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ʻIOLANI PALACE: SPACES OF KINGSHIP IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY HAWAIʻI

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This paper explores indigenous colonial architectural patronage in Hawaiʻi through King David Kalākaua's building project, ʻIolani Palace, which constituted the political center of Hawaiʻi during the last decades of the sovereign monarchy and into the twentieth century when Hawaiʻi became an American state. This paper examines intersections of global socio-political forces and indigenous agency and suggests that the design, purpose and location of the palace projected an image of Hawaiʻi as a modern independent nation vis-à-vis other enlightened nations while it also functioned as a sacred chiefly structure that presented the king as a legitimate political and religious authority in Hawaiian terms.

Introduction: Cross-Cultural Translations*

AN EMBLEM OF HAWAIIAN HISTORY AND POLITICAL AUTHORITY since the late nineteenth century, ʻIolani Palace (built 1879–1882), located in Honolulu on the island of Oʻahu, has been a constant central fixture in the political and cultural theater of Hawaiʻi. Alternatively described as "American Florentine," "American Composite," and "French Rococo" in style (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* [*PCA*] 24 September 1881; Farrell 1936, 21) (Fig. 1), this palace served as mònarchical seat from 1883–1893 during the reigns of King David Kalākaua (r. 1874–1891) and his successor Queen Lydia Liliʻuokalani (r. 1891–1893). It later functioned as the legislative halls and executive offices for the Provisional Government that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and established the Republic of Hawaiʻi in 1894 and

FIGURE 1. **'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, O'ahu.** Photograph S. L. Kamehiro, 2001.

continued as the administrative center of the Territory of Hawai'i upon annexation of the region by the United States in 1898. When Hawai'i became the fiftieth American state in 1959, 'Iolani Palace remained the political center until a new State Capitol building was erected nearby in 1969. In the 1970s, the building was restored and, in 1978, was opened to the public as a historic house museum. Despite the fact that 'Iolani Palace persists as a key symbol of Hawaiian history and culture, providing the site for sovereignty events and commemorations of royalty and Hawaiian history, few critical analyses of this structure have been published.[1]

It may well be that late nineteenth-century Hawaiian architecture and indigenous architectural patronage, more generally, have not received significant art historical attention due, in part, to the notion that after a century of contact with non-Hawaiians beginning in the late eighteenth century, indigenous visual culture was too Westernized to be "authentically" Hawaiian. The dearth of scholarly attention paid to colonial Hawaiian visual culture suggests that, because of its clear and pervasive Western references, it has been dismissed as evidence of the decline of "traditional" Native culture and its assimilation into global cultural, economic, and political systems. Based on similar assumptions about the hegemony of colonial culture, some descriptions of introduced influences on indigenous cultures attribute the ultimate loss of local autonomy to the indigenous people themselves; their "fatal

attraction" to irresistible foreign goods originating in initial encounters (see Thomas 1991, 85–87). While the far-reaching impact of colonialism cannot and should not be ignored, Hawaiian cultural forms, nationalist or other, did not simply or inevitably adopt forms resembling those of a "dominant" culture due to ideological coercion (see Thomas 1991, 83–84). The language of coercion and domination, fatal attraction, and naïve acquiescence does not satisfactorily characterize cultural change and exchange in Hawai'i or other colonial cultures.

Interpreting colonialism and its ensuing cultural transformations primarily in terms of globalization relies too heavily on metahistorical narratives that "reduce the heterogeneity and contradictions in the world of the colonizers while ignoring the practical effect of the colonial discourse on those colonized" (Merle 1997, 131). These political economy interpretations emphasize how political and cultural bodies are incorporated into the world system, underscoring global economies and inequities. Colonial processes were highly variable in the Pacific; they were conditioned by the nature and motivations of both colonizing and colonized entities and the agency of key actors in creating environments conducive to collaboration or resistance (Munro 1993, 120–121; see Thomas 1997, 46, 51). In other words, Western capitalism and culture did not expand, and were not received, uniformly (Eisenstadt 1973, 95–115; Grimshaw 1997, 124; Linnekin 1991, 209). Anthropologist Nicholas Thomas (1994, 8–9) points out that much early scholarship on postcolonialism, inspired largely by Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978), presented a totalizing view of colonization, much in the same way that world system approaches represent global forces as over-determining. Without carefully acknowledging the cultural and historical specificity of colonial cultures, some postcolonial theorists assumed a monolithic narrative that homogenized all colonial predicaments and processes. Elaborating on this notion, historian Patricia Grimshaw (1997, 124) states: "Failing to ground their observations in the specificities of historical situations, with all their particular contestations and ambiguities, . . .colonial theorists have colluded in the creation of a story that disguises much that it purports to explain."[2]

One must be wary of overprivileging colonial agency and ignoring the possibility that indigenous expressions respond to phenomena other than those imposed externally. Indigenous populations did react to colonial presences, but this is not the sum of their cultural and political sensibilities. Hawaiian nationalist culture was not exclusively dichotomized along the lines of Hawai'i *"versus"* the West, nor did it position the West as "the best" (i.e., the only model worthy of consideration). Furthermore, Hawaiian society was never unmarked by internal social cleavages and political contests and cannot, therefore, be understood as an undivided, homogenous entity with a unified

will and subjectivity. At the same time, "culturalist" or "structural historical" approaches to syncretic cultural processes, which prioritize symbolic structures of meaning and action existing prior to contact to explain local response (Linnekin 1991, 205–207), are also inadequate; these fail to account for the interpretative changes in objects and ideas that occur with prolonged cultural interaction. Because this interpretive strategy confines actors "within the nativist space of enduring traditional categories, capable only of assimilating novel context to preexisting forms" (Thomas 1997, 38), structural history cannot adequately explain processes and products of cultural change and translation.

Focusing on 'Iolani Palace located in Honolulu, Hawai'i, this study emphasizes the critical and conditional relationships between local subjectivity, indigenous agency and global dynamics in the production of visual and spatial cultural forms. Kalākaua (1836–1891) initiated this architectural commission during his rule as the constitutional monarch of the independent Hawaiian nation. He was a high chief whose ancestors had served Kamehameha I (c.1758–1819), the first ruler of the unified Hawaiian archipelago. Kalākaua sought to instill a sense of cultural and national pride among the Native population, notably through the visual, verbal, and performing arts. In fact, his reign has been described as "The First Hawaiian Renaissance" (Buck 1993, 110).

In part, this king's nation-building projects, in general, and the building of 'Iolani Palace, in particular, responded to intensifying European and American colonizing activities during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Prior to this time, the major colonial powers in the region—France, England, and the United States—had maintained an informal presence.[3] The impetus to gain formal colonies escalated when Germany entered the region as a colonial power in the 1880s, causing other nations to make definitive territorial claims (Munro 1993, 115–117). The ensuing annexations and partitions unsettled Native Hawaiian leaders, especially in light of the growing foreign population in Hawai'i and threats of annexation by the United States. At the same time, the symbols of chiefliness formalized in 'Iolani Palace directly addressed the internal cleavage in Hawaiian politics involving competing chiefly lineages. Since the late eighteenth century, the Kamehameha kings had ruled Hawai'i. Upon the death of King William Charles Lunalilo, grandson of a half-brother to Kamehameha I, in 1874, no royal successor had been named, leading to the need to elect a subsequent ruler from an eligible pool of high-ranking chiefs. When Kalākaua announced his candidacy for the kingship, and even following his election, competing chiefs (namely Kamehameha descendents and supporters who believed the throne rightly

belonged to them) contested his right to rule. Their arguments were based on genealogical seniority; rivals argued that Kalākaua lacked sufficient genealogical purity to properly lead the Hawaiian people. Much of Kalākaua's national cultural program served to address this opposition.

Addressing the inadequacy of interpreting colonial architectural production and cultural change as simply reactive, rather than active and deliberate, responses to historical and colonial processes, this paper suggests that, through the function and location of his palace, as well as the design, embellishments, and technological innovations incorporated into the structure, Kalākaua made manifest his vision of himself as both an internationally recognized ruler (to counter colonial threats to Hawaiian sovereignty) and an exalted political and religious authority in Hawaiian terms (as a response to political divisions internal to the Native Hawaiian chiefly community). Kalākaua's 'Iolani Palace is best understood in the context of global historical and cultural conditions in conjunction with local systems of meaning and political agendas.

'Iolani Palace as National and International Symbol

'Iolani Palace is the structure Kalākaua built to replace a smaller royal building of the same name erected in 1844 and used by Kings Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli), IV (Alexander Liholiho), and V (Lota Kapuāiwa), Lunalilo, and Kalākaua (Chang et al. 1977, 17; Friends of 'Iolani Palace [FIP] 1972, 1).[4] While many commentators attribute Kalākaua's aspirations to erect a palace to his desire to match the grand elegance of the royal courts he visited in 1881 during his world tour,[5] it was in the planning stages well before his departure; upon accepting his royal office in 1874, Kalākaua immediately made arrangements for his new palace (Jay 1992, 25; Peterson 1963, 96). He instructed architect Robert Lishman (1831–1902) of Sydney, Australia, to make plans to substantially renovate the existing building in 1874,[6] but the 1878 Hawaiian Legislature appropriated $50,000 for a new royal home (Kuykendall 1956, 204).

Built of plastered brick and iron with concrete block trimmings, 'Iolani Palace is a heavy rectangular structure (the ground plan[7] is 120 feet by 140 feet) of two main levels plus an attic and a basement. Four towers, each approximately 60 feet high, flank the deep verandas (which encircle the second and third stories) and towers 80 feet high are located at the front and rear entrances. A square campanile with concave outlines caps each tower and Corinthian columns line the two main levels. A 6-foot wide trench resembling a moat encloses the base, providing the basement with light and

air (*PCA* 3 January 1880; Taylor 1927, 27). Several architects and builders contributed to the design of the palace. Thomas J. Baker prepared the original plan in 1879 and estimated costs to be $65,000 (Judd 1975, 119). After Baker was discharged, Charles J. Wall finished the drawings and continued the work during 1880. With Robert and Stirling and Edward Bedford Thomas, Isaac Moore completed the project and corrected many of the errors created by the previous builders.[8] George Lucas supervised the carpentry, using fine imported (e.g., American walnut and white cedar) and Hawaiian (*koa*, *kou*, *kamani*, and *'ohi'a*) woods. The sophisticated mansard roofs and the detailed brickwork, moldings, and wrought-iron were completed in time for Kalākaua's coronation ceremony on 12 February 1883, for which the palace served as centerpiece.

The building was considered a symbol of great national importance and, therefore, worthy of great expenditures. Royalist supporters believed Kalākaua required an abode suitable to his high station. Before its completion, the *Advertiser* (24 September 1881) published a description of the palace stating: "There is a promise that our Sovereign will be provided with apartments suitable for the reception of the distinguished personages he is from time to time called upon to entertain, and with a residence suitable to his position and dignity." Backers of the king desired to produce the most accomplished architectural monument in the kingdom, one that would rival the great mansions of the highly successful resident *haole* (white, or foreign) businessmen. The *PCA* (3 January 1880), a pro-government newspaper, announced, ". . .it will be in all respects by far the finest and most imposing building in the Islands, an honor and ornament to our capital city, and a fitting abode for Royalty." Kalākaua's vision of nationhood did not picture Hawai'i enduring as a separate or secluded island state, but instead was premised on Hawai'i's right to join the international community of nations. The planners of 'Iolani Palace believed an internationally recognized king and nation should have a political center comparable to those of other states. 'Iolani Palace also functioned to prove the wealth and achievements of the kingdom. Economic prosperity, stimulated by the 1875 Reciprocity Treaty that allowed Hawaiian sugar to be sold in the United States duty-free, enabled the funding of the new building (and encouraged infrastructural expansion in general). Kalākaua celebrated the success of the kingdom through the ostentatious palace and the extravagant display of expensive decorations and interior fittings (see Neil 1972, 14–16).

The building was truly intended as a symbol of cosmopolitanism meant to attract international attention. Its profusion of gold leaf, silks, satins, fine China, exotic wood furnishings, and gifts from Queen Victoria, Napoleon III,

and other European rulers, which had been received by Kalākaua and his predecessors, contributed to this effect (Hackler 1993, 12; Hoover 1994; Taylor 1927, 39, 45). Complementing the palace's ambiance of internationalism were the decorations of foreign orders bestowed upon Kalākaua by Japan, Austria, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Spain, Italy, Venezuela, Great Britain, Belgium, Germany, Portugal, and Thailand. These hung on the walls of the Throne Room,[9] displayed with the Hawaiian Royal Orders. Each decoration was mounted on escutcheons in gilded oval frames, surmounted by Hawai'i's and each nation's coat of arms. Portraits of rulers and notable individuals from Hawai'i and foreign states (such as Rear Admiral Richard D. Thomas, Lord Beaconsfield, and William Gladstone of Great Britain; Alexander II of Russia; Napoleon III and Louis Philippe of France; and Frederick William III of Prussia), juxtaposed with likenesses of Hawaiian chiefs and royalty,[10] adorned the walls of the Dining Room and Grand Hall. Corresponding to the European tradition of representing royal lineages through the display of portraits, Kalakaua's display of foreign royal portraits along with his own (and his family and chiefly predecessors) established him as part of this international royal lineage—he was their heir and equal.

Kalākaua played an active role in planning and furnishing the palace. Correspondence housed in the State Archives of Hawai'i indicate the degree to which the king was involved with the preparation of the palace, from the overall design to the smallest details (e.g., furniture, dishes, towels, etc.).[11] He carefully selected furnishings and materials from Europe, the United States, Asia, and the Middle East during his World Tour of 1881 and, at the time of his coronation, ordered art works and portraits for the palace (Hackler 1971, 39–49; *PCA* 17 June 1882; Stone 1963, 42). The king incorporated technical innovations and modern inventions such as the use of concrete blocks (which was fairly new to masons throughout the world),[12] sheet glass, a telephone system (the first in Honolulu), modern indoor plumbing, and electric lighting ('Iolani had electricity before the White House or Buckingham Palace; Daws 1980, 152; Hackler 1993, 7–8).

'Iolani Palace was the proper center for the cosmopolitan city of Honolulu. Contemporary Hawaiian publications described Honolulu in the 1880s as no longer a "small city, or a one-horse town" but, rather, "a modern city, laid out upon the best American and European plans" (*Paradise of the Pacific* 1888; see *Honolulu Business Directory* 1888). The palace, then, served as a political center in a modern city and a modern state. It pronounced the place of the Hawaiian nation in the world order. Kalākaua's building formed a part of his efforts to preserve Hawai'i as an independent nation and to make it visible to all.

Chiefly Structures and Sacred Spaces

While the 'Iolani Palace could boast of its international style and furnishings and its modern building fabrication, it nonetheless was a *Hawaiian chiefly* structure. The forms, functions, and significations of indigenous architecture must, therefore, be carefully considered in an analysis of the palace. The homes of chiefs were distinguished by height and girth according to rank (Charlot 1979, 27). Descriptions of domiciles in Lahaina, Maui, from the first quarter of the nineteenth century, for instance, indicate that the homes of lower-ranking families were only 4 to 6 feet high, while chiefs' residences were 18 to 20 feet high (Stewart 1828, 128, 137). *Pou hana*, denoting the ridge post, indicated a person's status in figurative speech and suggests the intimate social identification between a chief and his or her house (Buck 1957, 86; Charlot 1979, 27). Similar to Ali'iolani Hale, a structure erected in 1874 intended to serve as a royal residence but used instead as the kingdom's administrative center, 'Iolani Palace towered over the surrounding buildings and perhaps was intended to be the tallest building in the kingdom. An architectural manifestation of the theme of "heights" expressed in poetry, 'Iolani's elevation allegorized superior chiefly status (Charlot 1979, 28–30; Brigham 1899, 58). And, like other chiefly homes, the palace possessed a name and spiritual identity.

Kalākaua retained the name adopted by his nativist predecessor Kamehameha V (1830–1872) for the former 'Iolani Palace. Kamehameha V chose "'Iolani" because it signified the *io*, a species of hawk endemic to the island of Hawai'i, the homeland of great chiefs and, therefore, itself symbolic of chiefs (Pukui et al. 1975, 57; Taylor 1927, 8). The high flight of this hawk, likewise, denoted the elevated status of chiefs; it soared so high it was believed to be "all-seeing" and able to engage the realm of the gods (Farrell 1936, 13). Kamehameha V originally entertained the name "St. Alexander Place," after his brother and royal predecessor Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV, 1834–1863) but, in 1863, selected 'Iolani—one of Alexander Liholiho's Hawaiian names. Kamehameha II (Liholiho, 1796–1824) also possessed this name, given to him by his father Kamehameha I (Pukui et al. 1974, 56–57; Taylor 1927, 8). Thus, the appellation contained genealogical reference, alluding to a renowned ruling dynasty.

The palace grounds resembled a *kauhale*, a chiefly residential building complex frequently surrounded by a fence or wall (Fig. 2). In addition to the homes of chiefs and retainers, buildings in a kauhale had specialized functions: temple (*heiau*), men's eating house (*hale mua*),[13] women's eating house (*hale 'aina*), sleeping house (*hale moe*), menstrual house (*hale pea*), storage building (*hale hoahu* or *hale papa'a*), work house (*hale kuku*), and so on (see

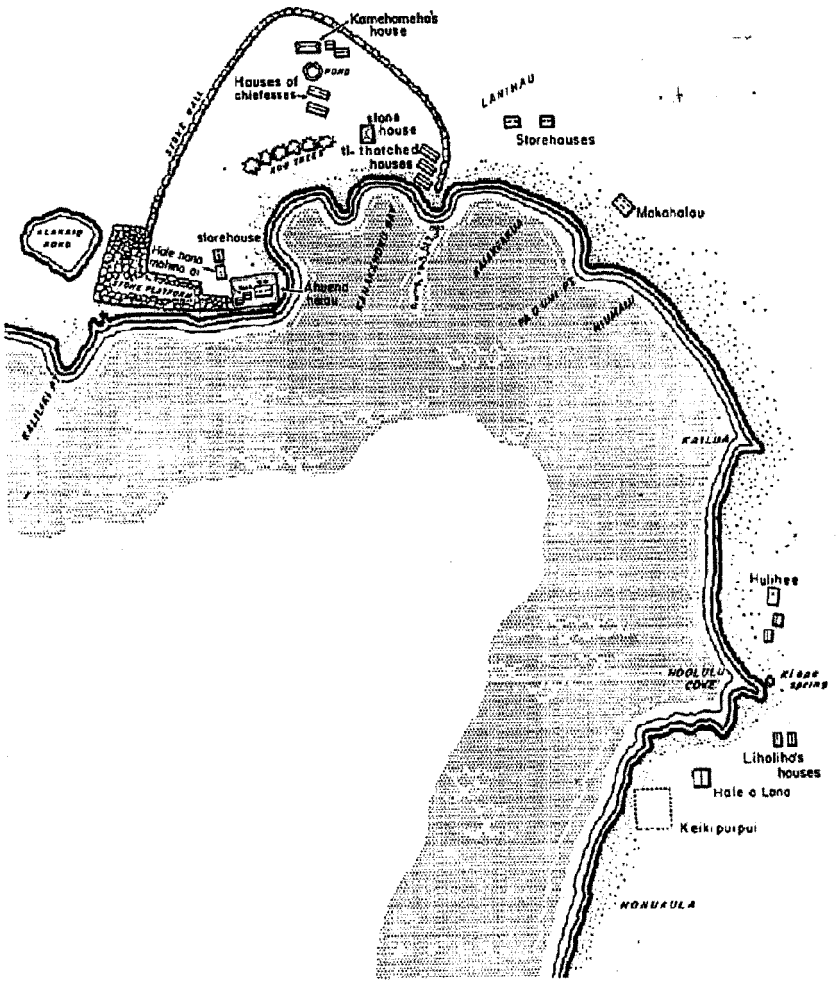

FIGURE 2. **Kamakahonu, the chiefly compound (*kauhale*) of King Kamehameha I, 1813–1819. Map by Paul Rockwood.** From 'I'i 1959. Bishop Museum.

Kirch 1985, 6). The 'Iolani building complex was similarly comprised of multiple buildings on its grounds that were enclosed by an 8-foot high coral block wall. In addition to the palace, there was a 10-room personal residence used by the royal family called Hale Ākala.[14] Since the time of the Kamehamehas, many chiefs maintained homes in and near the 'Iolani

enclosure (Allen 1978, 9; Taylor 1927, 11–12).[15] Walter Coote, a visitor to Honolulu in 1879, described the early palace complex as a walled compound containing a dozen wood structures, one of which belonged to Kalākaua (Coote 1882, 91–92).

The palace building itself adapted some of the roles of both the hale mua (men's eating house) and temple. In traditional chiefly compounds, the size of the hale mua indicated the chief's rank and served as an audience chamber as well as a space in which men prepared and ate their foods. Markers called *pūlo'ulo'u*, sticks or spears surmounted by a bark-cloth covered ball that warned passersby against trespass (Daggett 1990, 33; Rose 1980, 167), distinguished the hale mua as a sacred, restricted (*kapu*) space. Like an eating house, 'Iolani Palace's size and the rows of kapu markers capping the second story verandah railings (Fig. 3), which were designed by Kalākaua[16] and cast by the Honolulu Iron Works, marked the building as a sacred space, intended for more formal and "official" uses such as state dinners and receptions (see Charlot 1979, 30). Added some time in the 1880s, cast-iron lamps flanking the bases of the stairways leading to the front and rear entrance vestibules amplified the reference to sacred space; each capped by three round glass globes, the lamps resemble pūlo'ulo'u and have pūlo'ulo'u motifs cast around their shafts (Figs. 1,4).[17]

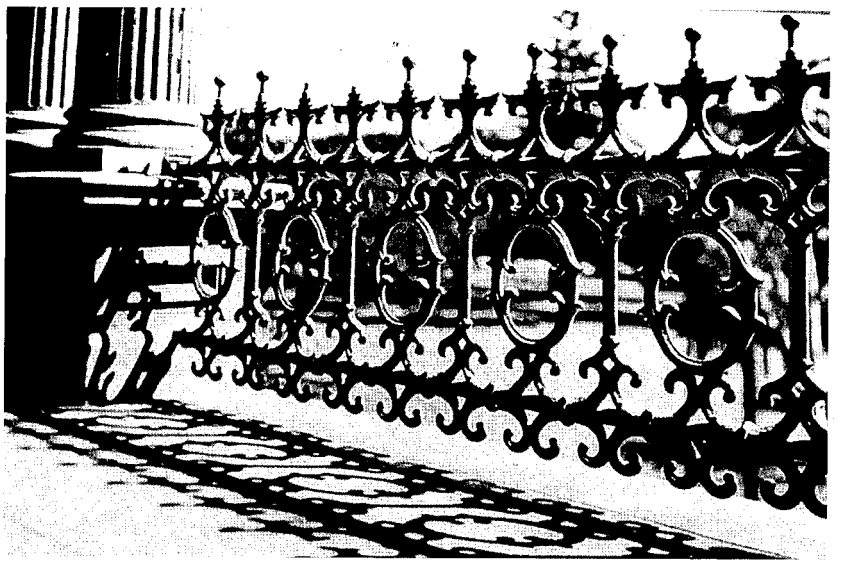

FIGURE 3. **Second story verandah railings with *pūlo'ulo'u* motif.** Photograph by J. Boucher. State Archives of Hawai'i.

FIGURE 4. **Detail of lamppost showing *pūlo'ulo'u* design.** Photograph by S. L. Kamehiro, 2001.

Furthermore, Kalākaua and his queen (Kapi'olani) did not live in the palace, but preferred to reside in an adjacent building, the Hale 'Ākala (Allen 1978, 20; Horton 1978, 25; see Fig. 5). Hale 'Ākala was the modern adaptation of the sleeping house (hale moe) found in traditional chiefly compounds (Malo 1951, 29). Previous rulers also reserved their palace buildings for public functions, simultaneously maintaining more modest living quarters. Kings Kamehameha III, IV, and V and Lunalilo lived in small cottages in their chiefly enclosures, surrounded by the dwelling structures of their retainers (Farrell 1936, 14; Hackler 1993, 3; Neil 1972, 13), but entertained and held audiences in their main palace structures. At other locations in the Hawaiian Islands, high chiefs built or owned Western-styled structures, but actually lived in smaller wood or traditional grass homes. Ruth Ke'elikōlani (of the Kamehameha line of chiefs), for example, inherited the Western-styled Hulihe'e Palace in Kona (which was originally part of Kamehameha I's royal compound); although she entertained and housed visitors at this palace, she lived in the large grass house adjacent (Jay 1992, 26–29; Swenson and Midkiff 1979, 12). When Kalākaua visited Ruth, he ate at the palace but slept in Ruth's grass house (Swenson and Midkiff 1979, 13), suggesting that late nineteenth-century chiefs did in fact perceive palaces as somewhat analogous to the traditional hale mua (eating house), and the dwelling building to the

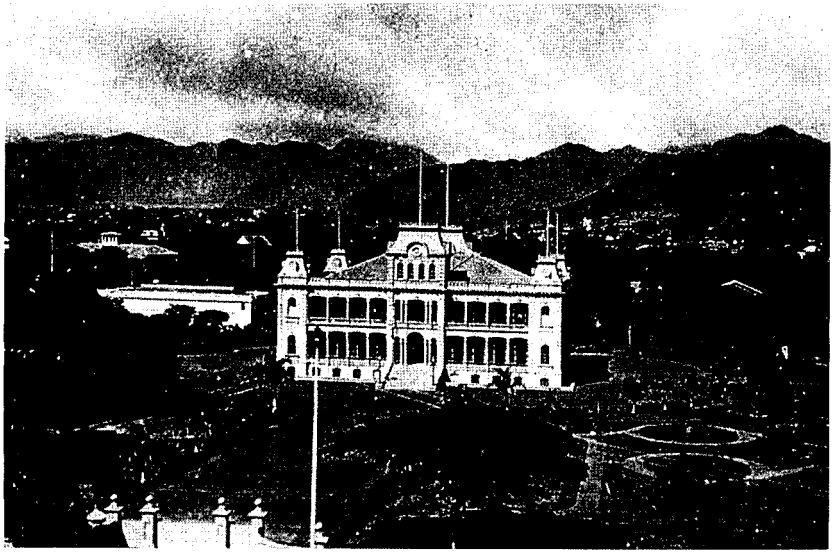

FIGURE 5. **'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, O'ahu, mid-1880s. Hale 'Ākala is located to the left of the Palace.** State Archives of Hawai'i.

hale moe (sleeping house). 'Iolani Palace and Hale 'Ākala continued such functional distinctions, as the former accommodated state receptions and events while the latter provided a more informal residence.

Like a chiefly compound, a tall wall defined the perimeter of the 'Iolani Palace grounds. This heavy 8-foot high coral block wall was reminiscent of pre- and early contact period chiefly enclosures, which were carefully selected and closed off as *kapu*, sacred areas (see Fig. 2) (Charlot 1979, 27, 30). Moreover, the wall incorporated vertical pillars surmounted by stone spheres, another manifestation of pūlo'ulo'u (Fig. 5). On special occasions, such as the King's return from his World Tour, the gateways were decorated and crowned with an arch. This post and arch construction resembled the doors of pre- and early contact chiefly homes. Such doors were framed on each side by vertical posts, capped by an arch or crescent, denoted by the term *hoaka* (Kamakau in Buck 1957, 100–101). The palace's entrance vestibules and doorways (Figs. 1, 6) shared a similar construction, having two posts capped with an arch. Hoaka was intimately associated with chiefs; it denoted "glory," "bright," and "splendid" in Hawaiian verbal and visual language, offering a poetic and visual metaphor for the revered genealogy of chiefs (Kaeppler 1985, 109). Tom Cummins (1984, 7–13) argues that crescent motifs so prevalent on Hawaiian feather cloaks referred to the arching form of a rainbow,

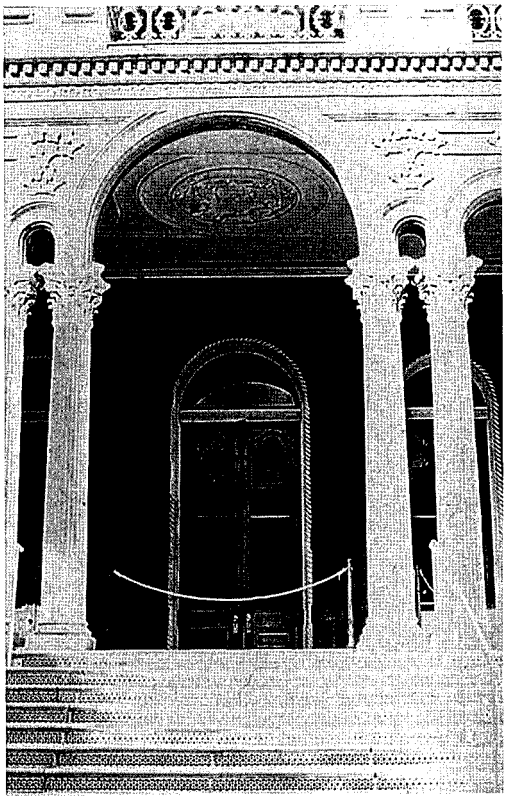

FIGURE 6. **Arched vestibule and entrance of 'Iolani Palace.** Photograph by S. L. Kamehiro, 2001.

which in turn signified high chiefs and the chiefly kin relations that produced the highest-ranking offspring. Similarly, E. S. Craighill Handy (1965, 41) interprets the shape of feather cloaks as inverted crescents and suggests that great chiefs were identified through their cloaks or capes, images of inverted rainbows representing "the sign of the alii's [(chief's)] magnetism, power and sacredness." Kaeppler (1982), likewise, sees hoaka as a key aesthetic concept and form in Hawaiian sculpted figures and drums. Arched forms seem to have been the prerogative of chiefs, and those featured on feather garments and sculpture conveyed similar meanings to arches found in architecture. Not to discount the prevalence of arched portals in contemporary Western architecture, this formal element may have had multiple significations in Hawai'i, providing a modern translation of the arched door. In view of the

nationalist and nativist sentiments evoked by the palace, it is not surprising to find that a mid-nineteenth-century Hawaiian-English dictionary supplied this additional translation of hoaka: "Glory, as of a people, i.e., their liberty; freedom" (Andrews 2003, 160).

As noted above, the palace adapted, to some extent, the symbolic function of a temple. As Polynesian Religious Studies scholar John Charlot observes, the site for 'Iolani Palace was meaningfully selected for religious and political reasons, as were earlier chiefly structures. Building locations were "chosen by experts versed in ritual and codes for reading the meaning of the land. The house itself was built by other experts. A series of ceremonies marked the stages through completion and dedication" (Charlot 1979, 27).[18] A public address written by Chief Justice and Privy Council member C. G. Harris, followed by a more detailed speech in Hawaiian presented by the Minister of Foreign Affairs John M. Kapena[19] during the Masonic cornerstone laying ceremony for the new palace, made explicit the sacred and chiefly associations held by the palace location (Harris 1880; Kapena 1879). The speakers not only detailed the previous notable residents of the site but stated that the palace was believed to be situated on the site of an ancient temple, or *heiau*, called Ka'ahaimauli (see Black 1981, 18; Chang et al. 1977, 19; FIP 1972, 1–2).[20] Building a chiefly structure on a sacred temple site was not uncommon; Kaniakapupu (c.1843), Kamehameha III's country residence in Nu'uanu (northwest of the palace), was also constructed over an ancient heiau and chief Kekūanaō'a's home in the 'Iolani grounds, Hanailoia, was located on Ka'ahaimauli itself (Jay 1992, 19; Kapena 1879).

The palace's lateral axis intersects the line of sight between the ocean and the great temple site Pūowaina (today commonly known as Punchbowl; see Fig. 7), a kapu volcanic crater setting where human sacrifices were formerly conducted (Charlot 1979, 30; Pukui et al. 1975, 195). Heiau were abundant in pre- and early contact Honolulu (Kamakau 1976, 144). In addition to the great temples of Pūowaina and Ka'ahaimauli, two other temples were located nearby—Kanela'au and Mana; these heiau, which acted as the outposts for the main temple at Pūowaina, may have extended into the 'Iolani grounds. The heiau at Mana was situated about one-half block from the palace. Its name translates as "supernatural, or divine, power" and also refers to a specific type of heiau. In earlier times, human sacrifices were first drowned then taken to Kanela'au and later to an altar at the summit of Pūowaina (Sterling and Summers 1978, 291). Sacrificial victims were those who transgressed either of the two main divisions of *kapu* (prohibitions)—kapu of the gods (*kapu akua*) and the godly kapu of chiefs (*kapu akua ali'i*) of the three highest ranks. These chiefs were considered "chief gods" (*poe' akua*) or "god chiefs" (*ali'i akua*). If their kapu were breached, the violators were burned. Those

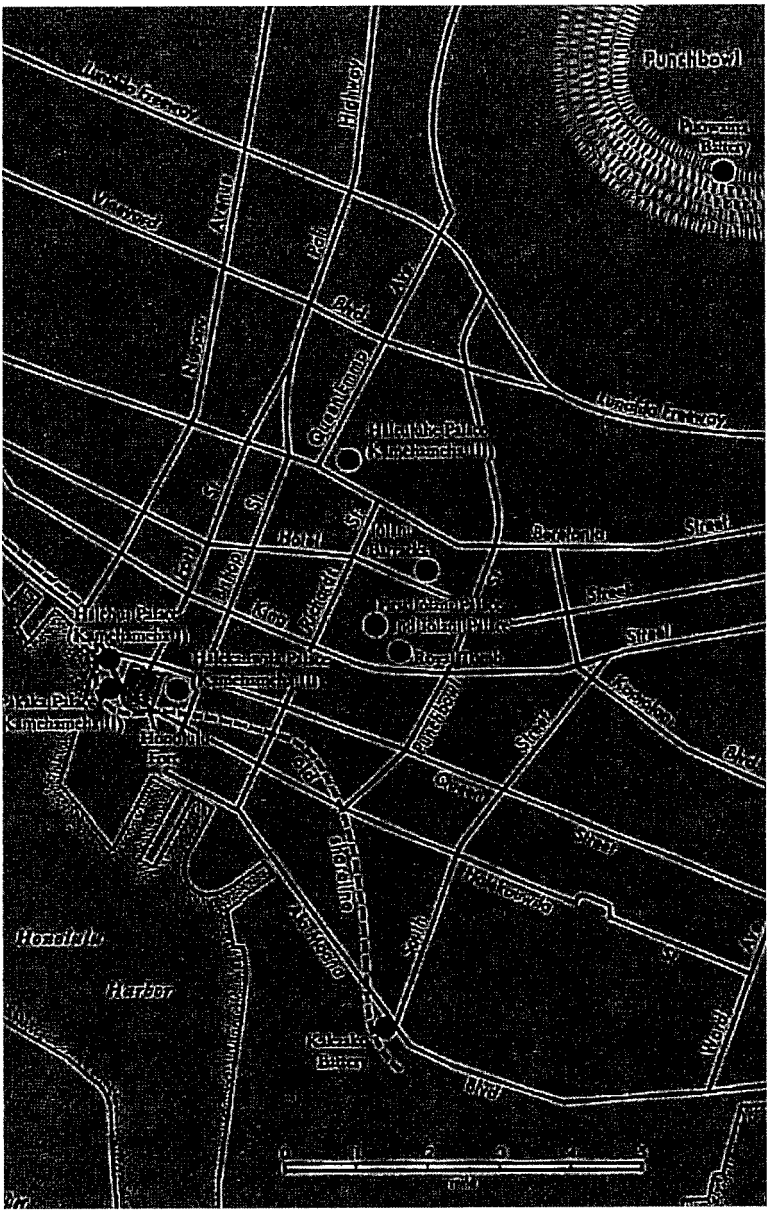

FIGURE 7. **Map of present-day Honolulu showing approximate locations of ten historic structures.** Map by James A. Bier. From Judd 1975. Pacific Books, Palo Alto, CA.

who defied the kapu of gods were also burned (Kamakau 1991, 25). Human sacrifices appeased the gods of the ruling chief (Kelsey n.d., 819; Lyons 1901, 192; McAllister 1933, 82). Its setting among a series of important temple sites informed the meaning of the palace in light of Kalākaua's nativist-nationalist agenda. By associating himself, through his palace, with sacrosanct spaces and restrictive chiefly prohibitions, he presented himself as a political and religious leader of the highest station, countering the claims of his Native detractors.

Considered the greatest class of temples, *heiau po'o kanaka* were frequently built between shore and mountain ranges on former temple sites. Rituals performed at such heiau served to increase the population, enhance public health, preserve peace, and secure success at war (Kamakau 1865 in Stokes 1991, 33). Like a heiau po'o kanaka, 'Iolani Palace was situated on a plain between the mountains and the sea (Figs. 5, 7) and was built on or near at least one temple site, reinforcing the identity of the palace as a modern translation of a heiau (see Charlot 1979, 31).[21] In the traditional Hawaiian religio-political system, the paramount ruler was a trained ritual specialist who was required to perform the necessary temple rites securing the productivity of the land and people. The chief was the intermediary between the people and the gods, and the welfare of all depended on him (or her). Chiefliness was contingent upon the productive channeling of *mana*, a dynamic force associated with power and authority that originates from divine sources (see Pukui and Elbert 1986, 235) and is necessary for maintaining a thriving world. Good chiefs were generous, kind, and supportive of their people. They maintained fishponds, irrigation systems, temples, etc., for the benefit of the chiefdom. The rule of bad chiefs resulted in disaster; they were cruel, self-serving, and prone to overthrow (Linnekin 1991, 223–224).

Kalākaua's palace resonated with indigenous conceptions of good chiefly rule. Possessing the right to officiate in a temple as both a chief and a priest was one of the indications that a person was of sacred status and, therefore, a true leader (Beckwith 1970, 376). Kalākaua himself was a recognized priest (*kahuna*), known (and criticized by some) for reviving traditional religious practices. In erecting the palace as a temple linked to historic sacred sites, Kalākaua continued the time-honored practice of building sacred structures for the chiefdom's (the nation's) welfare. This was a particularly timely and profound expression of *aloha* by the king to his people. Since the 1819 overthrow of the kapu system (the former religious order), many major religious sites had been destroyed or neglected, replaced by architectural monuments such as the Kawaiaha'o Church,[22] and during the course of the nineteenth century Native Hawaiians felt increasingly alienated from their chiefs (see

Osorio 2002). 'Iolani Palace conveyed what Thomas (1994, 155) considers to be the most important element of Polynesian chieftainship: "a kind of auspiciousness manifest especially in agricultural fertility and more broadly in successful fishing and good health." Presenting himself as priest-king presiding in his temple-palace, Kalākaua demonstrated his role as a true and able Hawaiian ruler.

Through 'Iolani Palace's symbolic location and visual elements, the king countered the claims of his Native opponents and effectively portrayed himself as a "good chief" of sacred pedigree, worthy of rule. The imagery in the arched, etched sheet-crystal panels of the front and rear portal transoms specifically manifest these conceptions of the king (Fig. 8). Clusters of taro leaves flank the central image in the transoms. Taro (*kalo, Colocasia esculenta*) was a Hawaiian staple, deemed "the staff of life," and was designated the national dish. The taro leaf motif referenced the chief as the source of life. As the progenitor of the people and the land, the chief's descent from the gods—the divine course of life—was also denoted by the taro symbol (Bishop 1958, 12). At the center of the glass panel was the Hawaiian coat of arms. The scroll forming its lower border bears an early version of the national motto: "Ua mau ka [ke] ea o ka 'aina i ka pono," which translates as "The life breath of the land has endured through rightness," portraying Hawaiian kings as "good chiefs."[23] The taro motif and national motto were surmounted by an arch, hoaka; the images are meaningfully juxtaposed, as together they formalize the chief's divine ancestry (hoaka) necessary to maintain the prosperity of the land and people (taro).

The inclusion of the area known as Pohukaina contributed to the perception of 'Iolani Palace as a sacred space. Pohukaina was the residence and birthplace of high chiefs[24] and a famous chiefly burial site, also known as "The Royal Tomb." Chiefly birth and residence sites were considered hallowed ground, retaining the mana of the chiefs with which they were associated. As a chiefly burial site, Pohukaina resonated with extraordinary mana as well. Kapena spoke to this fact in his address delivered during the palace cornerstone laying ceremony. The tomb was a coral block building with a single entrance and no windows. Kamehameha II and his favorite wife Kamamalu were interred here in 1825 after their bodies were returned from London, where they died in 1824. Ka'ahumanu (Premier, or *kuhina nui*, and Kamehameha I's favorite wife, d.1832), Kamehameha III (d.1854), Abner Paki (a Kamehameha descendent and father of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, d. 1855), Kamehameha IV (d. 1863), and others were buried in the tomb with lesser chiefs interred nearby (Farrell 1936, 46; O'Brien 1949, 24). The body of John Young (c.1749–1835), advisor (of British descent) to Kamehameha I and governor of several of the islands, was placed at the entrance to the tomb

FIGURE 8. **Etched sheet crystal entrances to 'Iolani Palace.** Photograph by George Bacon, 'Iolani Palace Collection. Photo courtesy The Friends of 'Iolani Palace.

in 1835.[25] Although the bodies were later moved to the larger Royal Mausoleum in a midnight torchlight procession on 30 October 1865 (*The Friend* November 1865; *PCA* 4 November 1865), other ancestral relics were believed to be located at the burial site, including the bones of an ancient chief brought from the famous heiau Hale o Keawe on the island of Hawai'i (FIP 1972, 2). Kalākaua restricted access to the area to prevent desecration of the ancestral remains and ordered it to be planted with ferns and flowers (Hackler 1993, 29–30).[26]

Pohukaina also referenced the secret chiefly burial cave of legendary fame on O'ahu. Considered a hiding cave (*ana huna*), Pohukaina cave was concealed to protect the chiefly remains and possessions stored therein from defilement (Kamakau 1964, 38; Sterling and Summers 1978, 175–176). The primary cave entrances are at Ka'a'awa in the Ko'olauloa District on the windward side of the island. These were said to be connected to others at Kalihi, Pū'iwa, Ha'ilikulamanu, and elsewhere in the Kona District to the south (*Ke Au Hou*, 28 June 1911). Additional entrances in other O'ahu districts were described as connected by underground passages. Native Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau indicated people could traverse the island through these caves, and legendary narratives described the supernatural geography here (see Kamakau 1870; Kamakau 1964, 38–39; Sterling and Summers 1978, 152, 175–176). Concerning the 'Iolani site, ethno-historical sources identify an underground entrance to the cave in the Pohukaina area of the palace compound, possibly linked to the old Royal Tomb (McAllister 1933; Sterling and Summers 1978, 176). The palace was, therefore, physically and conceptually connected with sites related to both the welfare of the living (i.e., heiau) and the past (i.e., chiefly births and burials).

'Iolani Palace itself incorporated hallowed materials containing rich historical reference, further contributing to its sacred quality. Kalākaua brought stones from Kūki'i heiau in Puna, Hawai'i to Honolulu in 1877 to be included in the foundation of the palace (Pukui et al. 1974, 57, 121). Kūki'i was located in an area noted for its volcanic activity—a location hosting numerous temple sites (James 1995, 61). 'Umi, Kalākaua's heroic ancestor of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, was credited with building Kūki'i during an era of peace and prosperity in his chiefdom. Establishing his kin relation to 'Umi, and ultimately his divine genealogy, was vital to Kalākaua's efforts to legitimize his claim to the throne. In 1889, for instance, Kalākaua published the *Kumulipo*, a genealogical chant of over 2,000 lines that records the divine ancestry of the great chief Lonoikamakahiki, from whom Kalākaua claimed descent, to 'Umi (see Beckwith 1970, 310–313; Kamakau 1991, 155–56; Kamakau 1992, 1–21). 'Umi was famous for his fishing, farming, and circuiting his chiefdom with the intention of developing industry and public

works. He was also recognized for his piety, which, in part, was evidenced by his erecting and refurbishing of many heiau.[27] 'Umi's heiau, such as that at Kūki'i, were distinguished from other temples by the use of hewn stones, for which this chief became famous (Fornander 1996, 100–101). At the turn of the century, Native informants told ethnologist John F. G. Stokes (1991, 152) the stones making up the platform of Kūki'i heiau were very carefully cut and closely laid, reflecting not only a significant architectural accomplishment but also 'Umi's control of labor and resources and the peaceful and productive nature of his reign, which allowed for the undertaking of intensive, well-crafted projects. 'Umi may have believed that this building innovation was pleasing to the gods, since "[a]ncient Hawaiians assumed that the *akua* (gods) were favorably influenced by specific features of heiau design" (Dye 1991, 3).

Temple building specialists (*kahuna kuhikuhipu'uone*) "combined a study of Hawaiian political history, especially the careers of successful chiefs, with a knowledge of variation in heiau plans through the ages. On this basis, they formulated theories about the ability of particular heiau features to aid specific chiefly ambitions" (Dye 1991, 3). In using stones from 'Umi's Kūki'i heiau in the construction of 'Iolani Palace, Kalākaua not only perpetuated the honored chiefly practice of building sacred structures but also materially linked this practice with the building projects of his famous ancestor. As enduring materials and objects, such as stones, held the mana of those with whom they were associated, Kalākaua incorporated a concrete and sacred architectural manifestation of his indisputably popular and successful ancestor to encourage confidence in his own reign and to imbue his rule and his palace with the mana of glowing precedent.[28]

Temple-Palaces and Divine Kings

The "grand opening" of 'Iolani Palace coincided with Kalākaua's coronation on 12 February 1883 and constituted the primary setting for much of the festivities, which lasted until the 24th of the month (*PCA* 3 February 1883; *PCA* 10 February 1883; *HG* 21 February 1883). These included the coronation ceremony, State Dinner, gathering for the unveiling of the national monument to Kamehameha I, Grand Ball, full dress Grand Lū'au, nightly *hula* performances, and receptions for foreign dignitaries. To mark the occasion, the colonnades were draped in red and white, the king's monogram adorned each pillar, and the national coat of arms flanked the stairway leading to the main entrance. It provided the theater for events intended to leave a lasting impression on the Hawaiian and international communities. Japan's ambassador and suite, consular and diplomatic officials from nations

such as the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Italy, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Mexico, and Russia, and elite Native and non-Native residents of the kingdom attended the coronation and palace grand opening. These events did not escape the attention of international presses; they were described and illustrated in at least two British newspapers, the *Illustrated London News* (7 April 1883) and *The Graphic* (28 April 1883), and received notice in American publications. Contextualized within the coronation, 'Iolani Palace integrated conceptions of sacred Hawaiian rulership and Western forms denoting sovereign statehood. It intended to garner trust in the king's ability, and right, to properly govern and to bring good fortune to the people; the palace formed part of his statement of kingship.

During the coronation, the king invited the general public to his palace for an open house and *ho'okupu*, a ceremonial gift-giving showing honor and respect to a chief (Pukui et al. 1975, 79). Foods accumulated for the feasts were redistributed to the people, as was customary in the pre- and early contact period. Kalākaua fulfilled his duties as a good chief, as indicated in the Hawaiian proverb, "Ho'i pu'olo no o kahi ali'i" ("one returns with a bundle from the place of the chief") (Seiden 1992, 131). Chiefly wealth and generosity were signs of mana. Kalākaua's palace also attested to the continuity between successful rulers of the past and his own reign. Kapena's speech at the cornerstone-laying ceremony recalled the past prominent servants of the government who had performed their duties on the site of 'Iolani Palace—"those who served and labored for the good of the country and the progress of the nation"—and compared them to the present regime: "Should any one consider that it is a light and easy task to conduct the affairs of our Island government he will be mistaken, for evidently it will require all the skill, the watchful care, the patience, the caution and the industry that can be bestowed in the future, in order to secure the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the Government" (Kapena 1879). Through the coronation, an event infused with the significance of its placement within the 'Iolani grounds, Kalākaua displayed his ability, and the ancestral backing, to accomplish the task.[29]

Not only did the palace symbolize the sacred rule of the king, it also articulated the success and progress of the kingdom. The Western form and technological innovations incorporated into the structure and the very existence of the building testified to Hawai'i's modernity. The two principal speakers at the cornerstone-laying ceremony, Harris and Kapena, detailed the positive changes that had taken place in the course of the century. They compared the 'Iolani Palace region of the past to the contemporary condition of the area

by enumerating the advances made in architecture, city planning, transportation, communication, commerce, and industry. They contrasted earlier periods of warfare and social upheaval with the current era of peace and prosperity brought about by agricultural and industrial development and suggested that this architectural monument was evidence of how far Hawai'i had progressed and would continue to advance under Kalākaua, who "[gave] new life to the land" (Kapena 1879; Harris 1880). 'Iolani Palace could dazzle the resident haole and international audiences assembled for the coronation, as well as impress the Native population. It was an authentically modern and traditional Hawaiian symbol of the state of the nation.

'Iolani Palace, then, synthesized Hawaiian definitions of rulership and internationalist conceptions of modern nationhood in Kalākaua's statement of kingship. While many of the King's Western critics dismissed his nationalist art and architectural projects in terms of his love of extravagant display and desire to imitate Western rulers (see Buck 1993, 75), one cannot accurately describe Kalākaua's art patronage as mere mimicry. His was not an insipid copy-cat modernist nationalism "traditionalized" or "Hawaiianized" through the nostalgic use of visual markers of the Native past. This stately edifice constituted a response to both internal and external pressures on the Hawaiian leadership. Kalākaua's palace speaks to cross-cultural intersections, nationalist claims about distinctiveness and commonality, and the power of individual agency to create meaning and enable action through art and architecture.

NOTES

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1. A notable exception is John Charlot (1979). Some of the themes introduced by Charlot are developed in this paper. Charles E. Peterson (1963) provides a valuable descriptive chronology detailing the building process and conditions and identifies numerous archival references to 'Iolani Palace. Many other writings on the palace present descriptions of the building and the events that took place there.

2. Grimshaw goes on to quote M. Bernstein (1996, 13): "hermeneutics without history can scarcely escape either banality or reductionism."

3. These three nations, however, had established formal representation in Hawai'i in the earlier part of the century. The United States appointed John C. Jones Jr. as "agent of

the United States for commerce and seamen" to represent its interests in the islands in 1820; the British Foreign Office made Captain Richard Charlton "British Consul for the Sandwich, Society and Friendly Islands" in 1824; and Jules Dudoit was appointed Honorary Consul by the French government in 1837 (Kuykendall 1947, 80, 98, 150).

4. The first 'Iolani Palace was built by the Governor of O'ahu, Mataio Kekūanaō'a, in 1844 and was named Hanailoia. King Kamehameha III assumed possession of Hanailoia, which was later renamed 'Iolani (Peterson 1963, 91–92). Plans for a new, more elaborate, palace originated with King Kamehameha V in 1870. He ordered plans from G. Allen Mansfield and Thomas Rowe of Australia. A modified version of these plans was used to build Ali'iolani Hale, which housed the Judiciary and Legislature (Judd 1975, 118–119).

5. Considering himself a cosmopolitan ruler, Kalākaua undertook a world tour in 1881; he was the first head of state to circumnavigate the globe. The purposes of the trip were to secure immigration treaties, foster a positive image of Hawai'i abroad, amplify the prestige of the Hawaiian monarchy, and learn of royal practices in other countries. See Grant in Kalākaua 1990, v; Hooper 1980, 45–46; and Schweizer 1991, 109–112.

6. Cabinet Council Minute Book, 17 April 1874, Archives of Hawai'i (hereafter AH).

7. To date, the original building plans for the Palace have not been found. For floor plans of the basement, first floor and second floor, reconstructing the Palace as it stood in 1887, see FIP 1972, plates VIII, IX, and X.

8. Baker received a personal request from Kalākaua, through his Minister of the Interior Samuel G. Wilder, for plans for a new palace in a letter dated 2 March 1879. See Interior Department File, "Iolani Palace," AH. On the expensive architectural corrections, see *Hawaiian Gazette* (hereafter *HG*), 20 April 1881, and *Report of the Minister of the Interior*, 1882, 27–28 (in Kuykendall 1967, 204). Ultimately, the palace cost approximately $350,000. For a detailed account of each architect's contributions, see Peterson 1963, 96–103.

9. A photograph of the throne room by J. Williams, taken during Kalākaua's reign, was reproduced in Iaukea 1938, 65 and Poole 1948, 10.

10. Most of the European portraits were sent to Hawai'i as gifts from the heads of the various countries during the previous decades. They are reproduced in Hackler 1971. For descriptions and reproductions of the royal Hawaiian portraits, see Hackler 1982.

11. See, for example, Kalākaua to C. H. Judd, 10 April 1882, F. O. & Ex., Local Officials: King and Royal Family, AH.

12. George Frear is credited with producing, in 1865, the first hollow concrete blocks in the United States. Ali'iolani Hale, the Hawaiian Government Building constructed prior to the palace, utilized this innovation in the 1870s (Frost and Frost 1979, 4, 211–212).

13. Religious restrictions regarding foods and eating were enforced at the hale mua. The chief also maintained the altar to his family deities (*'aumakua*) here (see Kirch 1985, 6).

14. Hale 'Ākala, informally referred to as "The Bungalow," was a two-story home designed in the style of a north Indian palace. Its name derived from the pink color of the building: *hale* ("house") and *'ākala* ("pink"). The building was razed in 1919.

15. High chiefess Kekāuluohi (c. 1794–1845), premier and mother of King Lunalilo and wife of Kamehameha I, built her house within the 'Iolani compound on the premises known as Pohukaina (Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini 1974, 106). John Young II's (1810–1835, whose Hawaiian name was Keoni Ana, and who served as premier) home, Kīna'u Hale, was also located on the palace grounds. Kekūanaō (1794–1868), the governor of O'ahu and father of Kamehameha IV and V, built his home called Hāli'imaile on the western corner of the palace compound. The residence of Kamehameha III, Ho'iho'ikea ("Independence," also used by Kamehamehas IV and V, Lunalilo, and Kalākaua), was located in the western portion of the 'Iolani site (Harris 1880; Kapena 1879). He also resided at another house on the other side of the palace (see Jay 1992, 18). Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma used the first 'Iolani Palace for formal occasions but lived in a frame house called Ihikapukalani on the 'Iolani premises.

16. See letters from Henry W. Severance, Hawaiian Consul in San Francisco, to H. A. P. Carter, Minister of the Interior, 8 and 19 October 1881, AH (see also Peterson 1963, 102).

17. In photographs of the palace dating to 1882, the lamp posts are absent. Evidenced in later photographs, a pair of lamps, each with a single sphere resembling pūlo'ulo'u, was added. Eventually, these were replaced with the three-lobed lamps, which can be seen in photographs dating from 1886.

18. Completion of the Palace was celebrated with an elaborate Masonic banquet on St. John's Day, 27 December 1882 (Poole 1948, 10). Masonic motifs decorated the palace interiors (Charlot 1979, 30). The consecration of 'Iolani through Masonic rites and banquets parallels the performance of rituals by religious specialists during the building and completion of chiefly homes. For a full description of the Cornerstone Laying ceremony, see Thrum 1913, 55 and Clemens 1979. On royal involvement in Freemasonry in Hawai'i, see Coombs 1949, 76–79; Gardiner 1990; Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of Hawai'i 1929; and Towse 1916, 125–128.

19. Clemens 1979 mistakenly identifies the speaker as John A. Makena. The speaker was in fact John Makini Kapena (1843–1887), the son of a royal advisor, Maniki. He married Emma Malo, daughter of David Malo, the noted Hawaiian historian (Stone 1963, 42), and served as Minister of Finance, Minister of Foreign Affairs, a member of the Board of Education, and Collector General of Customs under Kalākaua. Kapena was also a scholar of Hawaiian culture (Day 1984, 71).

20. The significance of this location is also mentioned in: Charlot 1979, 30; Farrell 1936, 13; Mah 1984, 25; Seeley 1962, 105; Taylor 1927, 10; and Terry 1986, 16.

21. Related to the mountain-ocean orientation is the dual naming of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma's home that at one time stood within the 'Iolani compound enclosure. The side of their home facing inland (*mauka*) was named Ihikapukalani, and the side facing the ocean (*makai*) was called Ka'uluhinanao (Kapena 1879). Their home in the Nu'uanu Valley in O'ahu also possessed two names, Hānaiakamalama and Kaniakapupu (Hackler 1993, 3; Jay 1992, 19). It is possible that 'Iolani Palace also held two names, corresponding to its mountain-ocean orientation. The Cabinet Council Minutes for 1886 occasionally indicate that meetings took place at Healani Hale. Jacob Adler and Gwynn Barrett (1973, 25) suggest this referred to a section of the palace, or a separate building. They note that Kalākaua's canoe club was called Healani Club, but this seems an unlikely place to conduct

cabinet business. If referencing the palace, Healani Hale may have denoted either the inland or seaward side of 'Iolani.

The houses of high chiefs often had two entrances, one facing the home of the god Kāne, one of the major Hawaiian gods, and the other facing toward Kahiki, the ancestral homeland of the early Hawaiians (Daggett 1990, 57). 'Iolani's alignment between Pūowaina and the Honolulu Bay placed its entrances in close proximity to this orientation. The main entrance points south/southwest, generally facing the direction of Sāmoa, where Kalākaua believed Kahiki to be located (Daggett 1990, 47–48; Fornander 1996, 35).

22. I thank Joshua Bell (personal communication, 2006) for this insight.

23. Another translation is "The life of the land is perpetuated (or reposes) in righteousness" (Charlot 1985, 7). Of this version of the national motto, Roger Rose notes "the third word [had] not yet [been] changed from *ka* to *ke* for grammatical euphony" (Rose 1980, 208).

24. High chiefess Kekāuluohi's home was located in this area (see note 15), and Lilia Piia Namahana (daughter of one of Kamehameha I's wives) also maintained a home here. Ruth Ke'elikōlani, of the Kamehameha chiefly line, was born in Namahana's residence in 1826 (Zambucka 1977, 12).

25. See Kapena 1879. Young, also known as Olohana, served with Kamehameha I's warrior forces attacking northern Hawai'i and O'ahu. He married Kaonaeha, Kamehameha's niece, and was grandfather to Queen Emma, wife of Kamehameha IV (Day 1984, 133). His accomplished status as an *ali'i* is indicated by his burial at Pohukaina in 1835 and, in 1865, his interment at the Royal Mausoleum with Hawai'i's chiefs and royalty.

26. For a complete description of the tomb, see *The Polynesian*, 13 January 1855. Elderly Hawaiians reported in 1848 that many of the caskets contained only stones wrapped in barkcloth and that the chiefly bones had been deposited in protected, secret burials, as was customary (see Sheldon 1848 in O'Brien 1949, 25). The burial mound is presently enclosed by a low brick wall and fence erected in 1930. In 1931, a casket was unearthed near the State Archives building. It contained a woman's body accompanied with burial goods indicating her high status (Allen 1978, 5).

27. He maintained active worship of the gods, enriched the priestly class and magnified the practices of human sacrifice (Beckwith 1970, 391; Fornander 1996, 100–102).

28. Integrating the mana of former chiefs into nineteenth-century chiefly architecture is also evidenced in a home called Halekauwila occupied by Kamehameha III in 1836. Wood from the Hale O Keawe heiau (at Hōnaunau, North Kona, Hawai'i) was used in its construction (Seiden 1992:129).

29. Kalākaua's and 'Iolani's chiefly and sacred presence was sustained into the twentieth century. David K. Bray (born c. 1888) was a kahuna who served as a guide at 'Iolani Palace in the mid-twentieth century. He and other elderly Native Hawaiians believed the Throne Room contained a special mana because of its location on the site of ancient heiau. He regularly offered red hibiscus flowers to Kalākaua's marble bust housed in the Palace (*Paradise of the Pacific* 1955, 11).

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