)

Hāwele (type of kapa)

He mau mea pa‘ahana (tools to produce kapa)

heiau (temple)

Hi‘ilei (cares for the child)

hili (bark for dyeing)

hili kukui (kukui bark) (Stokes:Kapahu)

Hina (Māui’s mother, moon)

hoahoa (to beat, rapid beating)

hohoa (round beater) (Stokes:Kapahu)

hohoa (flatted beater) (Stokes:Norm)

hohoa malo (round beaters)

hohoa mo‘omo‘o (plain hohoa beater)

ho‘iho‘i (respect)

Ho‘ohōkūkalani (mother of Hāloa, daughter of Wākea and Papa)

ho‘oili ‘ike (transfer of knowledge)

ho‘oliuliu (prepared)

ho‘omau (perpetuate)

ho‘omo‘omo‘o (to make mo‘omo‘o)

ho‘ona‘auao (workshop)

holoholo (fishing)

holopapa (frame)

holua (finishing stage)

hula (dance)

huli (shoots)

K

ka mea hana hapa (making kapa)

kae (refuse)

kaha (slice outer bark)

Kahi (cut along the length of stalk)

kahi (scrape)

kahiko (ancient)

kahua (foundation)

kahuna (priest)

kai (gravy, mucilagenous sap) (Stokes:Kapahu)

kaiāulu (community)

kaiaulu (top layer of kapa moe)

kākau (to print)

Kāloa (length, long)

Kānaka ‘Ōiwi (Native Hawaiian)

Kanaloa (akua ocean and ocean winds)

Kāne (akua of waters, sun, life)

kaona (hidden meaning)

kapa (bark cloth)

kapa ‘ele‘ele (black kapa)
kapa moe (bed covering)
kāpala (stamp)
kapipi (to sprinkle)
kapu (sacred)
kau (maceration)
kaula (cordage)
kaula‘i (drying stage)
kawowo (young suckers)
keiki (child)
kiheaheapala‘a (dye plants)
kīhei (shawl, cape)
kīkoni (bark soaked until wali & pipili) (Kent, 1995)
kilohana (top layer of kapa moe, decorated with designs and colors)
kini (tin)
Koa (Acacia koa) (Stokes:Norm)
kohu (hardened sap)
ko‘ele (tap lightly) (Stokes:Kapahu)
kolikoli (separate bark from bast)
Kū (akua of war, strength, health, and prosperity)
kū (soak in water)
kua (wooden anvil) (Stokes:Norm)
kua kuku (wooden anvil)
kua la‘au (wooden anvil)
kua pohaku (stone anvil)
kuina (sewing sheets of kapa together to make a kapa moe)
kūkā kama‘ilo (talk story)
kuka‘a (roll in a circle)
kuku kapa (beating of the kapa)
kukui (*Aleurites moluccana*) (Stokes:Kapahu, Norm)

kūkulu (pillars)

kula ‘iwi (ancestral home)

kuleana (responsibility)

kumu (stalk, teachers)

kumu la‘au (tree)

kumuhonua (ancient ancestors)

Kumulipo (origin, source of life)

kupale (defend, protect)

L

lāhui (nation)

La‘ahana (‘aumakua of kapa design)

la‘au (plants)

la‘au hohoa (flatten stick, beating stick) (Stokes:Norm)

la‘au koli (charcoal of wood shavings) (Stokes:Norm)

la‘aulapa‘au (medicine)

lalo (slips)

lani (heaven)

lau (design) (Stokes:Norm)

lau kāpala (stamping design)

Lauhuki (‘aumakua of beater)

laulima (cooperation)

loea (skilled, expert)

lo‘i kalo (taro patches)

lolo (brain)

Lono (akua of fertile soil and growth)

M

mahi ‘ai (cultivators)

Mahina (moon)

ma‘a (sling stone)

ma‘awe (bast fiber)

maiau (neat) (Stokes:Norm)
Maikohā (akua of wauke)
makai (ocean)
makana (gift)
makani (winds)
makua (parent)
mālama (care)
mālama ‘āina (care for the land)
malo (loincloth)
malo‘o (dried up, as water)
mano (shark)
mano ‘oki (shark tooth knife)
mano niho (shark tooth)
māuka (mountain)
mauli ola (well-being)
mea wai‘ala (scenting)
mele (song)
mo‘o (succession).
mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy)
mo‘olelo (stories)
mo‘omo‘o (beating of strips together; wauke shoots; five strips of bast to make one moomoo)
mo‘omo‘o (wauke shoots)
mo‘omo‘o (beaten out) Stokes:Norm
mo‘opuna (grandchildren)
mole (smooth, uncarved surface of kapa beater)
mu‘o (new shoots)

N

nā mea hana kapa (process of making kapa)
na mea kanu (plants)
na mea waiho‘olu‘u (dyes)

na‘au (gut)
na‘au (intuition)
nao (lines; streak on kapa pattern form by beater)
nīnau pākākā (lead questions)
nīnauele (interviews)
ninikea (tapa for gods)
nuku (mountain gap or entrance)

P

Paeloko/Peeloko (hidden pond)
paepae (support)
pahu (drum)
pa‘a na‘ana‘a (protruding pieces of bark)
pa‘i (beating)
pa‘u (soot)
pai‘a (1st beating, coarse)
paku (process of joining strips together)
pala (maeattia dougasii) (Stokes:Kapahu)
palena (followers)
panao (last three beats)
panini mana‘o (conclusion)
paulu‘a (coarse ribbed beater)
piko (center)
pīlali (resin)
pili i nā kūpuna (ancestral memories)
pipili (sticky).
poaaha (wauke)
pōhaku ku‘o pa‘u (pestle)
poho kukui (kukui lamp)
poho pa‘u (mortar)
pō‘ai (circular motion)

pono (truth)

pōpō (ball of kau fibers)

puili (fine ribbed beater)

pule (prayer)

W

wā (verse)

wahi (place)

wahi pana (legendary place)

wai (water)

waiho‘olu‘u (dying)

waili‘ili‘i (very little water)

waiwai (richness)

Wākea (ancestor of all Hawaiians, father of Hāloa)

wali (soft)

wauke (Stokes:Kapahu)

wauke ku‘iku‘i (matured bast)

wauke ohiohi (young bast)

wehe (uncover)

weke (goat fish)

welo ‘ohana (generational transfer of knowledge)

wilioki (popo process/felting)

‘

‘aha (cordage)

‘ahapi‘i (type of tapa) (Stokes: Norm)

‘āina (land)

‘āina aloha (love for land)

‘ano nui (importance)

‘aumakua (family god)

‘eha (pain)

‘ike (knowledge)

‘ike hānau (instinct)
‘ike Hawai‘i
‘ike kupuna (knowledge of ancestor)
‘ili (bark)
‘ili iho (inner bark)
‘inikā (ink)
‘ohana (family)
‘ohe kāpala (bamboo stamp)
‘ohi (harvesting)
‘ōlelo (language)
‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language)
‘ōlelo no‘eau (Hawaiian proverbs)
‘oloa (tapa for gods)
‘opihi (limpet)
‘unu (jerks)
‘a‘a‘a (piece of roots)
‘i‘o (meat; significance)

***Hāwele: A journey of reclaiming cultural identity
and maui ola through Hana Kapa.***

“Ua lehulehu a manomano ka ‘ikena a ka Hawai‘i.

Great and numerous is the knowledge of the Hawaiians” (Pukui, 1983, p. 309).

Mokuna ‘Ekahi - Introduction

Figure 1 Kūkū kapa with my mo‘opuna Lauka ‘ie‘ie. (Photo credit N. Ishikawa, 2012)



‘Ike kūpuna - my ‘aha moment I realized that my kupuna were guiding our hands.

Hāwele

This was a day that we as ‘ohana needed to get out of the house and go on a journey. The journey was to take our children and look for my great-grandparents Emily Kalunahana Nu‘uhiwa Hāwele and Charles Saffery were buried. I knew they were buried in Lahaina, but I did not know what cemetery. Our youngest son Kealoha must have been three years old, now he is twenty-eight years old. This was his first year at Pūnana Leo o Maui in Wailuku ²and we were just learning the Hawaiian Language. Our Leilei was in papa ‘ekahi (1st grade) at Kula Kaiapuni o Pā‘ia³. I believe Trina and Sommer were going to middle school at Maui Waena in Kahului. My husband Wayne and I packed the kids in our van and drove from Pukalani out to Lahaina.

Figure 2 ‘Ohana Saffery-Hawele under the ‘ulu tree. Lahaina Prison, 2018.



We first went to Old Lahaina Prison ⁴where my great-grandfather Charles Saffery was the Warden. We took the ‘ohana there so they could re-connect to their kūpuna that once worked and played there. Grandmother Emily spent a lot of time on the grounds of the old Lahaina prison from the time she was very young. My great-grandmother Emily passed away when my

² Pūnana Leo o Maui is a Hawaiian Immersion preschool that was established in 1987 in Wailuku, Maui.

³ In the effort for Hawaiian medium education in the Public Schools, Kula Kaiapuni Pā‘ia is one of the twenty-one Hawaiian Language Immersion Program and is administered under the State’s Department of Education.

⁴ Hale Pa‘ahao - Old Lahaina Prison was Lahaina new prison established in 1850 in the peak of the whaling era.

grandmother was seven years old. Our visit there was wonderful as we sat protected under the shade of the huge old ulu⁵ tree in the coral walls of the jail house. The significance of knowing that Grandma Emily and my great-grandparents Charles and Emily must have sat under this same ulu tree was present and we felt safe and connected to our kūpuna. After giving our mahalo to our kūpuna, we started our search to find them.

We drove down the long Waine‘e Street, stopped at each cemetery, and walked around the grounds of graveyards in Lahaina. As we walked around, we found graves covered by time with leaves and branches and sometimes they were buried under piles of rubbish. All the time that we were looking, I prayed that they were not one of them that was forgotten and covered under rubbish. It was perhaps the fifth graveyard we ended up at Waiola Church Cemetery⁶, there we spent a little time visiting our Ali‘i nui monuments. As I walked around the graveyard, I called my Grandma Emily and Papa Charles, asking where they were? My ‘ohana and I must have walked past their grave numerous times, but there they were shaded under a plumeria tree that I was standing next to. I cried as I saw their names etched in a handmade tomb stone lined with small shells. Here were my great-grandparents Charles Saffery and Emily Kalunahana Nu‘uhiwa Hawele Saffery resting on the grounds of Waiola Church.

Now it has been over twenty-five years since we first located their grave, and my son Kealoha and wife Sarah are looking for a name for their baby, my mo‘opuna. He asked me for our family names, and I directed him to our mo‘okū‘auhau, our genealogy. After searching through binders of genealogy, in a document he found the name Hāwele which is great-grandmother Emily’s family surname. Kealoha goes on to say Pukui-Elbert (1986) writes, Hāwele is to tie or bond together, but also is a type of kapa. For me this was the first time I had heard that Hāwele was a type of kapa. Pukui-Elbert described that the type of kapa is unknown. From the time that I started kuku kapa that is more than seventeen years, I have looked for someone in our ‘ohana that made kapa or knew of stories of kapa. I asked for our kupuna in our ‘ohana, including going to family reunions with at least 800 ‘ohana members and asking if they have

⁵ Hawaiian ‘Ulu (*Artocarpus altilis*) or breadfruit and known as a canoe plant brought to Hawai‘i. The ulu is in the paper mulberry family.

⁶ Established in 1823, originally called Waine‘e Church until 1953, the cemetery is the resting place of the Ali‘i class of Hawai‘i.

had mo‘olelo or items related to kapa. Sadly, the answer was always “No I have not, none, I have not heard of that, and what is kapa?” All those unanswered questions brought forth the answer as my son looked for his first child’s name. This name would reconnect our ‘ohana Hāwele and bind my passion for kapa. E ola ka ‘ohana Hāwele!

Figure 3 E ola ka ‘ohana Hāwele!



My grandson Hāwele.

Dr. Peter Hanohano (2020) made some important points in a recent conversation as he addressed the Maui doctoral cohort who were completing their studies. He expressed that I must believe that my kūpuna are guiding me to be here and to do what I am doing. He pressed on the belief that what I am doing now is important and things that might feel like a distraction, are a direction. This makes sense, all through this dissertation research, things that I thought were important were not made a priority, but the distractions made clear directions. Finding the name Hāwele was an absolute confirmation that my kūpuna Hāwele is guiding me to do this. It was through my research that we found my ancestor that I believe was either a kapa maker or had something significant to do with kapa. The next challenge was to learn about what is a Hāwele in kapa making.

Reclaiming kapa cultural traditions, protocols, and practices will empower the Hawaiian women in the twenty-first century. This will be achieved through the process of making kapa and the cultural practices of ceremonies, rituals, and protocols. Na wāhine kanaka can strengthen and reclaim their ‘ōlelo (language), ‘āina (land), and mauli ola (well-

being). Knowing the significance of ancient traditions such as kapa will keep the practice alive and will reinforce the Native Hawaiian's cultural reclamation.

The purpose of the mokuna 'ekahi, "Ma Ka Hana Ka 'Ike" is in doing, one learns. This mokuna begins with the positioning of the researcher in the context of the study. The key research focus is reclaiming cultural identity and well-being through hana kapa using the pedagogy of Ma Ka Hana Ka 'Ike. This chapter describes the history, mo'olelo, background, and significance of kapa making and introduces the research methodologies. The key research question is: How does hana kapa reclaim cultural identity and well-being in the twenty-first century?

'Ōlelo No'eau and Reclaiming My Voice

In reclaiming the kānaka 'ōiwi indigenous voice, the use of Pukui's (1983) 'Ōlelo No'eau (Hawaiian proverbs)⁷ as metaphors, open a window of the past into the history and values of ancestral knowledge. As a child, I was raised and nurtured with many of these 'ōlelo no'eau revealed and practiced in the daily lives of my parents, grandparents, and 'ohana members. Proverbs such as "Ma ka hana ka 'ike"- in working one learns (p. 227) and "He lei poina 'ole ke keiki"- a lei never forgotten is the beloved child (p. 82) are values and reminders of the kānaka worldview. Kānaka culture, history, and 'ike was oral based, providing for the transmission of 'ike were mele (song), oli (chant), mo'olelo, and 'ōlelo no'eau. These 'ōlelo no'eau teach traditional values and the kānaka cultural perspectives that open the doorways to history, beliefs, and traditions. These doorways of beliefs and values of our ancestors help connect the past to the contemporary kānaka.

Through the examination of artifacts and mo'olelo, I can identify the significance of kapa from the perspective of a kānaka 'ōiwi kapa practitioner. Indeed, understanding the past is essential, but being able to determine the significance in contemporary times will allow kānaka 'ōiwi to own their relationship to the cultural practice of kapa making. In teaching the process of making kapa, I will be able to experience and identify 'ike kūpuna in a multi-generational setting.

7 All 'Ōlelo No'eau used in this research is quoted by Mary Kawena Pukui, 1983, otherwise reference to another author.

Besides knowing the significance of kapa and experiencing the ‘ike kūpuna, I will identify innovative approaches to reclaiming cultural knowledge.

Kahua (foundation)

Guided by ma ka hana ka ‘ike, this is the quest to discover the depth and breadth of this ancient practice of hana kapa. Knowing that these ‘ōlelo no‘eau are words spoken by the ancestors, gives us the characteristics of their life through the Hawaiian lens. Ma ka hana ka ‘ike is the indigenous method that has guided and transformed me to become a kapa practitioner. Using this proverb as the applied research method gives a glimpse of everyday life and cultural values.

This is furthered by utilizing the heuristic approach to understand the depth of indigenous knowledge and reclaiming indigenous knowledge that is passed on through the process of making kapa. Regardless of the limitations that exist without a living resource, Ma Ka Hana Ka ‘Ike helps to connect the past to the contemporary Hawaiian. Knowing the ‘i‘o (significance) of kapa in contemporary times enables the Hawaiian to determine the values that are worth standing up for.

To identify the ‘i‘o of kapa in contemporary times, the indigenous researcher must know the history and mo‘olelo of kapa. Grateful that we have some documentation recorded by the anthropologists, collectors, and museums; however, there are very few kānaka ‘ōiwi that have written documentation of the ‘i‘o of kapa. Historians such as Kamakau (1992), Malo (1951), and Pukui (1983) have documented the process and use of kapa in ancient times. However, some of this documentation has been translated from Hawaiian to English and may have lost the accuracy and significance of kapa in the translations. Furthermore, the Hawaiian people were oral based, their traditional knowledge of kapa was held more in the memory of expert practitioners. However, research and documentation by second and third-hand accounts give a great starting point for researching the history and mo‘olelo of kapa.

According to historian William Brigham’s (1911) documentation of Ka Hana Kapa: The Making of Bark-Cloth in Hawaii, by the mid-1800, kapa was only made outside of the communities in rural areas. By the time of the opening of the Bishop Museum in 1890, there

were no kapa makers. Although Brigham researched kapa extensively and published the book “Ka Hana Kapa”, he was not a kapa practitioner. He confirms his information was based on third-hand accounts. In addition to authors such as Brigham (1911), Te Rangi Hiroa (1957) and Meilleur et al., (1997) looked at the history and production of kapa, some authors write on the more extensive global level of tapa in Polynesia and around the world.

It is important to note that due to the absence of traditional kapa practitioners in Hawai‘i, kānaka ‘ōiwi had to look outside of Hawai‘i to (re)learn the production of kapa through the process of making Fijian Masi⁸. Master kapa practitioner, Puanani Van Dorpe was inspired with the process to learn as much as she could about how to make Hawaiian kapa. Without any living Hawaiian kapa practitioners as a resource, she sought out the scientists, practitioners, and scholars from other cultures to piece together the process of Hawaiian kapa making. In her lifetime she did thousands of experiments on methods of kapa making and processing different native dyes. Van Dorpe has inspired the renewal of kapa makers in the time of the Hawaiian renaissance in the 1970’s. In fact, Van Dorpe’s experience and experiments provided a crucial and pivotal lesson for the reclaiming of cultural practices for the kānaka ‘ōiwi (Harden, 1999).

In 1988, the remains of 1,018 ‘Iwi Kūpuna (bones of ancestors) were uncovered and removed from their resting grounds by developers in Honokahau, Maui. Lead by Puanani Van Dorpe, ten Native Hawaiian women produced kapa for the interment of the ‘iwi kūpuna. Van Dorpe gathered the group of committed women to learn and revive the production of kapa. Kapa pieces would individually wrap over a thousand ancestral remains to be interred with the honor and treatment of an Ali‘i (chief). Van Dorpe taught herself through observing other cultures, publications of accounts on kapa from the 1800s, and her deep love of kapa making. Her years of research, experimentation, and life dedication allowed her to gain the skills and knowledge to teach these ten women the protocol and making of kapa. For four months, every day for ten hours a day they would make kapa for the 1,018 remains to be reburied. Van Dorpe said, “I

⁸ In Fiji, the term used for their bark cloth is Masi.

knew they could do it ... it's in their blood...It's their past" (Harden, 1999, p. 174). She knew that they had kuleana to our 'iwi kupuna and she was determined to do the right thing.

Indeed, these ten women had the advantage of having Van Dorpe as their teacher; her kuleana to her kūpuna has "brought the craft of making kapa back from death" (ibid., p. 170). Although there are more kapa makers now, Puanani Van Dorpe was the only practitioner in modern time that committed her whole life to making traditional kapa. Van Dorpe reflects, "Nobody knew how to tell me how to make it. Kūpuna to teach you--none whatsoever...the craft had been dead for at least a hundred years when I picked it up" (ibid., p. 170). Van Dorpe states why she made kapa, "I had to do it. These [remains] were my ancestors. I had to do what I could for them. It was my duty. There was no one else to do it." (ibid., p. 174). Considering this, Van Dorpe was fueled with the persistence in kānaka 'ōiwi to the reclamation of the protection of 'iwi kūpuna.

A decade later in August of 1999, I was first introduced to kapa at the World Indigenous Peoples Conference in Hilo, Hawai'i. At this conference Master Kumu Hula Nalani Kanaka'ole presented a workshop with my introduction of the wauke plant and process of kapa making. As I sat on the 'āina of Laehala in Hilo, Hawai'i, I produced my first piece of Hawaiian kapa. Importantly, before touching the wauke, we learned the protocol of oli, origin, and mo'olelo of kapa. At that time, I knew I wanted to learn more about kapa. However, six years would pass until the next time I touched a piece of kapa.

At the Ka 'Aha Hula 'O Hālaula conference on Maui, Hawai'i in 2005, I attended a kapa workshop taught by master kapa maker Moana Eisele. She inspired me to make my tools and propagate my resources to make kapa. Although I had Kumu Moana for a short period, she taught me the values of ahonui (patience), ho'iho'i (respect), mālama, laulima (cooperation) and kuleana. Moana would tell me when she was working on a piece of kapa "there has to be an easier way, but this is the right way." These words resonated with my approach to kapa making, knowing that there are other ways to accomplish the hana, but it is most important to do it the right way.

Eventually in 2006, kapa practitioner Valerie Dukelow from Kahakuloa, Maui approached nā Kumu (teachers) of Pūnana Leo o Maui (Hawaiian Immersion Preschool) to inquire if we would like to learn how to make kapa, and more specifically the purpose of making kapa for the interment of ‘iwi kūpuna. Aunty Valerie was one of the ten women in 1988 that made kapa for the reburial of the more than 1,000 ‘iwi kūpuna in Honokahau, Maui. It is important to note that this handful of kumu who studied under Aunty Valerie and who learned the process of making kapa, followed the same instructions as the Kumu Puanani Van Dorpe regarding kapa for the interment of ‘iwi kūpuna.

In 2012, I had the honor of being a student at University of Hawai‘i Maui College in a Ma‘awe (Hawaiian Fibers Arts) class and Ma‘awe Directive Studies. My kumu was Lisa Schattenburg-Raymond background and research of kapa was and is a head of anyone that I know. She has taught me to research and try it. She lovingly always remind me not to only fail once, it is okay to fail many times just make sure it doesn’t work. The many experiments and research that she has done, she has always shared her ‘ike and thoughts of the production of kapa with me and the hundreds of haumana that she teaches.

In addition, to my kumu and mentors, it is the kānaka and lāhui (community) that I have worked with that teach and guide me in reclaiming my cultural identity as a kanaka. It is the kapa and dye workshops that I have taught, in the one-on-one sessions that I share, and it is in the our lāhui events that I listen and learn. It is the many cultural practitioners of Rapa Nui, Aotearoa, Tahiti, and Hawai‘i that reveal the significance of barkcloth in ceremony and history. As a kanaka, when I watch and listen to the needs and desires of the lāhui it is then I know the path that was chosen for me.

Today, the demand and need for Hawaiian burial kapa is increasing. Reclamation of the cultural reverence to use kapa to wrap their loved one's ashes to return to their final resting place is becoming more widely understood. The key challenge is that there are not enough practitioners making burial kapa, and this is further impacted by the lack of resources and materials to make kapa, and the absence of protocol and rituals in the production. Currently, tapa is imported from Tonga or Samoa or substituting muslin for the re-interment of the ‘iwi kūpuna. Today,

the burial council continues to protect the sacredness of the internment of ‘iwi kūpuna. However, the fact is that there is not enough kapa being made to do what is right in honoring the ancestors in this way. Jensen (2005) describes in *Na Kaikamahine ‘O Haumea*, how women would prepare the dead for burial. “The washed bones were artfully lashed securely with colored sennit or braided hair and folded in ‘oloa kapa, a bleached cloth used only in ceremony” (p. 82). There is ‘eha (pain) in not providing authentic kapa for burials and sadly, we as kānaka have allowed the rights of the ‘iwi kūpuna to be reburied without the reverence of the ceremonial kapa. The ceremonial ‘oloa as described is an unknown process, however, researching this particular process, will teach us how make this sacred burial kapa. Learning the protocols and ceremonies to consecrate the kapa to become a sacred ‘oloa is my intention to honor the ‘iwi kūpuna.

A recognition of the lack of rights of ‘iwi kūpuna resulted, in the 1988 Hui Mālama I Na Kupuna o Hawaii Nei which was held because of the archaeological disinterment of the 1,100 ancestral ‘iwi kūpuna of Honokahau, Maui (Hall, 2017, p. 75). The main purpose of Hui Mālama I Na Kūpuna was to mālama (take care of) and kupale (protect) our ancestors. Founders of the hui, Edward, and Pualani Kanahale of Puna, Hawai‘i, trained the members in the traditional protocol on the treatment of ancestral remains.

Included in the training were the traditional pule to call upon ke akua (gods) to bring forth the tools to conduct the rituals and protocols of the internment of ‘iwi kūpuna. ‘Ano nui, this precedent of Kanahale and other traditional practitioners sharing and teaching their ‘ike Hawai‘i and ‘ike kupuna is a critical factor in the transmission of knowledge to the next generation of cultural practitioners. It is important to create and nurture cultural practitioners that will mālama and kupale the kuleana of ‘iwi kūpuna. Using chants such as E hō mai as my protocol before making kapa or doing research, I can reclaim the space and ‘ike that belongs to me the practitioner that takes on the kuleana of protection of ‘iwi kūpuna.

E Hō Mai

Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>E hō mai ka ‘ike mai luna mai e</i> | <i>Grant to me the knowledge from above</i> |
| <i>O nā mea huna no ‘eau o nā mele e</i> | <i>the artistic and skillful secrets in the chants.</i> |
| <i>E hō mai, e hō mai, e hō mai e.</i> | <i>Grant me, grant me, grant me.</i> |

This led me to my decision of focusing this study on participants from the island of Maui in my kapa workshops. I am the eighth generation born and raised on Maui. Claiming that my ancestor’s kula ‘iwi (homeland) is Maui, my husband and I have raised our children and grandchildren here, I am transparently biased. I come from a line of wāhine koa, they are descendants of Alapa‘i Nui, they are teachers, leaders in the community, mothers, caregivers, they are Haumea, and in acknowledging them I position myself as from Maui and as part of this Hawaiian community. I take on the kuleana and well-being of my ‘ohana and community. I assert that the choice was made for me by my ancestors to do my research on Maui because of my ties and kuleana to my kūpuna and my community.

Hawaiian activist George Helm writes, “I am Hawaiian, and I have inherited the soul of my kupuna. It is my moral responsibility to attempt an ending to this desecration of our sacred ‘āina, Kohe Malamalama o Kanaloa, for each bomb dropped adds further injury to an already wounded soul” (Morales, 1984, p.55). Helm alongside Kimo Mitchell and many Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana members fought for the reclamation of Kaho‘olawe and the stopping of the bombing of this sacred island. Today, the attack has stopped, the island is back in the hands of the state of Hawai‘i, Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana is reasserting the right to access and fulfill ceremonies and protocols to help heal the island. The ultimate sacrifice that George and Kimo⁹ made for Kaho‘olawe was their lives. Hawaiian activists, George Helm and Kimo Mitchell “died trying to live our state motto. Their concern to perpetuate the righteousness of ka ‘āina led to their untimely deaths” (Morales, 1984, p. 6).

For me, I call upon the few kumu kapa and cultural practitioners on Maui. I define a kumu kapa as an expert in the practice of kapa production. The title of kumu kapa assumes the bearer will

⁹ George Helm was an activist, teacher, and historian that gave his life for the rights of Kānaka as he and other PKO members fought to protect the island of Kaho‘olawe.

have ten years or more of daily dedication to kapa making. As a kumu kapa, the individual will know the cultivation of wauke and harvesting. Know the process of making a piece of kapa, to the dyes, scenting, and printing of kapa. It is important that the kumu kapa has focused on traditional and ceremonial kapa uses. Although there are several kapa practitioners around the state of Hawai‘i that I recognize as master kapa makers, this study concentrates on Maui and the practitioners that have genealogical ties and mo‘olelo from Maui, as this is what I am most aptly positioned to undertake.

Kaiwipunikaukaēkiu Lipe (2016) uses the phrase “mo‘olelo aku, mo‘olelo mai--to share and receive mo‘olelo--to name this engaged practice and methodology for teaching and learning” (p. 54). I believe this practice of mo‘olelo will help me as a Hawaiian practitioner, understanding the depth of storytelling hidden in the production of kapa. Mo‘olelo aku, mo‘olelo mai empowers me to reclaim the stories of old, and the values inherent in our cultural determination. Mo‘olelo describes the history, places, environment, and values that Hawaiians live by. This enlightenment through mo‘olelo will fuel the purpose for spiritual significance of kapa and why we engage in this practice.

Nīnau pākākā (lead questions)

Through the lens of a kapa practitioner and an indigenous applied researcher, the overall aim of the research is to identify what the process of making kapa can teach Hawaiian people about what it means to be Hawaiian in the twenty-first century. Using the method of making kapa as a vehicle, I have learned about myself as a contemporary Hawaiian. As an applied researcher, I have gained a greater understanding of cultural knowledge of protocols, rituals, and significance in Hawaiian culture. In addition to the cultural identity and experience, I have learned respect and reverence of kapa of old and see the importance in modern times.

This study will focus on a multi-generational group of women from all different levels of knowledge of kapa production. In this study, I will focus on all the aspects of the production of kapa making from propagation of the wauke to the finished kapa piece. It is asserted that in identifying the significance of the production of kapa making we can strengthen and empower

the cultural identity of the Native Hawaiian women. To achieve the aim as described above, I ask some critical questions.

The key research question for this study is:

- How does hana kapa reclaim cultural identity and well-being in the twenty-first century?

The important sub-questions for this study are:

- What do we know of the significance of kapa and the associated cultural traditions, protocols, and practices pre-contact in Hawai‘i?
- What is the potential for the reclamation and practice of kapa to contribute specifically to the cultural identity and maui ola of Hawaiian women?
- In what ways might multi-generational transmission of knowledge between women (e.g., mothers and daughters; grandmothers and grandchildren; aunties and nieces), contribute to the reclamation and practice of kapa in Hawai‘i, and kānaka cultural identity?

Figure 4 Paeloko, Waihe‘e, Maui.



My primary research site is in Paeloko Learning Center, Waihe'e, Maui. Paeloko¹⁰ or sometimes called Peeloko¹¹, is a sacred place and its history connects to the mo'olelo of Māui¹² slowing down the sun so his mother Hina could dry her kapa. Paeloko means a hidden pond that once lived a mo'o¹³ wahine that played with the children. It is also a place where warriors would practice the ma'a (sling stone) in preparation for battle. Paeloko was once a famous grove of coconut trees, where Māui gathered the husk of the coconut to make his 'aha (cordage) to capture the sun (Forbes, 1881).

Later Paeloko became kalo fields, but with the arrival of the foreign businessmen they soon replaced a healthy ecosystem of lush kalo fields with sugar cane fields. After more than a hundred years of sugarcane, the next thirty years would grow fields of macadamia nut grooves. In 2002, four Native Hawaiian families gathered their monies and purchased thirty-two acres. Since then we have opened several acres to create a culturally based learning center. Paeloko Learning Center is four acres of open field, native plants, and kalo patched where an estimated three thousand children and community members can experience hands on cultural base practices such as kapa, pahu, hula, hana no'eau (arts), mālama 'āina (care for the land), and mo'olelo. I have dedicated two acres for my ongoing kapa research. In honor of Māui's mother Hina, Lauhuki, and La'ahana 'aumākua of kapa making and designs, these areas will have the traditional resources of native plants and dedicated space to produce kapa. There will be a Hālau Kapa (School of Kapa) dedicated to the process of kapa, tool making, prorogation of wauke, dye, and scented plants. More important is that this hālau will be a kapu (sacred) place for kākā kapa practitioners to reconnect to their cultural identity but most important to connect to their kūpuna through the practice of kapa.

'Ano nui - importance

10 The name Paeloko is used according to the neighbors that have frequently used and know the history of this 'āina.

11 Pe'eloko or Peeloko was used by community members in reference to this 'āina.

12 Māui is the kupua or demi-god and the son of Hina the kapa maker. Note that Maui is the island.

13 Mo'o wahine is a female deity lizard woman. Mrs. Apo, who lives next to Paeloko, said that she saw the lizard lady and would tell the children not to bother her. She also described the mo'o wahine sitting in the pond of Paeloko (Mrs. Apo, personal communication, 2002).

‘Ano nui of this study is to identify the cultural traditions, rituals, and uses of kapa in ancient times. By recognizing and engaging in the significance of kapa, kānaka ‘ōiwi can be empowered to reclaim their cultural traditions and rituals. The term ‘significant’ is defined as sufficiently great or necessary to be worthy of attention. Is a piece of kapa significant to one and not to another? Perhaps because I am a kapa practitioner, every tiny bit of kapa is substantially significant to me.

Before non-Hawaiian contact, there were an estimated 800 thousand to 1 million Hawaiians living in Hawai‘i; today it is estimated that 10.2% of Hawai‘i’s 1.4 million population is part Native Hawaiian or Polynesian (US Census 2016). With a population of 1 million, kapa was a significant and important resource for clothing, household use, and ceremonies. While men took the role of planting and harvesting of the wauke, women took on the kuleana to produce kapa in the daily lives of the Hawaiian. However, with the decline of the Native Hawaiian population and increase of non-Hawaiian and their influence, the production of kapa has become less prominent to the point of an almost lost art. This is not dissimilar to the impacts of colonization more broadly both in Hawai‘i and globally.

With the passing of time, a perceived loss of purpose and production, no other living resource has this ‘ike kupuna of ceremonial kapa. Practitioners do not have authentic kapa makers to learn the creation and significance of the ceremonial kapa from. For the past 15 years, my interpretation of the techniques and production of kapa is through the pedagogy of research, experiments, and mentorships of na kumu that are willing to share their ‘ike with me. Although we have mo‘olelo of kapa, absent is the kupuna that has made traditional kapa and practices the rituals of kapa. This research will help to identify these traditions and rituals and honor the ‘ike kupuna that is critical in kapa production, through the lens of the Hawaiian practitioner.

Today, practitioners produce kapa as an art form and this provides a livelihood for the practitioner. Alongside other artifacts, contemporary kapa is on display in museums, art galleries, and private collections. We see a growth in the need to produce kapa to adorn the hula dancers and to wear for special events, such as a kīhei (shawl, cape) or malo (loincloth).

Although contemporary practitioners produce kapa that have the aesthetics of traditional kapa, the kapa is art. Pukui translates art as Hana No‘eau, however “traditionally works of art were visual and oral symbols of status, rank, prestige, and power, and were passed as heirlooms from generation to generation, gaining mana... (Keppler, 2008, p.16)”. In this research, I will focus on aspects of traditional knowledge of hana kapa as transferred in a multi-generational setting.

In a conversation with University of Hawai‘i Kiope Raymond (2012) described “Ho‘ohawai‘i” is a way of honoring our kūpuna by maybe making a piece of kapa representing a makana (gift) instead of a card with money. Raymond made me realize that yes, I love doing na mea Hawai‘i—but by internalizing and honoring the na mea Hawai‘i, I am honoring our kūpuna. This cultural obligation strengthens the practice of the Hana No‘eau and strengthens our connection to our kūpuna.

Kaona (hidden meaning) reflects the cultural value of the piece. To uncover the kaona of traditional kapa, utilizing the process of making kapa as the metaphor to pull back the layers of social, cultural, and aesthetic beliefs. Perhaps the layers embedded in the process of making kapa will reveal the surface levels that protect and conceal references to the people, things, or places that are visual symbols. As an example, the following ‘ōlelo no‘eau tells of the kaona of the wauke as a reference to the warrior.

“Eia ‘i‘o no, ke kolo mai nei ke a‘a o ka wauke.

Truly now, the root of the wauke creeps” (Pukui, 1983, p. 37).

“It was not destroyed while it was small; now it’s too big to cope with.”, was a statement made by Keaweama‘uhili’s warriors of Kamehameha. They were at the court of Alapa‘i when the order was given to “Nip off the leaf bud of the wauke plant while it is tender (E ‘ō‘ū i ka maka o ka wauke oi ‘ōpiopio). This attempt to kill the baby didn’t succeed, and the child grew into a powerful warrior who quelled all of his foes” (Pukui, 1983, p.37).

The kaona of the strength of the wauke plant played an important role in the success or failure of the quest to kill the child before he became a warrior. We are fortunate to have sayings and

proverbs to remind and connect us to the stories and values of the kaona of time and space. For me, this is significant to Alapa‘i which my ‘ohana line comes from and refers to the a‘a or the root of the wauke. For the a‘a will grow in strength if not removed when young and will destroy his enemies.

In addition to the reclaiming of the kapa production, ‘ōlelo no‘eau, and ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, the kānaka have an opportunity to connect to their environment, resources, and cultural practices. The process of kapa in Hawai‘i is part of a more extensive global reclamation of Indigenous languages, lands, and practices. This global context will be explored more fully in the entirety of the thesis, including both the contextual framing of the study and the literature review sections.

Overview of the Thesis

As stated, this research focuses on reclaiming cultural identity and well-being through hana kapa. Through the process of hana kapa we experience traditions, rituals, protocol, and ceremonies that invoke cultural identity and feed the kānaka well-being to the contemporary Hawaiian.

Mary Kawena Pukui (1983) has collected and recorded over two thousand nine hundreds of ‘Ōlelo No‘eau - Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings. Importantly, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau describes the wisdom, poetic beauty, and earthy humor of our ancestors. They express aesthetic, historical, educational values, and cultural nuances that bring us closer to the everyday thoughts and lives of the ancestors that created these ‘Ōlelo No‘eau. Oliveira (1986) explains as a kanaka¹⁴ scholar to be “able to fuse the ancestral wisdom and knowledge systems of their

¹⁴ Kanaka (singular) and Kānaka (plural) is used throughout this document to refer to the Indigenous people who resided in the archipelago of Hawai‘i before 1778, as well as their descendants today. While the term “Hawaiian” does appear in this document, I have intentionally chosen to use it sparingly, as it is a non-native term which can be misconstrued to include residence by geographic location (Kauanui, 2008).

Regarding Hawaiian diacritical marks: Every effort has been made to accurately present Hawaiian words according to conventional spelling rules for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, which include the appropriate use of ‘okina (glottal stop) and kahakō (macron). In some instances, as above, the absence of the kahakō reflects a noun’s singular form; however, on many occasions within this document, the reader will find that diacritical marks have been intentionally omitted, with respect to their appearance in primary source materials or as the original author intended them to appear.

kūpuna with their fields of expertise in the academy, thus demonstrating the relevance of ancestral practices and understanding in a modern context” (p.75). It is important to incorporate indigenous methodological approaches such as the use of ‘ōlelo no‘eau as a voice of who we are as a Hawaiian and as part of the environment.

Mokuna ‘Ekahi (chapter one): “*Ua lehulehu a manomano ka ‘ikena a ka Hawai‘i. Great and numerous is the knowledge of the Hawaiians*” (Pukui, 1983, p. 309).

Understanding that there are different interpretations and perspectives of cultural practices. Opening the doors to the ‘ike from na kumu, ‘ohana, and ancestors allows the kānaka to decide what is best for their needs. Indeed, the knowledge of the Hawaiians is great and numerous; we find this reflected in the mo‘olelo, mele, and oli and in the environment, that surrounds the Kānaka.

In this mokuna ‘ekahi, I introduce and give the background to my research topic of reclaiming kanaka cultural traditions to the contemporary Hawaiian kapa practitioner. Using the pedagogy of Ua lehulehu a manomano ka ‘ikena a ka Hawai‘i, this chapter describes the history, mo‘olelo, background of kapa making, and the research questions. It also includes an introduction of both the study significance and the research methodology.

Mokuna ‘Elua (chapter two): “*O ke kahua mamua, mahope ke kūkulu The site first, then the building. Learn all you can, then practice*” (Pukui, 1983, p. 268).

This ‘ōlelo no‘eau reminds us there are many different ways of learning; watching, listening, researching, and then doing. To study and learn as much as you can about a hana no‘eau, then you ma ka hana ka ‘ike. O ke kahua mamua, mahope ke kūkulu prepares the student for the things she will need to become a practitioner.

Mokuna ‘Elua is an overview of the methodologies of Papakū Makawalu, Sense Abilities, Hale Nauā, and the Community of Scholars. The methodologies applied in this research draw

strongly on ‘Ōlelo No‘eau, Na Mea Hana kapa, mo‘olelo, examinations of artifact, non-published journals, mele, oli and traditions. This chapter introduces the symbolic framework of the Hālau Kapa as a methodological structure that represents the foundation, pillars, roof, and na mea hana kapa. Using hālau kapa as a methodological structure for the next three chapters of data analysis. Methods include kapa workshop participations, interview with mākua individuals, and Hawaiian cultural experts.

Mokuna ‘Ekolu (chapter three): “*Nānā I Ke Kumu*
Look to the Source” (Pukui, 1972, p. Forward vii).

Mokuna ‘Ekolu is the first part of the literature review which begins with an exploration of Native Hawaiian cultural traditions and practices of kapa. The Hawaiian proverb - Nānā I Ke Kumu, is described by Betty A. Ross (1971), the Chairperson of the Culture Committee, “It is a source book of Hawaiian cultural practices, concepts and beliefs which illustrate the wisdom and dignity contained in the cultural roots of every Hawaiian child” (Ross, 1971, p. Forward vii).

This literature review includes key topics and concepts of Historical narratives of kapa in Hawai‘i. It further explores the types, traditional usages, and cultural significance of kapa. Finally, it includes literature that adds depth to the “layers of meanings embedded” (Oliveira, 1986, p.77), that will support answering the key research question. The literature review is intended to provide an overview of what is documented to date in relation to my study, and importantly identifies the current gaps in the literature which my study will contribute to. The literature review is intended also to be a resource that supports the recapture of traditions and rituals of kapa practice.

Mokuna ‘Eha (chapter four): “*Lawe i ka ma‘alea a kū‘ono‘ono.*”
Take wisdom and make it deep” (Pukui, 1983, p. 211).

In this chapter is the second part of the literature review, I reflect on my experiences in my visits through the Polynesian Triangle to Rapa Nui, Tahiti, and Aotearoa, in addition to further exploration of literature. This includes the opportunities I had to meet the indigenous peoples and spend a little time learning about their barkcloth of Mahute, and Aute. In Rapa Nui, I was able to present and learn from the Mahute makers. This chapter also identify similarities in the production of tapa and mahute that connect to Hawaiian kapa.

Mokuna ‘Elima (chapter five): *Nā Mea Hana Kapa*

Process of making kapa

In this chapter is the third part of the literature review that looks at the resources of plants, tools, and space needed to kuku kapa. Also included is the step-by-step process of harvesting, preparation, and process of kapa making. An introduction of types of Native Plants used to produce dyes and scenting for the kapa. Concluding this chapter is a review of the reclamation of cultural identity and well-being of the Kānaka.

Mokuna ‘Eono (chapter six): “*Ma Ka Hana Ka ‘Ike*

In working one learns” (Pukui, 1983, p. 277).

Ma ka Hana Ka ‘Ike used as a methodology throughout this research because as a practitioner, in working and teaching, I have gained great ‘ike on the production of kapa. Still, I do not have an expert or master practitioner to teach me the protocols and rituals of kapa. There are many times I have failed, but I keep on trying. With every failure, there is a lesson that I learn. The ‘ike that I have gained by doing the work strengthens me as a kapa practitioner to share my experiences of failure and success with my students.

This chapter describes the process and reflections of multi-generational ‘ohana of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina (PLOL). Na mea hana kapa is the step-by-step process of making kapa. This process includes the resources, kapa tools, and the hana. This chapter reflects the data collected in the

kapa workshops and ho‘ike. Mākua were introduced to the history and significance of kapa. They experienced the production of kapa making as they created a finished kīhei for their child.

Mokuna ‘Ehikū (chapter seven): “*Ka ‘ike a ka makua he hei na ke keiki*

The knowledge of the parent is [unconsciously] absorbed by the child” (Pukui, 1983, p. 151).

Mokuna ‘ehikū reflects the mo‘olelo of the personal journey of six mākua that participated in Pūnana Leo o Lahaina kapa workshops. These individuals reflect on their experience of na mea hana kapa and the spiritual connections that they recognize before, during, and after the workshops. They express the significance of the kapa that they made for their keiki and the outlook for the future in reclaiming their cultural identity and maui ola.

Mokuna ‘Ewalu (chapter eight): “*Ike ‘ia no ka loea i ke kuahu*

An expert is recognized by the alter he builds” (Pukui, 1983, p. 131).

Mokuna ‘ewalu describes the data collected with and from cultural experts as they relate to the cultural identity and maui ola of kānaka ‘ōiwi. Although we no longer have the original authentic kapa practitioners to physically teach us the traditions, protocols, and rituals of kapa for ceremonial purposes, what will always remain are the significant ancestral ties to ‘ohana that produced and used kapa. As a kānaka, this transmission of ‘ike kūpuna and ‘ike Hawai‘i will live on if the practitioner is open to the guidance of na akua, na ‘aumākua, na kūpuna, and na kumu at the level of spirituality and inspiration. Many times, throughout our lives, we have been guided in the direction to serve and honor our ancestors. In this mokuna, we will discuss the significance of traditions and ceremonies that ancestors once did use, and as importantly explore what we use today.

Mokuna ‘Eiwa (chapter nine): “*A ‘o Mai, A ‘o Aku*

To learn, to teach” (Chun, 2006, p. 1).

Mokuna 'ewalu discusses the findings and recommendations of research of the traditions, rituals, protocols, and significance of kapa. It is important in traditional Hawaiian learning that when you learn something, you must teach so that the information is passed on to the next layer of students. I use the five traditional Hawaiian patterns of learning to discuss the findings and recommendations of my research. (Chun, 2006, pp. 3-5) Finally, as an indigenous researcher, I have aspired to present my study through the Hawaiian practice of observation, listening, reflection, doing, questioning, and of course ultimately writing!

Chapter summary

This chapter introduces a brief history and background of the study of kapa making in Hawai'i. It also discusses the research questions and the significance of the questions and the methods in the research. A further purpose of the research is to explore the place of Hawaiian cultural practice of kapa in the broader socio-political context of global Indigenous, and Native cultural reclamation. Focusing on reclaiming kapa cultural traditions to the contemporary Hawaiian--through artifacts, focused workshop, reflective discussions, and the process of kapa making. Most importantly, this study has a specific focus on women's reclamation of kapa and the multi-generational potential for teaching and learning of this practice, intersections of gender, culture, and the welfare of the kānaka 'ōiwi. This chapter has provided an overview of the thesis purpose and layout through the thesis overview. The next chapter will discuss the methodologies and methods used in this research.

“O ke kahua mamua, mahope ke kūkulu

The site first, then the building.

Learn all you can, then practice” (Pukui, 1983, p. 268).

Mokuna ‘Elua: Methodology and Methods

This ‘ōlelo no‘eau, reminds us of the importance of a strong foundation before starting the building. As a kapa practitioner, having the resources of the wauke, the necessary tools, and plants for dyes and scenting, to the detailed steps to make pa‘u and gathering pīlali to make the ink to print the kapa. These tangible things help the kapa maker make a piece of kapa; you must have intangible things like the spiritual connection, ceremony, and intentions. This foundation reflects this ‘ōlelo no‘eau is the framework and methods used in the collection of data in this research. It is important to address the word research¹⁵, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2012) explains:

From the vantage point of the colonized, a position from which I write, and choose to privilege, the term ‘research’ is inextricably linked to European imperialism and colonialism. The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary (introduction).

Smith’s description of the word ‘research’ expresses the concerns of indigenous people who have been subjected to cultural trauma by researchers. She describes the history that has used scientific research to colonialism the remains of the indigenous people. In my study of the literature, I have come across further detailed events that western researchers have inflicted on kānaka ‘ōiwi. Julius S. Rodman (1979) wrote that the caretaker warns him of a burial cave not

¹⁵ Research is defined as to investigate, experimentation, testing, exploration, analysis, fact-finding, examination, scrutiny, scrutinization, probing, groundwork.

to disturb ancestors' remains to rest. However, with intentional disrespect, Rodman hides until no one is around and slips into the cave:

I hid my car in a thicket by the aid of my flashlight...moments later, I had a stout line secured to the boulder. I then slid swiftly down the line to the ledge fronting the cave, pried out the usual caretaker's door, a small, irregular slab of lave situated in the lower-left corner of the camouflaging, and squirmed inside. On top of a coffin that rested in the cave's vestibule I placed a small candle (p. 234).

Although in this article, Rodman states, that he did not touch any of the burial objects in this cave, however this is unlikely given his known collections with an intensive number of pieces of burial kapa. Rodman's action is one example of imperial and colonial presence in research.

Smith makes the important point that as an indigenous person, research is about honoring the identity and 'ike of the study. I asked myself, why is the reclaiming of cultural identity and well-being through hana kapa so important to me? My answer is this; *This is what my kūpuna wants me to do, which is the right thing to do.* This study is beyond knowing how to process wauke or making a piece of kapa. We can find those instructions and indicators in the journals and books written or translated by foreigners. The purpose of this dissertation is 'ike.

'Ike is defined as seeing, recognizing, perceiving, recognizing, knowing, understanding, feeling, experiencing, receiving revelations from the gods, sense of hearing or sight, sensory, wise, and vision. This 'ike is experienced when a mother holds her child's hand to kuku kapa. 'Ike happens when a grandmother of eighty years old makes her first piece of kapa. The experience of 'ike is the moment when the kanaka connects to the 'āina as they harvest the plants to make the waiho'olu'u. 'Ike happens when a piece of kapa is used to wrap the iwi of a loved one as the sun has set. As a kanaka, this 'ike is kuleana to share and teach what I have learned to other kānaka. These intentions of 'ike and key research question have determined my view of the methodology and methods that I chose for this hana papa.

Key Research Question:

- How does Hana Kapa reclaim Cultural Identity and Well-being?

Significant Sub-Questions:

- What do we know of the significance of kapa and the associated cultural traditions, protocols, and practices pre-contact in Hawai'i?
- What is the potential for the reclamation and practice of kapa to contribute specifically to the identity and wellbeing of Hawaiian women?
- In what ways might intergenerational transmission of knowledge between women (e.g., mothers and daughters; grandmothers and grandchildren; aunties and nieces), contribute to the reclamation and practice of kapa in Hawaii, and the kānaka cultural identity?

Uncle Peter Hanohano expressed these thoughts to my colleagues and I at a talk story session; he said, “every Hawaiian on this planet is related to every other Hawaiian” (personal communication, 2020). Uncle Peter reflected on our connection to each other and spoke of how our ancestors travelled worldwide and how they settled in these great lands that today we are connected to. He said our ancestors travelled, and their roots are planted somewhere around the world. This understanding of the travels and relationship of our ancestors to these places guides us in the methods of how we gather the ‘ike kupuna and hana no‘eau. Uncle Peter said:

“Pedigree, before your degree!”

He spoke to the importance of knowing who you are and where you came from. Putting the value of identity in front of other priorities in your research. He believed, knowing your pedigree will be the driver for the rest of your life. This drive is the connection to our ancestors, it is the reason we do what we do, and it is the knowledge given to us through them. I believe that Uncle Peter's statement of, “Pedigree, before your degree” empowers me to look to my mo‘okū‘auhau for the reasons I do what I do. He explains that knowing who and where I come from is the foundation to “heighten our awareness and understanding of those connections and relationships that matter most as we embark on our educational journeys together” (personal

communication, 2020). I have thought a lot about his statement, and I believe he was reminding us that the degree is not who you are; your pedigree is who you are. And if we remember that, our pedigree will guide the work we do in our degrees work.

These words of wisdom from our kūpuna, ‘ōlelo no‘eau, and mo‘olelo have given me the foundation to choose the methodology and methods in my research. Knowing who I am, makes it easier to select the methodology and methods because I did not have to choose; it chose me. I am grateful for the answers that my ancestors left for me that have shaped and given me the foundation of my research.

First, as a kanaka ‘ōiwi from the Island of Maui, I knew that the methodology and the methods would be based on indigenous knowledge and mo‘olelo. I have drawn from a range of western and indigenous methodologies that has some importance in my study but does not take away from identifying Kānaka ‘Ōiwi is the overarching methodology in this research. Next, I understood that my methods would grow from the experiential learning with the environment, and the values taught through ‘ōlelo no‘eau. Finally, it is remembering that the methodology and methods connect to us through the spiritual guidance of the ancestors and ceremony.

In researching, which indigenous methodology and methods to use for my thesis, I went back to my key research question: *How does Hana Kapa reclaim Cultural Identity and Well-being?* To answer this question, I first need to know what hana kapa is? How do we reclaim cultural identity? How is the process of making kapa connected to the well-being of health, spirituality, and connection to ‘āina? These questions focused on the kānaka ‘ōiwi living in Hawai‘i, and also relate to kānaka that have made their home elsewhere around the world.

Kānaka ‘Ōiwi Methodology and Methods

In choosing the methodology and methods for my research, I want to integrate indigenous perspectives of Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodologies. Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodology is recognised as the theoretical approach and overarching methodology in this research. I have drawn for a range of western and indigenous methodologies that has some importance in my study, but does not

take away from recognising that Kānaka ‘Ōiwi is the overarching methodology in this research. Indigenous methodologies are described as research by and for indigenous peoples, using techniques and methods drawing from the traditions and knowledge of indigenous minds and leaders. By reclaiming our cultural traditions within research, the kānaka will be empowered to control and define cultural authenticity.

In Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodology as an indigenous researcher and kapa practitioner, I can call upon the guidance of my ancestors. As discussed earlier, an important lesson gained from Uncle Peter Hanohano is that distractions are direction. Instead of focusing on the negative expressions of a distraction, focus on the direction the ancestors are pointing to. Throughout this research, challenges, and distractions have taken my attention away from my research. I realize the distractions is the direction that I need to go in.

Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodology represents the connection to ancestral knowledge. Knowing and believing in your na‘au points you in the direction of wanting to learn more of the Hawaiian language, stories, and ceremonial practices of our ancestors. Molefi Kete Asante (1990) states, “Language, myth, truth, ancestral memory, dance-music-art and science provide the sources of knowledge, the canons of proof and the stimulus structures of truth” (p.19). Asante described the intangible and tangible structures of truth. For the kānaka this truth is in the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, mo‘olelo, ‘ike kūpuna, hana no‘eau, and papakū makawalu.

The Kānaka ‘Ōiwi approach to methodology and methods resonates with other indigenous researcher approaches that have similar values and beliefs. It is vital as an indigenous researcher and kapa practitioner to take a distinctly indigenous approach to both the research and the writing of this dissertation. My unique holopapa (framework) connects to our cultural well-being and identity and guides the research methodology.

In engaging Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodologies we both internalize and strengthen our own beliefs and values as Indigenous researchers and cultural practitioners. I believe my most significant obstacle is trusting in my na‘au (intuition) that the research I gathered is from my ‘ike kūpuna.

The knowledge that they want me to wehe (uncover) and share with the highest respect and honor, empowering me to reclaim my connection to kānaka ‘ōiwi cultural practices. Kekuhi Akana Blaisdell once said, “Our ancestors are always with us as long as we think of them, talk to them, engage them in our thinking and planning and beliefs and actions”, (as cited in Harden, 1999, p. 11). Blaisdell’s statement awakens me as I open my eyes and heart to my environment, resources, and my ‘ike kūpuna.

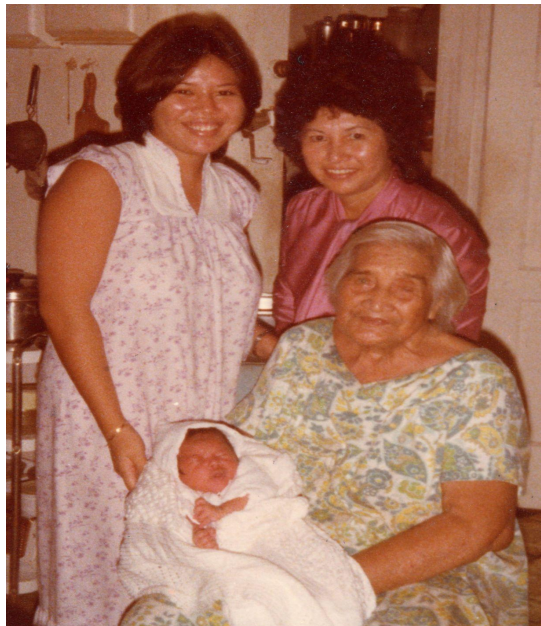
‘Ike Kūpuna a me ‘Ike Hawai‘i

I ulu nō ka lālā I ke kumu.

The branches grow because of the trunk.

Without our ancestors, we would not be here. (Pukui, 1983, p. 137)

Figure 5 Multigeneration: Grandma Emily, Mom, Lori Lei (me), & Sommer (1979).



As an example of ‘ike kūpuna, Pukui’s ‘Ōlelo No‘eau “I ulu nō ka lālā I ke kumu,” reminds me first of the importance of this research, that I belong here, my kumu placed me here to do the work. Secondly, focusing on Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodology and methods ensures that the

information I collect is through the lens of an indigenous researcher reclaiming ancestral mo‘olelo, mele, oli, rituals, and sacredness of practices.

“Our stories are our theories and method.” (Carter, 2003, p. 40)

Kumu Hula Pualani Kanahele states, “Grandparents are wonderful. Even those grandparents who have died are still wonderful for us because they have left many clues as to how our life should be lived today.” (as cited in Hulili, 2005, p. 28). Kanahele’s statement expresses my concern about not having a cultural kapa practitioner that can teach me the protocol and ceremonies of kapa.

Papakū Makawalu

Papakū Makawalu’s methodology examines oral and historical documents with different perspectives. Pukui defines papakū as the foundation surface, as of the earth and makawalu speaks to the vast quantity. Papakū Makawalu examines the layers and perspectives of oral, written documents, and photographs. It is the study of the wisdom of the oral and historical documents of the ancestors (Oliveira, 2016). Dr. Kalei Nu‘uhiwa (2019) explains “Papakū Makawalu affords the modern Hawaiian researcher the ability to thoroughly investigate any subject or topic of Hawaiian epistemology from multiple perspectives” (p. 40). Papakū makawalu’s methodological approach gives the researcher a holistic view of the historical artifacts and documents left behind by our kūpuna.

Papakū makawalu opens the doors for the kānaka to go beyond the western thought and boundaries of culture, identity, and ‘āina. Through the eyes of the kānaka, papakū makawalu encourages us to look through the layers of ‘ike kūpuna, mo‘olelo, mele, and ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. As we shift through these layers, we remember who we are as a kānaka. “Papakū makawalu connects the dynamic Hawaiian world view of the physical, intellectual, and spiritual foundation from which life cycles emerge” (Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation, 2019).

‘Ōlelo No‘eau

E lei kau, e lei ho‘oilo i ke aloha.

Love is worn like a wreath through the summers and the winters.

Love is everlasting. (Pukui, 1983, p. Introduction)

Mary Kawena Pukui wore a lei of aloha all her life and shared her aloha for our ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, mele, hula, ‘āina, kānaka, and na mea ‘ōlelo no‘eau. Hawaiian proverbs and poetic sayings are the words of ancestors spoken from one generation to the next. These collections of sayings give the participants wisdom, values and tell the story through the eyes of our ancestors. The ‘ōlelo no‘eau is an important method that opens the history and understanding of why our kupuna did what they did, said what they said, and lived the way that was pono. Studying Pukui’s ‘ōlelo no‘eau, we can understand the uses and traditions of kapa in ancient Hawai‘i. Throughout this research, the ‘ōlelo no‘eau helps connect the ancestral views in contemporary time and space.

Included in the methodological approach is the use of ‘Ōlelo No‘eau - Hawaiian proverbs that guide and remind us to be ethically conscious in undertaking Hawaiian research. In choosing the titles for each chapter, I choose ‘ōlelo no‘eau that connect to contents discussed in each chapter.

Sense Abilities Methodology

In addition to the Papakū Makawalu, Oliveira (2016) recognizes the Sense Abilities Methodology using the nine abilities of sight, listening, taste, touch, smell, na‘au (gut), kulā‘iwi (ancestral homes), au ‘āpa‘apa‘a (timekeeping), and mo‘o (succession). Aligned with my research, using the sense abilities will allow me to use my senses in the examination and production of kapa making.

Discussing the Sense Abilities Methodology, Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua (2016) states in *Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Methodologies - Mo‘olelo and Metaphors*, “We have the ability to take care of ourselves ... Our traditions have meaning, and they have purpose” (p. 11). By examining the artifacts in museums and private collections and researching documentation in the archives for the

significance of kapa traditions through mo‘olelo, oli, and wahi pana (legendary place), we can determine and better understand our own cultural traditions. In knowing the meaning and significance of kapa traditional culture, the Kānaka ‘ōiwi will be empowered and have more appreciation and desire to perpetuate cultural traditions.

The kaona of the process of kapa will enable me to engage in auto-ethnography by using my own life experiences and stories. “Auto-ethnography is an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience” (Ellis, 2004). As an indigenous Hawaiian using the auto-ethnography method, I will be part of the research. As an insider, my kuleana to study with other Native Hawaiian practitioners requires high ethical positioning, that is to be pono, to be respectful. Auto-ethnography also aligns with Kaupapa Māori (Smith, 2012) and other different indigenous approaches to research (Archibald, 2008; Battiste, 2000), which engage with and critique these Western theories. Kaupapa Māori for example refers to ‘insider research’, whilst others talk about the significance of working in our own communities in our own ways when we undertake research. I acknowledge my biased yet specialist view as a contemporary kapa practitioner and as a Native Hawaiian researcher.

Community of Scholars Methodology

Growing up in a Hawaiian family, the stories and discussions told by my ‘ohana were always fascinating and filled with adventure. ‘Ohana mo‘olelo described catching fish on the canoe using the barracuda to chase the fish to the canoe, picking fresh limu on the shorelines, and the kahuna la‘au that healed my brother. These are mo‘olelo and discussions that have filled my life and fed my passion for hana no‘eau. Although no one in my family shared stories of kapa; there were always stories of the life of our ‘ohana. Using the community of scholars is an important part of my method for gathering the information of cultural practices.

Katrina-Ann Kapā‘anaka‘āokeola Nākoa Oliveira (2016) introduces the Community of Scholars Methodology. Oliveira describes the methodology which honors the multi-layers of colleague discussions and approaches to native intelligence. In understanding Hawaiian ways,

Oliveira focuses on Hawaiian senses. Whereas, for the Hawaiian kapa practitioner, there is a small group of individuals that would make up the community of scholars. Each one defines their technique, their philosophy, and their conclusion of what works best for them. However, in a non-academic environment, the community of scholars are of ‘ohana who share their oral mo‘olelo they experienced or passed down from one generation to the next, or from friend to friend.

Na Mea Hana Kapa

Based on the methodology of Papakū Makawalu, I will utilize the procedure that I use in teaching my kapa students, Na mea hana kapa (the process of kapa making). In a discussion with Hawaiian language linguist and one of the founders of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo (Hawaiian Language Preschool), Professor Kiope Raymond (personal communication, 2019) describes the making of kapa. He explains in the Hawaiian language that in the absence of a word describing the maker of something, the term ‘na mea’ is used. For the kapa maker, *Na mea kapa* will be used throughout this document to reference the person. Using the same lexicon for making kapa, the term na mea hana kapa will be used throughout this document until the authentic word is awakened. Na mea hana kapa is a method of transmitting knowledge that envelops every step of making kapa, including the spiritual connection of ‘ike kupuna and ‘ike Hawai‘i.

This step-by-step process was presented to a group of twenty-three ‘ohana and na kumu, in four kapa workshops. In addition, the nā kumu took these lessons into the classrooms with the keiki. Na Kumu taught the keiki to make kapa pieces for their mākua as makana. This ‘ohana is made up of Native Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian multi-generational kūpuna, mākua, and keiki. This hands-on experience of hana kapa allows the participants to plant resources, make tools, and produce dyes, printing, and the scenting of kapa. Throughout this process and in reflective journals, participants shared their experiences in hana kapa as a kanaka. This provided key data on the impact of ‘ohana in na mea hana kapa.

Na mea hana kapa is used to deliver a step-by-step process that reflects the ma ka hana ka 'ike methodology of by doing the work, one learns. Na mea hana kapa is a method to teach the process of making kapa. This method provides the practitioner with general information about the making of kapa, the history of Hawaiian kapa, the preparation and harvest of wauke, and the steps and techniques of making kapa. This process includes protocol, ceremony, and reflection. As mentioned earlier, O ke kahua mamua, mahope ke kūkulu, described the site first then the practice. Na mea hana kapa also needs a space, and in the site are the resources, tools, pule, protocols, and 'ike that when ready, can be put into practice.

An important part of nā mea hana kapa is not only the learning process in the workshops, but also the process of teaching. As kanaka, we know that learning begins at home. We learn the basics of life at home which teaches us values, ethics, and hana (work). Watching and learning family traditions such as cooking, fishing, and working the land. We learn our mo'oku'āuhau, wahi, and how to behave. Learning starts at home and then we look to our sources.

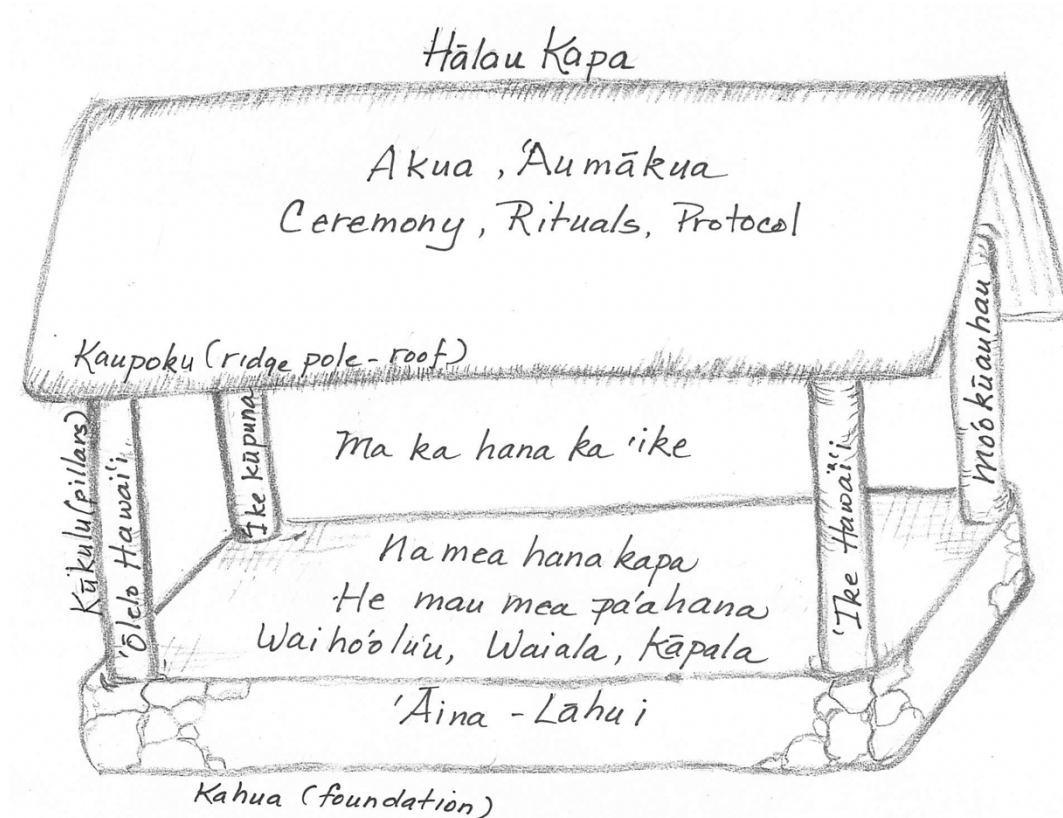
Hālau Kapa methodology

Using the metaphor of a Hālau Kapa (school of kapa), all the learning associated with the na mea hana kapa or kapa making will refer to this place and space as hālau kapa. The hālau kapa is under the direction of a kumu kapa. Kumu makes the rules and protocols as a hālau kapa. The kumu commits to teaching the student and the student will commit to the kumu. The hālau kapa is a place to learn the making, dyeing, designs, and scenting of kapa. Students learn to make their tools and techniques in making kapa. They will experience the cultivation and the prorogation of the resources needed to hana kapa. They will learn the mo'olelo, 'ōlelo no'eau, and 'ōlelo kapa. The students will learn the pule, oli, mele, associated to kapa ceremonies, rituals, and protocols of kapa. Importantly the students will learn how to conduct themselves as kapa practitioners.

The symbol of the Hālau Kapa as a framework for the gathering of 'ike Hawai'i, 'ike kūpuna, and na mea hana kapa under one hālau will strengthen each part of the Hālau and the kapa

practitioner. In the Hālau Kapa there is a foundation, pillars, utilitarian contents, and a roof. Each part of the framework is a symbol of a specific focus that resides in the Hālau Kapa.

Figure 6 Hālau Kapa Methodology



In the Hālau Kapa there is a kahua the foundation. The kahua is a symbol of the 'āina and lāhui (nation). They are both one in the same, there is no separation. The next are the kūkulu they are the pillars that hold up the hālau. They carry the weight of the structure. The four kūkulu are 'ōlelo Hawai'i, 'ike kūpuna, 'ike Hawai'i, and mo'okū'auhau. 'Ōlelo Hawai'i is our ancestor's language and voice. 'Ike kūpuna is the vast knowledge and brilliance of our ancestors, it is our 'ōlelo no'eau. 'Ike Hawai'i is our history and mo'olelo. Mo'okū'auhau is our connections to 'ohana, kūpuna, cultural practices, and places. These kūkulu hold the kaupoku the highest ridge pole that ties and strengthen the roof of the hālau kapa. Kaupoku is a symbol of akua, 'aumākua, ceremony, rituals, protocol, and they are our connection to our akua. And the last part of the hālau kapa is the Ma ka hana ka 'ike; In doing we learn. These include: ka mea hana hapa (making kapa), he mau mea pa'a hana (kapa tools), na mea kanu (plants), lau kāpala (stamping design), na mea waiho'olu'u (dyes), and mea wai'ala (scenting).

In na mea hana kapa it is the ma ka hana ka ‘ike that connects the kahua, kūkulu, and kaupoku as one hālau. The foundation is the ‘Āina and Lāhui. There is no separation of lāhui, for we come from the ‘āina. The ‘āina is the environment, the space and place that grow, nurtures the kanu and kākā. ‘Āina and Lāhui paepae (support) kūkulu and kaupoku. Each part of the framework is a symbol of a specific focus that resides in the hālau kapa. The hālau kapa is the embodiment of all the things one must know to become a loa.

Kapa Moe methodology

The top layer is the kilohana which is decorated with designs and colors, each kapa piece has its own story. Beneath the kilohana are four sheets called the iho - they represent mo‘olelo and history; ‘ike Hawai‘i or cultural traditional usage; ‘aha or ceremony, rituals, and protocol; and cultural identity and maui ola. Finally, the kaona of the kuina, the set of sheets of kapa sewed together at one side of the Kapa Moe that binds and connections to past, present, and future of the kākā ‘ōiwi. These different layers of the kapa moe will help me describe the levels of key information that contemporary students need to know.

To understand the levels of ‘ike that will be taught in the hālau kapa, we must determine our own scale of ‘ike. As described earlier, commonly there are five layers of the kapa moe, the top layer is a kilohana. The kilohana has the designs of prints, dyes, and sometimes scenting. The next four sheets of kapa are usually thin and soft white fibers with nao (beater pattern), and all sewed together with the kilohana. Like the kapa moe there are layers of ‘ike that are needed to become a kapa maker. There are levels of interest from the beginner to the loa. First is the intention of making kapa. If the student wants to make kapa because of just wanting to make it, they can be introduced to kapa making, given a piece of wauke, and shown how to process a kapa piece. Then at the next beginner level the students know how to identify, grow, and propagate their own wauke and the students starts to build their own collection of tools. Next would be more of an intermediate level, the student is growing their own plants and has their own tools. They are doing research on the history and significance of kapa. The student is learning the techniques from their kumu, peers, and experimenting on their own techniques. The next level would be the master of kapa making, she has the resources, knows the growth

patterns of the wauke, when to propagate and harvest. She understands how to process and prepare the wauke for the next stage of the process. The master kapa maker knows the techniques to make, dye, scent, and print kapa. She knows how to teach students how to make kapa, the significance of kapa in Hawaiian culture, and the protocols. The final layer is the loea, she knows everything about kapa making and most of all she knows the ceremony. She has the connection to the ‘aumākua of kapa making, she knows the pule, oli, traditions, and rituals.

Figure 7 Kalama Kitty Kapa from Bailey House Museum.(2018)



No ka Loea Hana Kapa method

In the quest to develop more kapa practitioners, we need to produce more Loea. The No ka Loea Hana Kapa method is the hana, ‘ike, and kuleana that a practitioner must become an expert in. The research to produce kapa has opened the opportunities to rediscover words, terms, spaces, and places, mo‘olelo, mo‘okū‘auhau, spiritual, and processes that have been dormant for almost two centuries. The kuleana of the Loea is to be accountable to their ancestors and their cultural practice. No ka Loea Hana Kapa is the transmission of knowledge through ma ka hana ka ‘ike, ‘ike kupuna, ‘ike Hawai‘i, and welo ‘ohana.

Figure 8 No ka Loea Hana Kapa.



In this figure 8, No ka Loea Hana Kapa the 'ie kuku is the symbol of ma ka hana ka 'ike. It represents the working, doing, and the experience. The kua la'au is the symbol of the 'ike kūpuna and it is our mo'okuauhau. Kua la'au is the backbone of who we are and who we come from. The kapa is the symbol of the kānaka, it is the fibers that connect us to our ancestors, 'āina, and Gods. Kapa needs to be prepared, pounded, felted, and finished to the intentions of the maker. The bowl of wai (water) is the symbol of the resources and richness of our environment. Finally, the poho kukui or stone lamp is the symbol of 'ike Hawai'i. The poho kukui is a pōhaku with a strand of kukui nut kernels that is burnt to create a lamp. Kukui represents enlightenment, guidance, and leadership. The significance of these symbols of the 'ie kuku, kua la'au, kapa, wai, and poho kui are the characteristics of No ka Loea Hana Kapa.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, traditionally it was wahine (woman) that were in charge of the na mea hana kapa. They knew intimately every aspect of the kapa making process to be able to produce the finest kapa for the Ali'i and the 'ohana. The Loea had the resources, 'ike, and spiritual connection to make these fine kapa. The Loea must know the 'ike kūpuna and 'ike Hawai'i through the mo'okū'auhau, mo'olelo, and mele kapa to know the spiritual guidance and intentions of kapa. Being able to create the space and place to hana kapa at a high level of intention and focus is the responsibility of the Loea.

Kapa Workshops & Individual Interviews

Figure 9 'Ohe kāpala design's parents made for their keiki kapa.



Infusing Kānaka 'ōiwi methodologies will honor the views and experience of the participants as they tell their own story of connecting to their ancestors through the process of Hana Kapa. As explained earlier, data collection was done in two parts with the participants of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina. The first part was through participant reflective journals as they experienced the process of hana kapa. The second part comprised six individuals from the participant group being interviewed about their experience with mea hana kapa.

In late 2018, nā kumu o Pūnana Leo o Lahaina approached my 'ohana to present a series of kapa workshops for the families. The purpose of the series of workshops was to introduce a cultural practice and the kuleana that comes with it. Nā kumu wanted them to have an opportunity to recognize and identify the roles in an 'ohana in a cultural practice such as mea hana kapa. After several halawa'i a kūkā kama'ilo, we decided to present this series of workshops.

Nā 'ohana o Pūnana Leo o Lahaina is made up of all twenty-three families and nā kumu. These 'ohana have committed to 'Ōlelo Hawai'i as they have taken the responsibility to educate their children through Hawaiian language. Their decision to commit the two years at Pūnana Leo preschool and continues to Kula Kaiapuni through the medium of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i. In addition

to their keiki learning ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in school, mākua take Hawaiian language classes through Aha Pūnana Leo whereas they meet once a week.

At that time, my intention was to provide these workshops for the ‘ohana, it was an honor because this was a cultural practice that they wanted to learn and do. However, after discussing my intentions for these workshops with my advisor, we decided that these series of workshops would fit with the intentions of my proposed focus group workshops. Knowing that the process of hana kapa would be instructed using ‘Ōlelo to a focused group of Kānaka was a step-in reclamation of the language, practice, and most important cultural identity.

The revised focus group included twenty-three ‘ohana to comprise mākua, keiki, kūpuna and other ‘ohana members in a series of five workshops over a three-month period. An average of sixty individuals per workshop session. In one separate session I recommended that there be two family members to engage during the workshop activities to kuku kapa, and the other in carving their ‘ohana ‘ohe kāpala. Some ‘ohana brought their kūpuna, aunties, uncles, or brothers and sisters to help create goals for that session.

Amongst the twenty-three ‘ohana, I identified four active multi-generational ‘ohana who participated throughout the five sessions. Three of the multi-generational groups were mothers and their teenage daughters. In addition, there was one ‘ohana that also included a grandmother. Two of the kumu of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina noted that these were the largest numbers of ‘ohana members participating in their history of mākua classes.

I also invited cultural practitioners to teach and work alongside the ‘ohana to make their traditional bamboo stamps, creating ‘ohana design, and carving their ‘ohe kāpala. The practitioner was able to teach the participants how to produce the resources to make traditional ink for the printing on their kapa kīhei. Each ‘ohana were asked to record their reflections of the experience, process of making kapa and how they felt in participating in this cultural hana no‘eau. The content of the reflective journals was separated into themes for data analysis.

The ‘Ohana Pūnana Leo o Lahaina were asked to respond to these questions in their reflections journals:

1. He aha kāu i a‘o ai i kēia pō? (What have you learned in today’s session?)
2. He mau kumu waiwai paha kau? (Do you have access to any resources that you learned about today?)
3. Pehea kou na‘au? (How do you feel before, during, and after the session?)
4. Ua pa ‘oe i ka pilina o kou mau kupuna i keia pō? (Did you feel a connection to your kupuna tonight?)

‘Ohana shared their journals with me after each session and they were returned to them so they could continue their reflections as they wished. In addition to the workshops and reflective journals, I was honored to interview six individuals, and the following questions guided those discussions:

1. How did you feel about the kapa workshops? What did you enjoy the most and why? Tell us about your kapa and your design.
2. Can you share any kapa stories in your family?
3. Do you have any memories about kapa in your family?
4. What does it mean to you to be Hawaiian?
5. Do you think learning about cultural practices like kapa is an important part of being Hawaiian?

In addition to the mākuā of Pūnana Leo o Maui reflective journals and individual interviews, I was able to interview two cultural experts where I asked the following questions:

1. Please tell me a little about yourself.
2. How did you become a cultural practitioner of Kapa?
3. Who are your teachers/mentors/kumu?

4. Do you know of a family member in your ‘Ohana that made Kapa? Would you like to share a story of that person making kapa?
5. Have you participated in ceremonies, rituals, or protocol using kapa? And how was kapa used in ceremonies?
6. When are you making kapa do you feel an increases sense of well-being or health in general?
7. As a cultural practitioner, what has kapa making mean to you?

In addition, my methods included autoethnography and the examination of artifacts across a range of museums and the documentation of those artefacts. Finally, this research provided the opportunity to review the literature of the ancestors, gaining a glimpse of their view of the time and space of living in an environment of values, beliefs, and ceremony. These articles, notes, and journals document the history of kānaka, ‘āina, and akua. Recognizing and honoring my ancestors allowed me to identify past practices, and how these practices can be best utilized by contemporary practitioners.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the various indigenous methodologies and methods that were drawn on and used in this study. As an indigenous researcher and cultural practitioner, I was directed by my ancestors to the methodologies and methods that were eventually engaged with. Throughout the research process I was attracted to events that were slightly out of the direct focus of the study, however, I have learnt they were of equal significance in their contribution to the research. One of the most important findings that has emerged in undertaking this research is knowing the power of my na‘au to determine the right direction in my studies of our people and cultural practices. In the next chapter I discuss the first part of three parts of the literature review. The discussion includes the Gods and history of kapa.

Nānā i ke Kumu

Look to the source

(Pukui, 1972, p. vii).

Mokuna ‘Ekolu: Literature Review (Part 1)

Nānā i ke Kumu invokes us to look to the source. Hawaiian scholar, dancer, composer, translator, researcher, and educator Mary Abigail Kawena Wiggin Pukui wrote the books Nānā i ke Kumu Volumes 1 and 2 for the families and children of Hawai‘i. Chairperson Betty Rocha, of the Cultural Committee for Nānā i ke Kumu wrote in the forward of this book, “It is a source book of Hawaiian culture practices, concepts and beliefs which illustrate the wisdom and dignity contained in the cultural roots of every Hawaiian child” (Pukui, 1972, p. vii). Pukui’s preservation and translations of ‘ōlelo no‘eau, mele (song), oli (chant), and mo‘omeheu (culture) have contributed significantly to the reclamation of Hawaiian language and cultural practices.

In this chapter, I identify the socio-political context of the practice of Hawaiian kapa. In a broader view, how the cultural practice of kapa making in Polynesia and globally, contributes to the reclamation of cultural identity and maui ola. This chapter also supports the focus of this study on women’s reclamation of kapa, teaching, and learning in a multi-generational environment. This literature review supports the notion that identifying and reclaiming the spiritual connection of ‘ike kūpuna, ‘ike Hawai‘i, and cultural practices empowers the kānaka in their reclamation of cultural identity and well-being.

Through Pukui’s translations of ‘ōlelo no‘eau, kānaka ‘ōiwi can remember and reclaim their cultural identity and well-being. In Hawai‘i, the impact of outsiders, including mass arrivals of tourists and new settlers, has seen kānaka cultural identity challenged. When cultural identity is threatened, we know too that this puts at risk the well-being of the kānaka and makes further cultural reclamation even more complex or challenging (Penehira, 2011). The focus of the

present study further includes the cultural reclamation of ‘āina, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, and self-determination, because these are key elements of our identity and connect directly to kapa reclamation, as will be discussed. To understand the essence of what is a kānaka ‘ōiwi, is to know the history of the creation of Hawai‘i and the resources that were cared for and protected by the kānaka.

This literature review includes key topics that address the overarching research question: How does the cultural practice of hana kapa reclaim cultural identity and well-being? In exploring what constitutes ‘ike I have sought relevant literature from a variety of sources and examined those through an indigenous lens. Specifically, by engaging the foundation of mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy), this literature review will analyze mo‘olelo (history) of the kānaka ‘ōiwi (Hawaiian people), ‘āina (the land), and hana kapa. The review explores mo‘olelo including the Kumulipo (creation chant), ke akua (gods), and aloha ‘āina (love for the land), including journal narratives and publications of hana kapa in Hawai‘i from the early 1800s to modern times.

The socio-historical context of kānaka through the values of nā ali‘i (chiefs), ka ‘ohana (family), and ke kaiaulu (community) is explored to provide a framework of understanding for the current study. Furthermore, this chapter reviews the history of the various types, traditional usages, and cultural significance of kapa, and the connection of the kānaka to ‘āina through the process of kapa making. This chapter also explores ceremonies and protocols associated with using kapa in Hawai‘i in ancient and contemporary times, and the relationship between the reclamation of cultural traditions and identity. The exploration of multi-generational transmission of knowledge through ‘ike kūpuna, mo‘olelo, ma ka hana ka ‘ike, and ceremonies also has a significant place in this chapter thus providing a platform for the later analysis of data from inter-generational ‘ohana kapa workshops. I am honored to review the documents and also examine kapa artifacts in collections. Although many foreign accounts of the process of kapa are useful to our understanding of the general production of kapa, I argue the superiority of the expert opinion of firsthand Native Hawaiian accounts of the process of kapa. Although there are early expedition journals from the likes of James Cook, Charles Wilkes, and George

Vancouver, their documentation has gaps due in part to the brief nature of their observations and time in Hawai‘i. Charleux (2017) Tapa project reveals “...there were fairly good descriptions of tapa manufacture for Samoa and Fiji, but less informative accounts for Hawai‘i, we believe because the early expeditions visited the former islands before visiting Hawai‘i, where they would usually stay only for a few days, and merely noted that tapa manufacture in Hawai‘i was similar to what was recorded for Fiji and Samoa” (p. 427). This is important to note when considering the accuracy of the documented process of kapa production in Hawai‘i.

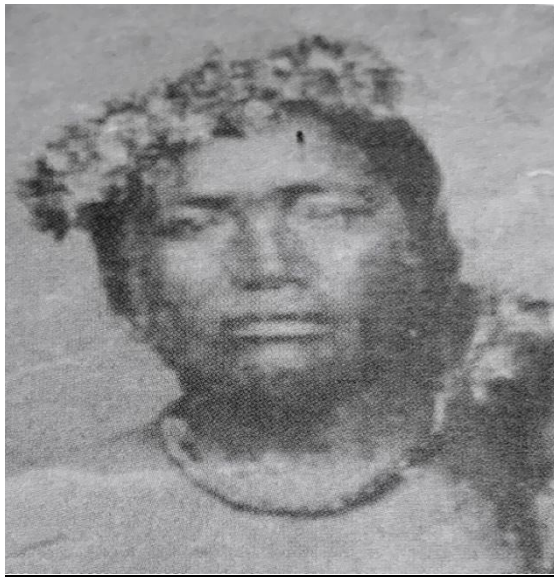
I acknowledge and mahalo the kapa practitioners, kūpuna, and community of scholars that have enlightened me in understanding the well-being as a kānaka. I bring my own expertise, experience, and my ancestors to the analysis throughout this chapter. Given that much of the literature is based on second and third hand accounts written by non-Hawaiians there is an inherent non-native subjectivity in the work which is not always transparent. This includes but is not exclusive to the influence of religious beliefs, and similarly some of the Hawaiian work is also influenced by the post missionary views. Domination of post foreign interest weighs heavily on the socio-historical context of the literature. As an indigenous researcher I acknowledge my positioning and take the opportunity in this chapter to address the inherently negative views of the non-Hawaiian in relation to Hawaiian people and our values.

‘Ike Kūpuna

‘Ike kūpuna is the connection that occurs when you call your kūpuna for help and guidance. This is where knowledge and insights are given to the descendants by their ancestors. They give guidance, wisdom, and spiritual connection to the ‘āina and gods. In this section, I research the elements that connect the Kumulipo, pule and oli, akua, ‘aumākua, ‘āina, and mo‘okū‘auhau together. Each of these elements connects and makes whole the well-being of the kānaka. The social historical context of Kānaka through the values of na ali‘i (chiefs), ka ‘ohana, kaiāulu kaiaulu (community), and other places is explored to provide a framework of understanding for the current study.

Figure 10 shows my wāhine kūpuna; grandma Emily Waikipoha (Saffery) Ayers, great-grandma Emily Kalunahana Kilianu Kalehua Nuuhiwa (Hawele) Saffery, great-great grandmother Waiki Kawaaiiki (Naehu) Saffery, great-great-great grandmother Kawaaiiki Naehu Alapai-Nui.

Figure 10 Ko‘u wāhine koa!



My kūpuna have directed me in this alanui pathway to reclaim my cultural identity and well-being. I know that they are with me to guide me and direct me, I ask for their wisdom, strength,

and ‘ike. I understand that these ancestors have made kapa, and I call upon them to guide me in my teachings. I ask the Pūnana Leo o Lahaina ‘ohana to call upon their kūpuna to help and guide them.

In addition, I have included the non-published data analysis of quoted journal entries by Native Hawaiian experts. I chose to identify these individuals as Native expert’s and not as Native informants; the reason is that they are experts in the topic of Hawaiian Kapa. Native experts are not informants that are of Hawaiian ancestry, they have experience or have direct connection to the kapa practitioner. They are the surviving experts that have experienced or witnessed the making of kapa.

In the journal entries, I chose to record the Native expert’s spelling and pronunciation. Any additional proposition of the researcher will honor their use of their ‘ōlelo and validate translations from Hawaiian to English. As reflected, there are few accounts documented from authentic Native Hawaiian kapa practitioners on the process of making kapa. Being culturally appropriate and honoring their own words, this researcher felt to that it was important to record their words verbatim. I believe that within the context of their ‘ōlelo kapa and procedures there are clues to the missing links that produce and honor authentic kapa.

I will identify and acknowledge differences, similarities, questions, and missing or misled translations in the past descriptions of the process of making kapa. More importantly this researcher will honor and not discredit the kānaka kapa practitioner for they are the link to the ancestors. Highlighting the Hua‘ōlelo kapa from the various Native experts, these non-published journals tell their mo‘olelo of hana kapa in words and actions. Their leo (voice) and mo‘olelo reclaim cultural practices and gain the ‘ike nui and ‘ike ike of hana kapa.

“Mai ka pō mai ka ‘Oīā‘io.

Truth comes for the night.

Truth is revealed by the gods” (Pukui, 1983, p. 225).

Also discussed in mokuna ‘elua, there are documented processes of the making of kapa. Notably, the contemporary experts are not authentic kapa practitioners. Information and research are through second and third hand accounts that have left voids in the process, these include Fornander (1918); Brigham (1911); Emerson (1999); Ellis (1953); Handy, Handy, and Pukui (1991), and others. I am grateful to these researchers for documenting their findings so that the kānaka can claim this ‘ike through the process of hana kapa. Recognizing the kānaka as well as the rare first-hand witness and practitioners of hana kapa, such as Kamakau (1976); Malo (1951); I‘i (1959), and interviews with kānaka experts from Stokes (1923) Native Hawaiian End Notes (NHEN).

Non-published information such as the Stokes Collection of the Native Hawaiian End Notes provides an important source of data to help us better understand the origins and history of kapa in Hawai‘i. However rather than critique these in the literature review chapter, it was determined to be useful to analyze these documents as part of the research data. This enables a more robust interrogation of the data, which is necessary given the perspectives shared, although some referring to Native Informants' understanding and experiences, come through the views of non-Native.

In addition to analyzing these non-published collections as research data, the opportunity to evaluate and confirm my own experience as an expert in this cultural practice. In the examination of these documents, I intend to identify gaps where missing information may have been lost in the translations from the Native Hawaiian Practitioner to the non-native storyteller. Although these gaps may not been intentional, the importance of the missing information could be that the non-practitioner translator assumed the knowledge and techniques told by the Native Hawaiian kapa practitioner. Dr. Malcolm Chun describes the importance of telling a story.

As someone who had been there, and was therefore telling the story from first-hand recollection, he believes not only that the sources did not need to be named, but that doing so would-be counter-productive to the points being made (Chun, 2006, pp. 357-358).

The question of who did the action is important, but more important is the action was done. Learning the details of how the process of kapa making were done is important, but knowing the purpose of the kapa connects to when the kapa will be made. In the non-published journals, the first-hand accounts of the mo‘olelo told are based on their own experience in the process. However, it is important to remember the interpreter of these non-published journals are not first-hand accounts. These are second or third hand account of their own interpretation and are subject to biased opinion. Following the non-published notes and the translated interpretation, I will provide my own experience in the process of Na Mea Hana Kapa.

Mo‘olelo o Kūpuna - story of ancestors

Mo‘olelo “Story, tale, history, tradition, legend, journal, record, article, minutes, as of a meeting (from mo‘o ‘ōlelo, succession of talk)”. (Pukui & Elbert, 1965, p. 234)

This study affords the opportunity to retell the mo‘olelo of kānaka ‘ōiwi by identifying and reviewing the work of Hawaiian historians and scholars working in this context. Knowing the importance of the stories being told gives the reader the opportunity to dig a little deeper into the subject. Statements that would have been overlooked if I did not know a little bit more on the topic. These clues make a huge shift in the view, process, and purpose in making kapa. Important is the mo‘olelo but it is also important to understand the context and positioning.

For example, to know who the author is and whether he/she is an endemic, Polynesian or exotic writer it is important to ask questions such as; what are their values as they document their view of the Hawaiian people? how accurate are their sources of information? Appendix A shows the biographies of kānaka historians, scholars, recorded practitioners, and informants from the 1800’s. These historical journals and books have been translated into English, however when available I will refer to the authentic and original Hawaiian language manuscripts. In this literature review I include several key Hawaiian historians and scholars and begin this section by introducing them.

In the reclamation of cultural traditions in contemporary Hawai‘i, I look towards the mo‘olelo of ancient Hawai‘i. Pukui-Elbert (1986) refers to mo‘olelo as the stories, myths, history, traditions, and literature of Hawai‘i. Mo‘olelo in oral and recorded traditions, identify and acknowledge that the voices of the ancestors are clues to the significance of cultural practices in Hawaiian tradition. Identifying the traits and values of cultural practices provides a foundation to recognize the mo‘olelo of the ‘ohana, place, and spiritual connections. As a kapa practitioner, knowing the mo‘olelo of kapa reveals the process, significance, and kaona that connects the practitioner to their ‘ike kūpuna. Connections to ‘ike kūpuna nurtures the maui ola of kānaka.

Important is the recording of the Native Hawaiian informants documented in John F. G. Stokes (1923) notes. Knowing that there are few first-hand accounts of authentic practitioners documented, the kuleana makes it a point to record in this research the exact words of the kānaka practitioner. Using the methodology of Ma Ka Hana Ka ‘Ike, the clues of a few hua‘ōlelo kapa create a starting point to understanding the process of hana kapa.

Kumulipo

“Origin, source of life; name of the Hawaiian creation chant”

(Pukui, 1965, p. 163).

Through a Hawaiian lens, the most famous of mo‘olelo is the *Hawaiian genealogical creation chant, He Kumulipo - An Hawaiian Creation Myth* (Liliuokalani, 1897). Recorded and translated, He Kumulipo was composed for the High Chief Kalaninui Ka‘I‘imamao also known as Lonoikamakahiki. This chant has 2,102 lines and is divided into sixteenth wā or eras. Composed in 1700, this chant has survived orally for almost two hundred years before being published in Hawaiian in 1889 by King Kalākaua. This creation chants a testament to the historical practice of retaining expansive amounts of information. The Kumulipo was memorized and orally passed on to announce the birth or death of the chiefly line. It was also chanted to prove the genealogical connection of a chiefly line connecting to the origins and duality of all living and nonliving.

Dr. Pualani Kānaka‘ole Kanahēle (1997) states in the foreword of *The Kumulipo: An Hawaiian Creation Myth*, written by Queen Liliuokalani of Hawai‘i (1895),

The KUMULIPO is the reality of our dim past, the foundation for our present and the pathway into the future. It is a cognizant reminder of our ancestors, their intelligence, failure, conquest, and defeat. This song is a gift which encourages the warrior within us to awake to the contests and challenges which continue to confront us by using intelligence and ancestral experiences. It is the genealogy connecting mankind to earth and sky. You are the Kumulipo, know that esoteric soul inside of you and celebrate your ponahakeola¹⁶. He makana kūpuna kēia no kākou apau! (Forward).

Kumulipo is the cosmogonic and genealogical chant of the creation of the Polynesian people. Reflective of the ali‘i family of social life and philosophy of the birth of earth and of the gods, the Kumulipo traces the genealogical connection of the ali‘i to the creation of the earth and to the gods. The Kumulipo is an example of the importance of cultural identity for the kānaka as they fight to reclaim their own connection to the creation of the earth. As kānaka, linking the ‘ohana to the divine origin of the creation of the earth provides the place and space in social and philosophical understanding of self-determination.

Knowing that the Kumulipo connects us to the Hawaiian creation story, the genealogy of the Hawaiian Islands, and all the elements that make up the Hawaiian environment is important. As a kānaka, the Kumulipo connects to the first Hawaiian. As a kapa practitioner, the Kumulipo provides the rationale for the importance of wauke on the land and the weke in the ocean. 2,102 chant lines are filled with many layers of themes and kaona (symbols) that provide in this mo‘olelo a glimpse of the brilliance of our kūpuna. To expand on that thought, our ancestors clearly had significant ‘ike and understanding to be able to make the connections to the deepest level of consciousness.

¹⁶ Ponahakeolahe chaotic whirlwind of life.

Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla (2020) explained to me, in a personal discussion, her view of the Kumulipo. She highlighted that within the Kumulipo chant there are many levels. Her experience as an expert Chanter and Hula practitioner is that when she reads through the lines of the chant, there are general themes within the Kumulipo which are revealed after repetitive reading of the chant itself. Our brilliant ancestors understood how each hua‘ōlelo (word or term) of the Kumulipo was intentionally positioned to expose the deeper levels of this chant, this is evident from the discussion with Kumu Hōkūlani¹⁷. Looking at each word in a Papakū Makawalu method gives the reader an understanding of the source and way of life of a kānaka. For Kumu Hōkūlani as a Hula practitioner, her focus has been on the theme of hula such as the hua‘ōlelo for movements and connections to the elements and environment in the Kumulipo. These hua‘ōlelo and phrases encourage the dancer to become at one with the environment and the elements of the ancestors.

Using the Papakū Makawalu method the Hua‘ōlelo takes on different levels of meaning in actions, traditions, and culture. There are Hua‘ōlelo that take on a duality such as male and female throughout the chant. For the genealogist, there are themes that reveal history of the Hawaiian people and the time and space that links from the cosmology of the Hawaiian universe. As a kapa maker, the theme is focused on the significance of wauke, connection to kapa, and the political structure of the ali‘i.

Kumulipo is a very complex chant to understand; the concepts of time and space and the cosmos of life makes it difficult to interpret. Some of the hua‘ōlelo used in this chant do not exist anymore, making it difficult to interpret the kaona, metaphors, and conceptualization of the words. Scholars have studied the Kumulipo for many years and may never understand the full depth of the concepts contained within this chant. However, the significance of the

¹⁷ Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla received her World Indigenous Honorary Doctorate in Indigenous Education in 2019. She is a Master Kumu Hula, Historian, and mentor. I have known her for over thirty years in a work environment, co-owner of Paeloko Learning Center, kumu, and friend. In this document I chose to address her as Kumu Hōkūlani.

Kumulipo takes this researcher to a time and space where the origins of the cosmology of Hawai‘i and the wauke are present.

This next section of the literature review examines two wā (era) of this creation chant. Beginning with the first lines of He Kumulipo: Pule Ho‘ola‘a Ali‘i at time of darkness to the first signs of life. The lines in the Kumulipo reveal the brilliance and deep understanding of our ancestors. Here are the first fifteen lines of the first wā in the Kumulipo published by King Kalākaua in 1889.

*“O ke au i kahuli wela ka honua
O ke au i kahuli lole ka lani
O ke au i kuka ‘iaka ka la
E ho ‘omalamalama i ka malama
O ke au o Makali ‘i ka po
O ka walewale ho ‘okumu honua ia
O ke kumu o ka lipo, i lipo ai
O ke kumu o ka Po, i po ai
O ka lipolipo, o ka lipolipo
O ka lipo ka la, o ka lipo o ka po
Po wale ho—‘i
Hanau ka po
Hanau Kumulipo i ka po, he kane
Hanau Po ‘ele i ka po, he wahine*

Hanau ka ‘Uku ko ‘ako ‘a, hanau kana, he ‘Ako ‘ako ‘a, puka” (Beckwith, 1951, p. 187).

During her imprisonment in 1897, Queen Lili‘uokalani translated the published Hawaiian text of King Kalākaua into English, she wrote,

*“At the time that turned the heat of the earth
At the time when the heavens turned and changed
At the time when the light of the sun was subdued*

To cause light to break forth
 The time of the night of Makalii [Winter]
 The slime, this was the source of the earth
 Then began the slime which established the earth,
 The source of deepest darkness,
 Of the depth of darkness, of the depth of darkness,
 Of the darkness of the sun, in the depth of the night,
 It is night,
 So was night born” (Beckwith, 1951, p. 44-45).
 Born was Kumulipo in the night, a male,
 Born was Po‘ele in the night, a female
 Born was the coral polyp, born was the coral, came forth” (Beckwith, 1951, p.58)

For the Hawaiian people the Kumulipo is the creation chant that connects the very beginning of time of darkness and the first signs of life. The Kumulipo reveals the balance and duality of land and sea, of plants and animals, and of man and woman. Kumulipo is our connection to our ancestors and the elements that surround us. The Kumulipo has multiple layers of symbolic events. Like my mo‘okū‘auhau of the ‘ohana, the Kumulipo is the mo‘okū‘auhau of the Hawaiian Islands and its people.

As mentioned earlier the Kumulipo fourteenth wā, lines 232 to 237, reveal the connection to the time of the appearance of the weke of the sea and the guardian wauke on the land.

*“O kane ia Wai‘ololi,
 A ka wahine ia Wai‘olola,
 Hanai ke Weke noho I kai,
 Kia‘i ia e ka Wauke noho I uka.
 He pu uhe‘e I ka wawa
 He nuku, he kai ka‘ai a ka i‘a
 O ke Akua ke komo, ‘a‘oe komo kānaka”* (Beckwith, 1951, p.193).

“Man by Wai‘ololi,

Woman by Wai‘olola,
The Weke was born and lived in the sea;
Guarded by the Wauke that grew in the forest.
A night of flight by noises
Through a channel; water is life to fish;
So the gods may enter, but not man” (Liliuokalani, 1897, p.12).

Queen Lili‘uokalani described the fourteenth wā the kane (man) Wai‘ololi and wahine (women) Wai‘olola, as waters both narrow and broad. Kanahele (1992) writes in *E mau ana o Kanaloa, Ho‘i Hou* the importance of the message of procreation is derived in the lines “Man for the narrow waters, female for the broad waters is a constant reminder of life’s continuity” (p. 4). In relation to the words used in Hawaiian thinking, Titcomb (1972) addresses the use of the words in connection to the power of the knowledge of the word.

In the fourteenth wā of the Kumulipo (1897), the weke (goat fish or the *Mullidae* species) appears in the sea, while the wauke appears in the forest. Weke are known for their large scales and are usually found on reefs but sometimes in deep waters. Kānaka knew that eating a certain type of weke brain would create a toxin that was associated with nightmares. Pukui and Elbert (1986) wrote that both red and light-colored weke were often offered to the gods to turn away curses. In addition, they described weke as a ‘crack’ or ‘a narrow opening’. Clearly the words weke and wauke share a similarity in that they both sound similar. The kaona of the word weke may reveal a time when the ocean floors cracked open in a volcanic eruption and created channels where fishes may live, gods could enter, but man cannot live. Weke and wauke were used in ceremonies and rituals because of the conceptualization of weke as the opening. Also, the description of the wauke as the guardian of the weke gives the kaona a covering or protection.

In a recent trip to Ke‘anae on east side of the island of Maui with my ‘ohana, I experienced the sense of place that the fourteenth wā describes, Wai‘olola the woman, as “He pu uhe‘e O ka wawa” (a night of flight by noises, enters through the nuku where the water of life lives). We entered a wahi (place) where a forest of trees and shrubs open to a hidden nuku (mountain gap or entrance) to a place where there was an abundance of water, food, and ola

(life). This place is known as Waiokila, a place that has been cared for by a settler aloha ‘āina¹⁸, Leina Wender for almost forty years. Wenders love for this ‘āina is apparent in the health and waiwai (richness) of the land. This experience of being at Waiokila connected me to the sense of place and time of the Kumulipo.

Nā Pule a Ke Oli

Nā Pule “Prayer, to pray, grace, blessing”

(Pukui, 1965, p. 325)

Ke Oli “The chant that was not danced to

(Pukui, 1965, p. 262)

Pukui writes about the time before the missionaries came to Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian people prayed everyday of their life. They believed that the gods were ever present to protect, guide, guard, warn, bless, and/or punish man or woman in their everyday acts of life. The kānaka, would ask for help, permission, and for forgiveness, knowing that the presence of the akua was always in the presence of kānaka. Pule (prayer) were an important part of the life of the kānaka, indeed the knowledge of what god to worship or chant to was always critical for their intentions and their needs.

“E pule i kēia manawa.

Now is the time of prayer”

(Pukui, 1972, p.121).

The Pule Ho‘oulu‘ulu is prayed to ensure food grows and to bring rain from the lani (heaven), specifically asking for the rain that makes the wauke and dye plants grow. Bringing abundance of crops and wealth to kānaka. This pule seeks blessings for the government and prosperity to the ‘āina.

Pule Hoouluulu Ai, or Pule Hoomau

E Lono, alana mai Kahiki,

¹⁸ Settler aloha ‘āina is a hua‘ōlelo used to describe a non-native Hawaiian that cares for and passes on the ‘ike of the land.

He pule ku keia ia oe e Lono.
E Lono lau ai nui, E ua mai ka lani pili.
Ka ua houlu ai,
Ka ua houlu kapa.
Popo kapa wai lehua
A Lono i ka lani.
E Lono e, kuua mai koko ai, koko ua.
Ulua mai.
Houlu ia mai ka ai, e Lono!
Houlu ia mai ka ia, e Lono!
Ka moomoo, kiheaheapalaa e Lono!
Amama. Ua noa.

O Lono, gift from Tahiti,
 A prayer direct to you, O Lono.
 O Lono of the broad leaf,
 Let the low-hanging cloud pour out its rain
 To make the crops flourish,
 Rain to make the *tapa* plant flourish.
 Wring out the dark rain clouds
 Of Lono in the heavens.
 O Lono, shake our net full of food, a net full of rain.
 Gather them together for us.
 Accumulate food, O Lono!
 Collect fish, O Lono!
Wauke shoots and the coloring matter of *tapa*, O Lono!
 Amen. It is free”
 (Malo, 1951, p. 177).

Pule Ho‘oulu tells us the akua Lono origin is from Tahiti. This pule asks Lono to gather the rains from the heavens to flourish the crops and grow the Kapa plants. Lono is asked to gather the food, fish, wauke shoots, and dye plants. In this pule the focus is on the wauke plant, the mo‘omo‘o (wauke shoots) and kiheaheapala‘a (dye plants). Also referenced are the Ulua, the fish and the man. Pule Ho‘oulu asks Lono to grow crops, wauke, and man.

Nāhi‘ena‘ena

Harrieta Keōpūolani Nāhi‘ena‘ena was the only child of Ali‘i nui Kamehameha I and Keopulani. An important lesson that I have learned in this process of no ke Hana Kapa was the kaona (symbol) of the chants. One of the most famous chants recorded in the *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore* (1919) is the Chant for Nāhi‘ena‘ena (p. 444). In the 145 lines chant the general theme is the making of Kapa, but another layer would be the joining of the ali‘i. When reading the first 15 lines of this chant, there was an important awakening for me as a practitioner. These lines of the Chant for Nāhi‘ena‘ena are,

*“O kuku¹⁹ oloa²⁰, o lau ola ohalahala mai i akea,
He kua la no Kahiki.
He ulu i heia,
He mapele²¹ i heia, ia e penei,
Ka oloa, a he ka oloa,
He oloa Nahienaena ma ka olelo wale ana,
E oloa aku ana ia Kalani-nui-kua-liholiho.
I kane aimoku iluna ka ia ea la.
O ka oloa ia e kuku nei,
O ke kuku poai²², Kalani, kuku ke ‘lii,
O ka lani, kua ‘i²³ ka lani, mau ka honua.
Kuka ‘i²⁴ Kalani, mau ka honua ia Lani,
Lani pipili haamomoe lea.
Pipili Kalani, mau ka honua ia la,
He la kolii nono ka iluna.*

19 Kuku is the beating process in kapa making.

20 Oloa is the bark of the wauke prepared for beating

21 Mapele is a term of one of the processes for making kapa. It is also the name of a type of a tree/shrub furnishing a kapa bark.

22 Kuku poai is the beating of kapa with a circular movement of the hand; Kalani, the chief, i.e., Nāhi‘ena‘ena beats kapa in that manner.

23 Kua‘i is defined as removing internal organs of animals, disembowel and purification. In addition, kua‘i is defined as to rub one thing against another; to grind by rubbing one surface against another.

24 Kuka‘i is to sew or join together; Liholiho and Nāhi‘ena‘ena being united, the earth is perpetuated for Liholiho.

The Kapa-beater of the bark grown thrifty and wide,
 A Kapa block from Kahiki.
 The breadfruit bark torn into shreds,
 The mapele bark broken up in like manner,
 The Kapa bark and the Kapa water-bowl.
 Nahienaena is Kapa bark, symbolically.
 Transforming Kalani-nui-kua-liholiho
 Into an overseer of the fish, tortoise.
 That is the bark which is being beaten.
 Kalani beats Kapa in a circular manner, the chief beats.
 The chiefs join together the earth will be eternal.
 The chiefs being allied the earth is established for Lani,
 The chiefs stick together; sleep together for pleasure,
 While the chiefs join the earth abides firm.
 'Tis a day of tremulous heat, hot overhead"
 (Fornander, 1919, p.444).

As discussed earlier there are levels of 'ike kupuna that are revealed in this chant. The significance of these words used in this chant are hua'ōlelo kapa that reveal clues and describe the process of making kapa. In this chant the typical word kuku is used to describe the beating process in kapa making and kua is the name of the block upon which the kapa is beaten. In the chants there are words that are common, but there are words that awaken the curiosity of the kapa maker as they expand the vocabulary; they also expand the process and significance of the kapa.

Also included in the chant are hua'ōlelo such as olao which is described as the bark of the wauke prepared for beating. Brigham (1911) references olao as a small white kapa that covers a god when prayed too and the waoke [wauke] bark that is soaked soft. The dual meaning of these words can be interpreted to the needs of the reader. Another word used is māpele which is described as a term of one of the processes in making kapa and of a tree *Cyrtandra cyaneoides* that furnishes the kapa bark. The process of māpele and this particular plant is unknown to this practitioner. In the chant the line is "He mapele i mea, ia e penei. Ka oloa, a he ka oloa", which is translated to "The mapele bark broken up in like manner, the Kapa bark and the Kapa water bowl." This chant references Māpele as another source used to make kapa

bark and is another resource that should be explored. Māpele is referred to a tree used in building a heiau to worship Lono (Pukui-Elbert, 1986; Malo, 1898; Andrews, 1865).

As a practitioner the significant hua‘ōlelo used are kuku pō‘ai: this is the beating of kapa with a circular movement of the hand. The kaona of this motion is based on the love making of Kalani the chief and Nāhi‘ena‘ena. This circular motion has changed the way that I produce kapa. The circular movement felts the wauke fibers together to patch leaf scars and tears in the kapa. This manner of beating the kapa was not shown to me by any of my teachers, but once I researched this chant, this technique was revealed to me. The kuku pō‘ai movement has opened a way I could reclaim this memory that was given by our ancestors in the Chant for Nāhi‘ena‘ena.

The following lines 35 to 50 of the Chant for Nāhi‘ena‘ena continues to describe the process of making kapa, but this chant also describes the mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) of Nāhi‘ena‘ena and Kalani also known as Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III). This section of the chant describes the joining of Nāhi‘ena‘ena and Kauikeaouli.

*Nana kui, e ku‘i nanau
E ku‘i nanau, e nanau, e nanau,
Naunau, holoholo, a holo, o hoholo,
Ou holo Kalani.
He kukukeke, kuku ke koi keke.
Holo i ke kupa keke, kupeke, ili Kapa keke e Kalani,
Kuku Kapa, ua keke, he lani kuku Kapa keke.
Ke kahele, ke oe, ke moe, ke kaikai,
Kukaheleke kapake i ka heleke,
Ka lani keia o ka lani Kauikeaouli o hoa.
O Nahienaena ke kupa nana e ai ka moku,
Ka moku o ke kukupa, ai ka helele,
O ke kukupa ai aina, o ke kupa, o ke*

kupa, o ke kupa ia.
He kupa i Kono ka malino.
Ke aimoku no Kalani ke noho,
Noho Nahienaena i uka, i kai, i uka, i kai.

She shall attach (the Kapa), she shall bite (the thread)
She shall stitch, bite, bite
Bite, run quickly, run, run,
Let Kalani run.
A sound axe is the mallet.
Flee Kalani to the resident whose is the land of beating Kapa,
In beating Kapa there's a noise, 'tis a chief's Kapa beating sound.
Go carefully, whistle, lie down; lift up.
Angry is Kalani at the crooked path.
'Tis the chief, the chief Kauikeaouli, thy companion.
Nahienaena is the resident whose it is to enjoy the land;
The island of the resident is eaten by coarse men.
The resident enjoying the land is the resident indeed.
The feature of Kona is its calm smooth sea.
Kalani is its district chief on living there.
Nahienaena lives upland and seaward, upland, and seaward.
(Fornander, 1916, pp.445-446).

In this section of the chant, the process of biting and sewing of the kapa reflects an intensity of the actions. The sewing also reflects the joining of layers of kapa and the freeing of the threads. The word kukukeke is the kuku or beater used for pounding kapa and keke is used to bring together the sound of the beater. Another term used is kupeke which is a turning motion of the hand in beating kapa. One reference to kupeke was dwarf-like (Parker), which could mean that the motion was short. This is reasonable because at the final stage of kuku in this chant, the kapa maker needs to have shorter movements because the kapa is thinner and care must be taken. Again, as suggested, additional research and experiments will be done to confirm the motion of kupeke.

Oli and mele like this of Nāhi'ena'ena use the metaphor or kaona to describe the process of making kapa. Visualizing this chant for Nāhi'ena'ena, guides the kapa maker in the motions,

sounds, environment, and sensations. Although the chant is describing the making of kapa, it also describes the love making of Nāhi‘ena‘ena and Kauikeaouli.

Ancient chants and pule continue to connect the kānaka to their gods and their ancestors. In contemporary times, practitioners create oli to assist in the reclamation of the process of hana kapa. There are oli that provide movements that remind the dancer of the motions of the process of hana kapa. One such oli is Hohoa Kuku haku ia Kumu Keli‘i Tau‘a:

Hohoa Kuku

Na Keli‘i Tau‘a

Hohoa mua i ka wauke, hohoa mua i ka wauke,
He kua pohaku ma lalo, he hohoa la‘au ma luna,
A laila hohoa i ka wauke, I ho‘omo‘omo‘o ‘ia,
A wali, kaula‘i i ka la, a wali, kaula‘i i ka la.
Kuku hope i ka wauke, kuku hope i ka wauke,
He kua kuku ma lalo, he i‘e kuku ma luna,
A laila, kuku i ka wauke, ma ka hale kua,
A wali, kaula‘i i ka la, a wali, kaula‘i i ka la.

Beat the wauke first with the round beater, beat the wauke first with the round beater,
A stone anvil below, a round wooden beater above,
Then beat the wauke, to be made into long smooth strips,
When smooth, spread it in the sun, when smooth, spread it in the sun.
Then beat the wauke with the carved beater, then beat the wauke with the carved beater,
A wooden anvil below, a carved wooden beater above,
Then beat the wauke, in the tapa house,
When smooth spread it in the sun, when smooth it in the sun.
(Edith Kānaka‘ole Foundation website)

Maui Kumu Hula, historian, and cultural practitioner Keli‘i Tau‘a, created Hohoa Kuku to retell the story of the process, tools, and environment of making kapa. Kapa makers are grateful to Kumu Tau‘a as he has created a mo‘olelo of kapa making for the future. It is widely understood that the kānaka was connected to the environment and that we are connected to akua and ‘aumākua. The kānaka ask the akua and ‘aumākua for guidance, protection, and

thanks (Pukui, 1972). Whilst understanding that there are a multitude of gods, I will focus on the akua and ‘aumākua that are connected to the process of hana kapa.

Ke Akua

“God, goddess, spirit, ghost, devil, image, idol, corpse, divine, supernatural, godly” (Pukui, 1971, p. 14).

“He lau ke akua, he mano, he kini,
The gods are 400, 4,000, 40,000” (Pukui, 1971, p. 381).

This proverb symbolizes the Hawaiian view that there are a multitude of gods that kākāna believed in and worshiped. It further symbolizes our belief of the importance of a god in everything that surrounds us in the environment. Honoring and ritualizing the presence of the akua that live in the environment that will help, guide, and protect the individual that calls upon the akua.

In Pukui and Elbert’s *Hawaiian Dictionary* introduces the “Glossary of Hawaiian gods, demigods, family gods and a few heroes” as “Nā akua, nā kupua, nā ‘aumākua, a me kekahi mau me‘e” (1971, p. 381). Pukui selected approximately two hundred names of gods from the multitude that were worshiped and acknowledged by the Hawaiian people at that time. The glossary highlighted the most used and mentioned in chants, legends, and songs. Pukui also included the names of gods associated with the ethnological accounts and repeated place names.

It is critical to understand and recognize the spiritual context of hana kapa. To honor the cultural practice, one must acknowledge the spiritual connection to the ancestors. The kākāna did their practice with intention and purpose. Acknowledging the spiritual connection, the intention of the product is the most important factor in hana kapa. For example, when a kapa was made for marriage, what was the kaona of the kapa, what akua and ‘aumākua are we asking to enter into the ceremony, and why? The importance of knowing the purpose of the akua determines what

is being asked by the kānaka of the gods. Master Kumu Hula and Historian, Dr. Pua Kanahele, describes this in her *Kaho ‘olawe Island Conveyance Commission Consultant Report*:

The major pantheon of Hawaiian Gods included five kāne or male Gods and five wahine or female Gods. The kane Gods listed according to their importance are: Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū, and Lono. The wahine Gods are: La‘ila‘i, Haumea, Hina and Pele-honua-mea. Wakea (k) and Papa (w) were a couple responsible for the population of the Polynesian race (Kanahele, 1992, p. 1).

Kanahele included in her list the kāne god Wakea and the wahine god Papa, who were not listed in Kamakau and Malo as gods. This tells us perhaps that the Kānaka recognizes different levels of gods. Kanahele also listed La‘ila‘i (first women), Haumea (earthmother), Hina (goddess of Polynesia), Pele-honua-mea (volcano goddess of reddish earth), and Papa (mother of the islands). In acknowledging the wāhine akua, kānaka can start to understand their own spiritual beliefs and cultural identity. Wahine see themselves as the daughters of Haumea, Hina, Pele, and Papa. They identify themselves as mothers, daughters, and protectors of the ‘āina. In this quote below historian Davida Malo describes the male Gods:

Eia na inoa o na [a]kua kane a ko Hawaii nei e hoomana ai, mai na [a]lii a kānaka ka hoomana ana, o Ku, o Lono, o Kane, o Kanaloa, a mamuli, o ka inoa o keia mau akua, i Kapa ia ai ka inoa o kela akua keia akua a na kānaka me na [a]lii e hoomana ai okoa no ka inoa o na [a]kua wahine aole i hoolike ia ma keia mau akua (Malo, 2006, p. 53).

Dr. Malcolm Nā‘ea Chun’s translation of Davida Malo’s statement from the 1840s manuscript follows:

These are the names of the male gods of the Hawaiian people as they were worshiped from the ali‘i down to the people: Kū, Lono, Kane and Kanaloa. The names of every other god of the people and the ali‘i whom they worshiped were derived from these names, the names of the goddess of women were different. They were not like these gods (Malo, 2006, p. 66).

It is apparent that Malo identifies the male gods but does not include the names of the female gods. However, Malo then acknowledges the gods that were served by women:

Eia nō nā akua i ho‘omana maopopo ‘ia e nā wāhine; ‘o Lauhuki i ke akua o nā wāhine kuku Kapa; ‘o La‘ahana ke akua o nā wāhine kāpalapala; ‘o Pele, ‘o Hi[‘i]aka ke akua o kahi po‘e wāhine; a ‘o Papa, ‘o Ho‘ohoku, ko kākou kupuna, ke akua o kekahi po‘e; ‘o Kapo, ‘o Pua ko kekahi. A‘o ka nui o nā wāhine, ‘a‘ole o lākou akua, he noho wale iho nō (Malo, 2020, p. 165).

Lauhuki was the god of those women who beat Kapa; La‘ahana was the god of the women who stamped designs on Kapa; Pele and Hi‘iaka were the gods of some women; Papa and Ho‘ohoku, our ancestresses, were the gods of some women; Kapo and Pua were the gods of some. The bulk of the women, however, had no god, they lived [without serving any gods]. (Malo, 2020, p. 165)

In an early translation of David Malo’s (1898) statement by Nathaniel B. Emerson, “A‘o ka nui o nā wāhine, ‘a‘ole o lākou aku, he noho wale iho nō.”, Emerson translates to “The majority of women, however, had no deity and just worshiped nothing” (p. 114). Clearly the kānaka would not say that, knowing that most of the population of women would be kapa makers and in doing so, would serve the goddesses Lauhuki and La‘ahana for guidance and clarity of the task.

The four main Gods; Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa are also reflected in the writings of Kamakau (1991) and Pukui et al. (1972). Malo’s historical records elaborate on names derived from the four main Gods. The Hawaiian people prayed and worshipped their specific akua or ‘aumākua for an intention and purpose. The individual would worship the akua that was associated with what the person did.

However, per Kepelino (1932), there were three classes of gods. First is the class of great gods, those being Kāne, Kanaloa, and Lono. These gods were created by Kāne to serve the other gods. Next is the second class of gods, known as ‘aumākua, or the spirits of the dead. Kepelino describes them as the guardian spirits. He further states:

He nui wale na akua ma ka papa elua, he miliona o na miliona lakou. A ua maheleia keia papa i na ano ekolu. Eia ka mua; o na mea uhane kino ole, oia na aumakua i ke ao; o ka 'lua, o na aumakua i ka po, oia ka poe make; ekolu, o na 'Lii aimoku (p.11).

Beckwith (1932) translated Kepelino's quote as:

There are very many gods in class two, millions upon millions of them, and this class is subdivided into three kinds. Here is the first, the spirits without body, these are the aumakua of the day, of light; the second, the aumakua of night, of darkness, these are the dead; third, district chiefs (p.12).

Kepelino (1932) recognizes Kāne as a god, Kana [Kanaloa] as a child god, and Lono as a spirit god. They were called by the people of Hawai'i, a union of gods because they made all things.

Kāne

According to Beckwith (1970), "Kāne was the leading god among the great gods named by the Hawaiians at the time of the arrival of missionaries to the islands. He represented the god of procreation and was worshipped as the ancestors of chiefs and commoners" (p. 42). Kāne draws wai from the wau akua, he is the creative force and movement. He is the sun that brings life to everything.

Handy, Handy, and Pukui (1991) describe Kāne as the ancient one, "the primordial "Male" (kane) who dwells in Eternity" (p. 33). Kāne is in the eye of the sun, in the waters, in the clouds, and the forms of plants. Known as "Kāne, creator of man; heavenly father of all men, symbol of life, nature; god of fresh water and sunlight" (Pukui et al., 1972, p. 23). In the time of Kāne, the people obey the kanawai (laws) on the days of Kāne and Lono:

When the kapu Kane and the kapu Lono came along no fires were made nor tapa beaters sounded, and all other sounds were silenced. Neither chickens nor owls must make a

sound, lest the success of the ritual be destroyed (o lilo ke ka'i ana o ka 'aha).
(Kamakau, 1991, p. 21)

The akua had a dual responsibility and many times would also be connected to another akua. For Kāne would be connected to Kanaloa and Kū. The pule, depending on the intentions, may be towards one Akua or multiple akua or 'aumākua.

Kanaloa

Pukui and Elbert (1998) describe Kanaloa as one of the four major Gods. Kanaloa's companion and leader was Kāne, they also were known as 'awa (*Piper methysticum*) drinkers and found water on their travels. Some consider Kanaloa as the god of the ocean and ocean winds, and as such he is embodied particularly in the octopus and squid.

It is important to note also that Kanaloa was once the name of the island of Kaho'olawe. Kanaloa embodied the land in forms such as mai'a (banana) or other plants. According to Pukui and Elbert (1998), there were three days of the lunar month that were sacred to Kanaloa; that was the 24th to the 26th, which were known as Kāloakūkahi, Kāloakūlua, and Kāluakūpau. These are the ideal days to plant wauke. Kāloa (length, long) moons are good days for planting long or tall types of plants which are wauke, 'ohe (Hawaiian bamboo), kō (*Saccharum officinarum*), māmakī (*Pipturus app.*).

Lono

Lono is the akua of thunder, of fertile soil, and of growth. Pukui et al. (1972) writes that the people would ask Lono to help them when they planted crops. Every Hawaiian male was dedicated to Lono, for he grew the plants, he brought the rains and winds that came from the south. He brought the stormy weather, the swollen rivers, and he made things grow. Lono is the cultivator, the oxygen, and he is the cold and hot air. Lono is one of the four major gods brought from Kahiki or Tahiti.

Archeologist Patrick V. Kirch (2010) wrote; “Kapa was closely linked to Lono, god of dryland agriculture and patron of the common people. White kapa streamers adorned the akua loa, or “long god” during the Makahiki or new year tribute-collection procession” (p. 46). The reverence of the akua Lono for the Hawaiian people symbolizes the welcoming of the Makahiki season, as time of growth of the plants, time of rest and preparation, a time to connect to the akua that will give health to the people.

Kū

Known as the god of war, strength, health, and prosperity, but most importantly Kū is the god of the forest. Pukui et al. (1972) describes Kū as “god of war and chiefs, god of the forest, canoe making, fishing”. Kū was associated with the masculine and Hina was associated with the feminine. Pukui et al. (1972) states; “Wherever Kū was, Hina was also there” (p. 122). Kū and Hina brought to the practitioner the balance of strength and gentleness, hard and soft, and death and life. The kapa practitioner would pule to Kū and Hina for the strength and health of the wauke plant.

Nā ‘Aumākua

“Family or personal god; to offer grace to the ‘aumākua before eating; to bless in the name of the ‘aumākua” (Pukui & Elbert, 1971, p. 29).

In ancient times, specific ancestors were chosen by the kahuna and family members to be the family ‘aumākua. The kahuna would perform a ceremony that would transform the ancestor from human to a shape. This shape would take on forms of the elements, of animals, clouds, winds, rains, plants, birds, and other shapes. They took forms from the ocean, rivers, and ponds. The kahuna in the ceremony would inform the family of the specific characteristics of the family ‘aumākua. The ‘aumākua took on the kuleana of taking care of protecting, teaching, guiding, scolding, and coming when a ‘ohana member asked for help. In a personal communication with Holt-Padilla (2021) described the ‘aumākua as the Tūtū or Pāpā that cared for the ‘ohana. They will always be there to help the ‘ohana.

Sadly, the practice of these ceremonies is unknown to me. The names of the ‘aumākua have died with the ‘ohana that have chosen to take their names. Their place of dwelling, specific characteristics and forms are gone. However, there are still mo‘olelo that have been passed on by family members that indicate who our ‘aumākua might be. They are ancestors that have passed, they are your fathers and mothers, grandparents, aunts and uncles, brothers, and sisters. Calling on ‘aumākua connects the descendant to their ‘ike kupuna, ‘ike Hawai‘i, for guidance, for help, giving them thanks, and apologizing to them.

‘Aumākua for ‘ohana

‘Aumākua is the host to other ancestral deities for ‘ohana. ‘Aumākua were the ancient source gods from whom the ancestors descended from. Kamakau (1991) described that ‘aumākua were those directly related to the individual to help with sickness, foods, forgiveness, or help. However, today many do not know who their ‘aumākua is nor how to find them. For the practitioner, it is even more important to know your ‘aumākua to call upon them for guidance and help. It is important to remember that there were no authentic kapa makers for almost two hundred years, therefore there were no ancestors to teach kapa practitioners for a significant period. The practitioner, however, has an opportunity to re-connect and trust in their ancestors and ‘aumākua to guide them in this forgotten art of kapa making. Only when the kapa maker believes and opens up to their ancestors and ‘aumākua that they will be guided. This brings forth opportunities to learn the chants and nā ‘aumākua. This is one strategy that the practitioner can use to engage in the important reconnection to ancestors.

From a Hawaiian perspective, there is the duality or balance of male and female, as evidenced in the Kumulipo as kane and wahine, in the creation of the islands. When the Hawaiian people connected to their ‘aumākua, there were chants directed to the male ‘aumākua and a chant for the female ‘aumākua. Kamakau (1991) documented the following pule that calls to the female ‘aumākua:

O na ‘aumakua wahine me na kupuna wahine ali‘i,
Na ‘aumakua wahine i ka hikina, a i kaulana a ka la,

Na wahine i ka lewa lani, i ka lewa nu‘u,
 O Walinu‘u, O Walimanoanoa, O Kaneikawaiaola, O Kahinaaola,
 O Haumea wahine, O Kanikawi, O Kanikawa, O Kuho‘one‘enu‘u;
 O Pelehonouamea, O Kalamainu‘u, O Kamohailani, O Nu‘a,
 O Hulikapa‘uianu‘akea, O Uliwahine;
 Ia Kahawali, Ia Kaneluhonua, Ia Kukalaniho‘one‘enu‘u,
 Ia Niho‘aikaulu, Ia Leihulunuiakamau,
 Ia Ka‘oa‘oakaha‘ionuia‘umi, Ia Ahukiniokalani,
 Ia Keahiolalo, Ia Kamakaokeahi,
 Ia Kapohinaokalani,
 I na ‘aumakua wahine a pau loa,
 Ia ‘oukou pale ka po, pale ka make, pale ka pilikia.
 O wau nei o Kiha ka pua kela I ke ao,
 Homai i mana.
 ‘Eli‘eli kapu, ‘eli‘eli noa, ia lahonua;
 ‘Amama, ‘amama, ua noa (p.31).

This pule describes the requests of the female ‘aumākua and ancestral ali‘i wahine (chiefess) at the rising and setting places of the sun, calling to the female spirits in the heavens and the clouds. This pule calls to the female ‘aumākua by name to bring their mana and push aside darkness from death and trouble. The majority of today's kānaka do not know their family ‘aumākua. The absence of the names and shapes of family ‘aumākua has not been passed on to the next generation. Some families remember that their ‘aumākua was a shark, or owl, or lizard. But they do not know their ‘aumākua name, their characteristics, their shapes, and where they reside. Perhaps it is the kuleana that is placed on knowing the name and shapes of their family ‘aumākua that the ancestors did not want to burden their descendants with. Maybe it is the religious faith that has influenced the kānaka spiritual beliefs that there is only one god and we should pray only to that one god. However, without their names, shapes, characteristics, and where their ‘aumākua dwell, the kānaka have, to a degree, lost the direct connection to call

upon them for help. Although the family name of the ‘aumākua may have been forgotten, the family ancestors will come if you ask them to help you.

‘Aumākua of Kapa

“Nā kuleana a me nā kino lau o nā akua.

Specialization of Hawaiian gods and important forms they assumed”

(Pukui & Elbert, 1971, p. 399).

According to Malo (1951), all kākānaka worshiped the male gods Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa. In addition, the worship for the ki‘i akua (idol) gods differ depending on the social division and the specific intent. Akua for the ali‘i class, both men and women, were different from the commoner. Men had different gods from the women, and different days of worship.

Kākānaka believed that their spiritual connection to their environment and the elements had an important value in the cultural identity and well-being of the kākānaka and kaiāulu. Remembering that the ‘aumākua specific duty is to help, evoking the help of the akua and ‘aumākua is important to the success of the work that must be done. Knowing when to call for the growing of the wauke, making of the kapa, drying, dyeing; and printing; and that each process has a specific ‘aumākua, is important. There are many mo‘olelo that describe the various kuleana of the akua and ‘aumākua of kapa. The following section explores specific ‘aumākua that relate to kapa and the mo‘olelo associated with them.

Maikohā, Lauhuki, and La‘ahana

There are several versions of the mo‘olelo of Maikohā and his love for his daughters Lauhuki and La‘ahana. In one version by Krauss (1993), Maikohā is a hairy man and is the god of kapa makers. Maikohā was growing old, and he knew that soon he would die. He told his daughters Lauhuki and La‘ahana to bury him and from his grave a plant would grow to protect them from the cold. When Maikohā died in Kaupō, on the island of Maui, his two daughters, Lauhuki and La‘ahana buried him and a wauke plant grew and gifted them with fibers to protect them. Lauhuki kuku (beat) the first tapa and became the ‘aumakua of kapa makers. La‘ahana

decorated the first kapa and became the ‘aumakua of design. It is important to note that this mo‘olelo connects the genealogy, place, and ‘ohana (family) of the production of kapa.

In another version of the Native Hawaiian newspaper editor of *Ke Au Oko ‘a* document Samuel M. Kamakau mo‘olelo:

As Maikohā lay dying, he gave this command to his daughters: When I am dead, take me to the edge of the stream and bury me there. A tree will grow from my grave whose outer bark will furnish kīhei, pau, malo, and other benefits (pono) for you two. His daughters obeyed his commands, and a tree did grow. That was the wauke, the paper mulberry. When the daughters saw it, they fetched it and worked it, beating the bark into cloth, skirts, and loincloths. The sap flowed out, and wauke grew along the stream as far as the sea at Kīkīhale. That is how wauke spread in Hawaii nei. (Kamakau, 1991, p.14)

Kamakau goes on to say that Maikohā became the ‘aumākua of those who plant wauke. His daughters, Lauhuki and La‘ahana became the ‘aumākua, ancestral craft gods, for beaters and printers of tapa. Maikohā’s body was carved into bowls and placed in front of the kāhuna and chiefs to remind them of his gift to kānaka.

In Westervelt’s version (as cited in Beckwith, 1970), Maikohā’s body was buried at Puiwa next to the Nu‘uanu stream by his daughters. From his body he gave the gift of wauke so his daughters would be able to make kapa. Maikohā became the god of kapa makers, Lauhuiki taught the beating of wauke bark, and La‘ahana became the marker of the beater and its patterns. Westervelt refers to Maikohā’s daughter as Lauhuiki not Lauhuki. Although Westervelt’s reference to the role of Maikohā and his daughters differs from other versions, we recognize his family did play a significant role in kapa making. This mo‘olelo not only represents the transmission of knowledge from father to daughter, but the birthplace of wauke.

Another version is Fornanders (1919), Maikohā was the youngest son of Hina‘aimalama and husband Konikonia who was the caretaker of a heiau (temple). Maikohā had four brothers

Kāne‘aukai, Kānehulikoa, Kānemilohai, and Kāne‘āpua. He also had five sisters Kaihuko‘a, Kaihuanu, Kaihukoko, Kaihuku‘una, and Kaihuopala‘ai. In this mo‘olelo, Konikonia became aware that one of his children desecrated the heiau. However, he did not know which one of his children broke the sacred item. Konikonia decided to test the children by tying a beam to the back of their necks on a wooden pole, placing another pole under their chins. He believed that the child who did not cry would be the guilty one. After the beating, Maikohā was the only one that did not cry, proving that he was the child who desecrated the heiau. Maikohā was sent away for his wrongdoing, he traveled to Kaupo, Maui. He lived there until his death, at which time Maikohā’s body was transformed into a wauke plant. Two of his sisters went to Kaupo to look for Maikohā but found he was dead, they looked for his body and found his piko (navel) in the root of the wauke plant. This mo‘olelo describes Maikohā’s characteristics as an individual that was perhaps stubborn, hairy, and had a piko.

In a discussion with Schattenburg-Raymond (personal communication, 2018), she made this observation of Fornanders version: We discussed the three distinct qualities of wauke that match the characteristics of Maikohā. The first quality is when Maikohā does not cry when his father pressed his neck between the two pieces of wood. Similarly, the wauke can withstand the action of being beaten with wooden tools. Next, Maikohā is described as a hairy man, similar to the Hawaiian wauke varieties with its fuzzy bark. The last characteristic is Maikohā’s piko which can be found in some of the wauke plant roots. Connecting these characteristics of the wauke plant and the mo‘olelo of Maikohā allows the practitioner to recognize the links to the environment and elements.

Making connections to the origin of the wauke is significant in assisting the practitioner to understand the nature and behavior of wauke. Being able to identify the wauke by these characteristics helps the kapa maker understand when to harvest, how to prepare the baste, and what types of garments can be made.

Hina

For me as a kapa practitioner, the mo‘olelo of Hina and her famous son the demi-god Māui has been the most significant account of history. There are many forms of Hina as mentioned early, we focus on Hina as the ‘aumākua of kapa. Known as the legendary kapa maker, Hina needed longer daylight hours to dry her kapa. Her son Māui snared the sun and forced him to slow down so his mother could dry her kapa. Hina was the most well-known goddess or demi-goddess of Polynesia, she was frequently connected to the mahina (moon). Pukui & Elbert (1971) references four main Hina that are related to Hawai‘i. The first being Hina, the wife of Akalana and mother of Māui. Next is Hina. The mother of Kamapua‘a by Kahiki‘ula. The third is the wife of Wākea and mother of the island of Molokai. Lastly is Hina the goddess associated with the akua Kū. She was known as the healer and expert Kapa maker. People would pray to Hina when gathering medicine with their left hand. According to Isabella Ainoa Abbott (1992), when gathering lā‘au lapa‘au (healing medicines) the kānaka would follow the strict protocol that is associated with the akua and ‘aumākua: Hina for the female patient and Kū for the male patient. When gathering lā‘au for the female, they would gather from the left hand, taking from the left side of the plant. The reverse would be for the male patient (Handy et al., 1934).

Some believe it is for practicality of what hand or side is used in their cultural practice, such as Hālau Hula that ties the kīhei knot on the left side shoulder so that the right pa‘i (beating) hand is free. Alternatively, it may be that the side that the kumu said was where the knot needed to be. In a personal communication with Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla (2020), she reminded me that your lolo (brain) holds the research, learning, and ‘ike, but your na‘au has your experience. Both are equally important, but your na‘au guides your decision. Should I use my left hand to pick the lā‘au lapa‘au or tie the knot of the kīhei on my left side? The kānaka is closer to the reclamation of cultural practice, the moment they determine their own decision.

A native informant from Kuokoa, on December 9, 1865, writes; “Hina-ea was the woman of the sunrise and sunset. She was the best of all Hina in she healed the diseases of mankind and ward off troubles” (Stokes, 1923). She was an expert kapa maker and an expert in the use of ‘ohe kapala (bamboo stamping) (Beckwith, 1970). Hina‘ea was also the goddess of sunrise and

sunset and a healer. One of the famous goddesses is Hina-i-ka-malama. In one version, Hina-i-ka-malama runs away from her abusive husband and finds safety on the moon. You can still see her shadows of the moon sitting next to her kua with her i'e kuku in her hand pounding kapa with her ipu (gourd) hanging to the side of her (1970). In addition, there are other 'aumākua and kupua, such as Ha'inakolo sometimes called Ha'i, as a forest-dwelling goddess (Pukui & Elbert, 1965). Ha'inakolo is referred to in chants as Ha'iwahine; a goddess of kapa makers and bird catchers. As a researcher-practitioner, I look for the connections of the gods to the environments; chants that help describe characteristics of the 'aumākua that are the elements of the kapa.

Neal's (1965) version of Hina and her Kapa making reveals Māui as a dutiful son. He took on the kuleana to study the movement of the sun; Māui traveled to the place where the sun rose and prepared to capture the first ray of the sun:

A Hawaiian legend tells of Hina and her tapa-making. Formerly, the sun always hurried across the sky. It went so rapidly that Hina's tapas did not have time to dry. So, her son, Maui, went to the place where the sunrises, caught the first ray, and broke it off. Ever since the sun has traveled the sky more slowly (p. 302).

In this mo'olelo, Māui does not negotiate with the sun, he just broke the ray off, and the sun travelled slower across the sky. This indicates the need for longer periods of sunlight to dry the Kapa of Hina. In addition, Neal (1965) discussed that, "Before the white man brought cloth to Hawaii, wauke plants were common plants. Today they are rare, and the industry has practically vanished" (p. 302). Neal's statement describes the wauke being a rare plant, that may have been true in 1965 when the statement was written, however, today we commonly find wauke in private collections and native gardens.

Māui

Māui is a demi-god and a hero in Hawaiian history with his supernatural powers including the ability to change into different forms. Māui was in the form of a kupua²⁵ and had the power to change from human form to animal, plant, or mineral forms. There are many mo‘olelo of Māui’s adventures that took him to discover fire, to pull up the islands, to kill the eight-eyed bat, and other feats of strength. However, the most famous mo‘olelo is of “Māui Snaring the Sun” so his mother can dry her kapa.

Figure 11 Image of Māui capturing the sun. Painting by Paul Rockwood.



In the mo‘olelo of Māui snaring the sun, there are many similar versions throughout Polynesia including Aotearoa and the Society Islands that mention the name Māui. However, in this section the focus is the mo‘olelo that speaks to the adventure of Māui the kupua as he slows down the sun to help his mother Hina and his community. In this mo‘olelo from *Forbes Legend of Maui Snaring the Sun*, Rev Forbes (1881) explains that Māui’s mother was troubled by the fast movement of the sun:

She had many Kapa-clothes to make, for this was the only kind of clothing known in Hawaii, except sometimes a woven mat or a long grass fringe worn as a skirt. This native cloth was made by pounding the fine bark of certain trees with wooden mallets until the fibers were beaten and ground into a wood pulp. Then she pounded the pulp into thin sheet from which the best sleeping mats and clothes could be fashioned. These Kapa cloths had to be thoroughly dried, but the days were so short that by the time she

²⁵ Kupua “Demigod, especially a supernatural being possessing several forms as Kamapua’a (man, pig, fish)” (Pukui, 1965, p. 170).

had spread out the Kapa the sun had heedlessly rushed across the sky had gone down into the under-world, and the cloth had to be gathered up again and cared for until another day should come. (Forbes, 1881, p.59)

This mo‘olelo describes how Māui’s mother made kapa by pounding the fine bark of certain trees with wooden mallets or hohoa or i‘e kuku; she would beat and grind up the wauke to a wood pulp. Kapa makers identify this process as pōpō. In the pōpō process, the wauke fibers are made into pulp and rounded into balls. The balls of pulp are then stored until enough balls are prepared for kuku a kapa moe, or kīhei. Forbes goes on to explain the effects of the haste of the sun. “The food could not be prepared and cooked in one day. Even an incantation to the gods could not be chanted, though they were overtaken by darkness” (1881, p. 59).

Māui saw that his mother and his people were not able to prepare did not have enough sunlight to prepare and cook their food or serve and pray to their gods so he decided to intervene. Māui followed the path of the sun and when he was satisfied, he went to his mother to tell her of his plan to slow down the sun. Māui’s mother gave him fifteen strands of well-twisted fiber and told him to go to his grandmother who lived in Haleakalā. Māui finds his grandmother and he tells her that he belongs to Hina. His grandmother teaches Māui how to capture the sun. He does exactly what he is told and captures the sun with the ropes that were given to him. This mo‘olelo reflects the kuleana that Māui had for his mother and his community. His willingness to do what his mother and grandmother instructed him to do to get the sun to slow down for his mother and his people.

In this next mo‘olelo version from Fornander (1919), Māui travels to Paeloko to gather the resources of ‘aha (sennit) to capture the sun. This mo‘olelo connects Paeloko, also known as Peeloko, to the kuleana of why my ‘ohana cares for Paeloko as a sacred place. In 2002, my ‘ohana purchased the land and started to clear the land from invasive shrubs, trees, and weeds. We knew that there was a pond located on the ‘āina but there was no sign of the pond. After a couple of months of clearing, we had a visit from a group of Native Hawaiian children. It was when the keiki Hawai‘i came to Paeloko; the waters started to fill the area where the pond once was. The pond reclaimed the spring that was covered, and the cold crisp water returned. I knew

from that moment that this was our kuleana to bring the Native Hawaiian children back to the ‘āina. We continue to host native Hawaiian groups in Paeloko.

In this mo‘olelo that connects Māui and his mother Hina to Paeloko. Māui’s purpose to for traveling to Paeloko was to gather the resources to make the ‘aha to capture and slow down the sun so his mother Hina could dry her kapa. Knowing this mo‘olelo and significance of Paeloko being a resource of ‘ike kupuna, ‘ike Hawai‘i, and ma ka hana ka ‘ike. My connection to Hina making kapa, and Māui gathering his resources of Paeloko is a kuleana my ‘ohana has taken on for generations. Knowing the history of Paeloko enriches the connection to the ‘āina and the kūpuna that once lived there. It also connects to broadening our notions of identity in relation to the land and her people.

I ka wa o ua Maui nei e noho ana, a, i kekahi manawa, nui loa kona aloha i kona makuahine no kana mea kaulai; aole eliuliu iho ke kau ana a ka la, puka aela no a napoo koke aku la no, kupu ka manao e kii i ka la e alehe, i hele malie. Hele keia a hiki i ka lae o Hamakua, ike keia ia Moemoe e moe ana i ka lua pao o Kapepeenui o Wailohi; ike keia I ka puka o ka la ma Hana, hele keia a ma Haleakala nana keia a he kupono; keia a hiki ma Peeloko [Paeloko] i Waihee, luku aku ana keia i ka niu apau i lalo, kii keia i ka pulu, hana a nui, hele keia a alehe i ka la (Fornander, 1918, p. 539).

While Maui was living with his parents, he felt sorry for his mother because of what she had to dry. The sun did not tarry long on its journey; it rose and set very quickly. The idea sprung up in him to go and snare the sun so that it would go slower. He went and at the cape of Hamakua he saw Moemoe sleeping in the cave of Kapeneenui at Wailohi; he saw the sun rising at Hana; he climbed Haleakala and inspected it and found it satisfactory. He went back to his parents’ place; he noticed the sun still kept on in its old ways. So, he came along to Peeloko [Paeloko] at Waihee and threw down a lot of coconuts; he secured plenty of husk and with it he went off to snare the sun (Fornander, 1918, p. 538).

In this version, the place is linked to the event, with the quest of Māui going to Paeloko to gather the resources to make his lasso to capture the sun, being described. As many versions

assert, Māui is a dutiful son of Hina, his ‘ohana, and community. In each mo‘olelo there is a ka‘ao or a lesson that might include following directions, being patient, believing in the wisdom of the kūpuna or discovering a sacred place in the time of kumuhonua (ancient ancestors). ‘Aumākua will guide, but it is the individual that must see where they are going. For my ‘ohana, we have chosen to follow the path that our kūpuna have directed us to go, which is to mālama Paeloko, be a place for Hawaiians to learn and reclaim cultural practices.

‘Āina Aloha

‘Āina: the land, the earth. The ‘āina is a spiritual place.

Aloha: love, affection, compassion, mercy, pity, kindness, charity, greeting, beloved.

These words were spoken by Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) in 1843, “Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono” became the state motto of Hawai‘i. (NSTATE) For the kānaka the life of the land is the most important for the survival and the future of the people. The words ‘Āina Aloha represents the deep love of the land and its people.

“Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono.

The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness” (Pukui, 1983, p. 310).

Indigenous peoples from around the world feel the connection of the land to the people. When things are happening around the world that hurt the land, they feel the pain. Mauna Kea is an example of the effect of land discretion on indigenous peoples around the world. As kānaka and indigenous people around the world witness on social media the unfolding events as the Kia‘i o Mauna Kea protect the sacred mountain of Mauna Kea, we felt the pain that the protectors were feeling. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla (personal communication, 2019) said; “All indigenous people from around the world feel the pain when wrong is done against a sacred place such as Mauna Kea”. As we witness the events of the kūpuna and protectors being arrested for the occupation and protection of Mauna Kea in July 2019, the pain experienced on and with this sacred land is heard and felt all over the world.

To have and protect sacred lands is part of the essence of indigenous peoples. The mana that stirs within us when wrong is done to the sacred land, cultural practices, and the people, cannot be denied as anything other than a very real experience. McGregor and MacKenzie (2014) recognize the sacredness of the iwi and the mana and spirituality that exists in the bones. This is evident when the bones are connected to the elements of a place such as where the individual was born, lived, or died and they exist as a part of the environment. Indigenous people come from their sacred place. They feel the happiness and pain of their sacred place.

Pedigree before your degree.

(Hanohano, personal communication, 2020)

In a personal conversation with Dr. Peter Hanohano during a Ph.D. talk story session, he stated, “Every Hawaiian on this planet is related to every other Hawaiian” (personal communication, 2020). He spoke about his family, journey, and places they traveled that brought them to Maui Island, their home. He reminded us that our people were travelers, which is why we are connected worldwide. We have put down roots in the places we have traveled through generations. These journeys of our ancestors were possible because of the ocean that connects us to the world “The ocean does not separate us; the ocean joins us”. Hanohano advised us, “Pedigree helps patience and or hallows degree”. He reminded me, what is important is your “pedigree before your degree” This connects to knowing where you come from, who your ‘ohana are, what your kuleana is that will drive your passion and direction. This is the truth of what has happened to the kapa makers in the early 1800s as they struggle to hold onto their cultural practice and the lands that are their resources and cultural identity.

Mo‘okū‘auhau

***“Kūneki na kūauhau li‘ili‘i, noho mai i lalo;
ho‘okāhi no, o ko ke ali‘i ke pi‘i i ka ‘i‘o.***

*Set aside the lesser genealogies and remain humble,
let only one be elevated, that of the chief.*

Boast not of your own lineage but elevate that of your chief. Said to members of the junior line of chiefs” (Pukui, 1983, p. 206).

Figure 12 Collection from Queen Emma Summer Palace.



Use of lapa (liner), 'ele'ele 'īnika (black ink), 'alaea (ocherous earth).

This 'ōlelo no'eau "Kūneki na kū'auhau li'ili'i, noho mai i lalo; ho'okāhi no, o ko ke ali'i ke pi'i i ka 'i'o" (Pukui, 1983, p. 206) speaks to that kaona of not boasting oneself but to be humble and giving praise to elevate your ali'i and 'āina. This is a common practice of the kānaka from ancient times to now. Kānaka do not boast about their own family, however they will protect and honor their family names.

Born and raised in Hawai'i, my parents and grandparents were very modest people. My father was a manager that helped farmers sell their crops on the market, my mom took care of little babies for as long as I can remember. My grandmother raised nine children on her own because my grandfather was ill and passed away when my mom was very little. My dad's father was a farmer and fisherman. And my grandmother washed the clothes of the sugar cane workers. I have never heard them boasting about their family genealogy, where they came from or what they did. In fact, in one of my last conversations with my dad before he passed, he explained that he did not know anything about his parents' family because they were always working and did not have time to talk stories. What I do remember is my dad was proud of being a descendent of Okinawan bloodline. My mother was proud of being raised by a strong Hawaiian woman.

I do not recall ever hearing them say how hard they worked, or what great fishermen they were. They lived sustainable lives; there was always fresh fish, fresh fruits, and vegetables in our home and any extra was shared with family and community. My grandparents and parents did not have to prove to anyone that they were great fishermen, farmers, and caregivers. They were able to provide a home and put food on the table; they lived a pono life.

The context of kaona, or the hidden meanings of the words, actions, objects, places, rituals, and many other descriptive mo‘olelo, is essential to understanding these words' significance. They reveal more than just a story: they describe the space and place of an event. Words have multiple meanings connected to the time of events, the environment, and akua of these realms. The significance context of kaona and deeper levels of the use in a time, space, and place of the event. Strengthening their own cultural identity is to believe and trust in the kaona of the mo‘olelo.

***“E nānā mai a uhi Kapa ‘ele‘ele ia Maui,
a kau ka pua‘a i ka nuku, ki‘i mai i ka ‘āina a lawe aku.***

Watch until the black tapa cloth covers Maui

and the sacrificial hog is offered, then come and take the land.

Said by Kahekili, ruler of Maui, to a messenger set by Kamehameha I with a question whether to have war or peace. Kahekili sent back this answer— “Wait until I am dead, and all the rites performed, then invade and take the island of Maui” (Pukui, 1983, p. 43).

Figure 13 Black Kapa from the Queen Emma Collection



This famous ‘ōlelo no‘eau or Hawaiian proverb defines the time of Kahekili and shows the significance of the kapa ‘ele‘ele (black kapa)²⁶ including ceremonies that must be performed after his death. Kahekili warns that only when the ceremonies and rituals are completed then will the gods be appeased and then the control of Maui will be taken by Kamehameha. Our ancient mo‘olelo reveals the kaona or symbols of the views of the author and the vision of the action, environment, and purpose of the ‘ōlelo no‘eau.

History of Kānaka ‘Ōiwi

Knowing the history of kānaka ‘ōiwi will create a pathway to the reclamation of cultural identity and well-being. In the reclamation of cultural identity, the kānaka must know where they originated from so they can move forward. Kānaka must know what they have lost in the past through colonization. They must understand the historical trauma and how colonization has caused significant socio-political damage to the kānaka ‘ōiwi. In the global context of Indigenous peoples, cultural reclamation begins with the people of their land and language. With a specific focus on women’s reclamation of kapa and the potential of multi-generational well-being, I begin this section with the creation of the first woman and man.

In the forward of the *The Kumulipo: An Hawaiian Creation Myth*, Pualani Kānaka‘ole Kanahele (1997) wrote, “The Kumulipo is a mele ko‘ihonua. It is the remembrance from the lipo of our deep past to the lipo of our unknown future.” Expressed as the deepest of darkness, the lipo represents the existence of the beginning and ending. Kānaka‘ole Kanahele (1997) continues, “The Kumulipo articulated and reveals the connections of the sky and earth, the ocean and land, the land and man, the man and gods and returns again to repeat the cycle with the sky and earth who are our gods”. We know that every essence of our being is an everlasting connection to the elements of our environment. Ancestors have gifted us the knowledge of our connection to the environment. In the following paukū or verse of the eighth wā, the Kumulipo describes the creation of the first woman and the first man:

²⁶ Black Kapa is a symbol of rank class and used to wrap the iwi of the ali‘i.

“Ho‘ola‘ila‘i mehe ka po he‘enalu mamao

I kapaia La‘ila‘i ilaila

Hanau La‘ila‘i he wahine

Hanau Ki‘i he kane

Hanau Kane he akua”

(Beckwith, 1951, p. 203)

“Calm like the time when men came from afar

It was called Calmness [La‘ila‘i]

Born was La‘ila‘i a woman

Born was Ki‘i a man

Born was Kane a god” (p. 97)

In the genealogy call the Kumulipo it is said that the first human being was a woman named La‘ila‘i and that her ancestors and parents were of the dim past (he po wale no), that she was the progenitor of the Hawaiian race (Malo, 1951, p.4).

In the Kumulipo, La‘ila‘i is identified as the first human being, a woman. With the appearance of La‘ila‘i then born was Ki‘i a man. The duality of the Kumulipo as pairs from the ocean and on land, woman and man confirms life is pono. Kumulipo is in the balance of women and men, land and water, earth, and sky. In the next section we discuss Hāloa, our eldest brother who is also in the Kumulipo. (Malo, 1951; Beckwith, 1951)

“Na ali‘i o ke kuamo‘o o Hāloa.

Chiefs of the lineage of Hāloa.

Said of high chiefs whose lineage goes back to ancient times—to Hāloa, son of Wākea. Wākea mated with Ho‘ohōkūkalani and had two sons, both named Hāloa. The older Hāloa was born a taro, the younger brother that the high chiefs name with pride as their ancestors” (Pukui, 1983, p. 241).

Kānaka believes that in the first man was Hāloa, a son of Wākea (ancestor of all Hawaiians) and mother Ho‘ohōkūkalani, the daughter of Wākea and Papa. Our ancestors have retold this

mo‘olelo for generations. The following mo‘olelo is the foundation of kānaka and the kuleana that comes with this history of the first Hawaiian.

Figure 14 Hāloa, kalo, taro, our eldest brother.



The oldest son was named Hāloa-naka-lau-kapilili (long stalk quaking trembling leaf); the youngest, Hāloa was born a shapeless mass and buried beside Wākea’s house. At this spot grew a taro. A food calabash became a symbol of Hāloa; open calabashes were ill omens if new ventures were to be undertaken, hence one did not discuss business while eating from an open poi bowl (Pukui & Elbert, 1965, p. 382).

This mo‘olelo reminds the kānaka that we are the younger sibling of Hāloanakalaukapilili and as the younger sibling we are responsible for listening and caring for our older brother. This is a common behavior in our Hawaiian ‘ohana, the eldest takes care and teaches the younger sibling, in turn the younger sibling follows the eldest. This cultural practice of kuleana is transmitted through actions, attitude, and example. Kuleana is the privilege that one is given or entitled to, but it is also a responsibility. The eldest watches, directs, protects, and teaches the younger sibling how to behave in and out of the household.

Pukui and Elbert (1965) continue to describe the taro leaf as represented in King Kalākaua’s crown as a symbol of Hāloa the ancestor. Another meaning of Hāloa is “long breath” or long life. Commonly, Hāloa is known as kalo or taro (*Colocasia antiquorum*) and is the symbol of

‘ohana. Kalo is the primary food crop for the Hawaiian people and culture. Farmers cultivate the kalo for the lau (leaf), huli (cuttings), kalo (corms), and ‘ohā (bud of corm). The lau, kalo, and ‘ohā are used for food and the huli and ‘ohā are used to propagate the next generation of Hāloa. Hāloa represents the ‘ohana. The ‘ohā is the keiki and the small corm of kalo that grow on the sides of the makua (parent) kalo. The ‘ohā is transplanted to become the next generation of kalo.

Figure 15 Gathering wai a kane for ho‘okupu.



Growing up with my Grandma Emily, there was always a large ceramic bowl of poi on the kitchen table with a large dish to cover the rim of the bowl. For my grandma, poi was an important part of the everyday food that we ate, made decisions around, and a part of her home. We would use our pointer and middle finger to kahi (scrape) the poi into our mouths. We all shared the same bowl, and our stomachs were always full. My children and grandchildren continue this tradition of having a poi bowl on their dining table from which they share their meal.

In a recent conversation with my mom, she told me how she and her sisters would wake up early in the morning to walk down to our local poi factory. They would wait in long lines with their kini (tin) for their daily rations for the family. Today, the significance of the bowl of poi is to feed the ‘ohana, to make sure our words said around the bowl are pono (truth) and keep the connection with our ancestors. Hāloa is our eldest brother and if we take care of him, he will take care of us.

Figure 16 Lo‘i kalo at Paeloko, Waihe‘e, Maui.



Malo (1951) writes in *Hawaiian Antiquities: Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, the mo‘olelo of, *Hāloa, The Son of Wakea*:

The first-born son of Wakea was of premature birth (keiki alualu) and was given the name Haloa-naka. The little thing died, however, and its body was buried in the ground at one end of the house. After a while, from the child’s body, shot up a taro plant, the leaf of which was named lau-kapa-lili, a quivering leaf; but the stem was given the name Haloa. After that, another child was born to them whom they called Haloa, from the stalk of the taro. He is the progenitor of all the peoples of the earth (p. 244).

Dr. Renee Pualani Louis and Moana Kahele (2017) describes the *Body-centric genealogical classifications*²⁷:

The establishment of an integrated evolutionary genealogy with Hāloanakalaukapalili, the kalo-child, as the older sibling to Hāloa, the human child, embeds an ecological

²⁷ Body-centric genealogical classification is pertaining to Nā Māhele ‘Ike Hawai‘i (Hawai‘i Knowledge Classification).

consciousness as part of the moral fiber in the felting of Hawai‘i society. In an ‘ohana, the older siblings are responsible for the caregiving and nourishing of younger siblings. Younger siblings reciprocate by listening to and supporting their older siblings. This familial practice reaches beyond what is considered the nuclear family and includes all elements and processes of nature. Since plants, animals, and the elements and processes of nature existed before Kānaka Hawai‘i, they are considered older siblings who provide the nourishment Kānaka Hawai‘i need to survive. (p. 54)

This body-centric genealogical classification connects the kānaka to the elements and nature. This understanding helps identify and explain the importance of the kuleana that kānaka have in caring for their environment and society. In addition, Dr. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) wrote in *Native Land and Foreign Desires*; “it is the duty of younger siblings and junior lineages to love, honor and serve their elders. This is the pattern that defines the Hawaiian relationship to the ‘āina and the kalo that together feed Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i” (p. 25). Kame‘eleihiwa’s point of the reciprocal relationship between the kānaka and ‘āina is critical if we hope to survive.

In *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawaii*, Martha W. Beckwith (2007) cites Kepelino characterized the kānaka ‘ōiwi as; “He lahuikana nui keia i kinohi: ua nui a piha pono na mokupuni Hawaii ia ia” (p. 75). He wrote of the great people at the beginning that filled the Hawaiian group. He explains the Hawaiian as “clean body, plump, large-limbed and strong, a little less than the lion in strength, long-lived on the earth. A lovable people, amiable, kind-hearted, hospitable to strangers” (Beckwith, p. 74). He also continues to reveal the evilness of the Americans in attempting to lure the Hawaiian into sin. Perhaps their kind-hearted characteristic gave the Americans an opportunity to turn the great Hawaiian people to the ways of the Americans. The loss of the values of their beliefs in the akua and ‘aumākua also led to the destruction of cultural identity and Hawaiian well-being.

In a report prepared by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs titled *Mo‘olelo Ea O Nā Hawai‘i: History of Native Hawaiian Governance in Hawai‘i*, Dr. Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor and Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie (2014) wrote:

‘Ōiwi means native and native son can be literally translated as “of the ancestral bone.” For Native Hawaiians, the bones of our ancestors and ourselves are sacred and hold the essence of the soul and spirit of our predecessors, our descendants and ourselves. Within our iwi resides our mana or spiritual power. The core of our ancestral memory and knowledge, that which has been transmitted to us through generations past and will pass to generations to come, resides within our iwi or our bones. It is this ancestral connection that makes the term ‘ōiwi significant. (p. 1)

McGregor and MacKenzie (2014) referred to the mana and spiritual power within the iwi as the core ancestral memory that is transmitted to and through their descendants. As a kānaka ‘ōiwi, a researcher, and a practitioner, this points to the importance of the mana and spiritual power of the iwi kūpuna to complete the learning process of a hana no‘eau. It is important to learn as much as possible about kapa and practice from books, journals, articles, artifacts, and interviews, but it is the significance of the iwi that holds the ancestral knowledge. Sadly, in the practice of kapa making, the ‘ike of the physical kūpuna to fill the gap is absent in contemporary research. However, as a Native Hawaiian the ‘ike of the kūpuna will be revealed to the practitioner if we open ourselves up to hear them. Our ancestors are always with us, we just need to believe and listen to what they are guiding us to do. This connection between the kānaka and the ‘āina determines the success of the practitioner in having the resources for the process of making kapa. Later in this chapter the relationship between kānaka and ‘āina will be expanded to equate the importance of the reciprocal pattern.

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Figure 17 Nā mo‘opuna in lo‘i kalo at Paeloko, Waihe‘e, Maui.



Na Mo‘olelo o Kulā ‘iwi

Kulā means flat piece of land.

‘Iwi are our ancestors' bones.

Our ‘iwi is buried in the land that we live and protect, this is our island home.

In understanding the reclamation of cultural identity and mauli ola of kānaka, we must be conscious of the socio-political history. With the arrival of the first foreigners, kānaka have experienced the loss of their culture, land, identity, and spiritual connection to their gods. Belief systems have changed from being kānaka of the environment to the religious belief of the need to make peace with the Christian God. These beliefs have changed the way kānaka have viewed their surroundings from living with the environment to owning the environment. The loss or interruption of the connection to the environment has changed what we believe is valuable and significant in our culture. To understand this view and the challenges facing kānaka it is important to understand where kānaka came from and what direction they are going in. In this section I highlight some of the key points in Hawaiian history that reflect and describe the struggles of the kānaka ‘ōiwi to reclaim indigenous knowledge.

It is estimated that the first Polynesians settled in Hawai‘i by 500 AD. By 1778, with an estimated population of 800,000 to one million kānaka ‘ōiwi, a sustainable society had developed a complex governing process, fishponds, agricultural systems, and innovative cultural practitioners (McGregor & MacKenzie, 2014). However, encounters with British Captain Cook, European, and United States ships, brought the exposure of foreign diseases and the decline of the Hawaiian population by tens of thousands through the next century.

In 1810, Kamehameha I unified the Hawaiian Islands and established the Hawaiian Kingdom. Protestant missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i in 1820, bringing their western education and influences. In the 1840’s the First Constitution was formed and adopted to give the Hawaiians rights and a process of Hawaiian Laws. However, in 1848, the Great Māhele transformed the Hawaiian Land tenure system to Western private property ownership, leading to the establishment of the sugar industry and plantations which were owned and managed by foreigners. The Bayonet Constitution in 1887 forced the King to sign a constitution for the interest of the sugar plantations. As a result of the power and influence of the sugar plantation owners, the new government limited both the right to vote of the Native Hawaiians and the power of the King. Also, the government gave rights and exclusive use of Pearl Harbor in exchange for duty-free entry for sugar entering into the United States.

Then in 1893, the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian ruling monarch was initiated by the interest of a sugar businessman. On January 17, 1893, under protest, Queen Lili‘uokalani conditionally yielded her sovereign authority until the US completed its investigation of the illegal overthrow. In her memoir, *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen*, her majesty Liliuokalani(1898) wrote:

I Liliuokalani, by the grace of God and under the constitution of the Hawaiian kingdom Queen, do here by solemnly protest against any and all acts done against myself and the constitutional government of the Hawaiian kingdom by certain persons claiming to have established a Provisional Government of and for this kindgdom... (Liliuokalani, 1990, p. 387)

This was the end of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the illegal establishment of the Provisional Government. Ho‘iHo‘i Hou (giving back, returning, restoring, restitution) was a cry uttered by royalist who wanted their beloved Queen Lili‘uokalani back on the throne and the Hawaiian monarchy restored (Morales, 1984, p.6). Ho‘iHo‘i Ea, (restoration of sovereignty) was used in 1842 when Admiral Richard Thomas representing her Majesty Queen Victoria of England returned the throne to Hawaiian hands and declared King Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli, the legitimate king after the illegal British occupation. At the return Kamehameha’s stated: Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono, the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness. Today this is the state motto, but Hall writes, “The sovereignty of the land continues as is just” (Hall, 2017, p.6).

President Cleveland concluded that the US annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom was an act of war and requested that the Congress reinstate the Hawaiian Kingdom. However, in 1894, in anticipation of securing political security, the Provisional Government renamed themselves the Republic of Hawai‘i. Known as the *Kū‘ē: The Hui Aloha ‘Āina Anti-Annexation Petitions 1897-1898*, men, and women of Hui Aloha ‘Āina traveled to all the islands of Hawai‘i to gather these 38,000 signatures which were our great-grandparents and great-great-grandparents names. With a population of 109,000 in 1896, over one-third of Hawai‘i’s population signed this petition. Hui Aloha ‘Āina president James Keauiluna Kaulia said, “Hawaii me Amerika a hiki i ke aloha aina hope loa. Do not be afraid, be steadfast in aloha for your land and be united in thought. Protest forever the annexation of Hawai‘i until the very last aloha ‘āina” (Ke Aloha Aina, 1897, p. vii). Today these words give hope and fuel the hope that one day the voices of the Hawaiian people will be heard and will have the power to protect the ‘āina from social-political powers that threaten the existence of the kānaka ‘ōiwi.

Due to the collection of 38,000 signatures for the anti-annexation petitions presented to President William joint resolution that was passed by the United States Congress to annex the Republic of Hawai‘i. Then in 1900, the Congress created the Territory of Hawai‘i.

Like many kānaka, my great-great-grandparents signed these petitions, they took the risk of putting their names on this document because they knew the annexation was wrong. My

kūpuna stood up for the rights of the kānaka, ‘āina, and traditions. Shortly after my great-great-grandmother Namo‘olau signed this petition, she was sent to Kalaupapa, Molokai, a Hansen disease colony. She did not contract Hansen disease, but she never returned to Maui. Sadly, in the relocation move from Maui to Molokai, her lands, homes, and personal property were taken by the sugar plantation in Lahaina. Our story is one of many of the plight of the kānaka as they continue to struggle to reclaim their lands taken by foreigners.

Governed the *Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920 (HHCA)* was established to rehabilitate Native Hawaiians, to return them to the land and to maintain traditional ties to the ‘āina (Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, 2021). HHCA reserved 203,000 acres of ceded lands that were labeled as “unusable” for growing sugar. However, ceded lands continue to be leased to political powers such as the military. For example, Makua Valley on the island of Oahu has been used for Military live fire training since 1941. On the island of Molokai, Kalaupapa Naval Bombing Range was used for aerial bombing from 1941 until 1946. Also, in 1941, Kaho‘olawe became the “target island” under the control of the US military. Ship to shore and aerial bombing continued until public opinion, led by the Protect Kaho‘olawe ‘Ohana, pressured the president in 1979 to stop the attack of Kaho‘olawe after 49 years.

In 1959, Hawai‘i officially became the State of Hawai‘i and part of the United States of America. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs was created in 1978 to affirm the State of Hawai‘i’s obligation to use some of its 1.4 million acres of ceded lands revenues to improve the conditions of Native Hawaiians. The Hawaiian language was established as one of the official languages in Hawai‘i. Also, the state reaffirmed the support of traditional, customary rights, practices of Hawaiian culture, history, and language in the public-school system. However, the State of Hawai‘i continues to disregard their obligations to the Hawaiian people, resources, and cultural practices. In 1988, the remains of 1,018 bones were uncovered and removed from the construction site in Honokahau, resulting in the outcry of Hawaiian descendants for the protection and reinterment protocols of the iwi kūpuna. Even today kānaka continue to protest against the building on sacred grounds such as Haleakalā and Mauna Kea, and the commercial mining of sand to take to other beaches and to make concrete. Furthermore, today we have the

banning of the use of the Hawaiian language in our court system, and most recently trademarking the word “Aloha”.

The United States enacted Public Law 103-150 Apology Bill in 1993 recognizing the US role in the overthrow and the “suppression of the inherent sovereignty of the Native Hawaiian people” (United States Public Law 103-150, 2021). Change happens when the community advocate and puts their lives on the line for the rights of the Hawaiian people, resources, and cultural practices.

In personal communication with Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla (2019), on her return from Mauna Kea, Kumu Hōkūlani said, Hawaiian Leadership is not being afraid...not to be afraid to go to the Mauna, not too be afraid to stand on the side of the road and hold signs, and not to be afraid to fly the Ha‘e Hawai‘i on your home. Leadership is believing in one-self and knowing in his or her own identity as a Hawaiian. In a recent Office of Hawaiian article *Ka Ho‘āla ma Honokahau* by Edward Halealoha Ayau states:

The ability to care for and protect family burial sites had always been an instinctual element of Hawaiian identity. However, powerful social, economic, political, and religious forces brought on by foreign intervention in the affairs of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i effectively stripping Nā ‘Ōiwi (Hawaiian) of their ancestral homeland, sovereign authority, and life itself, devastating the native population from nearly a million to approximately 30,000. (Ayau, 2020, p.12)

Ayau reminds the kānaka of their kuleana (responsibility) to care and protect ‘iwi kūpuna. More important is to stand up for the rights of the ‘iwi kūpuna even with the social, economic, and political forces that are stopping the kānaka from their kuleana. Today, the Hawaiian people are facing the historical trauma that ancestors fought against hundreds of years ago. Sacred lands and rights continue to be destroyed for political advantages. The language of our kūpuna is threatened by the State and in the courts. ‘Ōlelo is stolen by non-Hawaiians to benefit and profit from the misappropriation of the Hawaiian language.

As witnessed in 2019, with the protection of Mauna Kea, Na Wai ‘Ehā, Waimanalo, Kahuku, and the many uncovered injustices, this has raised awareness on a global and international level. Indigenous people around the world support the Kānaka as they protect our sacred lands, and this in turn is reciprocated. Kū Kia‘i Mauna is a symbol of standing for the protection of our sacred grounds and has been adopted to defend Indigenous sacred grounds around the world. Standing in Kapu Aloha is now supported by thousands of Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians to address what is right for the ‘āina and the kānaka.

Figure 18 Kū Kia‘i Mauna March 2019 Kahului, Maui.



The socio-political history changed the culture of Hawai‘i and the Hawaiian people. With the guidance of the kūpuna, protectors continue to make a stand in kapu aloha. As James Keauluna Kaulia said, “Protest forever the annexation of Hawai‘i until the very last aloha ‘āina” (1897, p. vii).

Nā Kua‘āina

Kua is the backbone, ‘āina is the land,

Kua‘āina is the backbone of the land.

Kua also is the wooden or pohaku anvil tool used to make Kapa.

Figure 19 Waiokila, Pauwalu Makai, Maui.



Professor Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor (2007) wrote in her book *Nā Kua‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture*; one of the lessons that she learned from kua‘āina Harry Kunihi Mitchell²⁸, “Always be conscious and respectful of the natural elements around me” (p.1). McGregor was referring to a time when she was on a boat with Uncle Harry off the coast of Lahaina. Swells of twenty-foot and howling winds were present as they attempted to make it over to Kaho‘olawe. Uncle Harry’s lesson was to be conscious and respectful of the environment and to live in the Hawaiian worldview of *lōkāhi*: living with the “unity, harmony, and balance in the universe between humans, nature, and deities or spiritual life forces. For personal well-being, we need to be in balance with the people around us, and with the natural and spiritual forces of life” (McGregor, 2007, p. 2). He made McGregor aware that if she was in *lōkāhi* with her environment she would have recognized all the signs that nature had put in front of her and understand that the attempt to go to Kaho‘olawe at this time was not going to happen.

The importance of knowing your environment and the signs that unfold can show what will happen next. Uncle Harry shared this ‘ike with others so they would know how to take care of the ‘āina. As a kua‘āina, Uncle Harry was the keeper of ‘ike, hana, mo‘olelo, and he knew the land because he worked and loved the land. He was able to share his ‘ike about the names of places and people of Keana‘e. He told mo‘olelo of heiau (temple), ūa (rains), makani (winds), and waterfalls such as Waiokila Falls of Pauwalu Makai, Keana‘e. Uncle Harry shared his ‘ike

²⁸ Kua‘āina Harry Kunihi Mitchell was referred to his community of Keana‘e as Uncle Harry.

with his ‘ohana, kaiāulu (community), other kua‘āina, and to settler aloha ‘āina²⁹ Leina Wender.

Ke ha‘awi nei au iā ‘oe. Mālama ‘oe i kēia mau mea.

‘A‘ohe Mālama, pau ka pono o ka Hawai‘i.

I have passed on to you. Take care of these things. If you don’t take care, the well-being of the Hawaiian people will end (McGregor, 2007, p. 5).

As cited in *Nā Kua‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture*, in an interview by Pukui with Daniel Pahupu (1961), he explained that “these words were used by kupuna to pass on the kuleana of knowledge and stewardship of their lands to a chosen successor of the next generation” (McGregor, 2007, p. 5). Pahupu describes here the importance of ‘ike kupuna and the memories that are shared to the future caretakers of the land.

Figure 20 Uncle Harry Mitchell told Leina Wender the name of Waiokila Falls.



The successor is given the gift of the oral traditions of mo‘olelo that recount the way of life as a kua‘āina. They are given the names of the places, plants, rain, and wind that tell the kua‘āina what he or she must do to protect the sacred land. McGregor asserts that the names of the place and natural elements not only provide a profound sense of identity with the ‘āina or land and

²⁹ Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua (2013) writes “A settler aloha ‘āina [practice] can take responsibility for and develop attachment to lands upon which they reside when actively supporting Kānaka Maoli who have been alienated from ancestral lands to reestablish those connections and also helping to rebuild Indigenous structure that allow for the transformation of settler-colonial relations”(p.154).

natural resources, but they also convey a sense of responsibility to provide stewardship of the area they live.

For almost forty years Leina has cared for Waiokila in Pauwahu, Keana'e. My 'ohana and I walk with Leina on the 'āina, listening carefully, learning about the plants, and the mo'olelo behind each one of these special plants. Leina carried a book with notes about the plants, the history of the plants, where the plants came from, and what it was used for. She generously shared with us what she knew to help us understand the significance of the plants. We heard her mo'olelo of the mint plant that Auntie Alice Kuloloio gave to her and where it was planted. She shared her observations of when the lemon trees produced the best lemons. Leina showed us what plants can be eaten and what cannot. And we sat under the star fruit tree that filled our stomach with the sweetest of fruit and our na'au of her love of this 'āina momona.

Figure 21 Settler aloha 'āina, Leina Wender rest under the 'ulu.



Leina of Waiokila rested under the shade of a grand 'ulu tree she planted in honor of her father Harry S. Wender.

Walking around the 'āina, we snacked on edible plants, liliko'i, bananas, and sweet cherries. As an artist Leina saw the beauty and movements of the plants such as the male hala flower, and the vines of the makaloa. Her love of the hala keys that revealed organic designs and the

trunks of hala trees that once provided leaves to weave. She shared the shade of the grand ‘ulu tree that she planted in memory of her father and the abundance of fruit that it produced that she was so grateful for. She described the nature of the river that flowed next to her hale. She told us the names of the ponds and the mo‘olelo about them. We worked around the heiau located on the ‘āina. She showed us how she cares for it, and how it was used in ceremonies. There is much to learn in the depths from Leina as we listen, watch, and work the ‘āina. Her ‘ike was passed on from Uncle Harry and he learned from his ancestors to be the first kua‘āina that stood and cared for this ‘āina. Uncle Harry said we come from the ‘āina, and we go back to the ‘āina.

History of Barkcloth

Described in *Tapa: From Tree Bark to Cloth: An Ancient Art of: From Southeast Asia to Eastern Polynesia*, Professor Michael C. Howard (2006) wrote an article “Bark-Cloth in Southeast Asia Barkcloth”, he found stone beaters during the Neolithic time between 8,000 to 3,000 years BCE (common era). Howard’s study states: “Barkcloth beaters are considered part of the archaeological package that in part facilitated Austronesian expansions, thought to have originated some place in Southeast Asia, perhaps southern China, and eventually crossed the Pacific” (Charleux, 2017, p. 44). Stone tools were identified in Guangdong located in the coastal province of South China and in Taiwan, also known as the Republic of China, a state in East Asia. Howard (2006) states;

Based on current chronological reconstruction of found bark cloth beaters, southern China has been considered the cradle of the barkcloth culture world-wide, and Guangxi province should also be part of the origin region. (p. 44)

These bark cloth stone beater relics are like the wooden beaters that we see today with their straight lines and the shape of the flat wooden beaters of Rapa Nui. It is important to note that identifiable wooden beaters have not survived in archaeological sites, adding to the difficulty in reconstruction of a picture of ancient barkcloth. Howard describes:

Most barkcloth production in Southeast Asia historically and at present is made with wooden beaters, with the use of stone beaters being found only in central Sulawesi and

isolated parts of Sarawak and East Kalimantan in modern times. (as cited in Charleux, 2017, p. 46)

In the introduction, many of the transcripts, journals, and articles in this literature review refer to Hawaiian kapa as tapa. The term tapa is incorrect when referencing Hawaiian kapa origin and should in-fact be used for Polynesian barkcloth. For this study, the term kapa will be used for Hawaiian barkcloth in place of tapa when appropriate. One explanation of the use of tapa and kapa is by David Shaw King (2011) who wrote,

The word tapa is a European one. It was adapted by American and English sailors in the early nineteenth century from the Samoan term tapa, meaning unclouded border, and the Hawaiian term kapa, meaning bark cloth or border. (p. 47)

The Hawaiian term kapa, being barkcloth or border, enlightened me to the phrase, “Kū ma Kapa, to stand on the edge; figuratively, forbidding, unapproachable, unreceptive” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986, p.131). The significance of kapa was of functionality and also as a metaphor of the sacredness of kapa for the kānaka.

Research of the migration of Polynesian peoples and the use of tools and resources reveal traces of the changes over time. Tools and resources helped to preserve the language that has changed slightly but is still identifiable to the Polynesian people. The labeling of tools and processes is the same as from the first migration to Polynesia and Hawai‘i. The beaters look similar but with changes in resources such as stone, wood, and fossil bones. The tools evolved from having a handle or without, and from a one-sided pattern to a four-sided design. The uses of barkcloth has had very few changes, it is still used to clothe the person and wrap the idols, as the tools, sources. Most important as a researcher and practitioner, today we can identify the specifics as tools, sources, and uses as barkcloth.

Worldwide History of Bark Cloth

This research is narrowing the focus to the history of the *Broussonetia papyrifera* or commonly known as paper mulberry. The genus *Broussonetia papyrifera* is in the family of Moraceae and

is found around the world. There are other species of *Broussonetia* throughout the Polynesian triangle, but the *Broussonetia papyrifera* is superior in the making of barkcloth. It can be found in Eastern Asia, China, Taiwan, Japan, and Korea in the sixth century BCE (Ling & Ling, 1963). Dr. Michael C. Howard of Simon Fraser University states:

Direct archaeological evidence of early barkcloth production in Southern East Asia is relatively comprised mainly of stone barkcloth beaters and a few examples of excavated barkcloth. It appears that barkcloth was first produced in Southern east China as early as 8,000 BP (Li, D. et al., 2017, p. 55).

Bark cloth is the inner bark of a selected type of plant species used in cloth making. It is believed that barkcloth production was earlier than 8,000 BP; there is currently no evidence to prove otherwise. Noteworthy are the stone barkcloth beaters in archaeological findings, marking a trail of the expansion from the origin of bark cloth. Dr. Adrienne Kaeppler (identified in Charleux, 2017) describes the bark cloth as a tangible object that holds intangible knowledge. Barkcloth is for the essential practicality of clothing, household furnishing, and ceremonial functions. Museums and private collectors have an interest in the barkcloth objects, but for the barkcloth maker, the items are more important for its use.

Far from being a simple or complex craft made usually by women, barkcloth formed tangible objects necessary for rituals, theater, and spectacle in many Pacific Societies. The presentational and performative aspects of using barkcloth are often overlooked, but in many areas were a main ingredient of theatrical and religious performance in which tapa was a sacred, as well as an aesthetic product. (Charlex, 2017, p. 17)

Emphasised in Charlex (2017), Dr. Kaeppler's observation acknowledges the significance of barkcloth in Polynesian society. She describes that usually women made the barkcloth, and the barkcloth itself became sacred to the men, women, and gods. In contrast, Dr. Kaeppler (2017) notes that artifacts were wrapped in barkcloth and removed when given to the missionaries and westerners. In the Hawaiian view it is believed that barkcloth made the artifact sacred and the ceremony was to invoke the akua, 'aumākua, and ancestors to come and be in their space. However, we also recognize that artifacts and items hold mana and should not be used without

care, thought and respect. Kaepler notes that the use of the barkcloth to identify the sacredness of the relic is indicated in other cultures. Venny Nakazibwe (2005) states in his research *Barkcloth of the Baganda people*:

In the kingdom of Baganda... barkcloth provided for the sartorial needs of the Baganda and was initially a marker of social hierarchies. It was used to bridge and cement social relations...during marriage; and as a shroud, it served as a connecting thread between the past and present generations...Within your royal domain. Barkcloth was used to conceal and seclude the burial grounds of the Bassekabaka³⁰ from public gaze. (p. 3)

Nakazibwe's study revealed that barkcloth was an essential part of the industry in Baganda and for the Ganda people's cultural identity. The use of barkcloth provides the spiritual connection of the people and ancestors. According to a 2015 research of the ancient and modern introduction of *Broussonetia papyrifera* into the Pacific. Researchers determine the genetic, geographical, and historical evidence of the prehistoric human-mediated introduction paper mulberry from East Asia to Remote Oceania. Included in this study, is the possible second human-mediated introduction to Hawai'i (González-Lorca et al., 2015).

The barkcloth was used to clothe people, it was used in ceremonies and rituals, and connected the people to their gods and environment. To reclaim the history of kapa, this research will reflect first on the indigenous world view of bark cloth, the impact of barkcloth in the Polynesian Triangle of Rapa Nui, Tahiti, and New Zealand, and the effect of wauke in the Hawaiian Islands.

There are many books and articles that address or describe the process of barkcloth; however, for this section of this thesis, I will focus on the specific use of *Broussonetia papyrifera* or paper mulberry and the importance of the barkcloth in the global context. Identifying the significance of the barkcloth to the indigenous people of that area will help us understand how

³⁰ Bassekabaka is a title given to the departed monarch.

cultural identity and well-being is connected through their practice of tapa or kapa making. It is important to recognize the significance of the history of barkcloth in this broader sense.

Throughout the world, the effective use of barkcloth is related to the spiritual connection of the indigenous people's ancestors to their environment. M. Gream (1999) introduced an unknown Māori elder of New Zealand in his article of *Art, Belief and Experience* said:

We treat our artworks as people because many of them represent our ancestors who for us are real persons. Though they died generations ago they live in our memories, and we live with them for they are an essential part of our identity as Maori individuals. They are anchor points in our genealogies and in our history. Without them, we have no position in society and we have social reality. We form with them the social universe of Maoridom. We are the past and the present and together we face the future. (as cited in Gream, 1999, p. 5)

This elder was referencing the artworks of the social cosmos of the Māoridom and the importance of traditional and modern art. The reflection of living with them as an essential part of their identity as a Māori and the anchor of their genealogy and history. In art, we see the aesthetics of time, place, and our ancestors.

Polynesian History of Tapa

As mentioned earlier, I have had an opportunity to visit museums and archives and to present Hawaiian kapa workshops in Aotearoa, Rapa Nui, Tahiti, and Hawai'i within the Polynesian Triangle. In the *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, Anna W. Larsen of the University of California Berkeley asserts; "The Polynesian Triangle was one of the last regions of the world to be settled by humans, due in large part to its geographic isolation and the skills and technology required to access and colonize the islands" (Larsen, 2011, p.1 16). Notable in Larsen's research is her analysis of barkcloth evolutionary development and the dispersal of barkcloth throughout the Polynesian Triangle:

The common ancestry of Polynesian barkcloth is also suggested by the shared use of a suite of horticultural plants for cloth production, a distinct likeness in the social, political, and religious roles of bark cloth, and archaeological evidence associated with cloth production. (Larsen, 2011, p. 117)

Also, Larsen included Kooijman's (1972), and Teilhet-Fisk's (1995) theory that "shared ancestry and considerable cross-cultural diversity in the details of the barkcloth is a cultural domain characterized by descent with modification" (Larsen, 2011, p. 117). Women transmitted the knowledge from grandmother to mother to daughter. In a non-parent relationship, knowledge is taught from an women of an older generation to the girl of a younger generation. Communicating the barkcloth production strengthens the social context of the women working together and fosters cultural lineage.

Chapter Summary

This chapter introduced the history, significance, and production of barkcloth. It also discussed the spiritual guidance of the akua, 'aumākua, and 'ike kūpuna as well as the importance of pule, mo'olelo, and the 'āina in reclaiming cultural identity and well-being as a kānaka. The chronology of colonization and occupation has also been discussed and its impact briefly explored in relation to the research question. In the following chapter, I will share my experience visiting and learning from the indigenous people of the Polynesian Triangle. Lastly, I will introduce the history and significance of Hawaiian kapa.

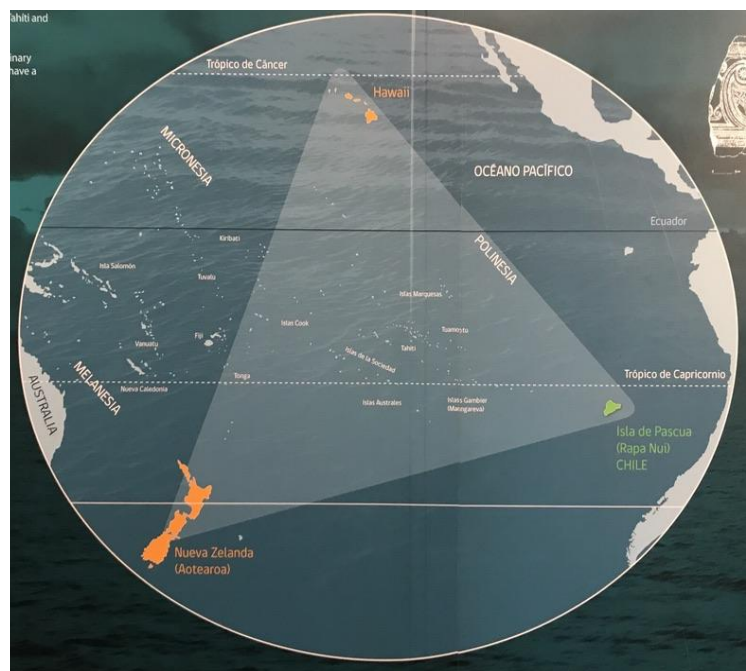
“Lawe i ka ma‘alea a kū‘ono‘ono.”

Take wisdom and make it deep” (Pukui, 1983, p. 211).

Mokuna ‘Ehā: Literature Review (Part 2)

Aotearoa, Tahiti, Rapa Nui, and Hawai‘i

Figure 22 Map of Polynesia Triangle. Photo taken in the Rapa Nui Museum (2018)



This chapter documents my travels and experiences in Aotearoa, Tahiti, and Rapa Nui, with specific references to tapa practices and the similarities that connect wider Polynesia to Hawai‘i. As discussed earlier, tapa or kapa were primarily made of *Broussonetia papyrifera* (the scientific name), commonly known as paper mulberry, and from the Moraceae (fig) family. *B. papyrifera*. It is cultivated in some regions and can grow naturally in the wild. This chapter also includes a literary focus on the similarities and differences of barkcloth use, the ancient language associated with hana kapa, the ceremonies and protocols required, and the processes involved.

Rapa Nui

Figure 23 Ahu Tongariki.



Trips to Rapa Nui in 2018 and 2019 gave me the opportunity to meet and connect with women who produce tapa made from mahute. These women are Rapa Nui descendants of multi-generational mahute practitioners. Their languages are Spanish and Rapa Nui. They explained to me that there is a generation of elders that still speak Rapa Nui, and they are the ones that are teaching the babies of the community.

Figure 24 Governor of Rapa Nui and University of Hawai'i Ka Hikinā o Ka Lā Scholars.(Photo 2019).



Governor of Rapa Nui - Tarita Alarcon Rapu and University of Hawai'i Maui College - Ka Hikina o Ka Lā Scholars standing in front of a mahute made by Governor Rapu's mother.

Figure 25 Moai in Rano Raraku and Ahu Tongariki (2019).



Daughter Noelle, husband Wayne, Ariki, and myself in front of the Ahu Tongariki, 2019.

Rapa Nui is currently under Chile's control, but the women and men of Rapa Nui continue to perpetuate the traditions and cultural practices of their ancestors. The people of Rapa Nui are proud and strong, they continue to protect their island resources, cultural traditions, and the perpetuation of their ancestral language. They are an example of an island people that are ensuring that their future children know their cultural identity which will strengthen their well-being into the next generation and beyond.

In 2019, I had the honor of presenting a Hawaiian kapa making workshop for the mahute makers' community of Rapa Nui Island. Mahute belongs to the genus *B. papyrifera* or paper mulberry and looks very similar to the Hawai'i po'a'aha. The people of Rapa Nui call their barkcloth mahute and the base plant is known as mahute. On the Rapa Nui Museum lawn named Museo Anthropologic P. Sebastian Englert, I engaged with multi-generational groups

of women mahute makers. Rapa Nui women have been making mahute for generations. The tradition of mahute making continues to be passed down from one generation to the next.

Figure 26 Ariki Pate Riquelme and Hete Huke are our hosts and interpreters at Rapa Nui.



Figure 27 Hawai'i to Rapa Nui Kapa Workshop.



Rapa Nui kapa workshop with mahute makers and Hete Huke organizer, translator, and my dear friend. In this workshop, there were multi-generations of women, including mothers, daughters, grand-daughters, sisters, and community members. They came with their traditional

tools of large stones, large logs, beaters, mahute, and an intense excitement to learn. An important and significant fact is that the production of mahute needs to be uninterrupted. I recognized their cultural practice and knowledge of mahute making had been passed down through generations of ancestors. I realized I was witnessing an ancient practice guided by the ancestors of these women. They were very generous to show me their finished mahute pieces reflecting their deep love of their culture and designs. These women and young girls brought pride in their work and willingness to share their practice with me, my ‘ohana, and scholars.

Figure 28 Rapa Nui Kapa Workshop 2019.



I have learned that one major inspiration was the desire to continue their tradition of making mahute in their annual Tapati Festival. Described to me by historian Hete Huke, the Tapati Festival began in the 1960s as a cultural event with the focus on dance, culture, and traditional sports of Rapa Nui. Some of the participants describe their Tapati Festival as comparable to the well-known Merrie Monarch Festival held annually in Hawai‘i.

The goal of the Tapati Festival was to promote Rapa Nui traditions, and to increase the awareness of cultural identity in the children and people of Rapa Nui. Competition includes traditional sports of canoeing, swimming, horseback, haka pei (banana trunks slide) and a triathlon. In addition, the festival features dancing, singing, and a competition for women: compete in the mahute beating and costume making. The goal of the mahute competition is to be fast and accurate in the production of beautiful traditional garments such as the hami

(loincloth), nua mahute (cloak). Artisans use the mahute to express the art of traditional use of dyes of kie‘a (colored earth of red, purple, orange, and yellow pigments) in the designs that honor the symbols of Rapa Nui and their ancestral gods. The Tapati Festival has kept their cultural traditions alive for the people and their children.

Figure 29 Hami or loincloth and dyes from kie‘a or colored earth of Rapa Nui.



Hami is made with feathers and shells and secured with a strip of Mahute. Dyes from kie‘a or colored earth of Rapa and painted on mahute in expressing traditional symbols.

Figure 30 Handmade head dress and belt.



Figure 31 Mahute made by a contestant for her custom.



Historically, in the ancestral times of 1600-1800, the competition of Tangata Manu – Bird Man was a religious and political ceremony. In a personal communication with Hete Huke (2021), he explains the social structure of Rapa Nui; the island was divided into two mata. Each mata was made up of groups of ure or clan, and each ure was made of paenga or family groups inside a ure. The Tangata Manu competition focused on the religious and political ceremonies of Rapa Nui, while the Tapati promoted dance, culture, and sports. The significance of the Tangata Manu and the Tapati Festival is that they both strengthen a sense of community around traditional practices.

Figure 32 Multi-generation of women of Rapa Nui.



Rapa Nui mahute designs and head costume.

Many workshop participants were commonly involved in the mahute making for the Festival, a few focused on the replication and history of mahute. I was excited when a small group of young women approached me to find out more about mahute making. I explained to them that I was sharing our process of making Hawaiian kapa and it was important as people from Rapa Nui to learn everything about the process of mahute. I encouraged them to listen and learn from the mahute makers from their family, as they were the experts of mahute in the process and techniques used today. I also encouraged them to research mahute in their Rapa Nui language if possible, explaining that there may have been a loss in translations from Rapa Nui to Spanish. What I recognized during our conversation was that they wanted to learn more about the process, research, and ‘ike kūpuna of mahute making.

During my workshop, I had two translators from English to Spanish and sometimes English to Rapa Nui. Hete Huke has not made mahute but his knowledge of the ecosystem and traditional species in Rapa Nui makes him an authority of mahute growing in the wild. He is very knowledgeable about the mahute artifacts in the museum collections and the traditions and ceremonies of Rapa Nui. Ariki Pate Riquelme was my other interpreter. Ariki has been studying on Maui at the University of Hawai‘i Maui College for the past two years. Both Ariki’s mother, Lavina Pate Tuki, and his grandmother made mahute. Ariki has assisted me in a couple of my kapa workshops in Hawai‘i and has experienced kapa making. Both Hete and Ariki are of Rapa Nui descent and excellent translators. As I described the process and techniques of making Hawaiian kapa, Hete would translate my every step into Spanish, and sometimes used Rapa Nui terms. Having Hete as the expert in the ethnobotany of mahute and Ariki’s family background and experience in the making of kapa was invaluable for me in sharing information with the students.

A critical reflection of the translator’s significance and the skills related to the transferring of ‘ike. Knowing the language in the cultural practice provides the student and teacher with a greater understanding of the experience, spiritual connection, and the process.

Figure 33 Rongorongo tablet of Rapa Nui.



Rongorongo is a series of tablets that is the message for the ancestors.

Figure 34 Mahute from Rapa Nui, reddish veins on the back side of the leaf.



Dr. Jo Anne Van Tilburg writes in her article; *Moai and Mahute: An Archaeological Perspective on Rapanui Barkcloth*, that in 174 Gerog Forster observed “small plantations of paper mulberry” with trees “from two to four feet high, and planted in rows, among very large rocks, where the rain had washed a little soil together” (Van Tilburg, 1996, p. 389). Twelve years after Forster’s observation, described in Van Tilburg, 1996, Jean-Francois de Galauop and Comte de La Perouse described the paper mulberry trees as “...very rare, having been destroyed by the droughts” (p. 389). They reported that the mahute were only three to four feet high and grown in circular stone structures called manavai. The manavai shielded the young plants from the wind and acted as a container to collect rainwater.

Figure 35 Mahute growing in the traditional manavai.



Huke took me on a tour of the Rapa Nui museum, the Museo Antropológico P. Sebastian Englert. Amongst the Rapa Nui artifacts of moai stone carvings and exquisite wooden carvings, were very rare mahute wrapped human figures that represent their ancestors. As we walked through the museum, I felt the pride of the people of Rapa Nui in their displays of their artifacts and their stories.

Dr. Adrienne Kaeppler (2008) wrote that these figures are “receptacles for the ancestral gods and were high status versions of the lesser-ranked wooden figures” (p.98). There are seven known constructed figures, four is at the Peabody Museum, and Ulster Museum in Belfast. The figures are constructed of sedge and wrapped with mahute with details of human fingers and birdman face.

Figure 36 Two Rapa Nui male figures wrapped in mahute.



These two Rapa Nui male figures are called Nari Nari. Photo from the Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology.

Figure 37 Rapa Nui people wearing mahute. Photo taken in Rapa Nui Museum. (2018)



In my reflection of this experience of Rapa Nui I am reminded of the beautiful island, their magnificent Moai, wonderful fresh foods, but most of all, of the people of Rapa Nui. Their hospitality is beyond being a host, they gave without reservation everything they could. They opened their lives, homes, and time to take care of us. I know that the people of Rapa Nui are true Polynesian brothers and sisters that will be forever in my heart. We have so much to learn from them as mahute cultural practitioners of Rapa Nui.

Figure 38 Our Rapa Nui 'Ohana.



Tahiti

Figure 39 Papeete, Tahiti.



On a visit to Papeete, Tahiti, I took a tour of the Musee De Tahiti et des lies - Te Fare Manaha - The Museum of Tahiti and the Islands. In their gardens, they had wonderful examples of aute (*Broussonetia papyrifera*) growing in a courtyard. Tahitian barkcloth is called tapa or 'ahu and was commonly made from the aute or paper mulberry tree. Besides the aute, Tahitian's use the bark of the banyan (*Ficus benghalensis*), and 'ulu (*Artocarpus altilis*), all from the Moraceae family. The word aute used in Tahiti for the paper mulberry is the same as the term used in Rapa Nui and Aotearoa. The aute is also spelled aouta, wauti, and aute. (Banks, 1896; Ellis, 1853). The mature aute leaves were oval shaped with the pink veins like our po'a'aha but much larger and less hairy. The younger leaves were more like the Hawaiian mālolō with the finger shaped leaves. Aute takes two to three years to mature and be ready to harvest, the stalks grow long and straight, to approximately eight to twelve feet. But I did notice the stalks were leaning, perhaps the aute would grow differently in an open area where the roots had more space, and the leaves would have more sunlight. I have seen this leaning in other Hawaiian wauke that are planted in courtyards that do not have enough sunlight. In the below Figure 34 of the aute that were growing in the Museum courtyard. This was a great opportunity to examine the aute that

was used to make their Tapa. In fact, this aute was the only example that I could examine in Papeete.

Figure 40 Aute at the Musee De Tahiti et des lies – Te Fare Manaha (2019).



Figure 41 Aute from Papeete, Tahiti.



Aute leaves are oval and pinkish veins on the backside of the leaves. Musee De Tahiti et des lies – Te Fare Manaha- The Museum of Tahiti and the Islands (2018).

Figure 42 Display of the tools of Tapa beaters, wooden and stone anvil.



Musee De Tahiti et des lies – Te Fare Manaha- The Museum of Tahiti and the Islands. (2018) Display of the process of Tapa Making.

In figure 42 above are examples of tutu'a (wooden anvil), i'e (four sided beaters) and Kiva (stone anvil). Missing in the photo is the hō'ē (round beater), however in the background were display boards detailing the process of 'ahu making and dye processing. 'Ahu was made for ceremonial, religious, and social practices. The Tiputa (poncho) was the most common 'ahu used. The men wore maro (loin cloth) similar to the term malo in Hawai'i, a long strip of 'ahu. Tahitian women used a pau or pareu like the Hawaiian pā'ū, it is a 'ahu that is wrapped around the waist and fastened on one side (Kooijman, 1972). The term maro is used in Rapa Nui, Aotearoa, Tahiti, and Pitcairn. For the women, the term pau was used in Tahiti and Pitcairn. While at the museum, I asked the coordinator if there were 'ahu makers left, sadly he said that there were no 'ahu makers on Papeete.

During my visit in Papeete, I asked the locals and artists about the 'ahu makers. When I asked if tapa or 'ahu were processed here on Papeete, the common answer was no. However, they did say that tapa continues to be produced in French Polynesia on the island of Nuku Hiva. A frequent visitor to Raiatea, Master carver Dennis Kana'e Keawe (personal communication,

2018) shared his observation with me. His understanding of that tapa is being produced in the Marquesas Islands and is absent on other islands in the French Polynesia. Nuku Hiva is the largest island in the Marquesas. At Papeete's craft fairs and shops the 'ahu sold were made of banyan and breadfruit bark. Artists at the shops said that the 'ahu were imported from the Marquesas. The 'ahu was received plain and they would apply the designs.

Figure 43 Tahitian 'i'e beater (circa 1770) and Hō'ē rā'au (round beaters).



The above photo credit taken by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

Figure 44 Tahitian fern printed 'ahu. Photo from the British Museum.



Figure 45 Heva tu papa‘u is the Tahitian chief mourner’s costume. Photo credit by British Museum, 2019.



Heva tu papa‘u is worn during the morning ceremonies following the death of a chief in the 18th century. British Museum’s Head of Organic Conservation Monique Pullan described the garment on the left as a rolled bundle found in the heva tu papa‘u. This was a significant find and is one of the most important objects in their collection.

In researching ‘ahu making in Papeete, I felt my lack of French language hindered my goals. I know now that it is essential to know the language of the people in researching their cultural practice. Although we had a common interest in kapa and ‘ahu, my language skills hindered my ability to ask and express my questions. Indeed, I felt that they also were not able to ask me questions.

Aotearoa

Aute is made from the bark of the mulberry tree *Broussonetia papyrifera* and is described as a canoe plant, brought along with the arrival of the first East Polynesians. In an article “*Maori Agriculture: Cultivated Food-Plants of the Maori and Native Methods of Agriculture*”, Elsdon Best (1931) explains the aute is an excellent measure of the pathway of Austronesian migration from Taiwan to Polynesia and other places in the Pacific. Best asserts that the presence of the aute indicates the special care that had to be taken in the travels, cultivation, and propagation of this canoe plant. Patricia Te Arapo Wallace (2020) explains the aute was one of the six canoe plants that arrived with the Polynesian explorers. Aute’s role in Aotearoa was for clothing and to connect men and the gods. Wallace (2020) states, “But perhaps most importantly of all, barkcloth maintained a link between Māori and the homeland they called Hawaiki” (p. 185).

Kooijman (1972) explains, “Owing to climatic conditions, the tree is found only in the northern part of the North Island” (p. 93). With the cold environment of Aotearoa, the cultivation of aute was a challenge which made it difficult to maintain the resources needed for the making of clothing and other functional uses. Te Rangi Hiroa (1957) notes that areas of the northern half of the North Island is where the aute grew well, but the abundance and accessibility of the harakeke (*Phormium tenax*) allowed it to take the place of the need for aute. Wallace (2020) adds when the first settlers began to establish their new lives in Aotearoa and combine their cultural practices, they left their old lives. They found that the environment was different and to survive they used the resources that were available like the leaves and fibers of the indigenous harakeke (*Phormium tenax*).

Te aute tē whawhea

The aute will not go around (Mead & Grove, 2001, p. 367).

This proverb “Te aute tē whawhea” tells of the rarity of the aute: there are not enough resources to make a piece to wrap a body. The scarcity of the resource is such that to make even a headband made of aute is a sign of high rank. A plausible explanation of the decline of aute in Aotearoa is that the plant which was traditionally cultivated by the explorers through cuttings

and root shoots produced only female plants and after long voyages throughout Polynesia, the aute lost the cold-resistance abilities of its natural origin (Harris & Heenan, 1992). The last sighting of aute was at Hokianga in 1844 (Tregear, 1904). In the attempt to preserve the aute, Nga Puhi leader Eruera Maihi Patuone sent cuttings to his friend Colenso (1880) after the plant was nearly destroyed by the Europeans cattle. Sadly, the cuttings did not survive. “By the late 19th century, the aute of the ancestors had become extinct in the Māori world” (Wallace, 2020, p. 190). The photo (figure 40) below shows the successful cultivation of an aute patch. The lobed leaves and the striped bark are similar to what we call in Hawai‘i the Asian variety of the wauke.

Figure 46 Groove of Aute in Alcock Reserve, Mt Wellington, NZ; photo (c) Mike Wilcox.



Figure 47 Aute in Alcock Reserve, Mt Wellington, NZ; photo (c) Mike Wilcox.



In Figure 42, the stalk of the aute is striped, with a base that is similar to a hoof-like foot. The bark tends to split at the base of the stalk and the aute grows in a clump unlike the Hawaiian varieties that spreads out from the base of the tree. I was thrilled to learn that in fact the aute was not extinct, and indeed was being cultivated in small pockets in the community.

Te Rangi Hiroa (1923) describes aute as referenced in songs that tell of the love of the chief or the loved ones. This proverb was described by Percy Smith of the High-chief Ngati Whanaunga Pokere from Hauraki before he was killed by Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara,

***“He aha koa au ka mate,
tēnā te aute i whakatōkia e au ki te tara o te whare.***

Although I die, there is an aute tree that has been planted by me beside the wall of my house”
The great Ngati Whanaunga Chief Pokere, spoke those words stating that his family would survive to avenge his death (Hiroa, 1923, p.5).

In 2018, I was invited by Dr. Pi‘ikea Clark to meet his wife Sue Clark, a wonderful artist and aute maker. In front of their home in the community of Whakatane they grew several aute trees. Her trees were about 8 to 14 feet tall, the leaves were oval, and the veins behind the leaves were white. At that time, I was not sure of the variety, but I thought it was of the Asian variety. This common variety is used in Aotearoa (Penaililo et al., 2016). The bark is striped with a hoof-like base. Similar to the aute of the Alock Reserve in Mount Wellington, Auckland, New Zealand.

In addition to having the resource of aute, Clark is a descendant of the women of Pitcairn. She shared with me an authentic piece of Pitcairn ‘ahu of her ancestor. She also told me of her ancestors e‘e beaters that were made of whalebone, which are similar to the i‘e kuku (Hawaiian beaters) and i‘e (Tahitian beaters) with the wide, medium, and fine grooves. Reclaiming her ancestral cultural practice of her Pitcairn ancestors in ‘ahu making. It is so reassuring that the practice of Pitcairn ‘ahu lives with the descendants of this mana wāhine. E ola!

Figure 48 Aute grown in front yard in Whakatane, New Zealand, 2018.



“He manu aute taea te whakahoro.

A band or fillet for the hair; a kite, or any article made of aute” (Tregear, 2014, p.84).

The history and process of aute in Aotearoa is little known, however we do know that there are artifacts of wooden beaters and aute trees found in North Island of New Zealand. (Kooijman, 1972; Neich et al., 1996). With today’s increased desire to learn more about the cultural practice of aute, practitioners of Māori descent are reclaiming the research, practice, and spiritual guidance of aute.

Figure 49 Māori kite. (Frankham, 2021) (New Zealand Geographic)



Māori kites were not only for children but were also a means to communicate to the distant tribes and the heavens (Frankham, 2021). Ancient Māori kites called manu aute were made of light, strong wood such as the manuka and the frame was covered with aute. Māori manu aute played an important role in linking “between the earth and the sky, between the physical world and spiritual realm beyond” (Frankham, 2021). The manu aute was their messenger sent with chants to assist its flight into the highest levels and to return with the responses of the deities.

Hawaiian Kapa

Wauke (paper mulberry; *Broussonetia papyrifera*) is the fiber of choice to produce Hawaiian kapa. We are fortunate to have the written mo‘olelo and pule of the production of kapa, we also have artifacts that are examples of the quality and beauty, in museums and private collections. However, we are missing the ancient knowledge of the kapa practice that is not in the books and artifacts but is within the ancient practitioners. These missing pieces of the ‘ike that were passed on from one generation to the next, disappeared when the practice of hana kapa stopped. For almost two hundred years the hana of kapa has been dormant, but now with the reclaiming of cultural identity, kānaka are re-awakening cultural practices. Kānaka are reconnecting to the ancestors and remembering the significance of the practices.

As with many other indigenous people, the use of kapa were mostly utilitarian, but the kapa or barkcloth represented a covering or wrapping to bring an item to sacredness. Kapa or barkcloth were used in ceremonies in honor of the gods and ancestors. W. D. Westervelt (1912) writes in an article *The Legendary Origins of Kapa*, “A kapa dipped in black dye was kept for the death covering, especially of those of very high rank” (p. 377). The use of black kapa was to honor the social and political rank of the ali‘i, whereas the commoner would have a plain white kapa. Pukui and Elbert (1986) explains that it is a type of black magic kuni related to the death of a sorcerer. An object from the sorcerer's victim was burned; kapa wrapped pebbles and kukui nuts were used to discover the sorcerer. R. Williams (2000) writes in her book *Deaths and Funerals of Major Hawaiian Ali‘i*, that Pualani Van Dorpe made the black kapa to wrap hand of Father Damien in Belgium for his return back to Hawai‘i. Williams (2000) describes the funeral procession of King Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamālu in 1825, the two coffins laid on the platforms drawn by two four wheeled carriages covered in black kapa also referred to as the cloth of the country (p.170). Recognizing the purpose of the multiple types of the kapa is a critical element in the correct production of kapa today.

In the early 1800s, Captain Urey Lisianskii of the Russian ship named Neva (Lisianskii, 1800, as cited in Barratt, 1987), wrote in his journal:

Hawaiian skill in kapa making was extraordinary...Elegance of taste, effective color combination, strength and suppleness all justified the European praise. And all was brought about using ancient tools and methods...What is here to be emphasized, however, is the quantity of kapa being made, by the traditional techniques, by islanders who knew of, and perhaps even possessed, haole fabrics...Cloth of their own manufacture they offered us in quantity. (p. 167)

Lisianskii went on to describe that this was only just the beginning of the haole³¹ influence on the lifestyle of Hawaiian people. He described that Hawaiians did not want money for their items. Only the European settlers and King Kamehameha understood the value of money and were free to sell products for money. Glynn Barratt describes in his book, *The Russian discovery of Hawaii*, the introduction of cloth, small iron artifacts, and foreign foods important to Hawai‘i had influenced and altered the lifestyle of the Hawaiian people (Barratt, 1987).

History shows the ethnocultural impact of the Anglo Americanized law and loss of land of the Hawaiians. Without land, and with the influence of technology Hawaiians abandoned their rural homes and wauke fields to work and serve the plantation owners (McDermott & Andrade, 2011). The lack of cultivation of their wauke fields left little resource to make kapa and led to the decline of kapa makers. With the accessibility and availability of foreign materials, the once important kapa maker had little or no purpose in the production of kapa.

In addition, there was the loss of and disconnection to Hawaiian spirituality whereby most kānaka stopped believing in their gods and turned to the Christian Gods. Forced to adopt Christian beliefs, kānaka soon stopped teaching and passing on the knowledge of ceremonies and rituals to the next generation. They stopped doing ceremonies that required kapa in the traditions and rituals that call upon the akua and ‘aumākua to be with them. In fact, William T. Brigham (1911) writes in his book *Ka Hana Kapa: The Making of Bark-Cloth in Hawai‘i*:

³¹ Haole is the term used for the white person, foreigner, foreign origin.

A few kapa makers could be found on the windward side of the island, for there was, and still is, a superstition that the ancient cloth makes the most suitable pall or even shroud for the dead while no longer fashionable for the living, but the old beaters were largely used by the native washerwomen to beat the clothes of the foreigners. (p. 3)

By the late 1850's there were very few kapa makers to be interviewed on the manufacturing of Hawaiian kapa. Brigham states, "kapa making is fast passing into oblivion all through the regions where it once flourished...exact knowledge of some of the processes, simple as they usually were, is already lost" (p. 1). With the loss of the practice of kapa making, the fine and simple details are lost.

We are fortunate to have journals that describe the production of kapa, and the resources needed. However, as mentioned, these journals are third-hand information and some have been translated from Hawaiian to English. Indeed, the information are valuable, but they are not directly from the authentic kapa practitioner. Journals provide general information to help the kapa maker produce a piece of kapa. But, it does not give details to produce the quality that the authentic practitioner have produced. This loss of detail of the process to replicate authentic kapa, protocols, and ceremonies is also a loss of cultural identity and well-being.

However, today we see in the museums the aesthetics of kapa and the elegance of the finest kapa. We see the return of kapa makers wanting to learn and reclaim their cultural practice. I recognize the need to learn how to make kapa and the need to know the protocols and ceremonies that will connect the kapa to the people and gods of our 'āina. This raises several questions. Why was the finest kapa made to wrap a newborn ali'i? What is the significance of the black kapa that has been wrapped around the ali'i bones? What is the importance of the kapa on the kuahu? If we know the cultural traditions and protocols of kapa, we can deepen our understanding of the importance of kapa for contemporary Hawaiian.

Traditional and cultural usages

Pukui et al. (1972) writes that the ali'i and the maka'āinana would wear a malo (loincloth) for the men and a pā'ū (skirt) for women. Kapa is the resource for clothing to protect the individual from the elements of cold, heat, and wet weather. Kānaka items like malo, pā'ū, kīhei, and kapa moe (Abbott, 1992; Malo, 1951) were used in everyday tasks.

Hiroa (1957) wrote, there are many varieties of kapa, each having a specific name. "Na 'ano kapa he nui wale - The kinds of tapa were great indeed" (p. 167). Brigham's (1911) vocabulary of terms used in Hawaiian kapa contains more than two hundred words. Kent (1986) lists over three hundred names used to describe kapa beaters, types, manufacturing, and plant dying of kapa. In addition to the lists describing kapa, journals written by foreign visitors such as C. S. Stewart (1828) express their encounter with kapa:

The tapa is naturally of a light colour, and capable of being bleached till perfectly white. Much of it is worn in this state; but the greater portion is stained with a variety of dies(sic), extracted with much skill from different indigenous plants. The colours are often very beautiful, principally green of every shade, from the lightest to the darkest; yellow, from a dark salmon to straw color; red, from rich crimson to a delicate blossom (p. 148).

Kooijaman (1972) listed clothing and body decoration using kapa for men and women; plain bands of white kapa bound around their arms and legs; strips of orange dyed kapa used as hair ornament; and sandals made from kapa. He described for the men, malo dyed in 'ōlena and perfumed for the chiefs; bathing malo soaked in oil used by ali'i and pendants as decoration of masklike helmets. Women of rank used ceremonial pa'u with excessive lengths and layers of felted kapa. Kooijaman also lists household uses, such as kapa as partitions for houses, to cover the inside of thatching and wall decorations, mosquito nets, floor mats, and slow match for retaining fire.

Figure 50 Men spearfishing wearing malo or loin-cloth. Bishop Museum photo.



Kapa is used in marriage ceremonies and winding sheets. Sacred kapa hold mana for the object's recipient, such as the borders of the capes and cloaks of the ali'i (Krauss & Greig, 1993) and ribbon around the base of the kahili (feathered shaft) that were a symbol of royalty. Malo and pā'ū made for the ali'i were under strict kapu during the process of making the garment. Long strips of kapa made into kālepa (banners) hung on one end of a stick that marked the kapu boundaries on a heiau (temple). Kālepa marked kapu spaces, such as on war canoes and the doorway of a sacred structure. White 'ōloa kapa wrapped the 7-meter 'anu'u (tower) on the ancient heiau, where the ali'i and the kahuna (high priest) would speak to the gods. And kapa were used in ceremonies to honor our gods, such as in Lonoikamakahiki in Kuala. In the Kuapola ceremony, banners of kapa would adorn the image of Lono as he arrives in the time of the rising of Makali'i. For cultural practitioners, a specific kapa would be placed on the kuahu over or around the akua or 'aumākua ki'i to enter the practitioner's space.

Also, kapa is used to make balls for games, kites, and kite tails. Well also being used for wicks for the stone lamps (Abbott, 1992; Kooijaman, 1972), and cordage for making Koko (carrying net) for transporting valuable items, and the backing for the feathered cloaks. Kapa was also used for hula implements such as covers for the 'uli'uli (rattles), loop handles for the ipu heke (gourd drum) (Krauss & Greig, 1993) and the hōlua (sled) (Abbott, 1992). Guided by master carver Dennis Kana'e Keawe, I have used kapa in making pahu (Hawaiian Drums). The rim is layered with a strip of kapa between the niu (coconut) and the skin of the drum. Kana'e

describes, “Before lashing begins, a layer of kapa (barkcloth made from wauke) is fixed to the rim of the open chamber. The kapa layer allows the sharkskin to ride an intermediate zone between membrane and wood allowing slight movements due to temperature and humidity” (cited in Galla, et.al., 2015). The kapa becomes a cushion that absorbs any imperfection in the space, creating a flawless sound of the pahu.

Figure 51 Kapa rim around Hawaiian Drum.



Adrienne Kaeppler³² (2008) writes, “In addition to clothing and bed coverings, barkcloth served for making kites and wrapping the dead and images of gods and ancestors, and huge pieces of it were used in ceremonial presentations, weddings, and funerals” (p.14). The bed coverings that Kaeppler wrote about refer to the kapa moe (bed coverings). The kapa moe consist commonly of five sheets of kapa that have been kuina (sewed together) to create a kapa moe. The kilohana or kaiaulu is the top layer; it is beautifully decorated with dyes and stamping. The next set of sheets were called the iho (inner sheets) and were usually plain white layers. Brigham (1911) identifies that iwi kūpuna was occasionally wrapped with the iho or kilohana. Brigham explained that undyed kapa were used in wrapping the iwi retained its strength for centuries. Properly hidden and undisturbed, iwi kupuna were wrapped in kapa to protect the mana (spiritual essence) of iwi kupuna. In my limited research of burial kapa, I have seen varieties of kapa from a plain kapa to vibrant colors with designs. I believe that for some burials the kapa that was used could have been the person’s favorite kapa moe or kīhei (shawl).

³² Adrienne Kaeppler is an anthropologist and curator of oceanic ethnology at the National Museum at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC., and is the foremost expert in Polynesian barkcloth.

Ka Wauke Kukahi o Kuloli e Kaulana Nei newspaper article written by S.W. K. Milolii (1923) states, "From this Poaaha was made the paupau kapa of the olden days...Our kupuna had much knowledge in the making of this sort of kapa that the knowledge of today cannot find, for they have gone and have taken all their tools with them" (p. 7). Milolii confirms the lack of the transmission of 'ike kupuna as this knowledge is now gone, and there are no authentic practitioners to teach the next generation.

In the Kelsey Collection (HEN, vol. 1), informant Fred Kahapula Beckley in the article *Colors of Kapa and Malos worn by Chief, Warriors, and Priest*, describe the colors worn by socio-political structure of the kahuna (priest), ali'i (chief), mahi 'ai (cultivators), and palena (followers) representing the symbolic status of the wearer:

The priest wore white tapa, indicative of highest priesthood, but if he wore a royal family line as well, he might wear a red malo. Chiefs might wear malo of pink, ash color, yello[w], emblematic of state, or deep brownish pink, called wana color. Clans of warriors like the I [Kamehameha I], the Mahi, the Palena, wore different colored malo. The king could wear the malo he desired. The Maui chief were robed in red, those of Hawaii in Yellow, with Black trimmings, like the lava of Hawaii (HEN, vol. 1, p. 776).

In reviewing the literature for this study, I came across numerous accounts of the importance of the naming of the colors or the dyes used in identifying the types of kapa. Journals and notes of kapa provide a glimpse of the history of the use and significance of the kapa. For kānaka, identifying the meaning of names or mo'olelo of the type of dyes and kapa, creates a connection to the deeper meaning of the name.

An example from a note in the Stokes journal: "The kapa pele is made of wauke. It is colored with alaea, and charcoal mixed with sugar cane juice to make it fast colored. The pala-a fern is sometimes called pele when it is used for dye" (HEN Vol. 1, p. 801). As a researcher, I have not had an opportunity to experiment with alaea and charcoal mixed with sugar cane juice. I

would assume however that the mixture of alaea and charcoal will look like hues of the embers of lava that pele creates. However, the use of the name pele for pala‘ā is puzzling at the same time because pala‘ā is a fern (*Sphenomeris chinensis syn. cusana*) used to dye kapa a dark brown and purple hue.

Figure 52 Hawaiian kapa from the British Museum.



In an article in Hawaiian newspaper *Ke Au‘oko‘a* on December 1, 1870, Kamakau (1992) wrote the account of Kiha a Pi‘ilani, fourth son of Ali‘i Nui Pi‘ilani and La‘ieloheloheikawai. After the death of his father Pi‘ilani, the rulers of the kingdom of Maui, Kiha a Pi‘ilani lived under the laws of his eldest brother Lono a Pi‘ilani. At the time of Lono a Pi‘ilani, the people were satisfied. Kiha a Pi‘ilani was cared for during this time of peace. Lono a Pi‘ilani mistook the generosity of Kiha a Pi‘ilani toward the people and was threatened by the delusion of Kiha a Pi‘ilani seizing his lands. Lono a Pi‘ilani pursued him to kill him. However, Kiha a Pi‘ilani and his wife fled and hid in a place called Ke‘eke‘e in the boundaries of Honua‘aula and Kula, Maui.

Kiha a Pi‘ilani and his wife had nothing to wear to cover their bare bodies. Kiha a Pi‘ilani stole an anvil and kapa beaters for his wife to make kapa, “After Kiha a Pi‘ilani had stolen the anvil and other implements for tapa-making, his wife made some skirts and coarse red malo for him, but they were poorly made” (Kamakau, 1992, p. 23). This mo‘olelo presents a critical glimpse of the past and people's values. It highlights the need to have kapa to clothe and protect them,

but also the need of the red malo for Kiha a Pi'ilani. In addition, Archeologist Patrick Kirch (2010) explains his view of the chiefdom political economy,

Hawaiian elites collected tribute not exclusively in the form of subsistence products, but also a range of material goods, notably bark cloth, woven mats, cordage, and especially the highly prized red and yellow bird feathers necessary for the capes, cloaks, and helmets of the ali'i. (p. 46)

Kirch describes that the ali'i accumulated items that would be stored and redistributed to his elite supporters. The control over these precious items was an essential strategy of the political power of the ali'i. In addition to the material goods, the wealth of the ali'i was from the agricultural complexes that produced food crops to sustain the people. Kapa was an essential item for the people of Hawai'i as a utilitarian, ceremonial, and political object. It played an important role in the structure of Hawai'i and its people.

Pule Ho'ola

Nā 'aumākua mai ka lā hiki a ka lā kau

Mai ka ho'oku'i a ka hālāwai

Nā 'aumākua iā kā hina kua, iā kā hina alo

Iā ka'a akau i ka lani

'O kiha i kā lani

Owe i ka lani

Nunulu i ka lani

Kāholo i ka lani

Eia ka pulpula a 'oukou, 'O na po'e o Hawai'i

E mālama 'oukou lā mākou

E ulu i ka lani

E ulu i ka honua

E ulu i ka pae 'āina o Hawai'i

E hō mai ka 'ike

E hō mai i ka ikaika
E hō mai ke akamai
E hō mai i ka maopopo pono
E hō mai i 'ike pāpālua
E hō mai i ka mana.
(Malo, 1951, p.11)

In this Pule Ho'ola, I called to my 'aumākua and ancestors from the heavens to be with me, guide me, to keep me safe, to give me strength, and to grant me the insight and power that I can continue my responsibility as a kānaka 'ōiwi.

Contemporary kapa maker

Kapa Ho'olewa

As previously discussed, being able to produce a piece of burial kapa, was only possible because of the passing of 'ike from one Kumu to the next. For the contemporary practitioner knowing how to make kapa is essential but having the intentions of the production of the kapa piece is a way to connect to our Kupuna. These intentions determine the cultural values and protocol that accompany the kapa piece.

Figure 53 My dad's kapa ho'olewa.



Recently my fathers' sun has set, I decided on the day that my dad passed that I was going to make a burial kapa for him. Although I believe that this burial kapa is contemporary, I also

think that this kapa would have the same intentions as the ancient burial kapa that was used to wrap the 'iwi kupuna. I say this because once I decided to make this kapa, it became a kuleana of my 'ohana and me. I intended to create a piece of kapa to wrap my dad with the help and mana of the whole 'ohana. The week before dad's cremation, with the helping hands of all thirty-nine of dad's direct descendants, we completed his burial kapa. For many in my family, they did not know what the kapa was and how to make it. My brothers questioned me if this was okay to do, I told them if this is what we feel should happen, we should make it happen.

The process took us three days to produce the 12 feet kapa, another day to dye and scent, and finally a day to print. My husband Wayne made a 'ohe kāpala (bamboo stamp) that my dad designed for our 'ohana before he passed. The 'ohe kāpala represented the Okinawan side of my dad and the Hawaiian side of my mom. Dad called it our Family Crest and the representation of our 'ohana as a symbol of the uniting of two cultures to create the future of his descendants. Including my mother and her stamping for my dad, all thirty-nine members helped produce, dye, scented, and printed the kapa. Also, we added more stamps for the future. For my 'ohana, making the kapa was a way for our family to honor our dad, papa, and husband. For me, this was an important process to help me release my dad in the most loving way that I know.

As a kānaka 'ōiwi, I am honored to have the ancestral knowledge that I have inherited from my kupuna, including my participation in ceremonies and rituals as a practitioner. However, my participation in traditional ceremonies using kapa as the means for calling upon the ancestors and gods is limited to what I have learned through other cultural practices and traditions. That being the case, my limitation in knowing the traditional ceremony, protocols, and significance of kapa has me at a significant disadvantage.

One year has passed since my dad passed. I woke up this morning at the exact same moment one year ago that I held my dad's hand and knew that he had taken his last breath. Yes, I have been thinking of him all day as we celebrated his legacy with our 'ohana. Our 'ohana spent the day at the beach doing the things that he loved doing, digging worms at his favorite spot,

holoholo or fishing, enjoying great foods, and spending quality time with family. Before I closed my eyes to sleep, I thought of my dad and how much I miss him and how my life has changed without him. But as I awoke the exact same time, one year after I knew he never left me. Not physically, but he is still here with me, guiding me as he always has, and watching over me and my family.

As we celebrate his legacy and enjoy the many things, he has taught us, he is still teaching us through ‘ike kupuna and welo ‘ohana. Through welo ‘ohana, we teach our own children and mo‘opuna what we did growing up, we become the ‘ike kūpuna for the next generation. We recognize the knowledge that was given to us is our kuleana to pass on to our children and grandchildren. So his stories will not be forgotten and live on with their children.

Since I made Dad’s kapa ho‘olewa, I can still recall the feeling that I had when I began his kapa. I recall knowing exactly the size, dye, scent, and design that his kapa would be. I did not know when, where, and what the ceremony would be, but I knew I needed to have this kapa and it would-be part of the ceremony. Mentioned earlier in this chapter, I thought I did not have the training to make a specific type of kapa, but I do know how—because I did make the kapa ho‘olewa with the intentions and reverence that needed to be done to ho‘olewa my dad to his resting place. As I reflect on the events of this past year, I have experienced a deeper level of belief and trust of my ‘ike kūpuna and knowing that my intentions are pono then I am doing what needs to be done.

Kapa Male‘ana

To explain, my son Kealoha and daughter-in-law Sarah needed a wedding kapa for their marriage ceremony. I had never made a marriage kapa piece; the protocol of the production was new to me. Fortunately for me, detailed instructions of the protocol ensure the success of the ceremony. If I did not have Kumu Hula to instruct me on the protocols of the production of this sacred kapa, I would not have been able to put into practice what I know is critical for this wedding kapa.

Figure 54 Kealoha and Sarah kapa male'ana.



As a practitioner, knowing the protocols and significance of the process of kapa in ceremonies will connect the intentions with the spiritual and physical function of the piece. My concern is not being able to find the resources that can guide me to reclaim the protocols and traditions of the process of kapa. My research takes me to call upon cultural practitioners that can help me confirm the practice of ceremonial kapa. By seeking out cultural practitioners, I have an opportunity to learn from them what the intentions of their cultural tradition are. Perhaps this will help me to understand better the process and protocols that kapa plays in cultural protocol. In preparing for the wedding ceremony, all immediate members of both Sarah and Kealoha helped make their wedding kapa. During the ceremony both parents and their wedding party wrapped them both in the kapa symbolizing the consecration of their marriage.

In 2021, my daughter Trina and son-in-law Brandon were male'ana at Paeloko. They made their kapa male'ana that they used in the ceremony that united the two families into one. In their wedding ceremony, their children, parents, and grandparents wrapped them in the kapa. The kapa symbolized the consecration of the marriage as one 'ohana.

Figure 55 Trina and Brandon kapa male'ana.



Kuapola ‘Aha

For two hundred years the Kuapola ceremony has not been practiced. In 2019, a small group on Native Hawaiians gather on the Pi‘ihana Heiau to reconnect and celebrate Kapu Kuapola. Under the guidance of Dr. Kalei Nu‘uhiwa, small groups of Native Hawaiian Cultural practitioners on the islands of Maui, Hawai‘i, and Oahu reawaken this ancient ritual that was practiced over 200 hundred years ago. It is a time of welcoming Lono!

The Kuapola rite is described by Papa ‘Ī‘ī (Valeri, 1985, p. 200-204) as the second rite of the Makahiki cycle and is called Kapu Kuapola. ‘Ī‘ī describes the Kapu Kuapola as the first rising of the Makali‘i or Huhui (Pleiades) after the sunset. This ceremony lasts from the setting of the sun to late at night. The Ali‘i and his kahuna would gather at the kuahu (altar). They would wait for the stars to become visible and then the kahuna would call each malama (month) by name. Then the kahuna would consecrate the two coconuts with a pule then throw the coconut to the two men. They stand next to the kuahu and forcefully cracks the coconut into halves. The water is poured over the kuahu, and the coconut is placed on the kuahu with the meat facing the stars.

As we gathered at dusk at the Pi‘ihana Heiau in Waiehu, I witnessed the arrival of Lono as he was carried to the top of the platform. My breath was taken away as the gradual ascent of

Lononuiākea appeared from the setting of the sun. It had been two hundred years since this ceremony was done. I felt that I traveled back in time to where my ancestor had once been. To see the kapa that adorned him was made by me and my ancestors connected me to this place and time. Adorned in kapa, clutched by the hands of the kanaka, Lono takes his position next to the kuahu that was built for his arrival. Lono stands fifteen feet tall and awaits the ceremony that honors and welcomes him. We call out to Lono:

***E Lononuiākea, eia ka niu.
E ola I ko kahu a me ka ‘āina, a me nā kānaka o nā pō kēia I ō Hua nei.***

Figure 56 Kuapola Ceremony



In this ceremony, we call to Lononuiākea to grant life to your keeper, ‘āina, and kānaka of this night in the presence of Hua. After the chant is done, the two men stand with their coconuts and with intention crack the coconuts together, breaking them in half. The water from the coconut is poured onto the kuahu to bring life. The coconut is then placed with the meat side facing towards the stars to hānai or feed the stars and the moon. Then the pū‘olo (bundle) pua‘a

(pig) is placed on the kuahu to hānai the stars and moon. The following chant is kāhea (to call) with the intent of feeding the stars and moon;

(One) E la‘a ko hānai, hānai pō, hānai ao!

(All) Iā hiki Uliuli, iā hiki Melemele, iā hiki Kā‘elo, iā hiki Kaulua!

Iā hiki Nana, iā hiki Welo, iā hiki Ikiiki, iā hiki Ka‘anoa!

Iā hiki Hinaia‘ele‘ele, iā hiki Hilinehu, iā hiki Hilinamā!

Iā hiki ‘Ikuā, ia hiki Welehu, iā hiki Makali‘i! Ola!

(One) E wāhi ka niu o Kuapola! (Kamakau, K.,1919)

(All) Wāwahia!

(One) E wāhi ka niu o Kuapola!

(All) Wāwahia!

(One) E wāhi ka niu o Kuapola!

(All) Ua wāwahia! E hiki mai ‘ Lono. (Nu‘uhiwa, 2007)

As we kilo (observe) the night star of Makali‘i we observe for the characteristics of the future of the weather of our island. Characteristics of the Makali‘i are clear and bright, the weather will be dry and possibly famine is likely. Or if the star is misty and fuzzy then the weather will be wet and more likely to have storms and flooding. However, if the Makali‘i is repeatedly bright then dim, the weather will be normal, and crops will be bountiful. The next characteristic of the star is the colors: red represents war, green is for prosperity, yellow is wet, blue for the ocean, and white is strong indication that this will happen. This Kuapola ceremony, the clouds hide the stars on Maui, Oahu, and Hawai‘i. We could not see the rising of the Makali‘i, we predicted a wet year. Sadly, a couple of months later the pandemic of Covid-19 had reached the pae‘āina of Hawai‘i and forced the cultural practitioners to proceed with caution and protocols for the upcoming ceremonies. We know that the clouds covered the night skies that hid the Makali‘i. This may have also meant the darkness of the pandemic. The data collected will help us in the future forecast.

In 2020, as we prepare for the arrival of Lono, my focus was on the intention of each part of the process of making the two pieces of kapa to dress Lono. Harvesting the right pieces of wauke that I had chosen for this ceremony is very important in the process of preparing for the arrival of Lono. The two pieces were to be 6ft by 3ft made for the Po‘a‘aha from my yard in Pukalani. I harvested and stripped the wauke, removed the outer bark and rolled in a kuko‘o with the inside out. I soaked it in a bucket with pa‘akai (salt) in water to remove the impurities in the wauke and to help in the retting process. After soaking for a few days in the salted water, I placed it in fresh water for at least 24 hours.

Embracing the vision of Lono dressed in kapa has made me realize the importance of being able to make a piece of kapa for this ceremony. I recognize that in the reclaiming of the ancient Kuapola ceremony, each item and person prepared, processed, and utilized need to have intention. As a kapa maker, having the right piece and processing the wauke to make the best kapa for the ceremony and the desired results.

Kāhiko o ke akua.

The adornment of the gods.

A shower of rain. The gods express their approval with rain. #1310

In this time of the Covid-19 and the Delta variant pandemic, we continue to set our intentions as we prepare for the next Kuapola ceremony. Although we are not allowed to social gather, cultural practitioners on the pae‘āina of Hawai‘i continue to move forward with ceremony. Some practitioners have gathered in small groups, ‘ohana, and some as individuals to do the Kuapola ceremony. In 2020, I choose to be in ceremony at home in Pukalani with my ‘ohana, as we watched Makali‘i rise with the clear white stars in the predock of maui ola for our lāhui.

Na Mea Hana Kapa - Kapa maker

Traditionally women made kapa for her ‘ohana, kaiāulu, and ali‘i. Kapa making was a daily kuleana of the women in each household to provide the clothing and other practical uses of kapa. The most common use of kapa were malo for the men, pā‘ū for the women, kīhei and kapa moe for the ‘ohana. Also, the women would make kapa for the making of tools such as

adze's to build and carve, kōkō (carry net) to transport the needs of the 'ohana, pahu to call upon the akua and accompany the hula dancer, and the hōlua (sled) that proved the skill of the kānaka. In addition to the practical uses, the kapa were made for ceremonies, for example, to wrap a newborn child or to honor the death of a 'ohana member. Specific varieties of wauke were used to make kapa to adorn the akua and 'aumākua ki'i of the families and the practitioners.

Figure 57 Three generations learning together to make kapa. Paeloko, Waihe'e, 2015.



Besides the needs of the 'ohana, there were times when the making of kapa was for the kaiāulu. Kapa was needed for the adornment of the arrival of Lono to begin the Makahiki season. Kapa was also used to close the seasons, such as the Makahiki, the wrapping of Lono, and the noa (released from restrictions) of the 'awa (kawa) bowl. Kapa was used in ceremonies that connect the kānaka to the gods and elements.

However, there are times that the kapa making is done for a specific person for a specific ceremony, such as a specific type of malo for a male or for an akua that needed to be made by a kāne. If a kane was not available to make the specific malo, a woman became a kane to produce this kapa. This is an example of the social cultural system of the roles of the wāhine and kāne roles. We know that the women were the experts of kapa making but at the same time the symbolic reverence of the kapa made by a man was essential for the service to the akua.

In this section of the chapter, the literature pertaining to the process and significance of hana kapa is presented. This includes the function of the hālau kapa (learning house of kapa), the significance of the hua‘ōlelo kapa (reclaiming of kapa vocabulary), na mea kanu (plants), He mau me pa‘ahana (kapa tools), and na mea hana kapa (process of making kapa).

Hālau Kapa

Hālau Kapa, Hale Kapa, Hale Kua, Hale Kuku

Malo (2006) describes the different types of hale (houses) and their purposes, “E hana no i hale e moe ai me ka wahine, me na keiki, a e hana no i mau hale a nui no kela hana, no keia hana a ke kane, a no kela hana keia hana a ka wahine, he hālau kekahi hale...” (p. 72). Dr. Chun translates Malo (2006) description as “Hale(s) were made to sleep with wives and children, and hale(s) were made for the husbands and wife’s work. A hālau (long house) was another type of hale” (p. 94). Whereas Nathaniel Emerson’s translation of Malo (1951) writings is, “There was a special house for man to sleep in with his wife and children (hale noa), also several houses specially devoted to different kinds of work, including one for the wife to do her work in (hale kua) (p. 122).

The difference between Chun and Emerson’s translation is slight; however, it raises an important question: is a hālau different from a hale? In Emerson’s translation of Malo’s (1951) description, the hale kua is a house specifically for the beating of kapa. The purpose of the hale kua was to produce kapa in a protected environment. Whereas in Chun’s translation of Malo’s (2006) reference to hālau, it does not mention it as a place of teaching kapa making. Having a hale or house to kuku kapa can be done anywhere; I use my garage, living room, classroom, or the shade of a kumu la‘au (tree) to kuku kapa. However, having a hālau kapa is specific to reclaiming a cultural practice.

Pukui & Elbert (1957) refers to a hālau as a longhouse, as for canoes or hula instruction, or a meeting house. A hālau is a place of learning. For the hālau wa‘a is a place to learn how to make a canoe, the relationship of the navigation, and the ceremonies that are part of the learning

process. Kumu Hōkūlani (2020) described the Hālau Hula as the place where the kumu instructs the haumana in hula (dance), oli (chant), ho‘opa‘a (memorize), and mele (song). Hula dancers also learn history, protocol, and ceremonies. The kumu dedicates time and ‘ike to their students. This ho‘oili ‘ike of a Hālau Hula has been passed down from one generation to the next from the beginning of the practice of Hula.

Unlike the cultural practice of Hula that has continued since the beginning of hula, kapa stopped being made for almost two hundred years. With the decline of hana kapa, names of kapa, plants, and processes have also not been passed on. In a personal communication with Hōkūlani (2021), I explained that in my research I had not found a description of a Hālau Kapa. Hōkūlani reminded me that cultural practices such as Hula, Wa‘a (canoe), and Lua (fight) carry the name of Hālau but that does not mean that other cultural practices did not have hālua.

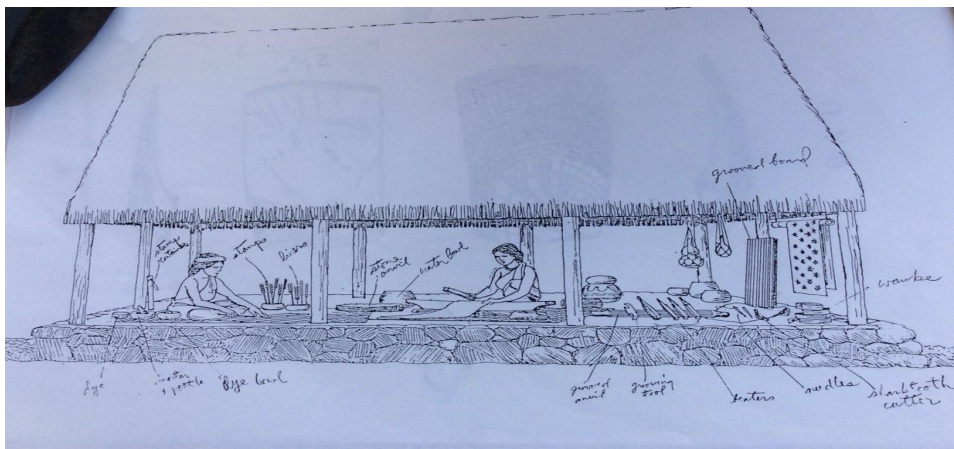
Pukui & Elbert (1957) describe the Hale Kua as the house where tapa was made. The Hale Kuku was also the house for beating tapa. Hōkūlani (in personal communication, 2021) discussed where the learning of kapa originated from and we agreed it started at home. Every household had to have a kapa maker in their ‘ohana because of the daily need for kapa to wear and use. Maybe that is why there are description of hale kapa, hale kuku, and hale kua. In addition, Ali‘i Wahine (chiefess) identified the best kapa makers and chose them to make kapa for the Ali‘i and his ‘ohana. These forty women gathered under the directions and vision of the Ali‘i Wahine. Perhaps this is the Hālau kapa, where the Ali‘i Wahine taught these women the skills, techniques, and ceremonies to produce the best and finest kapa for the Ali‘i. When the Ali‘i Wahine’s vision for the Ali‘i was complete, she would send these women back to their ‘ohana. There at their homes they would continue to teach her ‘ohana. Ellis (1853) described this practice continued under the Governor’s wife who was in charge of 40 women in the production of kapa. (Stokes, n.d.) Suddenly the production of kapa stopped with the introduction of cloth. There was no longer the need for kapa and kapa makers.

Figure 58 Ho‘omana‘o i nā wā i huilau. Canvas by Photographer Shane Tegarden.



Kapa practitioner Uilani Naho‘olewa and I pose in a photo (figure 58) taken in the open hale at Kepaniwai park in Iao Valley. Within the open hale, we had the tools and resources needed to make kapa. This open hale is surrounded by native plants including wauke and other kapa plants.

Figure 59 Photo of a sketch of Hale Kapa by Robert Van Dorpe (n.d.).



In the sketch (figure 59) by Robert Van Dorpe (n.d.), he drew this detailed image of what would have been found in a hale kapa in ancient times. Van Dorpe’s sketch has been a great resource for me and my students. It shows the tools needed for making kapa, dyes, printing, and drying. Images like the Van Dorpe sketch give the kapa maker specific insight into what is needed in the hana.

Having the right tools and resources needed to produce the finest quality kapa is essential. Also important is the creation of a place and space for the practitioner to connect to the ancestors and ‘aumākua of kapa. Finding a place to grow the plants, cultivate, and process the wauke aides in the connection to the environment. As a practitioner, being able to create a space to kuku kapa (beat), waiho‘olu‘u (dye), ‘ohe kapala (print), wai‘ala (scent), and malo‘o (dry) the kapa in a controlled and protected space, allows the kapa maker to strengthen the ties to the environment and elements which adds to the successful completion of the kapa.

Artist Marie Joseph Alphonse Pellion’s image in 1819 (figure 60) gives an insight into the sacredness of the kapa making process. Pellion art is described Prime Minister Kalanimoku standing with his wife Likelike beating kapa. (Pellion, 1819) I believe this image of a Likelike wearing her pā‘ū shows her making a malo for someone of great importance. The kapa is being made on a papa hole or grooved board using a hohoa or round beater. To note, Likelike is beating on the papa hole and not using a grooving tool. Kalanimoku of high rank is holding his ihe as he stands over chiefess Likelike as she kuku kapa under the shade of the hale. I am not sure what kind of fibers are hanging off the hale roof; they could be fibers for making rope. This image also shows a table most likely brought by the foreigners as the Hawaiian culture sat on the ground. However, one question that arises is, if the making of the malo was sacred, why would Pellion be privileged to see this practice, which was generally kapu to most commoners?

Figure 60 Likelike kuku kapa and Kalanimoku standing.(Pellion, 1819)



Artist Marie Josephe Alphonse Pellion, Iles Sandwich; Maisons de Kraitmokou, Premier Ministre du Roi.
Fabrication des Etoffes (c. 1819)

Today, there are kapa makers who present workshops for a core group of kapa makers to teach the production process. Hōkūnui Maui, under the direction of Hālau Ke‘alaokamaile and Kumu Lisa Schattenburg-Raymond have created a place for cultural practitioners to teach Hawaiians the cultivation of Native plants used in their practice. Hōkūnui Maui teaches cultural practices of kilo (observation), traditional planting techniques, oli and mele, lei making, ipu growing, and kapa. Students meet once a month, and learn the cultural practice from experts in our lāhui.

Kapa practitioners on Maui are teaching in schools, community events, college classrooms, and conventions. Learning is also being done in the community, such as Maui Nui Botanical Gardens that present kapa and dye workshops for the community. This includes events that highlight cultural practices such as the Hana Taro Festival, Celebration of the Arts, and other venues where practitioners share their experience and ‘ike with the community.

Figure 61 Naehu-Saffery family reunion (2017) and Wāhine Kapa workshop at Paeloko (2019).



In addition, there are places like Paeloko Learning Center that offer opportunities on our ‘āina to grow the plants and resources needed to produce, dye, scent, print, and conduct ceremonies using kapa. Paeloko kapa workshops are open to individual hālau hula, wāhine groups, and school programs that want to be introduced to kapa making in a hands-on experience.

Figure 62 Hālau Hi‘iakainamakalehua kapa workshop at Paeloko, Waihe‘e, Maui.



Figure 63 Nā Pua No‘eau Maui Kapa Workshop, 2018.



Figure 64 Kapa workshops at Maui Nui Botanical Gardens and Paeloko, Waihe‘e.



Figure 65 Paeloko pond.



On Paeloko we are cultivating and harvesting wauke nui and po‘a‘aha in its gardens. We cultivate native plants such as milo (*Thespesia populnea*), kukui (*Aleurites moluccana*), ma‘o (*Gossypium sandvicense*), mai‘a (*Musa xparadisiaca*), Hawaiian ‘ohe (*Joinvillea ascendens*), and other plant dye resources are cared for on the ‘āina. We are fortunate to have ‘alaea (red dirt), lo‘i kalo, and ‘āina to grow and mālama these resources. Paeloko does provide spaces to learn how to kuku kapa, however at this time there is a need for a dedicated area to teach kapa. On our ‘āina there is a wahi (place) named Pu‘hououlu that sits above our lo‘i kalo. There I decided to name this place Hālau Hāwele. This hālau is named after my great-grandmother Hāwele who is my connection to kapa. The Hālau Hāwele will be a place to teach kapa and produce more kapa practitioners.

Kapa Moe

The Kapa Moe is also called kuinakapa, and is a sleeping blanket which commonly consists of five sheets of kapa. The top layer is a kilohana has print designs, dyes, and sometimes scenting. Kilohana means the best, superior, and excellent. Under the kilohana is the iho these are four sheets of kapa which are usually thin and soft white fibers. Each iho is watermarked and is contrasted to the kilohana. The iho is kuina (sewed) together with the kilohana.

I was able to assist in documenting the collections of kapa in the Bailey House Museum in Wailuku, Maui. In their collection they had small samples and exquisite examples of kapa

before and after the foreign arrival to Hawai‘i. One particularly kapa moe was donated by “Kalama”, the kilohana has rows and triangle designs made by placing cordage on a board, dyed using hili and printed onto the top sheet. As we unfolded the layers of iho, we noticed tiny footprints in the back of an iho that seemed to be soaked from the kilohana. Puzzled, I started to look through the other layers of kapa to piece together this mystery. And so, our own mo‘olelo of this kapa moe unfolded.

Figure 66 Kalama Kitty Kapa from Bailey House Museum.(2018)



I believe that perhaps two people were working on this kapa moe, perhaps a husband and wife because the printing execution was very different. The lines were not even, the pressure of the prints was different, and designs were not consistent. Some printing was hard and smudged, whereas somewhere were precise and clean. As we unfolded the kapa moe we pieced together a pattern of tiny kitten footprints and a swoosh of a tail mark. A kitty must have walked on the kapa while the practitioners were printing and then was chased off the kapa which made this everlasting impression of her tiny footprints and the swooshing of her tail. I lovingly call this kapa moe “Kalama Kitty Kapa”.

This is my own mo‘olelo, maybe it is not fully accurate, however within this mo‘olelo are important lessons from this Kalama Kitty Kapa. I discovered that kapa was not always an

individual practice, like the Kalama kapa I saw two different hands which made the cordage printing. One hand was more accurate than the other. The printing of bold triangle design were made with stamping of cordage soaked or painted with ‘alaea. This piece taught me that the layers of the sheets were sewn together with wauke thread, and the layers of sheets were watermarked with different sizes of beater designs. I also learned that repairs to the kapa were done in simple and crude techniques. Each kapa piece has a mo‘olelo, a purpose, a reason of importance to the practitioner and to the receiver.

Loea

Master mea hana kapa and haku lei Marie McDonald (in personal communication, 2014) spoke to me and a couple of my haumana at a kapa event on Maui. She told us that if you want to be a kapa maker, the most important thing about making kapa is to have your own resources. She said, “It gets REAL tired when you must beg and borrow for resources”. Those words stuck with me, and I reminded my students that if you are serious about being a kapa maker, you must have your own tools and resources. The hālau kapa is the place and space where a kapa maker can learn, teach, and connect to their kapa ‘aumākua.

Figure 67 Marie McDonald giving me advice. (Photo by Kili Namau‘u)



Master kapa and lei maker Marie McDonald at Maui Arts and Cultural Center, Kahului, Maui. (2014).

Hua‘ōlelo Kapa

Figure 68 Women preparing kapa. [Kaupo Cave, Maui.] Photo by Arning (1886).



This photograph is of Hawaiian women, one beating the kapa and the other is preparing kapa in 1886 near a cave in Kaupo, Maui. This photograph by Arning (1886) has been my all-time favorite image of the making of kapa. This one photo reveals the tools that they used such as the various i‘e kuku and the kua la‘au. The images show us the curve of the sides of the kua that are unique to the Hawaiian anvils. This image further reveals the piles of kapa lining the side of the wall and the rolls of dried mo‘omo‘o. In the arms of the wahine are bundles of stripped and dried mo‘omo‘o in preparation for the pōpō technique of kapa making. There are the stakes of straight sticks; possibly ‘ohe and various bowl sizes. Also, I see the kōkō pupu carrying kapa and possibly other kapa tools. The wāhine kapa are sitting on the lush grass as they kuku and prepare the kapa. This image gives us a critical glimpse of a traditional kapa practice that was ending at the juncture when significance and cultural identity were replaced by convenience and function.

“E lawe I ke a‘o a mālama, a e ‘oi mau ka na‘auao.

He who takes his teachings and applies them increases his knowledge” (Pukui, 1983, p.40).

Knowing and applying the Hawaiian language helps us to both validate and clarify the process of hana kapa. In reviewing the literature in Hawaiian journals, I have a deeper understanding of the process and ancient terminology that were used in hana kapa: words that were locked under a layer of colonization and suppression by foreigners, translators, and generations of excuses.

Hinekura Lisa Smith (2017) reflects on reclaiming the language of 'whatu', "By developing my theoretical knowledge of whatu and intertwining this with my existing practical knowledge, I became critically aware that I was using incorrect terminology and moved swiftly to change it" (p. 99). Smith points out that the use of the language of whatu helps to reclaim the wellbeing of Māori woman through this cultural practice. In addition to Smith's observation of whatu and other indigenous cultural practices, the theoretical knowledge feeling together with the practical 'ike is supporting a stronger cultural reclamation process. For the kapa maker, the combination brings together the terminology specific to the cultural practice with the traditional process of the work and clarifies the unknown process of hana kapa. Culturally correct terminology will further the na mea hana kapa production and strengthen the women's cultural identity and wellbeing.

Battiste (2000) writes reclaiming indigenous voice and language is a struggle for native peoples: "If a language has little function in the daily lives of people, it will die" (p. 206). Battiste's point is that if the language is not used, the language will die. This is true in the case of kapa; the use of the terms have died with the cultural practice of hana kapa. Two hundred years of not using the terms connect to kapa making have taken the life of these words. With the reclamation of the indigenous language comes the struggle against inappropriate uses of language, culture, and space.

Recently my thirteen-year-old mo'opuna Leilani asked me, "Puna Lei, what is the word for kapa maker?" I was shocked at myself, for I did not have the answer to her question. I know the terms for the actions for hana kapa, but not the person making the kapa. Before I responded to my mo'opuna, I reviewed over four hundred papa hua'ōlelo kapa that I referenced, and there

was no word for kapa maker. Finally, after exhausting my vocabulary list, I humbly asked Hawaiian language professor and co-founder of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo Kīope Raymond, “What is the word for kapa maker?” To my surprise and a little relief, he said he did not know the answer. However, he did enlighten me regarding the importance of the process of reawakening this word. He said that if I could not find the Hawaiian word for kapa maker, then I was to look at the “er” at the end of the maker, which would be “mea” in Hawaiian. So, the word for kapa maker would be “Mea hana kapa” Interesting! That brings me to the significant point of the essence of the Hawaiian words. Native Hawaiian attorney Paul Nahoia Lucas (2000) describes the Hawaiian language as,

Hawaiian is a poetic, expressive language consisting of a vocabulary of some twenty-five thousand words...The rich and extensive Hawaiian vocabulary reflected the Hawaiians’ symbiotic relationship with their environment...More importantly, the spoken word for Hawaiian embodied the mana, or life forces that carried significant physical and spiritual powers unknown in Western Society (pp.1-2).

Lucas (2000) explains that the common belief of the Hawaiians is “power of the words to predict the future, heal the sick, and cause illness, injury, and even death” (p. 2). Pukui (1983) ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “I ka ‘ōlelo no ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo no ka make (in language there is life and in language there is death. Growing up my grandmother warned me to be careful in using my words. She said that the words that our family spoke could heal or cause sickness. This mana‘o was given to me by my grandmother and mother. I pass this on to my children and grandchildren. By bringing this mana‘o forward, as an applied researcher, I experienced the reawakening of the words of our kūpuna that I can share these kapa terms, uses, and significance to other cultural practitioners.

In fact, in this research, there have been many times that I have called upon my children to help me transcribe Hawaiian journals into English. Witnessing my children speak, read, and translate journals of mea hana kapa as the author retells the mo‘olelo kapa was one of my

proudest moments as a mother. My children have helped me to reawaken words that I did not see in translations by westerners. In turn, these words of our kūpuna are now alive again.

For the kapa practitioners, these words that could paint an action assist us to understand the ancient practice of kapa more fully. As we discussed the re-awakened vocabulary, we could reclaim the story and words in mea hana kapa. Also, capturing these actions in photographs helped me to record these words to tell a mo‘olelo. There remain missing terms in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to describe steps in the kapa process, hence the importance of research such as the present study—these moments of linguistic and cultural historical significance. Every ‘ōlelo no ke ola brings life back to the mea hana kapa.

E Ola Ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i

The Hawaiian Language Shall Live (Aha Pūnana Leo, 1983)

In a conversation with Kaleikoa Ka‘eo, Hawaiian language educator, he said, “Every word brings life to the people” (personal communication, 2019). He was referring to the importance and significance of each ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i spoken. Ka‘eo is a strong advocate for the Hawaiian language and the right to use the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, and he and his wife Kahele Dukelow teach the Hawaiian language at University of Hawai‘i Maui College and in our community. Their children have completed their education in Hawaiian Immersion on Maui and continue to support and advocate for ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in our community.

Sadly, with the loss of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, is the loss of the true meaning of some words. For instance, growing up in a home where the Hawaiian language was only spoken by my grandmother and not in front of my mother and her siblings, terms such as kākā had a negative perception of one being lazy, not smart, and dirty. Benjamin Young (1980) describes in his article *The Hawaiians*, the positive and negative stereotypes both “lazy, shiftless, unmotivated” or “easy-going, expressive, loving, and generous” (p. 21). Young explains, “When a culture has been overwhelmed by another, more “advanced” culture (as evidence in the Chamorros of the Marianas and the native American Indians), it is commonly ascribed to the defeated natives that they are lazy, good-for-nothing, irresponsible, and indolent” (p. 21).

This on-going negative stereotype has not only labeled the kānaka but has contributed to the physical and spiritual loss of their culture, leadership, and belief in ancestral gods.

In one definition, Andrew explains the word ‘kānaka’ as: “In a vulgar, low sense as sometimes used by foreigners, a Hawaiian, a native, in distinction from a foreigner” (Andrews, 1922). In my mother's generation, the foreign influence engrained this negative socio-political belief that the kānaka was of a lesser value than the foreigner. At no fault of my grandmother and mother, this common belief was the effect of the colonizers. My grandmother, like many Hawaiians, chose to protect their children from the negative stereotyping; she would put my mother's hair into ringlets, and she was safeguarded from the sun to keep her white complexion. My grandmother would not speak Hawaiian to her children even though she could talk ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. The impact of such stereotyping has continued for decades.

On the arrival of Cook in 1778, there were a million Hawaiian language speakers. With the coming of the foreigners, the Hawaiian language was spoken by everyone from all ethnic groups born in Hawai‘i. The Hawaiian language was evolving to embrace the languages of immigrants that make Hawai‘i their home. However, at the time of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian language was banned in the schools and the people of Hawai‘i were forced to speak and adopt the English language.

Dr. Chun (2011) writes that literacy was “introduced very early in the Hawaiian Islands through explorers, beachcombers, and even castaway Tahitians prior to the arrival of American missionaries.” (p. 7). With the arrival in 1822 of Rev. William Ellis of London Missionary Society from Tahiti, he began to indoctrinate nā ali‘i and elite in literacy. The primary intention of the missionaries was to teach kānaka to read the Bible in their native language. Soon followed the establishment of schools based on traditional Hawaiian hālau hula and Hawaiian traditions of teaching literacy of reading and writing the hakalama³³ (Aha Pūnana, 2021). By

³³ Hakalama is a chant that consists of 80 consonant-vowel clusters and 10 vowel sounds. Hakalama were used to reinforce the pronunciation of the Hawaiian sounds.

the mid 1800s, “nearly three-fourth of the Native Hawaiian population over the age of sixteen years were literate in their own language” (Lucas, 2000, p. 2).

From 1900 through to the 1920’s with the banning of Hawaiian language, the Hawaiian and non-Anglo-American children adapted pī‘āpā³⁴ as their own language. All the islands adapted pī‘āpā except the island of Ni‘ihau where their mother’s language continues today. The pī‘āpā or pidgin language was also known by linguistics as Hawai‘i Creole English. Children of Hawaiian descent born after 1920, were not taught and could not speak fluent Hawaiian.

Hawai‘i Creole English still maintains much influence from Hawaiian in its vocabulary, intonation, grammar, and culture of language use. Its existence has helped in the revitalization of the Hawaiian language. Local people of all ethnicities are accustomed to the Hawaiian language in place names, people names, music, and mottos. (Aha Pūnana Leo website, 2021)

Almost 200 years after the arrival of Cook, at the 1978 Hawai‘i’s constitutional convention re-established Hawaiian as an official language in the state of Hawai‘i. This created a pathway to establish Hawaiian language schools throughout the islands and the reclamation of the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. These dates are important as they create a timeline of the arrival of the foreigners and the cultural impact on the people and their language. Before the arrival of foreigners in 1778, the Hawaiian people had no written language, all their detailed history of the creation of the islands to the birth of the first-born human were in their chants and mo‘olelo. This transmission of information was in oral mo‘olelo of the history of places, people, and gods as they were passed down from one generation to the next. In the transmission of ‘ike kūpuna on the engineering of taro patch waterways, nā mea hana kapa, and other cultural practices, it was through ma ka hana ka ‘ike and mo‘olelo.

³⁴ Pī‘āpā is the Hawaiian alphabet

The introduction of a written language in 1839 provided a short window in which the authentic kapa maker could record the process and significance of kapa. By the mid-nineteenth century, with the introduction of cloth from trading ships and the ease of acquiring fabric that did not take time and resources, the kapa practitioner abandoned the work and production of kapa. Without the desire and the loss of the significance of kapa, oral instructions and experience of the production of kapa ceased and with them the art of kapa making stopped.

However, there is a resurgence of educated Hawaiian language speakers that are graduating in the Hawaiian Immersion, community colleges, and the universities that are using their ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to fight, resist, and reclaim their right to speak and write their mother tongue.

Nā Mea Kanu

Mo‘olelo of Kapa ‘Ao o Wauke Kahiko

Kamakau (1976) states, “The wauke plant was like a father and mother to ka po‘e kahiko” (p. 39). The wauke provided kānaka with warmth from the cold nights, malo for the men, pā‘ū for the women, and garments for the children. Wauke was made into fishnets, carrying nets, and kapa to wrap around the gods (p. 40). Three Hawaiian varieties of wauke are documented in literature and journals all are classified as *Broussonetia papyrifera* or the paper mulberry plant. As an applied researcher, I have been exposed to all of the known Hawaiian varieties but have worked and processed two of the three varieties. In figures 69 and 70, Schattensburg-Raymond’s collection of the three varieties are compared by the difference of size and shape of these leaves. Characterized by oval shape of the po‘a‘aha, and lobed shaped of the mālolo and wauke nui. In addition the figures show a difference of the small size of the mālolo compared to the large wauke nui.

Figure 69 Po‘a‘aha, wauke mālolō, and wauke nui, 2020.



Identifying the three different types of wauke that the kānaka ‘ōiwi would use to make their kapa, I now understand the confusion that I have faced. For over two decades, I have thought that there were only two out of the three Hawaiian varieties existing. However, in the last three years Schattenburg-Raymond have identified the wauke mālolō found in Kaupo, Maui, as the third wauke variety.

Figure 70 Comparison of the three varieties of recorded Hawaiian wauke.



Wauke mālolō (top), po‘a‘aha (middle), and wauke nui (bottom).

‘Ao o Wauke Kahiko

In an article “A New Perspective on Understanding Hawaiian Kapa Making” Ethnobotanist and Lecturer at the University of Hawai‘i Maui College Lisa Schattenburg-Raymond (personal communication, 2020) has identified the three Hawaiian varieties of wauke that the kānaka kahiko would use to make their kapa. These are the wauke nui, po‘a‘aha, and wauke mālolō that are recorded in the Native Hawaiian informant journals by explorers and researchers. Schattenburg-Raymond has studied, experimented, and planted these three types of wauke in her own garden. These Hawaiian varieties have reddish ribs on the back of the leaf, which are

more noticeable at the growth tips of the plant. Schattenburg-Raymond also confirmed the two leaf types, the po‘a‘aha leaf being ovate and the wauke being lobed. Schattenburg-Raymond (personal communication, 2020) has identified the wauke mālolo by the shape and by the reddish ribs on the back of the leaf.

Wauke Nui

Figure 71 Wauke nui



Known as wauke nui, the leaves are commonly lobed, having reddish ribs on the back of the leaves. The leaves are large and abrasive like sandpaper. The fine hairs on the stalk of the wauke nui are more distinct during the growth of the plant. However, the tiny hairs fall off when the wauke nui is ready to harvest when the stalk changes from a green to a greenish gray. While working with the wauke nui, I am understanding the growth pattern, characteristics, and behavior of the plant. Wauke nui fibers are best used for making malo and the pā‘ū. The wauke nui is stronger and able to withstand the tightening and girdling of the malo. Wauke nui can grow straight and very tall in ten to eighteen months. When processing the wauke nui the preferred technique used is waili‘ili‘i; there is very little, or no water used in the kuku kapa process.

Kamakau et al. (1976) writes, “Large wauke was called ku‘iku‘i (o ka wauke nui, he ku‘iku‘i ia); it was suitable for stripping to mae hamo‘ulu, u‘au‘a, kaha, and other tapas there were made for wauke ku‘iku‘i” (p. 40). Andrews defined ku‘iku‘i to mean to strike, beat, or pound. Ku‘iku‘i is the action that describes a step in the process of making kapa. For some terms such as ku‘iku‘i, there are multiple meanings of the word and reveals the different views of the kānaka.

Figure 72 Grandson Kualī‘i Kimokeo hold the leaf of the wauke nui.



Po‘a‘aha

Emory (1924) translates S.M. Paauhau of Hooken, S. Kona, Hawai‘i’s statement of the description of po‘a‘aha as a plant from the time of the first man. Paauhau continues to say it was a name that was given to the plant by the kahuna lā‘aulapa‘au (herb doctors). Does Pa‘auhau’s statement connect the time of the Kumulipo with the appearance of wauke? Further research will reveal the connection.

***“O ka poaaha ka inoa pololei
no ia laau mai a Kumuhonua mai.***

Poaaha has been the proper name of the bush we are considering, from the time of the first man” (Paauhau, 1924, p. 283).

Figure 73 Po‘a‘aha



Like wauke nui, po‘a‘aha has a reddish rib on the young tips of the back of the leaves. The leaves of the po‘a‘aha are smaller, oval shaped, and softer to the touch. The stalks of po‘a‘aha are slower growing than the wauke nui and it takes eighteen or more months to mature to harvest and grows twelve to fourteen feet tall. The fibers are softer, whiter, and finer than the wauke nui but not as white and fine as the wauke mālolō. Po‘a‘aha is the type of fiber that is the most pleasing to produce kīhei or kapa moe.

Figure 74 Po‘a‘aha, note the oval leaves and reddish veins in the back of the leaves.



Figure 75 Retted Po‘a‘aha fibers after first beating.



Figure 76 Stripes of po‘a‘aha, one on right dried in sun and strips of completed po‘a‘aha.



Brigham (1911) describes po‘a‘aha as the bark of young wauke and the bark of superior quality or fineness fiber. Po‘a‘aha was used by kahuna lā‘au lapa‘au for healing disease, (Meilleur, et al., 1997). For some kānaka the term po‘a‘aha was the term used for wauke, and for others it was used for medicine. However, the use of a specific variety is an important part of the healing process. For instance, Gutmanis (1976) writes that wauke mālolo was used to cure voice loss in children, and wauke is used as a mild laxative. There is much to learn from the applications and the varieties used for lā‘au lapa‘au.

Wauke Mālolo

Figure 77 Young wauke mālolo and mature mālolo approx. 3 years old.



The last of the three known Hawaiian varieties is the wauke mālolo named for the mālolo flying fish with its similar leaf shape. (Schattenburg-Raymond personal communication, 2020). Stokes (n.d.) describe the wauke having lau manamana (fingered leaves) and po‘a‘aha having lau poepoe (round leaves). Wauke mālolo has deeply lobed leaves that are smaller than those of wauke nui. Also, the wauke mālolo has reddish veins on the back of the leaves like wauke nui and po‘a‘aha. The growth of the wauke mālolo is unique, it grows slowly and more like a bush rather than tall stalks. The fibers are soft and the whitest of all three varieties. Unlike the wauke nui and po‘a‘aha, its new growth is close to the mother plant; it takes at least three years for the stalks to get mature enough to harvest.

Figure 78 Mālolo Kapa



Kamakau et al. (1976) describes a variety of wauke, “Long, young wauke (wauke ohiohi loloa) was called kopili, or kalepa” (p. 40). Pukui & Elbert (1986) describes kōpili as a thin, transparent kapa and small white kapa placed over and ki‘i or kuahu during ceremonies. And kalepa is a banner or flag to mark the kapu areas of a heiau, boundaries around a sacred area or hale. Knowing that kopili and kalepa function for ceremonies, we know that the wauke mālolo was used to produce these sacred kapa. Although Kamakau et al. (1976) does not indicate the variety of the wauke, he does describe what kind of kapa this wauke was made into. He lists the following kinds of kapa; puakai (red dyed kapa or dried malo in noni juice), moeluna (unknown), ha‘ena (wrapped images in kapa), hunakai (unknown), ‘oloa (fine kapa to cover images in prayer or a gift to a child at the time of or near birth), ninikea (white kapa worn by priest during ceremonies), and other suitable needs. This variety of wauke Kamakau names kopili or kalepa and matches the uses of wauke mālolo. However, the difference was the reference to the use of the long wauke, of what we know at this time, wauke mālolo does not grow very long. But I believe Kamakau was referencing the wauke mālolo when he was naming the kōpili and kalepa.

Figure 79 Fibers of wauke mālololo



Figure 80 From left: wauke nui, wauke mālololo, and po‘a‘aha.



Schattenburg-Raymond’s collection of the three Hawaiian varieties of wauke provides the kapa maker an opportunity to study the characteristics and qualities of these plants. In this figure 58, on the right is the wauke nu, middle is wauke mālololo, and on the left is the po‘a‘aha. There are

a few public gardens growing the Hawaiian varieties such as wauke nui and po‘a‘aha. Wauke mālolō is rare and only a few private collections are cultivating to produce kapa.

Eia ‘i‘o no, ke kolo mai nei ke a‘a o ka wauke.

Truly now, the root of the wauke creeps.

It was not destroyed while it was small, now it is too big to cope with. This is what Keaweama‘uhili’s warriors of Kamehameha shared when they were at the court of Alapa‘i when the order was given to “Nip off the leaf bud of the wauke plant while it is tender. (E ‘ō‘ū i ka maka o ka wauke oi ‘ōpiopio). This attempt to kill the baby did not succeed, and the child grew into a powerful warrior who quelled all of his foes (Pukui, 1983, p. 37).

This ‘ōlelo no‘eau reminds the practitioners that the wauke will grow strong and tall like a warrior. The a‘a o ka wauke (wauke roots) will creep and take over areas if not tended. An a‘a wauke nui can produce ohi (new shoots) rather far from the makua plant, whereas generally the ohi po‘a‘aha are closer to the makua, although I have also seen them reach out twenty feet from the base of the makua plant. Ohi wauke mālolō stay close to the mother plant.

Since wauke takes up to eighteen months to mature, knowing the timing of the planting and harvesting is important. Knowing the lunar phases to plant and cultivate will ultimately assure a healthy harvest. This knowledge also includes the ceremony and rituals related to wauke and the akua of kapa making. Today, kapa practitioners are researching and experimenting with the various types of wauke. They are recording the behavior of the wauke to determine the best times to plant, cultivate, and harvest. They take note of the growth stages of wauke to maximize the environment for the making of the kapa in specific areas in Hawai‘i.

Knowing these three varieties of the Hawaiian wauke is extremely significant to understanding these plants’ behavior. We learned the best conditions for the cultivation and harvesting of wauke which guides us to know when and where to plant. These behaviors all aids the progression of reclaiming kapa production, usage, language, and ceremonies.

Figure 81 Variegated wauke nui.



Māmaki

“Māmaki aku au hamaki mai ‘oe. Pehea ka like?

I say mamaki and you say hamaki - How are they alike?

One Hawaiian had some tapa made of māmaki bark which he wished to trade with some white sailors. He did not speak English and they did not speak Hawaiian. He said, “He kapa māmaki kēia.” (This is kapa made of māmaki.) Although they did not know exactly what he said, they understood that his goods were for sale. They asked, “How much?” He thought they were asking what kind of tapa he had, so he answered, “Māmaki.” Again, the sailors asked, “How much?” which sounded like “hamaki” to the Hawaiian. In exasperation he cried, “I say ‘māmaki’ and you say ‘hamaki’. How are they a like? This utterance came to apply to two people who absolutely cannot agree” (Pukui, 1983, p. 232).

This proverb, “Māmaki aku au hamaki mai ‘oe. Pehea ka like?” is reflected in the views of some practitioners of kapa. Some kapa makers do not notice the differences of the three various types of Hawaiian wauke, and the fundamental differences with the more common Asian and Samoan varieties. Schattenburg-Raymond (personal communication, 2020) describes the characteristics of the Asian variety, “(it) has been cultivated for paper making, its fibers are stringy, and its color is off-white” (p. 75).

Figure 82 Māmaki plant and māmaki kapa from the Queen Emma Summer Palace.



Māmaki was known to be of lesser value for the fibers that are coarse and very thin fibers are sticky and clog the beaters, making it very difficult to beat. Under close examination of a few of the artifacts of the māmaki kapa, I saw that the māmaki was mixed with wauke to make it more desirable. The fibers of māmaki do not felt as well as the wauke. The color of māmaki kapa is a brownish red almost like milk chocolate. In an early experiment, Schattenburg-Raymond and I took the fibers of māmaki and soaked them in water for several days to document the reaction and the felting of the fibers. After the soaking, we could see the separation of fibers and how the māmaki fibers would not break apart like the wauke. However, Schattenburg-Raymond recognized the māmaki produced a binder, and when combined with wauke it can produce a structured kapa with the beauty of the māmaki and the strength of the wauke. I have little experience with māmaki and look forward to more research on the importance and process of this fiber.

Figure 83 Comparing māmaki and milk chocolate, and the mucilaginous produced from māmaki fibers.



The images above show the color of the māmaki fibers similar to the color of milk chocolate and the transfer of the pigment of the māmaki onto the hands, beaters, and kua.

‘Ulu

‘Ulu is defined as to grow increase, spread increase or rising of the wind; to protect (Pukui-Elbert, 1986)

‘Ulu or breadfruit (*Artocarpus altilis*) is a tall tree with a straight trunk, member of the Moraceae or fig family. ‘Ulu is a canoe plant that arrived with the first Polynesians to Hawai‘i. ‘Ulu is sterile; the plant could only come with the help of humans, grown only from the taproot of the mother plant. (Meilleur, 2004). The leaves are large with deep lobes and have a rough surface that was used for sandpaper of the canoe, or pahu (drums). The leaves also make great kites. ‘Ulu produces fruit that is an important food staple for the Polynesian people.

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Kapa makers take the young branches from a mature tree to make kapa. The fibers of ‘ulu are coarse and not as fine as wauke. When processing the fibers of ‘ulu, it is important to quickly remove the bark and soak the fibers in water. The fibers will oxidize quickly turning to a reddish orange tinge.

Figure 84 Young ‘Ulu plant and mature Ulu tree.



Stokes (1923) states, “Kaahaaina had heard of the breadfruit bast for tapa - as she thought, from the young upper branches” (n. p.). I agree with Kaahaaina about using the young upper branches for making kapa, but I have found that the upper branches’ fibers are thin and do not have many fibers. Perhaps Kaahaaina was referring to a specific type of kapa that needed the fine fibers of the ‘ulu. Described in *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore* (1919) observation using the young ‘ulu tree and refers to the pulp bark. “This pulp bark of the young plant, which is flexible, was beaten into kapa like the wauke of Hawaii Nei” (Fornander, V.3, p. 678). I have not used the pulp of the bark of ‘ulu; using the young fibers mimics the movement of the wauke with coarse characteristics. The young ‘ulu fibers are almost like lace but have a rough texture to the finished product.

There are mo‘olelo that tell of the importance of ‘ulu. One mo‘olelo traces to the upright ‘ulu being the kinolau of the Kū. The bush-like ‘ulu is known as the female form changing Haumea, the mother of Kū, and ‘aumakua of childbirth (Meilleur et al., 1997). During the time of famine,

Kū turned himself into the ‘ulu tree in order to save his wife and children from starvation. According to Handy et al. (1972), the Hawaiian breadfruit is also known as ‘ai kāmeha‘i, or “food (ai) that reproduces itself by the will of gods” (p. 42).

‘Ākia

‘Ākia (*Wikstroemia species*) also called kauhi, is an endemic bush found on the islands on Maui, Kaua‘i, O‘ahu, and Moloka‘i. It has tiny yellow flowers and brilliant red berries, the ‘ākia is a small bush with oval leaves. ‘Ākia fibers were made into kapa, however, the fiber was not used as a malo because of the toxicity.

Figure 85 Akia (Wikstroemia monticola).



The ‘ākia was used in fishing in tidepools. The bark, roots, and leaves were used as a narcotic for fish poisoning. Commonly the ‘ākia was crushed and thrown into tide pools and used to stupefy fish to easily capture the temporarily intoxicated fish (Abbott, 1992). Due to this acrid narcotic substance, ‘ākia should be used with caution; do not touch your face, eyes, or mouth as it will cause a numbing or burning of the skin. ‘Ākia fibers were also used to make braided rope. The wood of the ‘ākia was made into an ‘auamo (carrying stick) to carry the koko pupu and other precious belongings of ali‘i.

He mau mea pa‘ahana (tools)

Figure 86 Mea pa‘ahana, tools needed to make kapa.



He mau mea pa‘ahana are the tools needed to make kapa. They are grown, gathered, and made by the practitioner or expert crafts persons. Kapa practitioners have custom tools made to fit them. In addition, the tools were crafted to make different types of kapa. All of my personal tools (but one made by Dennis Kana‘e Keawe) were made by my father Robert or my husband Wayne, specifically for my needs. In the case of an i‘e kuku and a hohoa, many times, after the first use, the tools would be adjusted for what I felt I needed. Knowing how it fits in my hand, the weight of the tool, and what the reaction of the kuku kapa process determines any adjustments needed. On a deeper level, I believe the tool needs to connect with the mea hana kapa in a spiritual manner.

The basic kapa tools such as the hohoa, i‘e kuku, and kua lā‘au that almost anyone can use and be successful in achieving the process of hana kapa. My father and Wayne made me sets of tools to be used by students and community members. Using the tools, an individual can produce a beautiful piece of kapa; some are more organic than others, therefore nā mea pa‘ahana work. Having the basic tools strengthens the foundation to begin the journey of hana kapa. However, for the kapa maker that has a deeper desire to learn about kapa making, the need for more customized tools.

“Lawe i ka ma‘alea a kū‘ono‘ono.

Take wisdom and make it deep” (Pukui, 1983, p. 211).

Recorded in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ke Au Hou* (1910), the article “Hookumuia ana o na Paemoku” describes the tools of ancient Hawai‘i: “Many tools were needed for tapa making such as an anvil and beaters, lined beaters, designed beaters and so on. It took three days to make a flat sheet” (n.p.).

The following section focuses on the basic tools that a kapa maker should have to make kapa. He mau mea pa‘ahana are tools that are like these used throughout Polynesia. Tools have similar names and techniques, but the difference is in the process. Although I know very little of the process in other Polynesian traditions, I do know that the ancient process of Hawaiian kapa making is unique in fine details, dye process, printing, and scenting.

One important realization in contemporary time is that the tools do not have to be of authentic materials to make kapa. As a kapa practitioner and teacher, I stress to my students the importance of using sustainable resources to protect the endangered resources. Taking care of our natural resources and knowing what resources you have available at your own home and community are important aspects of learning hana kapa. I encourage students to grow their own resources, use alternatives if possible, and remember to take only what they need.

Hohoa, hoahoa is a round wooden mallet.

Traditionally, the wood used for the beaters would be of a dense and heavy quality, such as kauila (*Alphitonia ponderosa*), o‘a (*Colubrina oppositifolia*), uhiuhi (*Mezoneuron kauaiense*), and koai‘e (*Acacia koaia*) (Kamakau et al., 1976). The hohoa is a handheld beater with a tapered side for the handle. It can be carved from a cleaned branch to elaborate carved lines. The nao (grooved lines) range from wide to fine lines, and some are u-shaped, or v-shaped. The average hohoa measures from 12 to 16 inches long and is measured for the kapa maker's needs when holding the beater. The hohoa was used on a kua pōhaku or stone anvil to soften and spread out the bast of the wauke, ‘ulu, or māmaki. Later in the final stages of the kapa making, the hohoa would soften the dried kapa on the kua lā‘au.

Figure 87 Hohoa beaters. Ishikawa collection.



Figure 88 Hohoa and i'e kūkū, courtesy of the Bailey House Museum, Maui.



Kua pōhaku

Figure 89 Kua pōhaku.



Pōhaku is stone, and kua is an anvil; it is the stone anvil used in the first beating stage of the wauke in making kapa. The pōhaku should be smooth and flat, with no holes and cracks with dimensions of 12 to 18 inches long and 3 to 4 inches wide and rectangular. In my experience, the smooth and dense pōhaku can withstand the beating of a wauke. The pōhaku with holes tend to have minerals that break up or flake off during the beating process and fuse in the kapa, which affects the final piece. Those with holes tend to break off into the wauke, which causes the stone's minerals to put the unwanted matter into the kapa. Generally, the perfect pōhaku kua can be found on the shoreline of the beaches or rivers. I like to go to the ocean to gather my pōhaku. I always ask to enter and let the kūpuna of the place know my intentions to gather the pōhaku and where it will be cared for. For myself, after asking and thanking the ancestors of the place, I will keep and take care of the pōhaku for as long as I am making kapa. Some students have taken the pōhaku back to the place from which they gathered.

Figure 90 Kua pōhaku has a polished surface.



Hulilau

The hulilau are soaking bowls or large gourds used to immerse the wauke fibers. The hulilau was used during the kuku process to rinse the wauke to remove any rubbish remaining from the stripping process. The hulilau held the water used to sprinkle water onto the kapa to moisten the fibers to help with the movement of the kapa. Water lifts and separates the fibers; less water helps with the fusing of the fibers. Throughout the phases of hana kapa, the hulilau takes on many roles, from the soaking of the wauke to the wetting of the tools and holding of the dyes that will decorate the kapa.

Figure 91 Hulilau a soaking bowl for the wauke.



Hulilau used to hold the wai to wet the tools and wauke during the hana kapa.

I'e Kuku, i'e

I'e kuku is a square wooden beater with three sides of noa (lines) of small, medium, and large widths. The lines are grooved to spread the fibers out with the wider lines, then gradually felting the fibers onto itself with the middle lines. The thinnest of lines will felt and flatten the kapa before applying the water mark. The first of the four sides of the i'e kuku are the pepehi (to beat hard). The craftsman grooves the pepehi in an inverted u-shape with rounded edge to allow the kapa maker to beat hard on the wauke without breaking or splintering the i'e kuku but still providing the separating of the fibers. Brigham (1911) describes the pepehi having less than five lines on a side of the i'e kuku. However, Arbeit (2011) collections of drawings of i'e kuku beaters reference that the pepehi has from five to fourteen grooves.

The second side are described as hoopai (Parker, 1922; Brigham, 1911; Kooijman, 1972; Pang, 2009; Kent, 1995, Kamakau et al., 1976; Arbeit, 2011) and spelled ho'opa'i according to Arbeit (2011). There is a little confusion with the terms, however all research concludes that the second side is the hoopai. Interestingly, Brigham identifies the third side as i'e kuku ho'oki, so for the purposes of this research I will reference the i'e kuku hoopai. Arbeit describes the

number of lines for hoopai as from twenty-four to fifty on a 2-inch face. Whereas Brigham (1911) also referenced a beater that has fifty grooves or twenty to every inch.(p.85)

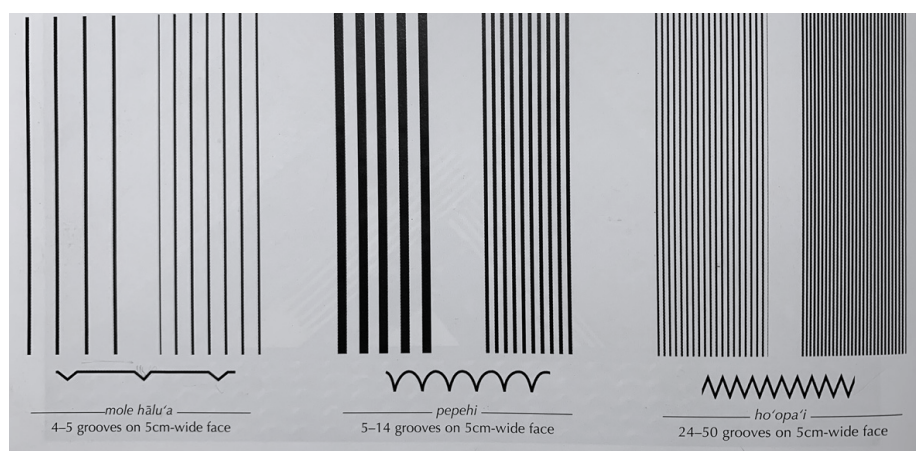
The last side of the i'e kuku is the mole, it is the smooth uncarved face that is used to smooth and flatten the kapa in its finishing step. However, sometimes the mole would be carved with a light groove (not as deep as a pepehi) and is called mole halua. Below are drawings from Arbeit 's, *Links to the Past: The Work of Early Hawaiian Artisans* of the kapa beaters nao (lines). These nao are the basic grooves of the hohoa or i'e kuku.

Kamakau et al. (1976) wrote,

“The four sides were polished until smooth and even, then the groover took a shark’s tooth that was laced to a short piece of wood, marked a straight line, and deepened it into a groove” (p. 109).

Kamakau described the method of grooving the i'e kuku before the arrival of the missionary and introduction of metal. Once the groover replaced the shark tooth with the metal blade then they could carve finer lines and complex designs. These watermark designs were transferred onto the thin kapa leaving an obscured imprint covered by printed designs. These water mark imprints are only revealed when holding the kapa into the sunlight. Arbeit (2011) suggests, “These hidden designs perhaps imprinted veiled meaning (kaona) into the tapa itself” (p. 271).

Figure 92 Tapa Beater Patterns illustrated by Wendy S. Arbeit (2011, p.270)



Known as the maka pūpū, this i'e kuku made by master carver Dennis Kana'e Keawe reveals the details of his expertise working with kapa tools. This i'e kuku has four different watermarks, each very different from the other. Kana'e made this i'e kuku of kauila wood from Hawai'i island. As a master carver and a kapa maker, Kana'e craftsmanship is the closest to authentic to the ancient artifacts in the museums. His skilled hands have created museum quality tools that are incomparable to any other craftsman that has attempted to duplicate the ancient artifacts. His deep understanding of the needs of the kapa maker and how the movement of the kapa reacts to the different styles and techniques is critical to the ultimate high quality of the tools. The following images are of Kana'e intricate carvings of the i'e kuku.

Figure 93 I'e kuku was made by master carver Dennis Kana'e Keawe.



Figure 94 Koe‘au design is a parallel pattern(left) and Maka pūpū or ‘upena pūpū design (right).

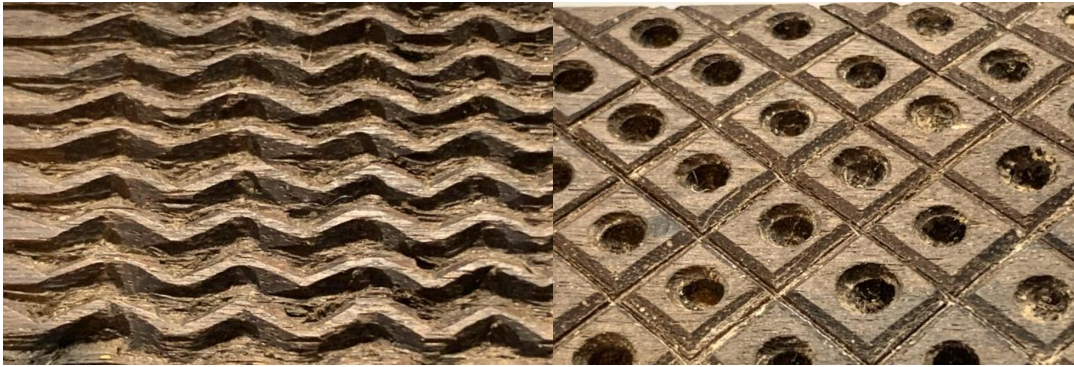
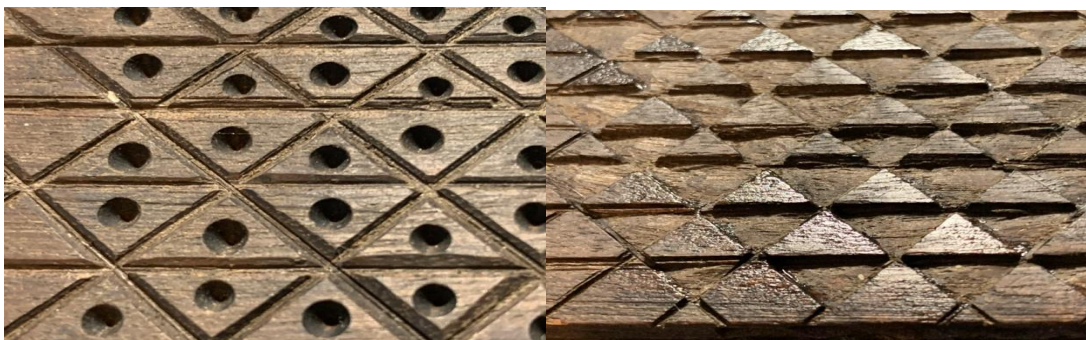
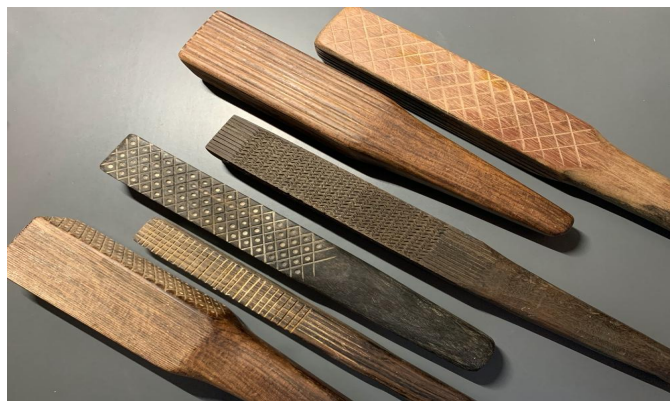


Figure 95 Upena hālu‘a pūpū design (left) and Niho manō design (right).



Designs on the i‘e kuku reveal the narrative that the carver or the kapa maker shares. The designs have their own meaning that tell of the place, the person, and the time. For example, when I look at the niho manō I think of my great-grandfather who was caught in the ocean channel between Hawai‘i island and Kahikinui, Maui. I was told by my ‘ohana, that a wave crashed onto his canoe and flipped it over. A great shark swam next to him; he grasped onto the shark’s fin and was carried to the safety of the shoreline. Each design has its own way of reminding us of significant events, people and/or places in time.

Figure 96 I‘e kuku with pepehi and ho‘opa‘i nao and various watermark designs.



Lapa

Lapa or bamboo liners were used before the missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i. Lapa were commonly made from ‘ohe (Hawaiian bamboo or *Schizostachyum glaucifolium*) and cut into strips about 10 to 12 inches from top to bottom. Some lapa were made with exquisite fine lines and others reflect raw ‘ohe that were quickly made. Although most of the lapa that I examined were made of ‘ohe, and there were a few made of hard wood such as kauila. Liners were carved according to the need of the kapa maker. Some lapa were carved straight varying from a single point to about twelve points. Using the lapa and various techniques of application, the kapa makers were able to create straight, wavy, and angled lines. The lines make up the positive and negative of the designs.

Applied to the lapa, the ‘īnika (ink) creates the lines and desired designs. In my examination of the various lapa from museums and collections, I did notice that all the lapa had a shine to the surface of the face of the lines. I was able to duplicate that shine by burnishing the lapa with a cowry shell or glass ball. By burnishing the lapa, the ‘īnika would sit on top of the lapa and would not absorb into the ‘ohe or wood. The compressing of the fibers of the lapa made the ‘īnika flow with the movement of the lapa. Beautiful and intricate designs were printed on the finished kapa with the lapa.

Figure 97 Lapa of different designs. Ishikawa collection.



At the Bishop Museum I had the opportunity to examine more than three hundred ‘ohe kāpala that included ‘ohe lapa. The carving and designs were amazing with details that make one wonder how these lapa and ‘ohe kāpala were made.

Figure 98 ‘Ohe stamps are made from the nodes (left) and a nine-point Lapa from Bishop Museum.



‘Ohe Kāpala

‘Ohe kāpala or bamboo stamps were used to create designs on the malo, pā‘ū, kīhei, and kapa moe for the ali‘i and their family. The maka‘āinana or commoners did not decorate their wearables because there was no use for that distinction, while the ali‘i and his ‘ohana would have their kapa with designs to represent their status in their community. ‘Ohe kāpala produced geometric designs using the positive and negative of the ink to create patterns on the kapa. Many of the designs of the ‘ohe kāpala are similar to the i‘e kuku designs. Expert carvers made the majority of the ‘ohe kāpala out of ‘ohe; only a few were made of the rarer hardwoods. A few of the ‘ohe kāpala that were examined showed oyster shells inlaid into the handle and the rarest used carved turtle shell for the design. I also examined repairs done by tying the broken ‘ohe design to a new ‘ohe blank, ensuring the ‘ohe kāpala’s continued use. Another exciting find was the shine on almost all of the ‘ohe kāpala. This was duplicated by burnishing the ‘ohe using a cowry shell. This compressed the wood fibers, leaving a smooth solid surface enabling the ink to float on the surface and not soak into the stamp itself.

Figure 99 'Ohe kāpala from Bishop Museum.



Figure 100 Assortment of 'ohe kāpala. Ishikawa collection.



Figure 101 Collection of 'ohe kāpala at the Bishop Museum.



Designs of the ‘ohe kāpala varied from small and large notches, mixed and elaborate chevrons, slanted and vertical bars and lines. The use of triangles, lozenges, ellipses, circles, and other miscellaneous designs highlighted the expertise of the carvers. Some ‘ohe kāpala had double ended designs or one with an end of a lapa. It was exciting to examine special marks on the ‘ohe handle or neck. I believe that all the designs must have a meaning to the individual that made the ‘ohe kāpala.

Kua lā‘au

Kua lā‘au is the wooden anvil on which the kapa is beaten. There are many sizes and shapes of the kua that I have examined, and I believe the sizes help determine the size of the kapa pieces. On the average, some kua are from five to six feet long in length, with a width of about four inches. The height varies from four to five inches and is adjusted by sitting the kua on blocks or using coconut husks to raise the height as needed. The uniqueness of the Hawaiian anvil is a V-shaped groove on the bottom of the kua. Because of the groove, each kua has a distinctive sound. The kua is made of hardwoods, traditionally using endemic woods. Kooijman (1971) list “kopiko (*Straussia* sp.), koleo (*Myrsine*, sp.), ‘ohi‘a (*Metrosideros collina*), mamame (*Sophora chrysophylla*), kāwa‘u (*Cyathodes* sp. [*Ilex anomala*]), nau or nanu (*Gardenia remsi*, *G. brigharii*), Kauila (*Colubrina oppositifolia* and *Alphitonia ponderosa*), and hualewa” (Table C). Today, the practice is to use sustainable trees that are plentiful such as mango, milo, iron wood, and others.

In this photo (figure 102) is a kua lā‘au that was gifted to me by my kumu, my mentor, my friend Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla. This kua lā‘au was in her ‘ohana for several hundred years and was treasured for generations. Although this kua lā‘au had not been used for over a hundred years, the care and love expended to preserve this tool is visible in the sound and quality of the kapa that is made today. I am honored to use and keep the cultural practice alive with each kuku kapa. She is six feet long, seven inches tall, three inches on the top surface, and four feet at her base. She is very heavy and has a beautiful sound that will forever be in my soul.

Figure 102 Kahiko kua lā'au.



Figure 103 Side view showing the carved out v-shape under the kua and the beautiful curves.



Side view showing the carved-out V-shaped under the kua and the beautiful curves. Adze marks reveal the craftsmanship of the carver. Her drop down edges on the top of the kua allows the beater to smoothly beat without sharp edges. The top of the kua is slightly wider than the base, this gives the kapa the ease of movement.

Figure 104 Reawakening the kupuna kua la'au.



My first experience using her was at Paeloko, Waihe'e at a workshop for kānaka wāhine. Her sound was so beautiful that the valley could hear her and the kapa makers as they kuku kapa. For over a hundred years this kua lā'au has been waiting to be used again. I am so honored to awaken her to kuku kapa.

Figure 105 Hawaiian kapa-maker and her attendant. Photo by Bishop Museum.



This image (figure 105) is recorded by a group in the Bishop Museum. The figures were cast from life and colored by Allen Hutchinson, the background from a sketch by Weber, Cook's artist (n.d.). This is a partial image of the original picture. Although staged, I like the images

in the photograph, the large kua la‘au that must be at least six feet long. The way she held the i‘e kuku to allow the weight of the beater to do the work and ipu wai sitting next to the kua to wet the fibers. What was interesting was the placement of the wauke on the kua to work with the fibers and not to expand the kapa. Perhaps this action was done to flatten and soften the kapa in its last stages of kapa making.

Figure 106 Kua La‘au.



Figure 106 shows the mango wood kua that our daughter Leilei made with the help of my husband Wayne. The piece of mango had a little section that was eaten by some bugs, but she was determined to complete making her kua and did not want to shorten the size. She asked to fill in the damaged area with shells that my grandmother collected and from pinches of sands from my father’s favorite fishing spots along Maui’s coastline. She filled it with these precious treasures.

Papa Hole Kua

Pukui-Elbert (1986) defines the papa hole kua as a grooved board for making ribbed tapa. Brigham (1911) describes the papa hole kua as in between a kua la‘au and a i‘e kuku. The board is made from a hard wood and is long and narrow. It has grooves carved in the hoopai pattern of finely parallel lines. The papa hole kua was used in making malo and pā‘ū. I have seen this tool being used but have not experienced it myself. Brigham (1911) stated:

I believe that the effect in breaking up the fiber and making the tissue very flexible would be marked in the motion of two sets of hoopai grooves at nearly right angles to each other; the result must be a gentle pulling or grinding action, hence the product would be quite suitable for the malo and pa‘u [pā‘ū], both of which garments should be soft and flexible to be comfortable. (p. 95)

Kamakau et al. (1976) writes that another name for the ribbed tapa was hamo‘ula and also identified as kua‘ula, and was work for men not women. “The site for its making and drying, the kahua hana and kahua kaula‘i, covered two acres or more” (p. 112). The site and supplies were kapu and fenced in area. In these examples above, the papa hole kua were used with a grooving tool named ko‘i hole. This ko‘i hole was made of wood that would slide down the grooves of the papa hole kua. Kamakau et al. (1976) indicates the ko‘i hole was a pig jaw bone. One observation mention earlier was in figure 60 by artist Alphonse Pellion, (c. 1819), in his image displays a woman beating on a papa hole kua and not using a ko‘i hole. Although I did not find research of beating on a papa hole kua, there maybe examples of this process in the following figures 107 to 109. I do believe that the papa hole was used as a grooving board but as a kua to create these fine designs. More research must be done to determine the technique and process to create these fine even lines on these artifacts.

Figure 107 Suggesting watermarks from papa hole kua.(Bishop Museum)

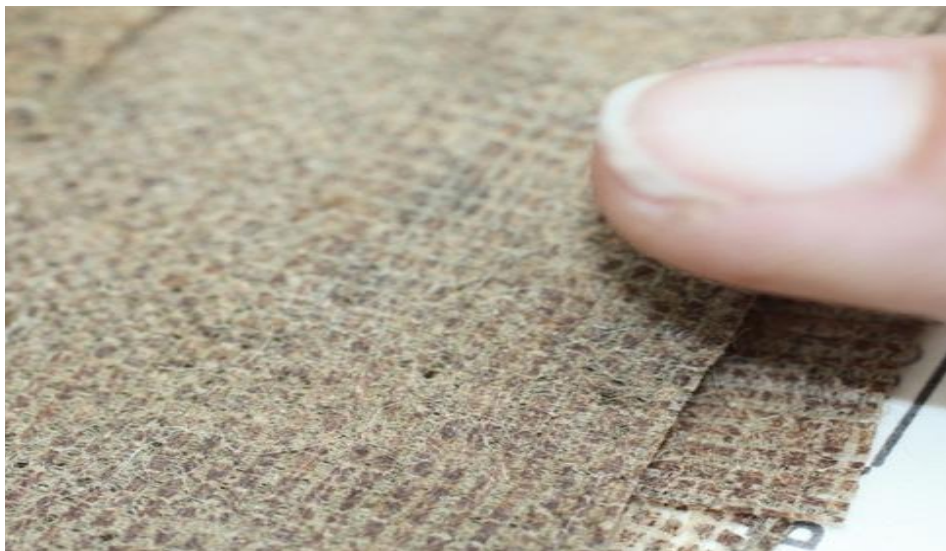


Figure 108 Suggesting fine watermarks from papa hole kua. (Bailey House Museum)



Figure 109 Suggesting fine lines on kapa moe. (Bailey House Museum)



Knowing that the malo and pā'ū must be hume (bind) around the loins of a kane or the waist of the wahine. The papa hole kua will leave the nao of the ho'opa'i on the kapa and allow the tension of the kapa to tighten on itself creating a stronger hume. Only in recent months, we realize that particular patterns in the kapa could be the result of the carvings on the papa hole. This is an exciting potential for future research.

Niho 'oki

Niho 'oki or niho manō is the shark tooth knife. The practitioner uses the niho 'oki to slice the wauke bark open from the stalk. The convenience and the sustainability of the niho 'oki can be replaced with the average pocket knife. However, I found that another function of the niho is to burnish the lines of the kapa beaters. The niho or a shell helps smooth the fine wood fibers

so that the wauke fibers slide frictionlessly with the movement of the beater. For the niho 'oki in figure 105, the shark tooth was a gift, and the handle was made from available scrape wood.

Figure 110 Niho 'oki and hua hala.



Hua Hala

Hala is the *Pandanus odoratissimus* tree. The hua hala (keys) of the fruit are used as brushes for painting fine details onto kapa with dyes. The dried pandanus key can be trimmed as desired for the kapa design. The hua hala can be used to paint the dyes between the fine lines of the lapa or 'ohe kāpala. Hua hala are used by dipping them into the ink and sparingly applying the ink to the 'ohe kāpala and lapa to print designs. In addition, the other dried keys that have lost their brushes are used to stamp. The back of the keys creates organic designs that are one of a kind, with various sizes that are unique and artistic.

'Īnika - ink

'Īnika is ink that is used to stamp or draw designs on the finished kapa. By using the exact combination of the pa'u or the soot of the kukui nut kernel and pīlali or the hardened resin from the kukui tree, they will bind together to make the 'īnika. The exact combination will produce the right texture, shine, and binder to kāpala the designs onto the kapa. Once known by every kānaka, the production of 'īnika is a combination of preparation of making and gathering the resources to produce the perfect jet-black ink.

Figure 111 Kukui nut to make the pa‘u (soot).



Poho pa‘u a pōhaku ku‘i pa‘u (mortar and pestle for soot)

The poho (mortar) pa‘u (soot) and pōhaku ku‘i (stone pestle) pa‘u were used for the grinding of the pīlali and pa‘u to make the ‘īnika for the printing on the kapa. The poho pa‘u is made from a hard rock that is carved to form a bowl to mix the fine pa‘u and pīlali. The repurposed pōhaku ku‘i‘ai that was broken would also be used as a poho kukui or stone lamp (Brigham (1902). The pestle is made from a dense rock that fits the hand of the mixer. I found that a store-bought mortar and pestle works well with the dyes. However, in my opinion, over the years of making ‘īnika, using the poho pa‘u binds the two ingredients to a texture of the finest glossy quality. In addition the mixing of ‘alaea (ocherous earth) would be mixed in separate poho ‘alaea.

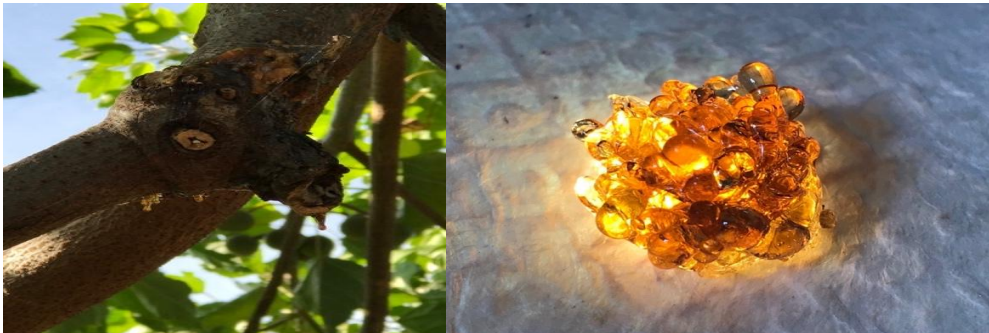
Figure 112 Poho pa‘u (mortar) and pohaku ku‘i pa‘u (pestle) for mixing ‘īnikā.



Pīlali

Kukui resin is used as a binder for the pa‘u to produce an īnika that will not smudge or fade on the kapa. The pīlali is the resin of the kukui tree produced after a lot of rain and wind. After gathering, the pīlali is let to dry completely and kohu (hardened sap). Using a poho pa‘u and pōhaku ku‘o pa‘u, process the pa‘u into a fine powder. Pīlali is dissolve using hili kukui³⁵ or kukui oil. The pīlali mixture with hili kukui or kukui oil slowly blends with pa‘u until the right consistency. My personal preference is the combination with the hili kukui due to the shine and the finished pa‘u does not smudge. I also found using kukui oil with the pīlali, the finished stamping commonly had a halo glow around the design as if the kukui oil bleed on to the kapa.

Figure 113 Kukui tree and Kukui pīlali.



The above image Figure 113 shows the kukui tree is oozing with the pīlali. The time to harvest the pīlali is right after a big rain and windy weather. The resin will sometimes harden but occasionally will wash away from the next storm. In the image above reveals the beauty of the translucent amber color of the pīlali. I held a light underneath the piece of kapa to light the pīlali droplet-like shape.

Brigham (1911) describes the uses of the roasted kukui nuts:

From the acrid juice from the rind of the nut they prepared a black dye, also used in tattooing; but the soot of the burning nut was a better black. The bark furnished a brown dye very common and durable. The pilali or gum exuded from the stem was a good

³⁵ Hili kukui is the dye that is made from the bark or root of the kukui tree. The bark is boiled in water for several days and reduced again to intensify the hili kukui.

adhesive, the oil expressed from the nuts was used to burn in the stone lamps, and as a vehicle for the paints... (p. 138)

Although Brigham discuss using the juice of the rind of the kukui nut for black dye, I am reluctant to agree with his theory because in the numerous experiments of using the rind, the shell, and the kernel of the kukui nut; there was not one test that resulted in making a comparable black dye to the using of the pa‘u (soot) of the burning kernel. Later on, in this chapter, I will expand on the process of making ĭnika (ink).

Figure 114 Pīlali – dried kukui resin, grinded with mortar and pestle into a fine powder.



He Kumu kukui i he‘e ka pīlali.

A Kukui tree oozing with gum.

A prosperous person. (Pukui, 1983, p. 79)

In figure 115 are the images of the pūpū (cowry shell) and a glass ball that are used to smooth, flatten, and soften the kapa. In addition, a smooth rock, a glass jar, or placing the kapa between the bed mattress will help soften the finished kapa. Kamakau et al. (1976) described how the hulili and pele taps were rubbed with a cowry shell to make them shiny. In the figure below is the ‘opihi that is used to scrape off the bark of the wauke stalks.

Figure 115 Pūpū (cowry shell), glass ball, and 'opihi shells.



Chapter Summary:

Mokuna 'ehā documented my travels and experiences in Aotearoa, Tahiti, and Rapa Nui. I have references to tapa practices and similarities that connect to Hawai'i. This chapter also reviewed the resources needed in the process of Hawaiian kapa such as the plants, tools, and steps of hana kapa. This next chapter of the literature review discusses the process of making kapa by Native Hawaiian informants and my experiences and resources.

Nā Mea Hana Kapa *Process of making Kapa*

Mokuna ‘Elima: Literature Review (Part 3)

Figure 116 Kūka‘a of wauke



In this section, I will review the process as described by native informants of *nā mea hana kapa*. Their descriptions of the various processes of *hana kapa* revealed terms that have empowered me in my process in *hana kapa*. My commentary follows the native informant journal entries. Finally, I will describe my method of making *kapa*, developed with the guidance of my *kumu kapa* and after my own experience and experiments as a *kapa* practitioner over the past eighteen years. This transmission of *‘ike kūpuna* and *ma ka hana ka ‘ike* is the process I use to teach *‘ohana* and students.

In discussing the *kapa* making process documented by Mary Kawena Pukui, I am recording her description verbatim due to the subtle differences with those of other authorities. These slight differences are the foundation for the *ma ka hana ka ‘ike*. By including a detailed description of the process, the researcher hopes to provide the information that will allow the *kapa* maker to discover the approach that best fits them. Pukui (1991) in collaboration with Handy and Handy (1991) describes in *Native Planters in old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment* the process of manufacturing *kapa*:

The straight stems cut at the upper and lower ends, and a longitudinal cut through the bark was made with a knife. Then from the top the bark all-round the stem was rolled back, and, with a series of jerks ('unu), it was stripped down the whole length. The outer bark was scraped off (uhole). The bast was then soaked for some days in running water or in pools of sea water by the shore to soften it and leach out the slimy juice. About five soft strips were then laid one on top of the other and tied together with little strips of the bast at either end or in the middle, making a bundle called mo'omo'o. This might be kept dried indefinitely.

The next stage was to lay the mo'omo'o on a wooden anvil (kua) and beat it with a round, smooth, heavy wooden cloth beater (hohoa), to form a solid thick strip. These strips were again soaked, laid edge to edge, and felted together by beating with wooden beaters of different sizes, square in cross section, having carved geometric designs on their four faces to give watermarking. Many successive beatings with lighter and lighter clubs were required to make the finest cloth (Handy et al, 1991, p. 211).

Pukui's description of the process reveals hua'ōlelo kapa that I have not heard before but have experienced, such as 'unu that describes the motion when removing the bark from the bast, which Pukui explains as a series of jerks. I have experienced a series of smooth motions of separation, including the 'unu to release the areas that are stuck together. Interestingly Pukui did not identify the use of the kua pōhaku, which is prevalent in other kānaka writings. In my experience, the kua pōhaku was critical in spreading the wauke bast in the first phase of the fibers' separation. The use of the kua pōhaku will speed up the process for the retting or softening of the fibers for the mo'omo'o stage that Pukui describes.

Pukui's reference to soaking the bast in running water or in pools of seawater is a process that is difficult if the individual does not have the resources. Although Maui is surrounded by ocean, no private shorelines guarantee leaving the bast in pools without interference. The alternative of using fresh waterways is possible, and I will experiment with this soon. Brigham (1911) states, "The original text of Malo's work has never been published (beyond extracts), and it

exists in several manuscript copies, and the one here quoted is from a transcript” (p. 48). Brigham (1911) gave the original Hawaiian and English translation of the process of kapa making.

O ke kapa ko Hawaii nei mea aahu, he ili noia n kekahi mau laau, he awoke, he mamaki, he maaloa, he poulu; o ka waoke ka laau kanu nuiia; o ka ili o ua waoke la ke hani i kapa penei, na ke kane e kua ka waoke, a na ka wahine e uhole a pau ka ili a hoopulu a pulu. Kapa was the clothing in this Hawaii; it was made from the bark of certain trees [or shrubs] waoke, mamaki, maaloa and poulu. The waoke was much cultivated; the waoke bark was made into kapa in this way. The men got the sticks, but the women peeled off the bark and soaked it until soft. (p. 48)

Some of these words used by Malo are not found in the Hawaiian dictionaries. It is important to highlight these words and for them to be reclaimed by the kapa practitioner.

Mea Kanu, Mahi, ‘Ohi, a me Ho‘oliuli

Great care is taken from the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of the wauke. The wauke is kanu (plant and bury) during the Kāloakūkahī, Kāloakūlua, and Kāloapau moon phases. These moon phases are good days for planting long and tall plants such as wauke, ‘ohe (bamboo), kō (sugar cane), māmakī, wāpine (lemon grass), and other. The a‘a (young shoots) are prepared for kanu and assuring the ground is ready. Gutmanis (1983) describes the planting of the wauke, “the farmer would place a fish into the hole before setting in the young start” (p. 66). This pule to Kū and Hina was used during the planting:

*O kokolo ke a‘a i ka po loa,
O puka ka maka i ke ao loa.
O ‘oukou i ka po,
Owau nei la ke ao,
E ulu e, e ulu,
E ihi, e ihi,
E kokolo ke a‘a a paa i ka honua.*

‘Amama, ua noa-lele wale a.

That its roots will grow during the nights,
So that its eyes may be seen during the long days.
You during the night,
I during the day,
Shall cause it to grow, grow,
To creep, to branch,
That its roots sink firmly to earth.
It is over-gone is the message
(Kalaauokalani, n.d.; Beckley translation).

The practitioner would tend to the wauke on a daily schedule to assure the new growth is removed to avoid leaf scaring. On the average wauke is harvested when it matures at twelve to eighteen months. The wauke grows to the height of twelve to fifteen feet when it is mature. The wauke ‘ili stalk color turns from a green to more of a grayish green and the hairy characteristic becomes a smooth surface. (Krauss, 1993)

The ‘ohi (harvesting) of the wauke is best during the wet season allowing the ‘i‘o or bast to peel off the stalk more easily. First with a hand saw, make an undercut then cut the stalk, this will protect the ‘ili from tearing. The tops and leaves are removed leaving a usable stalk of an average of seven feet. Once the wauke is ‘ohi, stalks should be ho‘oliulu (prepared) quickly or kept wet until they can be processed. Drying out of the stalks will make it difficult to uhole the ‘i‘o from the ‘ili. There are two techniques to separate the bark from the bast of the stalk of the wauke: one is to use the ‘opihi (limpet) shell to scrape the outer bark and green filament. The second technique is to leave the bark on the stalk and remove the bark and bast of the wauke together.

Figure 117 Wauke that have been scraped using a ‘opihi shell.



In the technique using the ‘opihi shell, you start with the base of the stalk of the wauke, holding firm, and scrape the ‘ili and green filament with the ‘opihi shell. You continue to scrape until all the ‘ili (bark), and green filament is removed, exposing the ma‘awe (fiber bast) of the wauke. The bast is called ‘ili iho (inner bark) and ‘i‘o (meat). It is important to keep the bast together, preventing the tearing and breaking of the fibers. Kānaka believe the ‘opihi is an ‘aumakua who is honored in pule before consuming the meat of the ‘opihi. The steadfast characteristic of the ‘opihi reveals it does not want to move. The ‘opihi is reflected in the design of small triangles in kapa printing.

Kahi

Kahi is to cut along the length of the wauke stalk. Although the cut can be the whole length of the stalk, you can also cut a couple inches and use your index and middle fingers to run along the natural fibers of the length of the wauke. This allows the fibers not to be sliced and to have a natural unforced edge.

Figure 118 Kahi is to cut the length of the stalk with a knife.



After removing all the ‘ili from the ‘ili iho, using a mano ‘oki (shark tooth knife) or a pocket knife, the kapa maker will kahi along the length of the stalk of the wauke. Stalks are cut from the base to the top of the wauke stick. Mano ‘oki is crafted so that the wooden handle fits securely in the palm. The blade is a mano niho (shark tooth) found on the shoreline and fastened to hold in place with a wooden peg or strong fibers. Holding firmly, you use mano ‘oki to cut through the bark of the wauke. This process is the same for both scraped bast with the ‘opihi or the kahi with the whole bark and bast in tack. After using the mano oki to kahi the wauke

bark and bast, you use your fingers to uhole (separate) the bast from the stalk of the wauke. By slowly moving your fingers between the bast and stalk running your fingers on both sides of the bast. Once you uhole the bast from each side, slowly separate the fibers from the stalk in one whole piece.

Uhole

Uhole is to separate the outer bast from the stalk of the wauke. It is important to remember that when you uhole the bast and bark, do not damage or cause holes in the bast. Also significant is the timing of when you uhole the bast and bark; mornings are preferred due to the moisture in the wauke plant as it travels with the rise of the sun. Described earlier, Handy et al. (1991) describes uhole as scrape off. However, Andrews (1865) describes uhole as to peel the bark from a tree. I have decided to use uhole to be interchangeable as scraping and peeling.

Figure 119 Uhole is to separate the bast and bark from the stalk of the wauke.



Kūka‘a

Kuka‘a is to roll the ‘ili in a circle. Once you uhole the ‘ili and ‘ili iho from the wauke stalk, kūka‘a the bark and bast. First with the bark on the inside, tightly roll the wauke into a kūka‘a squeezing with your hands to soften the fibers. By forming the wauke in a kūka‘a you can soften the bark and relax the fibers of the bast. Then you repeat the process, this time with the bark on the outside of the kūka‘a. Squeezing and softening the bark and bast will help flatten the bark without the curve of the stalk.

Figure 120 Kūka‘a is the rolled wauke.



Kaha

Kaha is to slice the outer bark. Holding the base of the ‘ili firmly, fold over the tip and lightly kaha the ‘ili vertically, not cutting through the ‘ili iho. Carefully kaha the outer bark of the wauke, allowing the crease of an opening in the bark to start the process of kolikoli.

Figure 121 Kaha is to cut open or slice the bark of the wauke.



Kolikoli

Kolikoli is to separate the outermost bark of the wauke from the bast. Wahineaea in the Stokes collection, Notes on Making Tapa states, “The bark was stripped for the wood, the outer bark pared (kolikoli) off; the bast, wrapped in ti-leaves, was left in the sea for a week or more” (Stokes, 1923b). In addition to Wahineaea explanation of kolikoli, Kaahaaina (1924) describes details in her journal, *Tapa Making*:

The term for the process [separating bast] was *kolikoli* and it was done right with the bast inside, then, with a bamboo[bamboo] knife, gradually working the epidermis free in a transverse line at the fold. (sic) and, when enough of the epidermis was detached to grasp, pulling it off in one piece from half the length of the bark strip. The strip was then turned over and the other half length of epidermis removed. (Stokes, 1923b)

Kaahaaina details the experience and expertise in working with *po‘a‘aha*. I have struggled with the *kolikoli* as I seem to break the epidermis or outer bark. My experience has been working with the base of the stalk and working the epidermis until it is completely removed. This was based on the understanding that the base of the *wauke* has the thickest fibers and would help with holding together in the removal of the bark. I am thrilled to use the Kaahaaina method of working with one end of the *wauke* then turning it over to work with the other side of the stalk. However, Pukui & Elbert (1986) defines *koli* to whittle, pare, sharpen, and peel. In contrast, Andrews & Parker (1865) define *koli* as to cut off frequently, to cut off; to cut shorts to trim

Figure 122 Kolikoli is the separating of the bast from the bark.



The action of *kolikoli* is to separate the *‘ili iho* from the *‘ili*, using quick *‘unu* (jerks), thus separating the fibers of the bast from the bark. Gently peel back the *‘ili* from the *‘ili iho* by grabbing the *‘ili* with your fingers, place the *‘ili* of the *wauke* over your thigh or a rounded surface. With the *‘ili* facing the thigh, slowly *kolikoli* the *‘ili iho* from the *‘ili*, pressing firmly on the *‘ili iho* using the contour of the thigh as your guide. If you were to just pull apart the *‘ili* from the *‘ili iho*, the *‘ili* will tear or break. While *kolikoli*, at times the *‘ili* will break away; this

is caused by the growth of the wauke. This is an indication that the wauke was dormant at that time, meaning the weather was cold and the fibers did not grow.

‘Ili iho

‘Ili iho is the bast of the wauke. After the separation of the ‘ili iho and ‘ili, any kae or refuse from the wauke is scraped off with the ‘opihi shell and discarded, leaving clean ma‘awe or raw fibers. The ‘ili iho is then rolled in a kūka‘a with the base of the wauke being on the outside. At this point the kapa maker must decide on the intention for the kapa. If the kapa needs to be white, a soaking in sea water for seven to ten days will remove excess kae and tannins. The kūka‘a is then rinsed and soaked in fresh water for several days to release the salt from the wauke. If the salt is left in the ‘ili iho, the kapa will always feel damp; this is because the salt attracts the moisture in the air. The salt will also change the basic pH value of the kapa to alkaline levels that will affect the natural dye colors. However, if the kapa does not have to be white, you can soak the wauke in plain water for seven to ten days. This will allow the kau (retting process) of the wauke bast fibers soft and pliable.

Figure 123 ‘Ili iho is the bast fiber of the wauke.



The retting of the bast fibers took many failed attempts to understand what was happening to the fibers. Sometimes it would mildew, over ret, fall apart, would not felt together, and sometimes it was perfect. Experimenting with using plastic bags, buckets, ti leaves, noni leaves, glass jars, and yet sometimes it worked and sometimes it did not. I needed to understand the process of retting, and this is not fermenting. We want the bacteria in the environment to help

in the breaking down of the fibers but still keep the strength process of the wauke. In an article in *Material Approaches to Polynesian Barkcloth* (Lennard & Mills, 2020), Schattenburg-Raymond (2020) describes, “In the retting process, the bacteria that occur naturally in the environment enter the bast fibers and begin breaking down the connective tissue which consists of pectin and mucilaginous substance; this helps to loosen and soften the bast fibers” (p. 77).

In the countless experiments to calculate the exact time and environment for this process. In colder weather wauke takes longer to ret the bast fibers versus the hot or warm weather which speeds up the process. If you are not able to use the wauke after it is retted, dry the strips completely and store for later use. The next section of *nā mea hana kapa* discusses the step-by-step process in making kapa. The common practice is to prepare the wauke to be used immediately after being harvested or to ret or soak the wauke for several days or weeks in preparation for the process of making kapa. The following techniques are the result of experiments guided by my interpretation of the Hawaiian experts and historians, and through my ‘ike kūpuna.

‘Ano Hana Kapa - techniques of processing kapa

Figure 124 My examination of pa‘i‘ula kapa at Queen Emma's Summer Palace.



This section presents a summary of the process of the ‘ano hana kapa or techniques of the processing of kapa. Then I introduce the insights of Hawaiian experts in their view of the process of hana kapa. I will then describe my experience in this process, highlighting the hua‘ōlelo kapa, and the techniques used. As mentioned in the introduction, these Hawaiian

experts are experienced kapa makers or have seen the processing of kapa by a kapa practitioner. The techniques are explained in order so that the practitioner can follow the process. This is an important transmission of ‘ike from the kumu to the haumana. As stated earlier, the kumu teaches, the haumana listens and watches, and it is in doing the work that one will learn. This style of the transfer of ‘ike is not one way; by the kumu teaching she will also learn. The learning includes adjustments for the individual and the condition of the wauke.

The following are three ‘ano hana kapa in the production of kapa and the purpose of the garment. The first technique discussed is waili‘ili‘i (using very little water), next is kau or retting process, and then pōpō (ball).

Space and place

In the preparation and techniques of the ‘ano hana kapa, it is important for the success of the process to take the time and care that is needed in each step. In general, these are important steps in preparing to hana kapa and remembering that these rituals have worked for me. First prepare the space and place where the work is going to be undertaken. Ensure that the designated space is clean and protected from unwanted distractions. If working on the ground, the ground is clean and covered with a blanket or lauhala mats. If working on the table, the table is cleaned and cleared of any distractions. This space is prepared for the hana kapa with the tools and supplies. At no time are negative words spoken and no food or drinks are allowed in this space. Next is to prepare the individual to kuku kapa, for me this is done in pule; Nā ‘Aumākua and E Hō Mai. At this time the hana kapa can begin.

‘Ohi, kahi, uhole

As discussed earlier, the wauke nui and po‘a‘aha are ready to harvest around eighteen months to two years old. It is more desirable to ‘ohi (harvest) in the early morning when the liquids in the plant are in movement with the sun, making bast easier to separate for the ‘ili (bark). To begin, immediately after ‘ohi the stalks of wauke, and uhole (separate) the bark from the bast of the wauke. Once the ‘ili iho is removed from the ‘ili, assure that ‘ili iho is cleaned of any

kae (waste). The wauke is ready to be kau (retted) in seawater or freshwater, or mo‘omo‘o (first kuku).

Kau

In Stokes collection, Webb, Emory, & Stokes (1924) reference *Tapu Making: Kaahaaina*, the kau (maceration) process described by Kaahaaina (1924):

The five moomoo were each rolled loosely into separate coils, placed in a bowl and carried to fresh water spring. Here they were allowed to soak thoroughly, for part of the day. When properly wet, each moomoo was wrapped up closely, but not tightly, in a ti-leaf packet- the five packets themselves being laid together in the bowl and covered with other leaves. The object, as explained was to exclude the air. (Stokes, 1924)

Stokes (1924) reference kau process as maceration (become soften by soaking in liquid); which could describe the retting process to soften and make the ma‘awe more pliable. In addition, Kent (1986) describes, “The bark was soaked until wali (soft) and pipili (sticky). The process was called kīkoni” (p. 160). As described Kaahaaina is describing the cleaned ‘ili iho, however Kent is describing the bark and ‘ili iho. For this research, I will use the term kau for the retting process.

The ‘ili iho was soaked in seawater if you want the wauke to be white or plain water if it does not have to be white. The kau (retting) process will remove any kae left in the wauke and relax the fibers so that the wauke is more pleasing to work with. In this research some practitioners have recorded the retting process from five days to two weeks. I would suggest that the varying timelines are determined by how the climate and elevation impacts on the retting. In general, for the seawater, soak for a week or until the wauke is soft and slimy. After soaking in seawater for several days, the ‘ili iho was soaked in freshwater to remove the salt from the wauke. If using freshwater; soak in water for a week or more until the wali and pipili. ‘Ili iho is now ready to mo‘omo‘o or to dry for later processing.

Kua pōhaku a hohoa

The first step in using the kua pōhaku and hohoa, the wauke could be processed as soon as the wauke is ‘ohi, kahi, and uhole with or without the soaking and kīkoni. Both wauke that were newly ‘ohi or the wauke that were kau remove wauke from the fresh water, taking a cloth to wipe off any excess water and any kae that stick to the ‘ili iho. Using the kua pōhaku and the hohoa, begin placing the cleaned outside of the ‘ili iho on the pōhaku. Starting with the tip side of the ‘ili iho, work from center out, then back to center then kuku kapa to the opposite side of the wauke. The hohoa is the round beater that commonly has wide to narrow lines and a smooth section of the face. The first pass over the bast of the wauke uses the hohoa with the pepehi (wide lines); these nao separates the fibers. Then the ho‘opa‘i (middle width lines) is used to separate and float the fibers gradually to the ho‘oki finer narrow lines. After each pass, you will turn over the ‘ili iho to the other side and start again with the pepehi and gradually increase to ho‘oki. It is very important to catch the edges of the wauke, and to not rush this step. Being patient with one-self and knowing that a half of an inch growth on both sides is the goal for each passing. We do not rush the process!

Waili‘ili‘i

In the waili‘ili‘i method, there is very little, or no water used. (Schattenburg-Raymond, 2020 personal conversation) Wai is water, and li‘ili‘i means a little at a time. Waili‘ili‘i also means a decorated tapa (Pukui & Elbert, 1965), and a thick striped kapa with yellow stripes (Andrews, 1922). Waili‘ili‘i is most suitable used with wauke nui with the intention of making malo, pā‘ū, kīhei, and kapa moe. Wauke nui is the preferred variety in this process of waili‘ili‘i due to the characteristic of strength and whiteness of the fibers. The process does not require the wauke ‘ili iho to be soaked in water nor be retted. Moisture naturally found in the ‘ili iho of the wauke is sufficient for the waili‘ili‘i method.

Immediately after the ‘ohi and uhole of the wauke nui, the ‘ili iho is removed from the ‘ili. Assured that the ‘ili iho is cleaned of any kae, the wauke is taken to the kua pōhaku, the ‘ili iho is kuku with the hohoa. Kapa can then be transferred to the kua lā‘au (wooden anvil) and kuku with a i‘e kuku (squared wooden mallet).

Following the same procedure for the kua pōhaku and hohoa, the wauke is rinsed in fresh water to remove any leftover kae; you will notice the wai has turned cloudy. Remove and gently squeeze out the excess water from the ‘ili iho. At this time if you want to store the wauke, you can dry the strips in the sun and then store them for later use.

Kua lā‘au a i‘e kuku

To continue the hana kapa process, take the ‘ili iho to the kua lā‘au placing the outer side of the bast facing the surface of the kua. Again, start with the tip of the kapa, working from the middle to the outside using the i‘e kuku with the widest pepehi; commonly this side has from four to fourteen nao (Kooijaman, 1972; Brigham, 1911; Arbeit, 2011; Kamakau et al., 1976). These wide lines of the i‘e kuku are grooved in an inverted u-shape that helps with the spreading of the fibers. Remember the rule of half an inch on both sides for each pass and repeat on the front and back of the kapa.

Then using the side with the ho‘opa‘i (Kooijaman, 1972; Brigham, 1911; Arbeit, 2011; Kamakau et al., 1976) which is more than fourteen nao; ho‘opa‘i allows the lifting and spreading of the fibers. These middle lines are grooved with an inverted v-cut providing the fibers to lift and felt together. Do the same for the i‘e kuku pepehi, starting from the time then moving from the middle outwards on both sides and repeating on the front and back of the kapa. The ho‘opa‘i process takes the longest time because the fibers movement is slow but steady. Note, you do not want to have the kapa start to fan out, this means the kuku is not even and leads to an inconsistent texture of kapa.

The next hana kapa step uses the finer nao of the ho‘opa‘i (Kent, 1995; Kooijaman, 1972; Brigham, 1911; Arbeit, 2011). The term ho‘opa‘i were used for the third face of the i‘e kuku as discussed earlier these lines can be twenty to fifty lines on a two-inch face. Ho‘opa‘i is used in the finishing stage to felt the fibers together. However, Kamakau et al. (1976) uses the term ho‘oki, he wrote, “On the i‘e kuku pepehi the nao were broad; on the o‘e kuku ho‘opa‘i they were narrow, and on the i‘e kuku ho‘oki, in order to make the tapa beautiful, the nao we very

small” (p. 109). In this research I will use ho‘oki for the third face of the i‘e kuku finishing nao or define it as the fine lined ho‘opa‘i when referencing to the appropriate authors.

The last side is the mole, it is the smooth, un-grooved surface that is used to flatten the kapa before applying the watermarks. Before the introduction of metal, craftsmen would groove the beaters using shark tooth, shells, or sharp adze attached to a wooden handle. Nao was grooved on both the hohoa and i‘e kuku. With the introduction of metal, we see more intricate designs on the i‘e kuku. These carved designs left impressions in the kapa that were revealed when the kapa was held up to the sunlight. Interestingly, although the intricate designs on the beaters came after the introduction of metal, and the carved designs are connected to the Hawaiian Kapa, there is no known term for these watermarks. The mole is also used to soften and flatten the dried kapa before applying the designs.

The three known Hawaiian varieties of wauke have different characteristics of fibers. Wauke nui is coarser, stronger tensile strength, and because of the texture fibers, it is harder to get a thin finish product. We identified that the wauke nui kapa did not hold the impression of the watermarks. According to Schattenburg-Raymond (personal communication, 2020), the finished kapa of the wauke nui using the waili‘ili‘i method is washable and wearable. Because of the strength of the wauke nui, it is the preferred fiber to make malo. In contrast, the po‘a‘aha fiber is softer and easier to felt together on itself. Using the po‘a‘aha with the waili‘ili‘i technique can still provide fibers that are thin and pliable to hold the watermarks.

In Stokes (1923) *Notes of Making Tapa: Wahineaea of Hana, Maui.*, Webb & Stokes (1923, Oct. 17) interview with Wahineaea cultural expert. Wahineaea describes two methods of making kapa. The first method is the retting process that was used in the making of aahu kapa (clothing or cloak) or kīhei and kuina kapa; which is the sewing together of sheets of kapa and described as kapa moe. The second method was used to make pā‘ū, and malo. Wahineaea explains that the aahu kapa fibers were retted and pulped together, however kapa for the pā‘ū, and malo, was processed as soon as the bast was removed from the wauke ohi. Wahineaea described the wauke ohi as the young and straight wauke which grows to a height without

branching (Stokes, 1923). Interesting observation, because we know the branching will occur if the practitioner does not attend to the cultivation of the plant and removing new shoots from the stalk. The important information from the Wahineaea is that she has determined that the technique used will impact the success of the process of the finished kapa.

Wahineaea describes this technique to produce garments of pā'ū and malo using the wauke ohi. After the stalks of the wauke ohi are stripped, the outer bark was kolikoli (pared) off, and the process of waili'ili'i was immediately started. Wahineaea's technique of aahu is like the description of the waili'ili'i method. Wahineaea (Stokes, 1923) stated:

The bast is stripped as already described but is beaten at once on the rounded side of the kua kuku with the ribbed hohoa, which alone is used for the purpose. The round side of the kua kuku is used throughout. Where there is no sprinkling of water, nor is moisture added - the natural moisture of the bast being sufficient. (p. 2)

Wahineaea referred to the rounded side of the kua kuku using the ribbed hohoa. As a practitioner, I am unsure of what she meant by using the round side of the kua kuku for it is the top of the kua that is used; there is no other side. I am excited to understand that the ribbed hohoa on the kua kuku was used in this process using the wauke ohi. This process would be difficult if the practitioner was to use a mature wauke instead of the young stalks of the wauke ohi.

Paku

Wahineaea (Stokes, 1923) continues to describe the process of paku, the joining of pieces of wauke to make the width and length necessary to produce the pā'ū, malo, and kīhei.

If the completion of the beating is delayed over the day, the bast is placed within ti-leaves. A number of pieces having been completed, two are placed side by side on the kua kuku and tapped at intervals and so as to join them. The process of joining is called paku. Other

pieces are added until the necessary width had been obtained. To add to the length, the odd ends are first cut off, and then ends of new pieces overlaid and beaten together. (p.2)

I was first introduced to this process of paku by my kumu Valerie Dukelow in 2005 while she was teaching a handful of kumu that wanted to learn to make kapa at Pūnana Leo o Maui. Very similar to the description above, we placed two strips side by side with a slight overlaid section of half an inch to join the two pieces together. Much like artifacts seen in the Bishop Museum and the Bailey House Museum, and Aunty Valerie's joining of the two strips were seamless to the untrained eyes. Wahineaea and Aunty Valerie used no binders in the process of paku. However, in the past experiments of joining two pieces of wauke together, I had to use the binder of pia and hot water to make a paste to attach the two pieces together. Nevertheless, with this renewed knowledge of the use of wauke ohi for this process, I am confident this process can be reproduced without using a binder. In addition to using the paku to join pieces of kapa together, the kapa mo'omo'o is another way to strengthen the kapa and to control the size of the finished product.

Kapa Mo'omo'o

The term mo'omo'o is used to describe the process of making of mo'omo'o and also for the finished product the mo'omo'o. I will use the term ho'omo'omo'o as the process of making, and mo'omo'o as the product itself. For the kapa mo'omo'o technique, the preferred fiber is po'a'aha but wauke nui can also be utilized. The mo'omo'o is best described as the product to produce kapa moe, pā'ū, wrapping of ki'i, and 'iwi kūpuna. In a personal conversation with Schattenburg-Raymond (2020) describes the mo'omo'o technique uses the retted strips of wauke to add the length, width, and structure of the final piece. The retted wauke are paired for their size and age. This pairing can also start from the time that the wauke is harvested and kūka'a together for the retting process. The pair is then laid on top of each other, with the two places laid in opposite directions—tip of the wauke to base of wauke, laying front to back surfaces of the wauke; this helps with adhering and felting of the two strips of wauke. The next step is to dry the mo'omo'o in the sun, this will also help with the bleaching and strengthen the fibers. The mo'omo'o can then be stored for later use.

Mo'omo'o is defined by Pukui and Elbert as strips of wauke bast beaten together from which tapa sheets are to be made. In the Stokes Collection (1923) translated by Webb and Stokes, expert informants Ka'aha'aina, Wahineaea, and Kapana agree, although the amount of the strips differ from five to ten strips. In contrast to Andrew's description of mo'omo'o kapa as of second or third rate and kapa that is not considered valuable, in my experience the mo'omo'o technique produces a quality of fine beauty with strength that a kapa maker would be proud to create. Described by Ka'aha'aina (Stokes, 1923a):

After 1st soaking of bast, 5 (generally) pieces of bast are laid, one on top of another and tied every 6 to 9 inches with marginal strips of bast. It is then beaten with a smooth round mallet on a smooth ala. The blows were placed lengthwise, beginning at the lower end of the strips. In the process the strips became felted, and widened, and the tie strings broke or become merged into the felt. Next dried in the hot sun, which helped to bleach it. Mo'omo'o was generally stored until enough was on hand for the kuku process. One sheet of tapa was generally made from one mo'omo'o. (p. 11)

Ka'aha'aina's (Stokes, 1923a) description of the mo'omo'o method of felting strips to prepare for the kuku process. To clarify: Ka'aha'aina's five strips of felted wauke is equal to one mo'omo'o. In my experience working this method, I recommend placing the strips on each other with the rotation of top to bottom with the front to back. This provides an even thickness of the finished mo'omo'o. The hohoa is referred to as the 'smooth round mallet' and the 'smooth ala' is the kua pōhaku. Although Kaahaaina does not provide the detail of the mo'omo'o process, it is a long, tedious stage, and I found it possible but difficult to process that many strips of retted wauke at one time.

Wahineaea (Stokes, 1923) explained that she uses bundles of eight strips of soaked wauke tied one foot apart. She also uses the term wilioki for felting the wauke together with the plain hohoa and ala. There is no definition for wilioki in the dictionaries but to break down the terms

wili is to twist and oki to stop, finish, and end. Wahineaea used the term makaie if the wauke does not felt together.

After wilioki together the strips of retted wauke using the hohoa on the kua pōhaku, repeat the kuku front and back, taking extra care in beating out the edges of the wauke. The mo‘omo‘o is dried in the sun to be bleached and strengthened the kapa. The dried mo‘omo‘o can be stored for a long time and used at a later time. To rehydrate the dried mo‘omo‘o soak in water for an hour, remove excess water, then take to kua lā‘au with the i‘e kuku.

Pōpō

Pōpō is described as the process of using double retted fibers. Pōpō is also translated as a ball, a round mass, or to rot. The mo‘omo‘o and old kapa is used in the pōpō technique by double retting of fibers and making it into balls of fibers. The pōpō is a technique for making kapa moe or kunia kapa. In addition, the pōpō is made of aahu or kīhei. The finished product is soft and pliable kapa. The following description relates to the use of the pōpō to make a certain type of kapa. Although I have not had much success using this process, my greater understanding of the process is critical for the success of producing a functional kīhei and kapa moe.

As earlier noted, there are two methods of making kapa. The first method was used in the making of aahu kapa or kuina kapa using a retting process. Wahineaea (Stokes, 1923) explains the process of producing the pōpō of retted kapa to make the garments of the aahu or kuina kapa,

The moomoo was immersed in fresh water and then bundled in leaves of the noni and placed in the sun for a week or ten days, being kept moist by sprinkling. After this period, it was turned over and kept in the same condition for a similar period. The idea of the noni leaves is to make the material soft, and the heat of the sun aids the decomposition. It is evident that the idea is to start up a fermentation, as the material is said to smell sour. The mass is then done up in ti-leaf bundles and removed to the shelter of the house where it is left for one or two weeks until the fiber breaks readily. (p. 41)

Wahineaea's description of using the noni (*Morinda citrifolia*) leaves in the retting process of the mo'omo'o outside of the house, and then using ti-leaf for inside of the house, is an interesting observation. The period of time for this retting process is long and needs to be attended to by ensuring the bundle stays moist. Wahineaea also uses the terms paulu'a and pepehi in describing the action and the name of the beater. Paulu'a is defined by Wahineaea as the coarse longitudinally ribbed beater and is the first beating.

Pukui & Elbert (1986) describes pā'ulu'ā as to beat carelessly and pepehi as to beat, strike, pound. Also, pepehi is the surface of a tapa beater formed by deep grooves and sometimes the beater itself is called the pepehi. Wahineaea (Stokes, 1923) describes the process of making kapa, "When considered ready for the beating (paulu'a) or pepehi, the mass is divided into smaller balls according to the number of sheets of the tapa desired" (p. 41). She continues,

One ball is then taken up, and again divided - this time in half. Each half is beaten out into a thin sheet with the ie kuku on the kua kuku. One sheet is laid on the other and the two beaten until the required length, breadth, and thickness. The first beating is with the coarse longitudinally ridged beater called paulu'a. The second beating is with the puili, a beater with finer longitudinal ribs with transverse marking...The later beatings are done with the other faces of the beaters. (p. 41)

It is interesting to note that Wahineaea used the term pā'ulu'ā as the name of the first nao beating and pū'ili for the second beating. Whereas other informants referenced these beating nao as pepehi and hoopai. She continues to describe the final process,

The final process in the beating is to check up the squareness of the edges, and for this purpose the sheet is folded in four. If the edges are even, the work is satisfactory, and three strokes called panao are given with the beater on the folded sheet. (p. 41)

Wahineaea (Stokes, 1923) describes the final steps to confirm that the kapa is complete as she explains the folding of the kapa into four and checking if the edges are even. Then she describes

the three strokes called panao. I could not find a translation for panao; however, it can be assumed that these three strokes are an indication that this process is complete.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Ka‘aha‘aina (1923a) experience in working with po‘a‘aha to producing the mo‘omo‘o to make the material needed to make kapa sheets for the kuina kapa (kapa moe) and kīhei,

It would be remembered that each moomoo was loosely coiled. When flattened, it was about 6 inches long. It was not unrolled. Due to the wetting and maceration, it appeared like a small mass of pulp when the principal beating began. Any slimy water remaining was squeezed from it. It was then laid on the kua kuku and beaten with the coarse face of the mallet. (p. 15)

During the beating, the pulpy material spread in all directions, and as it spread, the edges were turned back from one side or another while the beating continued - not in like rolling dough or pastry. As a result, the fibers became turned in all directions, and a very complete felting (palahe) resulted. The name of the material at this stage was moomoo hana. After the initial felting as it began to spread and became sheet-like, it was termed u‘au‘a, and the edges were not again turned back. (p. 15)

Ka‘aha‘aina’s description of the behavior of the fibers indicates similarities to the process of producing pōpō. However, Ka‘aha‘aina does not discuss the making of the balls, but she does indicate the number of mo‘omo‘o needed to make a sheet of kapa. In addition to the descriptions of the process of pōpō experts Wahineaea and Ka‘aha‘aina, Schattenburg-Raymond (personal communication, 2020) provides a technical understanding of the process of pōpō. She explains that within the process “small scraps and leftover bits of wauke or older used barkcloth could be torn or shredded and re-retted. This kind of kapa would need a binder to hold the degraded fibers together” (p. 80). Schattenburg-Raymond’s knowledge of Hawaiian plants and binders such as the mucilage from the palaholo or amau‘u fern (*Sadleria*

cyatheoides) or from māmakī (*Pipturus albidus*) contributed as a binder but also to allows the fibers to move more easily in the beating process.

In the pōpō style, you must shape and form the size of the kapa as you proceed. Also, because the fiber length is so short, the kapa is much more fragile and difficult to move on the kua or anvil. This type of kapa does not have the structural integrity of the waili‘ili‘i or mo‘omo‘o and was most likely used for kapa moe or pā‘ū. (Lennard & Mills, 2020, p. 16)

Her comments regarding the integrity of the structure are based on the type and age of the wauke. Due to the fibers of the wauke being broken into pieces and the retting process, the fibers will not be as strong as the un-retted wauke nui. Also, Schattenburg-Raymond describes the importance and the use of binders in the pōpō method to encourage the structure and strength of the kapa. In addition to the three techniques of waili‘ili, mo‘omo‘o, and pōpō which are more commonly used, there are a few others to bring to attention. The following kinds of kapa are identified in museums, however, there is little information on how they are made.

Pa‘ūpa‘ū

Figure 125 Pa‘ūpa‘ū kapa with three layers. Bishop Museum.



Pa‘ūpa‘ū kapa with three layers; two layers of thin fine kapa for the top and bottom, in the middle are dyed strips of ‘inika (ink) and noni are sandwiched and beaten together. Bishop Museum.

Pa‘ūpa‘ū is a technique of overlaying a colored sheet onto a white sheet and lightly beaten together. The overlaid partially beaten colored kapa was wet during its production of the pa‘ūpa‘ū. (Pukui & Elbert, 1986; Kent, 1995; Kamakau et al., 1976). Because of the overlaid sheet, the pa‘ūpa‘ū were thicker and stronger than the kuina kapa. Schattenburg-Raymond (2020) writes, “Manufacture of this kapa obliges you to use the mo‘omo‘o method because the constituent micro-layers will keep the two colour separate” (as cited in Lennard & Mills, 2020, p. 81). Brigham (1911) describes the technique of pa‘ūpa‘ū where “three sheets are required, two of them are as thin as the beautiful Kalukalu, between which the third, colored and cut into strips, is sandwiched” (p. 208).

Kalukalu

Kalukalu is a beautiful type of kapa that was only made by the most highly skilled kapa makers. In the Hawaiian Ethnographic Notes: *Henriques Collection*, Edgar Henriques (n. d.) writes in his journal, *Tapu*, “Kalukalu was the tapa. The expert of Waipio and Waimanu made the very best. It was like fine, thin cloth that could be seen through” (Henriques, n. d., p. 1042). The fine lace like kapa was made by the skilled commoner and was believed to be made in secret. Hiroa (1957) describes Kalukalu as the finest cloth, gauze-like in structure and some thin Kalukalu has fallen apart because of its delicate structure. There is no record of the process of making the Kalukalu. This may be an art that was kept within the family that made Kalukalu for the ali‘i and has died with the family.

Figure 126 Kalukalu from Bishop Museum.

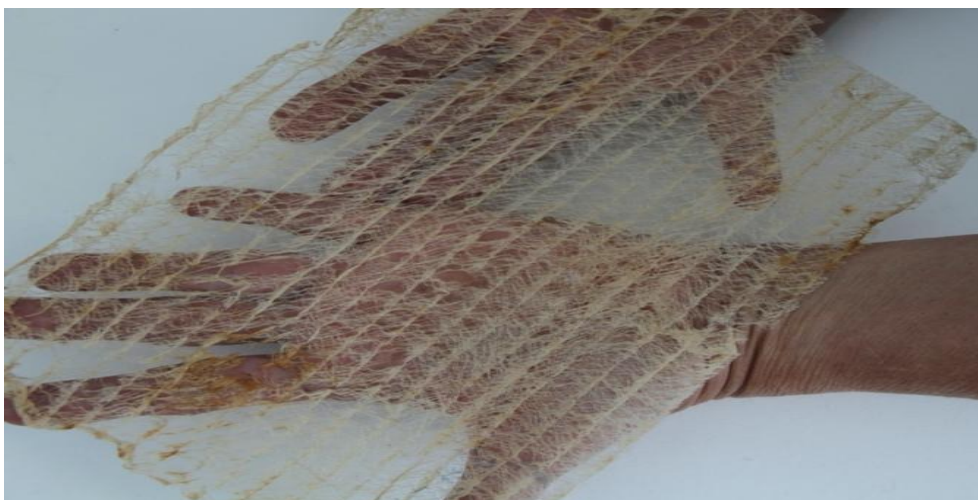


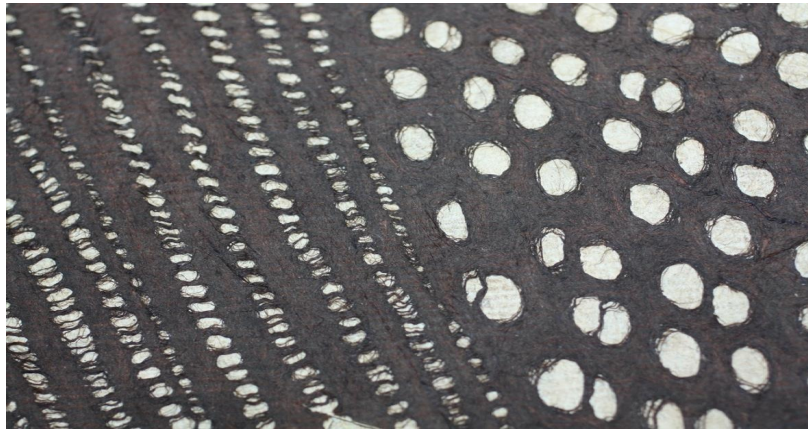
Figure 127 Closeup of Kalukalu kapa from Bishop Museum.



Pukapuka Kapa

In the *J. S. Emerson Collection* (1999) an artifact (BPBM 2450) in his collection purchased from the estate of Wm. Pitt Leleiohoku in 1848. Emerson describes the kapa as, “Moe, wauke...Kilohana made of two sheets pasted and beaten together, brown-black on one side, white on the other side. Punctures made on the brown-black side show as a white design on the side” (as cited in Summers, 1999, p. 43). The pukapuka would be used for the kilohana of a ‘aha or kuina kapa.

Figure 128 [Pukapuka] kapa with holes and slits designs. Bishop Museum. (BPBM 2450)



This type of kapa was decorated with black oval depressions, holes, and slits. I refer to this design as pukapuka kapa in the absence of any other term being found in the literature. In reference to puka, Pukui & Elbert (1986) describes puka as a hole, slit, vent, opening, perforate, and puncture. These descriptions are the characteristics of pukapuka kapa. I imagine the process would be using a mo‘omo‘o, the kapa is beaten till thin then dried. The kapa is then

punctured with a pointed shell or using a scissor a small slit was made. In the time period described in Emerson's images of two artifacts of 1887 and 1848, the introduction of sewing scissors would allow the Hawaiians to make the slits in the kapa. Both Emerson's artifacts show a pattern that is intentional. Emerson wrote in reference to artifact BPBM 2699, "Moe, wauke. Fragment. Black with decorative transparent oval depressions. Stiff and thickish" (as cited in Summers, 1999, p. 51).

Figure 129 Kapa with holes and slits from Queen Emma's Summer Palace.



[Pukapuka] kapa reveals the use of the papa hole.

Waiho'olu'u

Figure 130 Waiho'olu'u of dyes made from native plants.



Waiho‘olu‘u is the term used for Hawaiian dyes. In this section I introduce the sources of dyes, the process of making the dyes, and the application of dyes. I was first introduced to waiho‘olu‘u at a dye workshop presented by Schattenburg-Raymond. I was fascinated with the brilliance of our kūpuna and what they knew about the native plants. They were experts in knowing what plants to use, where the plants grew, and when was the best time to harvest. They knew what parts of the plants to use: leaves, roots, bark, fruit, flowers, berries, fresh, or dried. Our kūpuna understood the chemical reaction by ho‘ololi (modifiers) to the dye base such that adding a pinch of burnt coral to the noni bath will change from a golden yellow to a brilliant red. And they knew that the oxidation period of certain dyes created desirable colors such as the mao.

In this section of Waiho‘olu‘u, I introduce a brief history of the dyes made from native plants and significance of the colors. I then share the various native and nonnative plants used in dyes of kapa, including the process in making specific dye colors and of applying the dyes to the kapa.

“He noni no Kaualehua, he pūhai a‘a.

It is a noni tree of Kaualehua whose roots are in shallow ground.

Said of a person whose knowledge is shallow. The noni root from shallow ground does not make a good dye as that from deep ground” (Pukui, 1983, p.92).

This ‘ōlelo no‘eau – He noni no Kaualehua, he pūhai a‘a, reminds us that knowledge comes in different levels from shallow to the deep. Knowing that the noni roots harvested from shallow grounds will not produce a good dye, but a root that is deep will bring the strong dye worthy for the ali‘i. Knowing when and where to harvest the dye plants is as important as knowing when to harvest and make kapa.

In Table 1 Waiho‘olu‘u in the appendix are a compiled list of native plants used to make dyes for kapa. There are many variations of dyes that are produced for kapa, some are specific to the purpose of the kapa, and some are pure artistic preference. On the first arrival of Cook to

the islands, the basic colors were shades of blacks, browns, reds, and yellows. Then on the second return of Cook, the color palette changed with the influence of the arrival of cloth. Kānaka duplicated the new colors by using the native plants to produce dyes of shades of blues, greens, pinks, and purples.

Figure 131 Surrounded with rainbow of colors.



In an article *Ka Hookumu ia ana o Hawaii: Aloha Aina* (n. a., 1896) it states, “The dyes used for tapas were kukui, holei, ‘olena, amau‘u, red earth, sandalwood, alaea, paihi, noni, moelua, kapuakai, charcoal and so on” (n.p.). This list contains the dye plants, scenting plants, ochreous dirt, and unknown to me. Other researchers name the type of kapa with a description of the colors of the kapa.

Figure 132 Various Native Plant Dyes.



Photo by Michelle Mishina, *Hana Hou Magazine*, 2019, p. 59.

One of my most favorite descriptions comes from a visitor Lord Bryon as he describes the colors of the kapa,

The tapa is naturally of a light colour, and capable of being bleached till perfectly white. Much of it is worn in this state; but the greater portion is stained with a variety of dyes[sic], extracted with much skill from different indigenous plants. The colours are often very beautiful, principally green of every shade, from the lightest to the darkest; yellow, from a dark salmon to straw color; red, from a rich crimson to a delicate blossom purple, from a dark plum through all the hues of lilac to a light dove; brown from chocolate to fawn; and black and white. The cloth is dyed with one of these plain throughout, and worn thus, or again stamped with several others, in an endless variety and combination of figures (Stewart & Ellis, 1828, p.148).

C.S. Steward (1828) recorded Lord Bryon's visit from 1823 through 1825. He remarked on the beauty and colors of Hawaiian kapa. By the 1800s the color pallet had changed from the common brown, black, blue, yellow, and red to the brilliant colors that were described by Lord Bryon. Visiting the various museums in Hawai'i and New Zealand, I have seen the brilliance of the colors of Hawaiian kapa. These colors of reds, yellows, greens, and blues have kept their colors over the hundreds of years that it was made. However, today the natural dyes fade and lose the brilliance of the colors. I continue to research what our ancestors added to the dyes to fix the colors to last another hundred years. A First Nations person told me that in a personal conversation told me that they

Hili

Hiroa (1957) stated, "Dyes prepared from bark were termed hili and were qualified by the name of the plants. The bark was probably pounded in a stone mortar with a stone pestle before water was added to make a hili infusion. Some preparations were heated by means of dropping hot stones into the liquid" (p.187). Kamakau et al. (1976) mentions that hili is the juice from the bark of the tree. Also, Brigham (1911) describes "the reaction between tannin and salts of iron, as in the familiar ink-making; this we have seen in the double dyeing with hili kolea, hili koa or hili kukui, and then with the iron-saturated mud or water" (p. 173). Brigham's statement

brings me to my research of Hawaiian hili, and the reaction of hili dyed kapa and an active taro patch mud.

In my study, “Hawaiian Hili” the past’s kapa makers by recreating the process of making hili from five native plants. The research of the tannins in koa (*Acacia koa*), ‘a‘ali‘i (*Dodonaea viscosa*), ulehala (*Pandanus tectorius*), pala‘ā (*Stenoloma chinensis*), and kukui (*Aleurites moluccana*) was examined for the depth of the hili dyes on kapa before and after immersing into an active lo‘i lepo (taro mud). These plants koa, ‘a‘ali‘i, kukui, and pala‘ā were chosen because of the historical records that describe the hili names. (Brigham, 1911; Kamakau et al., 1976; Pukui & Elbert, 1986; Hiroa, 1957). The ulehala was chosen because of conversations with practitioners. Besides the five hili mentioned, there are others such as holei, kou, mamaki, kokia, kōlea, noni, and ‘ohia‘ai. In this study, the method used was ma ka hana ka ‘ike – in doing the work you learn. Taking the bark of the koa, ‘a‘ali‘i, and kukui; the dried leaves of the pala‘ā and the ulehala (aerial root) to determine the process of making hili. The following is a summary of the experiments, reactions, and evaluation of the study.

The first three plants, koa, ‘a‘ali‘i, and kukui, used the dead branch’s bark or trunk. For the pala‘ā, I gathered the dead leaves, taking care not to pull out any attached roots. For the ulehala, I gathered the aerial root (*Pandanus*) that is above the ground. The ulehala is pounded on a rock until; the fibers are broken up. All plant materials were boiled in a stainless-steel pot to avoid any reaction to the heat and container. Boiling the bark, leaves, and root helps extract the tannins. Hili is strained to remove any particles and left to cool. Hili was then painted on the kapa and left to dry for 24 hours. Lepo (mud) from an active lo‘i kalo from Paeloko was then painted over the hili and let dry for 24 hours. A gentle rinse with water to remove excess lepo from the kapa, then dry. The scale of color measure of 1 is the lightest, to 5 is the darkest.

Hili koa – *Acacia koa*, endemic.

Hili koa was then painted on the kapa and let to dry for 24 hours. The color obtained was a medium brown. The lepo (mud) from an active lo‘i kalo from Paeloko was then painted over the hili koa and left to dry for 24 hours. A gentle rinse to remove excess lepo from the kapa,

then dry. The color obtained with the hili koa and lepo was dark chocolate brown. Figures 133 to 137 below referenced to L (left), M (middle), and R (right).

Figure 133 Hili koa on plain (L), koa tree (M), and painted with lepo from lo'i kalo(R).



Hili 'a'ali'i – *Dodonaea viscosa*, indigenous.

The hili 'a'ali'i liquid was very light. Hili 'a'ali'i was then painted on the kapa and left to dry for 24 hours. The color obtained was a light brown. Lepo (mud) from an active lo'i kalo from Paeloko was then painted over the hili 'a'ali'i and left dry for 24 hours. A gentle rinse to remove excess lepo from the kapa, then dry. The color obtained with the hili 'a'ali'i and lepo was dark-gray, like the shimmer of the tree's bark.

Figure 134 Hili 'a'ali'i on plain (L), 'A'ali'i bush(M), and painted with lepo from lo'i kalo(R).



Hili kukui – *Aleurites moluccana*, Polynesian-introduced.

The hili kukui liquid was very dark. The hili kukui was then painted on the kapa and left too dry for 24 hours. The color obtained was a dark reddish-brown. Lepo from an active lo‘i kalo from Paeloko was then painted over the hili kukui and let dry for 24 hours. A gentle rinse to remove excess lepo from the kapa, then dry. The color obtained with the hili kukui and lepo was deep brown-black.

Figure 135 Hili kukui on plain a (L), Kukui tree (M), and dipped in lepo from lo‘i kalo(R).



Hili Pala‘ā – *Stenoloma chinensis*, indigenous.

As a liquid, the hili pala‘ā was very light. The hili pala‘ā was then painted on the kapa and left to dry for 24 hours. The color obtained was a light brown. Lepo from an active lo‘i kalo from Paeloko was then painted over the hili pala‘ā and let dry for 24 hours. A gentle rinse to remove excess lepo from the kapa, then dry. The color obtained with the hili pala‘ā and lepo was light green-brown. In these images below, the green tinge is not captured in the photos.

Figure 136 Hili pala‘ā on plain (L), Dried pala‘ā fern(M), & painted with lepo from lo‘i kalo(R).



Hili Ulehala – *Pandanus tectorius*, indigenous.

As a liquid, the hili ulehala was very light. The hili ulehala was then painted on the kapa and let dry for 24 hours. The color obtained was a light brown. Lepo from an active lo‘i kalo from Paeloko was then painted over the hili ulehala and let dry for 24 hours. A gentle rinse to remove excess lepo from the kapa, then dry. The color obtained with the hili ulehala and lepo was light brown. In these images below, the green tinge is not captured in the photos. This was an opportunity to experiment if the ulehala would make a good hili, and it was a good hili.

Figure 137 Hili ulehala on plain (L), hala tree (M), and painted with lepo from lo‘i kalo(R).



Ma ka hana ka ‘ike, in doing the work with the various hili, I know when it is the right time to gather, where to gather, and what parts of the plant are needed to make hili. I had the opportunity to process the hili, smell, and experience the reactions of the hili with the lepo. Although this is the beginning of my hana with hili, the ‘ike that I have gained is priceless.

Wai‘ala (scenting)

Figure 138 Kamani and pakalana flower for scentings.



Kamakau et al. (1976) asserts that the dye was completed by the addition of perfume (wai‘ala). Pukui & Elbert (1986) and Te Rangi Hiroa (1957) listed plants that were used in scenting and the unique process of the Hawaiians, using native and introduced plants to give the kapa a sweet scent. The list has native and introduced plants. These were, mokihana (*Pelea anisata*), maile (*Alyxia oliviformis*), ‘iliahi (*Santalum spp.*), ‘awapuhi (*Zingiber zerumbet*), and kamani (*Calophyllum inophyllum*), kolu or klu (*Acacia farnesiana*), kupaoa or nainai (*Ralliardia scabra*), and laua‘e (*Polypodium phymatodes*). Hiroa (1957) wrote that the dried fruit of the mokihana, leaves and branches of the maile were placed between the sheets of kapa giving a perfume, including the powdered ‘iliahi wood and ‘awapuhi. He also referenced Kamakau saying, “the laua‘e fern and the kupaoa were mixed with and improved the dyes. The plants were subject to heat from stones that were heated in the fire and mixed with oil from large, dried coconut meat which had been cooked on the embers of a fire” (Hiroa, 1957, p. 210).

It is a common practice that various lei are dried and stored for future use in the kapa scenting or dyeing process. An example is the many beautiful lei maile that were bestowed on Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla in celebration of her Indigenous Honorary Doctorate in Education.

Figure 139 Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla with layers of maile lei. (Maui News, 2019)



In my experience in the scenting process, native plants are boiled and then added to the dye bath. The practitioner uses the different parts of the plants for scenting such as flowers, berries or fruit, roots, and leaves. The flowers of the kamani, or the leaves of the maile, laua‘e, and pauanui (coconut flower) can be added to the hot water that will be used in the dye bath. The ‘awapuhi rhizome or roots and leaves are cleaned and cut into pieces and boiled in water. Dried ‘awapuhi roots are made into a powder and dusted onto the dried kapa which is then stored. In addition, the ‘iliahialo‘e or ‘ili‘ahi lā‘au ala (heart wood) is made into a powder and placed into the folds of the kapa (Brigham, 1911). The fruit of the mokihana is boiled in water and added to a dye bath. Dried leaves like the maile and laua‘e are placed in a sealed container with the kapa for storing.

In the Hawaiian Newspaper *Ke Aloha ‘Āina*, an article *Na Pana Kaulana o Oahu Nei* (1919) tells of the great fragrance of a seaweed, Kulukuluwaena, named by the people of O‘ahu. A woman visitor from Kahuku revealed the fragrance as she opened her bundle of kapa,

A great fragrance fills the house and comes from a bundle being opened by the woman. A corner of a tapa appears, and its sweetness makes those of the house wonder. Not only those within but also those who are sitting outside. They comment on the strange fragrance and wonder where it had come from. Some of them examine the beautiful patterns on the visitor’s tapas. They are stamped with designs of several colors and are exceedingly beautiful. If all the perfume of the flowers of Oahu are gathered together their fragrance cannot compare with those of the kapas. (p. 25)

This mo‘olelo reveals the mystery of perfumes of the plants of the ocean and land that are used to scent kapa. This scenting is so impressive that the writer recorded this unforgettable fragrance in an article. People heard of this fragrance and visited her day and night to capture a moment of the beauty of the kapa, and its sweet scent. The unknown writer wrote, “If all the sweet odors of the fragrant seaweeds of our seas are combined, they still cannot compare to

this sweetness. This is a sweetness to be wondered at by the natives of O‘ahu nei, a fragrance that seem to sink into their very being. (Ke Aloha ‘Āina, 1919, p. 26)

The mystery of wai‘ala takes the practitioner to places that remind us of a time or places that once were. The scent of the maile reminds us of the walk through the forest, the ‘awapuhi of the fresh water that flowed near the blossoming flower, and now the limu that we will search for at our shoreline. Scenting of the kapa brings back memories of places the wearer once traveled.

Ma Ka Hana Ka 'Ike

In working one learns” (Pukui, 1983, p. 277).

Mokuna 'Eono: Helu 'ekahi (Part 1) Pūnana Leo o Lahaina Kapa Workshops

This chapter highlights the importance of acknowledging and appreciating the vast 'ike kupuna and 'ike Hawai'i. As both kānaka 'ōiwi and researcher, I am honored and humbled by the ho'ōili 'ike or the transfer of knowledge by cultural practitioners, experts, historians, artists, and researchers. Ho'ōili 'ike is the transferring of 'ike from kumu to haumana. In addition welo 'ohana is the generational transferring of 'ike within the 'ohana. Welo 'ohana is the teaching from one generation to the next, mother to daughter, kupuna to mo'opuna, and multi-generation. Documenting this research is possible due to the guidance and teaching of these critical sources of knowledge. Recognizing that as an applied researcher, the 'ike of mea hana kapa is in honoring the greatness and vast ancestral knowledge. This section of the thesis draws the relationship between participants' contributions and maui ola.

This study has applied kānaka 'ōiwi methodologies to honor 'ike kūpuna as the foundation of 'ike Hawai'i from the oral traditions of mo'olelo, 'ōlelo no'eau, mea hana kapa. As reflected in this 'Ōlelo No'eau from Mary Kawena Pukui (1983) "Ua lehulehu a manomano ka'ikena ka Hawai'i. Great and numerous is the knowledge of the Hawaiians" (p. 309). The wisdom of the ancestors is connected to all the elements of the environment, resources, and hana. Their 'ike has been the foundation for the kānaka to have an alanui kūpuna to reclaim traditions, ceremonies, and values. In acknowledging kānaka 'ōiwi methodologies, the weaving of mo'olelo and contemporary cultural practitioners continue to guide and provide opportunities for learning and teaching.

The participants came to the workshops with little or no understanding of mea hana kapa. Despite not knowing, they were confident in the 'ike of the ancestors. This approach of Kānaka

‘Ōiwi methodology of ho‘oili ‘ike and welo ‘ohana provided the participants a way to learn and to connect to their ancestral ‘ike. This is an innovative platform to learn and teach their keiki. Mokuna ‘elima is divided into two sections; the first area reflects Ma Ka Hana Ka ‘Ike—by doing, we learn. The second section reveals ‘Ike kūpuna—ancestral knowledge and ‘ike Hawai‘i—kānaka knowledge.

Ma Ka Hana Kapa

In the first of the four Hālāwai Ho‘ona‘auao(workshops), the ‘ohana are educated in the brief history of kapa and the importance of the uses in ancient Hawai‘i. ‘Ohana were enlightened as to the pule and rules of the space and place when making kapa, the guidelines and protocols when using the kapa tools. We included a brief discussion regarding the types of wauke and other types of plants used in making kapa. This workshop also covers the propagation, cultivation, maintenance, and harvesting of the wauke plant. The hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao ‘ekahi discussion concludes with the preparation of the bast fibers for the first step of na mea hana kapa using the pōhaku kua and hoho‘a.

The second hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao focused on the mo‘omo‘o or the breaking up of the wauke fibers using the hohoa and the pōhaku kua. Mākua were encouraged to complete their first mo‘omo‘o which they had started at the first workshop. They were also given homework to prepare a design representing their ‘ohana for the ‘ohe kāpala that they were going to make in the third workshop.

In the third hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao, the mākua completed the kuku kapa using the ‘ie kuku and lā‘au kua. In addition, each ‘ohana were given two blank ‘ohe kāpala and instructed in the process of caving the ‘ohe designs for their ‘ohana and the school. For many of the mākua, they could not complete their designs and took those blanks home as homework.

The final hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao were packed with the completion of the ‘ohe kāpala, making pa‘u (soot) for the ‘īnika (ink) to print the designs. This is a rare opportunity to learn how to

make ‘īnika from the raw materials. They printed their keiki kīhei and waiho‘oulu (dye) the pieces with native plant pigment.

The participants in these hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao included the mothers, fathers, sisters, grandparents, and aunties of the keiki of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina. During the workshops, the keiki stayed in another part of the school for their activities as their ‘ohana worked with me. And, by the end of the hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao, the keiki returned to their ‘ohana. Guided by their mākua, the keiki engaged to kuku kapa with their ‘ohana.

The ‘ohana share their experience of na mea hana kapa in their journals: of how they felt before, during, and after the hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao. Applying the Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodology of Ma Ka Hana Ka ‘Ike, the experience of na mea hana kapa in each workshop connects to ‘ike kūpuna and ‘ike Hawai‘i. In sharing reflections of their experiences, they establish a foundation to record the critical topics of this research. Within each section, I include illustrations and photos that reflect their experience.

‘A‘ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okahi.

All knowledge is not taught in the same school.

One can learn from many sources (Pukui, 1965, p.102).

Using Pukui’s Hawaiian proverb, ‘A‘ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okahi (Pukui & Elbert, 1965) reminds the researcher that there are many sources that one can learn from. Knowledge comes in the form of books, journals, and artifacts. For the kānaka, knowledge also comes from the mo‘olelo, the place, and the environment. For the practitioner, the transmission of knowledge comes from na kumu, na ‘aumākua, ceremony, protocols, rituals, and na mea hana.

Applying the Kānaka ‘Ōiwi methodology of ma ka hana ka ‘ike and na mea hana kapa to deliver the workshops to the Pūnana Leo o Lahaina participants has been critical to this research. Embracing the Kānaka ‘Ōiwi framework to deliver the na mea hana kapa has proven to be an ancient transmission of ‘ike. Ma ka hana ka ‘ike creates this metaphor of mea hana kapa that allows the researcher to teach the participants to experience the process of ma ka hana

ka ‘ike, it is the intention of awakening the “why” of the process to the tiniest of details. In resisting explaining each detail, the participants can internally come to their conclusion of the “why.” Ma ka hana ka ‘ike will ignite the participants' own research, experiments, discussions, and mo‘olelo.

Pūnana Leo o Lahaina

Pūnana Leo o Lahaina was opened in 2016 on the campus of Princess Nāhi‘ena‘ena elementary school in Lahaina. Hawaiian Language Immersion Program (HLIP) — Pūnana Leo o Lahaina graduated their first class in 2017 with seven students. These students then move to Kula Kaiapuni o Maui at Nāhi‘ena‘ena where a kindergarten to fifth grade has been established in HLIP. Kula Kaiapuni students continue to Lahaina Intermediate for sixth to eighth grade and then to Lahainaluna High School where they can complete their Hawaiian Immersion Education on the Westside of Maui.

In 2018, Pūnana Leo o Lahaina preschool moved to the grounds of Waiola Church on Waine‘e Street, Lahaina. Waiola Church cares for nā ‘iwi kūpuna of nā Ali‘i. My great-grandparents Charles and Emily Kalunahana Hawele Saffery are buried there in Waiola cemetery. This year on the sacred grounds of Waine‘e in June of 2019, Pūnana Leo o Lahaina had their graduation class of fifteen students. As part of their graduation, na Kumu asked my ‘ohana help the twenty-four families make kapa for their child’s graduation ceremony.

‘Ohana Reflective Journals

As discussed in mokuna ‘ekolu through a series of four workshops with Hawaiian Immersion Preschool Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, the ‘ohana was asked to record their process, experience, and reflections of the workshops. Reflective journals of the participants were collected during and after the final kapa workshop session. ‘Ohana were asked to record their reflections in words, illustrations, and photos of their experience of learning how to make kapa. In addition, the researcher asked ‘ohana to reflect on several key questions and record their thoughts in their Puke Mo‘omana‘o (reflective journals). These key questions are as follows:

1. He aha kāu i a‘o ai o kēia pō? (What have you learned in today’s session?)
2. He mau kumu waiwai paha kau? (Do you have access to any resources that you learned about today?)
3. Pehea kou na‘au? (How do you feel before, during and after?)
4. Ua pa ‘oe i ka pilina o kou na‘au kūpuna i keia pō? (Did you feel a connection to your kūpuna tonight?)

For their ho‘ike (graduation), presented by the ‘ohana, the parents wrapped their keiki with the finished kīhei kapa at the Pūnana Leo o Lahaina graduation ceremony. ‘Ohana members captured photographs of the ceremony allowing me the opportunity to include my own reflection of the experience. Themes that were referenced were the participant’s kapa experience, recollection of ‘ohana mo‘olelo, and the values of being Hawaiian.

The data analysis is based on understanding the transmission of ‘ike of the steps of the process of mea hana kapa. Discussed in mokuna ‘elua, the significance in papa hua‘ōlelo kapa is the reawakening of vocabulary that were used in the production of kapa. By knowing the ‘ōlelo kapa, the practitioner can build onto the uncertain production of me hana kapa. The voices of the ancestors are being retold in their mo‘olelo, as a practitioner we must bring the ‘ōlelo to life. Using the papa hua‘ōlelo kapa, the applied researcher describes the process and language development with photographic images. Each step of the process incorporates one to two quotes from the participant’s reflective journals. This is then followed by the researcher’s reflective quotes and/or summary of the process. These then are linked to literary sources where appropriate.

The goal of the hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao was to give a background of the foundation and a system to deliver the teaching that will help guide the kapa maker an insight to the process of na mea hana kapa. These techniques are based on the teachings of my kumu, fellow kapa makers, and friends that have shared their ‘ike, created experiments of success and failures that build on the success of the hana.

Indeed, the most important is the ‘ike that my own children and my husband Wayne have inspired and provoked i‘ini (desire) to experiment and create opportunities to reawaken authentic ways of learning. They share their own discoveries through mo‘olelo, mele, oli, and talking stories with other practitioners. The proudest moments for me are when they can share what they have learned by doing — Ma Ka Hana Ka ‘Ike.

Hua‘ōlelo Kapa

“I ka ‘ōlelo na ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo no ka make.

Life is in speech; death is in speech.

Words can heal; words can destroy” (Pukui, 1983, p. 129).

“A contemporary translation for this proverb is, in the Hawaiian Language we find the life of our race, without it (the Hawaiian language) we shall perish” (‘Aha Pūnana Leo, 2019).

This ‘ōlelo no‘eau by Pukui (1983) reminds me of my own grandmothers’ words. As a very young child my Grandma Emily always reminded me to be careful when using my words. She taught me that in words — we can bring life and we can take life. I never really understood her until I was older, when she revealed that our kupuna had the power to heal, and to the power to cause death. I always remember her face and the seriousness in her eyes as she explained the importance and power in our words. Today, I remind my children and grandchildren to be careful in using their words. Once words are spoken, we can never take it back. This proverb carries weight on the one that chooses their words carefully.

In reclaiming the Hawaiian language, the parents (participants) have committed to send their children to a Hawaiian Immersion Preschool, where all the delivery of the curriculum is in the Hawaiian language. As a former parent of graduates of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo and Kula Kaiapuni educational systems, I know the challenge of committing to a life as a Hawaiian immersion parent. By far this was the biggest decision that my husband and family made and continue to support. Earlier I mentioned that I have grandchildren in the Hawaiian immersion programs, which includes Pūnana Leo o Maui, Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, Princess Nahi‘ena‘ena Elementary School, Pā‘ia Elementary, Kalama Intermediate, and King Kekaulike High School. Two of my

daughters also work in the two preschools, one as a director/teacher and the other as an assistant director. They have played a significant role in helping me translate Hawaiian language journals to English, enabling me to reawaken words or terms that connect to kapa. This was an important part in the revival of mea hana kapa.

“I ka ‘ōlelo na ke ola, i ka ‘ōlelo no ka make” (Pukui, 1983), reflects the ancient practice of hua. The kahuna (priest) could use the power of the words to heal or bring death, but today we can use ua ‘ōlelo for word and term to bring back the ancient cultural practice. As discussed earlier, for almost two hundred years the practice of hana kapa was asleep, just as these hua‘ōlelo kapa. Today we can invoke the hua‘ōlelo kapa with the ‘ohana and kumu of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina. These words have helped the practitioner to understand the many different processes of mea hana kapa. It is most important that these hua‘ōlelo kapa are alive and connected to the ancestors that once made kapa. Mikey wrote:

Important vocabulary - Kahi - cut longitudinally, Uhole - to strip, Kūka‘a - roll, Kaha - to cut open lengthwise, Kolokoli - to peel, ‘Ili‘iho - inner bark, ‘ili - bark, mo‘omo‘o - to beat raw bast, hohoa - beating stick (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April).

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i creates the opportunity to reach into a deeper level of ‘ike that is difficult for me to shift through. For most of the parents of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, they come with little or no language background. They bring their child to immerse them in the Hawaiian language but also commit themselves in learning and practicing ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. There are few mākua that have the proficiency of the language to grasp the mana‘o (thought) or kaona (symbolic). However, they have the desire to find out, ask questions, and for some to ma ka hana ka ‘ike. The opportunity to share the awakening of experiences with ‘ohana and haumana to know na mea hana kapa and to reclaim ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i so that these hua‘ōlelo kapa will be normal, has been most significant in this study.

Hālāwai Ho‘ona‘auao ‘Ekahi

There are many teachers with many different styles and beliefs, however these hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao (workshop) were designed based on my experience in na mea hana kapa and ‘ike of our kupuna.

Protocol of na mea hana kapa

At ‘ohana gatherings, an event, or the start of an activity, we always start with a pule. Acknowledging our akua, ‘aumākua, and our intentions has always been the foundation of the pule. When we prepare ourselves to enter the forest to gather materials for kapa making we ask permission to enter. This is a common practice when we visit our ‘ohana, we stand by the door and we call out “Aloha, Nana I am here!”, and when answered we enter. As kānaka this is what we do, we ask permission and wait for the answer.

It is important to know the protocol for my ‘ohana and the students that I teach. Putting oneself in the right space, place, and environment is important for the spiritual connection to the task at hand. To do this, we ask the ancestors to guide us, give us insight, give us patience, and wisdom as we do our hana. In all levels of teaching from keiki to kūpuna, I ask the participants to seek guidance, to put one-self in a place and space to focus on the task ahead.

Gathered outside under the ‘ulu (breadfruit or *Artocarpus altilis*) tree, ‘ohana stood in front of the entrance of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina in Wainane to ask permission to enter, to learn, and to be guided by ‘ike Hawai‘i. I mention the ‘ulu for the significance to Hawaiian culture as being one of the canoe plants that arrived with the first Polynesians, represents growth, and a staple food for the kānaka. ‘Ulu represent a gift from Kū³⁶ to save his children, wife, and community from starvation in a time of famine. (Pukui, 1933, p. 127) In this mo‘olelo Kū buries himself alive near his home and tells his wife “My body will be the trunk and branches. My hands will be leaves...the heart inside the fruit will be my tongue” (Handy & Handy, 1991, p. 151).

³⁶ Kū is one of the four major gods.

The importance of the representation of the ‘ulu on the grounds of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina also is one of the forms of Haumea who presides over childbirth (Pukui & Elbert, 1957). As mentioned in mokuna ‘elua, the bast of the young ‘ulu was also used in kapa making and is abundant in Lahaina. The significance of the presence of the ‘ulu as the ‘ohana stands as they ask to enter the school represents the growth of a nation of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and lāhui of kānaka ‘ōiwi.

For the protocol of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, ‘ohana and keiki start each meeting with pule and ha‘i‘ōlelo (speech) by the kumu. In respect to the protocol that has been put in place, each kapa session began with pule, mele, and ha‘i‘ōlelo of the intentions of these workshops. The pule request the gods to guide and protect our ‘ohana, na keiki, and nā kumu. Na mele celebrated the place and the ancestors that lived and visited here asking to bring guidance, enlightenment, and ‘ike kūpuna. Ha‘i‘ōlelo acknowledges the intentions of the individuals that enter the space, and then concludes with ‘Ohana asking permission to enter the school to learn, and nā kumu granting permission to enter.

Nā Pule - prayer

“I luna na maka, i lalo na kuli.

Eyes up, knees down. Pray” (Pukui, 1983, p. 133).

Master Kumu and cultural expert Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla reminds us in ceremony, pule (prayer) is done with your eyes open so you can see your akua presence (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2018). Reflected in this ‘Ōlelo No‘eau “I luna na maka, i lalo na kuli, in pule there is power. We pule for ola (life), malu (protection), alaka‘ina (guidance), ‘ike (insight), pono (goodness), mahalo (thanks), and ikaika (strength). As noted, the ‘ohana of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina gather to ask for guidance, ‘ike, and kahea (to ask permission) to enter the school and wait for the answer from the kumu. In protocol, the mākua stand in front of the kula in reverence and humbleness as they call to the ancestors for permission to enter the house of ‘ōlelo mākuahine (mother tongue).

This mele komo (entrance chant) was created by nā kumu of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina for the keiki and ‘ohana to request to enter the kula (school) with intentions of learning. Every morning before the keiki start school, the mākua and keiki ask permission to enter the school. They announce their arrival to their kumu, and they are here and ready to learn.

This protocol is extended to the mākua and visitors that come to Pūnana Leo o Lahaina. Protocol of asking permission is a cultural practice for indigenous people. For my ‘ohana, before entering anyone’s home or the forest, we call out to let the person know that we are here. When calling we are announcing to the people that reside or once lived in that place. For the mākua of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, each gathering begins with this mele komo (entrance chant) to ask permission to bring their child into the school.

Mele Komo o Pūnana Leo o Lahaina

Na Leilei Ishikawa, Karyn Kanekoa a me Kamalei Cabrera

Kū mai nā kama o Lele e.

Nā keiki pale (i nā) kukuna hainā o ka lā

‘Ā mau ke kukui pio ‘ole i ke Kaua‘ula.

Ua ‘ā ka mauili o ka lāhui Hawai‘i e.

Kūli‘a (nei kēia) e komo i ka Malu ‘Ulu A‘o Lele

Aniani i ka Ma‘a‘a a (ua) ‘ike ‘ia ka nani o Lua‘ehu.

Kūlia ho‘i ma ka mo‘o ho‘okahi i Pu‘u Kukui lā e

E inu i ka wai ola ‘o Manowai.

Kāhiko ‘ia (i) ka ‘ike o nā kūpuna

Hi‘ipoi ‘ia e ka ‘ōlelo Makuahine

Mai pa‘a i ka leo, he leo kahea mai ē

Here we are the kama of Lele, the children who ward off where the unmerciful rays of the sun, where the light (the desire to learn) will always burn and will NEVER be

extinguished by the Kaua‘ula wind. The spirit of the lāhui is ignited! Mākaukau mākou e a‘o, e ho‘ōla i ka ‘ōlelo, a hapai a‘e i ka lāhui Hawai‘i. We yearn to come out of the heat and in to the Malu, to be cooled by the Ma‘a‘a and to see the beauty of Lua‘ehu. We will strive on this pathway paved by our kūpuna adorned with the precious knowledge of our kūpuna, nurtured by ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to reach Pu‘ukukui to drink from life giving waters of Manowai. (Nā Kumu o Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, 2019)

As discussed in mokuna ‘elua, this speaks to the importance of asking, acknowledging the present, and the intentions that connect to the significance of the person(s) for being in space. This mele komo was haku ia nā kumu (written by teachers) to create a calmness, and to focus the intentions of the ‘ohana as they ask permission to enter the kula. After mākua and kumu completed their protocol, they settle into the large dining hall of Waiola Church and the keiki are taken to another room to create their own artwork.

Kūkā Kama‘ilio — talk story

Figure 140 Pūnana Leo o Lahaina discussion of history, propagation, and harvest of wauke.



This section contributes my own research reflections to the research data for this project. The first workshop with the participants of this project brought both excitement and anxiousness. Settling into the session, ‘ohana gathered around in the hall ready to learn. I giggle to myself, because it felt like in a classroom environment, with the mākua as the haumana. Teaching in a classroom environment is not a common practice for me, most of the time there are no walls, the outdoors is my classroom. With the outdoors, we are embraced in our environment be it

sunny, rainy, or windy day. We become part of the environment and the elements that surround us.

Master Kumu Hula Dr. Pualani Kanahale³⁷(2019) reminds us that we become the elements that surround us. She refers to the rain that touches our face, or the wind that pushes our body, or the sweat that comes off our body - we are the elements. For me as a kapa practitioner, I love the feel of the ground under my feet, wind that cools my body, sun that fills my skin with warmth, and the rain that makes me a part of the environment. In this workshop, sharing my own experiences in hana kapa recognizes the environment that surrounds our work.

After the introductions of my ‘ohana that were present, I acknowledged na kūmu kapa that have taught, mentored, and supported me all these years in my pursuit of making kapa. Explaining my intentions for doing these workshops and why Pūnana Leo o Lahaina were selected and invited to participate in this research project: Knowing that these ‘ohana have committed their children and life to the Hawaiian language, created an opportunity to nurture the ‘ōlelo with the cultural practice of hana kapa. Most importantly, is the opportunity to connect to their ancestors while doing a cultural practice.

We briefly discussed the history of kapa, the cultural significance in ancient times, how kapa is used in contemporary times, and descriptions of the different varieties of wauke and where they originated from. In the discussion, we explained how to identify the Hawaiian varieties and why it was important to be able to relate to the care and uses of the wauke. Although they did not propagate the wauke that was harvested for their use, we did discuss the growing and harvesting process. I also shared examples of the tools needed to make kapa, including identifying the various woods, weight, and production of the tools that brought a lot of interest in this topic.

³⁷ Dr. Pualani Kanahale - Master Kumu Hula, historian, lō‘ea, highly respected leader in the Hawaiian community.

We discussed protocols of kapa, pule for the intention, and behavior while making kapa. This protocol would continue throughout the workshops to ensure the success of the projects. I shared examples of different types of kapa such as wauke, ulu, and māmaki. Various plants that produce colors of waiho‘olu (dyes), ‘ohe kāpala (bamboo stamping) and wai‘ala (scenting). Finally, we shared the hua‘ōlelo kapa that would be used doing this process of making kapa.

As noted in mokuna ‘elua, the approach of na mea hana kapa was designed to include the whole process of making kapa. Na mea hana kapa weaves nā mo‘olelo, ‘ike kūpuna, and hana kapa. Within the mo‘olelo o kapa, there are protocols, traditions, rituals, and ceremonies. Embedded in the mo‘olelo are the stories, history, significance, uses of kapa.

Mo‘olelo makes connections to the ‘āina and ancestors. It is essential to fill in the gap of na mea hana kapa and make the connections to ‘ike kūpuna and ‘ike Hawai‘i. Recognizing the wisdom of na kūpuna will guide the practitioner's hands in reclaiming cultural identity through knowing and believing in what to do next. Finally, identifying the resources, tools, and ‘ike to make kapa. Understanding and knowing the intentions of the mea hana kapa, will guide and honor the process, staying focused, and connecting to ‘ike kūpuna.

Mary Kawena Pukui states that her elders told her there are two types of wauke, one just called wauke is good for kapa making and medicine, but the wauke mālolo was only used for medicine (Handy, Handy & Pukui, 1972, p. 208). Participants were introduced to the three known Hawaiian wauke: wauke nui, wauke mālolo, and po‘a‘aha. All having reddish veins on the growing tips of the wauke. The lau manamana (lobed leaves) or lau poepoe (round leaves) and stems have soft down or short fine hairs having the same characteristics of aumakua Maikohā or worshiped as the ancestor of wauke. In addition, we also discussed other species used to make kapa including ‘ulu and māmaki.

Recognizing that there is a difference in the types of *Broussonetia papyrifera*, I cultivate and utilize the Hawaiian varieties of wauke. My experience has helped me to understand the

difference of the growth stages of the plant, the structure and texture of the leaves. And the look and feel of the stalk of the wauke. The more we use the Hawaiian varieties of the wauke, we can identify the difference of the fibers to make the intended kapa.

As mentioned before, the barkcloth or tapa fibers are identified all over the world, including China, East Asia, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Taiwan, and Melanesia to Polynesia (Handy, Handy, & Pukui, 1972). Bark cloths were used in textiles of weaving and valued as a tangible object for rituals, ceremonies, as well as aesthetic products. (Charleux, 2017) The use of barkcloth in the Pacific as utilitarian and in ceremonies, reveal the importance of the tapa that travel with the Polynesians from one island to the next. So perhaps this is the connection or disconnection of the varieties of paper mulberry.

Today on Maui, we see the Samoan type of paper mulberry, and this variety is commonly mistaken for Tongan and the Asian variety. However, with the scarcity of Hawaiian wauke resources, we often must use the Samoan paper mulberry to make our kapa. Not to dismiss the available resources now but knowing the ancient variety of wauke used in Hawaiian kapa, will give the practitioner clues to the mea hana kapa and the significance of kapa. The practitioner's goal is to produce authentic kapa pieces where one can work with the intended fibers.

Figure 141 Paper mulberry from Waihe'e



I am extremely grateful that there was a resource to have this amount of paper mulberry available for these ‘ohana to do this huge project. Although these are not of the Hawaiian variety, this opportunity to gather and bring forth to the Pūnana Leo ‘ohana made this process possible because of the generosity of this gift. Notably, there are few Hawaiian wauke being cultivated on Maui and not sufficient for the purposes of our workshops.

The Voices of Makua: Participant Data

This section presents participant journal data and analysis with links to the literature. Mikey Burke (personal communication, 2019) is a mother of four children including twin boys that are currently in Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, she recorded in her journal:

Kapa is made from the bark of wauke, ‘ulu, and māmaki. The type used is/was typically determined by its abundance in a certain area. Perhaps kapa from Lahaina was primarily ‘ulu because of its abundance.

Mikey’s reflection made me wonder, what were Lahaina’s resources? Her comment regarding whether ‘ulu was the primary type of kapa produced in Lahaina sparked questions. This inquiry alone encourages us to seek and identify resources in our communities. My own excitement in hearing and witnessing the surprise that the ‘ohana had when they found out that kapa was not only made from the paper mulberry or wauke. Pukui’s (1983) ‘ōlelo no‘eau proves the abundance of ‘ulu in Lahaina:

“Lahaina, i ka malu ‘ulu o Lele.

Lahaina, in the shade of the breadfruit trees of Lele.

The old name for Lahaina was lele” (p. 209)

In addition, Handy, Handy, & Pukui (1972) writes “Lahaina is like a large house shaded by breadfruit trees.” and “The grove of breadfruit trees of Lele uncovered in the calm” (p. 155). These traditional sayings confirm the abundance of ‘ulu in the capital of Lahaina, Maui. With the abundance of ‘ulu means the resources to make ‘ulu kapa. Another makua Kamealoha Laborte (2019) stated a similar thought in her journal,

As I sat in my auntie's yard in Kea'au, I wondered if Hawai'i mokupuni[island] was famous for 'ulu, I was looking at the [young] branches and was like hmmm. I can see the branches being used.

Kamealoha's statement shows that every opportunity to identify your resources is a step in reclaiming your own identity as a kānaka. Sharing the knowledge of mea hana kapa will empower the kānaka 'ōiwi to look around in their own community for their resources and if they do not have them, then it is time for them to grow and mālama this kuleana.

For most of the 'ohana this was the first time they saw and felt the wauke plant and the fibers. They queried where the resources for the wauke are, how they can get young wauke to plant, and how to take care of the wauke. Of the sixty participants, only two individuals have seen wauke before, and one of those was a student of mine at a previous kapa workshop. The workshop participants clearly were intrigued by the aesthetics of kapa, but also, they were curious about finding the resources to make kapa.

E ulu nei o Wauke – growing stages of wauke

“Eia 'i'o no, ke kolo mai nei ke a'a o ka wauke.

Truly now, the root of the wauke creeps” (Pukui, 1983, p. 666).

As described earlier, the best time to plant is at the beginning of the rainy period, in the time of the arrival of Lono and the beginning of Makahiki season. From the time the huli shoots or lala slips of wauke is planted, the plant matures between nine months to eighteen months (Handy, Handy, & Pukui, 1972). The ohi or 'ae young shoots are preferred from plants that have been already harvested and is the second growth of the wauke. For the planting the ohi should be one anana (arm length) long, being very careful not to break or damage the piko (tap root) of the plant and taking attention of the a'a (root). If the ohi piko or a'a is damaged the plant will dry up and die. The ohi is wrapped in kī or ti leaf and left-overnight in water and planted the next day. A hole is dug, and the ground is cleared and softened to receive the ohi.

Once the roots have taken root, weeding around the plant can be done. Plant the wauke ohi near a water source and protected from the wind. When the wauke starts to mature, the lateral branches or lala as they begin to bud are removed to assure that the kumu (stalk) is free from pa‘a na‘ana‘a (protruding pieces of bark) that will leave leaf holes in the wauke (Handy, Handy, 1983). I can harvest within this time period, the wauke is easier to work with, meaning from the harvesting, to stripping, and the beating of the wauke into kapa.

In choosing the wauke stalk for their kapa, we identified the different stages of the wauke which is the wauke ohiohi (young bast) the younger baste that is thinner and sometimes easier to uhole or strip from the stalk. Then there is the wauke ku‘iku‘i (matured bast) which is the baste of the fully matured wauke that will need more beating than the wauke ohiohi. The wauke ku‘iku‘i is matured at eighteen months if harvested later the hā‘ana‘ana will be woodier.

As I walked around the large hall, I saw the anticipation and perhaps anxiety of this mother of twins, as she will have to make two kīhei, one for each of her boys. It was apparent that this project will be a challenge of her time and energy to make the two pieces of kapa in the time that was allowed. Mikey (2019) wrote in her journal, with reference to literary sources provided,

We are using wauke to make kīhei for keiki. Wauke - 1 1/2 years to grow to harvest height. 12-16 ft for harvest. Must remove shoots/new growth every 2-3 days while growing to keep wauke straight and tall.

Almost all of the mākua have not worked with wauke and they were surprised to see the amount of wauke that was harvested for them. They soon understood that the wauke takes a year and a half to grow with careful cultivation of the plant, bringing awareness to the participants that this resource was not readily available. Their appreciation of the wauke and the cultivation that it took to have a large piece to work on. The participants started to develop an understanding about the need in growing wauke. Makua Sy Feliciano-Yamada (2019) was inspired to learn more and wrote in her journal:

I love to grow various plants and wauke is one that I have not yet got to grow and know the true wonder and magic of it. I enjoyed learning the life cycle, the pruning, the cultivation, and the many other aspects of the plant. I was so inspired to try and get some growing in our mala, and seriously plan to.

Reading Sy's words of excitement and inspiration reminded me that the kuleana of inspiring the participant must be cultivated just like a wauke plant. Removing the parts that are not needed, watering and feeding the plant, and paying attention to the environment.

He mau mea pa'ahana – tools to produce kapa

A couple of makua asked me where I got my tools. I explained that my dad and my husband Wayne made all my tools, except a set of hohoa and 'ie kuku made by master carver Dennis Kana'e Keawe that was a gift to me. I explained that if they want to make kapa, they will need their own tools. And even with the receiving of the tools, the tools may need to be adjusted to their hands and needs. Every tool that my father and Wayne made for me needed to be adjusted—tapering the handle, dropping the side of the kua to a slight curve, and so on. I explained to her that the tools can be bought at a store or by ordering from a carver, however, the relationship between the tool maker and the kapa maker must be strong. For if the carver can listen to the needs of the kapa maker and is willing to adjust the tools, then the kapa maker can do her best work.

During our kūkā kama'ilio, we discussed the tools, protocols, and the tool maker. I explained that if any of these 'ohana members wanted to continue hana kapa they would need their own tools. This was an opportunity to teach, show, and have them use the tools needed to make kapa. I spoke to them about the significance of the craftsman that would make the tools to fit the kapa maker. Shayda Medeiros-Gunn (personal communication, 2019, April) journal she wrote:

Way to prep wauke: 1) opihi shell - scrape off outer bark, 2) Niho - kahi (cut) at base (wider end), Uhole use hands to guide down [stalk]remove in one piece, kuka'a the whole strip into a roll and squeeze to softer, kuka'a in opposite direction and squeeze, use knife and cut base side. Fold over about 1/2" and gently pull away the top layer of

bark. Roll downward, don't pull, use a knife to scrape off any remaining pieces of outer bark.

Shayda wrote down the steps of preparing the wauke and described details of the process using some hua'ōlelo kapa. I appreciated her details of the process as she experienced this herself. It is in the details that make the connection to the ancestors as they guide the hands of the kapa maker.

One 'ohana, Kamealoha Laborte and her son Kūhao searched for the perfect kua pōhaku for the first stage of kuku kapa, they knew that they first needed to ask permission, then when they found the pōhaku they asked again to take the pōhaku with them to kuku kapa. Was this action of asking permission to look, gather, and take a tradition, a ritual, or a ceremony? Clearly these participants identified their connection to their spiritual belief and confirmed as the son became the teacher and shared his 'ike kupuna with his mother as they acknowledged that the pōhaku was the right one to go home with them. Kamealoha wrote:

I went this morning to search for a pōhaku at Olowalu. Kūhao and I oli komo then I asked him, 'Ua 'ae nā kūpuna? Hiki iā kāua ke komo? He immediately answered yes. I asked the wahi and kūpuna to allow us to find a pōhaku for kapa making. A little while but I knew the rock as soon as I saw it! It felt right. I then gave the pōhaku to Kūhao and told him to ask the pōhaku if we can take it to use for kapa making. He put it up to his ear and said yes. We mahalo Olowalu for the pōhaku. Driving to school I felt happy and excited for Hui Kīpaepae (Laborte, personal communication, 2019, April).

As they sought out to gather the right pōhaku or stone, their need for the right shape, weight, and smoothness for the purpose of a tool. During this session, I saw that mākua took the time to prepare and found their pōhaku. But soon several mākua realized that the pōhaku was not the right one for them. Some had big holes, some were too small, and some started breaking little pieces of rocks into the fibers of the wauke. However, other mākua were happy to share their pōhaku with them so that they could finish the first step of kuku kapa.

In addition, makua Mikey described in her journal, “My pōhaku wasn’t truly flat so as I would beat there were parts of my kapa that would make contact and other parts that wouldn’t get beat. Beating was uneven” (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April). After realizing that she was struggling, I provided her with another pōhaku to do her initial pounding, her mo‘omo‘o. By the end of the night, she accomplished her goal of completing two mo‘omo‘o. Having the right tools to do the work is critical for the success of the participant but also for their self confidence in what they are doing.

Na Mea Hana Kapa – process of making kapa

Na mea hana kapa describes the steps to making kapa. In this section of the workshop, we prepared the stalks of wauke. The first step is to ‘ohi the stalks of wauke. The stalks were cut at the upper and lower ends. The next step is to uhole the stalk of wauke. Using a niho ‘oki a longitudinal cut through the hā‘ana‘ana and ‘ili iho. The next step is to separate the ‘i‘o from the hā‘ana‘ana. The final step in this workshop would be kuku kapa (beating of the kapa). The following section describes the mākua and their description of na mea hana kapa.

E ‘ohi – harvesting

E ‘ohi (harvesting) wauke in the early morning before the sun is high allows the wauke to omo (absorb) the moisture from the air and helps the processing of uhole. Wayne and I looked for the tall straight wauke that was at least 8 to 10 feet tall. Each stalk was a little bigger than the width of a thumb or width of a broom handle. Using a hacksaw, we cut close to the base of the wauke. Once we ‘ohi the wauke, we cut off any access branches and leaves. We had ‘ohi thirty stalks for the keiki and six kumu. All the stalks where cut into seven feet long enough for the keiki size kīhei.

Pukui & Elbert (1986) describes ‘ohi as “to gather, harvest, cull, pick, select; to collect, as wages or taxes; ...gathering, selection; bundle, as of taro leaves.” However, Andrews (1865) describes ohi as “a bundle or collection of something; as, he ohi wauke, a bundle of wauke” (p. 92). To clarify the difference, ‘ohi is to harvest and ohi is a bundle of something such as ‘ohi wauke.

We discussed the cultivation of the wauke plant, one participant Keoki wrote in his journal entry, “Wauke takes one year of growth with tending. Must be trimmed to ensure a nice straight bark for kapa” (Vierra, personal communication, 2019, April). Keoki was describing the need to remove the new growth that will turn into a branch if not removed. These are different from the leaf scars that leave very small holes in the fibers, the new growth if not removed will leave large holes.

Mikey wrote in her journal, “Must remove shoots/new growth every 2-3 days while growing to keep wauke straight and tall” (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April). Mikey understood the importance of continual attention in the cultivation of the wauke. As a practitioner, I tend to my wauke every day to assure that the wauke will grow straight without leaf scares.

Kamealoha Laborte made an important point as she describes the responsibility of the practitioner:

Wauke needs to be cultivated - meaning you need to go every day and break off new shoots so that there's no big holes. Takes about 9-18 months to get a good size - broomstick width. Be picky! (Laborte, personal communication, 2019, April)

The participants were surprised to see what a wauke plant looks like. Out of the sixty participants two have seen wauke before, out of the two—only one had previously made a piece of kapa with the researcher. We know that the scarcity of the wauke became an incentive to grow their own resources. Participants did recognize the importance of the cultivation of wauke and understood that this is a resource the one can run to the store to buy. They realized and appreciated that this was a resource that was cultivated from two years ago for them.

Although these mākua did not know what they were about to learn, they were about to experience a traditional practice of working together of uhole or stripping the bark. The following description by W. Ellis (as cited in Stokes, 1853) explains the importance of working

together. The mākua experience connects to the literature from the J. F. G. Stokes collection *Notes on Tapa Making* that Ellis (1853) stated he witness:

Saw many (July 1823) people for several days bringing bundles of young wauti from the plantations and so infers that this is the season for tapa making in that part of the island. The sticks are generally 6-10 feet long and an inch in diam. at thickest end. Saw Governor's wife superintending the works of about 40 women stripping the bark from the sticks, also working herself. (Stokes, 1853, p. 8)

Ellis statement confirming that the 'ohi of wauti or wauke was done during July during the summer and prepared as a group. As Ellis asserts, in our experience we have found that this is the time to harvest. The 'ili iho has the liquid flowing through the plant which makes the separation of the ma'awe from the stalk easier. The 'i'o or inner phloem fiber is best harvested when mature at eighteen months. Mature wauke would be approximately twelve to fifteen feet with a usable 'i'o of seven to nine feet.

E Uhole - stripping

In the uhole process, the hā'ana'ana is kahi in a longitude slice about three inches from the base of the stalk. Starting with the slice as the opening, using your fingertips slowly pull the bark away by sliding down both sides of the stalk. The cut allows the participant to use the natural flow of the wauke fibers rather than to cut into the fibers. The hā'ana'ana is then uhole from the stalk in one piece using caution to not cause rips and tears in the 'ili iho. Kūka'a the hā'ana'ana on itself first, unroll, and roll on the opposite side, squeeze to soften the bark.

Mikey writes in her journal about her experience in using the niho mano: "Make a kahi at the base of the wauke a few inches" (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April). The base of the wauke has stronger fibers that allows the separation of the hā'ana'ana from the 'ili iho less resistance. In addition, Shayda writes about her experience: "Niho...kahi (cut at base the wider end)" (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April). For many of the mākua, this was the first time that they used the niho mano and were eager to use it.

Figure 142 Punana Leo o Lahaina mākuā uhole ka wauke.



Mikey also contributes: “Uhole the bark - you want it to come off in one piece...so do it carefully” (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April). She continues her comments in her journal to use caution during the process of uhole. This reminder was expressed also by Shayda: “Uhole and use hands to guide down, remove in one piece” (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April).

After the participants uhole ia wauke, they would then soften the hā‘ana‘ana to kaha from the ‘ili iho. To soften and flatten the hā‘ana‘ana of the wauke, the participant would first kūka‘a ka wauke by first rolling the outside bark into a kūka‘a and then smashing and squeezing the hā‘ana‘ana with your hands. Na mea hana kapa would then reverse the process by then rolling the base on the outside to soften and make the hā‘ana‘ana more pliable. The following journal entries by Dina Edmisson describe this process: “Kūka‘a (roll) the bark up then squeezes then unroll and roll back the other way and squish. This process will straighten and soften the hā‘ana‘ana so that bark and fibers are more relaxed to work with” (Edmisson, personal communication, 2019, April).

The kūka‘a is unrolled and at the widest end of the hā‘ana‘ana, bend at least three inches with the bark facing outward, with a knife make a surface slice through the bark and the on the width of the stalk then peel back the bark slowly until you have enough fibers to hold on to. Mikey wrote: “Bend one of the ends a couple inches and kaha to peel the ‘ili slightly off...Put over

your thigh to slowly remove the outer ‘ili (try in one piece) Follow the contour of your leg” (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April). I believe she meant thigh - the roundness of the thigh helps with the ‘unu or series of jerks to peel off the ‘i‘o or baste from the hā‘ana‘ana.

***Kolikoli* – separate hā‘ana‘ana from the ‘ili iho**

Using the niho mano or a knife, make a shallow kaha one inch from the base of the wauke. With the hā‘ana‘ana facing on the thigh, one hand presses against the wauke and the other slowly separates the ‘ili iho from the wauke hā‘ana‘ana. Using the contour of the thigh to help guide the separating of ‘ili iho from hā‘ana‘ana.

At times the hā‘ana‘ana would break this is due to the fiber’s growth pattern. During the dry season the wauke grew at a fast pace, but during the cold winter months the wauke seemed to be dormant. When the weather again changed the growth quickly changed and hence the bark breakage. When this happens, we recut the hā‘ana‘ana, and continue the uhole process. Watching the mākua, this was the most challenging process because they need to be patient and not rush the uhole of the wauke.

Figure 143 Mākua kolikoli the wauke.



According to Kent (1986), “The outer bark was stripped or scraped off.” I agree with Ellis, however, I chose not to have the mākua scrape the bark instead to uhole. When I first was introduced to kapa making, I would scrape the outer back off with an opihi shell. I find this works great with smaller pieces, however with larger pieces the cutting then stripping the bark

off the stock then peeling the hā‘ana‘ana from the ‘ili iho works more efficiently. Using the na me hana kapa process, this provides the opportunity to learn what works best for the practitioner. Cici Hernandez described the process of kolikoli:

Kahi li‘ili‘i uhole in one piece. Kūka‘a lalo - squish to soften it - kūka‘a inside out and squish again. (Bamboo/knife) kaha (cut open lengthwise) pull the bark off. Kolikoli gently (outer bark) pull using your legs rather than pulling upwards. (Hernandez, personal communication, 2019, April)

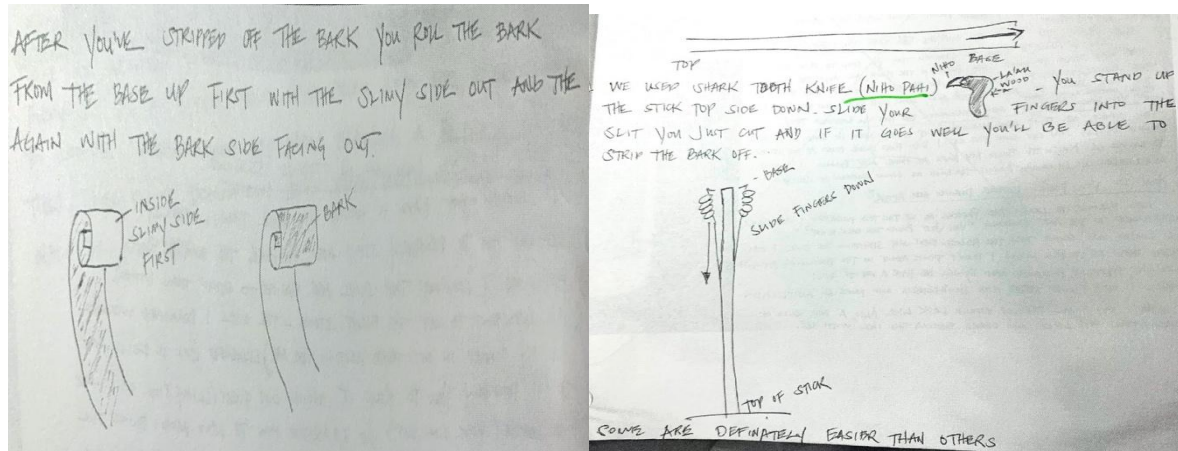
I noticed her details of the na mea hana kapa process, she recognized some of the characteristics such as squish, gently, and using her legs in the process that others did not. Cici was expressing her own experience in the details in her journaling.

Figure 144 Kolikoli



‘Ehā Kalani wrote: “Niho oki - knife to kahi the wauke, start at base, run fingers up, uhole-strip, kuka‘a - roll wauke, bend top, kaha to cut lengthen, pull down when separating outer bark” (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April). ‘Ehā drew these wonderful, detailed illustrations:

Figure 145 Illustrations by 'Ehā Kalani, 2019.



'Ehā's illustrations are beautifully drawn and show the details so that an applied kapa maker can recall the process through his journals at a later date. His drawings told the story of his experience in making kapa for their son. For me, I find that journaling with drawings and examples are key to the transmission of 'ike. My children and granddaughters look at my journals to remind themselves of the steps in na mea hana kapa.

Mo'omo'o – beating of strips of wauke

Te Rangi Hiroa (1957) referenced S. Kamakau describing the process of mo'omo'o: "He kua pohaku malalo, he hohoa la'au maluna, alaila, hohoa i ka wauke i ho'omo'omo'o 'ia. A wali, kaula'i i ka la, a pela aku. A stone anvil below, a wooden hohoa beater above, then, beat the wauke to be made into mo'omo'o. When finished, spread in the sun, and so on" (p. 180).

Pukui (1991) described the process of mo'omo'o, "About five soft strips were then laid one on top of the other and tied together with little strips of the bast at either end, in the middle, and making a bundle called mo'omo'o. This might be kept dried indefinitely" (p. 211). For the kapa maker the recent understanding of the technique of mo'omo'o has led the practitioner in the process. Knowing the age, type, and size of the wauke strips will determine the number of strips to make a mo'omo'o. For some practitioners, one strip of processed wauke is a mo'omo'o, but for others it is two strips, and up to eight. Mikey describes the mo'omo'o process:

Mo'omo'o time: rinse wauke bark in freshwater. Wipe dry. Sit and pound your wauke. Start halfway in and work to the sides, looking to move the kapa 1/2 inch on each side. Start soft side up then flip over. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

An important point that I want to express is the process of mo'omo'o. As noted earlier (Pukui & Elbert, 1986), the mo'omo'o is to take strips of wauke and beat them together. In addition, Norm (Stokes, n.d.) informed, "Five strips of wauke bast make 1 mo'omo'o, ten mo'omo'o will be plenty. Beat the five wauke on a stone with the hohoa and they will become one. Then sun dry" (p.12). Kent (1995) recorded mo'omo'o being the dried sheets of tapa of lesser value, and Brigham (1911) wrote that mo'omo'o is kapa of the second or third rate. However perhaps the most authentic translation of mo'omo'o was recorded by Wahineaea (Stokes, 1923). Wahineaea notes that the retted wauke was beaten into a mo'omo'o. The mo'omo'o were then stacked on each other and she used the term wilioki.

In our workshop, I described this process to the mākua. I used the term mo'omo'o as the first kuku using the hohoa and the pōhaku. And then again using the term mo'omo'o for the paring of the two stripes to make a mo'omo'o. These various definitions reveal the confusion that the kapa maker struggles with in identifying the name with the process or the product. What is most important is that we use these terms and make them more commonly understood.

Figure 146 J. Basques uses the hohoa and pōhaku for the first mo'omo'o. (Photo credit Basques, 2019)



Rinse in freshwater (fold back-n-forth) Flat squeeze, put in Ziplock w/ salt water and remove air. 4 days salt [water], 5th day fresh [water] (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April).

Figure 147 Mākau rinse the 'i'o in freshwater.



At the end of the workshop, the mākua made a circle with their keiki. We closed with directions for the next session and pule. Mākua cleaned up and took the time to set up for the next day at school.

O lāua mana‘o - ‘ohana journal reflections

As noted in the chapter introduction, ‘ohana were asked to reflect on four questions and record them through writing, photos, and drawings in their journals. These reflective questions are themed after the ‘ōlelo no‘eau proverb “Ma ka hana ka ‘ike, learning by doing”(Pukui, 1983). Asking specific reflective questions and giving the participants time and space to think and record their thoughts and feelings was an important content to this research. ‘Ohana members shared their personal reflections at the end of each of their workshops. These statements are their mana‘o thoughts separated in by the four workshops, each section organized in the order of na mea hana kapa.

Using Ma ka hana ka ‘ike by doing the work one will learn; the participants unveil the layers of experience as they learn the process of mea hana kapa. The first question: He aha kāu i a‘o ai o kēia pō? (What have you learned in today’s session?), reflects the ‘ohana experience of learning the process of making kapa. It was clear that the journals reflected the use of the Hawaiian language and the hua‘ōlelo kapa, which are the reawaked kapa terms that were connected to the process.

Na mea ‘ike ‘ia (experience): He aha kāu i a‘o ai o kēia pō?

Recognizing that the participants were excited to learn about kapa was also exciting for me. To know that we are experiencing this hana no‘eau for the first time was an honor and a kuleana. Ehā Kalani (2019) expressed how he felt at the kapa workshop:

Kumu Leilei announced that her mom and sister would be teaching us to make kapa. I was excited because this is one thing in our culture I have not experienced yet. I thought - ok we are making kapa - How hard can it be? Pound the bark - We dove right in stripping off the bark from the wauke —which provided much mahalo!!! I’ve never seen what it looks like, much less handle it. The process is to oki (cut) a slit from about 4-6 inches at the base of the stick. We used shark tooth (niho pahi) - You stand up the stick top side down - slide your fingers into the slit you just cut and if it goes well, you’ll be able to strip the bark off. Some are easier than others. After you’ve stripped off the bark you roll the bark from the base up, First, with the slimy side out and the[n] again with the bark side facing out. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

‘Ehā described the excitement of learning a cultural practice that he has not experienced. His common belief that it is an easy process even though he had not done this before. But I did notice that the use of terms such as niho pahi instead of niho‘oki for shark tooth knife, or ‘ili instead of hā‘ana‘ana for bark proved to be exciting because they used the terms that they were comfortable with. They are engaging our language in an everyday way according to their level of fluency.

Mikey reflected on the struggle and un-surety of her doing the two sets of wauke for her sons. She wrote:

As we started, I struggled with my two wauke. I needed help and was reassured that the wauke I picked wasn’t easy to strip like the other mākua were doing. They, as they tried to help me, said oh yeah, mine was easier than this one (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April).

I realized the impact for the Mikey's 'ohana with the task of making two pieces of kapa for their two sons, and that this was an extremely challenging undertaking. Mikey's reaction was common amongst the other families. I saw the concern on the faces of the mākua as they struggled with their wauke, but Mikey had two sets that she had to make and the other mākua jumped in to help her. This action is a very Hawaiian practice, we see some needing help and you jump in to help. Shayda writes in her journal,

I was very excited to have the opportunity to learn how to make kapa! As I sat and listened to your mo'olelo on how and why you chose to learn this skill, I got chicken skin. I feel that it's rare to find a passion that truly makes you happy and let alone to find a passion that is so valuable to our culture and our people. I'm fascinated by how your entire 'ohana is involved and shares the love of kapa making as well. (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April)

I know that I am fortunate that my 'ohana has chosen to support me in my passion as a practitioner of kapa. But I realize that although I have my passion for the practice of kapa, my 'ohana have also found their own talents have developed. For my husband, his craftsmanship as a kapa tool maker has grown with each new tool that he makes. Trina (my daughter) has advanced in her talents in design and printing techniques. Leilei (my daughter) thrives in the research of mo'olelo, oli, and pule for kapa. My daughter-in-law Sarah's skills in hana kapa enforces the significance of kapa in ceremonies. Sommer my oldest child, has taken the propagation and cultivation of native kapa and waiho'olu'u plants to a level that has strengthened her papa kilo observation skills. My sister Lisa Lani has grown her skills to be able to assist participants in the steps of hana kapa. Every one of my immediate 'ohana has developed a skill that has nurtured the kuleana within this research and beyond. These skills were developed with time, experience, and connection. 'Ehā wrote:

I learned that kapa is harder to make than I thought. I learned how to properly strip and prepare the wauke for pounding. I learned that some are easier to strip than others. Learned how to fold and cut it properly. How to roll it inside out first (slimy side out) and vice versa (bark side out). We learned how to mo'omo'o pound the bark on a rock to flatten and soften it. (It's important to get the right stone - the ones

I borrowed worked but my pohaku is out there waiting for me.) There is definitely a technique to make it even, we learned that you need to pick off the new shoots to make less puka in the kapa and also the age of the wauke makes a difference of how the bark comes off and how soft the bark should be. Also, rinse and soak with salt water for 5 days and 2 days fresh water after that. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

Discovering the confidence of finding the right tool to do the work was important to ‘Ehā. He understood that there is a technique to kuku kapa, but he was thinking about the tools that are needed to complete the na mea hana kapa.

The second reflective question: He mau kumu waiwai paha kau? (Do you have access to any resources that you learned about today?). As the journals reflect their desire to have their own resources of tools and plants. Realizing the scarcity of wauke and tools to make kapa, journals reflect the understanding that if they want to continue to learn, they must take the responsibility of growing their own plants and making their own tools. Participants discussed thinking of their own resources, but also of their ‘ohana and the community that they live in. However, they soon discover their own individual challenges of wellbeing as a parent, daughter, and/or son.

Recollections: He mau kumu waiwai paha kau?

Remembering that there was no authentic kapa maker for almost two hundred years, finding a resource of a practitioner was out of reach. But having access to materials such as wauke or actual tools would be a great asset for the practitioner. Mikey wrote in her journal:

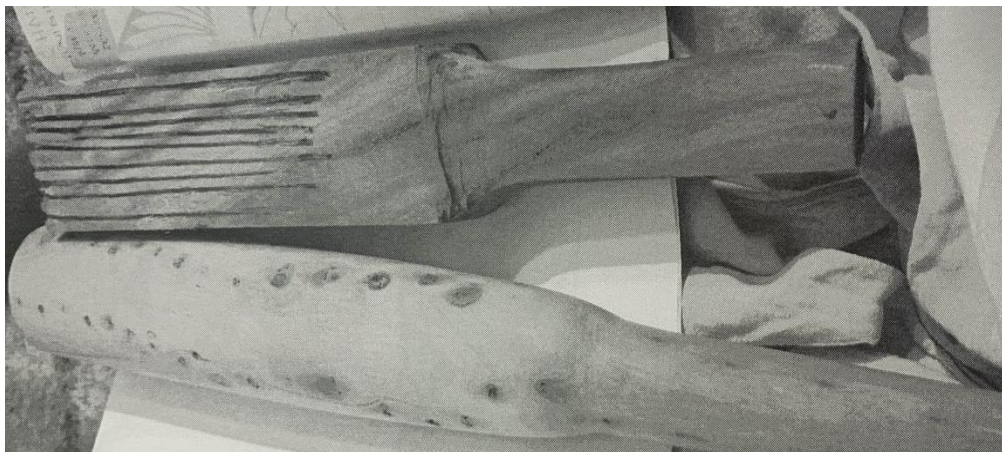
My Aunty Lehua Pali was a kapa maker and I have always regretted not asking her to teach me. She is gone now and all the ‘ike is gone with her. So when Kumu Leilei announced that we would be spending the month of April learning to make Kapa with her ‘ohana I was relieved that the opportunity to learn was not truly lost. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

I knew Lehua and her husband ‘Aimoku and knew Lehua as a wonderful person and kapa maker, although I have not had the opportunity to kuku kapa. I do know that she too was involved in the making of kapa under the direction of Master kapa maker Puanani Van Dorpe. Lehua helped process the wauke, but also her husband ‘Aimoku helped with taking care of the needs of the kapa makers and kumu, and also took all the kapa to the lo‘i patches to dye the pieces. I felt honored to know Burke had another opportunity to learn to make a piece of kapa for her sons knowing that her Aunty Lehua would be guiding her in the process and in connecting to her ancestors.

I was excited to read that ‘Ehā wanted to make resources for his ‘ohana. He was thinking of the resources that he had around his home and in his community. ‘Ehā wrote:

The wauke - we don’t have access to but if we need, I’m sure if we ask Kumu Leilei can get some for us. I did find some wood at my house to make a kuku to pound my kapa at home and pohaku is widely available in Lahaina. Again, I’m sure we could borrow if needed. . (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

Figure 148 Hohoa and ‘Ie kuku created by E. Kalani.



This question created curiosity with the mākua to look at what kinds of resources they had. One makua searched under his home and found an kua lā‘au. Another found a kua that was made for his daughter that will be used for the remaining workshops.

The third question asked: Pehea kou na‘au? (How do you feel before, during and after?) These feelings of self-doubt, hesitancy, anticipation, panic, and accomplishment were reflected in their journals, some harsher than others on themselves as a kānaka or as a non-Hawaiian. This reflective question surfaced within the individuals of maui ola. Ingrained in this question, is how they see themselves doing this cultural practice. Is this aligned with their beliefs, identity, and culture?

Maui ola: Pehea kou na‘au?

It is a common feeling for most of the mākua that participated in the kapa workshops to be excited, however some of them felt the anxiety of the kuleana of making the kapa. Mikey reflected in her journal:

Before this came, I was excited to learn about kapa. Hui kīpaepae started off great and then ‘Anakē Lei announced that we were making kīhei for our keiki and not just a small piece of kapa. My anxiety immediately kicked in because I have two keiki in PLOL! And kīhei is a very important mea Hawai‘i! Reflecting now, this anxiety was present for the remainder of the night. I think this really limited me from truly being in and enjoying the process. I always put too much pressure on myself and focus on the outcome instead of the process. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

Mikey’s reaction to the project made me aware of the kuleana that I had placed on the mākua. They knew that they would be producing a kapa, but they did not know that the purpose of making the kapa was intended for their child’s graduation. This anxiety was reflected in other mākua, this practice took them out of their comfort zone and challenged their self-confidence. Shayda expressed these feelings and pressure she put on herself:

When it was our turn to begin making our very own kapa, I suddenly was a little overwhelmed with how much more difficult this process really was. You made it look so easy...and it’s not! The bark of my wauke was pa‘a and did not want to come off. I immediately felt feelings of anxiety. Everyone around me seemed to be cruising through this part of the process except me. It was then that I had to remind myself that

I need to put good mana into this kapa for my keiki. I continue the stripping process and take my time. By the time I got settled to start pounding the kapa, many others were halfway done. Casey started pounding first. At first, we weren't very sure of what consistency to look for but kept going. (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April)

Shayda's emotion of being overwhelmed is a common reaction amongst the makua. Being introduced to a cultural practice that they have never done before evokes an overwhelming feeling of not being sure of the process and whether or not they can do it. But like Shayda's reflection, they too reminded themselves to put good mana into the kapa that they are making for their keiki. Cici reflected her feelings as she made her kapa:

The feeling I had doing this felt natural to me like I was supposed to do this. I don't really know how to explain it and it sounds silly as I am thinking about it and writing in. But it just felt natural. I enjoyed it a lot. I found stripping it pretty difficult but as a first timer doing it, I'm sure I'll get better if I do this more. Pounding the kapa was soothing to me sitting around while everyone was doing it. It felt positive. Everyone had positive vibes. (Hernandez, personal communication, 2019, April)

Cici's reflection of feeling that this is what she was intended to do, and the process was natural to her was a connection to her cultural identity as a kanaka. Her ancestors that kuku kapa were guiding her hands, and this practice was part of her. She described the positive environment of the mākua and her feelings of mauli ola. The mākua recognized the amount of work they would have to put in to making their kapa, 'Ehā's excited were described in his journal,

I was excited to learn the process as up till this workshop I was not introduced to the art. Thinking, "You just pound the bark right? As Leilei was going through the process, even just stripping the bark, I was taken back as to how much I didn't think about in the beginning. Be growing, prepping, pounding, and dying - we have a lot to do!! After - I was filled with humbleness and more so anticipation of what my final product would look like. Also, a sense of appreciation for Leilei and 'Ohana sharing this 'ike with us . (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

These realizations and feelings link to the final question: Ua pa ‘oe i ka pilina o kou na‘au kūpuna i keia pō? (Did you feel a connection to your kūpuna tonight?). In this reflection, I asked the ‘ohana to take the time to listen to their na‘au or their inner voice—the voice of their kūpuna. This question was intended to connect the hana to the guidance of their kūpuna. I believe that through ma ka hana ka ‘ike their ancestral voices are always with them, they just need to listen and do the work.

‘Ike kupuna a ‘Ike Hawai‘i: Ua pa ‘oe i ka pilina o kou na‘au kūpuna i keia pō?

I saw the faces of the mākua focusing on the hana, but also, I saw their body language change. They sat up straight, their shoulders were pulled back, and they looked different. They spoke to each other in a calm voice and took special care of their kapa and their surroundings. Several makua wrote about their connection to their kūpuna, Mikey particularly,

As we moved thru the night and started to mo‘omo‘o the wauke into kapa, I tried to connect with the memories of my own anakē Lehua and what she might think of seeing this room filled with mākua learning this Hawaiian, IMPORTANT HAWAIIAN, thing. I started to relax a little bit. And then I noticed that my pōhaku wasn’t truly flat so as I would beat there were parts of my kapa that would make contact and other parts that wouldn’t get beat. So the kapa beating was uneven. Then I started to panic internally again!! I wanted so much not to fail at this that I wasn’t enjoying myself. I will have to really make an effort next week NOT to put pressure on myself to get everything perfect. I need to actively remind myself to be present and enjoy the process because my mana is going into this kapa. And if my head is always worried then what kind of mana am, I putting into this kapa? (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

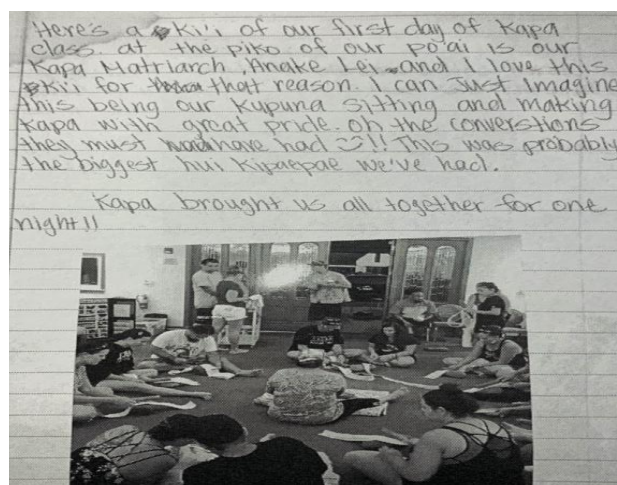
Mikey’s reflection of the importance of what she was doing and the kuleana to be in the right mind and focusing on the moment was also reflected in the feelings of others. Her feeling of not wanting to fail, is not hers alone. This common hesitation of not knowing of your own

worth reflects the cultural trauma that was placed on the kānaka from foreign influences in controlling the resources of Hawai‘i. However, Burke’s na‘au of refocusing on the task of the steps of na mea hana kapa is the pathway to reclaiming her cultural identity and wellbeing. In addition, ‘Ehā reflected on his feelings of how he felt in this workshop:

Very much! As I was pounding my kapa I couldn’t help but wonder back a few hundred years where this was the way we made clothes, kapa moe, and all sorts of material for different uses that we take for granted today. Also, how it must have sounded when everyone had a rhythm - must have been cool for some - and annoying to others. Think about my mom making a malo for me back then. There would definitely be some anticipation of a new malo or kapa moe. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hearing the sound of the beating of the kapa is a rhythmic beat that connects to the surrounding environment. The beating reveals the vision of our ancestors that once produced the daily use of the malo and the kapa moe that would protect and warm the individuals that would use them. The sound of the beating also reflects the hands of the ancestors that made the kapa for their ‘ohana and community with kuleana and aloha. Like ‘Ehā, his thoughts of his mom if she was to make a kapa for him and his own anticipation of a new malo or kapa moe. I believe that this experience is felt by both ‘Ehā and his ancestors. Most of all the beating of the kapa connects to the na‘au which is the voice and thoughts of the ancestors.

Figure 149 Kapa brought us all together for one night!!



Hinamoe Ka‘uhane (personal communication, 2019, April) described the piko of po‘ai and the feeling of her own kupuna sitting and making kapa with pride. She is describing the feeling of reclaiming cultural identity and maui ola as a kānaka. Ka‘uhane felt the conversations that they (the ancestors) would have and the smiles on their faces. To be able to share these feelings with other mākuā was an honor but also a kuleana that was given to me and to our PLOL ‘ohana.

Ko‘u Mana‘o (my analysis)

On completion of this first of our four kapa workshops I am filled with aloha for these families that have given their life to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Knowing that they have forever taken a step-in self-determination, reclamation of their language, and culture. I have done many kapa workshops in both public and private schools, from preschool to high schools, universities, community groups, cultural practitioner groups, and indigenous communities. However, I have never felt so excited and honored in knowing that these mākuā and na kumu are on the same pathway as I, the reclaiming of cultural identity and maui ola of our kānaka.

I realize that these workshops will be a huge struggle for some of our Pūnana Leo o Lahaina ‘ohana as they challenge themselves to believe in their own abilities. They must trust in their ancestors to help and guide them in making this kīhei for their child. I know that each mākuā is able to produce a kapa, but most importantly to make the connection to their ancestors, in every slight movement of their hands and in the design of their ‘ohe kāpala that tell the mo‘olelo of their ‘ohana. These sessions will be different from all the other workshops that I have taught because ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, ‘ike kūpuna, and mo‘olelo are infused throughout.

Hālāwai Ho‘ona‘auao ‘Elua

In this hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao ‘elua, the participants experienced the second phase in na mea hana kapa. In this workshop my two daughters Trina and Leilei, my sister Lisa Lani, and my mo‘opuna Leilani helped me. As noted in ho‘opāpā ‘ekahi, ‘ohana took home their wauke to mālama in sea water for five days, on the fifth day they rinsed the wauke in fresh water for another two days before this workshop. At the start of the session, the ‘ohana did follow their

protocol that was set for them to enter the school. We gave a brief discussion regarding the process of creating two designs, one for Pūnana Leo o Lahaina and another ‘ohana design on to their kīhei using ‘ohe kāpala. ‘Ohana were asked to have at least two members of the family for the next session—one to complete the kuku kapa and the other to work on the ‘ohe kāpala. An explanation of the intentions for the hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao ‘elua, which is to have everyone complete their first step of the mo‘omo‘o using the kua pōkahu and the hohoa, was given. They then rinsed the kapa in fresh water and began the next phase of kuku kapa using the kua lā‘au and i‘e kuku.

Figure 150 Mākua using ‘ie kuku and kua.



Na Mea Hana Kapa – Mo‘omo‘o

In preparing for this hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao, I saw the faces of mākua, they were focused on the following process of na me hana kapa. Their faces reflected concern, doubt, and hope as they started to settle in their places around the great hall. They gathered around their tools and resources as they prepared for the goals of the workshop. Some were concerned for their wauke being too thick, holes in them, ripped, and mostly if they had enough time to complete the kapa. I assured them that each kapa will be finished and that each piece would be as unique as their child. I reminded mākua to listen to their kūpuna that they asked to be here with them in their pule. I know and trust that their kūpuna would guide them in the making of this kapa. Pukui (as cited in Brigham, 1911) described the next step of na me hana kapa:

The next stage was to lay the mo‘omo‘o on a wooden anvil (kua) and beat it with a round, smooth, heavy wooden cloth beater (hohoa), to form a solid thick strip. These strips were again soaked, layer edge to edge, and felted together by beating with wooden beaters of different sizes, square in cross section, having carved geometric designs on their four faces to give watermarking. Many successive beatings with lighter and lighter clubs were required to make the finest cloth. (p. 211)

Pukui (as cited in Brigham, 1911) described using the la‘au kua and the hohoa to process the mo‘omo‘o. I have experienced this technique using the la‘au kua, and hohoa is durable if the wauke was kau first or of a young stalk. If the wauke is not retted and the waili‘ili technique is used, the wauke fibers will take extra beating and muscle. The unretted wauke it is harder to separate the fibers, but, using a pōhaku and hohoa allows the fibers to lift and separate. As described in the first hālāwai ho‘ona‘auao, the mākua used the hohoa and pōhaku to mo‘omo‘o the unretted wauke.

Hinamoe Ka‘uhane shared her experience of the mo‘omo‘o process: “Always mo‘omo‘o from the center of kapa and work your way out, try to keep the width even”. (Ka‘uhane, personal communication, 2019, April) She went on to explain that the pōhaku that she brought had many tiny holes that would break off and showed in her kapa. Hinamoe writes, “We had to take this pōhaku back to where we got it from and choose another but of course always asking for permission first and setting good intentions”. (Ka‘uhane, personal communication, 2019, April)

Figure 151 H. Ka‘uhane examines his mo‘omo‘o.



Recognizing the need of the right tool for the intended job and making the right decision to return the pōhaku to where it was taken from. They could have easily used someone else's, and then asked permission to take another pōhaku, but they felt the importance of getting the right tool for the job.

In this following process of na me hana kapa, the wauke was then kau. In the kau process, the wauke were soaked for five days in sea water and then for the next two to three days in freshwater. This allowed the wauke to become wali (soft) and pipili (sticky). After freshwater rinse and squeeze off excess water, the makua use the 'ie kuku and la'au kua. Placing the outer side of kapa on the kua with the pū'olo or bundle of kapa directly in front of the makua and instructed to start to kuku using the pepehi³⁸ or the widest lines of the 'ie kuku. Start from the middle of the kapa and move towards the outside right with a slow and steady kuku. Then repeat from the middle of the kapa moving the 'ie kuku towards the outside left. Special attention to the edges of the kapa. Then slowly lifting the kapa and moving away from the maker and placing the next section to kuku. Using the pepehi side of the 'ie kuku will separate the fibers. This process would continue all through to the end of the kapa strip. Carefully picking up the completed pū'olo, move the kapa back to the front of the maker. Using the same pepehi of the 'ie kuku, continue the same process on the other side of the kapa.

Figure 152 Making connections.



³⁸ Pepehi is the widest line grooves of the 'ie kuku.

After completing the kuku process with the ‘ie kuku pepehi, continue using the second side of the ‘ie kuku using the ho‘opa‘i (narrow lines). Repeat this same process on both sides of the kapa but using care when moving the pū‘olu as the kapa will become thin and fragile. However, the appearance of torn pieces and leaf scars should be attended to by using the kuku pō‘ai³⁹(round circular motion) technique.

“O ke kuku poai Kalani, kuku ke ‘lii”

Kalani beats the kapa.
(Fornander, 1919, p. 444)

As noted earlier, I called this process the Princess Nāhi‘ena‘ena⁴⁰ because within her chant, was the description of circular motion of her beating of her kapa. I found that using this hand motion of kuku pō‘ai repaired the torn parts and holes in the kapa. The torn pieces and leaf scars have a hard edge that needs to be wali or softened by gently kuku on the border of the tear and hole. Then using the kuku pō‘ai motion from the outside moving to the piko of the hole. The fibers are slowly felted together covering the hole or tear. Take special care when working on the other side of the kapa, be gentle and kuku lightly.

The last process for this workshop was using the third surface of the ‘ie kuku. The fine lines of the ho‘oki with very small grooves. The ‘ie kuku ho‘oki felts the fibers together and at the same time thins and flattens the kapa. The mākua were instructed to use the ho‘oki by starting in the middle and kuku to the right with an even beat. Then repeating from the middle to the left. However, without moving the kapa, start from the middle at an angle and kuku towards the right and repeat with the same angle to the left. Then repeat using an opposite angle. This angled kuku will flatten and stretch the kapa. This process is done again through the entire front and back of the kapa. As the mākua found their place to continue their kuku kapa, I was pleasantly surprised to see that the majority of them found a space outside on the grassy lawn and under the cover of the patio to do their work.

³⁹ Kuku pō‘ai is the beating of a kapa with a circular movement of the hana.

⁴⁰ During this research, I have referenced the Princess Nahi‘ena‘ena technique of the circular motion of the hand to patch the holes and tears in the kapa. However, I have recently been made aware that the motion is the kuku pō‘ai technique.

For many of the mākua, they enjoyed the kuku kapa, as some of them wrote in their journals. Hinamoe wrote about her experience learning to use the tools: “Using the thin grooved side of the kapa beater you want to mo‘omo‘o in a circular motion on the spots that have puka. This will fuse the kapa together, patching any puka, it’s like Magic!!!” (Ka‘uhane, personal communication, 2019 April). Hinamoe’s description of using the ‘ie kuku ho‘oki in patching the puka or holes on the kapa using the circular motion was my own reaction as I connected to the Princess Nahi‘ena‘ena chant to explain this circular motion. For the chant it speaks to the kaona of the felting of the kapa but also the deeper meaning is of the love making. In addition, another makua, Dina wrote in her journal: “To patch minor holes, [in the chant] Princess Nahi‘ena‘ena talks about lightly tapping in a circle around the puka” (Edmisson, 2019). Helping the mākua make the connections of what they are doing today and linking the same actions to what our ancestors have done. I was honored that we could make this happen, and mostly that our ancestors left these details in their chants.

After mo‘omo‘o is completed (front and back), rinse your folded kapa and squeeze out the excess water. Lay it in the sunlight to dry completely the longer it stays in the sun the whiter the kapa gets. A couple days before the next session, re-soak the kapa in freshwater (Burke, 2019). The mo‘omo‘o process allows the kapa to be dried. Perhaps a play on words, malo‘o is to dry the kapa in the sunlight to bleach and to strengthen the fibers. This is an important step in the na mea hana kapa.

Ke Kula Lau a ‘Ohana Lau – designs on the ‘ohe kāpala

During our workshop, we discussed the lau on the ‘ohana ‘ohe kāpala. ‘Ohe kāpala is made from strips of bamboo with a carved design on one end and used for stamping. Leilei described the kumu lau that was created for the school and the keiki. Next Trina explained the process of creating a design for their ‘ohana. She suggested simple lines to tell their mo‘olelo of their ‘ohana. Trina gave each ‘ohana a packet of supplies to make kāpala, to test and experiment with the designs. In the next session they will then carve their own lau on their ‘ohana ‘ohe kāpala and ke kula lau.

‘Ehā described the ke kula lau in his journal: “Waine‘e – 2 [triangles] up, 2 [triangle] down, continue to ola flow”. (Ka‘uhane, personal communication, 2019, April) The design created by the kumu of PLOL was simple and the use of the metaphor of the triangle represented the Mauna of Lahaina and the living flowing waters. Each ‘ohana were given two blank ‘ohe kāpala, one for the PLOL lau and the other for the ‘ohana to create their own design. For the Hawaiian, lau are symbols that describe a story, a place, a name, and a kuleana of the maker. Many mākua took this kuleana of making their ‘ohana lau as a big responsibility to their keiki. Mikey expressed her concern in her journal entry: “I’m looking forward to designing our own ‘ohana kāpala. Lots of pressure but I’m learning that everything has meaning and purpose, which is what makes our culture so special!” (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

Her recognizing that the design has a meaning and purpose is the feeling that is common amongst the other mākua as they think of their ‘ohana kāpala. Mikey continues to reflect on the making of the ‘ohe kāpala and of her design for her two keiki:

‘Ohe kāpala – stamps made on Bamboo. Flat blank where design is carved. Groove to catch ink from bleeding down the stem part. @ Bottom of stem, carve out liners. For ‘ohana designs – Keep it to linear shapes (geometric) Think about the positive and negative space pattern repetition? What it will look like on continuous stamping. Prefer Hawaiian bamboo because it is thinner and easier to carve. The [triangle] represents each of us 2 makua 4 keiki. The 2 circles are our dogs, which are an important part of our ‘ohana. That’s why they are inside of the [triangles]. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

Mikey's description of her lau or design represented her ‘ohana and included her two dogs. For her the ‘ohe kāpala design was a symbol of her ‘ohana. For others the lau would symbolize their place that they live or born, some tell a story of their ‘ohana oihana or occupation. Each lau is the ‘ohana mo‘olelo to their keiki.

O lāua mana‘o: ‘Ohana journal reflections

‘Ohana members shared their personal reflections at the end of their second workshop. The following questions are the same as for the previous workshop. As discussed earlier these are

their mana‘o divided into three themes. My view of their mana‘o reflected in their kapa experience, ‘ohana recollections, and mauli ola as a kānaka ‘ōiwi.

Experience: What have you learned in today’s session?

‘Ehā described his thoughts of his experience in this second session:

In this session I was concentrating on finishing my piece. I quickly found how hard you pound, the direction, and the kuku you chose made a big difference in how the kapa was shaping. The wauke bark isn’t square and trying to get it that way was hard. I ended up getting frustrated quickly but still worked on it as best as I could. We learned that drying it out helps turn it bleached. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

The points that ‘Ehā described were reflected by his observations as he worked with the wauke. He was able to identify the characteristics of the wauke because he worked with the fibers and felt the thickness, saw the shape, and recognized the strength that he needed to beat the wauke. He also felt the frustration of the work but did his best.

Recollections: Do you have access to any resources that you learned today?

As a practitioner, having the resources to do your cultural practice is an important step in the na mea hana kapa. Knowing what resources are needed and where they are located will help the practitioner to do their best work. In Shayda’s response she reflected her thoughts knowing her resources:

I do not currently have access to any of these resources that we have learned about tonight but it’s probably because I never had a need for them. Now that I know what is needed, I can be more maka‘ala. (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April)

Shayda acknowledged that she was not aware of the resources that she would need to produce kapa. But now knowing what is needed, she would be able to identify the resources and be aware of maka‘ala of her surroundings. This is a common feeling of kānaka, not knowing what they need until they need it. Mākua commented to me during these sessions that they wished

they had asked questions of their kūpuna and ‘ohana about how and why they did certain practices that they witnessed. Mākua saw their own ‘ohana in their cultural practices from la‘āu lau, or fishing, or cooking, and other cultural practices, however, they used their ‘ike to know where their resources were but also, they knew how to take care and protect these assets. Ma ka hana ka ‘ike, is the way to learn what is needed in any hana. In addition, ‘Ehā practiced ma ka hana ka ‘ike in making of his ‘ie kuku:

I ended up making a kuku to finish our pieces at home. It wasn’t as nice as the ones at class, but it did the job. Cici ended up borrowing it and wanted to keep it for her! She did give it back. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

‘Ehā used his own resources to make his ‘ie kuku to finish his pieces at home. For ‘Ehā he has the skills of making tools, but for many other mākua they did not have these resources. For the kānaka, connecting to someone that can teach them how to make tools is a critical resource. Without the tool maker, the practitioner will be more challenged with not having the tools to make the kapa.

Mauli ola: How did you feel before, during, and after our session?

As we go through this na mea hana kapa, we too grow with this process. For some mākua, it is the belief in themselves as a kanaka, for others is the growth of awareness of the work and aloha that is put into the kapa. Mikey wrote in her journal:

Today was a lot easier for me mentally. The anticipation of ka hana kapa was behind me and I had the entire week to reflect on what we’ve been taught so far. This has been a rough journey for me so far. After having a rough first night I almost lost my kapa that I worked hard on. My husband threw out the bag while he was cleaning, and I only noticed when I went to change the water. Luckily, he hadn’t gone to the dump yet, but he had to dig through piles of trash to find it. While he was doing so, I was freaking out. But what I realized was that I was already attached to this piece of kapa. My mana had already gone into it, so I felt as if I was losing something special. Rob is lucky he found my kapa. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

Mikey felt the importance of her kapa and the work that was put into her pieces. She was not alone in this realization of the kapa, many of the mākua were attached to the pieces and saw the flaws in their pieces but also saw the beauty. They were amazed and proud of their pieces as they shared their kapa with me. Shawnee Opunui wrote in her journal, “My favorite part was the pounding of the kapa, it was very relaxing, it was almost like meditation” (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, April). I agree with Shawnee, this is one of the reasons that I love kuku kapa. The feeling of meditation, relaxation, and focus. Shayda also resonates with this feeling:

Today’s experience was much better than last time! While making my kapa today, I felt much more focused and prepared (mentally). I was confident with using the hohoa and was able to pay attention to the feel of the kapa as it thinned. As I neared the end of pounding my kapa, a great sense of pride and accomplishment filled my body. I learned today that no matter how overwhelming or difficult something may seem, just keep moving forward with determination and patience and you will reap the reward. (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April)

This sense of pride and accomplishment is reflected on the faces of many of the mākua as they kuku kapa. Slow and easy is the pace as they patiently move forward in the process. I saw that the mākua would get a little frustrated then stop, breath, and stretch, then return to kuku kapa. For almost all of the mākua, this was the first time making kapa and I know that this process was not all guided by me, they were connecting to their own ancestors that were kapa makers. I know that this is how I feel every time that I kuku kapa; there are things that we learn from others but there are things that we learn through our ‘ike kūpuna. And those feelings are what we need to pay attention to. ‘Ehā explains how he felt during the workshop:

I was very excited to get working on my piece. I felt like I could do this and make my ohana and kupuna proud. During the class like I mentioned earlier, I got frustrated cause it wasn't as nice as some of the others, but I was able to get it finished after. I kept thinking that I want to try making another one, but I did not even finish this one yet so I am just gonna keep working on this one till the end and if I do get the chance to make another - I would take my time and make it nicer. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

A common comment mākua relayed to me was that they wanted to make their kūpuna proud of them, but although that was their intention, I saw that they were proud of their accomplishments in working to make the kapa. Strengthening their confidence in their actions were reflected in the way they held themselves during the sessions.

‘Ike kupuna a ‘Ike Hawai‘i: Did you feel a connection with your kupuna tonight?

Asking this question to the mākua, I knew that this may be a difficult question for them as they would recognize a feeling that was not identified before. For some, the discussion of ‘ike kūpuna may be general mana‘o, but I asked them to listen to their na‘au and heart. We benefit from the work of our ancestors, and we see this in the artifacts that have been left for us. These items hold mana, and this feeling is reflected in Mikey’s personal journal:

As I came into this second night, I was more relaxed. I knew what to expect so I was not working myself up. I started to get nervous as I was mo‘omo‘o-ing for a while — I was being too gentle with my kapa and needed to bang it with more force. It took a while to thin out my kapa. I wish we had more time so as not to rush through the process. But I got it done and still had a little time to look at the different ‘ohe kāpala. This is not your typical arts and crafts project. Everything has meaning, mana, and purpose. Because we as kanaka have lost so much of our culture and identity, learning to make kapa is giving us our identity and culture back a piece at a time. This is such an important thing. The more we can connect with our culture the more we will fight to hold on to it. I am looking forward to designing our own ‘ohana kāpala. Lots of pressure but learning that everything has meaning and purpose, which is what makes our culture so special! (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

Ancestors protected and passed on this mana through that they have left for us. The mana is gained in the use of these items; in ceremony, protocols, places, and utilitarian. For me, when I make a piece of kapa for someone, my mana and intentions are put into the kapa. These mākua did the same, they put their mana into their pieces of kapa. ‘Ehā wrote in his journal about his feelings on the connection to his ancestors as he worked his kapa:

I cannot help but to feel connected to my past when we are working on the kapa. I am sure in one sense in the past kapa was made for functionality in daily activities but there were also pieces that were made to be elaborate and beautiful. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

As this participant wrote about his feeling of connecting to the past, his thoughts of what was once a common activity of the utilitarian use of kapa but of the elaborate beauty. His reflections that he shared reflect the thoughts and feelings that he was going through as he made his kapa.

Ko‘u mana‘o

I was happy to see so many mākuā excited to start their kapa. Although some mākuā were taking the time to mo‘omo‘o their wauke, the majority of them were able to complete their goal of mo‘omo‘o and to be at a place to dry their kapa. They had concerns of too thick, or too thin, holes, and not enough time. As the mākuā overcame their feelings of doubt, their fears soon passed as they steadily moved forward.

Figure 153 Transmission of knowledge.



Hālāwai Ho‘ona‘auao ‘Ekolu

Trina and her kane Brandon, my mo‘opuna Leilani, daughter Leilei, and my sister Lisa Lani came to kokua me in this session. Trina and Brandon lead the ‘ohe kāpala design and carving, and Leilei and Lisa Lani assisted the mākua with completing their kuku kapa. We started with pule and asked to enter the school. Then we gather to explain the goals of this session. I felt the excitement of the mākua and their ‘ohana that was there to help. There was an energy of let's start, and they were ready to begin.

Na Mea Hana Kapa - kuku kapa, lau, ‘ohe kāpala

In this session, mākua completed their kuku kapa with the ‘ie kuku and kua la‘au. They continue with the process of kuku kapa using the pepehi first, then the ho‘opa‘a, and last with the ho‘oki nao or lines of the ‘ie kuku. Most of the mākua were done and dried their pieces. Some started to soften and flatten their kapa with glass jars, smooth stones, and pupu shells. In the prior session, I had asked the mākua to bring an ‘ohana member to help create their lau for their ‘ohe kāpala for the kula and one for their ‘ohana. I was excited to see their support of fathers, grandmothers, aunties, uncles, brothers, and friends that were there to kokua the ‘ohana. There must have been about eighty people showing up to this session.

Figure 154 Lau (design) and carving ‘ohe kāpala.



Daughter Trina and Son-in-law Brandon took the mākua and ‘ohana that were working on the ‘ohe kāpala. In the prior session Trina had instructed the mākua to create straight lines and to use the popsicle sticks with foams to test out their designs. Many came with their ‘ohana designs ready to carve. Brandon demonstrated and explained how to use the carving tools and he cautioned the mākua to go slow, no rush, and keep positive intentions. He reminded them to stop if they start to get frustrated and when they are feeling better, then they can come back. We made sixty ‘ohe kāpala blanks for the ‘ohana that were participating in the workshops. A set of two blanks were given to each ‘ohana: one for the kumu lau and the other for the ‘ohana lau.

Figure 155 Mākua creating their ‘ohana ‘ohe kāpala.



The key goal of this workshop was to design, carve, and complete their ‘ohana ‘ohe kāpala and the kumu designed PLOL ‘ohe kāpala. The ‘ohe kāpala ‘ohana lau (design) intention was to represent their own mo‘olelo. The lau elements could include the symbols of ‘ohana, wahi, and hana. We wanted our PLOL ‘ohana to create their own mo‘olelo of the past, present, and future. I was happy to see that there were wāhine carving the ‘ohe kāpala whereas this would have traditionally been a kāne practice. I felt that this role change reflected the individual choice of what they wanted to participate in without limitations put on them. This also was seen as some kāne worked on their kapa piece. Traditionally, the wāhine worked on the kapa and the kāne worked on making the tools and harvesting the wauke. Today the roles of the contemporary kākana have evolved in the needs of the ‘ohana, ‘āina, and mauli ola. We see the changes of both parents working, and a single parent household where the kuleana falls on to one makua.

In this session I also recognized we had single parent households and was very pleased see other makua step up to help the single parent complete their goals of the workshop. That was beautiful!

Figure 156 Kupuna helping make her mo'opuna kihei.



O lāua mana'o: 'Ohana journal reflections

'Ohana members shared their personal reflections at the end of their third workshop. These are their mana'o separated into three themes: My view of their mana'o reflected in their kapa experience; 'ohana recollections, and finally maui ola as a kākānaka 'ōiwi.

Figure 157 A'o mai, a'o aku.



Experience: What have you learned in today's session?

Each session presented a new experience for the mākua and a deeper understanding of the significance of hana kapa. Mikey wrote:

I know, after looking at Shayda's, that I could have pounded it some more to make it the original width again (before folding on itself). So that's something to keep in

mind for next time. Even so, all this Mana that I know I have put into it...I cannot wait to share it with my two boys. At age 4, they will not understand the importance of this piece of kapa, but I hope to remind them one day. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

Mikey's excitement of making a set of kapa for her boys is clearly expressed here, and although they may not understand the significance of these pieces of kapa, she knows the mana that each piece holds. Her boys and her 'ohana see the importance of the kapa that she values. Burke also etched in her memory to share this importance of their kapa and the mo'olelo of the creation of these kapa pieces. 'Ehā also described what he learned and experienced in this session:

We learned to cut the kapa in half and invert them to mo'omo'o. A puka free - nice rectangle piece or face the insides together and align the top and bottoms. Then pound it with the kuku [i'e kuku], which has big grooves on one side - small grooves on the other smooth on one side and water marks on the other. You pound the kapa with the big grooves to smash it together, then we use the thin grooves diagonally both ways (left to right then r to l) and then finish it off with the watermarks in so many different patterns. Chisa worked on our 'ohe kāpala for the school and we both brainstormed about our family designs too. Which we drew on other pages. We opt to go with this design or something like it. Representing mauka and makai which our family loves. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

Kalani illustrations add to his written journal, it holds 'ike that is hard to explain in just words. His detailed illustrations describe his view of what he is experiencing and what he felt doing it. His journal is his gift to his 'ohana that opens and reads it.

Figure 158 Design by E. Kalani, 2019.

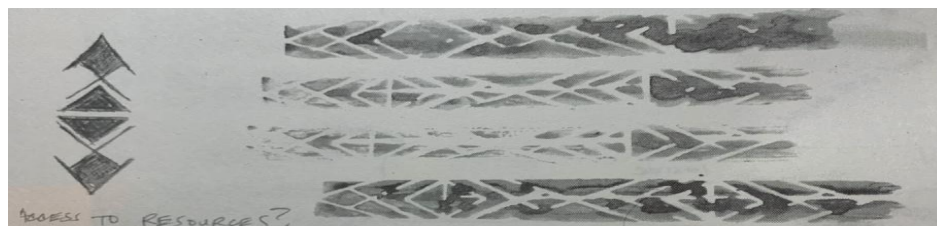
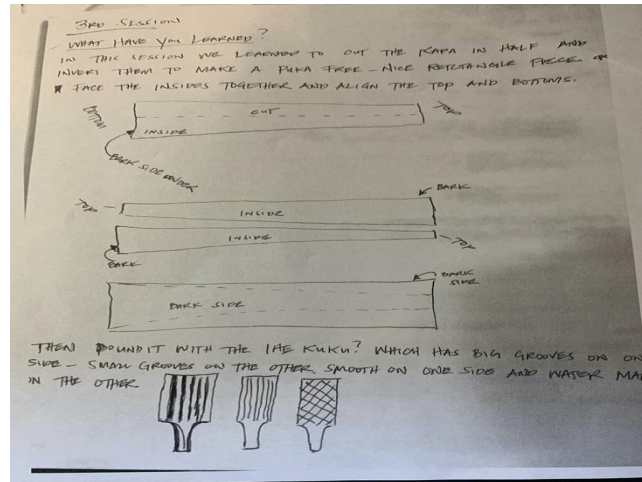


Figure 159 Illustrations by E. Kalani, 2019.



Knowing what the next step in the process of cultural practices helps the practitioner moving the hana forward. But what is also important is why the next step and why in the particular order. For Keoki, his reflection was of the significance of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i:

To me this is an art that we need to keep alive. My keiki and myself have been attending ‘ōlelo school to keep the language alive, and I believe every tradition should come with the learning and perpetuating the language from farming, to fishing, to building hales, and making lole or kapa. To learn everything that comes with it. (Vierra, personal communication, 2019, April)

I strongly agree with Keoki’s statement that the reclaiming of the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i will keep the cultural arts and traditions alive. For the kapa maker, knowing the hua‘ōlelo kapa gives direction to the hana. The ‘ōlelo gives a deeper level of the meaning and kaona of the word.

Recollections: Do you have access to any resources that you learned today?

Having the resources to do the best work reflects the pride that you take in a job well done. For these mākua they needed to create a design that tells a mo‘olelo of their ‘ohana, place, or hana. For Cici, she was attracted to the design while watch the Merrie Monarch:

I have been looking up designs and meanings and found some I liked and when we watched the merrie monarch they had a commercial about kapa designs and one was

‘Kahawai’ I could not believe it. I took a picture. I hope Ricky can help me with this ‘ohe kāpala, how special was that, seeing this design called ‘Kahawai’. (Hernandez, personal communication, 2019, April)

Cici could connect to a design called Kahawai that was a name in her ‘ohana. Many kānaka identify with names of places, things, and hana connect to their mo‘okū‘auhau. For ‘ohana Kalani, he searched for resources to make his ‘ohe kāpala. ‘Ehā wrote, “We bought some exacto knives and carving tools to make the ‘ohe kāpala. We found some ‘ohe at my workplace in Huelo and trying to carve it wasn’t easy, I still need to make a good one” (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

Figure 160 ‘Ohana ‘ohe kāpala.



‘Ohana Basques ‘ohe kāpala

‘Ohana Ka‘uhane and ke kula designs.

Mauli ola: How did you feel before, during, and after our session?

I was excited to see how our mākua decided on their designs for their ‘ohe kāpala and how they felt with the completion of their kapa. Mikey expressed how she was feeling:

It feels so good in my na‘au to be doing the mea Hawai‘i kine things. It is like I can feel a part of me (on the inside, like my spirit) light up! Like my soul was yearning for ‘ike Hawai‘i and I did not even know it. I am pretty happy with how my kapa is turning out. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

I loved that Mikey and Rob were able to successfully complete two sets of kapa for their sons. Mikey knew from early on the significance of these kapa and she kept true to herself as a

kanaka and as a mother. The challenges that she faced, she overcame the obstacles and completed two very beautiful pieces of kapa. Another mākuā Cici felt the importance of having her kane there to complete the kapa:

I am happy Ricky made it to a few Hui wiki paepae. I could not have done some things without him, but I already know he probably cannot help with anything else, and it will be up to me to do the rest. (Hernandez, personal communication, 2019, April)

Although Hernandez was there in every step of this process, and her kane could only make a couple of the workshops, I recognized that when he was there, he gave his total focus on the task at hand. The common feeling of making decisions of design and colors is difficult for many people doing this hana for the first time. But the question to oneself of, did I do enough and should I move on, is part of developing self-confidence. In these sessions, we hoped to reinforce their confidence in their own decisions. We hoped to have them trust in their ancestors to guide them in their hana. ‘Ehā escribed his vision of how his finished kapa:

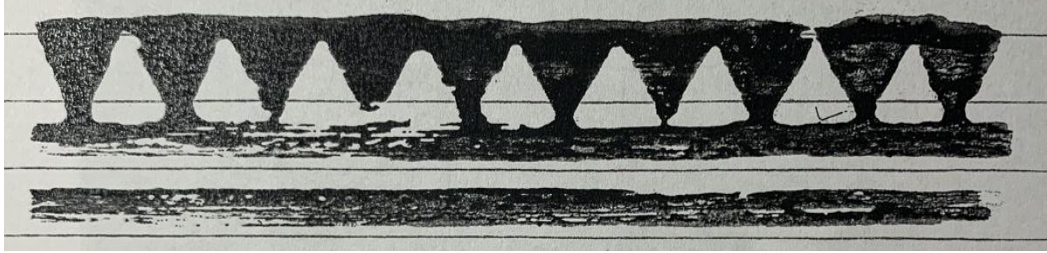
Good - anticipating finishing one piece of kapa and working ready for stamping it was cool to see the finished kapa. My mind was thinking of our family designs ideas to represent mauka and makai both of which our family loves to work and play in. After class there was a sense of accomplishment but still anticipation of how our final piece would look like. Mahalo nui Ishikawa ‘ohana!!! (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

This feeling of accomplishment is connecting the kapa to his ancestors that were there with him. Tonight, the room was filled with the ancestors of these mākuā. E ola!

‘Ike kupuna a ‘Ike Hawai‘i: Did you feel a connection with your kupuna tonight?

An important reminder in these kapa workshops is to be aware of kupuna as participants work through their hana kapa. For some it may be a word or action that triggers that awareness, and for some it may be the question that is asked. One task in this session was to create a ‘ohana lau, Jordan Nipu‘u Keahi-Ng printed and wrote his thoughts:

Figure 161 'Ohana design by Vasquez-Keahi.



I made this design because my great-grandfather Jacob Keahi was an opelu fisherman and had a barracuda that would help him to catch the opelu and the barracuda had 1 eye just like he did. The design was supposed to be the pattern and color on the scales of the barracuda. I put a newspaper story about my great-grandfather and his barracuda in my binder and a picture of an opelu mama. (Keahi-Ng, personal communication, 2019, April)

Jordan's mo'olelo of his great-grandfather Jonah Keahi as an opelu fisherman and his practice of calling the mama barracuda to come and help him catch the opelu. In the Honolulu Advertiser newspaper article, *Opelu mama – a barracuda friend and fishing companion*, written by Mike Martrich (1983, p. 15) describes J. Keahi details the training of the fisherman and the barracuda. Keahi-Ng's father, grand-father, and great-grandfather were practitioners of opelu fisherman. This multi-generational 'ike has been built on through their hana but also through the recorded document of a newspaper article. Seeing and reading the history of the Keahi 'ohana brought Jacob to his design that honored his great-grandfather and the opelu mama that has fed his family for over three generations.

Mikey reflected on what we are losing now as she describes her kupuna:

With everything going on in our islands and even in our own towns, we are losing so much of what it is to be Hawaiian. I am just so grateful that I am gaining this one little piece back. To know that I have kūpuna who did this exact same thing in their time means so much. I just pray that it makes them hau'oli to look down and see me doing it. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

Mikey reflects on the loss of Hawaiian traditions and cultural identity in contemporary time. But she was hopeful that in the reclamation of this cultural practice of kapa will please her kupuna as they see her making the connections back to her ancestors that were once hana kapa. This was felt by many of the mākua as they challenged themselves in the hana and knowing that their kupuna also did the same hana. Challenging themselves from thinking so much about making the kapa to accepting the guidance of their kupuna brings the steps of reclaiming their own cultural identity and mauli ola. ‘Ehā described his feelings before entering the workshop,

I had a lot on my mind when I came into class tonight. I had just finished a stressful day of work, dealing with the kids and more additional worries. Starting the mokomoko (sic) my kapa brought a sense of relief almost. The sound brought a comfort. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

‘Ehā acknowledgement of how he felt coming to class with the kuleana that weighed on him is a kuleana that many kākā hold. But to recognize that this kuleana provides for the ‘ohana, to teach and nurture the keiki, and to mālama the needs of the community is an honor and a privilege. Although we may want to make everything pono, we must not forget to mālama ourselves first so that we can take care of our kuleana. For the kākā connecting to cultural practices links to ancestors, cultural identity, and mauli ola.

Ko‘u mana‘o

This third session brought the ‘ohana together in one place and space with one purpose to make kapa. Words cannot express my happiness of witnessing the mākua as they worked on their kapa. Some mākua brought their mothers, aunties, uncles, brothers, and sisters to share in the experience of hana kapa. We had some finishing their kapa pieces, some carving their ‘ohe kāpala, and some creating their designs. Surprising, was that the positive energy in the large room with estimated eighty people doing numerous tasks was quiet and focused. Connections were being made and ‘ohana ties were being nurtured. This was a beautiful workshop not only ma ka hana kapa but the bonding of PLOL ‘ohana. I am so honored to be part of this hālawai ho‘ona‘auao.

Hālāwai Ho‘ona‘auao ‘Ehā

Throughout these kapa workshops with the mākua and kumu of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, I witness the A‘o of Hawaiian education. Pukui & Elbert (1986), define a‘o as instruction, teaching, learning, advise, and train. A famous ‘ōlelo no‘eau is:

Nana ka maka, ho‘olohe ka pepeiao, pa‘a ka waha.

Observe with the eyes, listen with ears, shut the mouth.

Thus one learns (Pukui, 1983, p. 249)

Pukui describes the five traditional patterns of education, they are observation, listening, reflection, doing the task, and questioning. These mākua learned through the Hawaiian traditions of A‘o. They nānā (observed) with their eyes, they ho‘olohe (listen) with their ears, and reflected on what was just done without jumping to conclusion or pa‘a ka waha (shut your mouth). Seeing and listening to what was just done, the doing of the task is the hana ka lima. The final step is the questions, if the student has done all of the other steps their answers may have already been answered and only the important questions would be left (Pukui et al, 1972; Chun, 2011).

As noted earlier, although there were many people that attended these workshops, these mākua and kumu nānā ka maka, ho‘olohe ka pepeiao, pa‘a ka waha. There seemed to be little talking and more doing. Questions were very limited and of importance. I asked the mākua and kumu in the beginning of the sessions to not ask questions during the instructions and to ask questions after the hana ka lima. For me it is my way of staying focused and for the mākua to take on the kuleana of helping each other in the process.

Na Mea Hana Kapa – Pa‘u, ‘Īnika, Waiho‘olu‘u

In our last session, my husband Wayne taught the mākua how to make pa‘u (soot) for the printing. Once, making pa‘u was a common knowledge amongst the Hawaiian household. The kukui kernel was burnt for the light in the hale (house). The pa‘u or soot from the fire was collected and used to print the design on the kapa and used to make ‘īnikā (ink)for tattoo.

Figure 162 Instruction of making pa‘u and ‘īnika.



Figure 163 Ma ka hana ka ‘īnika.



In figure 163 (left), ‘Ehā Kalani (2019) sketched this illustration of making the pa‘u for the making of ‘īnika. In this illustration, the kukui kernal is lite to an irregular flame which produce pa‘u (soot) that is caputred in a pot and used to make ink. A combination of pīlali kukui and pa‘u produces a ‘īnika that is shiny, smooth, and will not smudge. Wayne has perfected this memory of making pa‘u like our ancestors have after hundreds of hours of ma ka hana ka ‘ike.

What is exciting is that he did not give up on his quest to make pa‘u for my ‘īnika. It has taken me hundreds of hours to produce what I believe is a good ‘īnika to use on my kapa. We are so excited to be able to share our ‘ike with these kānaka mākua. ‘Ehā described his experience making pa‘u:

We learned how to make a couple different dyes: Yellow for Olena (squeezed), ‘Alaea (just mixed with water for brown and black for soot. Uncle had a small demo and burnt kukui, baked whole, and skewered. Then burnt them (3 nuts only) on a stand upright - with a small pot on top catching the carbon. Then after a while you scrape it out. It takes a while to make a baby food jar full then that soot is the base of various inks and dyes. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

Wayne was honored to share what he knew with the mākua of producing the pa‘u to make the ink to kāpala on the kapa. The olena was made by the kumu by cleaning then blending the olena. To the blended olena hot water was poured and a pinch of rock salt was mixed. The olena was then strained and bottled for the mākua to use. The ‘alaea was gathered from banks of the auwai in our ‘āina Paeloko. The ‘alaea is a water-soluble ochreous earth that is used for medicine and dyes. And then the pa‘u from the soot of the burnt kukui kernels. This pa‘u was mixed with hili kukui and grounded pīlali kukui.

Figure 164 Ma ka hana ka ‘ike.



This transfer of ‘ike from a mākua to a keiki is a symbol of the connection to our ancestors to the future. It links us to what was done in the past and what we do today. The transferring of

‘ike through hana, mo‘olelo, and observing enforces the importance of ma ka hana ka ‘ike. By the actions of these mākua as they make their kīhei kapa, shows the keiki and ‘ohana the significance of the hana. Hana kapa demonstrate the value of the kapa, tools, and place to the ‘ohana. The mākua learn the protocol of hana kapa to protect the space and intent of making their kapa.

Figure 165 Mākua kane and daughter.



Witnessing the excitement of the keiki as they observe their makua working on their kapa is a step in reclaiming the cultural practice in their ‘ohana.

Figure 166 Mākua with their finished kapa.



O lāua mana‘o: ‘Ohana journal reflections

Figure 167 Welo ‘ohana – Mākuahine and Keiki.



‘Ohana members shared their personal reflections at the end of their fourth workshop. These are their mana‘o separated in three themes: My view of their mana‘o reflected in their kapa experience; ‘ohana recollections, and finally, maui ola as a kānaka ‘ōiwi.

Experience: What have you learned in today’s session?

Mikey wrote in her journal:

I am so grateful that Puna Lei loves this mea Hawai‘i so much that she decided to share it with us, and the gift is this ‘ike. She could have just come in on one Hūi kīpaepae night with pre-made swatches of kapa and had us just stamp with pre-made stamps. But she did not. She brings me back to the saying, “Give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Teach a man to fish and he will eat for a lifetime”. This is what Puna Lei did for us. Aside from growing our own wauke and making our own tools, we could not have had a more in-depth learning experience. And for that I will always be grateful. She is

giving us a piece of our culture back. No money in the world could equate to this feeling in my na‘au right now. E ola! (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

Reading Mikey’s thoughts as she made the connections between teaching and practice was powerful. Her view of a cultural practice as a lifetime of ‘ike strengthens with having the resources, tools, and sharing the knowledge with intentions of building the lāhui. I was pleased to see that Mikey took this action of teaching as a pathway to reclaiming our culture. In addition Cici explained her experience in the waiho‘olu‘u process:

I have looked up how to make dyes, I didn't even know you could make so many different colors. It was too bad we had no time to do more and more effort in this. I really did ...I could at the time maybe one day or when things calm down. We can try this again somehow. I have come across kapa workshops. (Hernandez, personal communication, 2019, April)

I agree with Cici that we did need more time with the waiho‘olu‘u process, this could have been a workshop by itself. She wanted to do more and learn more is important to the reclaiming of ‘ike of the mea kanu, cultivation, uses of the plants, and the significance of the plants and dyes.

Figure 168 E ola!



Recollections: Do you have access to any resources that you used today?

My intention of asking this question was to prompt the participants to look in their own environments for the resources they have, however I was surprised to learn they were thinking ahead of me. They not only thought of the physical or tangible resources, but they also thought of the spiritual and intangible resources they had. Mikey wrote:

The significance of this moment is not lost on me. What a privilege it is to have been taught kapa making. From the first kahi to the last stamp—I was just in awe about the fact that my kupuna did this very same thing in the wā kahiko. Chicken skin moment. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

This was a common feeling expressed by the mākua that participated in these workshops. Shayda wrote,

This marks our last day of kapa making and I am very excited to complete our kapa. This has been a priceless experience that made me truly appreciate our kupuna and how akamai and resourceful they were. What made them use wauke? How would they know enough to wear? There are so many questions that I have about how they learned to use these resources. (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April)

Shayda’s unanswered questions are important to her, and we should never dismiss questions that connect the present to the past. Although we may not have the answers at this moment, by doing the hana, we can get closer to these answers. We do have resources in our community, our ‘ohana, and our ‘ike kupuna. One makua added that he has the resources of kukui but all he has to do is to try and make it.

Mauli ola: How did you feel before, during, and after our session?

This was our last night to complete our workshops and there was a great energy of excitement, anticipation, and urgency. I saw that the mākua was very anxious to start but also to be in the right frame of mind. The mākua were very serious as they chanted to ask permission to enter the kula. Mikey described her excitement in her journal:

Tonight, was a big night for us—Rob was here to help with the culmination of this kapa experience and we are celebrating our 10-year wedding anniversary. It is a very

emotional experience to see how far he and I have come in these 10 years. We were living in California 10 years ago. No keiki yet but one was on the way. And now we are here, in my ku‘u one hānau, making a kapa kīhei for our twin boys. We are here, in the land of my people, revitalizing Hawaiian culture, through ‘ōlelo and thru ‘ike kapa. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, April)

I remember watching Mikey and Rob working together to finish their keiki kapa and seeing the joy and pride in their accomplishment. Mikey acknowledged this was also a celebration of their tenth anniversary and being back home with their keiki. She also wrote about the significance of the revitalization of her cultural identity and the importance of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in her ‘ohana. For some mākua the experience had a positive effect on their cultural identity, but for others this experience was a realization of the need to strengthen and build on their mauili ola.

The goal of these workshops was to give these PLOL mākua an opportunity to make a kīhei for their child using cultural and traditional techniques. I believe these mākua gave their best efforts in the process of making their kapa with the time restrictions imposed on them. Cici expressed her disappointment at her own work, she wrote: “Kapa is important to my family, we had one when we got married and were wrapped in it. That is what hurts the most that I could not do a better job (Hernandez, 2019). She expressed the disappointment she had in her finished kapa, and she felt she could have done a better job. These feelings of doubt of our own abilities are true but we as kanaka have the guidance of our ancestors. I too question if the work that I have done when making kapa is enough or can I have done better. Only the practitioner knows the answer, when we ask our kupuna, they will answer but we have to listen and trust in their answer. Cici was not alone in this uncertainty, many of us have to believe in our own abilities and push through the stigma of Western society of what is beauty. For kapa, it is the intentions and for these PLOL ‘ohana it is the ceremony:

I wish I put in more time; I just had no time & did the best I could. I was not too happy with the outcome of my kapa, the experience was great and wonderful. I really wish I can do this again. I am not a creative person at all, so I am just unhappy with my design after seeing everyone else. I cannot be creative when there are too many things going

on in my life that my mind is everywhere at once and I have no balance in life.
(Hernandez, personal communication, 2019, April)

This is a valid feeling expressed by Cici, and points to how challenging it can be to undertake cultural practices in such busy contemporary times. Western society has influenced the kānaka into thinking that there is one way to learn, teach, and live. We know this is not true, we know what ancestors were capable of, there should be no doubt that we can do this too! It may just require us adjusting in order to create the space to do so. Cici went on to write:

I did not want to turn in my journal being that there is nothing in here that is interesting or will help in any way. I am mostly embarrassed about everything because I personally know I could have done better. I am just trying to juggle life. This sounds lame but I am just weak, I guess. I do not want to make excuses but more rather just apologize for my lack of effort. (Hernandez, personal communication, 2019, April)

As I reflect on her thoughts, I realize the familiar voices of reasoning. It is the voice of elimination of our kānaka. We hear these words that make us doubt our own capability in work, in school, and in family. Notions of what is best for our people should come from us, we should make this determination. So, when we say we are weak or we cannot do that, we are taking on the Western oppression we have been subjected to that makes us doubt our own ability and direction. This oppression that has been ingrained in our kānaka must be diluted with the reclaiming of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and cultural practices because this is who we are. As we reclaim our cultural practices, we build our nation of kanaka. We begin to hear the voices of strength and determination, such as ‘Ehā’s journal entry, “I felt good. A sense of accomplishment knowing we were going to finish our kapa pieces we have worked so hard on” (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April). The feelings expressed a sense of accomplishment, pride, and cultural identity. Seeing the smiles on these mākua gave me a sense of - look they did it!

‘Ike kupuna a ‘Ike Hawai‘i: Did you feel a connection with your kupuna tonight?

U‘ilani Tevaga (personal communication, 2019, April) wrote in her journal, “It made me think about how strong our kupuna were. My back aches and I only did a small portion. To imagine an entire kapa moe, or blanket? I’m in awe of what our ancestors as well as the kapa masters in Hawai‘i and Polynesia are capable of”. I strongly agree with U‘ilani that our kupuna were amazing not only in strength but also in ‘ike. U‘ilani was the only one in this group of sixty plus mākua that have made kapa before. I was honored to have helped her with her first kapa. She reflected on her second experience making kapa with me:

Puna Lei...She is an amazing artist. She leads with such love and aloha. Never allowing us at any time in the process to doubt our abilities and gently reminds us that Kapa makers were in every family. “Let you kupuna lead you” she says as we begin directions. (Tevaga, personal communication, 2019, April)

Yes, ‘Let your kupuna lead you!’ is what I believe in. Tonight, these mākua were surrounded by their kūpuna and they were there to guide them. Mākua were focused and started right away. For many of the mākua they made their connection to their ancestors in the choice of their design of their ‘ohe kāpala, in their colors and dyes, but also in their designs on the kapa. Shayda wrote:

As I contemplated the design of my kapa, I could not help but think about these questions and how grateful I was to learn this art of our kupuna. We come from Kānaka, which was very much so connected to their surroundings and knew how to take care so there would be resources for their keiki. They knew that if you take care of the ‘āina, the ‘āina will take care of you. (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April)

Shayda made the connection to her environment and the resources that it provides for the future generation. She recognized that this is a kuleana that she must take on for her keiki:

For me, this was not just learning to make kapa, this was an enlightening experience that made me want to learn more of what our kupuna did and what our culture truly entails. There is so much that our society can learn from our kupuna...I ka wa ma mua i ka wa ma hope, means more to me now, than ever before (Medeiros-Gunn, personal communication, 2019, April)

Shayda expressed the importance of knowing the past in order to move forward. She also acknowledged the brilliance of our kupuna and how these experiences connected her to her kupuna. ‘Ehā wrote:

“As the class went on and seeing the creativity in everybody’s kapa, there was just a sense of awe - thinking back to 200 years ago must have been the same feeling of pride and accomplishment. Walked away with a great feeling of friendship and connecting with our kupuna – awesome. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, April)

‘Ehā and many of the mākua have experienced the same feeling of pride and accomplishment in these sessions. For all of them this sense of reclaiming their cultural identity through hana kapa has not been felt for over two hundred years since their ancestors have made kapa. And now they can pass this experience on to their ‘ohana in hana kapa or in any traditional practices. This is the direction of mauli ola.

Ko‘u mana‘o

In this session we taught the mākua the making of pa‘u, the formula of making ‘īnika using pa‘u a, hili kukui, and pīlali kukui. The mākua completed their waiho‘olu‘u and ‘ohe kāpala. They made their connections to their ancestors, but they made connections with the PLOL ‘ohana.

Ho‘ike

Celebrating la puka (graduation) o Pūnana Leo o Lahaina on the sacred grounds of Waiola, Lahaina. This is the resting place of Queen Keōpūolani⁴¹, the highest royal bloodline in Hawai‘i. ‘Ohana and kaiāulu gathered to celebrate this day with the graduating haumana of PLOL.

⁴¹ Queen Keopuolani was married to King Kamehameha I and the mother of Kamehameha II and III. She had the highest royal bloodline in Hawai‘i.

Figure 169 Keiki kīhei kapa wrapped in hau kaula.



Oli ‘A‘ahu

Haku no Kumu Kamealoha Laborte

Iā ‘oe e ho‘okele nei i kēia ala

I koho ‘ia me ‘oe ko Hawai‘i

Kū me ha‘aheo

Kū me ka ha‘aha‘a

Kū me ka ikaika

Kū me ke aloha

Kū i ka pono

Kū me ka no‘ono‘o

Me ‘oe ko Hawai‘i e ku‘u keiki.

*As you navigate through this path
That was chosen for you, Hawai‘i will be with you.*

Stand with pride

Stand with humility

Stand with strength

Stand with love

Stand for what is right

Stand and be mindful

Hawai‘i is with you, my child.

This chant was written by kumu for the ‘ohana of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina to be given as they presented their kīhei kapa to their child. The love of na kumu as they wrote these words expressing the values, kuleana, and mauli ola for the ‘ohana. ‘Ohana gather to recognize and celebrate the ‘ike the keiki received from their kumu and community.

Figure 170 Mākua prepare for the ceremonial hāwele of the kihei.



Figure 171 Mākua present kihei to their keiki.



Figure 172 'Ohana join in mele.



The protocol of oli, pule, and mele provided the cultural and spiritual foundation for this lā puka kula (graduation). Kumu, mākua, and keiki gave ha‘i‘ōlelo (speech) of the celebration of this day and recognizing what this means for the future. Nā keiki presented their mo‘okū‘auhau to the ‘ohana. Each ‘ohana presented their kīhei to their keiki as a symbol of aloha, protection, and mana that is passed on to the child.

Figure 173 Pūnana Leo o Lāhaina Lā Puka 2019.



Figure 174 Na Keiki o Pūnana Leo o Lahaina.



Ko‘u mana‘o Ho‘iki

This experience has shown me the importance of making time to a‘o together. One important observation is that the ‘ohana wanted this time together, to work as one, and include the extended ‘ohana to experience this hana no‘eau. I know that it does not matter what the hana no‘eau is, it is the time of a‘o that is important for the maui ola of our lāhui.

Figure 175 ‘Ohana Ishikawa-Stills.



“Ka ‘ike a ka makua he hei na ke keiki

The knowledge of the parent is [unconsciously] absorbed by the child” (Pukui, 1983, p. 151).

Mokuna ‘Ehiku: Helu elua (Part 2) Nīnauele

Pūnana Leo o Lahaina Mākua Interviews

The following section represents individual nīnauele (interviews) with the six mākua of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina on June 5, 2019, between 5:00 pm and 9:00 pm at Launiupoko Beach Park, Lahaina, Maui. An open invitation was given to each workshop member to participate in an individual interview. The individual names that agreed and wanted to participate were then collected and the teachers randomly selected the five to participate. However, of the five participants, one was a non-Hawaiian and felt that she would be taking the opportunity from a Hawaiian participant. She asked to be removed at that time. Na kumu then selected another individual from the list of the participants for the interview.

After hearing the reaction of the non-Hawaiian individual that wanted to excuse herself from the interview, I decided to talk with her and encourage her to still participate. Whilst her mana‘o was valid, I felt that as a participant in the workshops she also should have the opportunity to contribute to the future, and that her perspectives could enrich the data. The decision was made to request her participation in the interview. She then agreed to participate and became the sixth individual in the mākua interview. The six individuals and the researcher had an orientation meeting to align and acknowledge their participation in the interview. The meeting included information about their participation and their consent.

The initial intent of the researcher was first to have individual interviews, however, as the time approached closer to the interviews, they—the six individuals felt uncomfortable and requested if they could meet as a group. The researcher then confirmed that the individual interviews would now instead be a single focus group. Individual questions were adjusted and approved for the focus group. The participants’ response to the idea of being individualized is recognized as a cultural behavior which I was prepared to honor. However, on the actual day of the

scheduled focus group, the individuals decided they felt more comfortable speaking one on one with the researcher. The significant learning for me in this process was to empower the participants to determine the process that was right for them, and to be open and responsive to changes. Research requires flexibility in order to be responsive and honor participants.

As the individual interviews began, some wanted to include their spouse in the discussion, which the researcher was happy to allow and to then include their contributions also. The role of the researcher was to ask questions that would enable the participants to reflect on their experiences through hana kapa. Although there are multiple ways to explore the six individuals' various experiences of learning and producing a kapa, the researcher discussed and analyzed their experiences through ma ka hana ka 'ike.

Ma ka hana ka 'ike was the way that I learned how to make kapa and also on reflection, how I learned a lot about myself as a kanaka Hawai'i. Applying the ma ka hana ka 'ike in this cultural practice of learning by doing, these six individuals share their experience of hana kapa. To explore the diverse experiences of the six individuals, I have focused specifically on how the participants felt during the process of learning and making kapa. These individuals are Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian, wāhine and kāne, local or newly arrived to Hawai'i. But the one common link is these individuals are mākua of na keiki that are attending Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, a Hawaiian Language Immersion preschool. These mākua have committed their lives and future to the perpetuation of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i.

Separated into three themes, based on ma ka hana ka 'ike, first was based on their kapa experience in making kapa and then discussing their piece of kapa. The second theme was to share their kapa recollections from their own 'ohana. The final theme asked them how they felt being Hawaiian or having Hawaiian values through the process of hana kapa. The following sections reflect their individual assessment of their experience of hana kapa. Honoring the

voice of the participants, I have recorded their mana‘o and words presenting their ‘ōlelo pa‘i ‘ai⁴² in their own ‘ōlelo.

Nīnauele ‘ekahi: Kyle

As I looked at Kyle and Kayla Arakawa (personal communication, 2019, May) sitting together and kuku kapa on their keiki kapa, I reflected on their body language that expresses their passion for the work. This is the first time that they both have made kapa. As they kuku kapa, I witness their focus, intent, and aloha for this kapa. Kayla chose not to participate in the interview and so the following narrative is based solely on the interview with Kyle.

Figure 176 Kyle and Kayla in their first kuku kapa workshop.



Kō lau‘a ‘ike kapa (kapa experience)

Kyle Arakawa is married to Kayla, and they have two beautiful children. I was excited to ask Kyle of his experience making kapa knowing that he has seen kapa being made at this workplace. I asked Kyle of his experience making kapa and what he enjoyed the most about the workshops.

⁴² ‘Ōlelo pa‘i ‘ia is referenced to the pounding kalo language. Also referenced as pidgin language, a combination of Hawaiian and English. ‘Ōlelo pa‘i ‘ia is known as the local language that have been passed from one generation to the next.

How did I feel? I liked the workshop, because that's the first time, I mean I work at the Luau [Hawaiian show] and I watched them do kapa all the time. But I never experienced it for myself, like from the beginning, from the plant, like stripping the plant, and to the core. It was exciting. I was excited and I wish we could go more. Like I wish, I was nonstop, and I just, to me the best part was getting together with everybody and doing it together. It's better when everybody's together. I was happy, it was inspiring. Was motivating. I liked it. I miss it. (Arakawa, personal communication, 2019, May)

Kyle expressed the excitement of a kanaka reconnecting to his traditional practices. His motivation of wanting to learn the cultural practice of hana kapa and the happiness of working with others was evident throughout our discussion. Kapa as a hana can be a solitary process when focused on a ceremony or ritual, however, Kyle took this opportunity to work with others and at the same time to learn from others. I believe his excitement and motivation was largely centered on the connection with his peers and his ancestors as he participated in the hana kapa.

Kyle was one of the few that took the extra time to learn how to make pa‘u or soot to make the ‘īnika to print on their keiki kīhei. While showing Kyle how to make the pa‘u and how to blend the exact amount of pilali, pa‘u, and hili kukui, he was determined to listen, learn, and make his own. I asked Kyle to talk about his keiki kapa and the design.

So, I was learning how to ink with you... I know the triangles represented like the mountains because we live by the mountains but also like I look at it as all the niho niho⁴³ just to filter out bad energy. Cause, I mean we deal with people every day. We work with people, and we talk to people. So, it is just inheriting good and bad. Spirit, yeah. So, I just feel like it's a filter for us as a family but the community and even like Pūnana Leo just filter out with no bad energy. Cause I mean you gotta [got to]. So, when I look at it, that's what I'm thinking. That's our family design was based on the new one. (Arakawa, personal communication, 2019, May)

43 Niho niho is a set with teeth as a saw. Niho is referred to as a tooth.

In his description of the kapa design, he connected the place where his family lives and the surrounding mountains that protect and feed his family. He described the niho niho which are also known as manō or shark teeth. The design of the niho is a triangle shape that for many kākā represents the strength of their ancestors, which is aligned with his thought of protection of his ‘ohana from negative energy. I believe that Kyle’s love of his family is shown in this design, sometimes we are not able to say in words what the person wants to express. For Kyle and Kayla their design represented that ultimate love of a father and mother to protect and nurture their children. The need to filter negative energy is I believe particularly significant given Kyle works in the tourist industry with immense demands to please and respond to the needs and wants of vacationers. It is important to recognize the concern of the kākā as they take on the kuleana of their work. They take upon themselves to share their culture to those that may appreciate their ‘ike and traditions. But this also carries the burden of giving the culture to those that may take ‘ike and use it for their own benefit, could it be to gain their own mana or claim this ‘ike as theirs. I believe it is in the levels of ‘ike that it separates the layers of cultural reclamation and cultural identity. As a result, they too must create a layer of protection for themselves and their families.

He manō holo ‘āina ke ali‘i.

The chief is a shark that travels on lands.

The chief, like a shark, is not to be tampered with. (Pukui, 1983, p.87)

Knowing that Kyle and Kayla had chosen to make two pieces of kapa, I asked about the second piece. Kyle’s response confirmed my wanting to show and teach the mākuā how to make pa‘u for their printing of their kapa.

Because I want to do the ink myself. So, I have been looking at the trees, you know what I mean? I'm trying to get the sap[pilali], but as soon as I get the sap, I will call Kumu Leilei and ask her how to do it. You want from the area because we have a tree, we have a couple trees at the luau. So, it's been like looking at them and trying to study. But one day I am going to grab some, just try it. And then knowing how to make it because we still don't ‘alaea? But we still have an empty kapa because we did two kapa right? So, this is hers, I still have mine, but I want it to start on from scratch. Like

making the ink myself and just because I know how to do it. Try it out, try it. (Arakawa, personal communication, 2019, May)

Kyle's commitment to making his own 'īnika showed me the pride that he reclaimed in his Hana No'eau. For him to tell me that he is looking for the pīlali is a step forward for him to connect to his environment and the resources around him. He identified the trees at his work site. He knows what the sources are and most significantly, he is willing to try. Kyle, like many of the other mākuā, wants to identify and transform the 'āina to resources. He said, "because she [Kayla] never knew. Like she is, I need to help. And I was Hon, I am helping Aunty. Because this [ink making] is like nobody is [doing this practice], we cannot do that [we will not have this opportunity to learn], you know [do you understand?]"

I believe Kyle's statement of why he was not clear about Kayla's design, reflected his desire to learn a technique through hands-on experience. Kyle and two other individuals chose to learn this technique of mixing the exact amounts of pa'u (soot) with the exact amount of pīlali (resin) to make the binder for the 'īnika to set in the printing process. For the reader, his words may not express the picture of what was happening, however, for the researcher and the participant his statement was clear. His expressions towards Kayla were of the tugging between helping his wife on the design of the kapa or to learn a technique of making pa'u. The challenge of the choice that Kyle made showed me the intent and desire to learn this ancient practice because he knew that if he learned this technique, he could make his own pa'u for his kapa piece and he could teach others.

Kō lau'a 'ōhana ho'omanao (Kapa recollections from 'Ohana)

Focusing on sharing and connecting to the stories of 'ōhana, I asked Kyle if there were any stories or memories of kapa that he had from his 'ōhana that he could share with me:

No, sad to say it, that was the first time, like I am super experienced. It's heavy! That is why I was like, it was so mean, inspiring like I said earlier, I just see them around. I see people doing it, but I never did it myself or even like getting hands on or even getting close to that kind of thing, you know? But yes, that was mean Aunty. I liked it. Like I

shouldn't talk about it while I was in a workshop. I work at the Old Lahaina Lū'au and they do them [kapa] on display, but they are not done from the beginning. I wish they knew about it. No, no. I wish I did [have family memories]. Because, I would have known a little bit more about it, that was like the open book basically like opening the first page for me. Thank you. (Arakawa, personal communication, 2019, May)

His metaphor of his kapa experience being the opening of the first page of their book was inspiring and it is exciting to know that this hana will now be part of their 'ohana mo'olelo.

Waiwai ka 'ike kūpuna (Being Hawaiian or having Hawaiian values)

I asked Kyle what it meant to him to incorporate Hawaiian values and cultural activities in his life.

Hawaiian values like family, like a unit. I mean basically, the Hawaiian values would be sticking together, and respect, and taking care of each other. That's how I felt that night. That's why I was like, oh yeah. When everybody comes together. Because usually, if you're gonna do something, you do it by yourself. I mean that's why through the school, like everything is within a family. So that's maika'i. (Arakawa, personal communication, 2019, May)

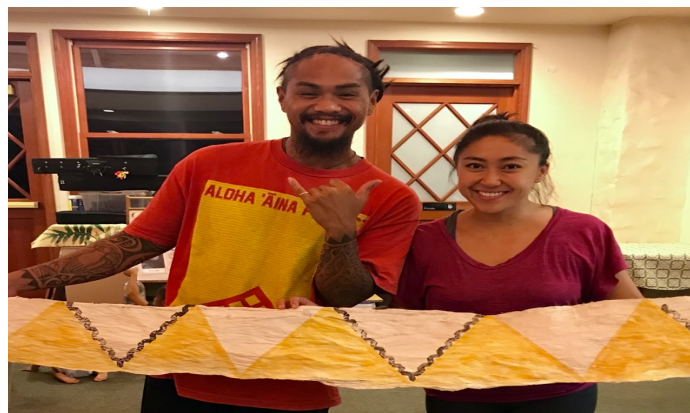
Kyle's description of Hawaiian values of sticking together, respect, and taking care of each other made me realize that values are interpreted in the wellbeing of the individual. For Kyle his values were based on his 'ohana, be it his own or the Pūnana Leo 'ohana. He believes that to be a Hawaiian is to be connected to a unit. I was curious to know how Kyle thought learning cultural practices were an important part of being Hawaiian. His metaphor helps me view his values of learning cultural practices and the significance in contemporary times:

Yup, because it's like ah, I can't think of the word, but it's a, it's like a stamp. I mean a stamp that goes into history that will be passed down, right? Because if somebody had a story to tell me like my grandpa or somebody that would be passed on to me. Like it's like a uhi [skin tattoo] like the tattoo. So yeah, I think it is important and it's a basic symbol of today's reality of how this is in this generation because 20 years might be

different. Designs or mentality. Everything might be different to our certain individual. Well, I guess, yeah, that's all that. (Arakawa, personal communication, 2019, May)

I felt that Kyle had more that he wanted to ask or share with me. I asked him if there was anything else, he wanted to say to me? He replied, “That was so mean aunty, I mean today was a workday for you. I even saw it on Facebook [I presented a kapa workshop]. I missed it, but then I like to try to do them again from the beginning.”

Figure 177 Kyle and Kayla with their keiki kapa.



Kyle was interested in participating in one of my kapa workshops that I provide for the community. Most of the workshops that I present are for fundraiser efforts for non-profit organizations like the one mentioned by Kyle. I love presenting these kinds of workshops, however, the amount of the time, resources, and money that is spent to put on these workshops takes away from the purpose of why I want to teach kapa. A friend reminded me that as a practitioner, my time and resources must be put towards the teaching and training of wāhine, as we strive to reclaim our cultural practice of hana kapa. Kyle’s statement of missing my workshop and wanting to try to make kapa from the beginning, reminded me that my time and resources need to focus on the wāhine and giving them the opportunity to hana kapa. Building more kapa practitioners will provide Kānaka like Kyle the opportunity to continue a deeper level of hana. Kyle continues to express his excitement of this learning process:

I have been asking people if they get plants like wauke. Because it's family oriented, we can do them together. Like somebody pounding and then can cut bamboo. But now

I know how to do the inks and all so we can go grab kukui. That's why I wished somebody would do that for us for a long time. I'm pretty sure my aunties and uncles never really did sit down and talk about it. So, like, I wish I heard stories from them. Because through their time, their generation was different from today. Or like this design was put here for a certain reason, or like the reason why he did that was what is, this is what happened in your life. Like their life stories, like a tattoo. Even like ku'i kalo and like all this stuff that we do in the school. So different books we went to open, yeah. We get plenty of books. We the DVR. (Arakawa, personal communication, 2019, May)

In this discussion, Kyle discusses how he felt about learning the cultural practice of kapa and what it meant to him in being Hawaiian. Kyle talks about the cultural practice being like a stamp to go down in history and described it as a tattoo that can tell the story to be passed down to future generations. He also spoke about the importance of being family oriented and being able to learn and do the cultural practices together as a family. He wished that there were stories that he could have passed down through the generations. He recognized though that now they are creating their own book. E ola ka 'Ohana Arakawa! E ola!

Nīnauele 'elua: 'Ehā

'Ehā and Chise Kalani (personal communication, 2019, May) enjoyed working the process of kolikoli and working with each other.

Figure 178 'Ehā and Chise completed kolikoli stripes



Kō lau‘a ‘ike kapa

‘Ehā is originally from the island of Molokai. I was excited to hear about ‘Ehā’s reflections about the kapa workshops and what he enjoyed about the experience. Knowing that this was ‘Ehā’s first time making kapa, I was excited to see his focus in his participation in the workshops. I asked him to share with me how he felt about the kapa workshops.

Well, it was mean! And like I said, I was excited about doing kapa when I heard about it because I've never done it before. I mean we never had any kind of workshops or in classes or anything close, family or school or anything. So that was good to just experience, you know what it’s like. I guess so I didn't know too much about it coming into it. So, because it was awesome to have this class. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, May)

I felt his appreciation to participate in the hana kapa workshops as a mākua that has not made kapa before. I asked him what you enjoyed the most about the workshops, he replied,

I do not know the whole class, learning about it from start to finish. Going to pound some kapa, but from the get-go, stripping it and all that. I mean it's all those little intricate things that you don't think about. I really enjoyed just learning, just learning the whole process. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, May)

In ‘Ehā’s journal, he clearly documents the details of the process of his experience in the kapa workshops. His illustrations recorded the steps of na mea hana kapa and described the kapa that he made for his son,

My kapa, I think I did a pretty good job. It was pretty busted up. You folded it over and it made it all nice. I just wanted to make it simple. I mean this is a challenge, it isn't as easy as you guys make it look. But then I just wanted to make it simple, just use just lines on the outside for our line and then our ‘ohe kāpala. Yeah, I just wanted to try and represent mauka and maka‘i, because you know, we're all about getting like the fish in there and then the mountain inside the tail. So now I was trying to get a little too intricate. Well, just a little bigger line and then maybe a different ‘ohe. But I think he

came out pretty good. You can see some. And I just wanted to keep it simple. That's something I am pretty much just simple kind stuff. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, May)

I witnessed the pride that ‘Ehā showed as he presented his kapa to me with designs that reflected the mauka (mountain) to maka‘i (sea). His piece was surprisingly very soft and beautiful. I knew that he took a lot of time to soften and smooth the kapa piece. I was interested in his technique of softening the kapa.

We've been working on it a little bit. This past year I got to go hunting a lot, so we started doing deer skin, making the rug—the same theory making it soft. So, we used the same kind of techniques. You get like a little blunt, something underneath the wood that it's not too sharp. I mean, just kind of rub them and work a little bit. And then just smash kind of stretching. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, May)

I was excited to learn that ‘Ehā enjoyed hunting for his family and his perspective of utilizing the resources of the deer for food and to produce rugs for the skins. I would suggest that there is a connection to the ‘ohana and the ability to gather food sources to the mauili ola. For ‘Ehā making the connection of the mauili ola of the kuleana of feeding his ‘ohana but also recognizing the technique of softening the skin of the deer to the softening of the kapa.

Well yeah, just go [hunting] for family. They love deer meat, we from Moloka‘i. So that was another interesting thing to learn. My friend was doing it [making rugs from deer skin]. So, after we got [deer], I tried because we always just threw them away and this worked out. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, May)

As ‘Ehā described his experience of making kapa, he connected it to his memories of growing up on Molokai and his ‘ohana practices. These cultural practices such as hunting, and hula give ‘Ehā and his ‘ohana a foundation and a connection to his ancestors.

Kō lau‘a ‘ohana ho‘omanao

When I asked ‘Ehā to share with me if he had any kapa stories or memories from his ‘ohana, he explained that he did not have any stories or memories about kapa, however he shared his ‘ohana cultural practices:

No. Our family was mostly like hula and genealogy and mo‘okūauhau stuff like that, and our family reunion, and stuff. We really did not do any kapa at all. So, this is awesome. I think you got to come to our family reunion. So that's why this experience was awesome. For me it is to dip into that part of culture. You know, the culture that I thought was primarily just women did that, so for us to get to do this, it was awesome. Cool!

Figure 179 ‘Ehā kuku kapa.



From the perspective of a kanaka that was raised on the island of Molokai and with the foundation of living off the land, I was really interested in what it meant to ‘Ehā to incorporate Hawaiian values in his life.

Oh, values are just ingrained. It’s what we've learned, just living. We do certain things like kahea [call] to people inside when you come into the house. And just certain things that you really don't notice that's Hawaiian values, and it's doing anything is important. The Pūnana Leo, I mean just speaking the language is a new thing for us this year.

You know, it's really getting into it. Just keeping all those things that you know, to me that's all important. Every little bit that we can get and every day the experience that you can have, it's important to just keep those values. That's Hawaiian. Kanaka maoli and just ola just keep everything living and you know, not just seeing it from outside, like the Bishop Museum or something, but getting your hands dirty and doing it yourself. Those kinds of things are important. And that's what I want to instill in the kids and just share in my family and friends, just everything. You just want to share it because it is so interesting, it is so much part of us. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, May)

Hearing ‘Ehā’s perspective of how he lives with Hawaiian values, I realized that he was not only voicing the importance of incorporating the values themselves, but also the importance to honor and continue the values that he was taught. He is grounded in principles that were passed on from one generation to the next. ‘Ehā also recognized that there is a protocol that must be done to assure the respect and honor of these values in everyday life.

Figure 180 ‘Ehā and me.



Waiwai ka ‘ike kūpuna

As I have witnessed ‘Ehā’s focus on the process of kapa making, I was interested to learn his perspective of learning cultural practices, like kapa, as an important part of being Hawaiian.

Oh yeah. No. Like I just said, any part of the culture that you can kind of grasp and get a hold of. Especially like you said your hands on instead of this, from reading from a book or somebody just telling you, those kinds of things are all important. I am a part of a Hawaiian group Na Koa and with Keeaumoku [Kapu]. And so, that's a whole another aspect of the culture that you're all tied in a way because, it should be. I showed you the kuku and 'ohe kāpala I made. And the hohoa that is all from, making weapons and stuff like that. So, it is all incorporated back and forth. And that's kind of what it is, everything kind of tied down in our culture. I said this kind of important in part of rounding out, just being a Hawaiian and knowing what our ancestors did and how much work it was just to live back then. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, May)

‘Ehā’s excitement and enthusiasm as he approached each step of the process of kapa making, was a confirmation for me as a kapa maker that I am doing the right thing in teaching this practice to others. In fact, knowing and seeing the tools that ‘Ehā made was evidence to me that there is a desire with our Hawaiian men to make Hawaiian tools. For ‘Ehā, his training in making Hawaiian weapons helped guide him in making the kapa tools for him and his wife to make their kapa pieces. It is comforting to know that there are others that will make tools for cultural practices. The level of interest that ‘Ehā was willing to take in making his tools and in learning about the techniques of making the pa‘u and ink is very encouraging.

I believe that ‘Ehā and his ‘ohana are humble and hardworking kānaka committed to the language and culture of our ancestors. This commitment is shown in their love for Pūnana Leo and their community of mākuā. The extra time and care that they take in their work is a reflection on their lives. I was interested to hear if ‘Ehā had any questions or anything else he wanted to share.

Well, you know, I want to do another one. Because after doing this I think the next time you do like, the more you do anything, and it'll be better at it. So, I want to try again and make it a little nicer, different piece or something. I know, just need some wauke and then it would be on or away, you know. But like I said, coming into this, I kind of under-estimated the whole thing. I didn't really think about it like that. And

that's all right, our ancestors, that's how they thought all time about all those little details that you don't think about. From growing it, peeling off all the shoots, that can be straight and that's all everything coming into before you even start anything.

You need to have a good product and that's all things. I'd never even thought about coming into the class. It's like, okay, we make kapa and then come in and cut everything. So yeah, that was just a, this is a great experience. Thank you, guys. Then going into the ink and all of that. I mean, that's a whole other, a whole other part of the program that I didn't think of. Thank you, guys, very much for carrying on, and keeping this alive so that we can experience it today in 2019. Thank you. I want to try more styles, make different malo or kīhei and bigger pieces. I am going to follow you guys around your next thing. (Kalani, personal communication, 2019, May)

I was not surprised to learn in ‘Ehā’s interview of his ability to use his existing talents and incorporate the ‘ike kupuna or ‘ike Hawai‘i into the making of kapa. In particular applying that ‘ike of weapon making, to making the tools for kapa. His knowledge of skinning the deer and working the skin was able to be applied as his technique to soften the kapa. The most significant learning I gained from ‘Ehā was to fully understand his respect and honor of protocol, of pule, mahalo, and ho‘i or giving back. His willingness to learn more and to connect through cultural practice is important to him in terms of his Hawaiian values and his way of life. E ola ka ‘Ohana Kalani...E ola!

Nīnauele ‘ekolu: Dina Edmisson

Figure 181 Dina and Brian Edmisson



Dina and Brian Edmission (personal communication, 2019, May) are non-Hawaiian and as such she was hesitant to participate in the interview potentially taking the place of a Hawaiian. However, I felt the need to include her voice as a non-Hawaiian given, she was already a participant in the workshops, has a commitment to language revitalization and offers a different perspective. Her inclusion did not take the place of a Hawaiian, but rather was additional.

Kō lau‘a ‘ike kapa

From the outset I could see that Dina was nervous about being interviewed and hesitated in sitting with me to talk-story. I was happy to know that her husband Brian was there and asked if he wanted to also join in our conversation. I was curious to know how they felt in the kapa workshop. Knowing that Dina was already uncomfortable as a non-Hawaiian, I wanted to hear what she enjoyed about the workshops:

I felt like the kapa workshops were a complete blessing to get to participate. I mean, it really was a makana⁴⁴ to our ‘Ohana. We felt honored and privileged because, especially when you told me that no one has been working kapa in the past 150 years, I just, I felt even heavier... And the experience was fun and exciting and stressful, but in a fun way. Oh, what am I going to create? Like, there's so many options and to be doing something that you watch them do in Ulalena⁴⁵, say...wāhine gathered around and made kapa and to get to participate with the tools that you had, so lovely.

And what did I enjoy most...the pounding the kapa and the watermark was just beautiful. I had no idea that was a part of it. So that was a nice surprise and a treat. Well obviously, there's just so much to learn, you had to really compress it and, but we got to experience it and it was lovely to touch it and feel it and smell it. And to learn about the wauke and how to plant, how to mālama it. It was very inspiring. It's inspired us to

44 Makana is a gift or present that is given freely without any expectation to have a return of gift or service.

45 Ulalena is a musical show that depicts the theatrical history of the arrival of Captain Cook.

make more, have our own wauke, and plant it. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

Watching the movements of Dina as she started to relax her shoulders but keep the excitement of her experience of being a part of the workshop, I could feel and see the deep appreciation in her eyes of her participation in the hana kapa. As for Brian his tall slender stature and way he positioned himself also seemed to reflect the joy of learning. He added in his thoughts of his personal experience.

The workshop was a door or gateway to connect to our ancestors. Probably not my near ancestors, but my very great ancestors. Probably made their clothing and they either made it with hides from animals or they made it with plant material. And I felt like there was some type of connection with my ancestors when we're working with the mo'omo'o and kind of really getting that first hands-on kind of deep connection to it because when you're peeling it, you are kind of just exposing it and opening it and kind of revealing it. But once you really start working in and putting your mana into it, I feel it really kind of rejuvenates that connection that you have with your ancestors. I felt blessed to be able to do that. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

Hearing that Brian connected to his ancestors in the process of making kapa, seeing the pride and honor in his voice as he spoke to the moment that he recognized that he was connecting to his ancestors, was significant. The activity of hana kapa has triggered his own ancestor to be present with him. Brian's own ancestor (First Nations) enabled him to make the connection to his ancestors which in turn was an opportunity for me to learn of his adaptability and appreciation of the hana.

Kō lau'a 'ohana ho'omanao

Although Dina was not born or raised in Hawai'i, I still asked her if she had any kapa stories to share. Hearing how Dina and Brian felt about their experience making kapa and recognizing the significance of the process and the completed piece that it held in their family story, represents an important part of their story. Their pride was described in their plans to honor the

piece and be able to tell their kapa story. Dina described her conversation with Brian as they drove to the graduation event:

We were talking about that in the car coming down here and I said, this is our family's first kapa story and it's going to be in a frame in our living room and it's going to be handed down and everyone's going to get to talk about it. How are family together...the four of us, Evan was the first one to start 'ōlelo Hawai'i in Kula Kaiapuni and he's really led our 'ohana or seven-year-old. And together we've all just generated this passion that was always there, but there's just deeper understanding and appreciation and to get to physically participate in the culture really solidified that and, yes, this is what we're doing and why we're doing it. And we just felt really blessed to get to experience it.

So, this is our family's first kapa story. I remember when I used to work at the Kapalua Bay hotel and the auntie there pointed out some wauke and maybe it was just, I mean nobody was mālama to make kapa, but she said this is what they use to make kapa. And I remember my job was to take all the travel agents around the hotel and show him and teach him. And I would always stop there, and I pointed that to them, and I would tell them, you know, the clothing they would wear, this is how they made it. And that's all I knew. But everyone would stop and literally would take a moment just to look at this bush, you know? And they didn't have any idea because I didn't know much more than that, but everybody just literally sat there for just a few seconds and revered it. It's neat. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

I was happy to hear that Dina could recognize the wauke that grew on the property that she once worked on, and to hear that she engrained the 'ike that was taught to her and passed that on to the people that she encountered on property. This is an important observation given that master kapa maker Puanani Van Dorpe was known to have a supply of wauke in the Kapalua area and this was also in the area where the transfer of 'ike of kapa making to the kapa makers for burials began. Dina's one memory not only acknowledges the place where wauke may still be found, but also ties to the mo'okū'auhau of Kapa practitioners in that area. Creating their

own stories in kapa, in language, and in ‘ohana was a joy to witness. Dina continued to describe how this experience affected her ‘ohana.

We’re creating them. And our youngest, Jake, who goes to Pūnana Leo, loves to do kapa, loves to make kapa. He had his own piece that the kumu had given them. And tonight, when we were getting this together, he goes, did you bring mine? Did you bring my kapa? So, he really enjoyed that process, so we know that we’ll be making some with him. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

Hearing Dina describe the excitement and joy of hana kapa for her ‘ohana made me realize that it is wonderful that they were given the opportunity to learn. I felt that as a practitioner there are opportunities to teach and learn from each other. However, these opportunities do come with kuleana. Like Dina’s son Jake’s pride in his kapa and wanting to ensure that his piece was included in the sharing. The kuleana of making sure the kapa was cared for and used in the appropriate setting. Like na kūmu teaching the keiki to kuku kapa, and na mākua re-enforcing the learning experience.

Waiwai ka ‘ike kūpuna

I recognized that Dina and Brian loved being part of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina ‘ohana and asked them what it means to them to incorporate Hawaiian values into their lives.

That there’s a lot to learn, there’s so much to learn. And we chose Kula Kaiapuni and Pūnana Leo because we felt that the Hawaiian values mirrored our own personal, I should say our personal values were like Hawaiian values. And we thought how great it would be to send their kids to a school where all of that is reflected and they’re surrounded and reinforced with those values, you don’t get that at public schools and that we would get to learn at the same time. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

Their chosen path for their children’s education was based on their own family values and led them to the platform of Hawaiian Immersion education. This was a strong indication of their commitment to the values that Dina and Brian described in the following quote:

“I think our kuleana as non-natives is to realize that appreciation and then give back as much as we can to say this is, it’s not just a pretty place”

And I think pono is most important to us. Personally, we always try to be Pono in everything that we do. So always we strive to do everything right at the right time by the person for the right reason. You see the right thing. And just to be mindful and to perpetuate, to learn first, and to help our family and friends. Also, to understand and appreciate mostly appreciation. I think people see it, but I don't know that they have enough understanding to be able to appreciate it fully. And I think our kuleana as non-natives is to realize that appreciation and to then give back as much as we can to say this is, it’s not just a pretty place.

In fact, that’s probably the last part of it. There’s so much mana and there’s so much care that we must care for the land, we must care for the water, we must care for the people, and the keiki. Just a mālama, everyone mālama and kokua. That’s what we’re focusing on right now. And as we learn more. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

These statements represent a thoughtful expression of Dina’s appreciation and honor in having this experience. Importantly, it also represents a non-Hawaiian understanding of not assuming these experiences are theirs to share, but rather treading carefully and valuing the opportunity without taking advantage. Brian expressed,

We didn’t learn any of that in California. Not in the way that we’re living now. What it means to have Hawaiian values in our family, I think, is to learn about the culture, perpetuate the culture, to teach our kids. We were very nervous in the beginning. We felt very embraced now. It's more like home than ever in my life. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

This feeling of belonging is an important value for Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian alike. Knowing their purpose and kuleana in their ‘ohana, kai‘ulu, and lāhui. This knowledge helps define their focus and the connection to the place, people, and ancestors. Dina added:

And with that comes a greater responsibility. Correct. So, to my desire for our family and really where we come from is just to support Hawaiians being Hawaiian. Whatever we can do to kokua to lift everyone up and their culture, that's where we come from. We don't need that, that's why this was a blessing to us because we felt that wasn't us. There's so many Hawaiians who should be experiencing that [kapa making]. And so, we feel our desire is to just support Hawaiians and being Hawaiian, you know, contribute to the schools, contribute to the language, however we can do that. Kokua[help], kala[money], you know, however we can. We have big dreams and desires to just, mālama. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

Dina's response acknowledges that this 'ike is not theirs and that they as outsiders are here to not only learn, but to support the movement of reclamation of the cultural identity of the kānaka. I believe her perspective is not hers alone, in respect of other non-Hawaiian residents that have chosen to live and raise their families here. However, sadly, I often witness the uneducated visitors and locals disregard the value and history of cultural practices.

The question posed to Dina was to seek her view of learning cultural practices like kapa, and how that might connect as an important part of being Hawaiian. I was surprised to learn that she recognized that there are cultural practices that are being revived in contemporary times that connect back to ancient times such as the surfing canoe. But more important was hearing that her views of being Hawaiian is not just having the blood or being genealogical, but that being Hawaiian is also connected to the cultural practices.

Absolutely. Don't think you can be Hawaiian without practicing the culture. Can have Hawaiian blood, but to be, it is to do it and perpetuate and to learn all of these things that, I mean, tomorrow we're going to ride Alaea [Hawaiian canoe]. When was the last time that was done with a big group of people? But this group of mākuā happened and I think they probably will continue to do this. You know, they're stepping up and starting this and they're going, Oh, kapa. Yes, we want to do that. We want to make Alaea. We want to ride Alaea. You've got to wear a malo when you do it like, yes, and we look forward to learning more, how to grow certain things. What's useful for what

to, to regain as much of that knowledge as possible is so rich and important. I think people everywhere, discovering indigenous cultures are invaluable of what they know. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

Figure 182 Dina and Brian making final touches on their kapa.



Dina's awareness of the significance of indigenous cultures and practices confirms the assertion that indigenous knowledge is valuable to the survival of indigenous culture. As other participants have indicated, learning, and participating as a mākua group was an empowering experience for her. As for Brian, I saw his excitement of ma ka hana ka 'ike that showed his interest to learn more to support the kapa making.

You know how much your husband likes to teach or whatever, but he did a wonderful job making those tools that you guys use and for people to want to do it the right way and learn how to make the tools and stuff. I think that was an amazing workshop, I think possibly for you guys to maybe look into for sure. Because I know that for us, once we start growing wauke in our yard and my brother's house and it's ready to be harvested, we would like to have some tools that, you know, we build the correct way, correctly using the right materials as well. I feel like this kapa is connected so much to the way to make this kapa and I feel like in the future if we make kapa, which we want to. And we make it with the tools and make our own 'ohe. By the way, bringing that gentleman over...I forget his name, but he was wonderful. He was very thorough. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

Brian was inquiring about Brandon, my son-in-law, who led the carving of the 'ohe kāpala section with the mākua. In this section, Brandon and Trina took the mākua through the process of preparing, carving, and the use of printing with the 'ohe kāpala of their keiki kīhei. Brian's request for my 'ohana to do kapa tool making and 'ohe kāpala workshops, were echoed by other mākua while and after each session. This request for more specific types of workshops suggests that knowing how to make their own kapa tools and using the right types of materials was an important step in the process of hana kapa.

We have our pōhaku in her front yard. It's cool. Like every day we walk by it and think about our kapa every day and the kids know that you cannot touch it, play with it, step on it or over it. Like a special tool, like this school. I feel very blessed to be apart as the whole.

I want to not just learn, but I want to perpetuate. How can I encourage others to learn? So, if you've ever offered a workshop that people can pay to attend, we would attend it and encourage everyone else. Like my brother...everyone has seen it and likes to do that Hawaiian lifestyle and culture. Everything about it, whether it's farming or learning about kapa or other shaping the board. (Edmission, personal communication, 2019, May)

I could feel the excitement and desire that Brian had to learn more about kapa making, and more specifically on making his own tools. He described the pride of having his pōhaku in his front yard and the care that his family gave to the tool that was used for their kapa piece. I suggest that the ownership or the care of the tools becomes heightened when the family knows the value of the object. For Brian and Dina, because they gathered the pōhaku themselves, they knew where it came from and the purpose of the tool. Again, this is indicative of the depth of cultural knowledge and identity that is shared in the process of cultural practices such as hana kapa.

In collecting the information from Dina and Brian, through the process of talk story, I am grateful for their input as non-Hawaiian participants in this Hawaiian cultural practice. I see the value of having them in my participant interview because of their perspective as a non-

Hawaiian, and that it presents an opportunity for me as an indigenous researcher to consider non-indigenous views. Although reluctant at first, Dina and Brian were open to the opportunity to share their thoughts of how they might contribute to the movement of the lāhui. I felt that their intentions to support the survival of the cultural practices and language is significant. Like my husband Wayne, is not Hawaiian, however, our children and myself carry the Hawaiian blood of our ancestors for this ‘āina. Wayne, like many non-Hawaiians born and raised in Hawai‘i shares the same responsibility to nurture and cultivate the reclamation of Hawaiian culture for our family and for future generations. History has shown us time after time that there are many Native Hawaiians that have been disconnected from their ancestors ‘ike kupuna and ‘ike Hawai‘i, but they have chosen to cut that kaula (line) – no doubt this is a result of years of oppression, occupation and colonization. However, there are several non-Hawaiians that take on the responsibility of protecting practices and who are strong advocates in the reclamation of Hawaiian cultural identity.

Nīnauele ‘ehā: Kamealoha Laborte

I first met Kamealoha Laborte (personal communication, 2019, May) a couple of years ago as Pūnana Leo o Lahaina. She is a kumu at Pūnana Leo o Lahaina and a makua this year. Kamealoha is quiet, but one thing that stood out about her was her love of the Hawaiian language and for her son Kūha‘o. As a single makua, she inspires me as she nurtures her son to be a loving and caring community member.

Figure 183 Kamealoha wearing her kapa she made for her son Kūha‘o.



Kō lau‘a ‘ike kapa

In this interview Kamealoha expressed her excitement of learning kapa with her mākua in a special place and space. I asked Kamealoha to talk about how she felt about the kapa workshops and what she enjoyed the most. I was interested to understand her kapa and what Kamealoha might want to share with me about her designs and colors.

So, when Leilei [my daughter] and the kumu were planning the Makahiki⁴⁶, she brought up that she wanted to do a kapa workshop and I was like, oh my god, yes. I couldn't wait and then when the month came, I was like so yeah, that's how I felt.

Then the thing I liked the most about the kapa workshop was when all of them [mākua] kuku kapa together. And I don't know, I just, it felt awesome. And to be at Waioloa, which is by Moku‘ula⁴⁷ too. Like to have that place and hear kuku kapa again...going through the process. It was very emotional, but like a good emotion. No... Journey, I guess. Yeah.

And then the kapa, I already knew I wanted to do diagonal lines. I painted with the olena a big stripe of diagonal lines down the kapa. I did a small strip of ‘alaea on either end of the big yellow stripes. And then after that I put the kāpala Waine‘e in the middle of all of those stripes. When I looked at it, yeah, this is Kūha‘o. I always knew I wanted diagonal lines and then the Waine‘e going down it was like...yeah. (Laborte, personal communication, 2019, May)

Although Kamealoha has never engaged in this work of making kapa, her excitement and reflection of working alongside her fellow mākua and in a sacred place of Moku‘ula where Pūnana Leo o Lahaina sits at the edge of the home of Maui great ali‘i is evident. She describes the wonder of hearing the kuku kapa return to this sacred place. Perhaps this enthusiasm of making kapa connected to her ancestral ‘ike that was familiar in place and space. I would suggest that this tells us there is a connection to the environment, the learner, and the quality

⁴⁶ Makahiki is the new calendar year.

⁴⁷ Moku‘ula was a small sacred island in Lahaina that was once the home of Maui of ali‘i.

of the learning experience, as alluded to in the earlier literature review (Penehira, 2009). Indeed, her excitement as she described her design and dyes when she made her kapa were the representation of her son Kūha‘o and the place and space that is his learning environment.

Kō lau‘a ‘ohana ho‘omanao

I asked Kamealoha to share her memories of kapa stories from her family. Like many others, Kamealoha expressed her sadness that she was not able to recall kapa stories in her family. However, she reflects on her own family and wonders who the kapa maker in her ‘ohana may have been.

No, but when you guys said that there was one kapa maker in each family at that workshop I was like, oh, I wonder who was the kapa worker or maker for my Hia [‘ohana] side. I wonder who was the kapa maker for my grandma’s side. And I was just thinking about all of that. And then when I went to Hilo which is where my mom’s mom is from, I was like, oh, I wonder who we have kapa maker was for that because they’re from Kaū and what did they use for the dyes and stuff like that, that they use the dirt from south point or like all these questions come to mind every, every single time. And then I was looking at the ulu tree one day and I was like, I wonder if they use all those branches. Like it looks from stick size. Like do they use those branches, or do they use the young tree? I don’t remember seeing the kapa until maybe I was in high school and that was in school. (Laborte, personal communication, 2019, May)

Even though Kamealoha was not able to directly recall any kapa stories in her family, she started to ask the questions of who were the kapa makers and what they may have used in the places that they once lived. Familiar places that made her think of her kupuna and how they would use the resources that they had. Kamealoha reached out and connected to her ancestors in the questions that she asked. I also asked Kamealoha about her mom joining us in the sessions and if she had any memories of kapa. I was interested to learn if her mom made kapa before and if she had anything to share about the sessions.

No. She was, she was happy. She was like, I can’t wait till the next one. Within the next one came, and she was busy. So, I was like, so you got to come. She’s like, no. And

then she came to the dye design one and she's like, you will do whatever you have to do kāpala and then I'll, we'll help you. I was like, okay. She's like—you do designs because I don't know how you want it...Yes. She was super happy! (Laborte, personal communication, 2019, May)

Kamealoha's mom helped prepare the dyes and inks for the mākua as they printed their designs. Although her mom did not have a chance to print a design on her grandson's kīhei, she made the dyes and ink to print the designs. Witnessing the interaction and the support of Kamealoha's mom was significant as it represented three generations working together on a 'ohana project.

Figure 184 Kamealoha designing her 'ohe kāpala.



Waiwai ka 'ike kūpuna

The following discussions were emotional for Kamealoha as she reflected on herself as a kanaka 'ōiwi. Tears filled her eyes as I asked her what it means to her to incorporate Hawaiian values in her life and learn cultural practices as a Hawaiian.

It means everything to me because I am Hawaiian. I am a kanaka 'ōiwi. And to re-learn the 'ike of our kupuna... That is my life. Like when I was growing up I was stray away because, you know, growing up I liked parties, but coming back to putting Kūha'o in Pūnana Leo has turned me back to the path where I was going anyway, so it is beautiful.

What are Hawaiians without their culture, their traditions? They're just people, but what kind of people? So, without our traditions and without our kona 'ike and without our 'ōlelo, what is a Hawaiian? How do we identify ourselves? I remember somebody saying Chinese people can go back to China. If they go anywhere else in the world, they can always go back to China. But as Hawaiians, if there's no Hawai'i, where do we go? Where are we going to go? (Laborte, personal communication, 2019, May)

Knowing that Kamealoha is a kumu and a makua, I asked if she had anything she wanted to say or ask me.

I just wanted to thank all of you guys so much. Like in those four classes I've learned so much about not only kapa but myself. Like I want to learn more and I just, I have to, out of my comfort zone and do it. I kind of just like Kūha'o going to learn, he is going to carry on. Oh, if I want to learn, like if I want to learn not only about kapa but maybe like, I don't know, just holoholo[fishing]. Yeah. I got to learn, I got to be the one to learn, so he can learn. So, thank you so much for everything.

The last halawa'i that we had, I had a hard time holding back tears because in piko, it was just beautiful. Like when they the mākua, when we sang Hele Au it was really hard to hold back tears. And then when the mākua, when oli komo, it was amazing that feeling like, ho-man, then just being with all the mana in one space, learning about something from our kūpuna. I don't know, I just, all I can say is it's amazing and I thank you guys so much for all your guys' work. I never knew anything about kapa, and I love your little, that thing you cracked your kukui when I was like ...oh my god! So, thank you guys so much. (Laborte, personal communication, 2019, May)

Kamealoha showed me what it is to be a mana wahine⁴⁸. She spoke to being Hawaiian and the importance of culture, traditions, and kuleana. Kamealoha not only reflected on the sessions, but she reflected on herself as a mother and a Hawaiian. She expressed that through this practice she learned about herself and the kuleana that she must take to assure that what her desire for her son is learned and taught by her. Her commitment to Kūha‘o educational environment and wellbeing is in her hands. Kamealoha is a mana wahine. E ola ka hāloa e ‘ohana Laborte! E ola!

Nīnauele ‘elima: Michaellyn Burke

Figure 185 Mikey and Rob wearing their keiki kapa for their two boys.



Mikey (Michaellyn) Burke (personal communication, 2019, May) is a mother of four boys and married to Rob Burke. They made their home in Lahaina where Mikey is an active makua at Pūnana Leo o Lahaina and Na Leo Kālele a Hawaiian Immersion language program on the Westside of Maui. In a Maui Now article, Mikey stated, “It is everyone’s kuleana to ensure a living Hawaiian language and I chose to ‘auamo⁴⁹ that kuleana by putting our ‘ohana on the

⁴⁸ Mana wahine is a woman that has power, authority, and spiritual power. She has the strength to work hard and complete her task and kuleana.

⁴⁹ ‘Auamo is a pole or stick used to carry burdens across the shoulders.

path of Hawaiian language immersion education”. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

Kō lau‘a ‘ike kapa - their Kapa experience

Mikey was a little nervous in preparing for this interview. However, quickly her anxiety disappeared as she spoke about her experience in making and designing her kapa piece for her twin sons that will be graduating from Pūnana Leo o Lahaina. Mikey’s gratitude was evident in her own growth in this process. Mikey, being a mother of twin boys, understood that she had to make two kīhei, one for each of her boys! This was a big undertaking for her. I could see the concern and anticipation in her eyes, body movement, and in her voice as I asked her how she felt about the kapa workshops.

I felt gratitude the whole time. Well, maybe not the first hour, the first hour I felt anxiety. Because I walked into it thinking, oh, we are just gonna learn and we are gonna make this little thing of a kapa. Then you told we are making the kapa for the keiki. And that was a lot of kuleana to hit me all at once. To learn that mea Hawai‘i and I must make important piece and then I had to do it times two! Right? Am I going to get all of this done? (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

Previously noted, Mikey’s anxiety was apparent, and I observed real concern on her face as I checked on the mākua in the uhole of the wauke. I could only imagine that her anxiety was increased with the anticipation of making two kapa pieces. I suppose that I could have made it a smaller project instead, but I did want to give these mākua an opportunity to do something that was not done before and that was made as an ‘ohana project. Mikey continued to express her feelings:

But the whole time after that first hour, I just felt like, my soul felt like, finally, I'm learning something mea Hawai‘i. Something untouched by all the white washing that we have here, especially on this side [Lahaina] of the Island. You know, a lot of our cultural stuff here is so whitewashed because we cater to the tourism on this side. So, to be doing something that was so Hawaiian. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

Mikey's statement of "to be doing something that was so Hawaiian" was a confirmation for me that the opportunities for this are indeed limited. The opportunity to engage with our own practices without the fluff of a show for the visitors or because it is pretty, is rare. She recognized that there is something special in the cultural practice that is of the reclamation of cultural identity as a Native Hawaiian. I was curious however, to know what she was able to enjoy about the process given the stress of the demands of the workshops.

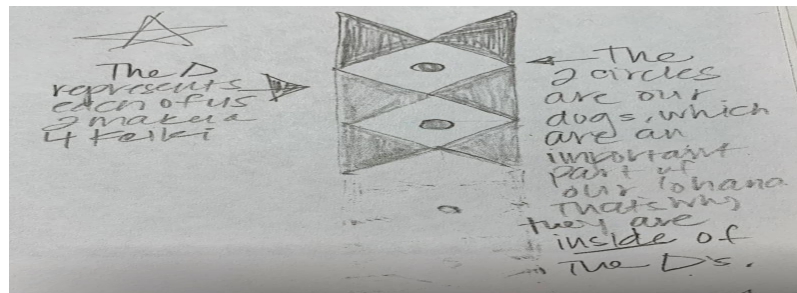
I enjoyed myself, was stretching myself because I'm not a crafty person at all. I'm very whatever brain, very analytical, very OCD, numbers person and that artistic side of me. I just, my mom used to tease me that I was born as an adult and so I never nurtured that imagination side or our artistic side. And so, this kind of work over the four weeks or the four workshops, it's forced me to have to create something artistic or organic. My whole life I did not have to do that or shy away from that kind of stuff. Yeah, it was, I enjoyed it the most, but it also made me uncomfortable the most. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

As a researcher and a kapa practitioner, I was humbled to hear Mikey's truth of her own viewpoint of her artistic abilities. As she reflected on her understanding the impact of her mother's words as not nurturing her own imagination. She did recognize her abilities as she stretched out of her comfort zone to create her kapa pieces that were artistic and organic. She then went on to describe to me her 'ohana design for the two kapa that they made.

That was a hard one, because being the analytical person, we're only getting one 'ohe kāpala. And you cannot screw it up, it was such a tiny piece whenever we'd draw something centimeters wide. And so, we went through a variation of five different ones. And then the sticks you guys gave, the practice sticks were even double the width of the actual 'ohe kāpala that we had. We cannot do it this way. We tried to cut it half again... It didn't happen again! But we knew what we wanted, what we wanted was something to represent each of us, the six of us, the four boys, mom, and dad, and then our two dogs. Because sometimes they're better keiki than ours. Just not be artistic.

Today's geometrical, easiest thing was to represent all of us. The triangle, touching each other because of our closeness. And then inside the negative spaces, inside the negative spaces two times with two dots to have for animals because they are not quite human. They shouldn't be triangles. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

Figure 186 'Ohana Burke 'ohe kāpala lau.



Mikey's command of her artistic abilities showed in her design and her thought process in the development of the design. Noticing that her two kapa were very similar, but each was unique, I asked her to explain the difference.

Yes, but different. Right? So, we flip flopped. We flipped flopped the Pūnana design and the 'ohana design. And then, I worked on doing the 'ohana, so I stamped all the 'ohana and Rob stamped the Pūnana on each one. But we wanted to make sure that they were close enough because of their twins, we wanted to make sure that they were as similar as we could make it, but just a little bit different because they have their own identity. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

Although Mikey has not made kapa before these workshops, she recognized the importance of learning the cultural practice and her kuleana to make the best kapa for her twin boys. Her appreciation for the opportunity to learn hana kapa was expressed in the desire to protect the cultural practices that are being used to cater to the tourists that visit the Westside of the island of Maui. Mikey's concern of the reclamation of cultural practices such as hana kapa and the Hawaiian language is voiced in her statement using the term "whitewashing" the Hawaiian.

Mikey spoke about the internal struggle she put on herself as she broke through the barrier of the belief that she was not artistic. But in fact, her designs of the two kīhei that were created revealed a deep expression of her ‘ohana mo‘olelo. Supported by her husband Rob, Mikey described her designs for her twin sons with the placement of the Pūnana Leo o Lahaina stamp and her ‘ohana stamp. The design on their keiki kīhei were similar but different as she referenced the design and her two boys. She made a point to also include her two dogs because they were an important part of their family.

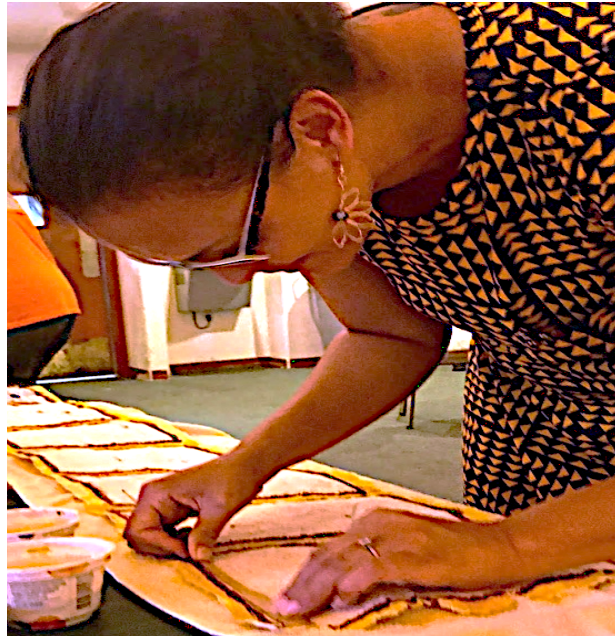
Kō lau‘a ‘ohana ho‘omanao

As Mikey recalls her memories of her Auntie Lehua Pali as a kapa maker, I hear the heaviness of her having a family member that was a kapa maker but is no longer here.

No real stories, but I remember being young and hearing my auntie Lehua Pali talk about kapa and how she was joining this hui of women to bring that back. And that she was worried because her mo‘opuna wasn’t showing any interest in it. And that she was still passionate about it. And I regret because I always told my mom and I wish I was her mo‘opuna. But I should've just asked her too. Because I was interested in what she was talking about. I know I'm not her mo‘opuna but we ‘ohana, but she's gone, and that is a regret. And that smile. Just like, like kolohe (rascal) smile. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

I remember her Auntie Lehua, with her bright loving smile and she always had a twinkle in her eyes. I knew that Lehua and her husband ‘Aimoku were part of the hui that made the pieces of kapa for the reinterment of the ‘iwi kūpuna in Honokahau. I wondered what memories of kapa she talked to Lehua about. Mikey replied that there were no stories to share. The sadness of the missed opportunity that Mikey shared as she recognized in not asking her Auntie Lehua to teach her to make kapa. Mikey expressed that she was interested in kapa making but did not ask her auntie to teach her before she died. She knew that her aunt’s own mo‘opuna did not have the same passion as her auntie and was afraid that this cultural practice would not continue in her family. However, her participation in these very workshops has enabled her a different pathway for continuing this practice in her family.

Figure 187 Mikey 'ohe kāpala her kapa.



I have known Lehua for many years, not as a kapa maker but as a person that was reclaiming their Hawaiian lands. Lehua and her husband ‘Aimoku Pali were one of the first Hawaiians to reclaim and homestead on the ahupua‘a⁵⁰ of Kahikinui⁵¹. They have taught me to love the land no matter the conditions of strong winds, harsh terrains, and no infrastructures. They taught me to live with the environment and love the mo‘olelo that are being told to you as you work with the land. The revitalization of cultural practices such as hana kapa is intrinsically linked to the environment and therefore to the reclamation of Hawaiian lands. Mikey’s involvement in the workshops and indeed in these interviews highlighted this for me.

Waiwai ka ‘ike kūpuna

For Mikey this question of what it means to be Hawaiian was difficult as she was required to reflect on her own identity as a Hawaiian and what it means personally. Her reflection of growing up as a Hawaiian but being perceived as a non-Hawaiian because of the way she looks

⁵⁰ Ahupua‘a is the land division usually from the upland to the sea.

⁵¹ Kahikinui is a division of land on the Eastern side of the island of Maui.

is a common experience for many Hawaiian's in our contemporary times. It is part of the experience of colonization. In fact, her experience happens in most families, however, I believe what Mikey is doing in her life is strengthening her own identity and in her children's lives. It is a powerful response back to colonization. She has taken the stand to learn her 'ōlelo Hawai'i, participate in cultural practices, knowing her 'āina, and most importantly believing in her ancestors to guide her. I asked her what it meant to her to be Hawaiian and to incorporate Hawaiian values in her life? She replied:

You ask hard questions. For me, my father's haole and in our extended 'ohana, we do look the most haole. Growing up, the joke was that we were the haole's of the family, even though we all, almost all of us had the same blood quantum. When I got it into Kamehameha School, it was almost like validation. See I am Hawaiian, but when I got there, there was a whole different story. I think I tried to chase a lot of Hawaiian-ness down, because I feel like on the outside you cannot tell especially my children now. I'd never thought I was going to marry a haole. Never ever thought but especially now for them, they look more haole than I do. It's important to make sure that they will get a little bit here and there so that if anybody ever questions them:

My family did jokingly, never in a place of hurt—but it stays with you. For me putting them in Kaiapuni first, then Pūnana Leo was so that they would have something that no one can question. It's not something that we knew about when we were growing up. There was not, Kaiapuni in Lahaina. Maybe if there were, it would be a different story for us the little haole's of the family. I feel like maybe I have extra kuleana to be more Hawaiian than my koko[blood], just so that my outside, nobody can question my outside. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

I could see the tears and hurt that she was feeling as she described her challenges as a fair skinned Hawaiian, whilst knowing that she was not alone in this feeling and there are many kānaka that face this “place of hurt”. For many kānaka, it is just easier to be American than fight to be Hawaiian. I believe that Mikey's kuleana to her children is the driving force to provide the opportunities to bring the cultural identity of her ancestors to them. They may never look like a Hawaiian descendent in traditional terms, but more importantly they can live the

Hawaiian ways with values, protocol, and passion as their mother lives. I asked her if she thinks that cultural practices like kapa are an important part of our culture:

Absolutely, a lot of what we have now is exposed to this commercial version. It's hard aside from what you're learning in your own family, it's hard to validate what is true Hawaiian culture and authentic. My family are fishermen, so we do a lot of ocean type stuff for my family that is pa'a. My job is to learn other things. It's more than just being able to, so being able to one day trade with somebody. I can teach you this from my family. If you could teach me what you do with your family and then we can kind of grow our Hawaiian-ness together. Yeah. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

Mikey's mana'o of the importance of cultural practices in her 'ohana is evidence that her view is not about her wants, but rather it is about what is best for the kānaka. She continued her mo'olelo:

There was a man, are you familiar with Lahaina? In the Keahi family, they had a Hawaiian healer. When you're sick, your mom takes you to the doctor because that's just what you do. You need the doctor's note for school. But I just remember always if the Tylenol didn't get rid of it and the stay home one day didn't get rid of it. We would always go to the Keahi house. There was always some sort of lomilomi⁵² and a variation of noni. Either Noni patch or you got to drink the Noni. I just remember all the time if we went to him pau, the sickness was pau. Just knowing that was mea Hawai'i. He worked for Kaanapali golf course, and he was not a doctor in the Western sense, but his way always. It's important to fall back to trust in that, in those practices. That's all we had in wā kahiko and if it worked, it could work now. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

⁵² Lomilomi is to rub, massage, squeeze the limbs of one who is in pain.

Her words of wisdom address the beliefs of the cultural practitioners “That’s all we had in wā kahiko and if it worked then, it could work now”. This is one of the most significant lessons that I have learned in being a kapa practitioner - it is about believing in your kūpuna, making a place to practice your culture, and doing that based on your own beliefs:

I just felt, this is not the end. I could tell there was so much that you wanted to share with us. Like what you did for us in the workshops was just scratching the surface. My hope is that you will continue to, I know we’re all, you have this captive audience here. You would love to continue to learn. Thank you for just picking this up and decided one day that this was something that they wanted to learn. You just went full on, growing your resources yourself, making your husband do all your tools, and all my children. Yeah. It’s something that you must learn to like, and when it comes up in your family, you don’t know you’re learning that, right? That’s all you, it’s all you do. So that’s all you know. And it’s not culture, it’s life. But because you’re sharing it with your family life for them, I think it is so magical. Because there’s that hard thing, right when people say that they are interested in their culture? What is culture? When you ask the old timers, they don’t know the definition of culture. Because that is what they do. They don’t see it as culture; they see it as a lifestyle. What you are doing is creating their lifestyle. It’s beautiful to be a little part of it. Mahalo. (Burke, personal communication, 2019, May)

The paramount significance of cultural identity as a kānaka ‘ōiwi as identified by Mikey, are an important contribution to this work. Her words affirm that the practice of hana kapa is more than just a cultural activity. It is a cultural practice that contributes to one’s sense of self and identity as kānaka. Equally important is what Mikey is doing to change her self-perception and to protect her children from this view as a fair skinned Hawaiian. This is building intergenerational strength post colonization. I am so honored to have met this mana wahine. Mikey is an image of her ancestors as they carve a pathway to strengthen her cultural identity and mauli ola. E ola ka hāloa ka ‘ohana Burke! E ola!

Nīnauele ‘eono: Shawnee Oponui

Figure 188 Shawnee displaying kapa for their daughter.



Kō lau‘a ‘ike kapa

Shawnee Oponui (personal communication, 2019, May) is married to Kaipō, and they have three beautiful children. Their daughter is attending Pūnana Leo o Lahaina and has one more year before her graduation. Shawnee was excited and nervous coming into this interview, which I found surprising given her personality is so outgoing and strong. I was happy to hear from her about her experiences in the production of kapa. I asked her how she felt about the kapa workshops and what she enjoyed about them:

I was excited that when Kumu Leilei said that we were going to be learning this, what I was super intimidated because I don't know if I'm wrong or I just don't know. But from what I understand, there's not many people who know how to make kapa or like, I don't even know if I've ever seen like a real piece of kapa. Like I don't know if I've ever, like I've seen pictures, but I don't know if I've ever actually seen somebody, something that somebody made. Can I do this because I'm not very artsy. I literally got a D in art, I'm not. So that kind of stuff intimidates me when I must work with my hands. I was kind of scared. But I told you the first class pleasantly surprised how relaxing it kind of was. Once you got past that and I'm like type A. For me when I couldn't peel the wauke the right way as like, oh my gosh, there's bark on it. It was

kind of more kind of stressful at first, but once I kind of let that go and was it's okay, if I have a little bit puka's[holes], because then it kind of became more relaxing and more fun. Sorry, what was the second part of the question? (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Shawnee's doubt of her own talents as an artist shifted somewhat as she took control of her own fears. She began to enjoy the process as she released her fears of getting another D in art, or in this case, kapa making. I agree with Shawnee, once we let go of our own hang-ups around what we are good or bad at, we can start to relax and enjoy the process of learning something new. This is particularly significant for Native Hawaiian's given the impact of colonial oppression we have experienced that lays the foundation for those hang-ups. Shawnee's expression of what she enjoyed the most was both felt and heard in her voice as she shared with me:

I think that the part of the whole process that I enjoyed the most was just the pounding of it. I don't know why. I think, like I said, it was more like meditating, and seeing it come from this little piece of bark and then having it come to this is so amazing. I think that was for me the best part. The stamping and all that was more stressful. I said, because once it's on there, it's on there. And they go back, what if, and they'll look nice and what I am going to do and what is our design. And it was so stressful but so that's why I think for me the pounding was my favorite part. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Shawnee was not alone in expressing the stress in making her design and printing. Several other mākua also highlighted their anxiety as they too created their designs for their kapa. In my view this anxiety stems from connecting to the level of intention and significance of the design and indeed the entire process. For Shawnee, the design represented their family and the Pūnana Leo o Lahaina 'ohana:

These designs, I just kind of went for it. Oh, that looks cute, but this stamp, obviously the Pūnana stamp, some parts came out...some parts didn't really. But we had a couple of different ones that we tested all and unfortunately, like my husband carved it and it

wasn't stamping well, so he went with this just the triangle. I didn't really think it all that well because when I stamp, it's more than when he made it. If you look at it is five triangles, which is just how much is in our 'ohana. But I'm sure we could have done something more elaborate, but I couldn't use circles, remember!

So it just basically looked like that the whole way. But then also I thought, well okay after it looks like a Moana [ocean], like Lahaina. My husband said put the L right here. And I don't know if it's supposed to be that way, but I wish that the watermark was more prominent. I don't know because I messed it up because I was looking at it. If I look closely in some parts, they can't, but I tried, it would be more like all there. I love it. I tried it on my daughter and I'm getting excited. I am going to make it softer like how you said, but I totally, I felt like it was kind of fragile and I was very scared. I'm going to save it for her for next year because she still has one more year. She can use it next year at graduation and then after that I'll just keep it for her. If she saves it and puts it in a keepsake box or something. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

I was touched by the thought process of her design connections of the family to the place that they live. I found that many of the 'ohana that made kapa did create their designs based on their family and the place that they lived or came from. Shawnee's kapa for her daughter was beautiful and the level of value she places on it is represented by the intentions for the future of the kapa piece to be used at her graduation ceremony. As she described the future of the kapa and to have it as a keepsake, I was reminded of similar reactions from amongst the other mākua who found great pride and value in their kapa work. It was a significant desire to see the watermarks that she pounded into her daughter's kapa, and although she only saw a glimpse of the watermarks, it was enough to know that it was there. It is both embedded in her memory and in the kapa itself.

Kō lau'a 'ohana ho'omanao

In searching for stories or memories of 'ohana, I asked Shawnee if she could share any stories that she or her 'ohana had. Sadly, just like all but one of these interviewees, her answer was the same.

No. Did anybody, was anybody able to share stories? I never even saw a real piece of kapa until you came. So, I have, I only know that there's not many people that make it. That's why I was excited when you came. Well, my husband is Hawaiian, but I'm not Hawaiian, so we've never made kapa. But I don't have any, [stories] but I don't know. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Shawnee asked her husband Kaipo if he knew of any stories of his family using kapa. He responded, "we had a shirt frame, it was like triangles and sharks on it. Kawai has her shirt on her...she knows more." His sister is Kawai, her daughter goes to school too. The response of Kaipo to search for clues of kapa making, took him in the direction of considering other family members that may have known a little bit more about their 'ohana history. His perception of kapa was that it lay in the design of a family shirt. This is a commonly held perception for many k  naka as they view the kaona of the design to their ancestors and the '  ina that their 'ohana comes from.

Waiwai ka 'ike k  puna

Knowing that Shawnee, like many 'ohana in our islands, is non-Hawaiian, but married to a Hawaiian. I wanted to know what it means to her to incorporate Hawaiian values in her life:

Think it's super important. Even though I am not, my kids are, my husband is! When I first had my interview for P  nana Leo, I don't know the exact question, but it was more like, why do you want to be in this program? I have two other kids besides Sonny, and one is 12, and one is 10. And my middle boy, I'm gonna cry. My middle boy has special needs and I've never found a place that accepts us as a family. And it's always been so hard and I kind of wanted to make something different. And my cousin's kid was in this program too and she would tell me how awesome it is. I kind of came on a couple of field trips and we went to Karen's house. And we kui [pound] kalo⁵³... I fell in love with it and I want my family to experience that, you know? And it's just everything...like the language and what we want for our family now. Even though she's

53 Kalo or Taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) is a kind of aroid cultivated since ancient times for food, spreading widely from the tropics of the Old World. In Hawai'i, taro has been the staple from earliest times to the present...including more than 300 forms. (Pukui, 1986)

the only one who goes, we're trying to teach our other kids too. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Shawnee was able to describe the important inclusive nature of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina and how critical that is for them as a family with a child who has special needs. The discussion of Hawaiian values in the context of this study on hana kapa, has the potential to reach beyond the kapa, and as discussed earlier, shows this as a site for cultural identity associated with the values that are inherent in the process of kapa making. This was both a powerful and emotional sharing time with 'ohana. Noticing Kaipo's concern at her emotion, Shawnee responded, "you know, everything we talked about Tyson, I just get [emotional]." Kaipo expressed that this was a private matter that was not known to others. Kaipo returned to the conversation to talk more about the importance of both Hawaiian values and Hawaiian ways of being. He reflected on how life used to be:

We want to do what us guys grew up, by my pop out in but we did all these kinds of things and they slowly died out. We turn like the American way through their own thing. We still want to go camping. We used to always get together, any parties that we had, the old friends, people with, anybody that they always came to our house. The backyard we had an imu⁵⁴, he grew the banana tree and used it to put in the imu. Like the things that you learned from your grandpa is like I know what to do and stuff. But nobody else does [making imu], it dies out, after them after they pass all the way. It slowly died. But it's coming back and then, remember when we go to a party, I remember the thing that you have to say hi before you go play. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Kaipo spoke of the concern he has that this lifestyle is dying out with the people that once were practitioners, including his example of who made imu. However, he also shares the optimism that the practices are coming back with the values that were taught to them, like the responsibility of giving your aloha at a party before going to play. Shawnee added her concerns:

⁵⁴ Imu is an underground oven used to cook food.

A lot of people don't do that, I think this is a bunch of little things that are important. and when you see not to talk about anybody else's kid, but you know some kids that take that just don't know, it's not their fault, but like you can see the difference in the keiki that are brought up this way versus another keiki. And it's like this is how I want my kids to be, you know? Not that the other way is not good. This is just how I want my family to. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Shawnee made a good observation that is a common practice in our local families in Hawai'i. I too was taught that the behavior of the child is the reflection of the parents. A Hawaiian value is honoring the kupuna; the first thing a child will do is acknowledge and aloha the elders of the household. Shawnee and Kaipo display those values in their family even if others around them do not. These values are ingrained in their actions with their children and their peers. I was curious to ask if she thought that learning about cultural practices like kapa was an important part about being a Hawaiian:

Yes, absolutely. I would say, even though I'm not. But you must know your culture... I want my kids to know how to make an imu because you're going to have one kid one day. And how even you know you can go pick the rocks. Oh, you got to go get the right. You don't know. You just don't, don't go to the beach and pick any rock. There's the certain rock you grab, then there are certain big ones to fill it. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Kaipo added to Shawnee's discussion of knowing cultural practices:

Even like fishing, a small example is our oldest boy, two summers ago he wanted to go fishing with a friend. I don't know how to tie one fishing pole and dad's at work all day. Are you going to figure it all out? He's on YouTube for figuring them out and looking for them. I'll call it onto your face time and look. You figure him out. His [Kaipo]cousin is an awesome, awesome fisherman. Came over showed him how to make the pole a couple of times and he'd get them now, he can go, he can fish. He taught him how to clean the fish. He taught him how to do all his little stuff like that. That is a small thing. But now going through life, he's going to know how to go fishing

and I know how to clean and he's going to know how to, you know, it's like everyday teaching them something different. I mean, this has nothing to do with Hawaiian, but he, we just had him cut the grass, now he knows how to cut the grass. You know, it's a bunch of little things, and like him cooking, he loves to cook. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Kaipo's pride in knowing that his eldest son was able to decide to learn something new like fishing and to reach out to his resources such as his uncle for advice is a significant part of being a mākua. It also reflects the importance of extended family connections in that he knows now that his cousin was willing to teach him. For Kaipo's 'ohana, the sharing of this 'ike Hawai'i and their cultural practices is important. It is a part of their cultural reclamation and identity. And for Shawnee these cultural practices and life skills are important in nurturing the future of their family, particularly with a child who has special needs. Shawnee added to the discussion:

Maybe recipes, his grandma taught him [Kaipo]. So, my son, [Kaipo tells him] get over here. He might not know it right now, but one day he's gonna be like, oh, I know how for me this, because my dad showed [me]. So, there is this little thing. That is why I think it is important because in general in life it is gonna have the bigger picture right. All these skills that keep tending or they can, or even like back to the family. My son's never going to be able to live independently like trying to teach him, you have to him forever. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Their son's future is enhanced by the skills that they have taught him is affirming for these mākua. These kinds of skills that will play an important part in the foundation for his identity and maui ola. This 'ohana has a unique set of challenges and opportunities as they parent a child with special needs. It is significant to note that whilst survival and meeting minimum requirements daily is often the biggest challenge, this interview shows that even in such challenging spaces, cultural values, practices, and identity remain highly important.

Figure 189 Hana kolikoli.



A final reflection from Kaipo and Shawnee on their series of kapa workshops was that they wanted to continue to learn more. Their sincere appreciation for the opportunity to learn about kapa and the process of hana kapa was again both felt and heard in their kind words:

I would love to do more classes and especially if you know to carry it on because they think it's important. And I know that the other parents like Pua. He really loved doing it, which is surprising because he doesn't like to do anything but surf. But because it was more, maybe we even have our own tools. Where can we get our own [tools] or that kind of stuff. Like to learn more. I feel we just kind of touched on the basics. That kind of stuff I think would be super maika'i because I think people want to do it. They just don't know how. Or like it's not like you can go to Target. I am going to make kapa. I think getting your own supplies and doing your own things is probably the hardest part. So even if I wanted to do it again, I would probably have to wait until you have another workshop or versus just going out and just trying and doing our own. Like in our free time. (Opunui, personal communication, 2019, May)

Shawnee's desire to learn more about the tools, materials, and process of hana kapa is a wonderful commonality amongst the participants. In my view, for Shawnee and Kaipo, this fully reflects the desire to engage in things that have to do with the knowing and connecting of

values and cultural identity. This is a critical part of their need to prepare their son for his future. E ola ka hā loa ka ‘ohana Opunui!

Ko‘u mana‘o

As I reflect on my experience with these mākua in their nīnaele, the common themes were ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, Mo‘olelo, Cultural identity, Maui ola, and Kuleana. These mākua recognized that through ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i they connect to their ancestors, values, and hana. Mākua pointed out that they felt connected to their ancestors as they kuku kapa and learned the history of hana kapa. Although none of these mākua did not have mo‘olelo of kapa in their ‘ohana to share, I did see that they desired to learn more about their ‘ohana cultural practices so they could pass those traditions to their own children. They felt that it was their kuleana to learn about ‘ohana cultural practices and to pass on to their ‘ohana. Through ma ka hana ka ‘ike they experienced the making of kapa and in learning, they discovered things about themselves. They learned about their own strengths and weaknesses. They identified their challenge of confidence, belief, and abilities.

‘Ike ‘ia no ka loea i ke kuahu.

An expert is recognized by the altar he builds.

It is what one does and how well he does it that shows whether he is an expert.

(Pukui, 1983, p.131)

Mokuna ‘Ewalu: Helu ‘ekolu (Part 3) ‘Ike kūpuna a me ‘Ike Hawai‘i

Key Cultural Expert Interviews

In ancient times, one would not call themselves a loea⁵⁵. The name loea was given to the person by the people because of his/her expertise. Recognized as a loea by the Hawaiian community is Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla and Dennis Kana‘e Keawe, and they are two of the cultural experts interviewed in this section of data collection.

‘Ike Kūpuna a me ‘Ike Hawai‘i

As I have reflected on my own understanding of the significance of the process of kapa, I realize it is the connection of kapa proves to the spiritual link of the Hawaiian people to their akua. This second section of the data is collected from key cultural experts and kapa practitioners. These key individuals were asked questions that centered on their cultural practices and expertise.

A key commonality that differs from and compliments the focus group of Pūnana Leo o Lahaina, is that these individual cultural experts acknowledge the spiritual connection to the practice, ‘ike kūpuna, and ‘ike Hawai‘i. In this study, I have had the honor to interview Master Hula Kumu Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla and Master Carver and Historian Dennis Kana‘e Keawe. As master cultural practitioners, they have researched and applied aspects of their practice from indigenous viewpoints of historical, traditional, and ceremonial ways of knowing. For Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla, questions reflected on her expertise as a master Kumu Hula, a historian,

⁵⁵ Loea - Skill, ingenuity, cleverness: expert, clever, ingenious, adept, technical (Pukui-Elbert, 1986). One that knows the cultural practice at the highest level, chants, and ceremonies.

and a practitioner of kapa. As for Dennis Kana'e Keawe, his expertise as a master carver of kapa tools, as an historian, and authentic recreations of hana no'eau mea Hawai'i. These two cultural experts were part of the reclamation and reinterment of 'iwi kūpuna. Holt-Padilla was a participant in making the kapa for the 'iwi kūpuna and Keawe made specific tools for master kapa maker Puanani Van Dorpe.

Each cultural expert was asked the following interview questions:

1. Please tell me a little about yourself.
2. How did you become a cultural practitioner?
3. Who were your teachers/mentors/kumu?
4. Do you know of a family member that made Kapa? Would you like to share a story of that person making kapa?
5. Have you participated in ceremonies, rituals, or protocol using kapa? And how was kapa used in ceremonies?
6. When you are making kapa, do you feel an increases sense of well-being or health in general?
7. As a cultural practitioner, what does kapa mean to you?
8. Is there anything else you want to say or add?

In addition to the cultural expert interviews, my intention was to include my kumu as the multi-generational kapa practitioners, however, with the increased focus on the protection of sacred mountain Maunakea and the Covid-19 pandemic, I chose not to impose my interview on this 'ohana. Rather than my kumu multi-generational interview, I included my personal journal reflections through this study, learning, and growing with my own children and grandchildren in na mea hana kapa.

Cultural Practitioner - Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla

Figure 190 Master Kumu Hula Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla



Master Kumu Hula Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla received the prestigious 2019 63rd David Malo Awards banquet hosted by the West Honolulu Rotary Club.

Master Kumu Hula⁵⁶, cultural expert⁵⁷, historian, and tutu (grandmother), Dr. Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla (personal communication, 2019, April) resided on the island of Maui since 1975. As a descendant from a long line of Kumu Hula, Hōkūlani was chosen by her ‘ohana to carry on the ancient practices of hula, mele, oli, and mo‘olelo. In fact, today Hōkūlani’s own children are now Hula practitioners, her eldest daughter Dr. Lu‘ukia Ruidas is the alaka‘i (leader) for

⁵⁶ Kumu Hula is the source of Hawaiian hula.

⁵⁷ Cultural Expert is a person recognized by the courts as an authority

Hōkūlani's Hālau (school) Hula Pa'u o Hi'iaka. Her son, Lono Padilla is the fourth generation Kumu Hula who now has his own Hālau Hi'iakaināmakalehua on the island of Oahu. In addition, her youngest daughter Dr. Papaikani'au Kai'anui is a Hawaiian Language and Hawaiian Culture Professor at University of Hawai'i Maui College.

Hōkūlani's 'ohana hula traditions and practices have continued for the past forty-three years, she has taught hula both in academic context and as a cultural practitioner in the community. She is a revered Hula Master because of her vast knowledge and deep understanding of 'Ike Hawai'i. Throughout the Hawaiian Islands, nationally, and internationally in hula communities, she is treasured for her 'ike Hawai'i, 'ike kūpuna, protocol, and expertise as a cultural expert. In fact, she is one of the founding Principles of Lālākea Foundation (comprised of Kumu Hula of Hawai'i), created in 2001 to current to bring people dancing hula all around to the source World Hula Conference Ka 'Aha Hula O Hālauaola. In addition, Hōkūlani has also developed the Hawaiian Cultural Practices Institute where cultural practitioners were brought together to teach na mea Hawai'i (Hawaiian practices).

As the President of Kauahea, Inc., their mission is to support Hawaiian Arts and Culture, Hawaiian spiritual practices, preservation, and perpetuation of Hawaiian language by providing access to learning opportunities throughout our community. In 2002, Hōkūlani helped create Paeloko Learning Center on the island of Maui, Hawai'i. Paeloko is a place that Native Hawaiians and the community come to exercise their cultural practices as Hawaiian. Today Paeloko Learning Center serves about three thousand students and community in hands-on cultural events each year. Included in the thousands of community leaders that have been guided by Hōkūlani, she has developed focused groups of Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners. She has guided them in research, protocol, oli, and leadership.

'Ike 'ia no ka loea I ke kuahu.

An expert is recognized by the altar he builds.

It is what one does and how well he does it that shows whether he is an expert.

(Pukui, 1983, p. 1208)

Pukui's 'ōlelo no'eau, "Ike 'ia no ka loea I ke kuahu" is a true reflection of Hōkūlani expertise as a Loea - A Master Cultural Practitioner. Her expertise as a practitioner, researcher, chanter, storyteller, and in ceremony. I am honored to interview Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla as a key expert in this study.

As a hula practitioner, Master Kumu Hula Hōkūlani had the opportunity to surround herself with cultural experts in Hawaiian Culture. Raised in a lineage of Kumu Hula, Hōkūlani was taught chants, mele, and ceremony of Hula. She was taught the kaona (hidden meaning) of the places of the hula that were taught, and the people that were included as dances and chanters. Hōkūlani's cultural practice is infused with tradition, mo'olelo, and connection to the environment.

On August 14, 2019, at 1 p.m. at University of Hawai'i Maui College in the office of Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla at Ka Hikina o Ka Lā⁵⁸ office she graciously allowed me to ask her specific questions as a cultural practitioner and expert. I have known Hōkūlani for more than three decades as she is my director, as my kumu, and as my dearest friend. Our children have grown up together and they love her as their Aunty Hōkū. Early on in my life I struggled with the direction of my purpose in our Hawaiian community, and I would always ask her; What is my hana? She would assure me that I had one, I just needed to believe in my kūpuna to give me my direction. However most significantly, what she gave me was the opportunity to learn ceremony. These immense lessons of protocol, chant, and rituals gave me the understanding and skills to connect to the spirituality of our cultural practices. I asked Hōkūlani (2019) to introduce herself and her position in our community.

My name is Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla. I am currently the director of Ka Hikina o Ka Lā here at the University of Hawai'i, Maui College. In addition, I have been the Kumu Hula of Pa'u o Hi'iaka for more than 40 years and have been involved in Hawaiian education, in Hawaiian language, and in reclamation as well as different kinds of

⁵⁸ Ka Hikina o Ka La is a National Science Foundation scholarship mitigation fund for Native Hawaiian scholars from the county of Maui, who are interested in pursuing a degree in STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math), Hawaiian studies, and language.

cultural practices. My cultural practices are in hula, but in hula we also understand that hula touches upon all aspects of Hawaiian culture, everything from food to clothing to adornments to medicine. Hula touches on all of it so, while my ongoing practices hula, I have also been involved in other kinds of cultural practices because of hula. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hōkūlani has been a pillar⁵⁹ in our community in ‘ike Hawai‘i and ‘ike kūpuna for she applies these cultural practices in her daily life. Her deep understanding of the cultural practices related to hula has made her an expert in many fields of Hana No‘eau⁶⁰, lā‘au, kanu, mele, chant, and kilo. Her ability to observe and relate to the changes in our environment inspire people to recognize and study the changes in their own place and space. Hōkūlani has been involved in making kapa for the ‘iwi kūpuna at Honokahau Burials. I inquired as to how she views her connection to kapa and being a practitioner.

When I was working at the Bailey House Museum in Wailuku, I believe it was the early 1990s or maybe late 1980s, ...1985. Yeah, the late 1980s, I had the great opportunity to work with kapa maker, master kapa maker Pua Van Dorpe. And how that happened was it was during the time of the ‘Iwi Kūpuna being found at Honokahua⁶¹ and being unearthed and kept in trailers. Eventually when the agreement to move the Ritz Carlton Hotel occurred, they needed to return the ‘iwi back into where they came from. Pua Van Dorpe stepped forward to say that she would be willing to make the kapa and to rewrap and return the ‘iwi. I know that it came from a place she wanted to bring together Native Hawaiian women who would be kapa makers to make all the kapa. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hōkūlani’s description of Pua Van Dorpe’s desire to have Native Hawaiian women make the kapa for the re-interment⁶² of the ‘iwi kupuna, was an intention to teach kānaka wahine and to

59 Pillar is a symbol of the pou kahi; the corner post that supports the hale.

60 Hana Noe‘au is described as art or cultural practices but is also the understanding of Hawaiian culture as a system of beliefs, knowledge, and practices shared by our people.

61 Honokahua Burial Site of more than 2,000 Native Hawaiian remains. More than 900 remains were unearthed for the construction of the Ritz Carlton Kapalua. Because of this excavation of the Human Remains the NAGPRA law to protect the ‘iwi kupuna.

62 Reinterment of ‘iwi kūpuna is currently done by the Island Burial Council.

give them tools of ‘ike Hawai‘i to strengthen their own cultural identity and well-being. I believe that Van Dorpe’s intention was to recreate authentic protocols that would honor and protect the ‘iwi kūpuna in these contemporary times. Hōkūlani went on to describe how she got involved in this project.

Part of that information came to me from Rose Duey⁶³ of Iao. I was excited to be able to consider and fortunate my work allowed me to take the time off needed to complete. I had not made kapa before in any large way. I had learned little bits and pieces, but not in any large way until that project. We worked, five to six days a week from about seven or eight in the morning till about four or five in the afternoon every day. Because of that you become, and this went on for like three months. Because every day you do the work, you become, I am not gonna say become an expert, but you certainly have a good understanding of all of it.

And while, we did learn how to do everything from how it is grown, how it is when to pick it, how it's cleaned, et cetera. Our main work was to make the kapa, not to grow, not to harvest. All that time was spent in making the bast or the mo‘omo‘o came to us already. It had already been stripped, some of them were maybe taken to an initial, pounding, just to soften the fibers. And some of them were straight off the stem. It came to us in lots of different ways. From those basic receiving, we took it to the size and the length. Varied because we were told about the sizes of the ‘iwi that needed to be wrapped. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

I asked Hōkūlani to expand on how the wauke was prepared for them to process the kapa. I was interested in learning where the wauke came from and how it was gathered. I was surprised and somewhat saddened by Hōkūlani reply:

No, no, they[wauke] came from the South Pacific. They came from Fiji and Tahiti because we did not have enough wauke to do the thousand pieces. We did not because we went, Pua and the people that support her went to go and look and they had planted

⁶³ Rose Marie Duey, a leader in our community.

some, but it still was not enough. We imported the white bast Kapa, pieces from the South Pacific. That is very sad. We had exhausted all that was in Hawai‘i and had to go outside.

Tools were made for us, some of them were made by a Keola Secara of Lahaina. We had enough kua, enough ‘ie kuku, hohoa to be able to beat those. For the most part when we began, it did not belong to us. It belonged to Pua. Once we ended, we were gifted with ‘ie kuku and things like that. Once we completed, Keola Secara made us ‘ie kuku from the ironwood trees that were on the burial site. They cut down the ironwood trees to do the reburial and he made ‘ie kuku out of the iron wood trees that were from the burial site. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hōkūlani’s description of resources to make the kapa, confirmed the need for more wauke. Understanding that there was no precedent for this quantity of wauke, the search for resources took Pua and her team outside of Hawai‘i and into the South Pacific. It is disheartening to know that wauke that was once used as a daily resource for the kānaka but was no longer available for the cultural protocols and rituals for the reinterment of the ‘iwi kūpuna. Our resources had become depleted through the severe decline in the practice of hana kapa.

It was everything from three feet wide to six, seven feet long to half that size, and sometimes even smaller than that size. But the majority of it was maybe about three feet by seven feet, six or seven feet. We also collect kapa soaked in that [kukui dye]... then turn it into black. The majority of kapa that we did was dyed black. We took them also, so either with, we would soak it in kukui and then take it to the lo‘i in Honokahau and bury it in the lo‘i in Honokahau to turn it black and then rinse it in the stream there and then bring it back to the hale where we were working and dry it out. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

I asked Hōkūlani what the significance of black for the Ali‘i kapa was, and if indeed black used for everybody? She explained to me:

Because it was Pua’s mana‘o that we did not know exactly who was ali‘i and who was not. And so, she would much rather treat them all like ali‘i. The ones that we knew for

a fact is the one she put the watermarks, the, the niho mano watermarks on those particular kapa.

And then, if some of it needed to be repound, then that's what happened or that was it. So, what we would do is we would beat it, dry it out in the yard. Then it would be soaked in the kukui in the kukui juice [hili kukui]⁶⁴ and then taken into the lo'i in Honokahau. And these particularly certain ones that were the best that we could do were then taken with us to a kapa making Heiau on Molokai that was found and cleared and set aside. And we dedicated it when we went and dedicated it to kapa making. And we went there to make the kapa that would wrap the 'iwi of those that we felt were Ali'i because of the mo'i [Ali'i] or the items that were buried with those 'iwi. It led us to believe they were Ali'i so the elite kapa were beat on the Heiau, the Kapa Making Hale and the particular watermark was done by Pua Van Dorpe herself. Then those were taken back to Maui and used to wrap the 'iwi of those remains that were found. So many things happened during that whole process of about three or so months of everyday making. And it was not the least of which you got better at it, whereas at the very beginning, it takes me like five hours to do one piece. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

This level of detail shared by Hōkūlani contributes significant understandings to the reclamation of knowledge in relation to hana kapa, and more specifically to what we know in relation to the Ali'i. Earlier in our discussion Hōkūlani mentioned the kapa heiau on Molokai. I asked her to tell me a little bit about the heiau, and how she knew it was a kapa heiau?

It's in the district and on Kilohana. It was the Molokai people that knew. We relied upon them, they came, and they said that we have a kapa of making heiau. And when we went there, it seemed very likely. There was a river that was running right next to the hill. The heiau was on a little bit of a rise, like on the end of a slope that came down

64 Hili Kukui is made from the bark or root of the Kukui tree, boiled to liquid form and used to dye kapa. Color would be a reddish brown then kapa would be placed into an active lo'i kalo creates a chemical reaction that turns the kapa black.

and at the foot of the slope was the river. The people of Molokai told us that's what it was. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hōkūlani's philosophy and respect for the 'ike of the people of Moloka'i confirmed the truth for many kānaka. Her unique view and analysis of the knowledge of the people of Molokai also potentially strengthens their own cultural identity and wellbeing. Taking ownership of their 'ike, place, and practices empowers the people of Molokai and the respect from the people that visit the island.

By the time we got towards the end, we were able to make those kinds of lengths within an hour, hour, and a half. At the very beginning it was very slow going because we were inexperienced all the ladies there. Not everybody came every day, but in total there were about ten or twelve of us that made kapa. Towards the end of our making, we got pretty good and fast at it, which was important because we were under time constraints as well to reinter the 'iwi within a certain amount of time because of the agreements that were made for the re-interment which is beyond our control. We made close to a thousand pieces. We did not wrap the 'iwi. We completed all the kapa and they were taken to a group of men who wrapped the iwi at night. And that's how we knew how many were needed and the kind of timing because they had the nighttime to wrap what they needed to do and then the re-interment was to happen during a certain time. We had to complete what we needed to complete for the wrapping to occur for the intermittent process to be completed.

None of us ladies had beat kapa before. None of us were experts at all. It was Pua that taught us everything we needed to know about making those come from that time on, I have had a tremendous appreciation for the work of my Kūpuna, my female kūpuna and the ongoing back-breaking leg numbing work that was their everyday duty to their family and to their community. It was a real great awareness and awakening for me to appreciate my female [ancestors] especially. After that happened, I continued doing kapa for a while. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

To hear Hōkūlani's description of the mana of each individual woman that participated in producing the kapa needed for the wrapping and re-interment of the 'iwi kūpuna speaks to the strength of the Hawaiian women. This was not a job to make a thousand pieces of kapa. These women were not told to make these pieces of kapa. However, these women felt that this needed to be done, they followed the direction of their kumu, and listened to their ancestors from within, for confirmation of their purpose and direction.

Kapa making throughout Hawai'i became more seen, more workshops and presentations were being done around our state. It was a good thing that the awareness of kapa increased as each of us increased our ability as well. So up to a certain time I continued doing kapa, but I found that after a while, my appreciation, and my knowledge of the need of kapa in our community was rising. I found that hula was still the cultural practice that I needed to spend my time with because it is the cultural practice of my 'Ohana and of all the other cultural practices that I have spent time with lua (martial arts) is one, kapa is one, lei making is ongoing. Hula has always drawn me back to the cultural practice I need to do. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hōkūlani's description above is confirmation of how she has witnessed the increased significance of kapa as the demand for kapa also increased. In my view, Hōkūlani's appreciation of kapa strengthened her own belief that hula was the cultural practice that she needed to put her attention to. She continues her cultural practices in many ways including the practice of lei making, kapa uses, and the disciplines of lua. Hōkūlani's discussion reveals the important intersection between this ancient cultural practice and the reclamation of cultural identity, space, and kuleana of the Hawaiian people. This was the start of the Hawaiian renaissance period where laws and protocols were put in place to protect the Hawaiian burials and sacred spaces.

After three to four months and six days a week of long hours of kuku kapa, I was curious about what happened after they completed making the thousand pieces of kapa. Knowing that these women put their lives on hold for all those months and time to produce these pieces of kapa.

Hōkūlani described what happened with the hale that was used and what the women did after all was done:

Well, like I said earlier, the ‘iwi were re-entered, but the house itself was a plantation house that was set aside for the making of kapa, for the re-interment. That house was kapu⁶⁵ for that work and nothing else happened in it or around it. When it was finished and everything was cleared out, the house was burned so that, it’s all done.

And then all of us dispersed to our regular lives. People that were asked to participate, these women there that participated in this kapa of making, what kind of people they were. I didn't know all of them when we first came in, but I knew most of them. And I think the main thing about the women that were there is that they were very patient people. I wouldn't say cause in those days being a cultural person was a little different than what we think about it today. In those days being a cultural person is you live, you conduct your life in a Hawaiian manner, you take care of your family, you do cultural things or, or behaviors and expectations. As a Hawaiian person, a Hawaiian cultural person would be your outlook in life.

So many of these women were mothers and daughters that you did not see, particularly in public very much. I mean they weren't the stand on the side of the road kū‘ē kind of people. I think we have since become that, but I think at that time it was really folks that were willing to commit to the time and the effort needed to do this. The women, it was a personality thing rather than they belonged to the civic club or they belonged to a Hālau or anything like that because it wasn't that. I think the ladies that eventually stayed with it, they were really mothers and daughters that just wanted to commit to the work because you have had to. Because there was nothing else that you were expected to do but complete this and you had to commit to completing this. Some of them that I see now have taken kapa as their life's work and they move forward with doing that. Some of them have done water support issues. Some of them are farmers. I think those

⁶⁵ Kapu - taboo, prohibition, sacredness.

women who were Hawaiian had to have a certain kind of outlook and behavior. I mean, you've got to be willing to sit for six to eight hours a day, only beat kapa. And if you don't have that kind of personal capacity, you're not going to be there and you're not going last. I don't know how other people got the call. I do not recall us talking about that, but those that did and answered or really the right ones. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

I was surprised with the discovery that the women that were chosen to participate in this kapa project had no experience, no tools, no other expectations but had the intention and commitment to take on the enormous task of making a thousand pieces of kapa in a rigorous time frame. A common belief that Hōkūlani and these other women held was that their Kumu Puanani Van Dorpe had the expertise to teach and show them everything they would need to become a kapa maker. Besides Van Dorpe as her teacher, I asked if there were any other teachers or mentors that she had?

Pua Van Dorpe was my primary teacher and connected to kapa. Moana Eisley has been, was very much a supporter and mentor. When I was preparing to 'ūniki⁶⁶, my family, I had asked her to make the kapa for us and she said she would. But she really wanted me to do it, so that's fine. I said, okay and so I did a portion, a section, a phase of it, and then Moana finished it after. Moana had always been open and willing and sharing with any of the questions and requests that I had. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hōkūlani's reference to Puanani Van Dorpe was anticipated because at that time of the reinterment project, she was one of a few that knew and were able to do this. As a kapa practitioner, I have not had the opportunity to learn directly from Van Dorpe but am honored to have her students Valerie Dukelow, Moana Eisley, and Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla as my kumu. I know that Van Dorpe kapa pieces are the closest to the authentic kapa artifacts in these contemporary times. By examining her pieces, we can learn a lot from how the fibers move,

⁶⁶ 'Ūniki is a graduation exercise.

her exquisite watermarks, and her beautiful use of dyes and inks. In addition, Hōkūlani named Moana Eisley as her kumu and mentor. I too am very grateful for Moana as she was my kumu and mentor. I asked Hōkūlani if she knew of any family members that made kapa and if she would like to share a story about them, she replied:

No. You know, as we know, historically kapa making went out of active participation, when Western cloth came to Hawai‘i, which is in the early 1800, 1820s like that. I don't have any, my grandmother was not born till 1888. But my mother, what I know is the connection to kapa is that my mother has given me two kua that belonged to our ‘ohana, that a cousin gave to her. That tells me that it was in the family, but that cousin of hers did not remember who it initially belonged to. It was just something that was stored and then passed on and stored. Nobody used it and it passed on and stored and passed on. Until my mother, was talking to this cousin who also had a koa⁶⁷ bed under her house. When my mother went to get the koa bed, she saw the kua. And so, she asked for it and [her] cousin gave it to her, two of them. And I have them in my home. So those kua from the late seventeen hundred, I would say, yes. So more than two-hundred years old, and you know the hands that may have used it? (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

The significance of having the two kua from her mother and knowing that they were cherished tools that were kept and passed on to the next generation, was affirmation for Hōkūlani that indeed someone in her ‘ohana made kapa. Clearly the artifacts had a purpose and were important to Hōkūlani ancestors given that the kua was preserved for over two hundred years as a tool and again it provides evidence that kapa was made in their ‘ohana. In Hawaiian culture the passing of a family item that was functional or purposeful is a transfer of ‘ike kūpuna. Hawaiian ‘ohana pass on their family heirlooms such as poi pounders, poi board, hula pahu, fishing nets and for Hōkūlani the kua, proving the cultural practices of their ‘ohana. Hōkūlani’s vast knowledge as a cultural practitioner in ceremony, protocol, and rituals makes her an expert

⁶⁷ Koa is a large Native Forest tree *Acacia koa*. The wood was prized for canoe building, surfboard, calabashes, and now furniture. Koa was also associated with Laka, whereas sometimes a small koa was placed on the altar to make the dancers fearless.

in our Hawaiian community. I was excited to learn of her participation in ceremonies, rituals, and protocols using kapa. She explained how the significance of kapa is used in hula:

Well, there are a couple of different ways. When we were making kapa for Honokahua in the building that we made kapa in, there were two ki'i. There were two aumakua kapa symbolic that represented or they were Lauhuki and La'ahana. And there was a kapa around the base of them. And every morning before we started work and every afternoon when we finished work, we would pule in front of this 'ahu or shrine area.

In addition to that as a hula practitioner kapa is in our image of Laka⁶⁸. She is surrounded by yellow kapa. 'Uniki coming with the Lama⁶⁹ would have to have been also yellow kapa. So, in our tradition the actual enactment of these traditions varies from hālau to hālau, but the items are similar. And the item is a block of Lama wood with yellow kapa for us. The yellow kapa covers or completely covers the block of Lama wood until the time that you want to ask Laka to dwell with you. And then you set up the Lama on your kuahu, you take the kapa off the top of it and you make a pa'u around the base of the Lama. The top half of the Lama is open. Then you do the pule to ask Laka to dwell here. Then for us we cover the entire Lama with the yellow kapa and then she's put away until you need for her to come again. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hōkūlani's description of the use of kapa in Hula hālau ceremonies tells us if they call upon Laka to guide the dancer and the teacher. It speaks to bringing into the hālau the environment and elements to dwell within the dancer. In the kapa house Pua used the ki'i to call upon Lauhuki and La'ahana to dwell within the hale and surrounding grounds. In the ceremony Pua and the kapa makers asked Lauhuki and La'ahana to come and be with them. I was curious if the protocol was like the protocol of the hula hālau. I asked Hōkūlani if the ki'i of Lauhuki and La'ahana was uncovered with the kapa during kuku kapa and closed when done for the day:

⁶⁸ Laka is a goddess of hula.

⁶⁹ Lama is an endemic kind of ebony, used in medicine and placed in hula alter.

Because the hale was dedicated, reserved, and was kapu, we did not feel we needed to close and open everything. Well, I cannot say we, it's the kumu decision. Yeah. We never did that, but it was Pua's decision how that happened. The students have no say in this whatsoever, but this is what occurred. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Her reference to the respect of students in honoring and trusting the 'ike and direction of the Kumu is significant. This is a common behavior indeed expected of students that are involved in a Hālau or a school of knowledge and reflects student trust in their kumu. As described this trust was built from the student's belief that the Kumu knows not only the cultural practice but also the ceremonies and protocols to make the connection to the akua and aumakua of the practice. For Hōkūlani, as a student of Pua Van Dorpe she followed her direction without doubt and hesitation. With Pua's protocols put in place for the making of the kapa, there was clear and intentional direction in the process. Learning how the kapa was used in the Hale Kuku, I asked Hōkūlani how she used the kapa in her own Hula Hālau 'ūniki, and she explained:

For the Laka, it [kapa] covered the Laka. We set up the kuahu with the plants and items that would be needed for a hula noho. When the Laka was brought [to the kuahu], covered in yellow kapa. And it isn't until the time during the ceremony that you ask her to be there. That you open the kapa, make it a little like a pa'u and then you, you ask her to be there. It remains at the base of the Lama. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

I understand that for Hōkūlani, this 'ike and protocol for the use of the kapa that covered her Hula ki'i or Laka represents the inter-generational passage of knowledge within her Hula genealogy. This in turn guides the way that Hōkūlani and her son Lono will undertake these protocols and ceremonies in their own Hālau. Knowing that there are examples of protocols in cultural practices that can be adapted to one's own hālau is significant. This adaptation of protocols and ceremonies not only brings in the elements of the cultural practice and calling upon specific akua and 'aumakua, but they also bring forth the 'ike of the Kumu and their Kumu. In Hawaiian thought, we understand that teachings come from many different kumu, some are non-negotiable, but some have the flexibility to evolve to what is needed at that time.

This reclamation of the cultural protocols necessary in a broad cultural practice context increases the self-identity of the practitioner and as discussed by Hōkūlani impacts positively on their maui ola. I was interested in hearing how Hōkūlani felt while she was making kapa:

I can say that there is certainly a feeling of being or doing something greater than you. There is the knowledge and emotional connection that what you do is number one, a continuation of what the females of your 'Ohana did, because I can almost guarantee somewhere in the past my, when I did this because it was female work. So, it is a feeling of continuation and connection back to the females of my family. So that brings a great feeling of connection and of good thoughts and good feelings because you're doing this you know is not in a Western knowing up in your brain. But you know, in the Hawaiian way of knowing, your kupuna are there with you, that your hands are guided, and your thought process and your abilities are guided more than just by you. Cause really, I went in there very stupid. My hands were stupid. My mind was stupid when it came to a kapa making. My kumu Pua Van Dorpe started and filled in the learning processes that I needed to do and needed to know. But I also believe that while I was working, some of the things that go through your mind come from somewhere else.

Like you're beating and you're seeing the kapa move. And when you make kapa, you know what that means. You see the kapa move, but in your mind, you're seeing, I think if I'd beat more on this side and it thins out a little bit more, it will be helpful to move it a little bit more on that side. Nobody told me that, Pua didn't tell me that, but in the process, I didn't know that before because I knew nothing about kapa before. Somehow those thoughts came, and I believe that those thoughts came from the kūpuna that did this before. And I must mahalo them and know that I don't know why I know, but I think I know. So, I did it and it worked, that wasn't me. I think any of the ladies that work during that time will absolutely tell you that they felt a presence next to them, behind them, by them. Number one is not scary, it's not a scary kind of presence. It is a feel-good kind of like, a satisfaction, I don't know what the right English word is. Something that it's all good, it's all good baby.

So, I think, in those ways, there is a sense of peace. There is a sense of emotional well-being. It is not always a sense of physical well-being that causes your body's sore. Yeah, it's sore, but that's not the thing I remember the most today. It's not how the body was sore, it was how we felt, the good stuff. Because you're sitting with your legs crossed for all those hours on the hard floor, on a wooden floor as you make kapa. So, you know, after a while it's not the most important thing that's in your life is my body sore, my knee, on the back sore, my hand sore, my fingers. Well, that's not an awareness that you carry with you every day. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

As Hōkūlani describes how she felt and what she observed with the other women as they made the kapa. She describes an awareness of the presence of their kupuna to help the movement of the hands, through their Hawaiian lens. She expressed, there are things that her Kumu Pua taught her but there were also things that were given by her ancestors. Her statement, "I don't know why I know, but I think I know. So, I did it and it worked, that wasn't me". This is a surprisingly common statement made by other different practitioners that have had similar experiences. They just knew how to do the hana, and many times were caught in a realization that the work was being done by their ancestors. Dr. Mera Penehira (personal communication, 2020) describes this as "remembering" the recapturing of an ancestral memory that was stored or held for that descendant to receive when they were ready. This "remembering" could be described as 'ike kupuna or 'ike Hawai'i, things that we know but just need to remember. And in our path to recognizing 'ike kupuna and acknowledging their presence, we reclaim their 'ike and our culture. I asked Hōkūlani how she would define cultural reclamation:

Well, you know when Western folk came to Hawai'i, many of our cultural practices were put by the wayside for a myriad of reasons. Resource degradation, the supplemental incoming of Western materials. The lack of need for the things that were made or done. Lots of that occurred in many of our cultural practices that we are reclaiming today. I think things like Hula and Lauhala have been maintained as our cultural practices that have remained through all this time. But things like kapa making,

things like ‘ie‘ie⁷⁰ for weaving things like basketry, went by the wayside a little bit more. They had to be re-learned, re-establish, re-explored. I think that it is vitally important that cultural reclamation occurs because that is what identifies the people. Part of that also is the like we talked about earlier, are the rituals and ceremonies that go with these various cultural practices. Much of that was put aside when Christianity came to Hawai‘i. Even the reclamation of rituals and ceremonies are important for today. So why it is important is because it is what makes up the whole Hawaiian. You can pick and choose how you want to be a Hawaiian. I mean, people do that every day. You pick and choose how you want to be a Hawaiian. But if you choose to do a cultural practice, the cultural practice comes with a whole bunch of other things on resource management, on rituals, ceremonies, and religious practice on the actual making of certain items in a traditional way and in a contemporary way. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

She recognizes the importance of cultural reclamation of connecting the cultural practices, ceremonies, and rituals with the ‘ike kūpuna to bind the traditions with the contemporary needs of the people:

As Hawaiians, we have always looked for other ways that we can bring utilitarian use and beauty into our lives. And the creativity of all of that has changed through time. And I don't think we're afraid of that. I don't think that cultural reclamation is only doing it like it was done 200 years ago because we know that is your foundation. You must know how that was done 200 years ago. Otherwise, you don't know where the cultural practice comes from. But I also believe that once that occurs, then how it is used in contemporary today life is just as important as how it was used 200 years ago. Some of the use from a hundred years ago, we do not do today because it was used as fabric for clothes. And we don't dress the same way. We do not use it the same way on a daily basis because we don't dress the same way on a daily basis.

⁷⁰ ‘Ie‘ie - Endemic woody branching climber (*Freycinetia arborea*) used to make baskets, also one of the five plants that are used on the hula kuahu

But can we use it for ceremonies? The clothing? Yes. Can we use it for cultural practices like hula? Yes. Cultural reclamation also has to do with how it fits into life today. Not only how it fit into life 200 years ago, but how it fits into life today. What does that mean? I believe it is up to the cultural practitioner to decide that, because they're the ones that work with it, they know it, they get the inspiration for their cultural practice. I believe it is the cultural practitioner of a particular thing that decides how much is too much, how much is not enough. We do the same thing in hula. One of the things that we say about hula on a regular basis is, will I recognize this as hula a hundred years from now? Because we recognize hula from 300 years ago. It is what I see I will recognize as hula a hundred years from now. If I say yes, then it is a good progress. If I said no, maybe we got a slowdown. The same happens for every cultural practice. If you want to do some creative things, well, we still know this is kapa. A hundred years from now, will we still know this is lauhala? A hundred years from now, will we still know this is an 'ie'ie basket a hundred years from now? If that is how the cultural practitioner wants to measure, and that's fine, but that's how we measure anything. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Her reference to how cultural practices needs to fit in the contemporary time is of tremendous significance. It reminds us as kapa practitioners that it is okay to be creative with the contemporary beauty of kapa. It gives us permission to continue to evolve our practices whilst ensuring that in generations to come it still is recognizable as kapa:

The protection of Mauna Kea has involved a re-assertion of many cultural practices which have become more visible both in Hawai'i and globally. This connects to both kapa and hula. I asked Hōkūlani what she believes Mauna Kea means to the Hawaiian people and the indigenous people around the world?

The current movement for Mauna Kea in 2019 is a reclaiming of our ability and right to say this is sacred to me. Above all it is the ability and right to say this is sacred. And because it is sacred, this is what should or should not happen on it, around it. And with it, every person has their sacred and they have their rules of what should happen on, in,

and around. They're sacred spaces. This Mauna Kea movement I believe for me has to do with that. And the whole idea that TMT⁷¹ what is going on there is immaterial. What it is that it is enough that this is the last thing we will allow to desecrate our sacred space. We will not allow that to happen. Thirteen of those things[telescopes] already went up without people saying yes. Promises have been broken of what is supposed to happen on Mauna Kea. And I believe Hawaiians were very giving, very willing to work and to be workable with all of this. But when the TMT came up, it was enough, it's too much already.

The line is drawn in the sand. Thea movement itself and what it has meant to the Lāhui⁷² and what it has meant to other indigenous people is that we will not any longer let others tell us what is sacred to us. We must tell you what is sacred to us. The indigenous people around the world know this because they fight the same issues wherever they are. That other people's belief system negates our need for sacredness in our environment just because they don't understand it. And I think that is what spoke to the indigenous people around the world. That as well as seeing, I truly feel as well as seeing the kupuna get taken away, get them arrested, taken away. Because the idea that you could do that to your kūpuna, to your grandparents, to the senior members of your community, simply because they believe that this place is sacred was more than any indigenous person could handle. Because if they can do that to our kūpuna, they can do it to any place, anything. And nothing is sacred. Our all-indigenous people honor and value their kūpuna all. And when they do that, they can do that too. The people that we revere the most in our upbringing, nothing is sacred to them, and we will not stand for that.

I think Mauna Kea is a galvanizing thing for our lāhui. We see that in the numbers of people that come. And I think that whole idea supersedes religious belief, supersedes your financial, how much money you have more does not have your fame, it supersedes everything. As we have seen, come there with the whole idea that we must protect the mountain because the mountain is important. As simple as that and I think they're at

71 TMT - Thirty Meter Telescope

72 Lāhui is the nation, race, people, nationality.

Mauna Kea is where the Lāhui sees and can participate in Hawaiian. Being Hawaiian as we have been taught as we have been raised or maybe even only as we have heard because we may not have been taught or raised that way, but when you see it and you participate, something in your na‘au tells you, yes, this is it. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Hōkūlani did not mention that she was one of the front lines Kūpuna that stood for the protection of Mauna Kea and the lāhui. Bringing kānaka together from our islands and from around the world as one to protect the future of Mauna Kea and the kānaka of this land. The protectors learned valuable lessons on Mauna Kea and in their homes. Paramount in this was an understanding of the importance of taking guidance from our kūpuna because they in turn are taking their directions from their akua, ‘aumākua, and ancestors. Hōkūlani commented to me as we finished her interview:

I want to thank you for asking to be a part of this interview. I have not done kapa personally for a long time. What I consider a long time because I do like every day. I don't count myself as a kapa practitioner because I count a cultural practitioner as someone who thinks, does their cultural behavior every day, not just weekends, not just once a month, not just when it is convenient, because sometimes it is not convenient. A cultural practitioner is someone who thinks about this cultural practice or is in this cultural practice all the time, it is on their mind. Like for hula people, you hear a song, you listen to the translation, you see the words in action in our environment. It inspires you to maybe choreograph or you look at colors and plants and you think about lei and clothes.

It's just ongoing for a cultural practitioner of kapa. The same thing has to happen when you're, in my opinion, when you're a cultural practitioner, it's not a hobby. It's not something that you are going to do this weekend. If you have time as a practitioner, you can't help it, you want to do it. Someone who works with 'aha, you want to do it all the time.

I don't count myself at this time as a kapa practitioner, but I certainly have been in the past, and I feel that I have been very fortunate to have had the times that I did have with kapa. I'm not saying it would not happen again in the future, but I do not count myself as a kapa cultural practitioner today. I thank you very much for asking me to be a part of this. (Holt-Padilla, personal communication, 2019, April)

Through a Hawaiian lens and living as a Hawaiian, Hōkūlani's participation and leadership of ceremonies, rituals, and protocols. These are the critical spaces that call upon the akua, 'aumākua, and kūpuna who come forth when called in this way. She knows intimately as she has shared that the cultural practice is not complete until the ancestors are there with the practitioner.

Master Carver and Historian Dennis Kana‘e Keawe

I am so honored to interview master carver and historian, Dennis Kana‘e Keawe (personal communication, 2019, April 28). Kana‘e has inspired me to always look to the ancient artifacts in books, journals, and museums. Similar to Master Kumu Hula Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla, they both draw on ‘ike Hawai‘i and ‘ike kūpuna. Hōkūlani looks to the chants and mele for guidance, Kana‘e looks to the fine details of the artifacts. Kana‘e’s ‘ike and experiences is demonstrated through years of research and practice. His home reflects the master craftsmanship that honors our ancestors. Kana‘e’s cultural expertise includes traditional tool making implements for hana kapa, weapons, and utilitarian household. In addition, he has mastered to craft of hula implements and musical instruments. Kana‘e has created pahu hula(dance drum) of museum quality. His research of pahu represents the fine elaborate carvings, a layer of kapa between the rim and shark skin, pā‘ele dye, and complex lashing. His pahu hula accompany the grace and beauty of the chanter and dancer as they tell a mo‘olelo.

Figure 191 Dennis Kana‘e Keawe and pahu hula.



On April 28, 2019, on a cool and beautiful morning at the home in Waiakea, Hawai‘i of Master Carver and Historian Dennis Kana‘e Keawe, I held an interview with him. His home is

surrounded by lush tropical plants from various kalo to the exotic vanilla plants from Tahiti. Kana'e's well used work bench reveals the immense talent he brings to his expert wood carving practices. Common tools that are made to fit the purpose of the master's needs, and tools that were created only with the skill and 'ike of a master that knows what he needed to create an authentic artifact. His projects of papa ku'i 'ai (poi board), blanks for future 'ie'ie or hohoa beaters, stumps ready to be carved into pahu, and a collection of resources, reveal to the extent of his mastery. Kana'e's expertise includes exquisite lei making, lei hulu, tools, and hula implement making. His talents are not limited to utilitarian tools, he has knowledge in lā'au lapa'au, and additionally he is a master chef of Hawaiian cuisine. His expertise reflects multiple facets of the Hawaiian practitioner, but mostly Kana'e is learning and living his passion as a master cultural practitioner. He not only has the technical skills, but he also has a connection to both 'ike kūpuna and 'ike Hawai'i. I asked Kana'e to begin by telling me a little bit about himself:

Dennis Kana'e Keawe, born August 19, 1944, to parents Solomon Keawe, Amy Ignacio Keawe of Kalihi, my father is from Waimalu. Then later my parents moved to Laiea, they were Mormon people, so that was my upbringing. My mother's side, even though they were Hawaiians, they were caught in that trend, that timeframe of being Hawaiians. But not popular to be Hawaiian, English was always stressed from their grandparents, from their parents' levels already. Stories about parents, grandparents of course being chastised in school for not speaking English, and there is a whole story about stories about that. But my grandparents are from the countryside in Laiea, I relish those summers or even weekends. They only spoke Hawaiian to each other, never English. To their children always in English, to the grandchildren always in English, but I knew a word here so I could piece together what the conversation was about. My grandmother is pure Japanese, she was born in Kauai. My grandfather is from Kealahou, which is the upland area of Costco [store], Kona [Hawai'i Island]. Tall man, six feet, his wife was short, maybe like four feet ten, Japanese lady, but she could speak Hawaiian better than him. Because she was from, aristocratic society level Kauai. She had always said, he speaks kāpulu, he is from Kona.

Kane‘a’s reference to the language is prominent as it was a common belief at that time that the people must not speak Hawaiian in their community and for most in their own homes. This is a direct result of the impact of the United States occupation in Hawai‘i. Many families share similar stories that identify them as Hawaiian, but sadly it aligns more with the definition of the white man that relegates us to lower status. Like so many other Hawaiian families, my mother grew up with Shirley Temple ringlets and only speaking in English. Although my grandmother spoke Hawaiian, she would not allow her children to speak Hawaiian. Like many other native and indigenous people, the discouragement of our kupuna to speak our languages was a protective strategy they put in place for us:

They demonstrated to me more Hawaiian-ness than the town people and it still carries on today. I got involved in Hawaiian things because I was always curious about that part and I was more an artist, not the sports type person. Woodcarving and painting that all came to be from Kamehameha school. Painting from the earlier ages from kindergarten. Then learning from woodworkers with craftsmen like Wright Bowman, Sr., then Fritz Alpamelk, a Swiss woodcarving instructor, who was teaching us at Kamehameha School. Those were two great influences in my life. Other products from Kamehameha school LeVan Sequiera from Lahaina. Alex Pua‘a from Molokai. Enomoto was one of the woodcarvers from Kamehameha school. We know that in that era they turned out a lot of good woodworkers. Some of them died, Wright Bowlman, my classmate, Wright Bowman, Jr. he passed, unfortunately. The father's apprentice was Kailili Chun, Dr. Michael Chun's daughter. She has gone on to do modern works and necessarily in the realm of woodworking still. But now they are out there and today there are a lot of wood workers. They come along, self-instructed or a little bit of tool knowledge and how to. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Hearing Kana‘e’s description of his mentors, teachers, and peers that have influenced his life in becoming a master woodcarver, reveals that the influence of other practitioners not only gives direction to the student but exhibits the passion and commitment of the kumu that cannot be learned from books alone. When speaking to other Master practitioners there is always a

person or persons that have had a significant influence both giving the student encouragement and words of wisdom. Kana'e continued to describe his own influence of what he believes in:

Your greatest influence is going to be always touch base, see the things in the museums, get the books that are published with photos of them. Always keep that constant connection. I always work with a book open next to me, so I don't stray too far from what is considered Hawaiian quote unquote before your drum, start stretching out and start looking at African things like that. You cannot be making Hawaiian tiki or begin to look like a garden statuary square scarecrow so stuff like that. You have to be constantly tuned to it, otherwise it goes outside of the barriers. It's hard to see what's Hawaiian, what's not. You know, you must always have that keen sense of grass rootedness. How do you see, you know, is it inborn? Is it genetic memory? We've — we still yet must be constantly looking at what's real, what's old. If all the people making, getting into the tapa making tools, you always got to be looking at the museum collection. What is real, what is good, see, get the balance, the heft of it? (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Figure 192 Tools made by Master Carver Dennis Kana'e Keawe.



Kana'e recognizes the potential to meet the needs of contemporary times but also the significance of making the item to be identified as what it is. For Kana'e this manifests in the importance of having the book or photo of the authentic item to ensure that he does not stray away as he carves his replica. He acknowledges that this 'ike kupuna is there and alive as he ponders whether it is a genetic memory and whether we are born with this knowledge. Kana'e describes his thought process of getting the right information to create close to the authentic piece, to have the right size and the right weight:

For instance, maybe the *Instruments of Pahu and Ponui*, the book written by Adrienne Kaeppler. She's got great documentation there; they're posted in metric as well as inches for people who want to be more versed in inches versus the European standard metrics. But what I find now working and doing things is that I wish those drums had whole weight to them. Cause when we did the replicas of the Captain Cook, 'uli'uli collected in 1779 at Keala Kua Bay, she had great photos that she forwarded to us from her working cohorts at the British Museum. And then to that I said, Adrienne, have your friends who weigh it and I forget what the weight was, maybe like a pound and a half, two pounds. Let's say, we came in at the same, even though we're using modern materials, wood dowels for the handles of very thin plywood disk for the top. They head base structure. We are pretty much on track about authenticity and the size also as well. You always gotta have that.

Figure 193 *Myself, Lisa Shattenburg-Raymond, Adrienne Kaeppler, Dennis Kana'e Keawe.*



So where do jumping frames forward, look at my products go. The first drum with all the sculpted ki'i went to my hānai [adopted]niece Kuhi Suginuha and that's her heritage from me. The second drum sculpted like that is with my sister in Maui, Mona Hokulani Leilani Richardson of, I'm gonna say maybe Haiku. And then the third one, well, Adrienne Kaeppler last night said, Kana'e, can I be your sister. You know when you get comments back then that's all, you know, so supportive and complementary. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Although Kana'e spoke about making the pahu that he has created, the museum quality of his craftsmanship cannot be compared with any other replica made in contemporary times. This is the same for his kapa beaters and lā'au kua. His craftsmanship in recreating working tools for the kapa practitioners represents by far the most functional and beautiful tools that I have ever seen and used. Being able to produce exquisite kapa tools and Kana'e's deep understanding of the function of the equipment is what manifests in the exquisite results of his kapa making. I was curious as to how he became a kapa practitioner.

Okay. My curiosity about Kapa started maybe in 1968, because back in Honolulu, when you're an apartment dweller, you go to all these trendy art galleries and see a concert here and there. And I went to a concert of Hawaiian traditional dance, and it was a concert, in part funded by the State Foundation Culture and the Arts and the Council on Hawaiian Heritage. And they brought together a concert of Kumu Hula from each Island. And from Molokai, we had Harriet May. Maui, we had the Long family that is Leiana Woodside's sister and Kauai. Oh, we had somebody represented, I think maybe it was like Kuulei ..., Big Island was Kanaka'ole. Edith and the two daughters and their line of dancers. Five girls wow, they just dance so beautifully. And every Island had their own style and a costume man and of course the choreography. I said, let me try Hawaiian dance. I jumped in there from let's say 69 to 74 when I moved to Hilo, November 74. With that, you get to see how the costume is. I was always interested in hula instruments and then also decided. Let me see about kapa making, it really couldn't be supported by living in an apartment in Moili'ili, University Avenue.

When I moved to the Big Island [Hawai‘i Island], you got open resources, forest. My dad had a coffee farm, so I can raise my wauke there. You got to read everything that was written back in the time because now with the teachers, and I tried this, I tried that. ‘Ōhi‘a⁷³ is a good wood, but it doesn't make good kapa of beaters. The designs after all your work on it, you bash to smoother. Then you start looking out for kauila⁷⁴ — environmental pressures— no more trees, use the alternate wood kiawe [*Prosopis pallida*]. You got to grow your own wauke and at that time you only had this for it. I think the pulapula [cuttings] stuff on the ground, put them in my father's coffee, all the things went wild. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Now that I have heard what Kana‘e was describing in finding resources of place and space to grow his own plants as required, I can only imagine how difficult of a time it must have been. Pursuing a passion with only the vague knowledge of the process of kapa making and trying to create resources to make kapa and using the resources from the forest to make the tools, to make the kapa. I remember clearly when I asked my father to make a kapa beater for me. I had no samples, no idea of the weight and dimensions, nor how it was used. I had a photograph of a ‘ie kuku from the Bishop Museum. My dad clearly wondered why I needed this and why it was so important, however, without hesitation he made me my first ‘ie kuku. I can imagine Kana‘e’s father thinking the same - why did he need to plant this plant that is growing wild? He went on to describe his experience of cultural exchange in Japan.

I did this paper making workshop in Kyoto in 1976, I took raw materials to make kapa and I think a maximum of supposed to be 30 people I think they are allowed. Because of political influences and you know, delicacies of international balances. I think they allowed the class; they did two for, 30 plus 20 more on the second. We really work to the bone and tire out, but it is interesting to see paper making from around the world. And Japan makes paper from two out of three sources: wauke, ‘ākia and this other one called Mitsu Mata. They make beautiful papers, and they are specialists about the papers. I got to see a paper making company, family business on Shikoku Island. I went

73 ‘Ōhi‘a (*Metrosideros polymorpha*) endemic hard wood tree or bush.

74 Kauila (*Alphitonia ponderosa*) is an endemic hard wood tree.

there with Ann Kimura and Barbara Stefan, two already Japanese speakers. So that was good. That translation was, facet, influenced and came home.

Oh, I had some questions about our second choice, ‘ākia for us, which would be Gumpy for Japanese. What is your perception about working with Gumpy? I say, here's a piece of Gumpy. Oh, can we have a part of that? I said, you can have the whole thing. It is in their paper making museum. So kapa is made from ‘ākia and it has a shine that looks like raw silk that gleams the reflection to the eye. I said, when we make kapa with this, we do not touch our eye or scratch. We do not eat it because it is poisonous. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Kana‘e’s vast knowledge touched on other uses of kapa plants. This is a common practice for many kānaka in the use of native plants. Kana‘e made a good point about the use of ‘ākia which is another type of plant that was used in making kapa in Hawai‘i and in Japan for papermaking. But for the kānaka the use of ‘ākia was more commonly used for catching fish. Kana‘e continues his description of the process.

‘Ākia is a fish poison, so when you pound it up, you build an imu [rock fish trap], knee deep water. Imu, the word rocks, loose rocks for the fish. Oh, [they] dart in there. They get accustomed to shelter, then when you're ready to harvest all the little baby fish, the ohua, manini [surgeon fish], you pound it [‘ākia] into a poultice. You put them all around the imu, and you come back there. Oh, the fish is all like makemake, lazy. And anhuahu is the other one. You get two fish poison — ‘ākia and anhuahu is good because after that you put them all in your bucket with air. We put the holes; he can revive it in the water in 15 minutes. They all are, we recuperate and this swim away, but in the bucket, you take them home. I learned a lot from Big Island people. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

These mo‘olelo or stories of the “teachings” create a cultural learning process (Archibald, 2008). Kana‘e recognizes the value of the experiences and lessons as he honors the names of his peers, students, and teachers in his own stories of hana kapa.

The old folks in Kaū belonged to the Civic Club. We started doing kapa in maybe like 1976, we do our own tools. And luckily the men in that group, they all support their wives. They did the carving for the tools. I helped them along. Then I was asked to do a class in Honolulu in 1978, based on questions to Mary Lou Kekuewa, and Elaine Maline of the Queen Emma Hawaiian civic club. And in that class, I taught, I think it was a constant conference of three-hundred civic clubs, Pu'uloa, Pearl Harbor, Hawaiian. And I think maybe Queen Emma too on that one. I took all the woods and my tools, and I think we went for maybe three months, maybe two times a month. The funding was there for me to travel, and they made all the tools. I helped them with that.

Moana Eisele was one of them. Keiki Kekuaiwa of University of Hawaiian Studies. Other people were like Amber Smith, of a Hawaiian Civic Club. I forgot all their names, but it was good fun. At least that was the start of it. And from there, it was hopefully that these people would go on and teach. Moana was one of those, she went on and then she conferred with Tim Murray, and that Tim Murray brought me in. We had a meeting here to decide who to admit into the class.

Keone Nunes was one of them, much to their consternation. We cut the ferns and we made amau'u big stainless-steel bowl of Palaholu down, get all this goopy stuff and you can always filter out the drags walking with the bowl Keone tripped. And the whole thing was on the dining room floor kitchen of one of the bungalows we were at. We have our memories and stories. Alfred Keena was one of them also and he's gone to bet two or maybe he moved to Okinawa. He is making a Japanese textile fiber. Other people in there were Pam Barker from Volcano. Maile Andrade and Jan Yoneda had a retired principal from sunset beach school. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Kana'e's description of his fellow practitioners reflects the importance of being able to teach others the art of both kapa and tool making. His circle of kapa practitioners is impressive, some have chosen to teach, and some have moved on. In his expression, Keawe enjoys teaching adults the hana of Kapa and tool making.

But they're allowed to do the tools. They had to learn all the names of the beater patterns. And I made finals. It wasn't with a teaching certificate, but whoever got the first highest score chose from what I brought back from the big buckets of Ozeki red anthurium or papaya or one I made stuff like that. But learning sob centered and self-driven and then where you learn better, you still are rewarding it. Is there a carrot in front of the horse's nose, move forward?

Puanani Van Dorpe, came back to Hawai'i from Fiji. Her husband Bob Van Dorpe was a hotel developer. He was involved in the Fijian cultural center and while there, Pua was with the executives' wives. She was always golfing and a beautiful, retired hula dancer from Lexington Hotel, New York and Miami and other parts in Florida. With that she went and learned about Fijian kapa making. By the time she came back to Hawai'i, she already had this knowledge of wauke, and what she could do. She was enrolled in a class at the Honolulu Academy of Arts— Kapa, Washi, and Handmade papers, a paper back, a book out of print already of course. And George Ellis was the director of the Honolulu Academy of Arts at the time.

Figure 194 Dennis Kana'e Keawe and Puanani Van Dorpe (n.d.)



These photos are of Kana'e and Puanani working on a large kapa project. Kana'e made the 'ohe kāpala for this project and helped stamp this kapa moe. Kana'e described his peers such as master kapa practitioner Puanani Van Dorpe in the Honokahau making of the kapa for the reinterment of kūpuna 'iwi. He also identified other kapa makers such as Malia Solomon, Wesley Sen, and Karla Fredize who were making kapa at this time. In reclaiming their cultural

identity, Keawe could identify the experts through the consideration of their level of ‘ike and the products of their labor. Although at that time there were only a handful of kapa practitioners, there was a sense of authority and respect for their ‘ike and practice. Kana‘e described the kind of practitioners they were, some continued to teach others, some went on to pursue a deeper understanding of kapa, and some went on to other ventures:

Everybody becomes a student from the next drop-down level to the next to the next. But with kapa, you must always have to have all those elements. Three are: the tools, the plant, and then the talent. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

I was not surprised with Kana‘e’s statement with kapa, one must always have the elements of tools and plants. However, when he added talent to that list, I was reminded that although some people do have natural aptitude or skills, they also need to have dexterity and technique. These talents strengthen the practitioner but also opens them to the insights of the power of knowledge and wisdom of our ancestors. As stated in the literature review, with this knowledge of appreciation and understanding, one must be ready to share and teach for this knowledge to continue (Archibald, 2008):

It is very involved when you know, somebody has to do the tools and if you get lousy tools, you're not going to be able to make the product. You don't have the resources, the raw material to plant, you don't have kapa. Everything is kind of enmeshed. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

In discussing the significance of the specific kinds of tools and raw materials needed to make kapa, Kana‘e revealed his concern at not having the resources. In an article, *Perpetuating Hula: Globalization and the Traditional Art*, Kana‘e states, “a craftsman is a nobody without the natural resources of his environ” (Galla et al., 2015). He pointed out earlier the importance of having the right types of wood to make the right kind of ‘ie kuku or hohoa and lā‘au kua. Like many cultural practitioners he agrees that the use of endangered native woods is not necessary. Contemporary cultural practitioners prefer the use of materials that are abundant and sustainable. Growing your own plants for the making of kapa, dyes, and scenting is the kuleana

or responsibility of the practitioner. I was not surprised with his answer when I asked Kana‘e if he knew of any family member that has made Kapa:

The answer straight off is no. That was a dead art as far as we know. And so, everything today has been resurrection. Based on how many books you can look at. Do you know? Where are these sources of written information? Especially all these books with bond kapa, actual pieces. I think you have this Rodman name being tossed around the Hungarian Museum or other. Ka Hana Kapa by William Brigham, we owe a debt of gratitude to William Brigham, I believe. Oh, I’m also with Nathaniel B. Emerson. Because when you view all his collections in the Smithsonian, you’re just like, wow. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Kana‘e refers to kapa resources in museums and private collections reflecting his in-depth knowledge of kapa. Recognizing his appreciation of the sources of the written forms of information such as Rodman, Brigham, and Emerson all play an important part in reclaiming hana kapa. Many Hawaiians realize the value of the resources and are grateful for the information. However, for many Native Hawaiians and applied researchers, acknowledging the non-Hawaiian view of the authors and being a third-party resource brings with it a sense of questioning and potential mistrust in terms of the information and its validity or otherwise. For Kana‘e and many other Hawaiian’s, he is grateful for the resources that present opportunities to learn more about our cultural practices. He wrote:

I see this under current Hawaiians for Hawaiians. Haole—I do not want to teach them - I am color blind. I do not see race because sometimes I get totally frustrated. Where are the Hawaiians when the class is advertised? My cousins in Honolulu are seeing the same thing and they're going to quilting classes now. Only Haole - Japanese. I have seen this from 1968, nothing new here, so I’m not too keen about whites or browns.

And then also you know, some people have extremely good abilities and do not have to be Hawaiian, but they are their interests. We see people like that, studying from Pat Bacon. She is Japanese, she is pure Japanese and Kawena [Pukui] adopted two girls. Sister Kalama was half Hawaiian, half Japanese from Waipahu. I think the story is

documented. Kawena wanted these babies. They were orphans because the parents died, maybe from illness. Things like tuberculosis and even the flu, resistances were bad, medication was bad. So that Bacon was adopted through the Humane Society⁷⁵. Well, I think the moniker and the intent has changed from people back then. Babies are humane, being kind, sympathetic, and then to animals now, whatever the shift might've been. Kalama was half Hawaiian, she's from Waipahu. Aunty Pat, I think what somebody said, she's from Kauai.

Kawena wanted children to adopt because after years of marriage to Kalolii and a Honolulu resident at the time, they didn't have any children. And then along with that Kawena, who was having a dream after 12 years of marriage, what is going to be the old lady came to me and that dream and she said, somebody is pregnant. The family looking around, nobody's pregnant. She finds out she's pregnant and her daughter is Pele Pukui Suginuma today. Aunty nearly died at age 47 in Honolulu. Chanted for is going to call in the governor's chambers. She left too early. Her children and granddaughters now are cohesive. So, it's good to see this genetic dropdown there with the intellect and talent for choreography and dancers as wellbeing dancers. Pat Bacon, pure Japanese, was always next to her mother. She spoke Hawaiian before she could speak English. And with that, that is why I see I am color blind. We do not have to feel that way. It is okay. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Kana'e shared his deep understanding of the values of Mary Kawena Pukui as a mother. For Kawena Pukui, she adopted a non-Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian daughter. Along with her daughter Pele, she saw no difference and reflected this in her teachings to her daughters in language, culture, and values. In the 2010 Census there were fewer than 8,000 pure Hawaiians, today we are made up of a mixture of all different ethnicities, a natural outcome of having been occupied and having so many visitors also to our lands. Like Kana'e, myself, and the majority of the kānaka, we are not of pure blood; there remains a desire to learn from our ancestors about being Hawaiian alongside our other influences. The notion and practice of being

⁷⁵ Hawaiian Humane Society was established in 1883 to protect unwed mothers, mentally ill, and adopted children.

Hawaiian is not tied to one's blood quantum, it is about our way of life. I asked Kana'e if he has participated in ceremonies using kapa, he replied:

I was never able to make a large piece for one thing. And after that, you really must have a wealth of wauke to do something like that. I had other fires burning, woodcarving to feather work. I was riding the full circle and I found myself coming back and going around for another pass and another. It is constant and move. I don't know why, but things pop up and then your focus changes. So, you jump back into that unfinished party project and after a while. Let me see how these kapa beaters are carved. Okay, fine lines. You start looking for the tools. Thank goodness we have good wood carving tools, either catalog or the actual standup brick and mortar stone in Honolulu. And my friend over there behind the cash register is Jason, Kana'e your Big Island people are the best customers. I said, we are the ones with the trees. He starts rattling off who and who was here last week. I think they get a poi board carving conference coming up and he's good to talk to. Yeah, it is all interconnected, I like working in that cadre. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

I wanted to expand on the question of his participating in ceremonies using kapa. Just being in his home, I was able to observe that he used kapa in his carvings such as his pahu, ko'i (adze), and holua (slide). We discussed how he used those items, and how he saw them being used to replicate ancient artifacts. His detail in the slight contour of the wood to make the perfect kua or the perfect handle of the hohoa, and the detailed carvings of the 'ie kuku:

The kapa that I have done, I have pretty much for its role comes into play in first, what I can come to mine is that really layer on the top of the drum where the shark skin goes on top of based on all the research, we of drums that are in a partial construction at the Bishop Museum, there's this thin membrane of kapa right under the sharkskin. So that's between wood and sharkskin. And we have to say, you know, why is the kapa there? But they have the answers we don't, so all we can do is mimic that manufacturer. There was even one transitional one where perhaps that drum maker at the turn of the century didn't have wauke and kapa resources and he put gingham red and white fabric under it under the sharkskin. And that drum still has the sharkskin skinhead. But the gingham

fabric is peeking out between the shark skin and the wood. That was instrumental as like, okay. That is mimic and do it because that is all they did back then. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

Kana'e provided insight into the significance of the use of kapa. He would make kapa with the intention to create replication of authentic artifacts that could then be utilized as a working tool for the chanter, the kapa maker, and the practitioner. Kana'e maintains a high standard that is not only beautiful and authentic, but also stays true to the excellence of the ancestors who guide his hands. The quality of his work reveals the well-being of a cultural practitioner. Kana'e talked about how he felt when making tools:

Well-being, I feel proud, it's a good piece of work. Health, maybe mental health. You know, check out Zen meditation. Stay between the lines, reminds me of a kindergarten coloring book, stay inside the lines. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

After asking Kana'e about his maui ola and health as a cultural practitioner, I recognized that my questions somehow reflected how he felt. I understand that the kuleana of cultural practitioners also includes the responsibility of the 'ohana, community, and kānaka. Kana'e said he felt proud of the pieces, but also that the work increased his mental health. In speaking to other kapa makers that have just started making kapa or have been making for a while, they too talk about being in a meditative space as they kuku kapa. I asked Kana'e what kapa tool making has meant to him:

Rewarding, self-gratification. Not because I did it and somebody else doesn't. To capture something that's lost and then pass it on, that's a reward. I'm not into it for self-acclaimed attention. No, I'm always dodging, or I try to be under that radar. Fly under the radar. Don't need to be up there. Here is a quick quote. Edith Mackenzie in some of her lectures about hula and chanting styles, she said, "in the Hawaiian world, self is not important"... And looked at who all offenders now Whoa. Spooky, dangerous, because it becomes a catfight doggy dog world. I would call the sharing or in the old days, we have our differences, but generally, you know when you go against nature, you must work with you and it's everybody collectively to survive. Food is how to get to the,

everything is too easy. Lights at the flick of a switch, gasoline for the car, step on it. Everything is available in Macy, Walmart, and Target. Wife doesn't have to do the menial task of making kapa. Sorry to be masochistic, but is that the value of her life? She can make clothes, but the short answer is yes. Survival skills. Then the husband must go fishing. You've got to do everything that a farm feeds the kids. Different values, different systems. Too many questions. I do not have all the answers I try, everybody got to do their part. You know, we all do it differently. That's the answer. Collective summary statement. (Keawe, personal communication, 2019, April 28)

In ancient times, the significance of kapa was valued as valuable to the life of the Hawaiian. Kapa was valued as clothing worn every day for the kānaka. Kapa was used for ceremonies, rituals, protocol, and applied to everyday items. Kana'e also described the value of kapa as important to the everyday Hawaiian in ancient times. He reminds us that we all have to do our part in the reclaiming of this cultural practice and recognizing the value of the kapa maker.

Ko'u mana'o

This was truly an honor to be able to interview these two cultural experts Kumu Hula Hōkūlani Holt-Padilla and master carver Dennis Kana'e Keawe. They are both masters in their cultural practices and continue to expect for the best in their hana, students, and in teachings. Kana'e creates authentic pieces of tools and implements for his cultural practices by doing his in-depth research and studies. Hōkūlani is a master kumu hula and historian because she researches, reads, and connects to her ke akua and 'aumākua through pule, oli, and ceremony. They are both Loea in their cultural practices. There is no doubt that we all can do hana no'eau, there are some of us who will be practitioners, but there are only a few like Hōkūlani and Kana'e are Loea.

A‘o mai, A‘o aku
In learning, we teach. (Chun, 2011, p.84)

Mokuna ‘Eiwa: Findings and conclusion

In this dissertation my goal was to understand and bring clarity of how to reclaim cultural identity and maui ola through hana kapa. My intention was to introduce the process and significance of hana kapa in a multi-generational ‘ohana.

In this final chapter, I comment firstly on findings in relation to the main research question under the sub-headings of: Limited practitioner/teacher base; growing inter-generational memories and finally, cultural expertise. The sub-questions of this study are then responded to in terms of findings that relate specifically to those questions as follows:

- What do we know of the significance of kapa and the associated cultural traditions, protocols, and practices pre-contact in Hawai‘i?
- What is the potential for the reclamation and practice of kapa to contribute specifically to the cultural identity and maui ola of Hawaiian women?
- In what ways might multi-generational transmission of knowledge between women (e.g., mothers and daughters; grandmothers and grandchildren; aunties and nieces), contribute to the reclamation and practice of kapa in Hawai‘i, and kānaka cultural identity?

The final part of this chapter discusses the research limitations and one key recommendation from the study.

We see the resurgence of kānaka wanting to learn the art of kapa making need for resources of kanu, tools, and teachers. Understanding the significance of kapa has brought me to the realization that there is so much more to learn and do. Which brings me to my first finding of this research.

Limited practitioner/teacher base:

The need for na kumu, that are kapa practitioners, that have their own resources of wauke, tools, and protocol practices is critical to the ongoing development of hana kapa in our communities. Using the framework of a hālau kapa will guide the practitioner to produce more kapa makers and more kumu in a sustainable and honorable way. The hālau kapa provided me with a framework to learn all the aspects of becoming a Loea. Determining the aspects of what is a Loea will help clarify the contents of the hālau and the levels of learning. The symbol of the kapa moe with its layers are like the levels of learning for the kumu and haumana.

Growing inter-generational memories:

I have collected journal reflections from the kapa workshops and interviews that reflect a strong desire from mākua and ‘ohana to have more culture classes. Out of the sixty participants only one had a memory of kapa in her family. This is a concern for many of the mākua as they reflected on the values that they have learned in hana kapa. They have a passion to learn more of these cultural practices and are aware of the connection to the resources and environment required in hana kapa. Seeing the participants enjoyed working with each other and built relationships in the process. They motivated and helped each other accomplish their goals of the workshop. Participants engaged with their own family members to reconnect to past traditions and to create inter-generational memories and stories that can be told by future generations. Being able to ho‘oili ‘ike the knowledge that I have and teach the mākua what I have learned. Ho‘oili ‘ike is an important step for the mākua to welo ‘ohana and teach their own ‘ohana of what they have learned in kapa making.

Cultural expertise:

The Loea are the cultural experts in their practice. Their ‘ike comes from extensive research and not allowing doubt in one’s own abilities. Experts are committed to protect the authenticity of their cultural practice and provide resources to perform ceremonies, rituals, and protocol. They are articulated in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and Hawaiian history. Importantly, they trust and believe that their ancestors are guiding them in their cultural practices. That spiritual connection to those

who have gone before is paramount in the successful reclamation of hana kapa and the positive impact this has on both well-being and identity as kanaka.

Sub-question 1: Significance of kapa and cultural traditions

The extensive review of literature, documents and artifacts in this study affirm the significance of kapa and the associated cultural traditions, protocols, and practices in pre-contact times in Hawaii. This is evidenced in the journals surveyed and in the discussions with expert participants. It is not evidenced however in the conversations with ohana participants, which tells us that it is critical to now re-engage ohana in these practices to restore the understanding of the significance of kapa as a cultural tradition.

Sub-question 2: Cultural identity and maui ola of Hawaiian women

The interviews and journals of the wahine participants in this research evidence the strong impact that kapa reclamation has on the cultural identity and maui ola of Hawaiian women. The reflections on their participation in workshops, the photographic data, and the memories shared both in journals and interviews, all highlight the positive impact that engaging in this cultural practice has had on their identity as Hawaiian women and indeed on their wellbeing.

Sub-question 3: Multi-generational transmission of knowledge

There exists a special and unique bond between our kupuna, grandmothers, mothers, daughters and mo‘opuna. This research has shown how we can utilize that multi-generational bond as a very powerful and culturally appropriate mechanism for the transmission of knowledge. Most importantly the research evidence how this can be used as a vehicle for cultural reclamation that in turn strengthens the whole ‘ohana - in strengthening our wahine, we strengthen our ‘ohana.

Research limitations:

There were a number of impacts to this research that I had no control over. The passing of my father in 2019, that both challenged my ability to continue the work, but also reminded me of the significance of my research. After my dad passed, my mother became my main focus. She

is an amazing woman, and I am so blessed to spend every moment with her. My sister and I became the primary caregivers for her. We are blessed to have her as our priority.

The lack of kapa practitioners, and the covid-19 pandemic that began here in 2020 presented further challenges. I was however reminded that distractions are directions that may indeed become priorities within the research, and/or in our lives in ways that enrich the research.

With the limitations covid-19, I was limited to the number of interviews of cultural experts. Furthermore, with the pandemic, we have not had any interactions with any kapa practitioners for over a year and a half. In addition, current events due to the pandemic have changed all of our lives and continue to impact our cultural identity, our 'āina, and its resources. As a cultural practitioner, this pandemic has not allowed and limited the Kānaka to do their cultural practices. Without the ceremonies and rituals of the cultural practitioner, the links to the akua is not connected.

My key recommendation on completing this thesis is that research on the process of Hawaiian Kapa be continued. In addition, the research must involve the 'ohana members to ma ka hana ka 'ike. The transmission of 'ike through ho'ōili 'ike or welo 'ohana must be shared to 'ohana members and focus on the multi-generation. Finally, my research was focused on a small community of kānaka, I would recommend future research be expanded to include other pockets of rural areas of Hawaiian populations. These recommendations of continual research, involvement of multi-generation 'ohana, and expanding to other rural areas will reclaim our cultural practices, and strengthen our lāhui of kanaka. E ola!

Figure 195 Lauka'ie'ie - kapa maker.



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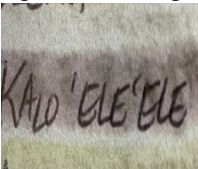


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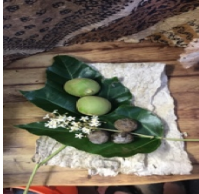









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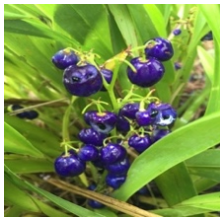

Table 1 Waiho‘olu‘u

Waiho‘olu‘u plants are listed by Hawaiian, common, and scientific names. It is important to remember that there are protocols that must be followed in collecting plants for dye making. Although there are resources in the wild, it is very important to have your own resources if you want to be a practitioner. Many of these plants are available in stores and botanical gardens and can be cultivated in your own yard. Some of these dyes are made using water, but sometimes additives such as lime or ash to produce the desired color.

| <i>Hawaiian, common, & Scientific name</i> | <i>Image of Plant/part used</i> | <i>Color</i> | <i>Preparation</i> |
|---|--|---|---|
| Hāhā <i>Clermontia arborescens</i> | Berries  | Purple  | Boil fresh berries in water. |
| Hau <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> | Dried Flowers  | Blue  | Boil dried flowers in water. Leave overnight for oxidation. |
| Kalo | Hā (stem)  | Purple, lavender, pink  | Chop up fresh hā, boil. |
| Kō Sugarcane <i>Saccharum officinarum</i> | Dried leaves  | Silvery gray  | Burn kō leaves, collect ash and crush to fine power, mix with coconut water |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| <p>Kūkaenēnē</p> <p>Black-fruit coporosma</p> <p><i>Coprosma ernodeoides</i></p> | <p>Fresh berries</p>  | <p>Dark Purple</p>  | <p>Boil berries in water.</p> |
| <p>Kukui</p> <p>Candlenut</p> <p><i>Aleurites moluccana</i></p> | <p>Bark and fresh root</p>  | <p>Dark brown reddish brown</p>  | <p>Boil bark in water. Peel fresh root skin and squeeze liquid.</p> |
| <p>Ma'o</p> <p>Hawaiian Cotton</p> <p><i>Gossypium tomentosum</i></p> | <p>Fresh or dried flower</p>  | <p>Yellow/Green</p>  | <p>Boil fresh or dried flowers in water. Fresh yellowish green. Dried kelly green. Dye needs to oxidize.</p> |
| <p>Ma'o hau hele</p> <p>Native yellow hibiscus</p> <p><i>Hibiscus brackenridgei</i></p> | <p>Fresh & dried flower</p>  | <p>Blue</p>  | <p>Boil flower in water.</p> |
| <p>Māmaki</p> <p><i>Pipturus albidus</i></p> | <p>Leaves</p>  | <p>Brown</p>  | <p>Boil leaves in water.</p> |
| <p>Milo</p> <p><i>Thespesia populnea</i></p> | <p>Seed pod skin</p>  | <p>Butter yellow</p>  | <p>Peel skin and boil.</p> |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| <p>Nau</p> <p>Hawaiian gardenia</p> | <p>Inner Pod</p>  | <p>Bright orange</p>  | <p>Peel off the pods, use the meat, and boil.</p> |
| <p>Noni</p> <p><i>Morinda citrifolia</i></p> | <p>Root skin</p>  | <p>Yellow and red</p>  | <p>Peel the bark of the fresh root, blend, and add hot water. Plain is yellow and add of lime will make red.</p> |
| <p>Pōpōlō</p> <p>Nightshade</p> <p><i>Solanum americanum</i></p> | <p>Berries</p>  | <p>Dark Purple</p>  | <p>Boil fresh berries in water.</p> |
| <p>‘Ākala</p> <p>Hawaiian raspberries</p> <p><i>Rubus hawaiiensis</i></p> | <p>Berries</p>  | <p>Pink</p>  | <p>Boil fresh or frozen berries in water.</p> |
| <p>‘Alaea</p> <p>Red dirt</p> <p>Ocherous earth</p> | <p>Soil</p>  | <p>Red</p>  | <p>Dry, remove rocks, grind, and sift to fine power.</p> |
| <p>‘Ōhi‘a ‘ai</p> <p>Mountain apple</p> <p><i>Syzygium malaccense</i></p> | <p>Fruit skin or bark</p>  | <p>Light pink</p>  | <p>Peel skin from fruit, boil in water. Boil bark.</p> |

| | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| <p>‘Ōlena</p> <p>Turmeric</p> <p><i>Curcuma longa</i></p> | <p>Root</p>  | <p>Yellow, light orange</p>  | <p>Wash well, chop into small piece, grind in blender, add water.</p> |
| <p>‘Uki‘uki</p> <p>Endemic lily</p> <p><i>Dianella sandwicensis</i></p> | <p>Fresh Berries</p>  | <p>Blue gray, bright blue</p>  | <p>Boil fresh ripe berries in water, add pinch of ash</p> |



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Ethics Research Committee OUTCOME

1 message

ssc@wananga.ac.nz <ssc@wananga.ac.nz>
Reply-To: ssc@wananga.ac.nz
To: lorilei@hawaii.edu

Thu, Nov 29, 2018 at 11:28 AM

Student ID: 2170187 Lori Leilshikawa

Tena koe Lori

Tena koe i roto i nga tini ahuatanga o te wa.

The Ethics Research Committee met on 29th November 2018 and have confirmed the following action:

Application EC18.01.019 APPROVED

If you have any queries with regard to this action please do not hesitate to contact us on our free phone number 0508926264 or via e-mail to ssc@wananga.ac.nz.

Naku noa na Marama Cook» Student Administration - Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi