Hawaiian Music, Poetry and Dance: Reflections on Protection, Preservation and Pride

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There is a telling scene near the mid-point of John Dominis Holt's *Waimea Summer*. After excited discussions of a planned luau, Fred, the father, retires to a porch with his concertina. "He sang a few songs and patiently and tenderly explained their origin and meaning to the children."[1] In context it is clear that these are specifically Hawaiian songs, songs of particular power and meaning, repositories of values and emotions that belong both to the past and to the future: ancestors as well as children. The act, the teaching, is preservation; the singing (the soothing of the lullaby, the relaxation in music and song before bed) is protection; pride is in all, memory, song and singing, in the potency of music to project memory to the future.

Waimea Summer demonstrates in many ways the centrality of Hawaiian music to the sense of "ethnicity." It is not in any way about music as such; it is the story of an adolescent boy's coming to grips with his own identity and the ethnic risks involved. Music enters only as it is integral to life as lived in Waimea that mid-1930s summer. Yet in this short novel, less than 200 pages, there are so many references to music it seems no accident we can date the action with some certainty as the summer of 1934 through a musical reference to "a new hapa-haole tune written for a movie idol: *The Cock-eyed Mayor of Kaunakakai.*"[2]

Waimea Summer gives a reasonable indication of the music known and available to Hawaiians in the 30s. The range is from European classical tradition to American popular songs, Portuguese fados and *Hapa Haole* (English lyrics) Hawaiian music to *Paniola* (cowboy) songs, *Himeni* (Hawaiian Songs) and traditional chant, both *Mele Hula* (with dance and usually accompanied) and *Mele Oli* (unaccompanied) such as mourning chants and genealogical chants: a fragmented reformulation of a musical tradition badly battered by forces of secularization, acculturation and modernization. Holt evokes the past through music with dramatic force: the protective sentiment of the recent past as carried by song, the frightening vision of ancient chiefs and priests marching before the

young protagonist in accompaniment to a genealogical chant. The procession is, indeed, so frightening in its present reality that it leads him to reject, at the least, that particular aspect of his ethnic heritage. Yet, rejecting the ghosts of the past and exorcising them are two different things — as narrator, he is still acknowledging them much later.[3]

John Dominis Holt, whose young hero spurns so much of the old in this, his final renunciation, has been heralded by many as having touched off the current renaissance, or resurgence, of Hawaiian ethnic pride with his essay "On Being Hawaiian" in 1964.[4] Central to this renaissance has been a revived interest in Hawaiian music and dance, both popular and academic. Performers, creators and scholars have all played, and will continue to play, their roles — sometimes separate, sometimes linked.[5] But as always, when words such as renaissance, revival or renewal are bandied about, there is cause to sit back and question the what, the why, of it almost as given. In the case of Hawaiian music, poetry and dance, what precisely is undergoing a new birth and why is it important? Some would answer, with small exaggeration, that when the song, dance, and music die, the culture will die with them; concrete and tinsel will indeed have destroyed the last vestige of the royal surfing beach at Waikiki.

The Hawaiian phenomenon has, rightly enough, been linked with the civil rights and ethnic pride movements on the mainland. While the social, political, and economic implications of all these movements tend to capture the headlines, the cultural and artistic, musical, visual and verbal, have been the battlegrounds where the deepest emotional commitments have been made. From Addison Gale's Black aesthetic to Ron Tanaka's sansei poetics there has been a continuing effort to give abstract form and meaning to the inchoate feelings that reverberate to the chords of ethnic literatures. Any study of ethnicity, and there have been many, which ignores the artist's commitment has failed to grasp how full and compelling those resonances are, how resistant to acculturation and suppression, how resilient in the face of change. In Hawai'i that center remains mostly with the music, which also encompasses much of the literature, for the tradition remains fundamentally oral, text and music move through time and space ignoring, or without, the intervention of the printed page. The book or poem conceived and committed to the printed page is rare; the basic impulse remains, as in the past, to utilize print or writing to record and preserve the oral tradition, not as a medium for new creation.

From our mainland perspectives, what is Hawaiian about Hawaiian music? Certain elements of Hawaiian music are so deeply embedded in our consciousness that we have forgotten their origins, for, next to the

music of Afro-America, the music of Hawai'i has had the deepest and most far reaching effect upon American popular musics.[6]

What most of us know as Hawaiian music is the popular mainland and tourist market oriented *hapa-haole* (half-white or foreign) music of the past three-quarters' century. While that is not Hawaiian music, it is, in most cases, a kind of Hawaiian music, the exceptions being compositions that are clearly counterfeit such as the Al Jolson hit of 1916 "Yacka Hula Hickey Dula" (The melody is said to be that of the chorus of "Aloa 'Oe" written backwards which presumably gives it a specious sort of authenticity), and even many of these have been adopted, adapted and acculturated by Hawaiian performers to their own musical standards. For our purposes there are, it seems to me, two essentials that mark Hawaiian music: first, the primacy of the lyrics, preferably in Hawaiian but possibly in English or some other language, which delimits it as a vocal music; second, the "style" of performance, "the development of an individual style within the framework of Hawaiian musical rules" as Elizabeth Tatar puts it.[7] She goes on to say:

> Hawaiian music is not a simple tune sung to the strum of an 'ukulele. A typical melody, harmony, or text is not going to define Hawaiian music. Nor is a Hawaiian voice quality without the typical musical trappings to accommodate it going to define the music. It is the right combination of typical musical features, representative instruments, and unique Hawaiian voice qualities sparked by the creative individual genius of the Hawaiian artist that makes the music unquestionably Hawaiian.

This, of course, is today's context; today also carries the burden of yesterday, sometimes graciously, with joy, sometimes resentfully, with anger. To understand what is being reborn in Hawai'i today we need to consider what it is that has been given a new lease on life.

Everything "purely" Hawaiian in the contemporary musical context is, presumably, rooted in pre-contact days before Captain Cook dropped anchor in Hawaiian waters in 1778. But no matter how firmly established roots may be, stem, foliage, and flower are subject to the batterings as well as bounty of environment, the nurture as well as neglect of their human cultivators. The music and poetry of pre-contact Hawai'i will never be known except in very tentative reconstructions. Natural processes of decay and rejuvenation have taken care of that, along with human suppression and rejection. Yet the tradition remains viable and self-sustaining as evidenced by the young chanters and poets who are composing, writing, and performing today.

The paradox inherent in this is that the more fecund a tradition is in

the creation of new materials the less "traditional" it is in preserving old materials. In a tradition such as Hawai'i's, which is in the main oral, lacking a canon of written, recorded or transcribed texts, establishment of *a*, or *the*, tradition is no small task, each attempt reflecting the preconceptions of its author together with the accepted wisdom of his time.[8] The rigidity of the strict "traditionalist" is as apt to forfeit the spirit of the tradition as the eclectic modernist is to substitute "heart" for essential matter. The scholar, meanwhile, is caught in the attempt to define the "style," presumably inherent in the development of the performer, which sets the boundaries of legitimacy. Then in moments of uncertainty about the tradition, or tradition in general, such as today, the younger performer who feels insecure in his knowledge, or feels he needs to know as well as feel, looks to scholarship, if not the individual scholar, for validation.[9]

In such a fluid situation all definition and description must carry a load of ambiguity. There is always the temptation to see changes, brought about since Cook through acculturation and time, as progress toward some implied ideal of "western" music. Change, however, whether under the pressures of acculturation or time is always indigenous, a part of the tradition which is changing rather than the one which is being imposed. To see it otherwise is to shift the focal center from Hawaiian perceptions of their own tradition to those of the outsider. One example of this which I have come upon is the entry on Hawaiian music in the new edition of Groves which becomes a history of the development of "western" music in Hawai'i as exemplified by the Honolulu Symphony, which is something other than Hawaiian music entirely.[10]

Not to consider change in Hawaiian music as progress is to consider it as process, a fluid continuum manifest in permutations across time yet retaining an inviolable element which can be designated "Hawaiian style." Then the elements come together rather than fragmenting in a thousand different directions. The only danger here is the temptation to anthropomorphize "process" in the way the business pages do the "market"; it is individual musicians who make music, as it is individuals who make the decisions which create the process called the "market." To ignore this is to ignore meaning.

A more concrete way of stating this is in terms of the problem facing the performing artist in the context of a movement aimed at preservation such as the current Hawaiian renaissance. His personal creative impulse always comes into conflict with the antiquarian urge for authenticity, however defined. Yet boundaries within which change may occur are rather loose: style is determined, of course, by tradition, but also by the

ever-changing audience, and, just as importantly, by the ever-changing performers. Style, in the sense of the style of an individual performer, belongs to the present, not the past. However, the style which links performers across distance and time is inherent in the tradition, and may, in fact, define the tradition.

Contemporary Hawaiian music consists of three genres: chant, *hapa haole* song, and Hawaiian song. Chant is the continuity with pre-contact traditions. Hawaiian song is the development of an indigenous musical tradition under the impact of "western" musics. *Hapa haole* song allows for the introduction of English, and, presumably, other non-Hawaiian lyrics.[11] It is crucial to keep focus here: all three genres are classified in terms of lyrics — poetry and the word remain primary. Hawaiian music is first and foremost vocal music with frequent extensions of its meanings through dance, the hula.

Three dates may serve as orientation points here: the first authenticated contact with the Western world when Captain Cook made his fateful "discovery" in 1778; the lifting of the *kapus* (taboos) in 1819, and the arrival of the first contingent of New England missionaries in 1820. In the less than half a century after first contact, traditional institutions which had been maintained for centuries were so undermined that even before the arrival of the missionaries and the formal introduction of Christianity, the religious, political and social structure of the society which was maintained by the *kapus* had fallen into such disarray that the Royal Court was willing and able to lift them. With the missionaries came the Christian faith, together with its hymns, the written language, and schools. The stakes in the present revival are high. A brief look at chant, and the associated hula,[12] as they existed before the lifting of the *kapus* will suggest how high.

Chants are of two kinds, *mele oli* and *mele hula*. *Mele oli* are chants performed without the extension of dance; *mele hula* are chants performed with the extension and interpretation of dance. It is through the institutionalized hula of traditional Hawai'i (before 1819) that we can best sense the role of poetry, music, and dance in Hawaiian life.

Hula, the traditional dance form of Hawai'i, was both the gift of the god/goddess Laka to the Hawaiian people and their tribute to her. Yet it was clearly much more. In Nathaniel Emerson's phrase "the hula was a religious service, in which poetry, music, pantomime, and the dance lent themselves, under the forms of dramatic art, to the refreshment of men's minds." There was nothing frivolous in the Hula.

> The ancient Hawaiians did not personally and informally indulge in the dance for their own amusement, as does pleasure-loving society at the

> present time [1909]. . . . Hawaiians of the old time left it to be done for them by a body of trained and paid performers. This was not because the art and practice of the hula were held in disrepute — quite the reverse — but because the hula was an accomplishment requiring special education and arduous training in both song and dance, and more especially because it was a religious matter, to be guarded against profanation by the observance of taboos and the performance of priestly rites.[13]

More succinctly, hula functioned as a way of honoring the gods (in general, as well as Laka), as repository, and reminder through the associated chants of the nobility of the *ali'i* and the history of the race; all these functions were best served through the highest possible aesthetic development of the dance itself.

Training for the hula was institutionalized in schools known as *halau* which were the responsibility of *kumu hula,* or hula masters, one of the most prestigious positions in traditional Hawaiian society. *Kumu hula* were responsible for all aspects of the *hula halau* from the building and maintaining of a suitable "temple" to the recruiting and training of the dancers and chanters. There was a strict and complex stratification within the class, determined, among other things, by lineage, chants and dances known, and sex. The musicians *(cho'opa'a),* who were also the chanters, were senior to the dancers for they had already served their apprenticeship and had moved on to become repositories of the historical and sacred songs.

Once admitted to the *hula halau* the dancer was bound by strict rules governing all aspects of behavior: dietary prohibitions, abstinence, personal cleanliness, and many other strictures reinforced the discipline of the dance and the sacred ritual. "Moreover, while the pupil was engaged in training, he was consecrated or *kapu*. It was this silent, esoteric force that carried him through if all rules and instructions were followed."[14]

"To comprehend hula's place in Hawaiian society," says John R. K. Topolinski, one of the more articulate of the better known younger chanters, "one must penetrate the Hawaiian mind." Topolinski goes on, quoting the anthropologist, E. C. Handy:

> The psychic life of the Hawaiian was a vivid reality to him as was his physical existence. . . . It was far more important to him because it was more enduring. . . . Since the dangers most feared by him were those to which his soul might be victim, it was the thought of these that stirred in his emotional nature the most intense dread. . . . The Hawaiian's sensitiveness was a means of protection as well as a source of dread . . . at such times he was frightened, believing himself in the presence of a demon, his fear was intense, he was panic stricken. . . . Aside from this, the Hawaiian's nature was also spontaneous, open and expressive.[15]

Hawaiian aesthetics were nature based. In music the "increase and diminution of tone" like those heard in the surf, the waterfall, winds and rains, were greatly admired. This was the aesthetic actualization of the prevailing animism. *Manna*, that ubiquitous fecundating force, was dependent upon the animistic identification: "Thus, by a sort of psychic rapport with nature, the generative forces of the whole could be set in motion."

> In the *mele hula*, the stories of love, war, the gods, *ali'i* honor, and every phase of island life were put into dance form. The result produced for Hawaiians a living picture of their whole existence. . . . The hula was performed on occasions to invoke the gods at births, feasts, weddings, and funerals. Wars, spells, charms, incantation, and just sheer entertainment gave reason for the performance of the hula. . . .
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> The hula . . . was the history book of a people without a written language. Its main purpose was to keep up the relationship between gods and mortals through dance. But, importantly, it also preserved the greatness of the senior chiefly lines of rule. The hula honored the race and told of its continuance through procreation. It described the beauty of their natural environment. And finally, with all its rules and stratifications, the hula forced the dancer to achieve perfection in the dance.

Topolinski concludes with a forthright statement of how high the stakes really are in the renaissance: "without the existence of the hula in ancient Hawaiian society, the society becomes meaningless in relation to its beginnings as well as its duration."[16]

In the days before extensive European/American contact chant was the basic musical expression of Hawaii.

> The chant or *mele* of Hawai'i is the single most important cultural expression belonging to Hawaiians. In function and interpretation it represents the inexplicable mysteries of the deepest levels of physical and spiritual union in humankind and our relationship to nature. It represents the prehistorical and historical events linking past with present and it represents the spontaneous emotional response of an individual to a specific instance of a physical or spiritual experience. Before the overthrow of the *kapu* system in 1819 and with it the ancient religion, the chant in all its forms was part of daily life. Just as the culture was bound to its religion, so was the chant, for it was the means of establishing contact between mortal and god. Even the most informal and spontaneous chant by an individual was likely to reflect in some way the deeper, more formal religious chants.[17]

The word is central to the chant as expressed in the much quoted proverb "*I ka 'olelo no ke ola; i ka 'olelo no ka make*," meaning "in the word is life; in the word is death." The text, spoken and remembered, not

written, was sacred, *kapu*, and had power, *mana*, which was conveyed by the *kaona*, hidden meaning, of the *mele*.

The subject of *kaona* has been much discussed. There are those who find a hidden "vulgar" meaning plus "historical" and other meanings in each chant. Tatar suggests that the layering of meaning in the chant in some way reflects the stratification of society. The most sensible statement would seem to be that of Mary Kawena Pukui: "There are but two meanings: the literal and the *kaona*, or inner meaning. The literal is like the body, and the inner meaning is like the spirit of the poem. . . . There are some poems that have no inner meaning, and to read such meanings into them is folly."[18]

The art of chanting was taught in the *halau* together with the hula. The *kumu hula* was often also a *haku mele*, or composer of chants. Often more than one *haku mele* would be involved in the composition of a chant, the better to meet the requirements of *mana* in the *kaona* which were strictly defined. This would also bring about a concentration of *mana* as well as being a safeguard against error in composition, which, given the power of the word, could be fatal should the wrong word be associated with one of the more powerful gods.[19]

Protected and exhalted by *kaphu*, the chanter played a central role in traditional Hawaiian life. With the lifting of the *kapus* in 1819 and the arrival of the Congregational New England missionaries the following year his position changed. Yet the new dispensation was not total rejection of the old. The drama of the overturning of the idols seems for many to have obscured the continuities:

> When, in 1819, the Hawaiians themselves set about dismantling their old legal system, abolishing their most sacred taboos, even before the coming of the Congregationalist missionaries, they certainly did not at one fell swoop abandon all their most ancient arts and mysteries. Thus they did not virtually overnight (as they were inspired to do so with their wooden idols) overturn, bury, or otherwise insult and destroy all their ancestral stores of poetry and myth; or their racial repositories of sacred dance and festal song; or their rainbow-laden memories of the hundreds and hundreds of chants and tales they had heard in childhood and learned — sometimes relearned — first from their mothers or grandmothers or aunties, or, less often, from certain exceptional and strange poetic-minded men.[20]

The old pagan "unwritten song" of Hawai'i did not suddenly vanish with the coming of the missionaries or with the setting up of the printing press and establishment of the earliest Hawaiian-language newspapers. Change is never that easy.

Yet, while the old persisted, and became even more commonly acces-

sible through publication of texts of chants and myths in the new Hawaiian language newspapers, a process of desacramentalization had begun. Over the next century and a half the chant was to shift from its central position in the life of the people and re-establish itself primarily as a performing art with overtones of the mysteries of the past. How intense was the impact of those overtones was dependent upon the felt commitment to the ancient mysteries on the part of the performer.[21]

With the arrival of the missionaries a major influence came upon the Hawaiian musical scene which was to have immense influence: the introduction of hymn singing, a practice that came with the missionaries to all the islands and to the most remote outposts. Over the same years in the more metropolitan, court centered capital, Honolulu, the Royal Hawaiian Band, a western style ensemble, was taking shape with a repertoire derived from the secular European tradition.

The introduction of Christian hymns to Hawai'i can be dated exactly, April 23, 1820, when the newly arrived missionaries, accompanied by Prince George Kaumuali'i, on bass viol sang for both the court and commoners in Honolulu. This was the beginning of the history of *himeni* (hymns) which profoundly affected the nature of Hawaiian music, and to some extent, the lyrics.[22]

By June 8, 1820, the Rev. Hiram Bingham had organized a singing school on the order of those typical of New England. He, and others, must have done their work well, for by 1823 there was apparent need for a printed hymnal. Not only had the Hawaiian congregations mastered the strange eight tone diatonic scale together with some elements of part singing, but they had also learned to read the printed language as well. All this within three years. This hymnal, *Na Himeni Hawaii: He Me Ori Ia Ieova, Ke Akua Mau*, was a collaborative translation effort on the part of Bingham and William Ellis. The demand for the hymn book on the part of the Hawaiians was phenomenal. By 1832, 52,000 copies had been printed and distributed to the mission stations in the Hawaiian islands. The estimate is that upwards of 100 singing schools were using this first Hawaiian language hymn book with its forty-seven translations and no music. In 1834 Bingham brought out his second hymn book *(O Ke Kumu Leo Mele, No Na Himeni A Me Na Himeni A Me Na Hallelu E Hoolea Aku Ai Ike Akua)* with 194 hymns and music plus fifty-six pages of detailed instructions for singing. Bingham's work was important, but it would have left Hawaiians singing at the level of New England Congregationalists, a grim joy in what was already a sadly despoiled land. However, that did not happen. In today's hymnal only three hymn tunes in the Bingham arrangements remain. The balance are "gospel-like arrangements of standard tunes and gospel tunes," a tribute to Bingham's co-

worker, and successor in the matter of hymnals and hymns, Lorenzo Lyons (Laiana), an ardent Hawaiian nationalist who lived and worked out his life at Waimea on the island of Hawai'i.

It seems significant to me, though none of my sources have noted it, that Lyons was working away from the metropolitan center of Honolulu. He became a master and defender of the Hawaiian language against the imposed English, an accomplished poet in Hawaiian (said to have mastered the ornate old style), and was thought to have been much more attuned than Bingham to what was acceptable, both emotionally and musically, to the Hawaiian. His "Fat Little Hymnal," *Ka Buke Himeni Poepoe*, of 1872 contained 612 hymns, nearly all gospel songs as opposed to the more formal, and complex, psalmody of Bingham's work. "The hymnal became so popular that the Hawaiians . . . never left it in the Pews. Every family seemed to have had a copy. Children and adults sang the songs not only in church but in 'their taro patches and as they went to catch fish' — in fact, everywhere. In a sense, they had become secularized folk songs to the *maka'ainana* (common people)."[23] People's poets are of the people. Their impact diffuses and rises rather than hanging heavy in a learned and borrowed tongue.

A new, and wide-spread, influence had begun to work upon Hawaiian music. Lyons was to publish one more hymn book in 1881. He died in 1886 (and was buried wrapped in a Hawaiian flag donated by King Kalakaua himself). He had made his mark upon Hawaiian hymns, not only through his translations, but also through "his promotion of a style of music that he felt would be more compatible with Hawaiian temperament and musical tradition. The *himeni*, as it has evolved over the decades since, is the product of his enormous efforts at synthesizing the musical and cultural elements of the Hawaiian encounter with Christian tradition."[24]

By the end of the nineteenth century Hawaiian names were beginning to appear both as translators and composers of *himeni*. The musical form had been acculturated. Elaboration and development, both secular and sacred, were well in the hands of the Hawaiians.

Concurrent with the development of *himeni* in the mission stations and churches of the islands was the court centered musical organization known as the Royal Hawaiian Band. It served as a training ground for some of Hawai'i's finest and best known musicians, set high standards for both instrumental and choral performance, and, in the course of its visits to the mainland in 1883, 1905, and 1906, helped to popularize Hawaiian music outside the Islands.

There is record of a band at the court of Kamehameha III at least as early as 1836, but it was not until the arrival of the Prussian bandmaster

Henry Berger in 1872 that the major development of the band began. Berger, sent by the Prussian Minstry of War at the request of King Kamehemeha V, was to carry on with the band through some of the most dramatic years of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the cultural renaissance under King Kalakaua, the forced abdication of Liliu'okalani, the provisional government, and the territorial government. While he saw his band change from one once favored by Royal patronage to the municipal band of Honolulu in 1905, he did not step down as leader until 1915 after 43 years of service.

Berger described his beginnings with the band thusly: "They presented me with 10 young men. They had ears, and that is the principal thing in music. I wrote them melodies within the range of a fifth; from F to C. Later we got to the octave. They made a great success and, within a month, they could play half a dozen melodies and a little waltz."[25] It should be noted that the principal source of Berger's band "boys" was the Reform School, a home for wayward and orphaned youths. It should be noted also that for the first twenty years of Berger's tenure most, if not all, of the band boys were Hawaiian.

Berger did all the arranging for the band as well as a good deal of original composition. Programs usually consisted of a mixture of European classical music, marches, popular songs, and nearly always a center section of the program was devoted to Hawaiian songs sung by the bandmembers or a female vocalist. The band played for Court functions, in open concerts in Honolulu and elsewhere as it accompanied the King, or later, Queen, on royal processions around the Islands. It played on the docks for arriving ships, and it also had an orchestral atavar to play for royal balls. Robert Louis Stevenson's stepdaughter, Isobel Strong Field, described one of these balls: "The plaintive, tender, Hawaiian airs were lovely, and the hulas which Mr. Berger set to music made good lively tunes for the polka and schottische. But it was when they put down their instruments and sang! How well I remember the silken swish of long trains, the sound of feet slipping over the ballroom floor in waltz time to the singing voices of the Royal Hawaiian Band."

The classical European repertoire along with the instruments, both winds and strings, had been introduced, and the industrious and talented Berger had begun the process of adapting Hawaiian melody to the Western ensemble. What remained then was for the Hawaiians themselves to choose from what had been made available and to find the instruments and the instrumental combinations that would best accompany and showcase the central vocal tradition.

Today the Hawaiian instrumental ensemble usually is made up of strings: guitars, bass, and 'ukulele. The steel guitar, once considered the

hallmark of Hawaiian music, is not heard so frequently. Hawaiian music is sung, is vocal; it was those instruments which had tonal qualities most adaptable to the Hawaiian voice and vocal style that were favored. From the early 1920s down nearly to the present it was the steel guitar that dominated. Early favorites included the flute, violin, and mandolin, with the violin seeming the favorite from the 1870s down to the early 1920s. Around the turn of the century a typical Hawaiian orchestra would have probably included lead violin and flute, mandolin, 'ukulele, and guitars with an occasional banjo thrown in for rhythm.

Over the decades various other instruments vied for position in the Hawaiian orchestra: the harp, the zither (Queen Liliu'okalani's favorite), and the double bass, which rather quickly replaced the cello-like bass viol. The piano, melodeon and other like keyboard reeds were popular in their time, but never became fixed in the ensemble; the saxophone and other winds were also passed over. Tatar sums it up so: "Since 1870, when, as noted in the *Hawaiian Gazette*, a 'tendency [was] being shown by Hawaiians to learn to play musical instruments and to club together for the purposes of musical entertainment,' the string ensemble has been the standard and most preferred Hawaiian instrumental accompaniment. From the pre-European *'ukeke* to the present guitar, strings seem to convey most successfully the particular vocal qualities that Hawaiians most admire."[26]

In the process of adapting and adopting Western instruments to the demands of Hawaiian song, Hawai'i made two major contributions to the inventory of instruments: the modified Portuguese *braguinha* which came to be known as the 'ukulele and the modified Spanish guitar, the steel.

The *braguinha* was introduced to Hawai'i by the first groups of Portuguese immigrants in 1878 and 1879. It achieved instant popularity as well as its new name, becoming the favorite instrument of King Kalakaua who featured it at his Jubilee celebration in 1886 as an accompaniment to the hula, perhaps the first time it was so used in public. But though its first popularity may have been among the *ali'i* (Kanahele lists Queen Emma, Queen Lili'uokalani, Prince Leleiohoku and Princess Likelike as players as well as Kalakaua), it soon became one of the most popular of the peoples' instruments. By the first decade of this century that popularity had spread to the mainland, due mostly to visiting groups of Hawaiian musicians. The 'ukulele has always retained a place as a rhythm instrument in the Hawaiian ensemble, rising at times to the position of lead in the hands of a virtuoso performer.[27]

While the 'ukulele was Hawai'i's first gift to the greater world, the ubiquitous steel guitar (which we used to call Hawaiian guitar in that

distant era when I was growing up) made the greatest and most lasting impact. Not only was it a different instrument, it introduced a different sound and different style of playing that was in its way to influence everything from the bottleneck blues guitar to the undying Grand Ole Opry and country music.[28] While there is some controversy over how and where the steel guitar was invented, the claim of Joseph Kekuku seems the best substantiated. Kekuku claimed to have discovered the possibilities of the steel while walking along the railway strumming his guitar. He picked up a bolt, and, in sliding it across the strings, discovered the slur of the steel. After he returned home he experimented and practiced with various devices until he got things right. In later years he was to write that he "originated the Hawaiian Steel Guitar method of playing in the year 1885 at the age of 11 years. At the time I was living in the village where I was born (in 1874), a place called Laie, only a short distance from Honolulu. It took me seven years to master the guitar as I had no teacher to show me and no books to refer to for information."[29]

What he learned, and what others learned in the succeeding decades, was to become the identifying mark of Hawaiian music internationally, the sound of the steel guitar. Up until at least the time of World War II the two were synonymous outside of Hawai'i. Then, in the post-war years, steel, on the Hawaiian music scene, went into a decline. In the recent revival of Hawaiian music it was not steel guitar that came to the fore, but rather a technique that had considerable influence upon steel guitar technique, but which also linked the guitar to the traditional chants, slack key guitar.

As traditional chant and hula were pushed into the background by the pressures of Christianity and lost much of their original power and meaning through the breakdown of traditional society, congregations around the islands were learning *himeni* in singing schools and church choirs. In Honolulu the "best" of European music was being introduced at royal soirees, band concerts and in theatres, and a totally different sort was being introduced on the docks, in the red light districts and among the immigrant communities.

Out of the confusions and impositions of the offerings from outside, the Hawaiian musician somehow was drawn to the guitar, and by the mid-nineteenth century there had developed a tradition of guitar technique that was as purely Hawaiian as the later steel or the vocal falsetto. The slack key guitar style appears to have grown among the people away from the metropolitan center of Honolulu; it never achieved the commercial or international recognition of Hawaiian vocal styles or steel guitar, yet it represents a most successful adaptation of the traditional to the new.

It is not clear when the guitar was introduced to Hawai'i; it was, however, a popular instrument by mid-19th century.[30] It was a favored instrument of both King Kalakaua and Queen Lili'oukalani; the singing club formed by their brother, Prince Leleiohoku, used guitars for accompaniment. At Kalakaua's coronation in 1883 the guitar was used to accompany the *hula ku'i,* a dance and musical style developed in the 1870s and popularized in Kalakaua's court. It, too, was a combination of traditional elements with the new musical forms. While there is no evidence that the guitar *hula ku'i* was in slack key style, since the descriptions of guitar technique from the 1860s through the 1890s correspond rather well to slack key as it is known today, it might be assumed it was, particularly since the rhythmic patterns of slack key accompaniment echo the percussion accompaniment to *hula ku'i.*[31] Be that as it may, slack key is a plucked style that has developed together with a tradition of ornamentation which resembles that of the chanter and the traditional singer. It has survived quietly, nearly lost, as was true of so much Hawaiian, until the recent growth of interest.

That the recent resurgence of interest in things Hawaiian can be called a renaissance at all is due to a prior surging of Hawaiian culture during the reign of King Kalakaua in the last quarter of the 19th century. In Kanahele's words, "Among Hawai'i's modern *ali'i* (nobility), King David Kalakaua epitomized the Renaissance Man — gifted and accomplished in many fields ranging from politics to music and from literature to sports. He catalyzed the Hawaiian cultural renaissance of the last quarter of the 19th century, the monarchy's last great flowering of intellectual and artistic attainment. His impact is still felt today, for the inspiration for Hawai'i's present-day cultural resurgence can be traced to his reign."[32] He, his brother, Leleiohoku, and his sisters, Lili'uokalani and Likelike, were all well versed in both traditional Hawaiian chant and modern music. As a group they are known as the Royal Composers, and many of their compositions remain in the repertoire. Despite the political difficulties, this was a time of real creative exuberance. Kalakaua encouraged and offered his royal approval and patronage to the arts, particularly the revival of the *oli* and the hula for which he was damned by the missionary dominated *haole* political leaders who accused him of leading the way back to paganism and absolutist rule. This was a convenient ploy, for it cloaked with idealism and morality the very real aspirations against the throne and Hawaiian sovereignty that were underway.

Kalakaua was no hard line traditionalist. He was the patron of Henry Berger and the Royal Hawaiian Band, of Augustus Dias, the Portuguese 'ukulele maker; he was a composer of songs, though probably a better poet than musician; he encouraged the development of choral and

group singing, and together with his brother and sisters engaged in a friendly rivalry of music groups. At his coronation in 1883 and his jubilee in 1886 traditional *mele oli* and *mele hula* were performed along with the new innovation, the *hula ku'i* together with the European music of the Royal Hawaiian Band and the Western ballroom dancing of the waltz, polka and schottische. "Music," Kanahele says, "thrives best in a milieu of cultural vitality." He then goes on to summarize the blossoming of Kalakau's time: "home singing, harmonizing for amateurs, benefit programs, arduous rehearsals for church, cantata, or concert music, Royal Hawaiian Band practices, private club singing, and more":

> Hawaiian music was the chief beneficiary of this dynamic cultural life, for it encouraged aspiring singers and composers, instrumentalists and dancers, chanters and poets. Royal patronage meant, as it did in 18th-century Europe, that artists would be supported and patronized, thus making it easier to devote time to study and practice. The positive direction set in large part by Kalakaua for artistic endeavor must have accounted for the great amount of Hawaiian music written and performed during his rule and thereafter. There is no telling how Hawaiian music in particular, and Hawaiian culture in general, might have fared were it not for the cultural leadership exerted by King Kalakaua.[31]

While both Likelike and Leleiohoku were composers of considerable skill whose songs are still performed, it was Lili'uokalani who was the most prolific and most accomplished, not only of the Royal Composers, but among her contemporaries. "I scarcely remember the days when it would not have been possible for me to write either the words or the music for any occasion on which poetry or song was needed," she wrote, and this must be true if her own reckoning of her compositions in the hundreds is to be taken seriously.

> She also tried to blend Hawaiian musical elements with the Western. She arranged chants, for example, fitting the melody into four bars divided into two. She arranged a hula chant for Kalaniana'ole. . . . She also composed new *nele hula* using a V, I harmonic pattern which was characteristic of the so-called transition hula or *hula ku'i*. In short, she attempted to synthesize the old and the new.[34]

It seems ironic that few of Lili'uokalani's songs are in the contemporary repertoire while those of her brothers and sister have lived on. Could it possibly have something to do with the finality of works committed to the printed page? Perhaps that sense of completion mitigates the necessity of preservation by performance.[35]

Preservation up to this time had been primarily a matter of memory, helped along, once the Hawaiian language was reduced to writing, by

private handwritten materials (very frequently guarded fiercely as the private possessions of the family). The step from worship to performance was slow to advance, particularly in regard to the *oli* which did not have the spectacle of hula or the attraction of the new and more melodic songs built on the western scale. Add to this a government which had welcomed the missionaries and was coming more and more under the control of the *haole* missionary oriented economic "elite" which began to support the effort on the part of the churches to wipe out all the old "pagan practices." As Israel Zangwell aptly put it, "scratch the Christian and you find the pagan — spoiled." A quarter century of royal patronage had saved much; it had also fired the creativity of a whole new generation of musicians. But with the loss of independence the center was no longer there; the impulse for preservation became a private rather than public commitment. The ancient gods, where they still existed, were as often objects of fear as purveyors of protection. The land was overrun by outsiders, more populous by far than Native Hawaiians, brought in in a great ethnic mix to serve the interests of a small and powerful economic, and, with small qualifications, ultimately *haole* racial elite.[36]

From any aspect but that of the avaricious *haole* minority, whether that avarice was sated by dollars or souls, the 19th century had spelled disaster. Despite the good intentions of the captain, Cook's men had left their gifts of venereal disease; later contacts had introduced measles, smallpox and a host of afflictions of the body that had been unknown. The Hawaiian population was decimated: from an estimated 300,000 at the time of Cook to around 40,000, including part-Hawaiians, at annexation. The structure which had supported things Hawaiian, the vestiges of the old stratification exemplified by the court and the ruling chiefs, *ali'i*, were gone. Hawaiians were no longer masters of their own destiny; a period of intense introspection had begun, a searching of memory for the viable past. In a period of increasing personal insecurity and despair only the entertainers, those who maintained the traditions of the music of Hawai'i, had the public platform, and the means, to assert themselves as Hawaiian. It would be wrong, I think, in the pre-statehood (1959) period to read this as a political statement through the arts. It was a personal statement, a means of survival.

It seems somehow appropriate that the first major study of Hawaiian music should have been subsidized by the Bishop Museum in the years between Lili'uokalani's death in 1917 and Henry Berger's in 1929. Helen Roberts, a trained musicologist and anthropologist, was enlisted to record and analyze what remained of the old music, the "ancient Hawaiian music" as she was to call it in her 1926 report. Using what today

would be seen as primitive equipment, she, together with her Hawaiian interpreter/assistant, recorded several hundred chants, many of which were transcribed and analyzed in her report. In the 20s and 30s others at the museum also went into the field with recording equipment in the attempt to preserve what they could of the rapidly fading past. These materials served as a core around which Elizabeth Tatar was able to develop her remarkable recent study of 19th century chant and the paradigms of its traditional classifications.[37]

Another link to the past was the composer, bandleader, publisher Charles King, godson of Queen Emma and music student of Queen Lili'oukalani. He insisted that Hawaiian songs be in the Hawaiian language, on Hawaiian topics, and played at appropriate tempos (no jazzing up for presumed mainland or tourist tastes). He maintained and passed on the style of the court in the 80s and 90s of the last century, exerting a continuing influence on contemporary Hawaiian music until his death in 1950.[38]

Radio, recording studio, hotel ballroom, and, finally, television had come to replace the princely patrons; wages, hours, union negotiations came to replace the informal protection and care that existed in the old system. Commercialization and playing to the tourists, or mainlanders, took its toll, but, at the same time there grew up the whole new genre of *hapa-haole:* English lyrics but Hawaiian sounds. Purists may deny they are Hawaiian at all, and frequently the *haole* half dominates one performance while the Hawaiian dominates another. Despite the purists, the *hapa-haole* songs have been around since the turn of the century, and they continue to be written and performed. From the ragtime of "Waikiki Mermaid" to the rock of "Ain't No Big Thing Bruddah," *hapa-haole* music reflects the interaction of Hawaiian musical style and current mainland styles: a melding that, as in all popular musics, frequently walks the thin line between the various and the sentimental.[39]

But aside from the public and commercial developments in Hawaiian music during these years of rapid change there was a continuity maintained outside the metropolitan center. In Holt's *Waimea Summer* we saw the preservation of song by the family, and it is in good part the traditions of many highly talented families that have sustained the continuity of today's renaissance with that of Kalakaua's court. Families such as the Fardens and the Beamers have been instrumental in preservation of the old *mele,* traditional instrumental styles, while at the same time contributing directly to the creative ferment that has developed in Hawaiian music on the current scene. The Beamers trace their compositions back to the 1860s when members of the family composed and performed traditional *mele hula,* behind the scenes, so to speak, because of the

religious atmosphere of the time. As the larger supporting systems of the society broke down it was the *ohana*, the extended family, which maintained the sense of continuity, which protected the music as the music protected it.[40]

The current renaissance has not, however, projected the kind of general cultural ferment as that of Kalakaua's reign. There is no powerful institutionalized center from which encouragement and support can be directed, nor can there be in democratized American Hawai'i. The closest thing today is the Hawaiian Music Foundation, subject to the vagaries of outside funding and private endowments which support both the academic study of Hawaiian music and the training of new musicians in traditional styles, from chant to slack key and steel guitar. The Foundation was organized in 1971, in part as a response to the interest created by a letter of George S. Kanahele published in the January 15 *Honolulu Advertiser*. He made the issue amply clear: it was not just Hawaiian music that was endangered, it was everything Hawaiian. It "is not simply a case of preserving a quaint musical form as part of our cultural heritage. In a real sense, the issue is one of our survival as a distinctive community, for it involves the essence of our life style. Hawaiian music is part of the body and soul of Hawaiiana."[41]

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Notes

1. John Dominis Holt, *Waimea Summer*. Honolulu: 1976, p. 110.
2. Holt, p. 116. Italics in text. "The Cock-eyed Mayor of Kaunakakai" was written by R. Alex Anderson at the request of the owner of the Pu'uohoku Ranch, Moloka'i, who wanted a song to welcome a special guest, the movie star Warner Baxter. See title entry in George S. Kanahele, ed., *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History*. Honolulu: 1979. Dr. Kanahele's book is an invaluable source of both information and bibliography.
3. "There are today residual pockets of Hawaiiana on Niihau, in the Halowa Valley on Molokai, at Hana and Kaupo on East Maui, and in the Kau and Kona sections of the Big Island, where Hawaiians speak menacingly of *kapus* [taboos] and the venegeance of ghostly priests who still punish their violators. Even in Honolulu there are Hawaiians who knowingly whisper of ghosts who stalk *their* land, now wrongfully occupied by others." Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History*. (New York: 1961) p. 8. This, of course, begs the question of what it might take to make those ghosts real to the "others." Even an observer as sympathetic and sensitive as Fuchs finds it hard to admit, in print at least, that they are out there.
4. See, for example, the discussion in Jerry Hopkins, *The Hula* (Hong Kong: 1982) p.126.
5. Such as, for example, the Hawaiian language poet, Larry Kimura, who teaches

Hawaiian Language and Literature at the University of Hawaii, Manoa, and also finds himself serving as language consultant to younger songwriters who lack the necessary control of the Hawaiian language. The work of the ethnomusicologists, interesting as it is in its own right, is of less immediate impact, with the exception of the scholar who is also performer/chanter such as Kalena Silva.

6. Queen Lili'uokalani's song "Nani Na Pua" was published by Oliver Ditson in 1869; her "Aloha 'Oe" was first played in San Francisco by the Royal Hawaiian Band (1883) and became a national hit. Several Hawaiian musical groups toured the mainland during the early years of this century. From 1915 to 1925 Tin Pan Alley continued turning out pseudo-Hawaiian songs for a well paying market. More important, however, were the Hawaiians who were recording regularly in those years, and on down into the 30s and 40s. See Robert Armstrong and George S. Kanahele, "American Music, the Impact of Hawaiian music on," in Kanahele.
7. "Introduction" in Kanahele. This is, of course, in large part a definition by "style" which can lead to some rather murky waters if one is not careful. "The mental processes called for in dealing with styles are somewhat different from those ordinarily used by the historian or scientist: they are discriminatory, but can scarcely be called outrightly analytical. Although differentiations are recognized in determining styles, analysis is mainly used after judgments have been made. The primary act of judgment in regard to style is one of recognition. [Aha! now *that* is Hawaiian music.] . . . The beginner may do this by analytic comparison through step-by-step diagnostic differentiation. [Let's see now. There is an 'ukulele on his right, and he's playing slack key guitar, and wearing a lei, and singing in Hawaiian in falsetto . . .] With experience, however, the judgment often is total, immediate, and final." A. L. Kroeber, *An Anthropologist Looks at History* (Berkeley: 1966), pp. 70–71.

   It is all very circuitous: one has to know a style to recognize it, one has to recognize a style to know it. The process is much the same as recognizing a friend, as Kroeber also says: we perceive, know, and recognize all at once. But how do we validate our perceptions? The same problem faces us in authenticating ethnic literatures. We know one book or story is right, another wrong, but what are the criteria for the judgment? Presumably the "ethnic style" as it is exemplified (or presented) as opposed to the individual style of the author (which leads to all the confusions of fact with fiction) — though that individual style too,presumably, has its constraints proceeding from the more generalized ethnic style. If not, why the *pro forma* criticism of a writer, no matter how observant and perceptive, from outside the community as merely an observer suggesting somehow incompetence at getting at the heart of the matter?

   There is an interesting and enlightening discussion of this question of style in Alan Lomax, "Folksong Style," *American Anthropologist*, 61 (1959), 927–954.
8. Perhaps most difficult of all to deal with are the preconceptions arising out of the accepted scholarly ideas about the nature and transmission of "oral poetry." There is a whole mythology surrounding the integrity of transmission in oral genre that is itself reinforced by the sacred and semi-sacred nature of much of the poetry which requires a similar belief on the part of the performer/poet. Another view would see the material of the poems as formulaic, with sets of building blocks which are arranged and rearranged with considerable freedom in response to audience and other external circumstance, a view that is tenable only if we are willing to accept the strictures of a limited and limiting definition of oral poetry

such as that of A. B. Lord's "Oral Poetry" in Alex Preminger, ed., *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: 1974) or *The Singer of Tales* (New York: 1968, 1st pub. 1960). A much more flexible, and more broadly comparative, view of oral poetry is that of Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry: Its Nature, Significance and Social Context* (Cambridge: 1979, 1st pub. 1977). Her second chapter, "Some Approaches to the Study of Oral Poetry," is particularly helpful in peeling off the accumulated layers of presupposition and theory accepted as fact that encapsulate nearly everything written on the subject.

9. This situation, of course, is not unique to Hawai'i, it is universal to the extent that a tradition (ethnic or national) is in the way of being lost in the morass of "modernization," both economic and technological. It is precisely at this point that other demands, patriotic or nationalistic, require the public affirmation of tradition in some guise or other. So long as the attempt to save the traditional is not rigidly formal, as it tends to be in its public and political manifestations, these two impulses need not be contradictory, for, as Wole Soyinka puts it, "the poet's preoccupations" spring from "the same source of creativity which activates the major technological developments: town-planning, sewage-disposal, hydro-electric power" in *Poems of Black Africa* (New York: 1975), pp. 15–16. Another, less obvious, manifestation of this situation is the number of students, often musicians in their own tradition, from "developing" countries studying in the ethnomusicology departments of American universities. Unlike their counterparts in the traditional schools of music they are concerned with ethnic musics, not as Lou Harrison has dubbed it, "the presently popular International Atomic idiom which is 'western' in origin." *Lou Harrison's Music Primer* (New York: 1971), p. 14.
10. Shared music cultures are important markers of related areas, civilizations, perhaps, in Kroeber's vocabulary. Yet the traditional scholar finds them hard to work with. "Culturally, the only precise and accurate definition of Europe is 'the area which uses the major and minor diatonic scale. This is not much use in practice," says A. J. P. Taylor in *From Sarajevo to Potsdam* (New York: 1966). Yet the music tradition developed in this diatonic tail of Asia is arrogantly considered the only music by many. Lou Harrison's comments (p. 47) are emotionally right at the least. "The World of Music has Four Cultivated Traditions (the criteria are a history, notation, theory & repertory). These are the Sinitic, the Hindu, the Islamic, the European. All are Asian (Europe is no more a continent than I am, it is simply the other end of Asia). But among the so-called 'primitives' music has dignity & importance. When you grow up & leave home there is a wonderful Whole Round World of Music."
11. The continuing popularity of Hawaiian music not only in England, the United States, and Canada, but in Western Europe, Scandanavia, and Japan must have certainly led to an impressive repertoire of *hapa haole* songs in languages other than English. However, the entertainment language of the Islands is English which would, of necessity, limit any major feedback from other languages.
12. The hula is much too large a subject to deal with here except as it directly relates to chant. It exemplifies, together with chant, the continuation of pre-contact tradition, no matter how modified in its present form. In all its forms it represents an extension and elaboration of the words; this is not a tradition that allows for abstract posturing and form (see, for example, Adrienne L. Kaeppler, "Dance and the Interpretation of Pacific Traditional Literature" in *Directions in Pacific Traditional Literature*, Kaeppler, ed., Honolulu: 1976). The classic source on the hula is

Nathaniel E. Emerson's *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula* (Rutland, Vt. and Tokyo: 1965, orig. 1909); a recent work called simply *The Hula* by Jerry Hopkins (Hong Kong: 1982) gives an overall picture concentrating on nineteenth and twentieth century developments. I am told that there are some minor factual errors and questionable interpretations (as there are in Emerson as well), but over all it is a reliable source.

I have only recently seen two minor, but interesting, confirmations of the ubiquity of the dance as an extension of poetry within the Asian-Pacific culture area Kaepler projects. When Kalena Silva appeared in one of my classes for a lecture-demonstration in relation to Hawaiian chant, a Vietnamese girl immediately noted the story-telling nature of the dance (hula) before it was pointed out. Another Vietnamese student, a boy, who has been doing extensive work in dance, choreographed an evocative (and heartbreaking) sequence based on his memories of the homeland. In the program notes for the production he inserted this quotation from Bienvenido Santos' "Scent of Apples": "How many times did the lonely mind take unpleasant detours away from the familiar winding lanes toward home for fear of this, the remembered hurt, the long lost youth, the grim shadows of the years; how many times indeed, only the exile knows" because "that is what I feel when I am dancing": a validation of the dance by the word, of the word by the dance. Of all the student choreographers in that particular program he was the only one who seemed constrained to include something more than the purely technical or descriptive in his program statement.

13. *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*, pp. 11-12, 13. While clearly aware of the traditional and ritual nature of the hula, Emerson seems to have trouble conceiving of the dance in terms other than a performing art which leads to considerable ambiguity in his attempts to describe clearly its function in society. He speaks of the hula as "a creature of royal support, and for good reason. The actors in this institution were not producers of life's necessaries." Then follows a comparison with ancient Rome where "it was a senator or general enriched by the spoil of a province, who promoted the sports of the arena, so in ancient Hawaii it was the chief or headman of the district who took the initiative in the promotion of the people's communistic sports and of the hula" (p. 26). This is putting a false face on the very real difficulties, the harsh price that must be paid in all movements from the sacred to the secular. For more on this see Philippa Pollenz, "Changes in the Form and Function of Hawaiian Hulas," *American Anthropologist* 52 (1950), 225-34.
14. John R. K. Topolinski, "Hula" in Kamahele.
15. E. S. Handy, *Polynesian Religion* (Honolulu: 1927), a basic source.
16. The animistic perceptions have not been totally lost, as even a quick reading of Holt's novel would indicate. In this context I would like to quote Soyinka again (pp. 12–13) where he is speaking of poetry that "is structured within a conceptual tradition which embodies essentials of the metaphysics of the African world." He goes on: "The interfusion of object, thought and spirit is not however peculiar to the African mind. But the quality which separates such poems . . . from the Surrealist — to take one example — is their avoidance of the Mallarmean extreme, *the occidental indulgence which gives an autogenetic existence to the expression of the symbolic-mythical world of the creative imagination, severed arbitrarily from other realities*. . . . If we shed the general meaning attached to the word "superstition," prepare to understand the laws that govern its formulation as belonging to the same laws that enable human beings to imbue incident and matter even with

cosmic potential, the animistic perception becomes plain enough." (Emphasis mine.)

The governing concept in the understanding of the "Hawaiian mind" is the Polynesian idea of *mana*, the power, some would say divine, which is instilled in every person. It was the basis on which the political, social, and religious hierachy of Hawaii was based. The more *mana* the greater the status. (The traditional classes of Hawaiian society were *ali'i*, or chiefs; *kahuna*, or the skilled group consisting of priests, all kinds of specialists, and seers; *maka'ainana*, or the commoners; and a group of "untouchables," *po'e kauwa*. All these "roles," as well as those of animals, plants, and inanimate objects had been determined at the time of creation. They were articulated in creation chants such as the *Kumulipo*.) *Mana*, if it is carefully nurtured, has the property of cumulative growth from generation to generation in humans; it is inherent in all things. *Kapu*, with the sense of sacred or forbidden, were the laws governing activities which operated, or sanctioned, *mana*. In practice *kapu* were enforced by *ali'i* or *kahuna*.

17. In Kamakele, entry, "Chant."
18. Quoted in Elbert and Mahoe, *Na Mele o Hawai'i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: 1970), p. 17. This introduction to a collection of post-contact songs is the best, and most easily available introduction to Hawaiian poetics. This is a collection from a living oral tradition rather than a gleaning of printed texts. The editors comment: "It has not been possible to include the melodies of the songs in this edition — a considerable task as many of the songs have never been transcribed in musical notation" (p. 7).
19. "*Meles* foretelling the future and those for worship were generally composed when the spirit moved the prophet. *Meles* in honor of persons, for the glorification of the king, for thankfulness or for expressing lamentation and various other kinds, were often made by a single individual and were completed in a short time, but on the other hand, if a *mele* was to be composed to reveal that a given individual was stingy, good, bad, brave, and so on, then two or more persons together composed the *mele*. In large compositions the composer generally had several persons with him and to each a line was assigned, and sometimes two, and as each line was completed the composer designated one person who took that line and studied it, committing it to memory. In this manner several lines were composed at one sitting and when completed they were recited by the different ones. Then the others took them and in a short time the whole *mele* was learned by heart. Should the *mele* be short, one or two could sit and compose it." Helen H. Roberts, *Ancient Hawaiian Music* (New York: 1967, orig. Honolulu: 1926), quoting Samuel M. Kamakau, pp. 59–60. See also Finnegan's chapter, "Composition," particularly pp. 73–87.
20. Mary Kawena Pukui and Alfons L. Korn, *The Echo of Our Song: Chants and Poems of the Hawaiians* (Honolulu: 1973), pp. xii–xiii. No matter where one turns in the literature about Hawai'i written over the past half-century one invariably finds the name Mary Kawena Pukui, and with apparent good reason. "Recognized as the greatest living authority on Hawaiian culture and language, Kawena Pukui lends legitimacy to the whole enterprise of perpetuating Hawaiian culture, for she is, in a very real sense, the personification of the evolution of Hawai'i from the ancient to the modern. Consequently, what she has brought to Hawaiian music, as to other aspects of Hawai'i's traditional culture, has been the ability and the power to communicate the essence of Hawaiianness." Noelani Mahoe in Kanahele.

21. "The first time I met with a group of *Kumu hula*, teachers or masters of hula, to discuss their art, I was impressed by the strength and the felt need for restraints placed on the depth and nature of the spiritual aspects of one's study and practice of hula. The Kumu Hula Wayne Chang, whose young age surprised me, so mature his performances struck me as being, told me and the others that almost no one deals anymore with keeping alive the worship of Laka, that friendly patron goddess of the hula. It is too deep a thing to recover, he said — and too dangerous." (The meeting would have been around 1977 or 78). Stephan Hiro Sumida, "Our Whole Voce: The Pastoral and the Heroic in Hawaii's Literature." Diss., University of Washington, Seattle: 1982, pp. 274–275. The resistance to this secularization did not die easily, in fact may still continue to some degree. Around 1880 King Kalakaua gave a copy of the creation chant, the *Kumulipo*, to the German anthropologist, Adolf Bastian. What followed is recounted by Katherine Luomala: "An old Hawaiian poignantly indicated its [the manuscript's] value when the German anthropologist asked him to explain certain allusions. The man bitterly retorted, 'Would you rob me of my only treasure?' " See the "Forward" to Martha Warren Beckwith, *The Kumulipo: A Hawaiian Creation Chant* (Honolulu: 1972, orig., Chicago: 1951), pp. x–xi.
22. See entry "Himeni, History of" in Kanahele which is my basic source for what follows. It should be noted, though, that this essay is devoted exclusively to the "hymn" or sacred music part of the tradition. "The term *himeni* . . . was introduced by the missionaries, who did not want their hymns confused with pagan *mele* and *oli*. Today any song not danced to is called *himeni*, and it need not be religious. Songs and chants danced to are called hulas." Elbert and Mahoe, p. 6. Thus there was an almost immediate secularization of the new sacred music of Christianity parallel to that taking place with traditional Hawaiian chant.
23. Kanahele entry "Himeni."
24. Kanahele, "Himeni."
25. This and the following citation are quoted by Allie Lorch and Niklaus Schweizer in Kanahele, article "Royal Hawaiian Band."
26. Kanahele, entry "Orchestra."
27. Kanahele, entry "Ukulele," also, *passim*, entries "Toots Paka's Hawaiians," "Kaai, Ernest," "England, Hawaiian Music in," "American Music, The Impact of Hawaiian Music on," and "Kamaka Hawaii Inc."
28. See, for example, Bill C. Malone, *Country Music U.S.A.: A Fifty Year History* (Austin & London: 1968), pp. 168–171. "[I]n the first two decades of the twentieth century . . . an interest in Hawaiian melodies was kindled which has never completely died out in this country. The Hawaiian musicians introduced an instrumental style and an instrument [steel guitar] which have exerted profound and lingering influences upon country music. . . . When a Hawaiian unit visited an American town or hamlet, it was certain to leave behind a number of enthralled partisans and at least one young boy who began badgering his parents to buy him a guitar and enroll him in a steel-guitar correspondence course. In like fashion, American bands featuring the Hawaiian guitar and playing both Hawaiian and American tunes began to spring up throughout the country." (pp. 168–69).
29. Quoted in Donald D. Kilolani Mitchell and George S. Kanahele in Kanahele, article, "Steel Guitar."
30. See Tatar, article "Slack Key Guitar" in Kanahele. The date would seem to be around or before 1832; the source, possibly the Southern California *vaqueros* who

were brought in that year as cowboys or *paniola*. However, there are indications that the guitar was already in Hawai'i fifty years or so earlier — soon after Captain Cook in fact. The Mexican *paniola* and the later Portugese immigrants were more likely an impetus to the spread of the guitar than the original suppliers.

31. Slack key refers to the tuning, a slackening of the strings from standard tuning. There are many possible tunings, and like chants, many have been preserved as the special possessions of a particular *'ohana*, or extended family. For a fuller discussion of technique and relation to chant see the Tatar article cited above. For tunings and more practical matters see Keola Beamer, *The First Method for Hawaiian Slack Key Guitar* (Honolulu: 1973).
32. Entry "Kalakaua, David."
33. Kanahele, entry "Kalakaua, David." Kalakaua reigned from 1874 until his death in 1891. His sister Lili'uokalani reigned from 1891 to 1893 when the provisional republic was established, which continued until 1900 when the territory was established. Annexation had been approved by Congress in 1898. These were horribly difficult years which saw the growing imposition of American economic, military and political power against Kalakaua's struggle to revive the glories of Hawai'i's past. Point-of-view is of the essence here. Note the tone of the following by A. Grove Day in the 1970 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. "At first Kalakaua ruled fairly well and was largely instrumental in bringing about the Reciprocity treaty with the United States. . . . There was ever-increasing endeavor by the king to restore the ancient order with its customs and ideas of absolutism and divine right, accompanied by extravagance, corruption, personal interference in politics and fomentation of race feeling [i.e., anti-*haole*] until he was compelled to promulgate (1887) a new constitution" etc. Day and his *haole* ilk have for far too long been the sole interpreters of the Hawaiian experience, always in the terms of their own self(class)-interest. The first major threat to this ingrown information/interpretation monopoly came with the publication of Lawrence H. Fuchs' *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* in 1961, but there is a long way to go yet before perspectives clear. It is interesting to set against this Emerson's turn of the century comments (p. 172) as introduction to Kalakaua's *"Hawaii Ponoi"*: "The Hawaiian national hymn on its poetical side may be called the last appeal of royalty to the nation's feeling of race-pride. The music, though by a foreigner [Berger], is well suited to the words and is colored by the environment in which the composer has spent the best years of his life. The whole production seems well fitted to serve as the clarion of a people that need every help which art and imagination can offer."
34. Quoted by Kanahele, article, "Lili'uokalani." It should be noted also that Lili'uokalani was one of the very few, if not the only, composers of her time who was willing and able to reduce her compositions to writing, both words and music.
35. But see Finnigan, "In practice, interaction between oral and written forms is extremely common, and the idea that the use of writing *automatically* deals a death blow to oral literary forms has nothing to support it," p. 160 and following.
36. The figures are clear: at the time of annexation, according to Fuchs, the ruling *haole* class made up approximately five percent of the population, while oriental immigrants (Chinese and Japanese) constituted "almost 75 percent," p. 37.
37. *Nineteenth Century Hawaiian Chant* (Honolulu: 1982).
38. *King's Book of Hawaiian Melodies* (Honolulu: 1948), the so-called, "Blue Book," and *King's Songs of Hawaii: A Companion to King's Book of Hawaiian Melodies* (Honolulu: 1950), the "green book." Both are readily available.

39. The performer often is the saving element, creating something quite different than might be expected from the most banal lyrics and routine music. One example, Leadbelly's rendition of "Springtime in the Rockies" in contrast with Gene Autry's original rendition. Our evaluations in cases like these become quite complex, we have to sense sincerity on the part of the performer before we can react openly to the seemingly jejune emotions the lyrics express. It is not a matter of "consider the source" either; the performer usually is capable of a much more sophisticated and subtle expression of whatever emotions might be in question. Nor is it a matter of undeveloped taste on our part (though an occasional twinge of undisciplined adolescent emotion may intrude when memory is evoked), in fact, the more sophisticated and eclectic the taste the quicker the open, honest, emotional appreciation rather than the evasive, and self-protective, technical appraisal. (See Note 7 on style above.) "A knowledge of different literatures is the best way to free oneself from the tyranny of any one of them" was the way Jose Marti phrased it, this need to open out, take the risks free of the constraints, and protection, of a single tradition. All literary or musical evaluations are made within a rather clearly defined context after all, if only we take the time to see what the criteria might be. In my experience they seem more often political masking as aesthetic than the other way around. Which may again be related to why aesthetics, ideals of propriety and beauty, become a battleground in inter-ethnic strife.
40. Obviously only families that are willing to "go public" with their inherited chants and songs can be known. Up until the recent past, at least, there has been strong resistance on the part of many to make public what was private and powerful. While I would like to romanticize untapped riches somewhere "out there," I am told by those who know the best that the best that probably can be expected is the recovery of more of the 19th century manuscript copies of family chants recorded once the owners learned to write.
41. Kanahele, article, "Hawaiian Music Foundation."