PACIFIC ARTS
Journal of the Pacific Arts Association

EMILY CORNISH

Photographing Matrilineal Power and Prestige in the Hawaiian Kingdom

Abstract
This article analyzes three portrait photographs from the 1850s that visually emphasize the importance of kinship and genealogy for the aliʻi (chiefly class), through their representation of two high-ranking women: Queen Kalama and Princess Victoria Kamāmalu. It argues that during this period, portrait photographs became a new way of displaying and manifesting meaningful matrilineal connections that had political consequences for elite Hawaiians, particularly the connection between aliʻi wahine (chiefly women) and political power in Hawaiʻi. This research indicates that aliʻi engagement with photography, rather than merely copying Euro-American visual forms, used Hawaiian ontologies and epistemologies as its crucial starting points.

Keywords: *nineteenth-century photography, portrait photography, gender, Hawaiʻi, genealogy, nineteenth-century photography*

When photography arrived in the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi circa 1845, the aliʻi (chiefly class) demonstrated a desire to meaningfully engage with this novel technology, as evidenced by the abundance of portrait photographs of Hawaiian elites from the late 1840s to 1850s.[1] Aliʻi eagerly embraced photography as a way to materialize their genealogies, which were foundational to their power.[2] Visual culture, like photography, "enacts" and "shapes" social, cultural, and political entanglements, especially in borderlands spaces like Hawaiʻi.[3] We can therefore view nineteenth-century photography as a facet of visual culture that contributes to Hawaiian processes of world-making. In other words, "images and objects give form to a community's values and social relations, embodying ways of thinking about and being in the world."[4]

For centuries, kinship connections and genealogy played a pivotal role in Hawaiian worlding.[5] During the nineteenth century, these connections became intimately tied to the creation of the monarchy. By 1795, Kamehameha I had united all of the Hawaiian Islands save for Kauaʻi, which only recognized his authority and became a tributary state in 1810. The Hawaiian Kingdom and monarchy was

established during this fifteen-year period. Kamehameha I's successful conquest of the inhabited Hawaiian archipelago and his ability to maintain a firm grip over all the islands was due in no small part to the connections he made through marriage to high-ranking aliʻi women including Keōpūolani, Kaʻahumanu, and Kalākua Kaheiheimālie. These relationships impacted his political power and elevated his lineage, paving the way for his dynastic control over all of Hawaiʻi.[6]

In this article, I analyze three portrait photographs from the 1850s that visually emphasize the importance of kinship and genealogy for the aliʻi, through their representation of two high-ranking women: Queen Kalama and Princess Victoria Kamāmalu. I argue that portrait photographs became a new way of displaying and manifesting meaningful matrilineal connections that had political consequences for elite Hawaiians, in particular the connection between aliʻi wahine (chiefly women) and political power in Hawaiʻi. In the nineteenth century, Hawaiian ontologies and epistemologies were crucial starting points for aliʻi engagement with and understanding of new ideas, forms, and technologies like photography.

Art and photography historians have paid significant attention to the ways photography in Hawaiʻi assisted in the colonization and the illegal occupation of the island nation.[7] However, analyzing photography from the 1850s, a period during which Hawaiian sovereignty was more secure than toward the end of the century, reveals Native Hawaiians' complex cultural, social, and political engagements with this media.[8] I focus on photographs that visualize Hawaiian women's power and prestige through their bodily representation as a means to generate, pass on, and document expressions of kinship and chiefly power in the nineteenth century. As such, these photographs foreground the impact of Hawaiian women's agency within the politics of the period and highlight the fact that both male and female elements—if not always in harmony—were necessary to display group mana, or power.

Matrilineal Power and Prestige in a Portrait of the Kamehameha Royal Family (1853)

In 1853, the daguerreotypists Hugo Stangenwald and Stephen Goodfellow arrived in Hilo on the island of Hawaiʻi, intending to briefly stop there before continuing to Australia.[9] However, Native Hawaiians and the growing community of American Protestant missionaries were so eager for daguerreotypes that the two

photographers extended their stay in the kingdom, going from Hilo on Hawaiʻi island to Honolulu on Oʻahu. Missionary Titus Coan suggested that Kauikeaouli, who reigned as Kamehameha III, become the photographers' patron in order to keep the price of these photographs accessible to as many of his subjects as possible.[10] Subsequently, Kauikeaouli, along with many other members of the aliʻi, flocked to Stangenwald and Goodfellow's studio to have their photographs made, as evidenced by at least sixteen extant portrait photographs of Hawaiian aliʻi produced by the studio.[11] Among these was a portrait of prominent members of Hawaiian royal family (Fig. 1).[12] This photograph is ideal for exploring genealogically complicated representations of royal Hawaiian women, which helped to facilitate political maneuvering by Hawaiian elites.

Figure 1: Hugo Stangenwald and Stephen Goodfellow, the Kamehameha royal family, 1853, daguerreotype. Courtesy of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archive

The group portrait depicts the king, Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III, center); his wife, Queen Kalama Hakaleleponi Kapakuhaili (front, right); Princess Victoria

Kamāmalu (front, left); Prince Alexander Liholiho (back, right), and Prince Lot Kapuāiwa (back, left). Siblings Victoria Kamāmalu, Lot Kapuāiwa, and Alexander Liholiho were Kauikeaouli's niece and nephews. Alexander Liholiho (Alexander) was also Kauikeaouli and Kalama's adoptive son and heir, despite Lot Kapuāiwa (Lot) being his older brother and Kauikeaouli having one living biological child at the time. Alexander and Lot would eventually rule the Hawaiian Kingdom as Kings Kamehameha IV and V, respectively. Victoria would hold an equally important role in the government as the kuhina nui (also referred to as premier) from 1854 until Alexander's premature death in 1863.[13] The inclusion of these specific relatives in this photograph points to the fact that kinship in Hawaiʻi is based on connections that extend beyond direct blood descent and indicates the importance of materializing these connections via photography and other forms of visual culture.[14]

The studio portrait of the Kamehameha royal family depicts some of the highest-ranking members of that dynasty in the 1850s. Kauikeaouli was the son of Kamehameha I, the founder of the united Hawaiian Kingdom, and his most sacred wife, Keōpūolani. Alexander, Lot, and Victoria were also of considerably high rank because of the distinguished genealogy of their mother, Elizabeth Kīnaʻu, a child of Kamehameha I by his wife Kalākua Kaheiheimālie, a member of the ruling family of Maui. Queen Kalama was the daughter of Iʻahuʻula and Naihekukui. She was adopted by her uncle Charles Kanaʻina and Miriam Kekāulohi, another daughter of Kalākua Kaheiheimālie (Kalākua).[15] The complexities of the sitters' genealogies influenced the context and structure of this photograph, in particular the mana (power) of the sitters derived from Kamehameha I's wives, more so than from Kamehameha I himself.

Genealogy is crucial to how the Hawaiian monarchy understood and approached nineteenth-century photography. It connects specific people, places, plants, and animals, stretching back in time to the very creation of the earth as told in cosmogonic chants like the Kumulipo, in which Pō, a feminized primordial night gives birth to herself and two children, Kumulipo and Pōʻele.[16] Notably, it is from Kumulipo and Pōʻele that the world is born, rooting the creation of the universe within this sacred female ancestry. Noenoe Silva states that kinship and genealogy provided order to the very space Hawaiians occupied and formed the basis for "legitimate rule."[17] The bedrock of Silva's argument is in the words and writings of nineteenth-century Hawaiians, such as native historian Samuel Kamakau, whose scholarship drew heavily from mele (poetic texts) and moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy).[18] In doing so, Kamakau demonstrated that genealogies were active in shaping Native Hawaiian thought and action during the

nineteenth century.[19] This is evident, for example, in how Kamakau frames the arrival of James Cook in Hawaiʻi as one story within a larger genealogical chronicle of travel and voyaging to the archipelego, rather than centering this event as unique and remarkable outside of that prior context.[20] Given that genealogical reckoning gives structure to Hawaiian society, it also shapes visual and material culture, including photographs like the Kamehameha royal family.

Kauikeaouli, Alexander Liholiho, and Lot Kapuāiwa all derived their genealogical status in large part from their high-ranking mothers, Keōpūolani and Elizabeth Kīnaʻu. Keōpūolani was Kamehameha I's highest-ranking wife and one of the most sacred women in all Hawaiʻi from the late eighteenth century until her death in 1823.[21] According to Kamakau, she was niʻaupio (meaning "of the same stalk" as it relates to her genealogy) and a naha chiefess (one who is the product of a union between close relatives) with links to the chiefly lines of Oʻahu, Maui, and Hawaiʻi island.[22] Keōpūolani's status was so lofty that Kamehameha I could not consistently be in her presence and visited her only for the purpose of producing royal offspring who would be heirs to their father's throne.[23] Due to the fact that Kamehameha I's genealogy was not as lofty, the political authority of his sons Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) stemmed from the genealogical standing of their high-ranking mother.[24]

Elizabeth Kīnaʻu was the daughter of Kalākua, whose sister Kaʻahumanu is often described as Kamehameha I's favorite and most politically savvy wife.[25] These two women were descended from the ruling chiefs of Maui through their mother Namāhānaʻi Kaleleokalani. Kalākua possessed double paternity which enhanced her status and rank.[26] Kamakau describes her extraordinary genealogy as "descended from families of very high rank, tabu rank, thrice tabu, four times tabu" and claims Kalākua considered her own genealogy as possessing "a root [her lineage] firmly established."[27] This rank passed to her daughters Elizabeth Kīnaʻu, Kamāmalu, Miriam Kekāuluohi, and her grandchildren, including Alexander, Lot, and Victoria, who are depicted in the portrait of the Kamehameha royal family. The genealogies of these women cannot be disentangled from the trajectory of politics within the Hawaiian Kingdom after Kamehameha I's death, specifically in the struggles for power between these chiefly lines via the descendants of Keōpūolani and Kalākua.

Despite their mother's rank and geneaology, the power of Keōpūolani's sons became entangled, and at times challenged, by the powerful chiefly family of Kalākua and her sister Kaʻahumanu. After the death of Kamehameha I, Kaʻahumanu sought power for herself and the elevation of her family line through several

channels including by embracing Christianity and creating the role of the kuhina nui or premier.[28] Historian Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa notes that this power in particular was passed on to Kaʻahumanu's female kin.[29] Kaʻahumanu's conversion brought with it political, social, and economic benefits, especially as it related to reasserting Hawaiian sovereignty within a rapidly changing Pacific world.[30] Similarly, the role of the kuhina nui effectively allowed Kaʻahumanu to became co-ruler alongside Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and regent for Kauikeaouli at the start of his reign as Kamehameha III. In acknowledgment of the genealogical potency of Keōpūolani's and Kalākua's lines, there were unsuccessful attempts to unite them through marriage—for instance by marrying Kalākua's three daughters to Liholiho and proposing marriage between Elizabeth Kīnaʻu and Kauikeaouli, which never materialized. With Liholiho dying chidless in 1824, and the death of his sister Nāhiʻenaʻena in 1836, competition between these two branches—and attempts to control and appropriate the mana of both lineages—continued into the 1850s.[31]

The composition and context surrounding the portrait of the Kamehameha royal family demonstrate how such genealogical complexities were expressed in photography from the 1850s. Queen Kalama and Victoria's placement in the portrait reflects matrilineal power and the ways Hawaiian genealogy and adoption practices allow that power to flow to different individuals in strategic sociopolitical ways. All five individuals are seated and direct their attention to the camera. In the foreground, Queen Kalama and Princess Victoria occupy prominent positions on either side of Kauikeaouli while Alexander and Lot sit behind them. While there is the potential to read this configuration from the top down, doing so does not accord with aliʻi modes of reckoning status in which matrilineal descent lines frequently enable various individuals to outrank others regardless of gender. By sitting in the front row, these two royal women are afforded positions of prominence over the two future kings.

Queen Kalama adopted Alexander through hānai, a practice that enabled children to be raised by close relatives and friends, rather than their biological parents. One translation of the term means to foster or adopt; however, this is an oversimplification that excludes other important connotations, including "to raise, rear, feed, nourish, or sustain."[32] Women were central to this practice, which entailed the "transmission of spiritual property."[33] Hānai relationships were another form of kinship materialized within photographic media.[34] As such, Stangenwald and Goodfellow's photograph of the Kamehameha royal family is also an image of the power that adoptive mothers bestow upon their children.

Hānai relationships provide insights into Queen Kalama's placement in the Kamehameha royal family, which speaks to the importance of women in continuing dynastic lines as mothers (not only biologically but through adoption and care for children other than their own), determining rank and transmitting kinship connections.[35] Upon her marriage to Kauikeaouli, whose status was considered sacred, determining who his successor would be rested heavily on her shoulders. This became especially true when their union produced no surviving children and the heir to the throne would be determined through hānai. Kalama and Elizabeth were essential to the success of this relationship and all it portended for the monarchy's long-term strength and survival. As aliʻi women, they had a significant amount of power to decide when to give or withhold their children in adoption and how those children would be treated and raised once adopted. For example, Elizabeth notably refused to give up Victoria in hānai. Kamakau's writing about Elizabeth implies that her refusal to part with her daughter may have stemmed from a desire to guard her own lineage, despite the fact that the child was proclaimed chiefess of Hawaiʻi Island at birth.[36] Photographic depictions of hānai relationships and the women who made the practice possible—by giving birth to children, consenting to adoptions, and taking on critical roles as guardians and mentors—should not be downplayed but allowed to stand alongside other formations of family units.

Writing in the late 1830s and 1850s, David Malo indicates there was a particular emphasis in Hawaiian society on separating the children of high-ranking aliʻi from those of lower rank to ensure the status of a particular family line. Further, Malo's writing indicates that Hawaiian elites were preoccupied with ensuring that high-ranking men, like Kauikeaouli, had children with women of equally high status.[37] Malo implies that a high-ranking woman could marry a man of lower rank and instill her status upon their offspring.[38] In the reverse situation, where a man married a woman of lower rank, their children would not be elevated quite so highly.[39] Elizabeth Kīnaʻu's three children pictured in the Kamehameha royal family are a critical example of how aliʻi women can confer status on their offspring. Royal seniority was not determined by a straightforward accounting of age or gender but by rank conceived through the higher genealogical branch.[40]

Another example of how kinship connections influenced the photograph's formal aspects can be seen in the creation of two pyramidal formations created by the sitters. In "Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images*,"* Adrienne Kaeppler argues that the triangle or chevron designs found in barkcloth, feather cloaks, and tattoo patterns broadly reference the spinal

column, a visual allusion to genealogy.[41] The visual effect of these triangle forms in the Kamehameha royal family is that Lot and Alexander appear to be held up (sustained, even) between Kauikeaouli, Kalama (Alexander's adoptive mother), and their high-ranking sister. While it is not known to what degree the sitters dictated their own placement in this photograph, the formation of two triangles in the portrait might serve as a genealogical metaphor. If this is the case, then the sitters in the bottom register could be read as providing physical and genealogical support to those at the top.

In the portrait, Alexander is seated in the back row on the right between his adoptive parents, Kauikeaouli and Queen Kalama, visually evoking the metaphor of the backbone within genealogy. The metaphor relates to the specific anatomy of lizards (or moʻo), particularly their spines and tails. The ability of lizards to regrow their tails was interpreted as a metaphor for genealogical continuity and succession. As Marie Alohalani Brown explains, lizards native to Hawaiʻi likely inspired the various meanings and metaphorical uses of the term moʻo.[42] She states, "moʻo refers to that which is part of a larger whole or series, such as a grandchild or great-grandchild (moʻo), or offspring of an animal (moʻo); a smaller piece of bark cloth (moʻo) that will be joined to a larger piece; and a smaller land division (moʻo) within a larger land division."[43] The metaphor of the moʻo or lizard's body as one of genealogy and succession became transposed into Hawaiian visual culture as the triangle motif. The specific triangle grouping of Alexander Liholiho between Kauikeaouli and Kalama in the photograph can be read in terms of genealogical continuity, with Alexander being the smaller piece joined to the larger whole through his adoption, thereby ensuring the continuation of the Kamehameha dynasty. Alexander's adoption by the royal couple could also be interpreted as an attempt to appropriate the mana of Elizabeth Kīnaʻu's line.

The second triangle in the composition, on the left of the photograph, includes Lot (at the apex of the triangle), Victoria (bottom left), and Kauikeaouli (bottom right). This triangle configuration along with the one on the right provides a broader view of the interconnections and power dynamics of these two genealogical lines. At the time this photograph was made, Lot followed his brother Alexander in eligibility for the throne.[44] Each positioned at the apex of a triangle, Alexander and Lot are those who follow Kauikeaouli in this dynastic sequence, derived largely from the power of their mothers' genealogies. Victoria's position at the base of the left triangle foreshadows her role as future kuhina nui, a position that was foundational within the government, especially in its relationship to the sovereign. The appearance of two triangle forms within this photograph aligns

with other Hawaiian visual culture related to the aliʻi, such as the designs found on ʻahuʻula (feather cloaks) and kapa (barkcloth). The use of triangular forms in this photograph is indicative of the period's experimentation and replication of older forms and traditions within a new medium.

The Kamehameha royal family conforms to anthropologist Jocelyn Linnekin's observation that the introduction of Euro-American concepts of gender roles, which relegated women to the domestic sphere and subordinated them to their male kin, did not diminish the "symbolic and structural importance" of Hawaiian women to the larger kin group.[45] In effect, royal Hawaiian women wielded significant political, social, and economic power and were a key vector from which their male relatives could draw power.[46] This perspective is further evident in Victoria's representation within this studio portrait of the Kamehameha royal family.

Before her death in 1839, Elizabeth Kīnaʻu named Victoria Kamāmalu as her successor to the office of the kuhina nui. It is crucial to understand the role of the kuhina nui within nineteenth-century Hawaiian monarchal structures because of its connection to Hawaiian women's agency and power in the early contact period. Four of the seven people who held the office, from its inception in 1819 until it was abolished in 1864, were women. Additionally, this role was inherited by the women of Kaʻahumanu's family line for quite some time, suggesting that genealogical links to this family played an important part in determining who held the office.[47] The authority of the kuhina nui was considered second only to that of the monarch, even at times forming a rival to the king.[48] Ke Kumukānāwai o ka Makahiki 1840—the 1840 constitution co-authored by Kauikeaouli and Miriam Kekāuluohi, the kuhina nui at the time—is illustrative of this point.[49] More than once, the constitution stresses the equivalence between the king and the kuhina nui. Article 22b of the constitution entitled "No ke Kuhina Nui o ke Aupuni" or "Respecting the Premier of the Kingdom" concludes by stating that:

> ʻAʻole hoʻi e hana wale ke Aliʻi me ka lohe ʻole o ke Kuhina, ʻaʻole hoʻie hana wale ke Kuhina me ka lohe ʻole o ke Alʻi; a inā hōʻole ke Aliʻi i kāna, ʻo ka ʻole nō ia. A ʻo nā hana nui a pau a ke Aliʻi e manaʻo ai nāna ponoʻī e hana, e hana nō ʻo ia, me ka lohe naʻe o ke Kuhina.
>
> The King shall not act without knowledge of the Premier, nor shall the Premier act without knowledge of the King, and the veto of the King on the acts of the Premier should arrest the business. All important business of the kingdom which the King chooses to

> transact in person, he may do it but not without the approbation of the Premier.[50]

Miriam Kekāuluohi served as a female justice of the Supreme Court under this founding constitution.[51] Additionally, at this time, five aliʻi women were included in the Hale ʻAha ʻŌlelo Aliʻi, or House of Nobles, indicating that Hawaiian women continued to wield significant power within the government.[52]

Victoria Kamāmalu was also the senior-ranking female royal, even outranking Queen Kalama at the time of the photograph. As such, she sits on the same level as the monarchical couple, perhaps hinting at her future as the kuhina nui, whose power is aligned with that of the monarch. Her placement is neither lower nor higher than Queen Kalama's, indicating their equivalence or perhaps even tension regarding their rank. Her inclusion suggests that when this portrait was made, she and her two brothers were the three most important youth of the next generation.[53]

Victoria was still a minor when the photograph was made, and her brothers were less senior in rank than the king. This suggests an unwillingness to completely upend Indigenous hierarchies created by complex genealogies in favor of Euro-American gender norms and is but one of the ways the sitters are in possession of themselves. By this, I mean they have their own reasons for having their likeness taken and they are in control of many elements of the image's staging and composition.[54] Sara Ahmed argues that such moves by women, along with the events and the objects associated with them, constitute political acts.[55] This point is essential as the actions and thoughts of women are under-acknowledged in the historical record. The following section addresses two other photo portraits—of Victoria Kamāmalu with her father, Mataio Kekūanāoʻa (Figs. 4 and 5)—that further support my reading of these photographs as potent visualizations of kinship connections to Hawaiian women with far-reaching social and political consequence.

Elevating Personal Status through Photographic Representations of Victoria Kamāmalu with Mataio Kekūanāoʻa

In 1827, Elizabeth Kīnaʻu married Mataio Kekūanāoʻa (Mataio), a union that would significantly impact power dynamics within the Kamehameha dynasty. It was Elizabeth's third marriage, and she defied custom by marrying Mataio, a man of

lower rank. Elizabeth's marriage also effectively blocked her potential marriage to her half-brother Kauikeaouli, an ideal union among the ali'i as it would have linked the family lines from two of Kamehameha I's wives and produced children of exceptionally high rank.[56] When Mataio married Elizabeth, he was socially and genealogically marrying up. Kamakau implies that Mataio, similar to Kamehameha I, understood the political advantages to marrying a woman of high rank. [57] Their children, Alexander, Lot , and Victoria, inherited their high rank from their mother rather than from their father. By merit of her rank, Victoria would go on to hold the office of kuhina nui. Victoria's rank, her family's political aspirations, and the fact that she was the only child not given up by Elizabeth for adoption provide insights into two photographs of this Hawaiian princess with her father.

Figure 2. Photographer unknown, Victoria Kamāmalu and Mataio Kekūanāo'a, circa 1850, daguerreotype. Courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives

Figure 3. Victoria Kamāmalu and Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, circa 1855. Carte de visite, associated with H.L. Chase. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and Archive. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

The first portrait, Victoria Kamāmalu and Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, circa 1850 (Fig. 2), was taken by an unidentified daguerreotypist. In this photograph, seventeen-year-old Victoria Kamāmalu, in an elegantly tailored dress, is seated beside her father. She holds what appears to be a small book in her left hand indicating her educated and refined nature. Hawaiian elites placed great emphasis on educating the next generation of Hawaiian rulers, including Victoria Kamāmalu, who was enrolled at the Chiefs' Children's School during the 1840s.[58] In this photograph, Mataio is dressed in a jacket and a vest, with the chain of his pocket watch standing out against the dark material of his clothing. The sitters have placed their hands in their laps in nearly identical positions.

The second portrait, Victoria Kamāmalu and Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, circa 1855 (Fig. 3), survives to the present as a carte de visite purportedly made by H.L. Chase.[59] Victoria Kamāmalu is more elaborately dressed in this image, wearing earrings, a gold chain, and a broach. The sartorial shift speaks to Victoria Kamāmalu's maturation and greater control over her self-presentation. Her father's dress is similar in both photographs save for his buttoned double-breasted coat and royal order. The physical posture and pose of the sitters in the later portrait are almost identical to those in the first, except that Mataio rests one arm on

his daughter's back. In both photographs, the sitters' posture and poses are stiff, evincing excess formality more so than familial warmth.

In addition to the formal elements, we must consider the fact that Mataio Kekūanāoʻa was not photographed with his other royal offspring. While there are numerous photographs of Ruth Keʻelikolani, Alexander Liholiho, and Lot Kapuāiwa, including individual portraits and group photographs with various relations and advisors, to the best of my knowledge, there are no extant photographs of them with Mataio.[60] This information suggests that there was something particularly meaningful about Mataio appearing in photographs with Victoria. These father-daughter portraits emphasize Victoria Kamāmalu's genealogy and status as the kuhina nui and the highest-ranking woman of her day and thus reflect positively on her father.

The images are about empowering Mataio Kekūanāoʻa through proximity to his daughter, a direct descendant of Elizabeth Kīnaʻu of the ruling Maui line. The photographs are the visual embodiment of Mataio aligning himself with the sacred Maui genealogy and the Kamehameha dynasty, the primary vectors of power in Hawaiʻi during the 1850s and 1860s. Given that Mataio was of a lower rank, appearing in a portrait with Victoria Kamāmalu effectively draws on her status to enhance his own position and prestige. The photographs were used to materialize meaningful matrilineal relationships that emphasize the power of royal women and demonstrate how aliʻi of both genders might draw strategically on this power.

Conclusion

Photographic portraits of the Hawaiian aliʻi from the 1850s do more than provide likenesses (realistic or idealized) of their sitters. Photographs from this period present us with images in which Hawaiian women's presence in and engagement with the spectacle of this new technology can and should be understood as one mode of showcasing their cultural and political authority.[61] This authority was deeply intwined with the genealogies of aliʻi women, which had been crucial to the successful founding of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the preceding decades.

Complex genealogical connections materialize through analyses of the identity of the royal sitters and each photograph's specific composition. Many of these genealogies and kinship connections draw heavily on matrilineal descent as a potent form of familial and individual power. Visual metaphors for genealogy,

the photographic portraits of Victoria Kamāmalu with Mataio Kekūanāoʻa and of the Kamehameha royal family display men's connections to high-ranking women in order for the sitters to strategically align themselves with prominent sources of power in 1850s Hawaiʻi.

Emily Cornish is a PhD candidate in the history of art at the University of Michigan. Her dissertation, "Indigenous Women and Photography in the Hawaiian Kingdom: Tradition and Modernity through New Media," explores elite Hawaiian women's engagement with photography as an innovative tool of self-expression and anti-colonial action in the face of US imperialism during the nineteenth century. Cornish's research interests also include Hawaiian textile politics, the visual cultures of US imperialism in the Pacific Islands, and Indigenous curation and collection practices. Her research has been generously supported by a Luce American Council of Learned Societies Dissertation Fellowship in American Art and a Social Science Research Council's International Dissertation Research Fellowship, among others.

Notes

[1] For a general history of photography in Hawaiʻi during the nineteenth century, see Lynn Davis, *Na Paʻi Kiʻi: The Photographers in the Hawaiian Islands, 1845–1900* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Press, 1980). Davis notes that the earliest advertisement for daguerreotype photography in Hawaiʻi appeared in 1845, providing a rough date for when that process was available in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Over the course of my dissertation research, I encountered no fewer than forty-eight portrait photographs of Hawaiian aliʻi that date to the 1840s and 1850s. This number is a rough estimate and only includes photographs from the period in which the sitters have been identified. While the number of photographs from these decades is smaller than from the 1870s to 1880s, it does constitute significant and repeated engagement with this medium during a period when the production of photographs was more expensive, time-consuming, and technologically complex. It should also be noted that there are numerous photographs of the aliʻi dated as having been taken after the 1840s and 1850s that may be reproductions of earlier case photographs (daguerreotypes, ambrotypes, tintypes, etc). I discuss one possible example of this, the portrait of Victoria Kamāmalu and Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, circa 1855, in this article. In order to

reproduce case photographs, the originals would need to be literally rephotographed in order to make a negative that could be reproduced on paper.

[2] Maya L. Kānāwaiokewaiki Saffery, "He Ala Nihinihi Ia Hiki I Ka Mole: A Precarious Yet Worthwhile Path to Kuleana Through Place-Based Education," in *Kanaka ʻŌiwi Methodologies: Moʻolelo and Metaphor* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2015), 112; Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2004), 87–122.

[3] Joshua Bell and Haidy Geismar, "Materialising Oceania: New Ethnographies of Things in Melanesia and Polynesia," *Australian Journal of Anthropology* 20, no. 1 (2009): 3–27; Stacy Kamehiro, "Worlding the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi: The Art of International Relations," in *Hoʻoulu Hawaiʻi: The King Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: Honolulu Museum of Art, 2018), 80; Rob Wilson and Christopher Leigh Connary, eds., *The Worlding Project: Doing Cultural Studies in the Era of Globalization* (Santa Cruz, California: New Pacific Press, 2007). The term "borderlands" arises in the writing of Gloria Anzaldúa in *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 2012). Anzaldúa prompted a reevaluation of how borders are defined within historical narratives, especially those of colonial encounter. As a term, "borderlands" became used to denote peripheries, crossroads, boundaries, and frontiers not as endpoints of settlement master narratives but as spaces that are unsettled, ambiguous, and unpredictable, with the potential to be central places and homelands as much as they have been characterized as the cutoff points for empire.

[4] Kamehiro, "Worlding the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi," 80.

[5] Marie Alohalani Brown, "Forward," in *The Past before Us: Moʻokūʻauhau as Methodology,* ed. Nālani Wilson-Hokowhitu (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2019), vii–viii.

[6] Jennifer Thigpen, *Island Queens and Missonary Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawaiʻi's Pacific World*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 13–14. For more on the specifics of Kamehameha I's genealogy—in particular, the tracing of his lineage to Līloa and his son ʻUmi—see Stacy Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2009), 89, 199n.62, 200n.67; and Davida Malo, *The Moʻolelo of Davida Malo, Vol. 2: Hawaiian Text and Translation* (Honolulu: Hawaiʻi University Press, 2020), 319–50. For a longer discussion about the connections between sexual and political power in Hawaiʻi, see Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, *Nā Wāhine Kapu: Divine Hawaiian Women* (Honolulu: Paʻi Hou, 2023).

[7] For example, see Jane Desmond, "Picturing Hawaiʻi: The 'Ideal' Native and the Origins of Tourism, 1880–1915," *Positions: East Asia Cultures Critique* 7, no. 2 (1999): 459–501; Patricia Johnston, "Advertising Paradise: Hawaiʻi in Art, Anthropology, and Commercial Photography," in *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place,* (London: Routledge, 2002), 188–225; and Joyce D. Hammond, "Photography, Tourism and the Kodak Hula Show," *Visual Anthropology* 14, no. 1 (2001): 1–32.

[8] During the 1840s and 1850s, Native Hawaiians had more control over the government than after the passage of the 1887 constitution, also known as the "Bayonet Constitution." While there were foreigners who served in advisory and government positions, there remained a significant number of Hawaiians who occupied roles in the government, including members of the privy council, judges, and governers of the various islands. Additionally, Britain and France officially recognized Hawaiian independence in 1843, following the Paulet Affair, in which Lord George Paulet temporarily seized control of the Hawaiian islands. The US did so in 1849.

[9] For more on nineteenth-century photographers and technicians in Hawaiʻi see Davis, *Na Paʻi Kiʻi*. Daguerreotypist is a term used to indicate someone who makes daguerreotypes.

[10] Letter from Titus Coan to Richard Armstrong from February 10, 1853, quoted in Davis, *Na Paʻi Kiʻi,* 10; Anne Maxwell, "Colonial Photography and Indigenous Resistance in Hawaiʻi: the Case of the Last Royal Family," in *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the 'Native" and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 1999), 192–223. Maxwell, likewise, mentions Kamehameha III's patronage of Stangenwald.

[11] This number is based on photographs in which the sitters and Stangenwald have been identified. Most of these images are housed in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, the Hawaiʻi State Archives, and the Hawaiian Mission Houses Archives. Sixteen might seem like a small number but it does constitute a fairly large corpus of aliʻi portraits by a single photographer, compared to the overall number of protraits of aliʻi with known photographers from this period. Often there are only one or two images with definitive attribution. Some examples include the portrait of Bernice Pauahi Bishop by Senor Le Bleu, or the daguerreotype of Alexander Liholiho by B. Jay Antrim. I also suspect that this number is smaller than Stangenwald's actual output from the 1850s.

Additionally, Stangenwald's known corpus of photographs of the aliʻi includes multiple photographs of Kauikeaouli, Kalama, and Victoria Kamāmalu, indicating repeat visits or sittings to his studio. There are at least four extant copies

of the Kamehameha royal family portrait, indicating both demand and a favorable view of Stangenwald's work. Beyond this, Lynn Davis indicates that Stangenwald's clientele included Native Hawaiians and that advertisements in both the Hawaiian language and English press from the 1850s are indicative of the fact that the widespread interest in photography in Hawaiʻi was not limited to foreign settlers. Davis, *Na Paʻi Kiʻi*, 10–11.

[12] There is no official title attributed to this photograph. Metadata and online descriptions of the image refer to it as "the Kamehameha Royal Family" or "Kamehameha III and Queen Kalama with his niece and nephews," but the original title remains uncertain.

[13] Malo, *Moʻolelo of Davida Malo,* 270. Malo describes the kuhina nui as a counselor, but the term is also translated as premier, prime minister, regent, advisor, and ambassador.

[14] Nālani Wilson-Hokowhitu and Manulani Aluli Meyer, "Introduction: I Ka Wā Mamua, The Past before Us," in *The Past before Us: Moʻokūʻauhau as Methodology,* ed. Nālani Wilson-Hokowhitu (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2019), 171.

[15] Samuel Kamakau, *The Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 391–95. Miriam Kekāulohi was the first-born child of Kaheiheimālie and Kamehameha I's half-brother. Kamakau relates that she was born on a kapu day related to Kāne and that, as the first-born grandchild, she was beloved by her parents and grandparents. She was referred to as a lei hulu mamo (a lei comprised of mamo feathers). After the death of Kaʻahumanu, Miriam Kekāulohi used her considerable power and authority to support her sister Elizabeth Kīnaʻu as kuhina nui.

[16] Liliʻuokalani, *An Account of the Creation of the World According to Hawaiian Tradition*, (Honolulu: Pueo Press, 1978); Kameʻeleihiwa, *Nā Wahine Kapu*, 2–3; Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa emphasizes Pō's life giving capacity as "without any male impregnating element."

[17] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 93.

[18] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 18.

[19] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 17–21.

[20] Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 21.

[21] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 260–63. According to Kamakau, one of Keōpūolani's aunts was so incensed that her niece would have to sleep with Kamehameha I, a man of inferior birth, that she purportedly committed suicide in 1808 over the matter.

[22] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 260–63; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume 1: 1784–1854 Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1938), 35; Kameʻeleihiwa, *Nā Wahine Kapu*, 2. Niʻaupio similarly indicates offspring of two high chiefs. See Kameʻeleihiwa, *Nā Wahine Kapu*, 2, for the connection between incestuous relationships and divinity.
[23] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 260–63.
[24] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 62–64. Kuykendall emphasizes that Keōpūolani and her children were significant in preventing the Hawaiian Kingdom from falling apart in the wake of Kamehameha I's death and that Kamehameha himself recognized this during his lifetime. To prevent the kingdom from falling apart, Kamehameha I named Liholiho heir to the throne and entrusted him with the kapu of the heiau (temples) to prevent rebellion in the aftermath of his death.
[25] Samuel Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni: The Foundation of Hawaiian Nationhood* (Honolulu: Awaiaulu, 2022), 318–24, "The Death of Keʻeaumoko," discusses why Kaʻahumanu, unlike Kamehameha I's other wives, was prohibited from having intimate relations with other partners besides the king. In this way, putting restrictions around intimate relations was a means of restraining Kaʻahumanu's power and influence.
[26] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 385–86; Kameʻeleihiwa, *Nā Wahine Kapu*, 5–6; Mary Kawena Pukui and E. S. Craighill Handy, *The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu Hawaiʻi*, Polynesian Society Reprint No. 6 (Wellington, New Zealand: The Polyneisan Society, 1958), 41. Double paternity is a specific concept stemming from Hawaiian genealogy whereby a child can claim multiple fathers as a means of strengthening their lineage. Mary Kawena Pukui provides a definition of this based on the ʻōlelo term poʻo lua, "double headed", saying that it "refers to double parenthood among the aliʻi." She also notes that Kamehameha I famously claimed double paternity.
[27] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 385–86.
[28] Jocelynn Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1990), 71–73.
[29] Kameʻeleihiwa, *Nā Wahine Kapu*, 12.
[30] Thigpen, *Island Queens*.
[31] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 346.
[32] "Hānai," *Hawaiian Language Dictionary*, accessed December 8, 2022, https://wehewehe.org/gsdl2.85/cgi-bin/hdict?l=en.
[33] Linnekin, *Sacred Queens,* 5–6.

[34] For another example, see E. F. Howland's portrait photograph of Bernice Pauahi Bishop and Liliʻuokalani in the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archive, https://www.bishopmuseum.org/library-and-archives/.
[35] Noelani Arista, "Hawaiian Women, Kapu, and the Emergence of Kānāwai," in *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawaiʻi and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 143, 151–55.
[36] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 348. Kamakau's article in *Ke Au ʻOkoʻa*, January 28, 1869, implies that Victoria would have been given in hānai to aliʻi from Hawaiʻi Island but does not state who specifically.
[37] Malo, *Mo'olelo of Davida Malo,* 129–30.
[38] Malo, *Mo'olelo of Davida Malo,* 130.
[39] Malo, *Mo'olelo of Davida Malo,* 128–30. In Chapter 16, sections 19 and 20, Malo discusses the rank of children whose parents were of mixed-rank. A child of an aliʻi nui mother and a non-aliʻi father was considered aliʻi nui because of the rank of his/her mother. If a child's father was of higher rank than the mother but both were aliʻi, then the child was an aliʻi of lower rank. However, if only the father was an aliʻi, then the child was called kulu (a drop), iki (small shower), or kūkae pōpolo (excrement containing greens), which Malo says meant the child was not considered to be of aliʻi status. Malo does not say so directly, but this section of his work implies that a particular emphasis was placed on rank conferred through the matrilineal line.
[40] Pukui and Handy, *The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu Hawaiʻi*, 41.
[41] Adrienne Kaeppler, "Genealogy and Disrespect: A Study of Symbolism in Hawaiian Images," *RES Anthropology and Aesthetics* 3 (1982): 96. Triangle patterns are also found on pahu drums, buildings, and other visual and material forms associated with the Hawaiian elite.
[42] Brown, "Forward," in *The Past Before Us*, viii.
[43] Brown, "Forward," in *The Past Before Us*, ix; Kameʻeleihiwa, *Nā Wahine Kapu*, 5–6.
[44] Attorney General's Office, "Order in Council of His Hawaiian Majesty Prescribing a Code of Etiquette: June 29th 1844," *The Polynesian*, July 20, 1844. This article provides a list of those in line for the throne in both ʻolelo Hawaiʻi and English. The section entitled "Calendar" in English and "Papa Inoa" in Hawaiian lists Alexander Liholiho, Lot Kapuāiwa, and Victoria Kamāmalu among those eligible to rule. Lot was preceded only by his brothers Alexander Liholiho and Moses Kekūāiwa. By the time Stangenwald's photograph was made, Moses Kekūāiwa was deceased, meaning Lot would have followed Alexander in eligibility to rule. Victoria

Kamāmalu was further down the list after her brothers, her cousin William Lunalilo, and chiefess Jane Loeau, daughter of high chiefess Liliha.

[45] Linnekin, *Sacred Queens,* 5–6, 13, 16, 75.

[46] Aliʻi women also became significant landholders during the nineteenth century. For example, Ruth Keʻelikolani at one point owned more than 300,000 acres of land in the kingdom. Portions of these lands were inherited by Bernice Pauahi Bishop and Princess Kaʻiulani. The lands encompass parts of present-day downtown Honolulu and form part of the endowment for the Kamehameha Schools. For analyses of Hawaiian women as key landholders in Hawaiʻi after the Māhele, see Linnekin, *Sacred Queens*.

[47] Kamakau, *The Ruling Chiefs,* 356. The role of the kuhina nui passed first to Kaʻahumanu's nieces Elizabeth Kīnaʻu and Miriam Kekāuluohi and then to her grandniece Victoria Kamāmalu. According to Kamakau, after the death of Elizabeth Kīnau, Kauikeaouli looked for someone from Kaʻahumanu's line to take on the role of kuhina nui, as Victoria Kamāmalu was still an infant at the time. Miriam Kekāuluohi was selected as the best candidate to hold the office on the basis of her genealogy.

[48] Though this may be too hierarchical/lateral a conception of power within a system in which social and political action is sanctioned via conceptions of kinship and relationships that validate one's actions. Only three men—Keoni Ana, Mataio Kekūanāoʻa, and Lot Kapuāiwa—ever held the office of kuhina nui.

[49] *Ke Kumu Kānāwai, A Me Nā Kānāwai O Ko Hawaiʻi Pae ʻĀina, Ua kauia I ke kau ia Kamehameha III*, Honolulu, 1841, https://llmc.com/OpenAccess/docDisplay5.aspx?textid=18155442.

[50] Hawaii and Jason Kapena Achiu, "Ke Kumukanawai o ka Makahiki 1840" (The 1840 Constitution," *Ka Ho'oilina/The Legacy* 1, no. 1 (2002): 34–59. https://dx.doi.org/10.1353/kah.2003.0003. ʻlohe ʻole' literally translates to "without hearing" or "without obeying" but seems to convey the idea that neither the king nor the kuhina could act on government business without first consulting the other.

[51] This was 150 years before Sandra Day O'Connor was appointed as the first female Supreme Court Justice of the United States.

[52] Later in the nineteenth century, female members of the aliʻi continued to serve as key advisors to the king and as diplomats. In 1874, Emma Rooke vied with David Kalākaua to be elected to the throne and during that period it was certainly not a foregone conclusion that Kalākaua would win. Finally, Liliʻuokalani ascended the throne as queen in 1891.

[53] Julie Crooks, "Exerting and Cultivating Selves: Nineteenth Century Photography and the Black Subject in Ontario," *Towards an African Canadian Art History: Art, Memory, and Resistance* (Concord, Ontario: Captus Press, 2019), 69; Elizabeth Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," *Material Memories: Design and Evocation* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1999), 225–26. See Crooks for a discussion of the relationship between photography and self-possession. See Edwards for a discussion of photographs and self-construction.
[54] Crooks, "Exerting and Cultivating Selves," 69; Edwards, "Photographs as Objects of Memory," 225–26.
[55] Sara Ahmed, "Orientations Matter," in *New Materialisms: Ontology, Agency, and Politics*, (Durham North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2010), 252–54.
[56] Pukui and Handy, "The Polynesian Family System," 52–53.
[57] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 346–47. Kamakau specifically refers to the marriages Mataio Kekūanāoʻa sought out as "that treasure which endures without end."
[58] Attorney General's Office, "Order in Council of His Hawaiian Majesty Prescribing a Code of Etiquette: June 29th 1844," *The Polynesian*, July 20, 1844. This article provides a list of those in line for the throne in both ʻolelo Hawaiʻi and English. The Chiefʻs Children's School, later renamed the Royal School, was a boarding school established by Kauikeaouli in 1839 to educate the next generation of aliʻi children. The pupils were all drawn from families established as part of the succession in the 1840 constitution. These included Elizabeth Kīnaʻu's children mentioned in this article.
[59] However, Victoria Kamāmalu's apparent age in the image and dates provided by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archive suggest that Chase's carte is potentially a rephotographed daguerreotype, possibly one produced initially by Stangenwald.
[60] This is based on extensive research of photographs of the Hawaiian monarchy in the following institutions: The Bishop Museum Archives, The Hawaiʻi State Archives, The Hawaiian Mission Houses Museum and Archives, The Lyman Museum, The Library of Congress, The New York Public Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Huntington Library, the British Museum, The National Portrait Gallery–London, The National Maritime Museum–London, The Royal Collection Trust, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology–Cambridge, and the National Museum of Scotland, Museums and Special Collections–The University of Aberdeen.
[61] Kamehiro, "Worlding the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi," 90.