Chapter 16—
Hawaii:
(formerly Sandwich Islands)

The Hawaiian islands are the peaks of a chain of submerged volcanic mountains at the northern apex of the Polynesian triangle. There are eight inhabited islands of which Hawaii, after which the group is named, is the largest. Oahu is the administrative centre and site of the capital, Honolulu. Polynesian settlement was possibly from the Marquesas Islands with later influence from Tahiti. European discovery was in 1778, by Captain James Cook during his third and final voyage round the world. Each island or portion of an island had its own king until shortly after Cook's visit, when Kamehameha I began uniting the group into one kingdom. Missionisation was begun in 1820 by a group of Calvinists from New England. In 1898 Hawaii was annexed by the United States and in 1959 it became the fiftieth State of the Union.

Traditional Music and Dance

Musical Instruments

Hawaii has an unusually large inventory of instruments, several without counterpart elsewhere in Polynesia. Exclusively local instruments are the knee drum (puniu*), the calabash drum (ipu hula), pebble castanets (ililii*), the fringed rattle (puili*) and the treadle board (papa hehi).* Knowledge of one instrument, at least, seems not to have survived in present-day memory. Several early travel accounts mention a drum made of a calabash with a drumhead stretched across the opening. Such drums would have been perishable or easily broken and were perhaps given up in favour of the more durable wooden drum.
Drums

There were two types of pahu or wooden drums with sharkskin head. Shorter ones, 1 to 2 feet (30–60 cm) high and up to 16 inches (40 cm) in diameter, were termed pahu hula and were used for beating time in hula dances. Temple drums (pahu heiau) were used in religious ceremonies and were much taller. One in the Bishop Museum is nearly 4 feet (1.2 m) high and over 2 feet (60 cm) in diameter. The bases of both types of drum were characteristically carved with open-work patterns. An especially handsome pahu hula from the Oldman Collection and now in New Zealand's Canterbury Museum, one of only two known drums in this style, is more elaborately carved with dancing figures (see illustration, p.298).

According to legend, the pahu was introduced into Hawaii five or six centuries ago from Tahiti by a renowned navigator and patron of the hula named Laa-ma-Kahiki* (Laa* of Tahiti).

The puniu* was a small drum made from a coconut shell (niu) with the top sliced off. Sharkskin or other fishskin was stretched across the opening to form a drumhead. Because of the method of playing, Buck calls the puniu a knee drum. It was fastened to the right thigh of the player and beaten with the knotted end of a braided coir fibre held in the right hand while the player simultaneously beat with his left hand on a pahu.

The calabash or gourd drum (ipu hula) was made from two gourds (ipu) joined one above the other to form a single cavity and stuck together.
Musicians with *ipu hula* at birthday of King Kalakaua, November 16, 1886.
PHOTO: HAWAII STATE ARCHIVES

with breadfruit gum. The uppermost gourd had an uncovered opening to serve as an exit for the sound. Buck gives the dimensions of the instrument as 12 to 22 inches (30–55 cm) high and usually about 15 inches (38 cm) in diameter. Two methods were used to join the gourds, referred to by Buck as the direct join and the indirect join. The latter made use of a collar, also of gourd, to help secure the two halves of the instrument. The *ipu hula* was played both by striking it with the hand or fingers and thumb, and dropping it to the ground, to produce named combinations of sounds.  

**Idiophones**

Stamping tubes (*ohe* kaeki or kaekeke*) were paired bamboo tubes (*ohe*) of different sizes, closed at one end and open at the other. They were played by dropping the closed end on to the ground or by striking it on a stone. Like the *pahu*, they are said to have been brought to Hawaii by Laa* of Tahiti.  

Paired resonant sticks were called *kalaau* (from *ka* 'to strike' and *laau* 'wood'). They were beaten together to accompany a category of
hula dance named from the sticks. Two forms appear to have been used. In the older form, as described by Roberts, a heavy stick or 'club' about a metre long was balanced over the left forearm and tapped by a lighter, shorter stick held in the right hand. The other form, which came into use about 1870, consisted of a matched pair of short sticks. In conjunction with the sticks, a footboard or treadle, called papa hehi, was activated by means of one foot. It was a simple tapered board, about 12 inches (30 cm) long, which was rocked up and down over a crosspiece. The first European to see the papa hehi and the older style of sticks was a gentleman member of Captain Cook's crew who observed some women singing in January 1778. They were accompanied by a man with two sticks and 'a hollow vessel of wood like a platter'. The larger of the two sticks was held like a European fiddle and beaten with the smaller one while at the same time the man 'beat with his foot upon the hollow vessel'.

Pebbles, held two in each hand and clicked together like castanets, were termed iliili.

Other Hawaiian idiophones were all forms of rattle. The puili was a fringed bamboo tube used during a dance (called hula pu'ili) in which the performers sit opposite each other and lightly tap each other's shoulders and wrists with the fringed end of the instrument. Most were about 20 inches (50 cm) long. The sound is described by Emerson as a 'murmurous breezy rustle'. The instrument was made by splitting half the length of a long bamboo into slivers and removing alternate slivers. Charles Stoddard, who observed an intricate half-hour performance of the hula puili late last century, described the instruments as 'slit at one end like a broom'. Each of the dozen performers he saw, six men and six women, held a bamboo in one hand, and struck it

in the palm of the other, on the shoulder, on the floor in front, to left and right; thrust it out before them, and were parried by the partners opposite; crossed it over and back, and turned in a thousand ways ...

to a song which was 'never broken nor disturbed by the expert and tireless performers'.

The uliuli was a small gourd containing seeds, fitted with a handle and generally decorated with feathers. Emerson suggests that the feather decoration is modern, but this is certainly wrong as Captain Cook's journal of February 1778 mentions the gourd rattle as decorated with 'beautiful red feathers'. A well-known illustration from Cook's voyages by the artist of the Resolution, John Webber, plainly shows the feather decoration. Also noteworthy are the rattles tied on to the dancer's legs. Although referred to generally as anklet rattles, they were not, as
Webber's picture shows, exclusive to the ankles. Another seen by Samwell on a woman dancer in 1779 is described specifically as tied 'round the small of her legs'.

Some, on the other hand, were indeed worn on the ankles. Charles Stewart, for example, who was resident in Hawaii from 1823 to 1825, describes them as 'a kind of buskin' round the ankles, and Hiram Bingham, who saw them in 1821, as a 'gaiter' on the ankle. They were called *kupee* *niho ilio* and were worn below the knee to accentuate the rhythms of the legs and feet in dancing. They were made from hundreds of dogs' teeth strung on to fabric.

Cook's fellow commander, Captain King, describes the event upon which Webber made his drawing as follows:

We were this day much diverted, at the beach, by the buffooneries of one of the natives. He held in his hand an instrument ... some bits of seaweed were tied around his neck; and around each leg, a piece of strong netting.
about nine inches deep, on which a great number of dogs' teeth were loosely fastened, in rows . . .

Another rattle, the triple gourd rattle, was probably not a musical instrument, as it is said to have been used only as a toy. Called the ulili *, it was made of three gourds strung on a stick. The player held the middle gourd and pulled on a string which alternately wound and unwound. This rotated the stick, causing the outer gourds to spin and emit a whizzing sound.\(^{20}\)

In view of the confusing similarity of some Hawaiian percussion instrument names, an alphabetical summary may be useful:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Instrument</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iliili*</td>
<td>Pebble castanets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipu hula</td>
<td>Calabash drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaekeeke*</td>
<td>Stamping tubes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka* laau*</td>
<td>Resonant sticks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kupee* niho ilio*</td>
<td>Dogtooth leg rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahu heiau</td>
<td>Temple drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahu hula</td>
<td>Dance drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papa hehi</td>
<td>Treadle board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puili*</td>
<td>Fringed bamboo tube rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puniu*</td>
<td>Coconut drum or knee drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulili</td>
<td>Triple gourd rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ulidi*</td>
<td>Single gourd rattle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Chordophones**

The only traditional stringed instrument was a variety of mouth bow called ukeke*. It had two or three sennit strings stretched over a stick of wood about 1 1/2 inches (4 cm) wide and 15 inches to 2 feet (40–60 cm) long. The upper surface was flat and the under surface slightly convex. The stick was held transversely at one end between the player's lips and the strings were plucked with the fingers or with a fibre or twisted-cloth plectrum. Most instruments had small bridges inserted to keep the strings from touching the stick. The strings of two-stringed instruments were generally tuned a 4th apart, and three-stringed instruments to tonic, 3rd and 4th or tonic, 2nd and 4th. Example 67 is one of 13 ukeke tunes transcribed by Helen Roberts.\(^{21}\)

\[\text{Example 67:}
\]

A two-string ukeke tune transcribed by Helen Roberts
The faint sounds produced by the plucking were resonated in the mouth cavity and modified by the player to produce the mele or words of a song. According to Emerson, the main use of the ukeke* was 'in serenading and serving the young folk in breathing their extemporised songs and uttering their love talk'. An instrument that was evidently played in a similar way was the niau* kani or jew's harp. The name derives from niau 'coconut leaflet midrib' and kani 'to sound'. A putative specimen in the Bishop Museum is of doubtful origin as it is made from wood and turtle-shell. Buck dismisses it as a curio made by someone without knowledge of the instrument. Jew's harps made from coconut leaflet are, however, widespread elsewhere in Polynesia so it would seem likely that the Hawaiian instrument was the same.

**Aerophones**

The best-known Hawaiian wind instrument is the nose flute, called ohe* hano ihu (from ohe 'bamboo', hano 'instrument' and ihu 'nose'). It was made from a single joint of bamboo with one end open and the other closed by the bamboo node. A blowing hole was bored within reach of the nostril at the closed end. Most specimens have two fingerholes. According to Buck, the instrument was blown though the right nostril. The left nostril was held closed by the left thumb and the instrument was steadied between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand while the right middle and fourth fingers covered and uncovered the two fingerholes. It is said that, like the ukeke, the nose flute could reproduce words and was used by lovers to talk to each other. According to legend, a supernatural mountain chief named Kauakahiali* played the nose flute to attract his hoped-for bride, a beautiful high-born woman called Kaililauokekoa* who lived in the valley below, enticing her to follow the sound, 'accompanied by protesting members of her court'. Roberts provides over 20 music transcriptions of mostly two- and three-note flute melodies of narrow range. One, at least, reproduced below as Example 68, was a hula tune performed for Roberts as a unison accompaniment to a hula song.

Such use of the nose flute may have been usual in view of an 1836 observation, which Roberts quotes, that the notes produced by Hawaiians on the nose flute are 'not more varied than those of their vocal music'.

The ipu hokiokio* (also called ipu hoehoe or pua*) is a globular flute made from a small gourd about the size of a pear. Like the ohe hano ihu it was nose-blown. Generally there are three fingerholes across the body of the instrument and a nose hole made either by cutting off the stalk or by making a side hole in the neck of the gourd. One heard by Roberts

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produced notes 'half a step apart when the holes were stopped alternately.' According to Buck, the instruments were used by lovers to entertain each other. 28

Regarded by most authorities as more of a plaything for children than a musical instrument was the so-called leaf trumpet or ti-leaf whistle, called pu* lai* (from pu 'trumpet' and laiti-leaf*). 29 Buck describes it as made from a strip of ti-leaf, rolled in overlapping spiral turns and secured by a thin strip of leaf midrib or fibre. 30

The shell trumpet or conch, known throughout Polynesia as pu*, was present also in Hawaii. The sound of the Hawaiian instrument could reportedly be heard for more than two miles (3 km). Both triton and
Two ipu hokiokia * with burnt ornamentation, heights
21/4 inches (5.7 cm) and 3 inches (7.6 cm).

From Edge-Partington, *Album

Cassis shells were used and both were end-blown. The Hawaiian pu was a ceremonial instrument blown, as Wong puts it, 'to attract attention'. One of its uses must certainly have been in warfare. There is mention of the instrument in the journal of Cook's last voyage. When Cook was killed by Hawaiians in 1779, conches were sounded, according to Captain King, 'with every appearance of hostility', and later he was told by the priests that this was a sign of defiance. As well, conches were associated with chiefs. A description of early Hawaiian funeral customs mentions the 'noise of shell trumpets' at chiefs' funerals. Fischer documents them as blown at sacrifices and announcements of taboos, at the birth of a chief's child, and by chiefs to summon warriors. A celebrated conch at the Bishop Museum, called Kiha-pu*, is named after a fifteenth-century chief and is reputed to be hundreds of years old. It is described by Barrere as 'an authentic heirloom of the chiefs of Hawaii'.

Another noise-maker is the bullroarer (oeoe). Like the leaf trumpet, it is said to have been used as a toy by children. The sole putative specimen in the Bishop Museum is made from a small coconut shell with a hole at what Buck calls the stalk end. On opposite sides of the large hole are two small holes through which Buck presumes a cord.
was threaded with which to twirl the instrument around the head. The globular form is atypical for a bullroarer, leading one to think that the instrument is rather a whizzer. If so, a doubled cord would have been passed through the two small holes and the instrument would have been sounded in similar fashion to whirling discs elsewhere. Culin attests both whizzers and true bullroarers for Hawaii, strengthening this possibility. He reports the buzzing disc (*pokaka*) as made of bark perforated with two holes through which a cord is passed, and the bullroarer (*oeoe*) as made of wood with a hole in one end through which is passed a cord with which it is whirled.

Most of the above instruments are either still extant as an adjunct of *hula* dancing (CD .36 & .37) or have recently been revived.

**Song types**

The texts (*mele*) of traditional Hawaiian songs have long been recognised as a form of oral poetry. Many contained exquisite imagery or word painting which concealed a secondary meaning, called *kaona*. As well, the language was highly elliptical and there were numerous allusions to legendary and historical persons and places which made the texts difficult to understand without a knowledge of the circumstances of composition. An important characteristic was a form of rhyming which Roberts calls 'linked assonance'. This consisted of beginning a new line with a word or phrase similar to key words in the previous line. It was not only a poetic device but served evidently as a mnemonic aid to assist the recollection of texts which were sometimes hundreds of lines long. Perhaps the most famous of these songs is a creation or birth chant of no fewer than 2,102 lines, known as the 'Kumulipo'.

W. D. Alexander provides a classification of *mele* into four divisions according to song use:

- Religious chants, prayers and prophecies
- *Inoa* or name songs, composed in honour of a chief at his birth or recounting the exploits of his ancestors
- *Kanikau*, dirges or lamentations for the dead
- *Ipo* or love songs.

Another method, followed by Roberts, classifies songs according to performance characteristics. In this system there are two broad categories — *oil*, which includes recited styles, and *hula*, which are invariably sung and which are usually accompanied by dance. There were numerous subcategories of both, especially *hula*. Emerson's book has chapters with...
details of 28 varieties of hula, mostly named from the accompanying instruments. Roberts distinguishes standing and seated hulas and, from Emerson's list, instrumental hulas; mimetic animal hulas, e.g. pig-, shark-, and dog-dances (hula puua, hula mano and hula ilio); and gesture hulas, of which she mentions the paiumauma, or chest-beating hula, and the kilelei or kielei, which is performed with feet widespread. 42

The most conspicuous characteristic of the hula as a dance is rotatory hip movement, at the slow end of a continuum compared with the corresponding dances of Tahiti and the Cook Islands. Also important is the use of arm movement and hand gesture.

As performed today, hula structure takes the following form:

- a kahea* "call" announces the first line of the text;
- a percussion instrument next sets the rhythm;
- stanzas are sung, each of which is usually a two-line couplet, and each is usually performed twice;
- between stanzas, one of the dancers recites part of the next line as a cue;
- the hula ends with another call identifying the name of the person honoured by the song.43

The illustrations (over) are a women's hula and a men's hula respectively, as painted by Louis Choris in 1816 during Kotzebue's first voyage to the Pacific. Calabash drums, hand-held rattles, and dog-tooth rattles worn on wrists as well as ankles can be seen in the second of the two paintings.

Besides oli and hula, there are six so-called 'styles', 'methods' or 'modes' of chanting or 'manners of performance' which, from recent publications by Elizabeth Tatar,44 appear to cut across the oli/hula dichotomy as set out by Roberts. The distinctions made by Roberts between oli and hula will be considered first.

In her book, Ancient Hawaiian Music, Roberts characterises oli as 'unaccompanied recitative' and hula as 'true song'.45 Numerous music transcriptions are provided, and there is extensive discussion on the musical and performance characteristics of the two styles. Representative transcriptions of each style are given below, and Robert's discussion is summarised in the following table:46

Example 69:
Beginning of oli for the goddess Laka47
Women's and men's dances, Hawaii.
From Choris, *Voyage pittoresque*.
PHOTOS: ALEXANDER TURNBULL LIBRARY PUBL-0072-12 & PUBL-0072-16
Example 70:
Beginning of hula ipu

OLI
Predominantly one note
(the principal note)
Notes stable in pitch
More equal employment of notes
Closer approach to true song
Unaccompanied
Often had instrumental accompaniment
Usually solo
Usually ensemble
Lines varied in length
Lines nearly uniform in length
About same number of accents in each line
Poetry composed in couplets
Notes of small value
(mostly 16th notes)
Quarter and eighth notes
Changing metre
Tendency towards regular metre

The styles distinguished by Tatar are kepakepa, kawele*, olioli, hoaeae*, hoouweuwe* and aihaa*. Earlier writers also refer to them but treat them mostly as sub-styles of oli. Tatar regards them as distinctive and mostly applicable to both oli and hula, resulting in a system of nine styles. Her treatment of them is in terms of voice quality using spectrograms of a sample of cylinder recordings set aside for casting by Helen Roberts from recordings made by her in 1923–24. Although productive of some insights, Tatar's method appears flawed by an assumption that the details observed in the spectrograms are necessarily significant, and by samples so small as to be limited in some cases to a single example. Possibly because of this, the characteristics she isolates do not always satisfactorily distinguish the styles. Fortunately it is not necessary to rely on written accounts only.
of these styles. It is to Tatar’s credit that she has provided a recording with her book containing examples of them so that listeners can form their own judgements.

- **Kepakepa**, according to most authorities, is an *oli*-type chant in the style of ‘rhythmic conversation’. Some Hawaiian informants prefer to exclude it from the *oli* group, but there is agreement about its ‘conversational’ nature. This suggests, and Tatar’s recorded example confirms, that it is a form of parlando or rhythmic spoken declamation similar to recitative styles elsewhere in Polynesia.

- **Kawele** is a type so rare that Tatar was able to find only two recorded examples of it. She describes it as a type of *kepakepa* distinguished by shorter phrases.  

- **Olioli** is distinguished by Tatar in all of her publications from the term *oli* (earlier referred to), which she retains as a general term for a ‘chant without dance’. As set out by her, the primary characteristics of *olioli* include phrases ending with a prolonged vowel or vowel cluster, and final vowels chanted with a deliberate vibrato. No other writer distinguishes *oli* from *olioli* as song types on this or any other grounds, and it seems improbable that two such similar terms would be in use for two different concepts. Roberts treats the two terms as synonymous, as do Pakui & Elbert in their *Hawaiian Dictionary*. The earliest reference the present writer has found to the term *olioli* is in the journal of Cook’s last voyage where ‘Hooreeoree’ is given in a vocabulary as meaning simply ‘a song’. There is possible support for Tatar in a statement by Emerson in which he refers to a device called *ii* as carried to the extreme in *olioli*. Elsewhere in his book, Emerson writes of *oli* rather than *olioli* so he may have considered the two terms to be different. But the characteristics attributed by Tatar to *olioli* are precisely those of *i‘i* which is described by most writers as a trill or shake of the voice, performed most often at the ends of phrases and characteristic of *oli* rather than *hula*. It would seem likely that *oli* is no more than an abbreviation of *olioli* and the two terms are, in fact, identical.

- **Hoaeae** seems to be distinguished primarily by short phrases and prolonged vowels, both of which are mentioned by Tatar as among its characteristics. Wong says a main feature of *hoaeae* was ‘the generous use of *i‘i*’ (obviously more readily possible if vowels were indeed prolonged), and Leadenham writes of the final vowel of each couplet held in a prolonged trill (another reference to *i‘i*).
• *Hoouweuwe* is characterised by wailing sounds which take the form of 'glides moving downward from a higher pitch to the principal tone level'.

According to Wong, they are 'chants accompanied by outbursts of wailing'. Leadenham refers to them as chanted with deep chest tones giving the effect of weeping. Roberts was told that the term refers to 'the crying of children without cause'. The common element is weeping, as is clear from the term *uwe* 'to wail or cry'. Not surprisingly, this style is reserved for *kanikau* or laments.

• *Aihaa* according to Tatar, was used for vigorous *hula* and is characterised by a lower pitch level and a growling voice quality. Kahananui, citing Emerson, similarly refers to a strained and guttural tone and says the 'aihaa*' was 'bombastic and emphatic'. Few other references to this style have been found and Tatar was forced to base her conclusions on only one example of it.

Of Tatar's six styles, all but the rarely occurring second and last refer to *oli* and, except for these and *olioi*, are described by other writers as types of *oli*. *Kaweke* is described by Tatar herself as a form of *kepakepa*, so if the latter is a type of *oli*, then so was the *kaweke*. Moreover, it appears that Tatar's *olioi* is simply *oli* with *ii*. From listening to Tatar's recorded examples, it is apparent that spectrogram analysis has revealed little in terms of purely musical distinctions between the different styles. From Roberts' analysis, which is based upon a much larger sample than Tatar's, it appears that similarities far outweigh differences, especially for *hoaeae* and *hoouweuwe*.

**Standards of Excellence**

According to Roberts, there were well-defined standards of excellence in the performance of both *oli* and *hula*. The chief requisite in the *oli* was a deep and powerful chest tone, with an ability to hold the breath almost indefinitely, and ill luck was thought to follow if the flow of sound was broken by taking breath in the wrong places. According to Kamakau, no strain was meant to visible, though singers' eyes would sometimes bulge from the effort. Training in breath control began very early with breath-holding games which were played by children. Joseph Emerson surmises that the breath-holding requirement of *oli* began with prayer songs, which a priest had to complete with a single lungful of breath. Also admired in the performance of *oli*, according to Roberts, was variation of volume, referred to by Hawaiians as 'the voice going high and low'. Devotees of the *oli* are said to have practised the effect for hours on the beach.
'imitating the sounds of the breakers as they gathered power, broke, and dissipated.'

Dance songs had different requirements. From Emerson's descriptions, Roberts concludes that standards in the *hula* applied less to voice production than to 'the possession of a repertory, a feeling for rhythm and meters and in the ability, above all, to execute the motions with finish and precision, following the sentiment of the meles.'

**Composition**

Songs were evidently composed both by individuals and by groups. The name for the composer or composers of a song was *haku mele*, which means literally 'to weave a song'. According to Wong, anyone, whether chief, priest or commoner, could be a composer, but the most significant songs flowed from the courts of the ruling chiefs. The *haku mele* attached to the court held an honoured place in the household, where, as one of his duties, he composed name chants glorifying the family exploits of the chief. Kamakau states that in long compositions the composer had several assistants, to each of whom a line would be assigned. When the composer was finished, the lines were sung in turn and all present learned them. The same method is given by Andrews who says that the members of the group also took part in the process of composition, approving, rejecting or amending and suggesting new lines. The missionary William Ellis personally observed such a group of composers at work:

> In my voyage from Hawaii, three or four females, fellow passengers, were thus employed during the greater part of the passage . . . They first agreed on two or three ideas, arranged them in a kind of metrical sentence, with great attention to the accent of the concluding word, and then repeated it in concert. If it sounded discordantly, they altered it, if not, they repeated it several times, and then proceeded to form a new sentence.

**Ownership**

The system of chiefly patronage described above had a flow-through effect in terms of ownership of songs. *Mele inoa* or eulogistic songs composed by a *haku mele* to honour a chief became the property of the person so honoured. Others were not allowed to use them except in honour of the owner. Both Pukui and Wong say that such chants were inherited by the owner's family, who might later rework the text by making it appropriate to a living person, but Emerson says even this was considered a breach of propriety.
Learning and Instruction

The performance of eulogistic songs, especially, evidently involved protracted rehearsal. The missionary Charles Stewart heard them being practised for several consecutive nights when he arrived in Hawaii in 1823:

With the gathering darkness of every evening, thousands of the natives assembled in a grove of cocoanut trees near the ship; and the fires round which they danced, were scarce ever extinguished till the break of day. . . .

Formal instruction in dancing and the singing of songs took place in so-called dancing schools known as hula halau*. Such companies could consist of several hundred persons. Instruction was in the hands of a kumu hula or hula master. Emerson, especially, has stressed the religious nature of these schools and the conditions of strict kapu (tabu), which governed them. Acolytes were required to abstain from sex; some foods were forbidden; dead bodies could not be touched; and frequent bathing was obligatory. Transgressions were punished by fines. Emerson has criticised Emerson both for overemphasis on religion in his treatment of the halau and for repeated references elsewhere in his book to the 'Sacred' character of the hula. She points out that the religious aspects of training in the halau hula ended with a final ritual (ai-lolo*)' when the restrictions (kapu) of the gods upon the participants were lifted.' Thereafter, their performances were 'free' (noa), or without compulsory religious restriction. The kapu which did obtain in the halau could have occurred simply because of the status of the chiefs who were the patrons of the schools. Hawaiian society was unusually highly stratified, even by Polynesian standards, and the monarchs on whose behalf many of the halau were maintained were regarded as gods incarnate who possessed extreme kapu.

Music Structure

The salient points of Roberts's analysis have already been given above in a tabular comparison of oli and hula.

Acculturated Styles

Hymnody

In 1819, just months before the arrival of American missionaries in Hawaii, their path had been made smooth by the action of King
Kamehameha's successor, Liholiho (later Kamehameha II), in decreeing the end of the kapu system and the destruction of all heiau (temples) and godlike images throughout the islands. Thenceforth, as Jerry Hopkins observes, 'uncounted dances and chants, most of the mele pule (prayers), and a major reason for the hula's very existence began to slip fast away'.

Aided by the conversion to Christianity of Kaahumanu*, who was joint ruler with Liholiho, the process was hastened by the missionaries. By 1840, mission influence was evidently paramount. Charles Wilkes, who spent several months in Hawaii in 1840–41, reported that, enforced by government and police, traditional singing and dancing was entirely interdicted by missionaries, because, although they were 'somewhat averse' to destroying innocent amusements, 'such was the proneness of all to indulge in lascivious thoughts and actions, that it was deemed by them necessary to put a stop to the whole'.

75 The gap created by the abolition of hula was filled as quickly as possible by hymns of missionary composition with Hawaiian texts and European tunes. The first hurdle to be overcome was Hawaiian inability to sing the unfamiliar tunes. A singing school was established by the Rev. Hiram Bingham in 1820, and others soon followed. As early as 1826, no fewer than 80 singing schools had been established on the island of Hawaii alone. Progress at first was slow. In 1834, Asa Thurston wrote that not a single person could 'raise and fall the eight notes without assistance'.

Also in the 1830s, Frederick Bennett observed that young females, trained by the missionaries to sing at the church of Honolulu, had powerful and good voices but were 'constantly getting astray in time and tune.' And, as late as 1883, a missionary wife complained in her journal that not one person in her husband's Hawaiian congregation could pitch correctly.

In 1846, the Rev. Lorenzo Lyons reported his whole parish as 'excited by this new thing' though the music was 'as yet as the sound of many waters'. In 1885, he reported 'Great enthusiasm for singing schools. They have spread like wild-fire. Multitudes interested young, middle-aged, the grey-haired.' Eventually success in European-style hymn singing was achieved. Captain Berger, who surveyed church music in Honolulu in 1889, recommended going to the native churches rather than haole (European) ones to hear good congregational singing. And at about the same time Ethel Damon commented: '...nothing is more inspiring and impressive than to hear the old hymns sung with the volume and power of a Hawaiian choir.'

An early mission activity was the printing of huge numbers of hymn books. The first was a book of 47 hymns, without tunes, published in 1823 in an edition of 2000. Further editions followed and, in little more than a decade, 52,000 hymn books had been printed and distributed. In
1834, Bingham published the first Hawaiian hymnal with both words and music. It contained 194 hymns with tunes from collections such as the *Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music* as well as 56 pages of singing instructions. The tunes chosen by Bingham were the standard ones of the time such as Amsterdam, Dundee, Sterling, Suffolk and Sicilians, not all of which have survived into modern hymnals. Of interest is that the melody, following eighteenth-century England and New England practice, was assigned not to the soprano part as in current hymn books but to the tenor.
Bingham left Hawaii in 1840 and at this point his mantle was taken up by the Rev. Lorenzo Lyons, a prolific translator of hymns who has been called the 'Isaac Watts of Hawaii.' In 1844 Lyons published a new hymn book containing 226 tunes including liturgical chants which did not, however, become popular. In a subsequent (1855) hymnal they were dropped in favour of gospel melodies. These became a staple of Hawaiian hymnody and in 1872, when Lyons published a further hymn book containing 612 hymns, nearly all had gospel tunes. The new book is said to have been so popular that Hawaiians 'never left it in the pews'.

As in New Zealand, where English tunes also prevailed in hymnody, Hawaiians were forced by the missionaries to become bimusical. Despite missionary prohibitions, traditional singing continued separately and at first was little influenced by the European system. Hymn singing, however, paved the way for even fuller use of the European idiom in modern Hawaiian music.

**Modern Song and Dance**

Kahananui sums up the foreign music which pushed aside the old in Hawaii as both religious and secular — 'hymns, anthems, sea songs and other vocal music as well as band music.' Whalers' songs, sea shanties and grog-shop songs were probable early influences though, except for a single sea shanty similar to 'Botany Bay', there is no documentary evidence of them. The paramount influence was the hymn singing described above. By the 1870s, Hawaiians had begun to compose songs with melodies modelled on gospel hymns. Songs of this kind had secular texts (mostly love songs) with verse and chorus melodies, each of 16 bars. An example is the well-known song 'Aloha Oe!', which became a hit song in 1883 when it was played in San Francisco by the Royal Hawaiian Band.

![Example 71: Himeni-type song 'Aloha Oe'](image)

Somewhat later in origin were hula kui, known also as 'hula songs', which emerged and became highly popular in the 1870s or 1880s during the reign of King David Kalakaua. The melodies are again European, but the songs are performed with a hula dance. Sometimes they were accompanied by traditional instruments such as the gourd drum, but more generally, according to Emerson, the instruments used were the guitar, the
ukulele, the taro-patch fiddle (another plucked instrument), the mandolin, or even the piano. They are strophic songs, in duple metre, with texts organised in couplets.

Ship bands intrigued the Hawaiians and between 1848 and 1871 they made several attempts to organise bands of their own. Eventually, in 1872, Captain Henry Berger was commissioned from Prussia to conduct His Hawaiian Majesty’s Band (later Royal Hawaiian Band). Except for short return trips to Germany in 1886 and 1895, he continued with the band for more than 40 years until his retirement in 1915. Among his many accomplishments, he conducted more than 32,000 band concerts, arranged more than 1000 Western compositions and more than 200 Hawaiian songs, and personally composed 75 Hawaiian songs and more than 500 marches.94 His impact upon Hawaiian music was immense. When he began, his recruits evidently had the same problems comprehending band music as others at first experienced with hymn tunes. Berger trained them, beginning by writing parts within a compass they could understand. In his own words:

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 great success and, within a month, they could play half a dozen melodies and a little waltz.98

His method was plainly highly effective as only three months later the band played an ambitious programme which included operatic selections from Donizetti and Verdi, a Strauss waltz, an Offenbach quadrille and three quicksteps composed by Berger himself.96 Throughout Berger’s tenure, the band performed, sometimes five times a day, at public concerts, private functions and court balls.97

In the nineteenth century, two musical instruments of Hawaiian invention emerged whose influence ultimately extended worldwide. They were the ukulele (*ukulele*) and the steel guitar. Partly as a result of Hawaiian performances at the Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco
in 1915, the two instruments became immensely popular as a 'stereotyped component' of Hawaiian secular music.\textsuperscript{98} The ukulele has spread throughout Polynesia especially and, on the mainland, the steel guitar became a staple of country and western bands in the 1930s.

Another form of guitar music which is uniquely Hawaiian is 'slack key' guitar or \textit{ki* hoalu*}. An ordinary six-string guitar is tuned to the pitches of the major triad by slackening the strings from the standard tuning.\textsuperscript{99}

The ukulele is almost too well known to require description. It is a small plucked or strummed guitar-like instrument with four strings that are generally tuned $g' - c' - e' - a'$. The name means literally 'jumping flea'. The most widely accepted account of its origin is that it was adapted from the Portuguese \textit{braga}, \textit{machete de braga} or \textit{braguina}, which was brought to Hawaii in 1879 by immigrants from the island of Madeira. It was introduced to the court of King Kalakaua\textsuperscript{*} by a young British army officer named Edward Purvis who was nicknamed \textit{ukulele} by the Hawaiians because of his lively playing and antics and small build. When the instrument began to be made commercially, his nickname was transferred
The steel guitar or Hawaiian guitar makes use of a sliding steel bar across the strings to produce chords. One story is that it was invented at about the same time as the ukulele, in 1876, by an Hawaiian, James Hoa, who hit upon the idea of using the back of a metal comb as a bar. Another story attributes the origin to a schoolboy, Joseph Kekuku, who made the same discovery in 1885, first using a metal bolt and later a penknife. Both instruments quickly became popular, and both were given added impetus after being featured at the King Kalakaua's* Jubilee celebration in 1886. The king himself learned to play the ukulele, and both designed and made his own instruments. The king and his brother and sisters also became prolific writers of songs in Western musical idiom. From this time onwards, as Kaeppler points out, a dualism existed in Hawaiian music, with old and new side by side.

Another important element of Hawaiian popular music is a fashion for falsetto singing, which appears to have emerged in the 1880s with members of Berger's Royal Hawaiian Band who formed four-part vocal ensembles and sang the top two parts in falsetto. The style, with yodels,
became popular in the 78-rpm recording era after an 'Hawaiian craze' swept across the US mainland in the early 1900s. After the San Francisco Exposition in 1915, Hawaiian music was taken up as a genre by Tin Pan Alley, reaching a peak around 1920. Called *hapa haole* (lit. 'half foreign') in Hawaii, these so-called pseudo-Hawaiian songs are in standard popular song form of 32 measures and AABA form. Not all, however, can be dismissed as non-Hawaiian. Some were composed by Hawaiians, and others have been recorded by Hawaiians who apply Hawaiian techniques to them.

Further Reading


Recommended Listening


*Hawaiian Drum Dance Chants: Sounds of Power in Time*. Compiled and anno-

Videos
