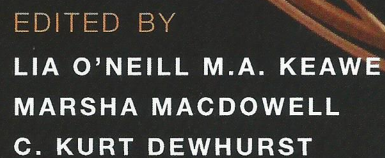
ʻIKE ULANA LAU HALA

THE VITALITY AND VIBRANCY OF LAU HALA WEAVING TRADITIONS IN HAWAIʻI



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HAWAIʻINUIĀKEA

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Printed in the United States of America

19 18 17 16 15 14 6 5 4 3 2 1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

'Ike ulana lau hala : the vitality and vibrancy of lau hala weaving traditions in Hawai'i / edited by Lia O'Neill M.A. Keawe, Marsha MacDowell, and C. Kurt Dewhurst.
pages cm — (Hawai'inuiakea ; no. 3)
English and Hawaiian.
Includes bibliographical references.
ISBN 978-0-8248-4093-8 (pbk. : alk. paper) 1. Lauhala weaving—Hawaii. 2. Hala tree—Utilization—Hawaii. I. Keawe, Lia O'Neill M. A., editor of compilation. II. MacDowell, Marsha, editor of compilation. III. Dewhurst, C. Kurt, editor of compilation. IV. Title: Vitality and vibrancy of lau hala weaving traditions in Hawai'i. V. Series: Hawai'inuiakea monograph ; 3.
TT877.5.I54 2014
746.4209969—dc23
2014002381

Cover image: *Nā'ū nā kala*
by Marques Hanalei Marzan

University of Hawai'i Press books are printed on acid-free paper and meet the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Council on Library Resources.

Printed by Sheridan Books, Inc.

Hawai'inuiākea No. 3

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Edited by
Lia O'Neill M. A. Keawe, Marsha MacDowell,
and C. Kurt Dewhurst

Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge

University of Hawai'i Press

Honolulu, Hawai'i

ʻIke Pāpale: Lau Hala in Hawaiian Cultural Heritage

Marsha MacDowell, C. Kurt Dewhurst, and Marques Hanalei Marzan

The mana [supernatural or divine power] that we put into our [lau hala] things, whether they are traditional or contemporary, is Hawaiian. . . . We weave, we put our aloha, we talk story to them, we laugh, we cry, we sing, we dance, because that's who we are.[1] E. Kawai Aona-Ueoka

Hula, poi, aloha shirts, the Hawaiian Shaka, quilts, muʻumuʻu, slack key guitar and ʻukulele music, surfboards, and lūʻau are well known around the world as contemporary symbols of Hawaiʻi's local culture. Lau hala is less known outside of Hawaiʻi, but among many Native Hawaiians, lau hala is an important symbol of Hawaiian identity.[2] Photographic records, oral histories and recordings, and the oral transmission of knowledge document that hala is a plant that is deeply entwined in the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of Hawaiʻi. The art of lau hala—the weaving—turning the lau (leaves) of the hala (pandanus palm) into mea ulana (woven objects) is fundamental to the craft and art of this treasured cultural heritage practice. For some practitioners, making and using lau hala makes them feel connected to this place, Hawaiʻi, and to others who weave lau hala.

Lau Hala in Hawaiian Cultural History

Weaving lau hala [pandanus leaves] is like weaving a relationship. . . . It is weaving together the older with the younger generation. . . . We are all connected through weaving.[3] Gladys Grace

Puna, kai nehe i ka ulu hala. (Puna, where the sea murmurs to the hala grove.)[4] author unknown

In Hawaiʻi the hala tree, *Pandanus tectorius*, also known as screwpine, formed extensive coastal forests, and travelers on land or water could orient themselves by the smell of the hala wafting from groves, some of which were famous. For instance, along the coast in Puna on Hawaiʻi Island, the region known as Puna paia ʻaʻala i ka hala (Puna hedged with fragrant pandanus) has long been celebrated in oli and mele. Land with hala became treasured prop-

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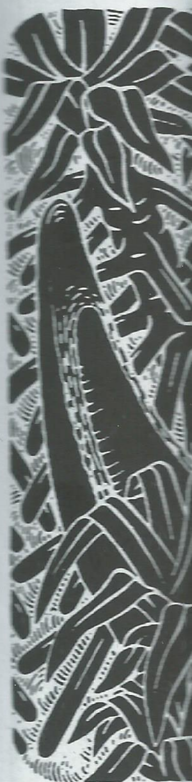


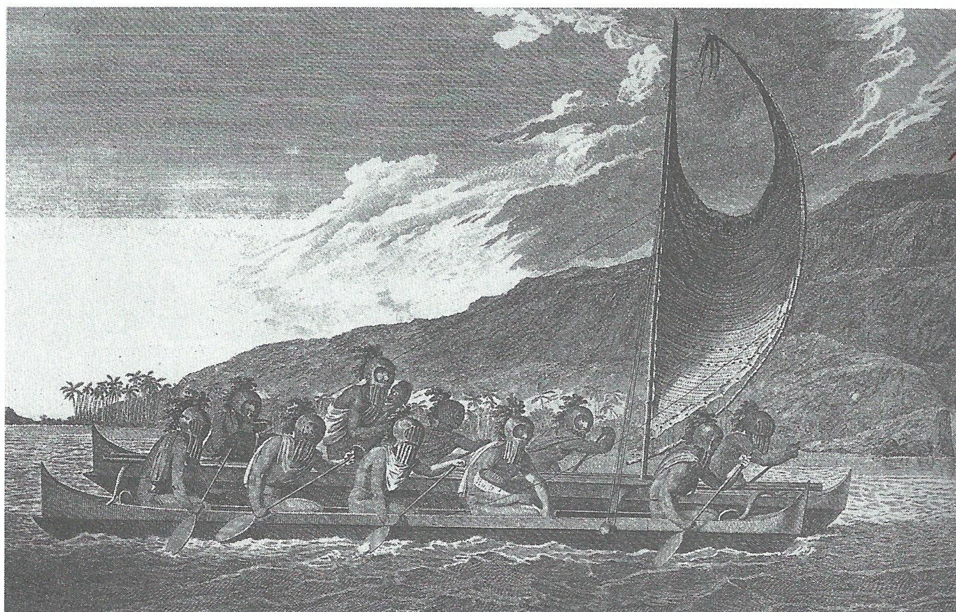
Dispersion of th
Varez.com.

erty of families.[5] References to the fragrant hala, ʻāhui hala (the fruit of the hala tree), and lau hala abound in historical and contemporary chants, songs, dances, and stories. In one oli, the canoe of Pele, the volcano goddess, became entangled in hala roots when she first arrived in Hawaiʻi. Pele was so angry that she tore the roots into many pieces and threw them as far as she could; wherever the pieces landed, new trees then grew.[6] Another oli tells of a hidden spring underneath a hala tree located where the Punahou School of Honolulu now stands.[7] Yet another describes a hala tree that grew to be a kupua (supernatural being); it had grown from a seed from a mythical hala tree from Puna called Manuʻu-ke-eu that Pele's brother carried to Hawaiʻi and planted.[8] Proverbs, riddles, and sayings allude to hala and lau hala.[9] The roots and seeds were used in traditional medicines, as food, for cordage, and to make lei that are traditionally given to individuals at points of transition in their lives.[10] Because the word "hala" also means gone, slipped away, and missed, and can refer to a mistake, a hala lei is sometimes given at New Year's to bid farewell to past grudges: Ua hala ka makahiki (the old year has slipped away).[11]

Dispersion of the Hala by Madame Pele by Dietrich Varez. Image courtesy of Dietrich Varez.com.

The leaves of the hala are long and tapered, varied in width and color, and pliable to different degrees and are the predominant plaiting material in Hawai'i and the greater Pacific. Indeed, the sails of the vessels that carried early inhabitants to and from the islands were fashioned of woven lau hala panels sewn together with olonā.[12] Ancient custom was to bury Hawaiian royalty in caves along with some of their most precious possessions, and lau hala mats have been found in some of those ancient burial caves.[13] Before the introduction to the islands of prefabricated items, lau hala and makaloa[14] were used to fabricate sleeping and floor-covering mats, pillows (uluna), walls and ceilings of homes, carrying and storage baskets, fans, clothing, and an array of objects that were used in everyday and ceremonial practices from paying taxes to ritual gift giving.

Mats were made for many specific uses with particular sizes, shapes, and weaving styles for these uses. Coarsely woven mats were used on dirt floors or to cover stored food items. Finer mats were made for items like hikie'e (beds), which used a long, continuous mat wound back and forth on a bed frame to serve as a mattress.[15] Two-foot-square lai, or salt mats, were used during the summer months to collect sea salt. According to twentieth-century lau hala researcher Edna Williamson Stall, "these mats were weighted and placed in depressions on certain beaches where the ocean would wash over them and deposit salt."[16] She reports that when the salt was dry it was put into hala baskets



Early depiction of lau hala sails by John Webber, ca. 1780, artist on Captain Cook's voyage to Hawai'i.

with a heavy lid and the baskets were then placed in dry caves. Stall also describes mats used by Hawaiian men in their wrestling matches; during the match men clasped hands and then tried to move each other off the mat.[17] Another form of weaving sometimes called Nu'a is now almost gone. Four examples can be found at the Hulihe'e Palace. In this method, twelve- to eighteen-inch-high walls of lau hala were built up from a base and then flaps covered a space in between, which was filled with lau hala scraps or ferns—thus creating a soft, fragrant cushion.[18] Letters of the alphabet were sometimes incorporated into a mat, especially when the mats were intended as gifts. One sleeping mat "was inscribed 'Ku'uipo' (My darling), 'Ku'u lei' (my crown), 'Ku'u milimili e' (my pet)."[19] In at least one known instance, in 1874 a makaloa woven mat was even used as a means of protest when the mat maker inscribed text, made of letters formed of strips overlaid onto the mat's warp and weft, to petition King Lunalilo to lift the tax imposed on owners of livestock, work animals, and pets.[20]

In addition to the knowledge about the historical use of mats that has been passed down through oral transmission, the use of woven items was observed by some of the earliest explorers, traders, and missionaries from the Western world. Indeed, as early as 1778 Captain Cook gave accounts of plaited goods of lau hala, makaloa, bulrush, and other materials.[21] As indicated by an 1877 newspaper account, while the practice was still widespread, already there was concern that coming generations would no longer be weaving in their homes: "In the past days, Hawaiian women plaited mats of bull rushes, lauhala, and makaloa which last made pawehe mats. Some women are still making them to cover their floors and beds, but the younger generation now growing up will not know these fine arts that will be useful in their homes."[22]

According to various accounts, the making and use of plaited items continued to flourish well into the nineteenth century but began to ebb toward the last quarter of the century due to a number of factors associated with the influences of a growing non-Hawaiian population.[23] Yet some twenty-first-century weavers have memories of lau hala mats being used in homes into the twentieth century and even to the present day. Marcia Omura, for instance, remembers, "when I was growing up, lau hala mats were still in use. . . . However, . . . families began using linoleum, and later . . . wall-to-wall carpet."[24] She goes on to reflect on some of the reasons why few individuals now use mats in their homes:

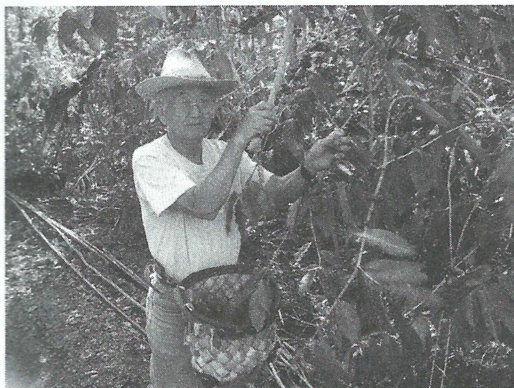
> I suspect lau hala mats began to fall out of grace (or began to get less popular) simply because of the novelty, easier maintenance and/or comfort of wall-to-wall carpet vs. lau hala mats. Perhaps it became less popular as weavers themselves were giving up the art, succumbing to the convenience of such newer technologically savvy materials. . . . People had to go to work because the cost of living was

going up, up, up which of course created a vicious cycle of buying more things instead of dropping back to a traditional lifestyle, which incorporated or relied on people making things they needed.[25]

Because weaving is often a therapeutic activity, it has been used in hospitals and other places of healing. For instance, tuberculosis patients at the Kula Sanatorium on Maui and at the Samuel Mahelona Memorial Hospital on Kaua'i were encouraged to learn lau hala weaving.[26] Even today, a number of weavers report that weaving contributes to their health and well-being.

While the plaiting of lau into mea ulana occurred throughout the islands, weaving lau hala into pāpale (hats) became a particularly prevalent activity in the South Kona area of Hawai'i Island. There were many pāpale makers among the Japanese, Chinese, and Native Hawaiians who worked the ranches and the coffee plantations on the island of Hawai'i. Sturdy baskets of woven lau hala reinforced with wire and rubber strips became an important tool for coffee pickers. A form of basket for shipping coffee was also developed in Kona and was in use through at least the middle of the twentieth century; one basket forms the bottom and a second basket fits snugly on top, forming a cube.[27] Children learned early how to weave and families supplemented their income by making and selling hats.[28]

Today, woven lau hala items are still used by Hawaiians in ways that are both culturally specific and claim a Hawaiian identity; lau hala continues to be a fundamental element of the Hawaiian personal and public cultural landscape. The use of woven lau hala is one of the elements that mark the "Hawaiianness" of the event or place or person. Hula dancers, paniolo (cowboy ranchers), church choir members, and individuals participating in or attending Hawaiian cultural events regularly wear pāpale or other decorative personal adornments, including purses, hat lei, and apo lima (bracelets). The cultural importance of lau hala continues to be recognized today through its use in creating the con-



Ed Kaneko with a lau hala basket for picking coffee beans. Image courtesy of Kris Kaneko.

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Pā'ū rider in paniolo parade. Photo by Sherry Blanchard, courtesy of Cherie Okada-Carlson.

tainers needed to bury the remains of Native Hawaiians whose original burial sites were excavated by archaeologists or were in areas disrupted by military, civic, commercial, or private construction.[29]

Mea ulana today is used by many individuals in many places and ways throughout Hawai'i—as yoga mats, to create pencil holders, desk in-boxes, wastebaskets, flower vases, carrying bags for computers, and covers for cell phones and water bottles. Woven lau hala is used to cover almost any surface including lobby walls in hotels, mirror and picture frames, slippers, car dashboards, visors, and sun reflectors. Facsimile lau hala is printed on wrapping paper, notepads, mouse pads, wallpaper, and fabric. Tattoos of lau hala weaving designs are also popular. Master artist and kumu Pōhako Kaho'ohanohano has tattooed lau hala designs on his hands, feet, arms, and legs, which, although he jokes that he always has his reference materials literally on hand, indicates his seriousness and dedication to his art.[30] As Pōhako explains, "All my tattoos have to do with hala and weaving. Tattoos are part of our [Native Hawaiian] culture. One of my tattoos honors my seven female kumu who have taught me. . . . [It has] seven woven koana (strands) of hala. Another tattoo is a design that comes from a kumu. It is known as 'eke kaimana (bag of diamonds). It is a piko (center) pattern viewed from both sides, negative and positive."[31] Some of the patterns came to Pōhaku in dreams. Long after he had one of

Examples of commercial items. Image courtesy of Marsha MacDowell.

these patterns tattooed on him and was using it in his work, he learned that it was one of his grandmother's favorites.[32]

Lau hala is also used by some individuals to create sculptural forms that are simply personal artistic expressions. Imaikalani Kalahele and Duncan Seto are wonderful examples of Hawaiian artists who incorporate lau hala into their work, taking the material to another level of conceptual complexity. Kalahele entwines lau hala into anthropomorphic figures, imbuing his work with the essence of the material, while Seto plaits three-dimensional objects, speaking to the issues Hawaiians face today.[33] Hāliʻimaile "Maile" Andrade is another artist who uses both traditional and new techniques to create work that pushes the boundaries of lau hala art. She was raised in a family that valued handwork and their Native Hawaiian cultural heritage, and she was a haumana of Elizabeth Maluihi Lee in the Folk Arts Apprentice Program of the Hawaiʻi State Foundation on Culture and the Arts. She also received arts training in universities and now is developing a Native Hawaiian Creative Expression Program at Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa. About her art she states, "My work reflects and is rooted in a native Hawaiian worldview. I would like to explore and question through contemporary art forms and visual statements the use and

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perpetuation of stereotypes from many lenses."[34] She explains further about the duality of her art, which is infused with both her own cultural heritage perspective and knowledge she has gained outside of that heritage:

> I think there's deeper understanding that comes from mastering a customary practice. When I'm weaving or I'm making kapa, I'm understanding that material. I'm understanding the process—how, why did they choose a certain process to go through to make this piece? What are the levels of thinking and seeing the world from their perspective? It puts me in a space that better connects me to who my ancestors were. Not so much the physical part, but more about how those processes happen in your head and in your na'au, in your being. That understanding then allows you to take those same processes and conceptual ideas and move them to a contemporary material. You're doing the same thing, and that's what makes it Hawaiian.[35]

Hala and lau hala continue to be celebrated in contemporary chants, songs, dance, and other expressive arts such as fashion design. For instance, Johnny Lum-Ho's song "Puna paia 'a'ala i ka hala" praises the many ways to use dried lau hala.[36] In his song "Wahine with the Lauhala Hat," John Leal paid tribute to a woman who makes and wears a plaited hat:

She's the talk of the town.
She's always around
The wahine in the lauhala hat . . .

You can see her every day,
Busy working away
Weaving lauhala mats and little lauhala hats[37]

A mele about lau hala hats, "Ku'u Pāpale Lauhala," has also been recorded by several Hawaiian artists and interpreted by many kumu hula.[38] As recently as 2012, the Hālau Nā Pua U'i O Hawai'i danced *Ku'u Pāpale Lauhala* and won second place in the 2012 Kupuna Hula Competition.[39] To celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the annual Ka Ulu Lauhala O Kona gathering, founder and kumu Elizabeth Maluihi Lee composed and sang a mele about the importance of sharing knowledge about lau hala weaving.[40] Hilo-based artist and Hawaiian cultural specialist Sig Zane is known for his textiles and clothing with simple graphics that depict native Hawaiian flora and fauna as well as designs based on traditional Hawaiian material culture, including lau hala and pūhala. Zane encourages individuals to tend to the meaning of the plant when they wear

one of his shirts. For instance, because "hala" can mean "mistake," he warns against wearing a shirt with hala when attending a wedding.[41]

Lau Hala and Cultural Knowledge

We cannot weave without lau niu [coconut palm leaves] or lau hala [pandanus leaves] or makaloa [sedge], or the aerial roots of the ie'ie [freycinetia]. We cannot practice our art without those plants. We are related to these plants. Our legends tell us that when certain of our plants disappear, we too, will disappear.[42] Sabra Kauka, 2005

Gathering leaves was done by both men and women but plaiting was women's work and their skillful fingers made not only the mats and sails but also pillows, baskets, fans, and later hats. Pandanus leaves, lau hala could be had at any time of the year and the best to use were those that had just become dry on the tree. The best time to prepare the materials was in the cool of the day, morning or evening, for the heat of [the] sun tended to harden the leaves making them less pliant to work with.[43] Mary Kawena Pukui, c. 1945

All lau hala weaving depends on the natural resource. Different trees have different traits, making them better suited to specific plaiting projects. Two general varieties exist, one having defensive thorns along the edges and spine of each leaf, while the other, which was introduced to Hawai'i from Tahiti, lacks thorns completely. Both varieties are used in plaiting, but some weavers have an affinity for one type over the other.[44]

Few individuals realize and internalize the knowledge and skills that are needed to know where suitable hala grows, how to harvest lau in ways that protect the hala, and how to process (i.e., clean, trim, sometimes cure, and then cut into strips) the lau into workable weaving materials. These steps are time consuming and require skills that can only be learned from practice. This knowledge is the basis of a weaver's development and growth. With a strong knowledge foundation, individuals can explore innovative solutions to obstacles as well as create new forms that are unique in today's weaving communities.

Pāpale

I live and breathe my art. . . . Cleaning of the leaves is done in the early mornings and harvesting in the evening. It is through this ritual, that a connection is made between the weaver and leaves, thus every hat, every item crafted, bears its own character, it[s] own uniqueness that can never be duplicated.[45] Lola Ku'ulei Spencer, 2012

When I was 10 years old, my grandmother taught me to make baskets for coffee picking. When I was a child, if you wanted to play, you had to weave first, because that's

how our life was. We took our woven hats to the store to exchange for food, not money. A hat probably went for less than 30 cents. Every day after school I had to weave one ipu, and on Saturdays, had to weave six ipu before I could play.[46] Peter Park, 2005

I was about six years old when I started helping my mom pick and clean lau hala. It was one of [our] responsibilities to help our mom. There was no kaukau [food] if you don't do this don't do that. It was discipline. . . . We didn't get paid for our work, it was all for trade. Besides there was not much to buy in those days, kerosene, salt, and once a year, clothing. We would help my mother get enough materials to exchange for these things. . . . We exchanged our hats at the store [Kimura Store] and the store sold them to the plantation.[47] Elizabeth Maluihi Lee, 2005

Before the coming of the first foreigners to the islands in 1778, Hawaiians wore hats, usually of conical shape, only when working in the sun for long periods of time. With the introduction of Western clothing styles, Hawaiians became acquainted with hats and incorporated them into everyday and special occasion attire.[48] According to Stall, Hawaiian men were the first to adopt the Western style of hat wearing, and lau hala was plaited into the stovepipe style of hat worn by missionaries.[49] She also reports that when Hawaiian women began to adopt the custom of wearing hats, there was much creative activity among the weavers, and newly invented patterns were greatly respected.[50]

Through the making of hats, pāpale weavers were able to preserve some of the knowledge of the intricate plaiting that was being forgotten while incorporating new materials and technology. At the same time, new weaving designs, patterns, and hat styles have been continually developed to reflect artists' ideas and the fashions of the time. Today, weavers work to fill the demand for new forms, but they also look back to the older styles and try to reintroduce them into today's society. Marcia Omura remembers well her kumu's words about older ideas that were constantly being carried forward in ulana that seemingly appeared new: "Whenever I thought I was making something new, a new style, I'd show Aunty Gladys. She'd look at whatever it was I had made and simply say, 'My grandmother made that.' Four simple words just chock-filled with wisdom. On first glance, it might seem like a bona fide observational remark she was making. But over time (talking years!), I slowly began to understand Aunty Gladys' true meaning was to keep me humble, to remind me that others had come before me."[51]

Historically, two distinct styles of plaited hat making were done in Hawai'i, one of which has become the dominant practice of today's weavers, sometimes referred to as the Kona style. In the Kona style of hat making, an ipu, a wooden form or solid block, is used to form the crown of a hat. The ipu traditionally was made out of koa, mango, hau, olive, cherry, and banyan.[52] More recently,

pāpale makers have been using Styrofoam wig forms or an ipu formed of laminated wood crafted and sold by skilled local craftspeople. South Kona native Herb Kaneko, now living in Pearl City, for instance, often attends gatherings of weavers so that he can supply them with his handmade ipu.[53] The top of the ipu is oval in shape and the overall circumference corresponds to the size of the finished hat; different shapes and sizes of blocks are used to create hats of various sizes and styles. Once the weaving is completed, the pāpale is put back on the ipu and lightly moistened. Simple or elaborate creases in the hat's shape are then made by hand or by pressing the dampened lau with a warm iron—a process called blocking.[54] A hat originally blocked one way can be reblocked to create an entirely new shape or style. The other primary technique used to make pāpale is known as pāpale ʻie, or the braided hat technique. It consists of sewing a long plaited strip, ʻie, into a hat shape. Few today practice this technique, but interest in the weaving community in how to make hats of this type is beginning to grow. Once a basic hat is finished, many kumu will admonish the maker or hat wearer that it should have a band or lei, which can be of twisted or braided lau, feathers, fresh or dried flowers, or anything that complements the hat or is suitable for the occasion on which it will be worn.

Hat styles have ranged from elaborately detailed to practical utilitarian.[55] Talented artists have created styles for which they have become known. For instance, Esther Westmoreland's open-weave pāpale with a square crown and a floppy brim was popular in the 1950s.[56] Margaret Lovett's cup-and-saucer hats are characterized by wide brims and intricate ʻānoni (two-tone) patterns; she also is credited with reviving the baseball cap style, and the form has become one of her signature styles. Even mistakes can creatively launch a style; in 2006 when Cherie Okada-Carlson inadvertently cut her hat, she made it into a unique airline stewardess hat. As she recalls, "We were doing baseball caps [under the instruction of Margaret Lovett] and I trimmed the koana (strips) too soon and the edge of the bill unraveled and I couldn't get it back together so Margaret reshaped it and salvaged it."[57] Ed Kaneko specializes in paniolo-style hats with high crowns. Special events or historical figures can serve as inspiration for hats. Michael Nāhoʻopiʻi made a stovepipe hat similar to those Abraham Lincoln wore and, in 2010, several weavers began making fascinators, the type of millinery worn by some attendees at the wedding of Great Britain's Prince William and Kate Middleton. Many individuals make, buy, and wear lau hala pāpale because, as one commentator wrote in 2012, "Whether or not your head is cold, the fact is you look hotter in the right hat. . . . It's an investment, but each is handmade, usually by a lau hala master, and shows the world that you appreciate your culture as much as you enjoy looking good."[58]

Hat making involves skills that can only be learned by practice and with mentorship. While haumāna may learn from different kumu, generally they

respect and attempt to perpetuate the teachings and stylistic traditions of one kumu. Weaving is considered an act of participating in the infinite wisdom that belongs to the kūpuna, the collection of kumu that have touched the lives of haumāna. Hāli'imaile Andrade describes how weaving is informed not just by the steps necessary to weave, but, more importantly, by the very worldview of the weaver: "Our mana goes into it and our process of how we see the world goes into it, gives it a different kind of relationship to it. To us, it's not just an object. We need our own native perspective in how we view the world, how we tell others about who we are, because these are not just objects. . . . It is our kupuna."[59] Marcia Omura says that when she finished her first hat under the tutelage of Gladys Grace, she wanted to pay her kumu for the lessons. Aunty said, "I cannot take your money. We family."[60] Her words conveyed volumes about her worldview and, specifically, the relationship that was forming between her and Marcia, her haumana.

After learning how to gather, clean, and prepare hala, a haumana learns to make a piko, which in ulana means the center of the woven object but in Hawaiian also means the beginning or the place from which life begins.[61] Once the piko is learned, then the haumana can make a variety of items, mats, purses, and pāpale. The construction steps vary in approach depending on the technique, but this is where the aesthetic style manifests in the form of color, texture, shape, and patterning. A basic hat with no designs is typically done using a pattern known as maka 'o'eno (twill). After becoming proficient in this pattern, a weaver may learn other patterns to create uniquely patterned hats. Many traditional patterns preserved in pāpale have recorded names, usually referencing things in nature. Examples of named designs include honu (sea turtle), nēnē (geese in flight), and mauna (mountain). Other designs refer to manmade objects like lei hala (pandanus lei), papa konane (Hawaiian checkers), and hale (house). The use of multiple colors of lau hala, known as 'ānoni, in a hat is also a means to create unique designs.[62]

The tools for lau hala weaving have evolved over time as new technologies and materials have become available. Over the years many different tools and slight variations of techniques have been used. As Marcia Omura observed, "Kūpuna did not discourage their haumāna or new weavers from innovating or repurposing items as tools as long as the resulting weave was nice."[63] Many weavers today treasure the old tools passed on to them by their kumu, relatives, or found in yard sales—as they reflect the inventive and practical spirit of those who went before them. Common basic weaving tools in the first part of the twenty-first century include the ipu (a damp washcloth for cleaning the lau), a knife or scissors for cutting sections, a hi'a (a little stick tool to push or pull the lau), water spray bottles to dampen lau while weaving, rubber bands and string to hold the pā (finished top of the hat) onto the ipu, a gauge for splitting,

Samples of hats from Aunty Harriet Soong's collection. Image courtesy of Marsha MacDowell.

a needle and thread for sewing, strippers, and rollers. Weavers today also often use hair clips and clothespins to keep their weaving strips tangle free and often bundle their tools and unfinished hats in soft cloth wrappers.

In preparation for weaving, lau must be cut into strips of uniform width, which varies depending on what product the weaver is making. For instance, a pāpale requires thin lau strips while a basket or mat uses wider strips. Weavers use a koe (stripper) to cut the lau into the desired width. Koe were originally fashioned from pieces of old metal cans or razor blades mounted at equal distance on pieces of wood, but most weavers today use specially made hand and box strippers. Each stripper usually has up to ten sharp blades, usually X-Acto brand, mounted facing up at a sixty-degree angle. The setting of the blades is adjustable; they can be removed or respaced for cutting wider splints. The rectangular box stripper is designed for heavier-duty use and for safety as some even have Plexiglas tops over the blades for the safety of the weaver. Koa and other Hawaiian woods are often used for special strippers and are works of art themselves. Weavers continue to be inventive in creating new tools to assist in different steps of the weaving process. Peter Park, for instance, was renowned for his reengineering of machines for weavers' purposes, including rolling lau into kūka'a (rolls of dried lau hala) and stripping lau. Once he even

adapted his motorized wheelchair so that when turned upside down, its motor ran a lau roller and stripper.

Passing on the Knowledge of Lau Hala

My kumu, Aunty Gladys Grace, says that for a weaver to be good, you have to give back. She wants us to take in the knowledge that she's passing on to us, but she also wants to pass it on to the next generation in a traditional way of learning.[64] Michael Nāho'op'i'i, 2005

In generations past, traditional knowledge and skills related to lau hala weaving would have been learned within the family or local community context. With the introduction of foreign influences came new contexts for learning as well as new activities that competed with cultural practices such as lau hala. As early as 1877, laments about the challenges to maintaining traditional weaving practices in Hawai'i were being voiced: "Let the young women combine the knowledge from their mothers with the new knowledge that comes from the haole [foreigners] and new teachers. Keep the hands occupied with work, the head with knowledge, and the inner person with thought. Learn that which you have and reach out for the new. Let the grandmothers teach their grandchildren to plait mats, twist cords, and sew."[65]

While learning lau hala in family and community contexts has been sustained, today there are fewer individuals who have the technical mastery and deep cultural knowledge of the art and, for a variety of reasons, kumu and haumāna often have little time to devote to teaching and learning. When the relationships between kumu and haumāna extend over time, haumāna realize and treasure that the knowledge shared is deep and rich.[66] The craft of turning a bundle of lau into a beautiful hat is only a small part of what is being learned; language, beliefs, protocols, aesthetics, songs, and stories are conveyed along with all the needed steps of creating ulana. Another weaver describes the knowledge he has gained from his seven kumu: "When I learned, I was one-on-one with my teachers. I went to their homes, became part of their family. You eat with them, weave with them. You grow up with them, their children, their great-grandchildren. [Today] I can look at a hat and know who made it by the color of the *lauhala* used, the style of the weave, the pattern. . . . To know the history and knowledge behind a piece is greater than just copying a design."[67] As two students realized, in becoming someone's student they are become the kumu's cultural progeny.[68] Haumāna respect and honor their kumu in many ways, including carrying on the teachings they have been given. Michael Nāho'op'i'i paid tribute to his kumu in an unusual way; he plaited the names of each into the hatband for his pāpale.[69]

Certainly there are a number of formal and informal learning contexts in Hawai'i in which learning lau hala weaving is important. In formal educational programs, lau hala weaving is part of many curricula from early childhood through university programs.[70] Dancers and chanters associated with hālau hula (hula school) learn the art as an integral part of their training as Hawaiian culture practitioners. More informal learning environments include community centers, museums (such as The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum), stores specializing in Hawaiian products (such as Nā Mea Hawai'i/Native Books in Honolulu), and many large hotels and resorts, which host demonstrations and classes in traditional Hawaiian arts, including lau hala weaving. The Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts has also helped to perpetuate the transmission of lau hala knowledge through its traditional arts apprenticeship program.[71] The program has funded a number of kumu to work with apprentices one-on-one to advance the knowledge and skills of the haumana. Among the weavers who participated in the program as kumu or haumana were Lola Spencer, Elizabeth Maluihi Lee, Esther Makuaole, Minnie Kaawaloa, Jane Nunies, Lily Sugahara, Betsy Astronomo, Peter Park, Esther Westmoreland, Harriet Soong, and Gladys Grace.[72] Some haumāna went on to become kumu.

Because the number of Native Hawaiian skilled practitioners has remained relatively small and the number of kumu even smaller, several grassroots weaving organizations have formed to stimulate increased interest in learning lau hala weaving and to perpetuate the rich cultural knowledge associated with lau hala. 'Aha Pūhala, Inc., organized the first lau hala conference in 1987 in Hilo.[73] In 1997, Gladys Grace and Frank Masagatani founded Ulana Me Ka Lokomaika'i (to weave from the goodness within) on O'ahu.[74] During the late 1990s and early 2000s, an informal group met at the site of the old airport in Kona, and another group, led by Ed Kaneko, is associated with the Donkey Mill Art Center, Hōlualoa, Hawai'i. Ho'oulu Ke Ola O Nā Pua, 'Aha Pūhala O Puna, Ka Ulu Lauhala O Kona, and 'Ohi Lauhala are other groups active in

Aunty Gladys Grace and her haumana. Image courtesy of Marcia Omura.

the twenty-first century. Retreats held by these organizations or by individual kumu, for beginning and advanced haumāna, have also been critical to building a community of practitioners who can continue the art. As the announcement of one workshop states, "As always, everyone is welcome to come and enjoy being surrounded by all the accumulated knowledge of our group."[75]

One of the largest groups is Ka Ulu Lauhala O Kona, established in 1996 by Elizabeth Maluihi Lee. When the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in 1993 named Elizabeth a Living Treasure of Hawai'i for her contributions to preserving lau hala weaving, she said at the time that the art was disappearing and dying because so many weavers had died without passing on their knowledge. When her niece encouraged her to teach people of all walks of life, ages, and ethnicities, Lee knew it was her responsibility "to share God's gift."[76] Today, Elizabeth is credited with helping scores of individuals learn weaving. Small numbers of members of her group hold meetings throughout the year, but an annual workshop held outdoors in Kona sometimes attracts nearly two hundred haumāna from the Hawaiian Islands, as well as from Japan and the U.S. mainland, occasionally including American Indian weavers. After an opening ceremony that typically includes a prayer, a chant, and often a hula, kumu work closely with haumāna on specific lau hala projects. The nurturing environment includes constant talk story by both kumu and haumāna. Additionally, each time a student finishes a project a rousing round of applause follows. On the fourth and final day of the workshop, the learning experience is topped off by a lū'au with more music and hula, a silent auction to benefit the group, and a fashion show in which each kumu and his or her students, adorned with their completed mea ulana, parade before and are applauded by all.[77]

Not only do these groups serve to foster knowledge of weaving for their members, they also help communicate knowledge of weaving to others and help provide woven items important to the perpetuation of other cultural traditions. For instance, members of 'Aha Pūhala O Puna have spent weekends gathering and preparing the estimated 1,500 three-quarter-inch strips of lau hala needed to teach students at the Moku O Keawe festival how to make pale ipu, the square pads on which hula chanters pound their gourds.[78]

On Notions of Excellence in Weaving

Always remember your hat or whatever you weave is a reflection of yourself.[79]
Michael Nāho'op'i'i, 2005

Standards of excellence are firmly established and well known within Hawaiian lau hala weaving communities, and those with exceptional skills at weaving or teaching about it are given honor and respect as kumu, as elders, as masters.

Beginning weavers know that they must pass the scrutiny of both teachers and peers and must meet the community standards of excellence.[80] Adherence to the cultural values, norms, and beliefs—and equally important, the character of the weaver—is fundamental to community-based notions of what makes a good lau hala woven hat or object.

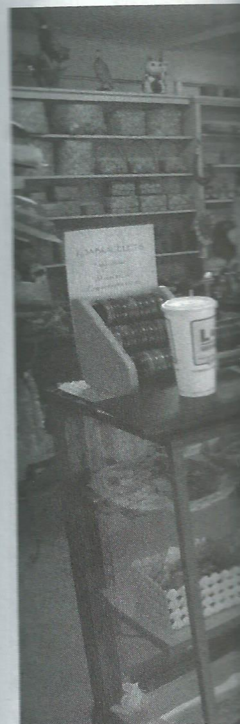
For many weavers, making a pāpale is more than simply creating a handmade object; it is a form of expressing oneself culturally in a deeply felt act that has spiritual dimensions. A student of Gladys Grace reflected on this: "One of the things that Aunty Gladys always says is when you are weaving, what you feel in your heart is what happens with your hands and you can see it in the hat. So if you're feeling tired or upset, put down the lau hala and walk away. You can see the changes in your hat. If you're feeling angry and start pulling real tight, you can see it. If you want a good quality hat, you have to have a good heart and put that into your hat."[81] Excellence requires not only mastery of technique and a deep respect for cultural practices, but also having a sense of personal well-being and a rightness of the heart.

Contemporary Challenges to Lau Hala

Finding lau hala on O'ahu is extremely difficult. . . . In the past, it was abundant on the windward coast. You have to climb mountains to get it now. Cities and counties in the state are planting lau hala, but it's next to the freeways so it gets soot from cars.[82] Gwen Mokihana Kamisugi, 2005

Despite its interconnections to and its widespread use in Hawaiian history and culture, there are contemporary challenges to the continuing presence of lau hala weaving in Hawai'i. Sadly, nearly all of the work available for sale in Hawaiian marketplaces is imported from other countries, and there are few places where locally made mea ulana is sold. Even more sobering is that there are few cultural tradition bearers who not only have the expert skills to weave lau hala but, more importantly, have the knowledge about locating, harvesting, and caring for hala trees, preparing lau for weaving, the language to describe techniques and designs, and the stories, songs, dances, and chants that connect the art to the culture. As expressed by educational leader Maenette Benham, "With each passing generation of kūpuna, the 'ike of Kanaka Maoli 'national treasures' are diminishing."[83]

At one time, many lau hala weavers regularly and easily supplemented their income by making lau hala for sale even though the market price barely reflected the amount of labor it took to gather, prepare, and then weave the lau into hats and other objects. Alice Kawamoto and her daughters are one of the few families that still produce work in volume. Today the few sales outlets for



Kimura Lauhala Shop

the work of weavers include some museum gift shops, craft fairs, and Native Hawaiian events like the annual Merrie Monarch Festival in Hilo. A few commercial outlets bear special mention. Nā Mea Hawai'i/Native Books, a store in Honolulu that specializes in local Hawaiian arts and books on Hawaiian culture, is the site of regular lau hala classes and demonstrations. Nake'u Awai in Honolulu has been a patron of the work of lau hala weavers and has hosted fashion shows that include lau hala.[84] Kimura Lauhala Shop, established in 1914 in Hōlualoa, has long served as the key sales outlet for hats produced by weavers on Hawai'i Island.[85] Recently Pōhako Kaho'ohanohano has opened a store on Maui devoted to lau hala where he sells his and other artists' work. Some weavers have turned to Web sites, YouTube, blogs, and other social media tools to help promote their work and to find buyers. Cherie Okada-Carlson, for instance, provides current news about weavers, weaving organizations, and weaving events on her Web site.[86]

Another challenge to lau hala in the twenty-first century is access to the very materials upon which the weaving depends. Lau hala weavers are careful and concerned stewards of plant resources. They have a deep and abiding respect for the land and extensive knowledge of how to harvest and care for plants in order to sustain healthy growth and ensure the availability of these

Kimura Lauhala Shop, Hōlualoa, Kona, Hawai'i Island. Image courtesy of Marsha MacDowell.

precious resources far into the future. Yet all weavers talk of the difficulties in gaining access to good sources of lau hala, and, on Maui, an invasive insect is beginning to devastate groves of hala.[87] Stands of hala have always been treasured and cared for by Native Hawaiians. When Pōhaku was researching his family's landholdings on Maui, he discovered in early documents that a hala grove was one of the noted assets.[88] Today, many of these groves have been destroyed by human encroachment; buildings stand where hala once thrived, and existing stands are on property that is now private and rendered largely inaccessible to those weavers who want to care for hala and harvest the lau. Ironically, some hala palms grow in urban settings or alongside some roadsides, but the pollution from cars blackens and pockmarks the leaves.

Although kumu have always been respected in their communities, there has been relatively little public recognition of the tremendous contributions they have made to mastering and perpetuating the art of lau hala. However, slowly but surely, kumu are being recognized through the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. In 2011, the National Endowment for the Arts awarded Gladys Grace a National Heritage Fellowship Award, one of the nation's most prestigious awards for artists.

Documenting, Preserving, and Bringing New Attention to Lau Hala

In the early 2000s, a national project coordinated by the Michigan State University Museum, the National Museum of the American Indian, and the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage in collaboration with Native Hawaiian, American Indian, and Alaskan Native artists and organizations aimed to address issues of concern to indigenous weavers in the United States. Called Carriers of Culture: Living Native Basket Traditions, the initiative resulted in several gatherings of indigenous weavers to discuss needs and to plan for a special program at the 2006 Smithsonian Folklife Festival held on the National Mall in Washington, DC.

In 2005, as preparation for the event in Washington, DC, Sabra Kauka organized E Ho'omau Nā Mea Ulana Hina'i, a gathering on Kaua'i of invited weavers from all the islands.[89] At the Kaua'i gathering, weavers talked about their personal and collective experiences and then began to identify their common concerns. Carriers of Culture at the Smithsonian festival in 2006 brought together over one hundred master artists, including twelve from Hawai'i. The Hawaiian contingent demonstrated making lau hala woven pāpale, led hands-on children's activities, and participated in public discussion panels and talk story sessions. One-on-one artist-to-visitor encounters shared the making and use of woven hats. Thousands of festival visitors learned about the artistry,

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Weavers at the Carriers o
courtesy of Marsha Mac

ceremonial and everyday use, and issues connected to lau hala weaving and pāpale within Native Hawaiian culture.

For the Smithsonian festival, the weavers from Hawai'i planned to put up a temporary display of fifty hats since the Hawaiian delegation represented the fiftieth state in the union.[90] They brought to the National Mall hats they either made themselves or had borrowed from friends and family. Almost immediately upon seeing their display they realized it was the first time that any of them had witnessed such a large exhibit of contemporary hats. Certainly they had seen small displays of historical hats in museums and had seen contemporary hats worn in churches and at events in Hawai'i, but to see so many together in one place was impressive and something to behold. The Hawaiian weavers, the other indigenous weavers participating in the festival, and the visitors to the festival responded with delight to the stunning variety of shapes, forms, and artistry of the pāpale displayed in Washington.

As a direct result of Carriers of Culture, the program curators and the Hawaiian weavers became even more acutely aware of the need to gather more documentation and to do more to bring greater attention to the importance of lau hala in contemporary Hawaiian culture.[91] Two more organizational

Weavers at the Carriers of Culture exhibit at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, 2006. Image courtesy of Marsha MacDowell.

partners—The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, followed by the Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa—joined Michigan State University Museum and the artists in an initiative called the 'Ike Pāpale project to further document, analyze, describe, and present the many rich ways that lau hala is part of Hawaiian cultural knowledge and identity. Since 2010, members of the 'Ike Pāpale project team have been gathering the stories of many makers and users of hats, documenting the use of pāpale in Hawaiian life, locating and documenting examples of pāpale and historical photographs and accounts of its use, and identifying the use of lau hala in music, song, dance, and popular culture.[92]

All the partners are committed to community-engaged research on cultural traditions and then to convey the knowledge collected in ways that will advance further scholarship, enhance the education of the public, and, importantly, help the traditional artists and knowledge bearers sustain their important work. This body of collected resources will form the largest existing collection of materials on lau hala and will reside in two repositories in Hawai'i (Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum) and a small collection of pāpale and duplicate records on the mainland at Michigan State University Museum. To the extent it is culturally appropriate, the intention is to make these data about hats, hat makers, and hat traditions easily accessible to artists, scholars, educators, and both Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians.

The Carriers of Culture program at the Smithsonian also served as a stimulus for action on the concerns articulated by weavers in Kaua'i and further discussed in Washington. Immediately following the DC event, several of the Hawaiian weavers arranged for an exhibition at the airport in Kaua'i of a smaller selection of the hats shown at the Smithsonian festival. Subsequently, The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum mounted the exhibition *Ka Lei Pāpale: Hats of Hawai'i*, which drew extensively from its historical collection, much of which belonged to the museum's namesake, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, and was supplemented with a number of contemporary examples. This exhibition was important in that it not only showed that hat making was a continuing, living art, but it also demonstrated that contemporary artists were both drawing on traditions and creating work that also incorporated new designs and cross-cultural influences.[93] Shortly after Gladys Grace received the National Heritage Fellowship honor, the Honolulu Museum of Art organized the exhibition *Ulana Me Ka Lokomaika'i: To Weave from the Goodness Within*, which showcased Gladys's hats as well as examples from many of her haumāna.[94] The exhibition beautifully demonstrated the weaving connections between kumu and haumāna. These were the first museum exhibitions to emphasize contemporary lau hala art.

Students and their pā
Uemoto, courtesy of H

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Students and their pāpale at the *Ulana Me Ka Lokomaika'i* exhibit, 2011. Photo by Shuzo Uemoto, courtesy of Honolulu Museum of Art.

Last Words

There is no word in Hawaiian language for art. I see art as being a visual conversation or language to express. Some people talk in words. Some people are writers or historians—they write things down. Artists do it in a visual way and it speaks about who we are and what we're doing. . . . Being a Native Hawaiian, I choose things that speak in depth to my people and what they need to know.[95] Hāli'imaile Andrade, 2005

Lau hala weaving is a culturally important art that has, to date, been little understood by those unfamiliar with Hawaiian history and culture. To the extent that art is "a visual conversation or language," knowledge about lau hala weaving in Hawai'i is a means to understanding that Hawaiian cultural heritage. It is hoped that this book and the activities of the 'Ike Pāpale documentation project will help firmly situate knowledge about lau hala weaving and its associated cultural traditions in the written literature on Hawaiian culture and that these written words, along with the stories, mele, oli, and the ulana itself, will help advance an understanding of Hawaiian history and what it means to be Hawaiian.

NOTES

The authors wish to thank the following individuals who were especially helpful: Caroline Affonso, Ku'ulani Auld, Maenette Benham, Molly Brown, Marit Dewhurst, Gladys Grace, Barbara Harger, Pōhaku Kaho'ohanohano, Betty Kam, Gwen Mokihana Kamisugi, Ed Kaneko, Shirley Kauhaihao, Sabra Kauka, Elizabeth Maluihi Lee, Jennifer Leung, Margaret Lovett, Lynne Martin, Michael Nāho'op'i'i, Cherie Okada-Carlson, Marcia Omura, Peter Park, Deacon Ritterbush, Wesley Sen, Harriet Soong, Lola Ku'ulei Spencer, Annette Ku'uipolani Wong, Laurie Woodard, and Pearl Yee-Wong.

1. E. Kawai Aona-Ueoka, "Artist Profile," in Anne E. O'Malley, ed., *E Ho'omau Na Mea Ulana Hīna'i (A Gathering of Native Hawaiian Basketweavers)* (Lihu'e, HI: Ho'oulu Ke Ola O Na Pua, Garden Island RC&D, 2005), 10.

2. "Lau hala" is sometimes spelled as one word, "lauhala," in this chapter when it appeared that way in the citation source. Similarly, words are spelled with diacritics unless they appear otherwise in the citation source.

3. Gladys Grace quoted in C. Kurt Dewhurst, Marsha MacDowell, and Marjorie Hunt, "Carriers of Culture: Native Basketry in America," *2006 Smithsonian Folklife Festival* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, 2006), 49.

4. Entry number 2746, Mary Kawena Pukui, *'Ōlelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1997).

5. Timothy Gallaher, "The Past and Future of Hala (*Pandanus tectorius*) in Hawai'i," this volume.

6. Adren J. Bird, Steven Goldsberry, and J. Puninani Kanekoa Bird, *The Craft of Hawaiian Lauhala Weaving* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1982), 14.

7. Caren Loebel-Fried, *Hawaiian Legends of Dreams* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005).

8. Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Pele and Hi'iaka* ('Ai Pōhaku Press, 1997), cited in Loebel-Fried, *Hawaiian Legends of Dreams.*

9. See several examples cited in Edna Williamson Stall, *The Story of Lauhala* (Hilo, HI: Petroglyph Press, 1953), 21.

10. Heidi Leianuenue Bornhorst, *Growing Native Hawaiian Plants: A How-To Guide for the Gardener* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 2005), 76. For more information on hala lei, see interview with Roy Benham in this volume as well as Marie A. McDonald and Paul R. Weissich, *Nā Lei Makamae: The Treasured Lei* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003).

11. Gallaher, "Past and Future of Hala," this volume.

12. David Young, *Nā Mea Makamae: Hawaiian Treasures* (Kauila-Kona, HI: Palapala Press, 1999), 37. Olanā or sennit is a type of cordage made by plaiting grasses.

13. Stall, *Story of Lauhala,* 25.

14. Makaloa (*Cyperus laevigatus* L.), also known as sedge, is a wetland plant indigenous to Hawai'i. For an excellent resource on the importance of this fiber in Hawaiian history and culture, especially on the island of Ni'ihau, see Roger G. Rose, *Patterns of Protest: A Hawaiian Mat-Weaver's Response to 19th Century Taxation and Change,* Bishop Museum Occasional Papers. Honolulu: Bishop Museum, Vol. 30 (June 1990). For a good report on a project of traditional weavers and government efforts to address diminished supplies of the plant, see Peter Van Dyke, "Growing *Makaloa* (*Cyperus laeviga-*

tus L.)," in *Constructed Wetlands for Weaving and Treating Wastewater. Final Report for U.S. Geological Survey Grant No. 99CRGR0003.* Bishop Museum (June 2001), http://www .bishopmuseum.org/research/pdfs/makaloa.pdf.

15. Stall, *Story of Lauhala,* 31.

16. Ibid., 33.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., 35.

20. Rose, *Patterns of Protest,* 88–117.

21. Ibid., 2.

22. *Ka Lahui Hawaii,* cited in Rose, *Patterns of Protest,* 112. "Pawehe" is the word used to describe the designs woven into mats, particularly on Ni'ihau, and inscribed onto gourds. See "Na Ipu o Hawai'i—the Gourds of Hawai'i," accessed May 12, 2013, http:// www.kaahelehawaii.com/pages/culture_ipu.htm.

23. See especially Rose, *Patterns of Protest,* 111–113.

24. Marcia Omura, personal communication, August 12, 2013.

25. Ibid.

26. Pōhaku Kaho'ohanohano, personal communication with Kurt Dewhurst and Marsha MacDowell, Maui Lauhala Discovery Day, Kaunoa Senior Center, Maui, Hawai'i, February 6, 2012; and Margaret Lovett, personal communication with Kurt Dewhurst, Kona, Hawai'i, May 18, 2013.

27. Stall, *Story of Lauhala,* 37.

28. According to many weavers interviewed by Marsha MacDowell and C. Kurt Dewhurst, including Edward Kaneko, Harriet Soong, Peter Park, and Elizabeth Lee, from 2004 to 2013.

29. Sabra Kauka, personal communication with Marsha MacDowell and C. Kurt Dewhurst, 2005.

30. Pōhaku Kaho'ohanohano, interviewed by Marsha MacDowell and C. Kurt Dewhurst, Oahu, Hawai'i, February 4, 2012.

31. Pōhaku Kaho'ohanohano, telephone interview by C. Kurt Dewhurst, July 29, 2013.

32. Ibid. Marcia Omura recalled the same story about Pōhaku in a communication to the authors on August 12, 2013.

33. Document files for Hawaiian Hall exhibition, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 2008–2009.

34. Maile Andrade, Eric and Barbara Dobkin Fellowship, 2012, School for Advanced Research, http://sarweb.org/index.php?artist_maile_andrade. For more examples of her work, see Maile Andrade, Native Hawaiian Visual Artist, accessed July 23, 2013, http://www.maileandrade.com.

35. Maile Andrade, interviewed by Mea Nīnauele and Melehina Groves Ka'iwakīloumoku, Makali'i, February 2006, http://apps.ksbe.edu/kaiwakiloumoku/ makalii/talking-story/maile_andrade.

36. Kaiolohia K. Funes Smith recorded Johnny Lum-Ho's "Mohala Ka Hinano" and "Puna paia 'a'ala i ka hala" on *Aloha Ku'u Home 'O Hana,* Ululoa Productions, accessed February 6, 2013, http://www.uluola.com/site/kai.html.

37. See John Leal, "Wahine with the Lauhala Hat," accessed February 2, 2013, http://www.huapala.org/Wa/Wahine_In_Lauhala_Hat.html. This song was recorded

by Alvin Kaleolani Isaacs with the Original Royal Hawaiian Serenaders (Waikiki Records, 1998), and by Barney Isaacs on his album *E'Mau* (Aloha Records, 1995). Allmusic, accessed February 14, 2014, http://www.allmusic.com/album.emau-mw0000123322.

38. The song "Ku'u Papale Lauhala" was recorded by Leilani Bond on the album *Na Hoku O Ka Lani* (Leilani Records, 2000), and by Na Ohana Hoaloha on *Pretty Old for Our First Time,* produced by Coffees of Hawai'i, Kualapu'u, Moloka'i, 2009.

39. Kūpuna Competition, Halau Na Pua U'I O Hawaii, published on September 16, 2012, by coffeeboy5063, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bmuoWB+H20E.

40. Elizabeth Malu'ihi Lee, "A Song of Sharing the Lauhala," recorded and posted May 22, 2010, on YouTube by tutustromberg, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7YIk_VNTZWQ.

41. Michael Stein, "Sig Zane—Wearing His Culture with Pride," *Maui Magazine,* spring 2003, http://www.mauimagazine.net/Maui-Magazine/Spring-2003/Sig-Zane-Wearing-his-Culture-with-Pride/. For more information on Sig Zane, go to http://www.sigzane.com.

42. Sabra Kauka, quoted in C. Kurt Dewhurst, Marsha MacDowell, and Marjorie Hunt, "Carriers of Culture: Native Basketry in America," *2006 Smithsonian Folklife Festival* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, 2006), 55.

43. Mary Kawena Pukui, quoted in exhibition text panel, Hawai'i Hall, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 2011.

44. Exhibition files for *Ka Lei Pāpale: The Wreath of Hats,* exhibition at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 2011.

45. Lola Ku'ulei Spencer, personal correspondence, 'Ike Pāpale Project files, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 2012.

46. Peter Park, quoted in Dewhurst, MacDowell, and Hunt, "Carriers of Culture," 58.

47. Elizabeth Maluihi Lee, "Artist Profile," in O'Malley, *E Ho'omau Na Mea Ulana Hīna'i,* 17.

48. Stall, *Story of Lauhala,* 37.

49. Ibid., 37.

50. Ibid.

51. Marcia Omura, written communication to the authors, August 12, 2013.

52. Ed Kaneko, telephone interview with C. Kurt Dewhurst, July 29, 2013.

53. Marsha MacDowell and C. Kurt Dewhurst, field notes, from attendance at multiple gatherings of Ka Ulu Lauhala O Kona, 2003–2013.

54. Document files for *Ka Lei Pāpale: The Wreath of Hats* exhibition at the Bishop Museum, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 2011.

55. Ibid.

56. Josephine Ku'uipo Kalahiki-Morales, personal communication with Marsha MacDowell, May 2005.

57. Cherie Okada-Carlson, personal e-mail communication to C. Kurt Dewhurst, March 24, 2013.

58. James Cave, "Hats of Weaves," *Honolulu Weekly,* November 28, 2012, http://honoluluweekly.com/story-continued/2012/11/hats-of-weaves/2.

59. Marit Dewhurst, Lia O'Neill M. A. Keawe, Cherie Okada-Carlson, Marsha MacDowell, and Annette Ku'uipolani Wong, "Ka ulana 'ana i ka piko (In Weaving You

Begin at the Center: Perspectives from a Culturally Specific Approach to Art Education)," *Harvard Educational Review* (spring 2013).

60. Marcia Omura, written communication to the authors, August 12, 2013.

61. Dewhurst et al., "Ka ulana 'ana i ka piko."

62. Document files for *Ka Lei Pāpale.*

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64. Michael Nāho'op'i'i quoted in Dewhurst, MacDowell, and Hunt, "Carriers of Culture," 56.

65. *Ka Lahui Hawaii,* cited in Rose, *Patterns of Protest,* 112.

66. For her reflection of her experience of learning from kumu Gladys Grace, see Marcia Omura, "My Roots," *Bamboo Ridge: Journal of Hawai'i Literature and Arts* no. 81 (spring 2002).

67. Pōhaku Kaho'ohanohano, quoted in Teya Penniman, "The Weave of History," *Maui Magazine/No Ka 'Oi,* March–April 2013, http://www.mauimagazine.net/Maui-Magazine/March-April-2013/The-Weave-of-History/.

68. Cherie Okada-Carlson and Marit Dewhurst, "Becoming Haumana," *CARTS (Cultural Resources for Teachers and Students)* 12 (2011–2012): 9.

69. Michael Nāho'op'i'i showed us this hat he made in February 2013.

70. The Native Hawaiian Education Program for K–12 learners, the Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, and University of Hawai'i at Hilo are but a few examples.

71. Lynn Martin, *Celebrating the 1977 Folk Arts Apprenticeship Gathering* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of the Arts, 1977). Selections of the records of this program are housed at the State Archives, Honolulu.

72. *Traditions We Share: Celebrating the 1997 Folk Arts Apprenticeship Gathering* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1997).

73. Stall, *Story of Lauhala,* 7.

74. *Honolulu Academy of Arts Bulletin* (July–August 2011): 7.

75. Flyer for Ulana Me Ka Lokomaikai Weaving Retreat, Queen Kapiolani Hotel, Honolulu, Hawai'i, October 7–10, 2011, https://sites.google.com/site/hawaiianlauhala.

76. Carolyn Lucas-Zenk, "Lauhala Conference Helps Perpetuate Hawaiian Art," *West Hawaii Today,* May 18, 2012, http://westhawaiitoday.com/sections/news/local-news/lauhala-conference-helps-perpetuate-hawaiian-art.html.

77. Marsha MacDowell and C. Kurt Dewhurst, field notes on Ka Ulu Lauhala O Kona, 2003–2013.

78. Catharine Lo, "The Life of the Lau," *HanaHou!* 13, no. 3 (2010): 1.

79. Michael Nāho'op'i'i, quoted in Dewhurst, MacDowell, and Hunt, "Carriers of Culture," 61.

80. Omura, "My Roots."

81. Michael Nāho'op'i'i, "Artist Profile," in O'Malley, *E Ho'omau Na Mea Ulana Hīna'i,* 22.

82. Gwen Mokihana Kamisugi, quoted in Dewhurst, MacDowell, and Hunt, "Carriers of Culture," 55.

83. Maenette Benham, "'Ike Pāpale: The Vitality and Vibrancy of Lauhala Hat Weaving Traditions in Hawai'i," proposal for presentation at the 2012 National Outreach Scholarship Conference, April 2012.

84. Marcia Omura, written communication to the authors, August 12, 2013.

85. Renee Kimura, interviewed by Marques Marzan, Marsha MacDowell, and Kurt Dewhurst at Kimura Store, Hōlualoa, Hawai'i, February 8, 2012. See also "Alfreida Kimura Fujita: Keeping It Personal," *Oral History Recorder* 23, no. 2 (2006): 2–7; and Betty Fullard-Leo, "Hawaiian Weaving: A Meaningful Legacy," *Coffee Times* (winter 1999), http://www.coffeetimes.com/weaving.htm.

86. Lauhalahats.com, Virtual Home of Cherie's Place and Lauhala Hats, accessed January 28, 2013, http://www.lauhalahats.com.

87. Pōhaku Kaho'ohanohano, personal communication to Kurt Dewhurst and Marsha MacDowell, February 6, 2012. Timothy Gallaher, in his chapter "The Past and Future of Hala (*Pandanus tectorius*) in Hawai'i," in this volume writes more extensively on this topic.

88. Pōhaku Kaho'ohanohano, personal communication to Marques Marzan, Kurt Dewhurst, and Marsha MacDowell, February 6, 2012.

89. O'Malley, *E Ho'omau Na Mea Ulana Hīna'i.*

90. Marcia Omura, written communication to the authors, August 12, 2013; Ed Kaneko, telephone communication with Kurt Dewhurst, August 15, 2013.

91. Hawaiian state folklorist Lynn Martin in the Nā Paniolo o Hawai'i project, one of the first major efforts to document traditional living artists and to bring attention to their work through a publication and exhibition. Through the paniolo project and Hawaiian Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program, interviews were recorded with several lau hala weavers.

92. Activities have been supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Arts and the Institute of Museum and Library Services, with the in-kind help of many organizations and individuals, the Bishop Museum, Michigan State University Museum, and the Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

93. Marcia Omura, written communication with authors, August 12, 2013.

94. The exhibition was on display August 25, 2011–January 29, 2012. In conjunction with the exhibition, the museum worked with local weavers to offer many demonstrations and in-gallery, hands-on participatory activities for visitors. See "Ulana me ka lokomaika'i: To Weave from the Goodness Within," Honolulu Museum of Art, accessed July 31, 2013, http://www.honolulumuseum.org/art/exhibitions/11644-ulana_me_ka_lokomaikai_weave_goodness_within.

95. Hāli'imaile Andrade, "Artist Profile," in O'Malley, *E Ho'omau Na Mea Ulana Hīna'i,* 10.

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