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Mo‘okū‘auhau (Genealogies) of Care: Curating Ali‘i Collections at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

Halena Kapuni-Reynolds
PhD candidate
American Studies, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
Honolulu, United States

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Abstract

This paper explores the practice of mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) in the care of Ali‘i (chiefly) museum collections at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Honolulu, HI). Caring for ali‘i objects is a cultural imperative, rooted in a mo‘okū‘auhau of curating ali‘i possessions that were and continue to be regarded as vessels of ali‘i mana (spiritual energy). Mo‘okū‘auhau, as a relational practice of tracing one’s familial, academic, and practice-based ancestries, is central to Indigenous curation at the Bishop Museum, for it allows staff members who care for the Ethnology Collection to reveal mo‘olelo (stories) of how they draw from their familial traditions and the teachings of their mentors within and outside of the museum in order to cultivate an environment where culturally-appropriate methods of care can be utilized. The mo‘okū‘auhau of care that are revealed through these mo‘olelo are crucial, for they reveal the importance of cultural training and mentorship as a core element of Indigenous curatorial practice. Acknowledging these experiences as a form of professional experience is exigent for supporting Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and other Indigenous museum professionals who bridge institutional practice with Indigenous sensibilities.

Keywords: Indigenous people; Genealogy; Hawaii; Ali‘i; Museum exhibits; Bishop Museum

Introduction

Mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) is an Indigenous Kanaka ‘Ōiwi (Native Hawaiian) curatorial framework and practice that informs how ali‘i (Hawaiian monarchical) collections are cared for at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Bishop Museum) by Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and non-Kanaka ‘Ōiwi collections managers.[1] As a form of tracing one’s lineage(s) of kinship and care, as well as a way to honor the lineage(s) of the ali‘i, mo‘okū‘auhau encapsulates how ali‘i museum collections can be engaged with and cared for from an Indigenous perspective. The practice of curating ali‘i collections in itself comprises of a mo‘okū‘auhau of care, which emphasizes the importance of safeguarding the mana (spiritual energy) of the ali‘i that were embedded within

[1] The term “Kanaka ‘Ōiwi” is used throughout this paper to refer to the Aboriginal inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands. When the first “a” of Kanaka includes a *kahakō* (macron, i.e. Kānaka), I am using the term in its plural form. Thus Kanaka ‘Ōiwi = Native Hawaiian; and Kānaka ‘Ōiwi = Native Hawaiians.

aliʻi objects. Through a brief overview of aliʻi collections, I consider how the practice of moʻokūʻauhau, as described by collections managers at the Bishop Museum today, is rooted in this longer moʻokūʻauhau of care.[2]

As part of this practice, a moʻokūʻauhau of the Bishop Museum is provided that traces the successive leadership of the institution in addition to some of the recent exhibits and events that have cultivated the integration of indigenous care methods at the museum. Drawing from interviews with collections staff members that I conducted in 2014, I then describe how moʻokūʻauhau informs the physical and spiritual engagements of collections management staff with aliʻi collections at the Bishop Museum. By describing the role of moʻokūʻauhau in the care of collections, I highlight how Indigenous methods of caring for tangible and intangible heritage are currently operationalized at the Bishop Museum. The essay ends with a discussion on how Indigenous curatorial practices such as moʻokūʻauhau ought to be recognized as a form of professional practice that is vital for advancing diversity within the museum profession.

Who are the Aliʻi? What are Aliʻi Collections?

[The aliʻi] were descended from the gods and made manifest in human form. We honor and embrace our chiefs—leaders who were more than mere individuals, for they embodied the cumulative mana of their ancestors in genealogies that reach back to the very beginning of time. Their interrelationships formed the living tapestry of a Nation.

- Introductory text in "Wao Lani" gallery, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum

Aliʻi collections are inherently intertwined with the moʻokūʻauhau (genealogies) of Hawaiʻi's aliʻi, which are the collective inheritance of Kanaka ʻŌiwi. Therefore, a baseline description of who the aliʻi were, what falls under the category of "Aliʻi collections," and the role of moʻokūʻauhau in aliʻi culture, is useful for describing a moʻokūʻauhau of care pertaining to the curation aliʻi collections. The aliʻi were Hawaiʻi's ruling class, comprising of men and women whose moʻokūʻauhau (lineages) stretched back thousands of generations to cosmogonic origins. These extensive moʻokūʻauhau were sources of ancestral mana (spiritual power/energy) that connected the aliʻi to the gods and to all living things, legitimating their right to govern.[3] Genealogical specialists known as kūʻauhau were responsible for ensuring the accuracy and transmission of moʻokūʻauhau aliʻi (chiefly genealogies) from generation to generation.[4] Safeguarding moʻokūʻauhau aliʻi was (and is) integral to the maintenance of aliʻi identity because it was through an aliʻi's genealogy that their rank and status was determined.[5]

For aliʻi of the highest ranks, the practice of incestuous mating between aliʻi siblings and close relatives ensured the sanctity of their moʻokūʻauhau by concentrating mana into particular lineages. Aliʻi who possessed potent mana were bestowed with kapu (taboo) that restricted their movements and interactions with others, especially with those of lower rank

[2] The position of "collection manager" within the museum field typically refers to museum staff members whose primary responsibilities are to care for a museum's collections. In this essay, I use "collection manager" as an umbrella term to refer to a range of individuals at the museum who have different job titles (i.e. assistant collection manager, cultural advisor, assistant conservator, etc.), but are integral to the care of the Museum's aliʻi collections.

[3] Lilikalā Kameʻelehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: How Shall We Live in Harmony? = Ko Hawaiʻi aina a me na koi puumake a ka poe haole: Pehea la e pono ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

[4] David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii),* trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd.,1898), 253.

[5] Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Poʻe Kahiko : The People of Old,* trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, ed. Dorothy B. Barrére (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1964).

and status.[6] Examples of these kapu include the kapu moe, which required all others in the presence of an aliʻi with the kapu moe to prostrate and remove their ornaments and clothing;[7] and the kapu wohi, which exempted the aliʻi who possessed this kapu from having to prostrate in front of aliʻi with the kapu moe.[8] In addition to the sanctity of aliʻi bodies that kapu protected, the clothing and personal belongings of the aliʻi were also imbued with kapu, making them precious objects that were valued and exceptionally cared for. These objects were cared for by kahu aliʻi who were lower-ranking relatives of the aliʻi whose responsibilities included the preparation, storage, and transportation of an aliʻi's possessions.[9] Here, we see historically how moʻokūʻauhau determined who would serve as the caretaker of aliʻi collections. The task of caring for aliʻi objects was a precarious one; punishment for those who were careless in their duties and who contravened kapu were put to death.[10]

As the ruling class of Hawaiʻi, the aliʻi were accountable for maintaining pono, which "described society in a state of perfect equilibrium."[11] Pono was achieved through observing kapu and other religious protocols, honoring the ʻaumākua (ancestors) and the gods through prayer and ceremony, maintaining the abundance of marine and agricultural resources, and caring for the welfare of the makaʻainana. Aliʻi who were pono were loved by their people, so much so that their names were remembered throughout the generations. Examples of this are the aliʻi nui (paramount chiefs) whose names became epithets for the islands, such as Moku o Keawe (Island of Keawe), another name for Hawaiʻi Island.[12] Other aliʻi who were honored this way include Kamalālāwalu (Māui Island), Kāneʻālai (Molokaʻi Island), Kākuhihewa (Oʻahu Island), Manokalanipo (Kauaʻi Island), and Pūwalu (Niʻihau Island).[13] Although there are numerous aliʻi throughout Hawaiian history who were pono, there were countless others who were not pono. These aliʻi ruled despotically and lacked the prowess and ambition to head an island polity. And although they too were memorialized through moʻolelo (stories), they were not venerated like their pono counterparts. The moʻolelo of aliʻi who were pono ʻole (not pono) served as examples of the fate of aliʻi who failed to serve the gods, the land, and their people: death by the hands of other aliʻi who usurped them or by the makaʻainana that they were meant to serve.[14]

The brief description of aliʻi that I provide above is one that reflects a portrayal of the aliʻi prior to and a few decades following the arrival of James Cook in Hawaiʻi in 1779. These decades witnessed major transformations in the political, economic, and cultural makeup of the islands, including Hawaiʻi's entry into the world via the sandalwood trade and the whaling industry; catastrophic levels of depopulation due to disease and emigration that reduced the Kanaka ʻŌiwi populations by 80% and more;[15] and the numerous wars that were fought during

[6] Patrick V. Kirch, *How Chiefs Became Kings: Divine Kingship and the Rise of Archaic States in Ancient Hawaiʻi,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 38. For a more detailed description of the various ranks and kapu of aliʻi culture, see Samuel Kamakau, *Ka Poʻe Kahiko,* 4-6.
[7] David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities,* 85.
[8] Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Poʻe Kahiko,* 10.
[9] Marie Alohalani Brown, *Facing the Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa ʻĪʻī* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2016), 42-43.
[10] Ibid., 43. An example of this is described by John Papa ʻĪʻī, noted Kanaka ʻŌiwi historian and statesman who was also kahu to Kamehameha II (Liholiho) and Kamāmalu. Maoloha, ʻĪʻī's older brother, was put to death in 1807 for trading a lei (garland) made of pukiawe (*Styphelia tameiameiae*) that belonged to Kamehameha to a peddler.
[11] Lilikalā Kameʻelehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires,* 138.
[12] Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Poʻe Kahiko,* 6.
[13] Ibid., 6.
[14] David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities,* 258.
[15] David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: the Population of Hawaiʻi on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 1989).

Kamehameha I's conquest of the island chain.[16] In spite of these transformations, the aliʻi (and Kanaka ʻŌiwi in general) were not idyl victims of colonial transgression. They were deliberate actors whose "resistance to and incorporation of foreign ideas, political theories, and technologies" were crucial to the formation and maintenance of the Hawaiian Kingdom during its infancy and throughout the nineteenth century.[17] Within this context, the significant shifts in Hawaiian politics and religion that occurred can be read as moments of change in which the aliʻi vigorously sought the means of restoring pono to Kanaka ʻŌiwi society in an ever-changing world. A classic example of this is the iconoclastic event that was the overturning of the socioreligious system known as ʻaikapu in 1820 by Kaʻahumanu, an aliʻiwahine (chiefess) who came to power after the death of her kāne (male partner), Kamehameha I, in 1819. The kapu of the aliʻi were inherently tied to the ʻaikapu, and when the old system was abandoned, the aliʻi had to renegotiate the role of kapu and mana in their everyday lives. Soon afterwards, missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) arrived in Hawaiʻi, becoming friends with Kaʻahumanu and other ruling aliʻi.[18] In time, Kaʻahumanu saw the value of the religion that the missionaries brought, ultimately adopting Christianity as her own religion as well as the principal religion of the islands.[19] Kaʻahumanu's decision to adopt Christianity represents the deliberate efforts by the aliʻi to "adapt alien cultural, social, and political forms to benefit their rule and enhance their mana and power."[20] Decades after Kaʻahumanu's death in 1832, the monarchs who followed in her wake faced similar decisions and choices during their own reigns.[21]

My emphasis on the changing nature of Kanaka ʻŌiwi culture with particular emphasis on the realm of the aliʻi is to provide a contextual base for my definition of aliʻi collections. In its simplest form, aliʻi collections are assemblages of objects that are associated with individual aliʻi or with the aliʻi class. Some of the most recognized forms of aliʻi culture are the ʻahuʻula (feathered cloaks/capes), kāhili (feathered standards), and lei niho palaoa (ivory-tooth adornments), all of which are made with precious organic materials such as bird feathers, ʻolonā (a type of Hawaiian fiber), human hair, and human bone. Beyond these more spectacular forms of aliʻi material culture, aliʻi collections include everyday objects like fishhooks, fishnets, poi pounders, nightgowns, bibles, tobacco pipes, and other miscellaneous items that were used by the aliʻi. Whether they were manufactured by aliʻi, gifted to aliʻi, received by aliʻi, used by aliʻi, or are typical examples of aliʻi material culture, aliʻi collections encompass all of these "waiwai aliʻi " (chiefly treasures) that are cared for today in museums.[22]

Moving beyond the physical materials that were left behind by the aliʻi, aliʻi collections include the intangible forms of aliʻi heritage that are passed down from one generation to the next. Intangible heritage is defined as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural

[16] Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha School Press, 1961).
[17] Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014), 4.
[18] Jennifer Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawai'i' Pacific World* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).
[19] Kameʻelehiwa, 152-157.
[20] Stacy L. Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2009), 11.
[21] Ibid, 11.
[22] Maile Andrade and Noelle M.K.Y. Kahanu, "A Journey of Encounters and Engagement," in *Royal Hawaiian Featherwork: Nā Hulu Ali'i, eds Leah Caldeira, Christina Hellmich, Adrienne L. Kappler, Betty Lou Kam, and Roger Rose* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2015), 16.

heritage."[23] Furthermore, intangible heritage is "transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity."[24] Within this definition, practices of caring for aliʻi objects, such as the practices associated with kapu and the safeguarding of an aliʻi's mana via the care of their personal possessions, can be seen as forms of intangible heritage. Hundreds of oli (chants) and hula (dances) commemorating individual aliʻi, numerous moʻolelo (stories) about aliʻi triumphs and hardships, and most importantly, the extensive genealogies of the aliʻi, are also part of aliʻi collections. Caring for intangible and tangible aliʻi heritage is crucial to the construction and maintenance of Kanaka ʻŌiwi identity. Thus, the curation of aliʻi collections through Kanaka ʻŌiwi methods of care can be regarded as an imperative for the continual transmission of cultural knowledge regarding the aliʻi from one generation to the next. By recognizing the historical value and contemporary relevance of aliʻi collections to Kanaka ʻŌiwi today, museums can increasingly recognize their role as stewards of aliʻi intangible heritage, as well as the need to consult and/or employ Kanaka ʻŌiwi to care for these collections.

Although my emphasis on the aliʻi could be read as a top-down approach to the study of Kanaka ʻŌiwi culture and history, such a view needs to be problematized to recognize the ways in which aliʻi heritage is a part of the collective heritage of Kanaka ʻŌiwi, whether they are of aliʻi or of makaʻainana (commoner) descent. Whereas aliʻi collections may be read as merely the physical possessions of Hawaiʻi's elite whose status and privilege afforded them the ability to amass collections of precious materials through the exploitation of makaʻainana labor, these collections can be read as the tangible legacy of aliʻi lineages that Kanaka ʻŌiwi continue to care for today. Rather than view aliʻi and makaʻainana lineages along rigid lines of distinction, Kanaka ʻŌiwi have articulated the complex genealogical connections that the aliʻi shared with the makaʻainana and with each other.[25]

Discourse regarding the shared genealogies of the aliʻi and makaʻainana is not new but reflects an ongoing debate between Kanaka ʻŌiwi regarding claims to aliʻi lineages. For example, in an editorial that appeared in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina* in 1901, Hawaiʻi is described as a land of chiefs (ʻāina aliʻi), where the aliʻi and makaʻainana trace their lineages back to different aliʻi genealogies.

> He Aina Alii o Hawaii Kua Uli mai ka puka ana o ka la ma Haehae a ka welona a ka la i Lehua. Hanauia ka aina, hanau na alii, hanau na kanaka mai ka po mai, wahi a ka moolelo.
>
> O ka poe Alii Nui Aimoku, he moo akua ko lakou Kupuna, no lakou wale no ke Kapu, Moe, Wela, Hoano, he Wililua, he Wohi, Naha, he Niaupio, he Weliweli, aole hiki ke hookokoke aku no ka nui o ke Kapu Alii i ka wa kahiko; no lakou ke kanaka nui, ke kanaka iki, me na makaainana. O na makaainana a pau, he poe alii lakou, kakaikahi loa na kanaka a me na wahine i loaa ole kona Mookuauhau Alii mai ka wa kahiko a hiki i keia wa.[26]
>
> Hawaii Kuauli is a land of chiefs, from the rising of the sun at Haʻehaʻe, to the setting of the sun in Lehua. Born was the land, born were the chiefs, born were the people from darkness, according to tradition.

[23] United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, *Convention for the Safeguarding of The Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Paris: United Nations, 2003), 2.
[24] Ibid., 2
[25] Kanalu G. Terry Young, *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998).
[26] Anonymous, "He Aina Alii o Hawaii," *Ke Aloha Aina,* August 31, 1901, 4. Another version of this statement appeared a day earlier in a genealogy published in the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. The genealogy was titled "Ka Mookuauhau O Na Pua-Alii E Noho Nei I Ke Alo O Ka Moiwahine Liliuokalani." For a history of *Ke Aloha Aina* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,* see Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1996).

> Regarding the paramount chiefs, there ancestors were descended from successive lines of gods, only they possessed the Kapu, Moe, Wela, Hoano, Wililua, Wohi, Naha, Niaupio, Weliweli, [we] do not even come near to the numerous chiefly kapu of the past; for they had the great men, the small men, and the commoners. As for all of the commoners, they are chiefly people, there are hardly any men or women that do not have his or her Chiefly Genealogy from time immemorial to the present.[27]

By emphasizing the shared genealogy that Kanaka ʻŌiwi today have to the aliʻi, I highlight how moʻokūʻauhau plays a central role in the ways that Kanaka ʻŌiwi continue to honor and commemorate the aliʻi, whether it's through dance, song, or curating aliʻi collections. The operationalization of moʻokūʻauhau as a way of thinking and as an approach to care for tangible and intangible heritage for generations expands on what Noenoe Silva has referred to as "moʻokūʻauhau consciousness."[28] In relation to her own analysis of the forward thinking and descendant-driven writings of Hawaiian intellectuals Joseph Mokuʻōhai Poepoe and Joseph Hoʻonaʻauao Kānepuʻu, Silva utilizes moʻokūʻauhau consciousness to refer to the ways in which both authors wrote with their descendants in mind: "They drew on their ancestral knowledge and accepted and carried out the kuleana to record it so that Kānaka in their own time(s) as well as in the distant future would benefit from it."[29] Similarly, as caretakers of aliʻi collections, collections managers at the Bishop Museum employ a moʻokūʻauhau consciousness when they actively consider the role of moʻokūʻauhau in their interactions with aliʻi objects, and their role in preserving aliʻi collections in perpetuity.

A Genealogy for the Bishop Museum

In her groundbreaking life history of the Kanaka ʻŌiwi historian, politician, and kahu aliʻi (a caretaker of royal children) John Papa ʻĪʻī, titled *Facing the Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa ʻĪʻī,* Marie Alohalani Brown states that "the kuamoʻo (backbone) of Hawaiian culture is moʻokūʻauhau," and that moʻokūʻauhau is a "theoretical and philosophical construct" which "is chronologically plural, extending in vertical, horizontal, and diagonal directions through time."[30] This understanding of moʻokūʻauhau positions it as a central framework for discussing the entanglements of people, objects, places, nature, and deities that make up Hawaiian history. In order to further distinguish different forms of moʻokūʻauhau, Brown describes three moʻokūʻauhau modalities: *intellectual genealogy,* which traces "how specific knowledge has been generated, learned, or passed on"; *conceptual genealogy,* which "refers to genealogies of power, and the capacity to effect change"; and *aesthetic genealogy,* which "inform[s] and guide[s] our artistic intellectual expression."[31] (Brown 2016, 27). A fourth form of moʻokūʻauhau that could be added to this list would be *institutional genealogy,* which emphasizes the importance of tracing back the lineage of a place like the Bishop Museum back to its origins. This lineage can include a list of individuals who succeeded one another in becoming the Director (now CEO) of the museum, a history of representation and display that traces the development of exhibitions at the museum, or a genealogical record that traces the ways in which museum staff members pass down their knowledge of caring for the museum's collections to the next generation of collections managers and curators. Such

[27] This translation is adapted from a translation that is provided in Edith Kawelohea McKinzie, *Hawaiian Genealogies: Extracted from Hawaiian Language Newspapers, Volume 2.* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1983), 88.
[28] Silva, Noenoe K., *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen: Reconstructing Native Hawaiian Intellectual History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017), 6.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Marie Alohalani Brown, *Facing the Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa ʻĪʻī* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2016), 27.
[31] Ibid., 27.

genealogical tracings are important, for they contextualize the issues that the Bishop Museum faces, provide guidance on what the institution can do in the future, and reflect a Kanaka ʻŌiwi understanding of the museum's history and its contemporary relevance today. As one Kanaka ʻŌiwi has eloquently stated:

> It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas. Such an orientation is to the Hawaiian an eminently practical one, for the future is always unknown, whereas the past is rich in glory and knowledge.[32]

For now, I will focus on an institutional genealogy of the institution that describes the museums directors. Additionally, I will describe key exhibits and events that facilitated conversation regarding indigenous curation and the care of Kanaka ʻŌiwi museum collections at the museum. The genealogies of care that are crucial for the care of aliʻi collections at the Bishop Museum will be discussed later.

Established in 1889, the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum is the oldest continually operating museum in the Hawaiian Islands. Charles Reed Bishop, an American Business with close ties to the Hawaiian monarchy, founded the Bishop Museum as a means to preserve and showcase the collections of his late wife, Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a aliʻiwahine (woman of chiefly descent) who was the great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I, unifier of the Hawaiian Islands, through her mother, Laura Kōnia. When Pauahi left this world in 1884, she bequeathed to her husband all of her personal property, including large collections of Hawaiian material culture that Pauahi inherited from her cousin Ruth Keʻelikōlani, also a descendant of Kamehameha I.[33] Although Charles Reed Bishop was interested in establishing a museum after Pauahi's death, the plan later came to fruition after the passing of Emma Kaleleonālani Rooke, wife of Kamehameha IV and Dowager Queen of the Hawaiian Islands, who left her "native curiosities" to Bishop under the condition that a museum would be established to care for the collections of the three aliʻiwahine known as the Kamehameha Museum.[34]

[32] Lilikalā Kameʻelehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 22.

[33] Pauahi was also one of the largest landholders in the Hawaiian Islands at the time of her death. She set aside over 375,000 acres for the education of Hawaiian children, and explicitly stated in her will that two schools—one for boys and one for girls—would be established and called "Kamehameha Schools". Today, Kamehameha Schools is one of the largest landholders in the State of Hawaiʻi with three K-12 campuses on Oʻahu, Māui, and Hawaiʻi Island that serve approximately 6,900 students of Native Hawaiian ancestry.

[34] Roger Rose, *A Museum to Instruct and Delight: William T. Brigham and the Founding of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1980), 9-10.

Figure 1. The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum. The three-story extension to the right is Hawaiian Hall, which is the premier space for showcasing the Museum's world-class Hawaiian collection (Photograph by Casey Hewett).

In place of the Kamehameha Museum as outlined in Emma's will, Bishop chose to name the museum after his late wife. Even though the name Kamehameha Museum was never the official name of the museum, it was continually used for years after its founding. Today, the Bishop Museum remains as the storehouse for the tangible and intangible heirlooms of the Kamehameha lineage and other royal lineages; it is a museum filled with aliʻi collections.

Bishop's desire to establish a Museum was not founded out of thin air. He was well acquainted with the role of museums in Hawaiʻi through his own experience as the administrator of the Hawaiian National Museum (HNM), founded in 1872 under the reign of Kamehameha V.[35] When HNM disbanded in 1891, the Bishop Museum subsumed much of HNM's collection, including an array of legendary objects like Mānaiakalani, a large fishhook attributed to the god Kūʻulakai; Naniuola, a large temple drum from the heiau of Papaʻena; and the kāʻai (feathered sash) of Līloa.[36] Unlike HNM, which was established to showcase Hawaiʻi as a modern state rooted in a Hawaiian past, Bishop's initial intentions for the Bishop Museum was to serve as a memorial to Pauahi. However, the museum's first Director, William T. Brigham (1888-1918), had other plans.

Brigham came to the Bishop Museum as an experienced museum professional and traveler who held the previous title of Curator of Geology and Botany at the Boston Society of Natural History. Instead of curating a royal reliquary, Brigham's goal was to establish the Bishop Museum as the premier institution of Pacific Natural History and Ethnology.[37] Brigham's ambitions reflect the *zeitgeist* of his time. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the systematic collecting and scientific study of ethnological and natural history specimens reigned supreme, resulting in the large comparative ethnological collections that exist today.[38] As the Bishop Museum's first Director, Brigham developed exhibits, catalogued the collections, and oversaw the physical expansion of the museum.[39] He also published extensively on the

[35]Stacy Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship,* 101.
[36] Ibid., 113-119.
[37] Roger Rose, *A Museum Here Founded*, 21.
[38] Mary Bouquet, *Museums: A Visual Anthropology* (London: Berg, 2012).
[39] Rose, *A Museum Here Founded*.

museum's collections and traveled the world to learn about new and innovative museum practices from leading museological institutions.[40]

Successive directors after Brigham also left their mark on the museum's institutional genealogy. Herbert Gregory (1919-1936) and Te Rangi Hīroa (also known as Sir Henry Peter Buck; 1936-1951), were Directors at a time when the Bishop Museum was at the forefront of salvage anthropology in the Pacific.[41] In response to growing concerns about modernization and the acculturation of Pacific peoples, the Bishop Museum sent ethnographers and researchers all over the Pacific Islands to collect the remnants of traditional cultural lifeways before they were lost. Numerous monographs were produced during this time under the Bishop Museum Press, documenting and preserving facets of Pacific languages, cultures, and traditions.[42] Some refer to this era as the "golden years of research at the Bishop," due to the regularity of field collecting expeditions.[43] An emphasis on research and scholarship also meant a lack of resources and interest in maintaining the public face of the institution: the exhibits. Directors during the early half of the 20th century saw "no obligation to the public," as stated by Hīroa, since the Territory of Hawai'i did not provide any financial support to the Bishop Museum.[44] Funds that were allocated for exhibits and museum administration were funneled to support research expeditions, leading to financial difficulties that led one observer to comment after the death of Hīroa that the museum was "beyond salvaging."[45]

Directors after Hīroa, notably Alexander Spoehr (1951-1962) and Roland Force (1962-1977), resurrected the ailing Bishop Museum through a range of strategic and financial strategies. Greater emphasis was placed on public education, outreach, and increasing local visitorship to the museum. Spoehr and Force were former curators of the Field Museum in Chicago; they understood the importance of fundraising as a source of revenue. Spoehr is also credited for establishing the Bishop Museum Association, which aimed to "generate local sponsorship" and to gain public support and sympathy.[46] Force in contrast capitalized on the newly established national endowments and other federally-funded programs. Funding for applied research and contract archaeology at this time flourished. In addition, the museum also focused more of its energy on marketing the museum to a growing tourist population in the islands.[47] Unfortunately, sustained funding for the institution was non-existent. Funds raised through tourist-centered projects were not steady, while other funds like the national endowments were project-based. Again, the museum struggled financially, and Edward Creutz's (1977-1984) era of leadership was marked by fundraising efforts to keep the Bishop Museum operational.[48]

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[40] For example, see William T. Brigham, *Ka Hana Kapa: The Making of Bark-Cloth in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1911). Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History Volume III; and William T. Brigham, *Report of a Journey around the world undertaken to examine various Ethnological Collections* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1898). Occasional Papers of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History Volume 1. Number 1.

[41] Te Rangi Hīroa was one of the first persons of indigenous ancestry (Māori) to become the director of a museum.

[42] Rainer F. Buschmann, *Anthropology's Global Histories: The Ethnographic Frontier in German New Guinea 1870 - 1935* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 160.

[43] Marjorie Kelly, "Scholarship Versus Showmanship at Hawai'i' Bishop Museum: Reflections of Cultural Hegemony," *Museum Anthropology* 18, no.2 (1994): 37-48.

[44] Ibid., 42.

[45] Ibid., 42.

[46] Ibid., 42.

[47] Ibid., 43.

[48] Ibid., 43.

W. Donald Duckworth (1984-1991) replaced Creutz and completely changed the museum. Coming from the Smithsonian's S. Dillon Ripley Center in Washington, D.C., Duckworth "represented a radically different perspective: one that courted the media, the public, and a variety of funding sources."[49] *Courting* in this context refers to Duckworth's "edutainment" approach to museum practice, that is, an approach to exhibits whereby the entertainment value of an exhibit is more important than its educational value.[50] Thus, in 1988, as a means to attract new visitors to the institution, Duckworth brought the first dinosaur exhibit to the Bishop Museum, which included large robotic dinosaurs.[51] Although the dinosaurs were popular, generating media attention and income for the museum, they were controversial, since they were not explicitly connected to the museum's mission to studying and preserving the natural and cultural history of the Pacific and its people.[52] In order to accommodate these new exhibits, the museum's mission statement was changed to accommodate exhibits that had no base in the cultural or natural history of Hawai'i and the broader Pacific. During Duckworth's leadership, the museum's role as a scientific institution "dedicated to collecting, preserving, studying, and disseminating knowledge of the natural and cultural history of Hawai'i and the Pacific" drastically changed, with a greater emphasis placed on entertainment and dissemination.[53] Such a reorientation of the museum's mission was also accompanied by numerous staff cuts that occurred in 1985, 1992, 1998, and 1999.[54] One of Duckworth's legacies at the Bishop Museum is that blockbuster exhibits continue to be hosted. For example, from February 28 through September 7, 2015, the museum hosted an exhibit titled "Dinosaurs Unleashed"—yet another exhibit that featured animatronic dinosaurs.

In light of drastic transformations under Duckworth's leadership, the museum continued to curate phenomenal exhibits that focused on Pacific history and culture. In conjunction with the watershed *Te Māori* exhibit which toured the United States in the mid-1980s, the Bishop Museum curated an exhibit titled *Celebrating the Maori* which opened in 1985.[55] Since the Bishop Museum was not one of the hosting institutions for *Te Māori, Celebrating the Maori* contained professional photographs of *Te Māori* interspersed with the museum's own collection of Māori objects. In addition, *Celebrating the Maori* honored past Director of the Bishop Museum, Te Rangi Hīroa by exhibiting his personal collections and other-related memorabilia. Timing for the exhibit was crucial; opening ceremonies for the Bishop Museum's Māori exhibit coincided with the arrival of Māori constituencies in Hawai'i from Aotearoa (New Zealand) who were on their way to the continental United States for the opening ceremonies of *Te Māori*.[56]

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[49] Ibid., 43.
[50] Amber Auld Combs. "Why Do They Come? Listening to Visitors at a Decorative Arts Museum," *Curator* 42, no. 3 (1999): 186-197.
[51] Kelly, 44.
[52] Will Hoover, "Bishop Museum Reshaping Its Future," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 21, 2005, http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2005/Nov/21/ln/FP511210334.html.
[53] Momilani E. Naughton, "The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum: A Case Study Analysis of Mana as a Form of Spiritual Communication in the Museum Setting" (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 2001), 181.
[54] Ibid.
[55] *Te Māori* is a watershed exhibit not only because it was the first time that a major exhibition on Māori works of art traveled across the United States; it was also the first time that a larger exhibit on indigenous material culture was curated in collaboration with Māori *iwi* (tribes). Māori community members were instrumental at all stages of the exhibit, even accompanying the exhibit to each venue to perform opening and closing protocols. The media coverage surrounding the exhibit, as well as the foregrounding of Māori knowledge and protocols in the care of Māori *taonga* (ancestral objects), was an eye-opening experience for American museums and museums in Aotearoa (New Zealand) regarding the need to consult source communities in the proper curation of cultural collections. For more on the *Te Māori* exhibit, see Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Māori: Heritage Professionals, Indigenous Collections, Current Practice. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press* (Oxford: Berg, 2011).
[56] Ibid.

Like the *Te Māori* exhibit, *Celebrating the Maori* was developed through partnerships between the Bishop Museum and various Māori individuals and communities. Naughton describes the exhibit as "a spiritual meeting between two Polynesian peoples which would move those participating as had never been seen at the museum."[57] Through collaboration and consultation, Māori, Kānaka Maoli, and museum staff came together and developed an exhibit that respected and integrated traditional Māori care methods to care for and exhibit *taonga.*[58] As an example, food and drink were prohibited from being consumed around *taonga*.[59] At the time, this was a double standard, since the Museum continued to hold formal dinners in Hawaiian Hall, which contains many objects that are regarded as sacred to Kānaka ʻŌiwi (including aliʻi collections).[60] Museum staff, particularly women, were also advised to not step over *taonga* because "the spiritual power contained in the pieces could be negative and enter a person through any orifice, including the vagina."[61]

The opening ceremonies of the exhibit included the formal welcoming of the Māori constituency by Hawaiian chanters, the blessing of the exhibitionary space, and a large *lūʻau* (dinner party) that included an array of cultural performances. These cultural protocols serves as an example of the cross-cultural exchanges and protocols that can occur in preparation for displaying and caring for ancestral works. Focusing solely on the celebratory aspects of the exhibit, however, would fail to recognize the politically-charged environment that the Bishop Museum was steeped in during the 1980s. For instance, the *Celebrating the Maori* exhibit opened a few weeks after the museum fired 13 employees. Protestors as part of a group called Hoʻo Hawaiʻi met with the Māori delegation that arrived for the opening ceremonies to voice their concerns. As a result, the Māori delegation decided that "it was not their battle and the protesters agreed out of deference to the Māori to hold off their protests while the events were taking place."[62] Around the same time, the Bishop Museum was steeped in controversy due to the museum's participation in contract archaeological work in the Hawaiian Islands, as well as other museum mishaps. These issues and controversies ultimately overshadowed the significance of *Celebrating the Maori*. In the mid-1990s, contract archaeology tarnished the Bishop Museum's reputation amongst Kanaka Maoli communities. At a time when the museum struggled financially, contract archaeology provided a source of income. Thus, the museum became involved with the H-3 highway construction project, a "billion-dollar federal highway" that "crosses Oʻahu's Koʻolau Mountains to connect the Marine Corps station at Kaneʻohe with the Naval base at Pearl Harbor."[63] Beginning in 1986 and ending in the mid-1990s, the museum's involvement with the H-3 project was characterized by controversy through the misinterpretation of Native Hawaiian archaeological sites and the subsequent destruction of significant religious sites on the island of Oʻahu.[64]

The Bishop Museum's implementation of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) also brought the museum under heavy scrutiny. NAGPRA was passed by the United States Congress in 1990, providing the legal structure for federally-

[57] Ibid., 117.
[58] Taonga are broadly defined as ancestral Māori heirlooms that have mana (spiritual energy). See Hirini Moko Mead, *Magnificent Te Maori: Te Maori Whakahirahira* (Hong Kong: Heinemann, 1986), for an in-depth definition.
[59] Naughton, "The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum", 115-116.
[60] Ibid., 115-116. As of 2014 when I conducted the fieldwork for this research, the Bishop Museum no longer allowed food into the gallery spaces.
[61] Ibid., 116.
[62] Ibid., 117.
[63] Marjorie Kelly, "Scholarship Versus Showmanship at Hawaii's Bishop Museum: Reflections of Cultural Hegemony. *Museum Anthropology* 18, no. 2 (1994): 235.
[64] Mark Hamasaki and Kapulani Landgraf, *E Luku Wale Ē* (Honolulu: ʻAi Pōhaku Press, 2015).

recognized Native American tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations to claim rights to human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony in museums.[65] When the legislation was being discussed in the Senate hearings, the Bishop Museum was one of three museums that testified in favor of NAGPRA.[66] However, this initial support for NAGPRA was later met by numerous issues surrounding NAGPRA-eligible materials that were housed the Bishop Museum.[67] The tribulations that occurred through NAGPRA and contract archaeology resulted in a mixed-perception of the Bishop Museum by various Native Hawaiian organizations and communities. As Marjorie Kelly aptly states:

> Some Hawaiians believe that the museum's chiefly origins and collections privilege their position. Meanwhile, the museum feels constrained by its contractual relationships with other, more powerful entities; i.e., the state and federal governments. In short, the issue is very much one of ownership, domain, and sovereignty.[68]

Yet beyond these controversial moments in the museum's history, Kānaka ʻŌiwi were not prepared for the Bishop Museum to permanently close its doors. In fact, there were Kānaka ʻŌiwi museum staff members and interns who tackled NAGPRA head on, striving to ensure the Museum's compliance with federal law.

For the first decade after NAGPRA, the museum continued to be led by Duckworth. In 2001, William W. Brown succeeded Donald Duckworth as the Director and Chief Executive Officer of the Bishop Museum. The change from referring to the executive leader of the Bishop Museum as President and Chief Executive Office rather than Director of the museum has to do with the corporate restructuring of the Bishop Museum. During Brown's leadership, the Bishop Museum came under scrutiny again for attempting to identify itself as a Native Hawaiian organization as defined under NAGPRA.[69] In response, Kanaka ʻŌiwi groups like Hui Mālama i Nā Kūpuna o Hawaiʻi Nei, which is listed in NAGPRA legislation as a Native Hawaiian organization eligible to make claims on NAGPRA materials, were outraged, rallying for Brown's resignation.[70]

Although Brown's approach to NAGPRA was questioned, his leadership was instrumental in addressing the Museum's financial problems and resurrecting the Bishop Museum's languishing buildings and collections. Most significant is Brown' role in opening of the $17 million dollar Science and Adventure Center and the launch of the $20 million dollar restoration of Hawaiian Hall in 2006. He also doubled the museum's endowment and increased the number of Kānaka ʻŌiwi that occupied seats on the museum's Board of Directors, something that was unheard of in the museum's history.[71]

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[65] Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, 25 U.S.C. 3001-3013 (1990).
[66] Julia Harrison, "Ideas of Museums in the 1990s," In *Heritage, Museums, and Galleries,* ed. Gerard Corsane (London: Routledge, 2005), 46.
[67] See Roger Rose, *Reconciling the Past: Two Basketry Kaʻai and the Legendary Liloa and Lonoikamakahiki* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Marjorie Kelly, "Native Hawaiians and Bishop Museum: Negotiating Ownership of the Island Past," *Curator, The Museum Journal,* 38, no. 4 (1995): 229-245; and Elizabeth Tatar, "Pauahi Bishop Museum: A Hawaiian Museum-Challenging the Past to Face the Future." *Curator* 38, no. 4 (1995): 246-261.
[68] Kelly, "Native Hawaiians and Bishop Museum," 229-230.
[69] Jon Daehnke, "Responsibility to the Ancestors, Responsibility to the Descendants: Artifacts, Stewardship and NAGPRA in Hawaii, in *Ethnography and Archaeologies: Iterations of the Past,* ed. Lena Mortensen and Julie Hollowell (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2009), 202-203.
[70] Sally, Agpar, "Group Opposes Museum Plan: Hui Malama Does Not Want Bishop Museum Defined as a Native Hawaiian Organization," *Honolulu Star Bulletin,* July 1, 2004, http://archives.starbulleting.com/2004/09/01/news/story6.html.
[71] Ibid.

In 2007, Brown resigned as head of the Bishop Museum, leaving Timothy Johns (2007-2011) as the next appointee. Johns maintained Brown's momentum in securing the museum's finances and oversaw renovations throughout the museum campus. In contrast to Brown, Hui Mālama i Nā Kūpuna o Hawai'i Nei favored Johns because of his previous experience in working with Native Hawaiian organizations and communities as the former director of the State of Hawai'i's Department of Land and Natural Resources. Johns completed renovations to Hawaiian Hall in 2009, a monumental undertaking that provided a much needed update to the exhibits and programming.[72] This reinstallation of Hawaiian Hall is what is currently on display.

At the time that the fieldwork for this essay was conducted, Blair D. Collis was the Chief Executive Officer and President of the Bishop Museum. Collis was unique amongst his predecessors because he was formerly a staff member of Bishop Museum before adopting his new executive leadership role. Starting off as a grant writer in 1999 under Duckworth, Collis returned to the museum in 2003 to become the head of the Bishop Museum Press and later the Senior Director of Sales and Marketing.[73] Collis' long history of working within the institution prior to becoming CEO and President is unique amongst other past leaders who came to the Bishop Museum having little to no institutional memory or experience in working at the institution. During his tenure, Collis oversaw the $8.5 million dollar renovation of Pacific Hall which reopened in 2013.

In 2016, Collis resigned from his role as President and CEO of the Bishop Museum. The interim CEO was Lindalee Kuuleilani Farm, who is the first Kanaka 'Ōiwi to serve as the head of the institution.[74] She is a lawyer by trade and serves on the NAGPRA review committee, as well as the board for the Historic Hawai'i Foundation. After a year and half of searching for a replacement, the Bishop Museum announced in October of 2017 that Melanie Y. Ide would be the Museum's new President and CEO. Ide has extensive experience in museum planning, design, and program development, having worked for Ralph Appelbaum Associates, the exhibit design firm that was contracted by the Bishop Museum to restore and reinterpret Hawaiian Hall and Pacific. Ide was deeply involved in both of these projects.[75] In addition, Ide also has familial connections to Hawai'i, as her parents and grandparents were raised in the islands.

What is revealed through this institutional genealogy is a museum that is continuously learning, evolving and adapting as it strives to become more relevant to the public, engage critically with Kanaka 'Ōiwi and Local communities, and maintain its status as the premier Pacific research institution. Likewise, the curation of *ali'i* collections at the museum has also evolved and adapted over the decades. As the museum enters a new era of directorship, concerns regarding the care of and access to ali'i collections must be considered.

Caring for Ali'i Collections

Ali'i collections are the most precious collections that are curated by the Bishop Museum. These collections are cared for by the staff members of the Ethnology division (informally

[72] Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, *Restoring Bishop Museum's Hawaiian Hall : ho'i hou ka wena i Kaiwi'ula* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2009).
[73] Dan Nakaso, "Leadership Corner," *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 18, 2006, http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2006/Sep/18/bz/FP609180318.html.
[74] Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, "Blair Collis to Leave Bishop Museum, Appoints Lindalee Farm As Interim CERO, To Begin Search Process," https://www.bishopmuseum.org/20722-2/.
[75] Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, "Bishop Museum Board of Directors Appoints Melanie Y. Ide as President & Chief Executive Officer". https://www.bishopmuseum.org/bishop-museum-board-of-directors-appoints-melanie-y-ide-as-president-chief-executive-officer/.

known as the cultural collections division), and form the founding collections of the institution. How then, are aliʻi collections, recognizing their inherent worth and value to Kanaka ʻŌiwi, physically cared for (i.e. handling, storing, exhibiting, etc.) at the Bishop Museum in ways that reflect an indigenous curatorial approach to the care of Kanaka ʻŌiwi museum collections? Christina Kreps states that "nearly all cultures keep objects of special value, and many have created elaborate methods for storing, conserving, classifying, displaying, and transmitting knowledge about them."[76] Thus, Indigenous curation can be defined as the tangible places (i.e. museums, storehouses, caves, et.) and intangible practices and beliefs of any given Indigenous community that are central to the physical and/or spiritual care, of precious objects and collections.[77]

Although the Bishop Museum's origins is intertwined with Hawaiian royalty, the museum was established as a *western* institution of instruction and entertainment, much like the encyclopedic museums of Europe and the Americas.[78] And like other western museums, the interest in integrating Indigenous methods of care into the curation of indigenous collections is a recent trend that has its roots in seminal pieces of legislation like NAGPRA and key museum exhibits like *Te Māori*.[79] Another factor that has played a significant role in broadening discussions regarding indigenous curation is the increasing number of indigenous peoples that are pursuing graduate degrees in museum studies and related fields and becoming museum professionals.

Efforts to integrate Indigenous care methods into the care of museum collections challenges the professional and objective methods of preserving museum collections known as "best practices." Best practices suggest that a single universal set of professional practices can exist to care for the diversity of objects that museums curate across the world. Although best practices do provide instruction on how museums can ensure the posterity of their collections, these practices promote a western hegemony, where concerns over the physical care of an object is foregrounded before spiritual, familial, or traditional concerns.[80] Hegemony, as developed by Antonio Gramsci and applied to museums, describes the process by which certain assumptions and cultural values are replicated and normalized into everyday life. These norms are then perpetuated unquestionably by society. As hegemonic institutions, museums reinforce dominant social and cultural norms and uphold national ideas, values, and beliefs within their own spheres of existence.[81] Integrating indigenous curatorial methods into the care of museum collections in western museums is anti-hegemonic because it creates spaces within institutions where indigenous as well as western professional methods of care are utilized to better care for indigenous collections.[82] In place of best practices, the coalescents of cross-cultural approaches

[76] Christina Kreps, "Introduction: Indigenous Curation," *Museum Anthropology* 22, no. 1: 3.
[77] See Christina Kreps, "Indigenous Curation, Museums, and Intangible Cultural Heritage," in *Intangible Heritage*, eds. Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa (London: Routledge, 2008), 193-208; and Hirini Moko Mead, "Indigenous Models of Museums in Oceania," *Museum* 35, no. 138 (1983): 98-101.
[78] Tony Bennett, *The Birth of The Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995).
[79] T.J. Sullivan, M. Abraham, and D.J.G. Griffin, "NAGPRA: Effective Repatriation Programs and Cultural Change in Museums," *Curator* 43, no. 3 (2000): 231-260.
[80] Christina Kreps, *Liberating Culture: Cross-cultural perspectives on museums, curation and heritage preservation* (London: Routledge, 2003), 42.
[81] Ivan Karp, "Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture," In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, eds. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 3.
[82] For an example of how indigenous care methods and standard museum practices can work in tandem to better care for indigenous collections, see Sherelyn Ogden, ed., *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide* (Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004).

to museum collections management suggests a move towards culturally-appropriate approaches to care for indigenous collections.[83]

The care of aliʻi collections at the Bishop Museum reflects the trend within the museum field to integrate indigenous methods of care into the curation of museum collections. Recognizing and writing about these methods are crucial in advocating for the necessity of these practices in the long-term care of these collections by and for Kanaka ʻŌiwi. The information for this section of the essay is primarily drawn from semi-structured interviews that were conducted with five staff members of Bishop Museum's Ethnology department in 2014. Three of the staff members are of Kanaka ʻŌiwi descent and two are not Kanaka ʻŌiwi but were born and raised in Hawaiʻi. The choice to perform semi-structured interviews was consistent with an approach to interviewing Hawaiian informants that was described by Charles Langlas, and consisted of sixteen questions that asked collections staff members to describe their personal backgrounds, their responsibilities at the Bishop Museum, the importance of cultural advisors in the care of collections, and their experiences in working with aliʻi collections.[84] The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and were later transcribed in full. With the transcriptions, interpretive and narrative analysis were performed in order to determine repetitions and patterns that emerged through the interviews.[85]

Through the interviews, it became clear that the ethnology staff at the Bishop Museum do not solely rely on their professional training to care for aliʻi collections; they also depend on the skills that they learned from their parents, grandparents, and community mentors. Knowing one's familial upbringing was important because "people should know who you are because your expectations," as well as the expectations that others expect of you, "sometimes come from your family background."[86] Recognizing the role of the family as a source of knowledge is reflected in the ʻōlelo noʻeau (Hawaiian proverb) "kū i ka māna," which refers to the ways in which our traits and characteristics (māna) are those of our ancestors.[87] Children learn various skills and traits from those around them. From these experiences, a child takes on certain characteristics, values, and behaviors that may serve as indicators of where they were raised and the people who were responsible for their upbringing. This process of becoming through learning and doing continues throughout a child's lifetime and is fundamental in the construction of identity from a Kanaka ʻŌiwi standpoint.

As an example, Kamalu du Preez, Ethnology Assistant Collections Manager, described how women from her paternal side were not allowed to fish, whether it be done at the shore or on a boat in the sea; they were also prohibited from collecting delicacies such as ʻopihi along the shoreline. Women could, however, prepare the fish and other aquatic resources for consumption once they were caught. During conversations with her relatives, du Preez learned that women should not handle fishing-related objects. In describing these restrictions, she used the term *kapu*, which is commonly used to describe places or practices that are restricted. Because of her upbringing, du Preez avoids handling fishing-related aliʻi objects when possible:

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[83] Gillian A. Flynn and Deborah Hull-Walski, "Merging Traditional Indigenous Curation Methods with Modern Museum Standards of Care," *Museum Anthropology* 25, no. 1 (2001): 31.
[84] Langas, Charles, "Doing Oral History with Native Hawaiians," Pacific Worlds, last modified 2006, http://www.pacificworlds.com/homepage/education/essays/essay2b.cfm.
[85] Bernard, H. Russell, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (Lanham: Altamira Press), 415.
[86] Betty Lou Kam, interview by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI, July 28, 2014, 58:32.
[87] Mary Kawena Pukui, *ʻŌlelo Noʻeau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press), 202.

> …there are things in this collection where I kind of will say, 'hey somebody else can…' You know I always ask for help or someone else can handle it. And if need be, I'll handle it and do my pule (prayer) or do whatever I have to do…those are some of the things I learned from my father and his family.[88]

Nicole dela Fuente, Assistant Conservator, also described a set of practices that was instilled in her by her two grandfathers. dela Fuente is not Hawaiian by ancestry, but was born and raised on the Island of Oʻahu and grew up in close proximity to the Hawaiian culture; she described for instance how she learned basic hala weaving skills from "tūtūs," at Pākī Park in Honolulu as a child. dela Fuente's two grandfathers were highly influential figures in her upbringing. Her paternal grandfather was a hard worker and always put his family first, a work ethic that dela Fuente herself lives by. When dela Fuente's interviewed for an internship at the Bishop Museum, she told her interviewer, "I'm a worker, I'm a pack mule, so whatever you need, you can put me anywhere you want."[89] dela Fuente also credits her paternal grandfather for instilling in her the idea of treating her co-workers as part of her extended family. She used the term family-unit environment to describe how she regards other staff members as her brothers or sisters. As part of this extended family, dela Fuente referred to the museum objects as her "children", i.e. as objects that she was responsible for and cared for deeply.[90] Such a family-oriented perspective towards collections management is shared by other collections staff members, reflecting a mutual trust shared between staff members, as well as a genuine care and respect for aliʻi collections.

However, not all cultural beliefs and practices that are utilized by staff are learned within the household. From the late 1960s onward, academic and community-based programs have fostered generations of Kanaka ʻŌiwi who are fluent in the Hawaiian language and in performing Kanaka ʻŌiwi cultural beliefs and practices. The term "programs" is loosely used here to describe Western and Indigenous institutions where Hawaiian learning takes place. These programs include classes at the collegiate level, hālau (Hawaiian schools of learning), and other cultural programs that an individual participates in throughout his or her lifetime. Staff members have participated and continue to participate in various programs. It is through these programs that connections to those outside of the institution can be established. The collections staff thus become liaisons or "connections" between the museum and various communities. As noted by Betty Lou Kam, Director of Ethnology:

> When you need to reach out and find these people and when they… [come] to you, and they are connected, that's an important thing for our museum to be connected to a community. And you're connected to your community through your staff.[91]

One of the connections that many of the collections staff discussed during the interviews was the relationship between the Bishop Museum and the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa (UH Mānoa). Three of the staff members in the Cultural Collections division started working at the Bishop Museum through an internship they needed to complete as part of their degree requirements at UH Mānoa. From these internships, the staff members continued volunteering at the museum until staff positions opened up. The internships varied, and each student met with professors and museum staff members to develop internships that suited their individual interests. In the case of the Bishop Museum, internships brought in and continue to bring in students who are knowledgeable in Hawaiian language and cultural traditions.

[88] Kamalu Du Preez, interview by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI, July 31, 2014, 1:07:03.
[89] Nicole dela Fuente, interview by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI, July 31, 2014, 1:04:59.
[90] Fuente, interview.
[91] Kam, interview.

Kanaka ʻŌiwi mentors and advisors from the community have also played a significant role in how staff members interact with aliʻi collections. For example, two of the collections staff were students of John Keola Lake, a well-respected kupuna (elder) and kumu hula (hula teacher) who was born and raised on the island of Oʻahu. Kamalu du Preez and Marques Marzan, Cultural Resource Specialist, were hula students of Lake and danced in Lake's *hālau hula* (dance school) known as Hālau Mele. Lake passed down knowledge of cultural protocols, chants, and other practices to du Preez and Marzan; they access this knowledge while working with aliʻi collections. Kam mentioned Lake during her interview, and described the importance of reaching out to kupuna and other individuals who are knowledgeable in traditional beliefs and practices. For Kam, learning from others outside of the institution was and still is crucial to how aliʻi collections are cared for: "that kind of influx wasn't only beneficial to me but it was also beneficial to the museum and to our whole approach about caring for the collection."[92]

Like John Keola Lake, who bequeathed wisdom onto collections staff, there were also individuals internal to the Bishop Museum who held great knowledge regarding the care of aliʻi collections. Patience Namaka Wiggin Bacon, otherwise known fondly at the Bishop Museum as "Auntie Pat", worked periodically at the Bishop Museum since 1939 up until her retirement in the 2000s. Although not Hawaiian by blood, Auntie Pat was hānai (adopted) by Henry and Paʻahana Wiggin, whom Auntie Pat considers to be her grandparents. Auntie Pat's adopted mother was Mary Kawena Pukui, a Hawaiian ethnographer who worked at the Bishop Museum and prolifically published on various aspects of Hawaiian language and culture.[93] Pukui, and later Auntie Pat, served as cultural advisors to the Bishop Museum for decades. They were considered to be the "go to" staff members when there was a need for conducting Hawaiian protocols or practices in the care of collections.

For Kam, Auntie Pat and Mary Kawena Pukui, were "the Hawaiian presence in the museum." Kam continued by describing how Pukui and Auntie Pat were both "brought up Hawaiian" and understood "different Hawaiian traditions and practices—but [they were] also very open to seeing how changes come about."[94] Kam further describes a conversation she had with Auntie Pat that impacted her approach towards caring for aliʻi collections:

> I can remember going to talk to Aunty Pat Bacon and I said, 'you know I don't understand, what are you supposed to do when you move aliʻi things? What are you supposed to do? What's the protocol? You know because I see this happen, but it doesn't you know, it doesn't feel right it just doesn't feel normal, it just feels strange.' And Aunty Pat over different times had told me and when I specifically asked her that question, this is what she told me. She said, 'You know Betty, all you need to do is to just make sure that when you're there with aliʻi collections, is you just, you don't even have to say this out loud, you just have to make sure your heart is open and that you're there to let them know what's happening. You just have to be open and you have to make sure that whatever you're doing is not for yourself and that you're doing it for the good, for the appreciation, for the longevity, for the care of those pieces and all you have to do is have a clean heart. That's all you have to do. That's all you have to do.' And she said that and I take that quietly in my heart and that's always been what I hope I can do and maybe sometimes I do things too quickly, but that was it, you come with a clean heart. That's all.

The moʻolelo of advice from Auntie Pat that Kam provides here is of interest because it highlights the importance of cultural sensibility as a differentiating factor from standard museum collections management practices. Although Kam's recollection of her conversation

[92] Ibid.
[93] Zenaida Serrano, "The Auntie of Bishop Museum," *Honolulu Advertiser*, August 17, 2005, http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2005/Aug/17/il/FP508170302.html.
[94] Ibid.

with Auntie Pat reveals a professional obligation to foster appreciation of collections and to care for them indefinitely, the emphasis of approaching collections work with a "open heart" suggests what Kiowa museum professional Joan Celeste Thomas has referred to as the "cultural element" of collections management, which recognizes the cultural and emotional dimensions of collections care.[95] As the interview continued, Kam further described that having an open heart in caring for ali'i collections meant acknowledging and respecting the purpose and performance of cultural protocol to honor and show respect for the ali'i and their possessions. Trusting staff members who possess cultural knowledge surrounding the care of ali'i collections was also described as part of this practice.

du Preez in her interview also described the significance and weight of Auntie Pat's advice to the staff when they installed a display for the exhibit *Nā Hulu Ali'i* (2006-2007), an exhibit that highlighted the museum's collection of featherwork ali'i objects. When the staff were installing 'umeke (containers, calabashes), Auntie Pat suggested that they should be placed on top of a moena (lauhala mats) and not on the ground. Such a small piece of advice was highly valued and followed by museum staff members. Furthermore, du Preez described the choices that were made in grouping objects sensibly in the same exhibit:

> … [The purpose of *Nā Hulu Ali'i*] was to show as much featherwork that we had as possible. So you know we even had the akua hulumanu (feathered-god image) from O'ahu College which is Punahou and it was restored…He was up, actually two of them were up and then I think Līloa's sash was out so it was in a very special case... I would have done it a little bit different but then again it's just looking at the context of certain things. You know like food things don't match with sacred things or things you know like toiletry items you know. Or like hair items shouldn't go near any things that you wear on your body…So it's all these different things that you learn about your own culture you know, those older traditions of those kind of things. And I think we try to work that into the sensibility of when we group things together, so that's what we're also kind of injecting into things you know? It's not just only 'put Hawaiian texts in there' but it has to have a, 'what is the relationship, what is the pilina (relationship) of these things and how would they be…how would they have been seen together?' What is the relationship of that.[96]

John Keola Lake and Auntie Pat are two knowledgeable elders and mentors that played a crucial role in how ali'i collections are exhibited and cared for at the Bishop Museum. For Marzan, Kumu John Keola Lake and Auntie Pat were two influential individuals that made him "think about things from a Hawaiian perspective."[97]

Unlike other staff members whose primary responsibilities are to care for the collections, Marzan's official titled is Cultural Resource Specialist. Whereas Auntie Pat's responsibility as a cultural advisor to the museum was never a formal position, the Cultural Resource Specialist position was created in the 2000s, formalizing the "relationship between the museum and those…individuals who have [Hawaiian] cultural knowledge that can aid in providing [resources to address] cultural sensitivity issues [and] cultural awareness to the museum management and staff."[98] For an institution that claims to be a "Hawaiian" institution—an identity which till today remains contested and complicated—formalizing and recognizing the importance of allowing Kanaka 'Ōiwi visitors to perform cultural protocols in

[95] Thomas, Joan Celeste, "Handling Considerations: One Person's Story," in *Caring for American Indian Objects: A Practical and Cultural Guide*, ed. Sherelyn Ogden (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2004), 7.
[96] du Preez, interview.
[97] Marques Hanalei Marzan, interview by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI, August 1, 2014, 1:04:50.
[98] Marzan, interview.

the museum is crucial for maintaining working relationships between the Bishop Museum and Kānaka ʻŌiwi communities.

The term protocols was used during interviews to describe a range of cultural, individual, and personal practices that facilitates "proper" engagements with aliʻi objects. Kam described protocols as practices that show gratitude and respect to the aliʻi that "are meant to be meaningful" for the person who performs protocols.[99] Marzan further added that protocols are not enforced when visitors or museum staff members visit the collections. Rather, protocols can include anything that an individual or a group of people feel is appropriate to perform: "the intent that we think of when we go into the museum, into the storage areas… these are all safe places…you only get back what you bring in yeah? So if you bring, you come in with…an open mind and aloha, that's what you'll get back from the collections."[100]

Engaging with aliʻi objects through protocols represents exchanges between objects and people. One such exchange revolves around the concept of mana (spiritual energy). Mana is used to describe various spiritual relationships between people and objects, and discussions and recognition of mana at the Bishop Museum can at least be traced to the late 1970s and early 1980s.[101] During our interview, Marzan provided his personal definition of mana:

> Mana is the spiritual energy in anything on this planet. So inanimate objects have mana you know rocks…wood, trees, plants, animals, they all have mana as well as ourselves. Teeth and bones from animals and individuals carry the mana of those particular things and people and animals. So I think that's, again, it's that spiritual energy within every one of us.
>
> …in the Hawaiian perspective, you are born with a certain degree of mana depending on your birth [and] the lines you come from. But you can also increase your mana by the deeds that you do in your life. And that's obvious in the story of Kamehameha. You know Kamehameha wasn't a high ranking aliʻi with a lot of high-ranking mana at birth. But with all of his deeds and actions that he had done over his lifetime, it raised his mana to the level that it was, that it is viewed today.[102]

Man-made objects also contain the mana of the person who produced it as well as those who owned, touched, held, and utilized an object. In various NAGPRA cases, objects, especially carved images (kiʻi lāʻau), are described as vessels for ancestral spirits (ʻaumākua), which concentrate mana into a single space.[103] Naming an object, based on its physical characteristics or after a deceased relative or ancestor is also a means of imbuing an object with mana.[104] Lastly, mana transfers between people, objects, and places. In recognizing that objects contain mana, protocols are a means to facilitate positive exchanges of mana between people and aliʻi objects.

There are times when protocols are utilized to protect oneself when working with collections that are spiritually "heavy" or are associated with negative forms of mana. du Preez described protocols that she employed when she was a NAGPRA intern at the Bishop Museum in the early 2000s. Many Kānaka Maoli believe that a person's mana is contained in their iwi (bones). Thus working with NAGPRA collections and aliʻi objects that contain iwi involves handling numerous objects that contain the mana of numerous unknown individuals. As a

[99] Kam, interview.
[100] Marzan, interview.
[101] Naughton, "The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum," 2001.
[102] Marzan, interview.
[103] For example, see Greg Johnson, *Sacred Claims: Repatriation and Living Tradition* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007).
[104] Naughton, 2001, 85.

precaution of working with NAGPRA collections, du Preez carried a small puʻolo (bundle) with her every day:

> I used to make a little puʻolo every day, a little bundle, with paʻakai (salt) and with a muʻo or the bud of the ti-leaf. I used to put it in a little puʻolo, put it in my shirt, and I would have that every day. I would make a new one every day when I was doing more NAGPRA related stuff and I was actually doing inventory you know, looking through inventories and things like that. Checking through inventories. Just in case to be exposed to those kind of things. I don't do that on a normal basis but when I do, if I have to do anything that has to do with handling iwi, I do always do a pule for protection of myself or you know, I don't always make the puʻolo.[105]

Another protocol that was described by collections staff was the act of cleansing by submerging oneself in saltwater. Cleansing in this manner is analogous to the practice of kapu kai or pī kai, the act of sprinkling sea water mixed with ʻōlena (turmeric) onto any person or object as a means of purification.[106] Saltwater is regarded as a universal remedy to cure ailments and to purify objects and personal relations, a practice which Hawaiians continue to perform till today.[107] The need to cleanse after working with certain collections and the presence of salt in the collections storage highlights the spiritual awareness of collections staff and visitors when they interact with aliʻi collections and other Hawaiian collections that are deemed to be spiritually potent. The concerns over the mana of aliʻi objects and efforts to mitigate interaction with these collections that were expressed by collections managers at the Bishop Museum belong to a longer moʻokūʻauhau of caring for aliʻi collections that was discussed earlier in this essay.

Protocols can also refer to a particular mindset for working with aliʻi collections. Quiet contemplation and mental recognition of the sacred qualities of aliʻi collections honors and provides proper respect for aliʻi objects as well as the aliʻi who once owned them. Lissa Gendreau, Collections Technician, described this informal form of protocol:

> I think the way I prepare, is…I guess it's just a mindset. I realize that there's a lot of sensitivity with some of these things but at the same time, I also realize that this institution exists, these things exists in our care, and so the way I prepare is just to have the best frame of mind possible when I'm working with these things…Clearing your head of negative thoughts and you know, not making jokes when you're handling some of these things. Yeah, just recognizing that it's something that requires attention and respect from you. But, that's how I prepare, just when I go into storage rooms, I go 'okay I'm here, I'm in good spirits, I've got good intentions.'[108] (Lissa Gendreau, personal interview, August 6, 2014).

Gendreau's comments are similar to Betty Lou Kam's approach to caring for aliʻi collections with a "clean heart."[109] These informal and daily protocols highlight the confluence of professional and cultural practices in the care of aliʻi collections.

Moʻokūʻauhau (Genealogies) of Care: Conclusion

In this article, I have outlined some of the ways in which moʻokūʻauhau as a curatorial praxis is employed by staff members of the Ethnology Department at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in the care of aliʻi collections. Beyond the role of moʻokūʻauhau as a tool for listing names of successive ancestors, one generation after the generation, moʻokūʻauhau can also refer to the genealogy of an institution as well as the genealogy of practices that are passed

[105] du Preez, interview.
[106] Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Poʻe Kahiko*, ed. Dorothy Barrère (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1964), 35.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Lissa Gendreau, interview by Halena Kapuni-Reynolds, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI, August 6, 2014, 32:39.
[109] Kam, interview.

down to collections managers from their mentors and family members. Accessing this form of knowledge is important for curating aliʻi collections, which in themselves are deeply intertwined with the moʻokūʻauhau of the aliʻi, because it provides a means for museum staff members to care for aliʻi collections in a culturally-meaningful and appropriate way. These practices can also be considered to be indigenous methods of care that challenge the hegemony of best practice discourse within museums by offering an alternative framework for engaging with aliʻi collections. By drawing on familial knowledge and personal experiences in working with elders and cultural mentors, collection managers activate a moʻokūʻauhau consciousness (a la Silva) by drawing on ancestral knowledge in order to care for collections for future generations.

By recognizing how indigenous curatorial practices are founded in lifelong and familial experiences, I want to end by considering how practices like moʻokūʻauhau and the relationships that surround them can and should be regarded as "professional" experience within the museum profession. At the Bishop Museum, whose moʻokūʻauhau is deeply intertwined with Hawaiian royalty, whose founding collections are the collective inheritance of Kanaka ʻŌiwi, and whose collections staff members bring with them an array of skills that they learned beyond the halls of academia, evaluating cultural experience as equal to professional training and education is crucial for fostering staff diversity and collaboration at the institution. Acknowledging the training that Kanaka ʻŌiwi museum professionals bring with them from outside of the museum profession (i.e. training in hula and chant), and evaluating these experiences as part of the hiring/promotion process, is tantamount towards changing museum practices, especially in a region where models of co-curatorship and indigenous curation exist across the Pacific.[110] In the past three years, the national association for museums, known as the American Alliance of Museums (AAM), developed a policy addressing the issue of diversity and inclusion within the museum profession. In this guiding statement, the AAM "consider[s] diversity and inclusion a driver of institutional excellence and seek[s] out diversity of participation, thought, and action."[111] Nicole Ivy, a museum futurist at the Center for the Future of Museums, further adds that in recognizing the need for diversity, museums must reexamine their hiring practices, compensation policies, and "pathways to leadership" so that "we...make certain that they (museums) are inclusive workplaces."[112] Advocating on behalf of indigenous curation is a part of this process, for it challenges the hegemony of western museology, opening up new pathways for collaboration, curation, and knowledge production within the museum field. Such efforts are important, for as Kamalu duPreez expressed during our interview, the glass cases and store rooms at the Bishop Museum, "do not sever [our] connections" to our aliʻi and ancestors, whether they be spiritual, physical, or genealogical.[113] And through caring for aliʻi collections through indigenous means, such connections can be fostered for future generations to come.

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[110] McCarthy, Conal, *Museums and Māori: Heritage Professionals, Indigenous Collections, Current Practice. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press* (Oxford: Berg, 2011); ed. Stanley, Nick, *The Future of Indigenous Museums: Perspectives from the Southwest Pacific* (New York: Berghahn Books).

[111] American Alliance of Museum. "Diversity and Inclusion Policy," last modified February 26, 2014, http://aam-us.org/about-us/strategic-plan/diversity-and-inclusion-policy.

[112] Nicole Ivy, "The Labor of Diversity," *Museum,* (January/February 2016): 36-39.

[113] du Preez, interview.

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