FINDING BALANCE BETWEEN THE PRACTICE OF HULA FOREST GATHERING AND THE ECOLOGICAL REALITIES OF HAWAI’I’S NATIVE FORESTS

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By
Shirley Naomi Kanani Garcia

Thesis committee:
Brian Murton, Chairperson
Deborah Woodcock
Les Sponsel
ABSTRACT

This thesis contends that the impact hālau hula are having on Hawaii's native forests is born from many different social, cultural, and ecological factors. This thesis goes on to argue that it is hula's intimate link to the forests of Hawai‘i, through Laka—the ancestor, that makes the problem of damaging gathering practices so antithetical and, also, so readily resolved. The thesis concludes by offering that the answer to regaining balance between cultural practice and modern ecological realities lies in the ancestor—Laka. In the attributes and values of Laka is where hālau hula can look for inspiration and proper behavior while in her realm, the beautiful and mysterious forests of Hawai‘i.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

*Forest Gathering by Halau Hula*

To maintain our own beauty, we must maintain the beauty of the forest. The forest is beautiful and mysterious. We are beautiful and mysterious. If we cut down the forest, we cut down ourselves. (P. Kanahele, 1996)

These words were spoken by a respected kumu hula, or hula instructor, at a conference organized in 1996 to discuss the relationship between hula and Hawaii’s native forest plants, and the role practitioners could play in protecting dwindling forest resources. She analogized the disappearance of native forests to the “cutting down” of the Hawaiian people. For this kumu hula, the forest is more than a place where she goes to gather plant materials to use in her hula: “The forest is my elder brother. It was here before I was. Here before my grandparents. It came here on its own and it deserves to have its space.” (P. Kanahele, 1996) The loss of Hawaii’s native forests would be more than a loss to ecological diversity, more than the loss of an important natural and cultural resource. For many Hawaiians, it would be a personal, familial loss.

The idea for this thesis originated from various discussions that took place in the press and among hula practitioners around the time of the 1996 and 1997 Hula Conferences, *No Nā Pua o Ka Hālau Hula* (For the Flowers of the Hula Hālau). (See Appendices A and B) (See also, Wagner, 1992; Viotti, 1995; Viotti, 1996; Timmons, 1996) The conferences brought together hula practitioners, natural resource managers, and scientists to discuss the state of Hawaii’s native forests and the various threats forests are

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1 Native plant species arrived in the Hawaiian Islands without the aid of humans, either through wind, bird, or ocean dispersal mechanisms. In this paper, “native plants” refer to both endemic species (species only found in Hawai‘i) and indigenous species (species having a natural range extending beyond the Hawaiian archipelago). Polynesian introductions are the plants early Polynesians brought to Hawai‘i during their north/south migrations. See Abbott, 1992.
facing, primary among these being the increasing introduction and establishment of alien plants and animals. (Mehrhoff, 1998, 150-153)

This thesis examines the ideals and practices of a culture, and how the two may be in conflict, as is the case when hālau hula are seen as having a negative impact on the forests from which they gather plant materials for use in their dance. This thesis asks the question: “How is it that a cultural practice tied so closely to the forest could be viewed as having a negative effect upon its well-being?” To understand this phenomenon, this thesis traces the changing role and function of the hula through turbulent social and ecological times and concludes with a comment on where hula practitioners could look to re-establish an old, familiar relationship.

At question is the issue of how cultures respond to changing social and environmental contexts. Cultures are, by their nature, in a constant state of motion. Cultural traditions, such as the hula, are living creations that necessarily undergo transformations, yet in order to remain true to the culture from which it originated, hula must reflect the values of that culture in more than just its outward manifestations, such as its songs and dances. It must reflect those values in all of its practices, particularly in the gathering of plant materials that are the kinolau, or body forms, of the hula gods. It should be noted that the relationship between the Hawaiian and the multitude of nature gods that inhabited their world was one of kinship. (Gutmanis, 1983, 1; Kamae, 1991) Prayers and supplications to the gods were as commonplace as everyday conversations. (OHA, 1983, 147) Disrespect for nature is the same as showing disrespect to one’s parent or grandparent. Therefore, damage to the forest caused by hālau gathering reveals a discrepancy between the traditional relationship between humans and nature and, in particular, the stewardship values of the hula and the practice of forest gathering. This environmental disturbance also evidences the broader social, cultural, and ecological changes that have taken place in Hawai‘i, which are beyond the control of hula practitioners.
The loss of Hawaii’s natural areas and native plant species is a threat to Hawaiian cultural practitioners because of the vital link that exists between the Hawaiian flora and the Hawaiian culture. (Abbott, 1992, 136; Timmons, 1996 (quoting Benton Pang, former President of ‘Ahahui Mālama i ka Lōkahi)) Native Hawaiians trace their genealogy back to the first kalo plant, Hāloa. Hula practitioners are connected to the forest through Laka, viewed by many as the principal patron of the hula. Laka resides in the forest and many of the plants considered significant to the hula, and placed on the kuahu hula, or hula altar, or worn on special occasions, are her kinolau. Damaging gathering practices, therefore, are of concern to the hula community because these practices are viewed as being disrespectful to Laka, to nature, and to one of the most fundamental principals of the Hawaiian culture – mālama ‘āina, or caring for the land. (Abbott, 1992, 15, 131)

Objectives

The objective of this thesis is to explore the changing relationship between hula practitioners and Laka, the ancestor, and to illustrate how Laka stands as a model of Hawaiian stewardship values, such as mālama ‘āina and aloha. These concepts foster the proper mindset for respectful behavior while gathering plant materials from the forest. This thesis proposes the following:

(1) Traditional Hawaiian worldview and value systems are intimately tied to the natural world. Hula, as a cultural practice created to express this worldview, is intimately linked to the forest through its patron goddess, Laka, as well as the other hula gods.

(2) Social and environmental processes set in motion in 1778 by Western contact have distanced the traditional Hawaiian view of nature from the minds of many, but certainly not all, who engage in Hawaiian cultural practices, such as the hula.

(3) Native forests where hālau hula gather are unable to support all the activities and pressures placed upon them by an increasing number of hālau, population growth.
and development in the islands, and the introduction of invasive alien plant and animal species.

(4) Laka, the patron goddess of the hula and the forest, is the ancestor hula practitioners look to for guidance and direction, not only in their dance, but also in their relationship to and use of forest plants.

This thesis follows upon the work of two social scientists. The first is that of Yi-Fu Tuan. Tuan explored the discrepancy between stated environmental ideals and reality in Chinese and European cultures. (Tuan, 1974) In order to understand this discrepancy, researchers must look to the philosophical and social transformations of the culture. (Olson, 1997) This thesis attempts to examine the social transformation of the hula, as well as the broader society in which it is practiced, in order to understand the ecological impact hula gathering is having today. In order to find a possible solution to the problem of hālau over-gathering, an approach utilized by Patterson in Exploring Maori Values and his discussion of virtue ethics, that is, the ethics of “being” based on ancestral precedent, is employed. (Patterson, 1992) This thesis presents Laka as the “model ancestor” from whom hula students can learn conservation values and practices. By studying the attributes of Laka, by being “Iaka,” or tame or disciplined, hula students can gain the proper understanding to guide them responsibly while in the forest. (Bailey, 1998)

Using hula as an example, it is argued that the imposition of Western beliefs and practices over the last 200 plus years have compromised, but not destroyed, the ability of modern cultural practitioners to carry out their traditions in a manner reflective of the belief system from which they originated. This thesis proposes that it is within the broader social and ecological contexts within which hula is practiced today where the roots of the discrepancy between environmental ideals and actual behavior lie. By recognizing and accepting the existence of this discrepancy, hula practitioners can refocus on their source of inspiration and learning – Laka – and adapt their gathering practices in Hawaii’s forests to the modern ecological realities facing this threatened natural and cultural resource.
Methodology

Research for this thesis was conducted in three primary areas. In traditional Hawaiian thinking, when one wants to learn, one must go to the source – i ke kumu. For many Hawaiians, the ultimate teacher is the ‘āina, the land. Hawaiians of old were great observers; and from watching the land and the sea, they could tell when food would be abundant or scarce. The land taught people when was the best time to plant or to fish. It informed people when resource conservation was needed and about the cycles of rain, wind, terrestrial and marine life. The ‘āina also taught patience, humility, nurturing, and kindness.

Today, Hawaii’s native forests are telling us that they are in a state of crisis. Pressures placed upon the forests are coming from many sources, not just hālau hula. Hula practitioners, however, are in a unique position to be effective advocates of the forests because of their numbers and their public visibility. Also, as students of Laka, hula practitioners have a special kuleana, or responsibility, to be guardians of their source of inspiration.

To learn more about the conservation ethic embodied by the hula, I went to the source of hula knowledge – to the kumu hula and to the kupuna, or respected elder – to learn how they perceived the forests and the importance of going there to gather plant materials. With kumu hula, I also discussed how they, as contemporary practitioners, viewed hula’s changing role in Hawaiian society and the impact of hula’s growing popularity on native forest areas. Interviews and correspondences were supplemented with notes taken at events where kumu hula spoke on the relationship of Hawaiians to nature and the importance of cultural practitioners to mālama ‘āina, or care for the land. I attended events attended such as the “No nā Pua o ka Hālau Hula” Conferences held in 1996 and 1997, the 1995 Hawai‘i Conservation Conference Hawaiian Panel, as well as other gatherings organized by the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Department of Hawaiian Studies, and by ‘Ilio‘ulaokalani, a watchdog coalition composed of Hawaiian cultural
practitioners. From these discussions, this research sought to identify environmental or stewardship values embodied in and communicated through the hula.

Lastly, a literature review was conducted on the hula and topics relating to Hawaiian religion, history, mythology, cultural practices, and indigenous land perspectives. A common thread was found binding traditional Hawaiian society with the present day. That thread is the enduring spiritual connection of the Hawaiian people to the ‘āina. This spirituality governed how Hawaiians of old organized and governed themselves, and how they conducted their activities, from farming to fishing, to the carving of wooden images and the dancing of the hula. This research examined historic and contemporary writings, from non-native as well as native voices, to trace the evolution of cultural practices and beliefs from the past to the present.

Research was conducted with an acknowledgement of the Hawaiian approach to teaching and learning. Traditionally, you never ask for knowledge; it is offered and shared. Knowledge and understanding does not come from what we think of as the Western style of instruction. They come when you are ready to hear, to see, to understand. My own kumu hula, Lehua Matsuoka, spoke of her hula training on Lāna‘i and how her hula education entailed much time alone with nature. She learned the movements of the wind and waves by observing, by being maka‘ala, or alert. This research, therefore, was conducted cognizant of the proper protocols in requesting meetings with kumu hula, conducting “talk story” sessions, and with representing as accurately and sensitively as possible the “pearls of wisdom” shared by each kumu.

In this regard, interviews with kumu hula did not result in extensive notes, as note taking was not considered pono, or proper. Impressions were written down after meetings, so it must be explained that statements in quotes attributed to kumu hula are paraphrased and not actual word for word recitations. In some instances, understanding of

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2 Lehua Matsuoka, of Papakōlea, O‘ahu, is the author’s kumu hula and kumu hula for Hālau o Lehua. She graduated as a kumu hula under Elaine Kaopoiki of Lāna‘i.
conversations with kumu hula did not come for days, sometimes weeks, even years later, when reflecting back on a conversation revealed a “pearl” not seen at first.

Lastly, I must state that this thesis is not meant to lay blame on hālau for the impacts their gathering has had on Hawaii’s native forests. Many kumu hula, particularly those involved with ʻIlio‘ulaokalani, teach their haumana, or students, the proper protocols and techniques to use when gathering in the forest. Some hālau choose to use alternatives to native plants in their adornment, where appropriate. The fact that hālau hula are, in certain instances, negatively impacting Hawaii’s native forests is a reality. (Wagner, 1992; Viotti, 1996) However, it is one born from many factors, not just hula gathering, as this thesis will show. This thesis is simply a commentary on a situation many traditional practices and cultures face in trying to co-exist in a changed environment.

It also must be noted that the stewardship values and practices identified in this thesis are organized around a particular model and are by no means complete. There is an old saying in the hula community: Aʻohe pau ka `ike i ka hālau hoʻokahi – “Not all knowledge is held in one school.” While values and practices represent only the manaʻo, or thoughts, kindly shared with me by a select group of kumu hula, they are the threads that bind all cultural practitioners together.

**Hula, Environmental Beliefs, and Values**

**Hula: Historical Context**

At its most basic level, hula was, and is, a form of communication and a connection between the physical and the spiritual world – past, present, and future. It played an important role in religious ritual to inspire fertility and growth, to honor the gods and departed ancestors, and to aid in the healing of mind, spirit, and body. Hula was also a form of entertainment that was enjoyed by aliʻi, those of a chiefly rank, and makaʻainana, or those who work the land, alike.

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2 This ʻOlelo noʻeau, or Hawaiian proverb, is commonly used amongst hula practitioners in recognition that hula “traditions” often vary from island to island, school to school.
Since the arrival of Western influences in the 18th century, hula has undergone dramatic transformations resulting in two distinct lines of hula practiced today, the hula kahiko, or ancient hula, and the hula ‘auana, or modern hula. (Stillman, 1998) Stillman describes hula kahiko as possessing elements that are directly descended from pre-contact practices, such as being performed to oli, or chants, and displaying vigorous movements by the dancer. (Stillman, 1998, 2) Hula ‘auana, on the other hand, incorporate Western musical beats and dance movements, are performed to mele, or songs, and often involve more languid and softer movements by the dancer. (Stillman, 1998, 2) Hula kahiko continues to carry with it a sense of religious ritual that it once possessed in ancient times, providing a vital link for many Hawaiians to the past and a reaffirmation of belief, trust, and experience through the reenactment of the deeds of the gods and people of old. (G. Kanahele, 1986, 133)

Historical accounts and commentaries on the hula began with the journals of the explorers who accompanied Captain Cook to Hawai‘i in 1778. Their observations provide a glimpse of ancient hula as practiced at the end of the 18th century, giving an idea on the costuming, function, and size and number of hālau hula. Emerson provides a comprehensive account of songs, dances, and practices of the hula. (Emerson, 1997) Emerson’s valuable contribution comes from his personal discussions with hula informants. Being fluent in the Hawaiian language and moving relatively freely among the native people, he recorded information on hula traditions garnered from actual practitioners. He meticulously recorded the songs and rituals of the hula and offered his opinions, and those of his informants, on the meanings behind these practices.

Barrere provides a concise overview of the major historical transformations of the hula, beginning with Captain Cook in 1778. (Barrere et al., 1980) She discusses the impact on hula from missionary influences, its revival in the late 1800s by King David Kalākaua, its commercialization as part of the growing tourist trade, and the important role it played during the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s. Barrere also recounts some
commonly recognized mythologies regarding hula's arrival in Hawai‘i. Her study includes two important articles by Mary Kawena Pukui, a respected authority on Hawaiian culture, particularly in matters relating to the hula. (Pukui in Barrere et al., 1980) In these articles, Pukui, trained in the old style under a kuahu hula, or hula altar dedicated to the goddess Laka, shares the traditional beliefs and practices of the hula as was taught to her.

**Hula: Contemporary Context**

Over the past twenty plus years, hula has become one of the most visible components of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement that began in the 1970s with Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike re-examining, restoring, and reclaiming a variety of Hawaiian cultural practices. (Keaulana, 1997) George Kanahele, in a lecture for the Kamehameha Schools’ Hawaiian Culture Lecture Series, recounted some of the frequently heard characterizations of that time in Hawaiian history. (G. Kanahele, 1979, 1) He described the 1970’s as a time of “psychological renewal,” a “reaffirmation,” a “revival,” a “resurgence,” and a “renaissance.” (G. Kanahele, 1979, 1) He told students: “No matter what you call it, it is the most significant chapter in 20th century Hawaiian history.” (G. Kanahele, 1979, 1)

With regards to the hula, public interest shifted from the flashy hula of Waikīkī and Hollywood movies to the older, ancient dances, the hula kahiko, which emphasized Hawaiian language, history, and cultural pride. Dancers became interested in learning the ancient dances as well as associated chants, traditions, and protocols. The Renaissance also saw the return of the male dancer to the hālau after years of recrimination for hula not being a ‘masculine’ endeavor. The number of hula schools within the state, as well as competitions and festivals, increased as a result of this resurgence in Hawaiian cultural pride. Many of the well-known competitions, such as the Merrie Monarch Hula Festival and the King Kamehameha Hula Competition, got their start during this period. Competitions stressed proficiency with the Hawaiian language and an adherence to “traditional” movements and costuming. Hula emerged from the hotels and became recognized again as a legitimate cultural practice, drawing interest from the public in great
numbers, perhaps approaching the type of public acceptance it once was accorded before the arrival of the missionaries in 1820. (G. Kanahele, 1979, 4)

As a result of this renewed interest in traditional dance, hālau hula began returning to Hawaii’s forests to gather plant materials significant to the old dances and the stories they portrayed – plants such as ‘ōhi‘a lehua (Metrosideros polymorpha), maile (Alyxia oliviformis), and palapali fern (Microlepia strigosa). These plants are the kinolau of the hula goddesses, Laka, Kapo, and Hi‘iaka. While hālau have grown in numbers, Hawaii’s native forests and forest species have steadily declined. In 1937, for example, there were about eight major hula studios, catering mostly to the interests of tourists. (G. Kanahele, 1979, 5) Today, there are more than 140 hālau statewide. The number of students within a hālau can vary, from a small hālau like my own, with approximately 25 students, to up to 400 students for hālau such as Hālau Mohala ‘Ilīma, kumu hula Mapuana DeSilva.

During the 200 plus years since Western contact, Hawaii’s native flora has undergone an experience similar to that of the Native Hawaiian people. Native forests are engaged in a struggle to maintain their foothold upon the land. (Culliney, 1988) Hawaii’s geographic isolation produced a unique native flora lacking in natural defense mechanisms needed to successfully compete with the more aggressive introduced plant and animal species brought by both Polynesian and European inhabitants. European explorers first presented ungulates, such as cattle and goats, to the ali‘i, or royal class, as gifts. Lowland forest areas were cleared for pastureland, and ranchers often cultivated aggressive alien grasses and shrubs as fodder for livestock. Foreign plant species proved far more aggressive than native species and quickly out-competed native plants for space, sunlight, and nutrients. As the population of people increased in the islands, native forests were cleared to make way for urban developments.

The result of these influences is a much more restricted and pauperized environment for hālau hula to utilize for their gathering practices. Herein lies one of the major problems

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4 Number of hālau estimated by compiling a list using the following sources: OHA Directory of Hālau Hula; Hawai‘i phone books, entrants to Merrie Monarch Hula Festival, King Kamehameha Hula Competition, and the Prince Lot Hula Festival.
facing hālau as they attempt to perpetuate the practice of forest gathering – an increasing number of hula students utilizing a shrinking area of native forest already degraded from years of alien species introduction and clearing for agriculture and development.

Hula practitioners are finding they must travel farther and search deeper into the forests for the plants important to the hula. According to Keali'i Pang, former president of 'Ahahui Mālama i ka Lōkahi, there is growing concern among members of the hula community and Hawaiian conservationists about the rapid disappearance of native plants from our forests. As the number of hālau increases and local competitions become more numerous and popular, “the stress on our native forests is beginning to reach serious levels.” (Timmons, 1996)

Environmental Beliefs

In the preface to Environmental Ethics: An Introduction to Environmental Philosophy, DesJardins observed that the tendency in Western culture is to treat environmental and ecological controversies as simply scientific, technological, or political problems. (DesJardins, 1993) He notes, however, that at the core “these issues raise fundamental questions about what we, as human beings, value about the kind of beings we are, about the kinds of lives we should live, about our place in nature, and about the kind of world in which we might flourish.” (DesJardins, 1993, viii) In short, environmental problems raise fundamental questions of ethics and philosophy. (DesJardins, 1993) White came to the same conclusion some thirty years earlier, identifying religious beliefs as a predictor of a culture’s environmental behavior: “What people do about their ecology depends on what they think about themselves in relation to things around them. Human ecology is deeply conditioned by beliefs about our nature and our destiny – that is, by religion.” (White, 1974, 70) Others, however, such as Yi-Fu Tuan and Doughty have shown that holding a particular attitude does not necessarily result in actions consistent with
that attitude. In other words, the relationship between a culture's practices and their environmental beliefs may be quite tenuous.

In his 1986 dissertation, *A Philosophical Analysis of Pre-European-Contact Hawaiian Thought*, Dudley wrote of a "Hawaiian Philosophy of the Environment." Therein, using the definitional statement of Leopold and the model of Callicott, he applied the criterion of an environmental ethic to pre-contact Hawaiian thought and concluded there existed a "native Hawaiian environmental ethic." Aldo Leopold, considered to be the father of modern environmental ethics, wrote:

All ethics so far evolved rest upon a single premise: that the individual is a member of a community of interdependent parts. . . . [The] "land ethic" simply enlarges the boundaries of the community to include soils, waters, plants and animals, or collectively: the land. (Leopold in Dudley, 1986, 246)

Callicott, in his study on the environmental ethic of the Ojibwa Indian tribe, described how the Ojibwa Indians not only "enlarged the boundaries of community" but extended personhood to the soil, the water, the plants, and the animals, thus truly forming an interrelating community with the other elements of nature. (Callicott in Dudley, 1986, 246)

In Dudley's examination of pre-contact Hawaiian environmental thought, he concluded that it fit the criteria of an ecocentric environmental ethic. The Callicott-Leopold criteria used by Dudley were:

1) Conscious interrelationship with the natural community; and
2) Kinship of man with beings of the natural community.

Callicott noted: "Proper social relations in every culture are formulated in a body of Rules . . . Less formally specified rules are called moral or ethical codes of conduct." (Callicott, in Dudley, 1986, 266) Dudley presented evidence of how pre-contact Hawaiians set and observed ethical limits on their use of natural resources and how these limits restricted their freedom of action with regards to the environment. For example, the kapu system (based, in part, on the concepts of kapu, or sacred, and noa, or accessible, uses of

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5 Tuan (1974) and Doughty (1981) both suggest the complexity of religion and cultural ideals often preclude a linear connection between attitudes and practice, as is the proposition posed by White (1967) in "The Historical Roots of Our Ecological Crisis."
certain resources) served as an effective control on people's behavior. Severe retributions, in some circumstances – death, were imposed on those who failed to follow a set restriction. This system regulated the actions of the Hawaiian people with regard to a variety of social behaviors, including natural resource use. The most extensive kapu was that of the makahiki (held during the months of October – January), when work and warring were suspended during the rainy season to allow for the land to rejuvenate and to celebrate a time of abundant harvests and peace. Kapu also were placed on certain types of fish during their spawning season to protect the stock, and the feathers of certain birds could only be used for the cloaks of the highest ali‘i. While some researchers in recent years have questioned the environmental stewardship of pre-contact Hawaiian society, citing, as examples, the clearance of large forested areas by fire and the extinction of several endemic Hawaiian bird species during pre-contact Hawai‘i, Dudley wrote of these occurrences:

This would not disprove that the Hawaiian had an environmental ethic. In their actual behavior people often fail to measure up to their ethical ideals ... Over all ... there is little to charge the Hawaiians with in offending against their environmental ethic. What is found, rather, is an awareness 'that the individual is a member of a community of interdependent parts’ with the soils, the water, the plants and the animals. (Dudley, 1986, 277, 279)

The Native Hawaiian religion was animistic and polytheistic. The Hawaiian people lived and worked in the midst of gods, spirits, and departed ancestors who inhabited the mountains, forests, and oceans, as well as the bodies of animals, plants, and stones. (Emory, 1965, 87) To the Hawaiian, nature was alive, conscious, and acted of its own volition. Their creation stories portrayed nature as a respected elder brother, creating a familial relationship between the Hawaiian people and the natural environment. This view of the world shaped the manner in which Hawaiians approached and interacted with the environment. At the least, nature was always approached with respect and humility, and through the kapu system, with restraint.

Hula reflects the religious beliefs and cultural values of the Hawaiian people. Writing about the songs and practices of the hula at the turn of the 20th century, Emerson
described the hula as "an institution of divine, that is, religious origin." (Emerson, 1997, 7) The birth of the hula is recorded in hula lore as being first practiced, taught, and enjoyed by the gods and goddesses of mythical Hawai‘i. Emerson goes on to write that the songs of the hula provide the most intimate record of the life and loves of the old-time Hawaiians. (Emerson, 1997, 7) Primary among these "loves" is the Hawaiian’s love of nature. These beliefs and values should work to promote environmental stewardship, particularly while one is gathering plant materials from the forest for use in hula performances.

Hawaiian Cultural Values

Destructive gathering practices by hālau hula reveal a discrepancy between traditional Hawaiian ideals and practices. They raise the question of what ‘careless’ gathering practices by some hālau hula may be telling about the role, if any, traditional values may have in guiding cultural practices in modern times.

G. Kanahele, in Kū Kanaka, envisioned the hula as "one of the most important modern repositories and transmitters of Hawaiian values." (G. Kanahele, 1986, 134) Kupuna Rubellite Johnson characterized the hula as "the essence of Hawaiian educational philosophy." (Johnson, 1979, 22) This thesis looks to the mele, or songs, and mo‘olelo, or traditions, of the hula as the receptacles of environmental values for the hula, values that form the foundation of the Hawaiian culture. While these values are no longer universally held or practiced by the people who now live in these islands, they have not been completely discarded or lost to disuse. These values still live and are practiced in the hula community. The potential exists for hula to regain its role as a transmitter of Hawaiian values within its own membership and to educate a broader spectrum of Hawaii’s population through example.

As the process of cultural change continues, Hawaiians continue to look to the past to find answers to the dilemmas of modern living. Hula was and is an important resource for information of times past. Hula gives movement and life to the gods and ancestors of old. It is a celebration of the beauty and power of nature – subjects dear to the hearts of Hawaiians. Hula is also a reflection of Hawaiian cultural values that extend beyond mere
human interaction to the everyday dealings with the natural world. While cultural values and practices have naturally changed over time, basic beliefs and practices persist. Hula provides a vital link, attractive to the mind and hearts of the dancer, as well as the observer, to the ideals and values of the Hawaiian culture. The organization of hula, and the manner in which its knowledge is passed from one generation to the next, insures that many of its traditions and ties to the past remain intact, though much knowledge has been lost or altered. (Bacon, 1998)

The Hawaiians' view of themselves as kamaʻāina, or children of the land, shapes all their relationships and interactions with the natural world. Moʻoʻolelo about the origin of the Hawaiian people show a genealogical connection to the plant and animal forms that preceded the birth of the first human being. This genealogy created what came to be known as the 'ohana, or family, value system. (McGregor, 1996) The Hawaiian people saw themselves as part of the family of nature. They treated nature as they would treat a family member. This belief did not inhibit their use of nature to meet the needs for survival, but it did guide their approach to nature. Mālama ʻāina is commonly heard today when people speak about the stewardship of nature. Mālama means to care for, or to raise, as one would raise a child. Hawaiians felt a familial duty toward the ʻāina because they saw how completely nature provided for their needs. From these ʻohana values, they developed a "code of conduct," or a Hawaiian conservation ethic with respect to nature that guided their everyday behavior and practices. (Burrows, 1989)

In Kā Kānaka, G. Kanahaele pulls together nearly ten years of discussion and investigation into Hawaiian values, beginning in 1978 with the Hawaiian Values Project, a project of the now defunct Hawai‘i Foundation for History and the Humanities. The Hawaiian Values Project set out to establish the nature of pre-contact Hawaiian social values and trace their evolution or dissolution to the present day. One of the most notable methods used to accomplish this task was interviewing and videotaping the life histories of nearly 51 kupuna, or respected elders. The project held workshops and public forums over a two-year period to elicit answers to the question, "What makes a Hawaiian a Hawaiian?"
The Hawaiian Values Project shed new light on Hawaiian values and spawned debate and research on the role traditional values play or could play in a contemporary, multi-ethnic Hawaiian society. *Ku Kanaka* sets out "the central values and beliefs upon which the Hawaiian culture was based," and also looks towards the future with an agenda that defines how beliefs and values from Hawaii's past can serve society today. (G. Kanahele, quoting Kenneth Brown, 1986, x)

Hawaiian creation stories or beliefs, for example, explain how the islands were born or how life and man came to live on these islands. In *Ku Kanaka*, G. Kanahele writes that values arise out of the societal needs identified by a community. Cultural practices are developed to fulfill these needs. As inhabitants on an isolated island ecosystem, Hawaiians recognized the imperative to wisely manage the natural resources on which their survival depended. Living close to nature, the Hawaiian people developed a deep understanding of the environment from which they created the religious and social structures that taught, through practice, the values guiding the use of these limited natural resources. The gathering of plant materials was carried out under the guidance of these values and reinforced the importance of these values to every other aspect of life.

The gathering and wearing of plant materials by hālau hula are important practices of hula training and performance that trace their roots back to mythological times. Hula lore connects the dancer to the gods and goddesses of the hula through the plant materials, or *kinolau* of the gods and goddesses, used to decorate the hula altar or to wear as adornment. Traditional hula training instilled in students the knowledge of and respect for the hula gods and their kinolau. Training included the learning of pule, or prayers, to the gods for inspiration, skill, and grace. Permission was needed before entering the forest, the realm of the hula gods. Pule, or prayer, were also recited to ask permission to take plants from the forest. Emerson described hula students at the turn of the 20th century engaged in this activity:

> The gathering of the green leaves and other sweet finery of nature for its [kuahu hula or hula altar] construction and decoration was a matter of so great importance that it could not be intrusted [sic] to any chance assemblage of wild youth who might see fit to take the work in hand. There were
formalities that must be observed, songs to be chanted, prayers to be recited. It was necessary to bear in mind that when one deflowered the woods of their fronds – albeit in honor of Laka herself – the body of the goddess was being despoiled, and the despoiling must be done with all tactful grace and etiquette. (Emerson, 1997, 15-16)

At the 1996 Hula Conference, kumu hula Pualani Kanahele noted: “Hula is a reflection of life. We have to take care of the things we dance about.” (P. Kanahele, 1996; Timmons, 1996) For Hawaiians, nature is alive with the spirits of long departed ancestors and gods. Hula, through the mele and the movements, tells the stories of those no longer of this world. It is a connection from the past to the present. Plants of the hula are an important part of this continuity. To perpetuate the hula and the history of Hawai‘i, hula practitioners must protect these plants and the forests in which they reside. This thesis examines the path which has brought us to the present situation, and the new direction in which many hālau are moving to protect a vital and living source of the hula, the forest.

**Organization**

Chapter 1 establishes the origin of environmental beliefs and practices of the hula. Chapter 2 lays out the traditional relationship of Hawaiians, in general, and hula practitioners, in particular, with nature as demonstrated and reiterated through creation stories and myths. Chapter 3 discusses how the imposition and assimilation of a foreign worldview altered the way many Hawaiians saw themselves, their place in nature, and their behavior towards nature. Chapter 4 identifies the potential role of hula as an educator of stewardship values found in the mele, or songs; the dances; and the teachings of the hula. It discusses the attributes of Laka, the goddess of hula, and offers these attributes as values to be used in the formation of a stewardship model for native forest preservation and conservation. Chapter 5 concludes with a look towards the future, as hula practitioners take the criticisms and challenges tendered against them and turn them into a call for self-governance, self-control – a call for sovereignty. (Enomoto, 1997)
CHAPTER 2

Significance of Plant Life to the Hawaiian Culture

Birth of the Hawaiian People

What are the environmental concepts of the Hawaiian people? G. Kanahele wrote that in order to undertake an honest and effective search for Hawaiian values, we must look to Hawaiian mythology, “the primeval source and rationale of the Hawaiian religion, the fountainhead of our ideals.” (G. Kanahele, 1986, 50) All other functions of myth are subordinate to its value-making and value-transmitting functions. (G. Kanahele, 1986, 66) White also believed creation stories and myths reveal how different cultures view and interact with the environment. (White, 1974) Equally, Yoon, in his study on the classical Maori geomentality (regarding the geographic environment), suggested looking at a people’s creation myths and proverbs for clues on how people view, relate to, and interact with nature. (Yoon, 1994)

Mythology tells us where we come from and who we are. It is the primal source of our values; and, as such, myths provide examples of proper practices and conduct. Hawaiian myths and proverbs speak of the familial relationship of the kanaka maoli, Native Hawaiians, to nature. Therefore, to understand the traditional values and practices of hula practitioners, we must look at the mythology of the Hawaiian and of the hula.

Myths transport people to a comprehension of the world, the cosmos – to what is sacred. (G. Kanahele, 1986, 65) For example, the Polynesians, who first arrived in Hawai‘i from the South, mai Kahiki mai, brought with them the myths of their homelands, many of which are still remembered today. With the end of North–South migrations, however, in approximately the 13th century, Hawaiian society flourished in isolation, formulating a unique set of creation stories to explain their arrival in these islands. The common thread throughout these stories is the kinship of the Hawaiian people to nature, and, in particular, to the plant world.
Early Polynesian settlers understood the precariousness of island living and the need to establish a system of sustainable resource management. This system was communicated and enforced through a belief system that instilled strict conservation practices through the concepts of kapu, or restricted use, and noa, or accessible use. Creation stories and proverbs re-enforced these environmental beliefs that were then reflected in daily life and practice. Hawaiians adhered to these rules out of fear of retribution by the gods and the ali‘i class, the human representatives of gods on earth, and because these rules made sense in the struggle for survival on an isolated archipelago.

Because the spiritual connection of Hawaiians to the plant world was so pervasive, it is worth recounting a few of the creation stories that link the Hawaiian people to the natural world.

**Hāloanakalaukapalili**

This story tells of the birth of the first Hawaiian, from whom all others descended. Wakea, known throughout Polynesia as the Sky Father, fell in love with his daughter, the beautiful Ho’ohokiikalani. They had a child named Haloanaka, but he was born badly deformed and died. The deformed child was buried at the cornerstone of the house. From this spot grew the first kalo, or taro, plant (*Colocasia esculenta*). This plant came to be known as Hāloanakalaukapalili (Hāloa of the trembling leaf), describing the movement of the kalo leaf upon its long petiole (hāloa). Wakea and Ho‘ohokūlani had a second child, also a son, who was born “full grown and in human form.” He was also named Hāloa in honor of his elder brother and became the forefather of the Hawaiian people. In traditional Hawaiian society, the basic pattern of life was organized around the taro plant as the “staff of life.” (Handy et al, 1972, 18)

**Kumulipo (“Source of the Dark Night”)**

The Kumulipo, an epic creation chant, describes the creation of all life on earth and the appearance of humans as the pinnacle of creation. It traces the birth of the first human back through all of nature that was created before him, providing a genealogical link between the Hawaiian people and the natural world. Many people have compared the
Kumulipo, written at the turn of the 18th Century to celebrate the birth of a high-ranking ali‘i (Ka‘i‘imamao), to the modern theory of evolution. In composing this chant for the newly born chief, the composer wished to establish a direct lineage to the gods by tracing the infant’s ancestry back through generations to the emergence of all life forms, back to the beginning of time when there was only night, or Pō. (Beckwith, 1951) To the Hawaiian mind, however, while humans were created last, they are not superior to those that came before them on the evolutionary ladder. Humans, viewed as the younger sibling to nature, must act accordingly – with respect and, in some cases, with reverence towards nature.

This lasting perception of humans as the younger siblings of the taro plant, or as genealogically descended from the elemental forces of nature, is reflected today in the many ways in which Hawaiians continue to refer to themselves. Hawaiians commonly describe themselves as kama‘āina, or children of the land. According to Pukui, high chiefs were referred to as kalo kanu o ka ‘āina, or “taro planted in the land.” (Handy et al, 1972, 76) The Hawaiian word for family is ‘ohana and is closely related to words associated with the taro plant. The ‘oha of the taro plant are the buds which sprout from the sides of the corm. Breaking off and replanting the ‘oha is one way farmers propagate the taro plant. ‘Ohana, therefore, literally means “offshoots” and refers to a new stock produced from the parent plant, called the makua. Makua is the same word used to refer to one’s parents.

Also from the story of Hiiloa comes what is described today as the Hawaiian ‘ohana value system. ‘Ohana values teach that the kalo plant, and nature in general, must be treated with the same respect shown an elder sibling, a parent, or a beloved relative. While the story of Hiiloa makes humans the younger siblings of the taro plant, the Kumulipo places Hawaiians at the end of the evolutionary scale. While this implies a position of higher rank, the same ‘ohana values are conveyed. Hawaiians consider themselves related to the natural environment, and therefore they must give nature the respect a family member deserves. Creators of the Kumulipo recognized mana, the life-giving force, in all of nature, as well as in the young ali‘i for whom the chant was written. An ancient phrase takes this idea one step further: “Ke kanaka Hawai‘i, ka lāhui o ka
pupu’u ho’okahi,” or “the Hawaiian people, the people of one womb.” The underlying meaning is that human beings come from the same source, one womb, as the sun, the rain, and the creatures of the sea. (Nesmith, 1998)

Cultural practices, such as the hula, were created to further the cultural understanding that plant and human life were inextricably connected. In its early stages, the hula figured prominently in the rituals and festivities of the Makahiki – the annual festival celebrating the return of Lono, the god of rain and fertility. This season was marked by peace, and Kū, the god of warfare, was temporarily retired. Games, athletic contests, and the celebration of a bountiful harvest were accompanied by fertility rites that featured dancing. The people performed hula to arouse and celebrate the procreative desires of the ali‘i and the gods – whose kinolau are many of the main Hawaiian staple foods such as kalo (taro), mai’a (banana), and ‘uala (sweet potato). The gods were believed to be moved by the same emotions and desires as humans, and hula served the dual purpose of inspiring both vegetative growth and growth of the Hawaiian population.

Creation myths established the proper frame of mind for Hawaiians to carry on the business of everyday life in harmony with nature. The Hawaiian religious and social systems incorporated the idea of “connectedness” into each practical task, from planting to fishing to the gathering of materials from the seashore or the forest, resulting in an attitude towards nature based on principles of respect and, in some cases, reverence. While the social and religious structures of old Hawai‘i no longer exist, the attitude fostered by these creation stories still persists in the minds, hearts, and actions of many, present-day Hawaiians.

In 1996 and 1997, kumu hula and their haumana, conservationists, and the public came together in Kapalama Heights, on the campus of Kamehameha Schools, to examine the traditional and contemporary relationship of hālau hula to Hawaii’s native forests. The conference was organized in response to concerns raised within the hula community, as well as by other groups, over what has been described as destructive gathering practices by some hula groups. The No Nā Pua o ka Hālau Hula (“For the Flowers of the Hula”)

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conferences were organized to discuss the relationship between hula and Hawaii’s native
forest plants and the role hālau hula could play in their preservation. At the 1996
conference, kumu hula Pualani Kanahele reiterated the familial relationship of Hawaiians to
the plant world by explaining: “The forest is ‘ohana. Plants belong to a separate realm; they
are a separate entity. But they have spirit; they have life, keiki (children), a function. Just
like we do.” (P. Kanahele, 1996)

Birth of the Hula

Hula has its origin in mythological times. Ancient tales tell of gods and goddesses
bringing the hula to Hawai‘i, of establishing the first hālau and teaching the sacred songs
and dances to the Hawaiian people. Just as the environmental ideals and attitudes of the
Hawaiian people are revealed in their creation stories, hula’s creation stories tell of the
special connection of the dance and its practitioners to the forests, and, in particular, to
certain forest plants.

La‘amaikahiki

Not long after arriving in the Hawai‘i, Mo’ikeha, the famous Tahitian voyaging
chief, sent his son Kila back to Kahiki for La’a, the son he had left behind. (Barrere et al,
1980) La’a arrived in Hawai‘i with his priests and his god, Lonoika’ou-ali‘i. To signal his
arrival, La’a beat on his pahu drum, drawing the attention of all the people. La’a stayed a
time with his father on Kaua‘i, then traveled to Maui and Kaho‘olawe before going back to
Kahiki, a mythical land to the South, often identified today as Tahiti. Later, he returned to
Hawai‘i, again bringing his drum and another hula instrument, the ‘ohe kā‘eke‘eke, or
bamboo stamping tube. From Ka‘ū, Hawai‘i, La’a made his way up the island chain to
Kaua‘i, teaching the art of dancing the hula pahu and the hula kā‘eke‘eke. Lonoika‘ou-ali‘i
is recognized in hula prayers as both the brother and husband to Laka, goddess of the hula.

He kanaenae no Laka (an adulatory prayer for Laka):

O Laka, kaikuahine
Wahine a Lono-i-ka-ou-ali‘i

O Laka, the sister
Wife of Lono-i-ka-ou-ali‘i

(Emerson, 1997, 16-18)
Lono, one of the four primary Hawaiian gods, represents the harvest, fertility, agriculture, and rain. Laka, the patron deity of the hula, makes her home in the forest and has many of its fragrant plants as her kinolau. Together, Lono and Laka, as male and female counter-parts, are seen within the purview of the Hawaiian religion as being responsible for growth, both vegetative and procreative. Laka’s pairing with Lono, as wife and sister, suggests she arrived in Hawai‘i with those same oceanic travelers who brought the god Lono, namely La‘a. Handy et al., in Native Planters, also comment that Lono, though named as one of the four major Hawaiian deities, along with Kane, Kanaloa, and Kū, may have been the only one of the four who was “traditionally a human being.” (Handy et al, 1972, 16) Lono’s place in Hawaiian mythology would indicate that he was the last of the major deities to arrive in the islands, and possibly indicates that Laka, too, was a real person who rose to mythological stature.

Kapo‘ulakina‘u

Hula traditions differ as to who is the primary goddess of hula. In this mo‘olelo, which appeared in Hawaiian newspapers during the late 19th century, Kapo‘ulakina‘u is identified as the first goddess of the hula. (Barrere et al., 1980, 8) When Kapo and her entourage arrived on Ni‘ihau, a series of nightly entertainment were taking place at the request of Chief Halali‘i. Kapo commanded her youngest sister, Kewelani (also known as Nawahineti‘ili‘i) to perform for those assembled. Kewelani complied with a hula ki‘i, or dance of the images. As Manu wrote, “the dance that this maiden danced on the chief’s night was first danced on Ni‘ihau. The people quickly took to this kind of dance and it became a popular one to all of the generations after the arrival of Kapo‘ulakina‘u and her company to that land.” (Barrere et al., 1980, 8) As the story continues, Kapo becomes the goddess of the hula. Then, while on Moloka‘i, at Maunaloa, she was asked by the people there to teach them the art of hula. Manu goes on to state he knows of only one Laka in legends, Laka-a-Wahicloa, a superhuman being who was clever and wise in speech, but not an instructor in hula. For Manu and followers of the Moloka‘i tradition, Kapo‘ulakina‘u was, and is, the one and only goddess of the hula.
Pele and Hi'iaka

The best known hula stories are those dealing with the adventures of Pele and Hi'iaka, deemed “the greatest single body of surviving Hawaiian-Polynesian myth in narrative form.” (Pukui and Korn, 1973, p. 48) This cycle of chants tells of the tumultuous relationship between two powerful and headstrong sisters. These stories are filled with kaona, or deep, hidden meanings. In Ka Ola Honua: An Introduction to Pele and Hi'iaka, Pualani Kanahele discusses the deeper meaning, and perhaps purpose, for this piece of literature from the perspective of a teacher of Hawaiian culture, a hula practitioner, and a descendant and keeper of one line of Pele family traditions. (P. Kanahele, 1992) She writes that the story of Pele and Hi'iaka, with its varying levels of meaning, conveys “the history of the Pele family, their accomplishments, their natures, and their powers, and also the history of the origin and growth of the hula.” (P. Kanahele, 1996, 155)

The saga of Pele and Hi'iaka first appeared in Hawaiian newspapers during the 19th century. From printed sources, as well as from his established group of hula informants, Emerson compiled one of the fullest accounts of this tale in Pele and Hi'iaka: A Myth from Hawai'i. (Emerson, 1965) The telling of this story was most likely kapu, or considered restricted to hula practitioners, for until its appearance in the Hawaiian newspapers during the late 1800s, the story did not show up in other publications of Hawaiian folklore. Today, however, the story of Pele and Hi'iaka is well within the public domain and continues to inspire and instruct not only those interested in the hula, but those keen to learn about the activities and values of ka po'e kahiko, the people of old Hawai'i.

The story begins with the arrival of the Pele clan in Hawai'i from Kahiki, a mythical place of unknown origin. Pele-honua-mea, or “Pele of the sacred earthly matter,” travels through the island chain looking for a suitable home. (P. Kanahele, 1992, 45) She decides to settle in the caldera of Kilauea Volcano, on the island of Hawai'i. We next find Hi'iaka-i-ka-poli-o-pele, or “Hi'iaka of the bosom of Pele,” Pele's youngest, most beloved sister, dancing a hula le'ale'a, a delightful and entertaining hula, on the beach in Nanahuki, Puna, Hawai'i. She performs with her dear friend and instructor, the beautiful Hopoe, to entertain
her eldest sister, Pele, the vengeful goddess of the volcano and creator of new lands. Hōpoʻe is a teacher of the hula and lei making. She is the embodiment of the ‘ōhiʻa lehua groves of Puna. Her name literally means “fully developed and well rounded as an ‘ōhiʻa blossom.” (P. Kanahele, 1992, 69) When Hi‘aka and Hōpoʻe dance their hula leʻaleʻa, they wear garlands of ‘ōhiʻa lehua.

Pele asks her youngest sister to make a dangerous journey to the island of Kauaʻi to bring back the handsome Prince Lohiau, who Pele had met and fallen in love with during one of her dream walks. The ever-obedient and faithful Hi‘aka agrees, but makes one request of her sister, to protect the ‘ōhiʻa forests of Puna and her beloved friend, Hōpoʻe.

As Hi‘aka makes her way to Kauaʻi, we come to see through her eyes how Hawaiians of old viewed, explained, and perhaps used the elements of nature. Hi‘aka chanted greetings to the people, places, and landmarks she encountered on her journey through the island chain from Kīlauea, Hawaiʻi to Hāʻena, Kauaʻi, and back. She called on the elements of nature to aid her in overcoming the many dangers and obstacles she encountered. The elements themselves were active characters in the story. For example, not only did Hi‘aka and Hōpoʻe dance what Emerson calls “the earliest mention of the hula,” (Emerson, 1965, 2) but the hala groves and all of Puna danced along with them:

Ke haʻa la Puna i ka makani;  
Haʻa ka ulu hala i Keaau;  
Haʻa Haena me Hōpoʻe;  
Haʻa ka wahine.

Puna is dancing in the breeze;  
The hala groves at Keaau dance;  
Haena and Hōpoʻe dance;  
The woman dances.  
(P. Kanahele, 1992, 70)

Nature is a cognizant entity, driven by the same emotions and desires as humans, able to be influenced to act on behalf of people, as well as on its own accord.

Through Hi‘aka’s adventures, we come to understand her as a person. She is a restorer of human life, as well as the life of the land. Upon her arrival in Hāʻena, Hiʻaka

6 Hāʻena, a place name located on the eastern coast of the island of Hawaiʻi, as well as on the western coast of the island of Kauaʻi.

7 Hōpoʻe is a place name on the island of Hawaiʻi. Also, it is the name of Hiʻaka’s favorite grove of ‘ōhiʻa lehua in Puna, Hawaiʻi.
discovers that Prince Lohiau had killed himself in despair after Pele’s dream spirit left him unsatisfied. Hi‘iaka uses the plants of the forest and her skills as lī‘au lapa‘au, an herbal healer, to bring Lohiau back to life. In the following lines, she appeals to Laka, Kāne, and Ha‘iwahine to aide her:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Eia au e Laka, e Kane, e Ha‘iwahine,} \\
\text{Ha‘ihā‘i pua o ka nahelehele} \\
\text{Ho‘ouluulu lei nou, e Laka e!} \\
\text{‘O Hi‘iaka ka ke kaula} \\
\text{Nana i hele a a‘e a ulu.}
\end{align*}
\]

Here I am o Laka, Kāne, Ha‘iwahine,
Plucking the flowers of the forest
Creating a wreath for you, Laka!
However, it is Hi‘iaka who is the seer
As she (Hi‘iaka) travels about things will grow.
(P. Kanahele, 1992, 73)

As kumu hula Pualani Kanahele recently explained, it is the familial relationship among the Hawaiian people, the land, and the plants that grow on these lands that allows Hi‘iaka, as well as other herbal healers, to use plant materials to heal human illnesses. (P. Kanahele, 1999) Laka is present in, or has as her kinolau, many of the plants used by herbal healers. In addition, Hi‘iaka is responsible for the growth of new plant life on land newly created by her sister Pele. Hawaiians, being genealogically connected to the land, are able to take these plants into their bodies to be healed. (P. Kanahele, 1999) In the Pele and Hi‘iaka stories, Hi‘iaka is a beloved and dutiful sister and dancer; but, more importantly, she is revealed to be a healer and the regenerative power behind new vegetative growth on the newly created lands of Pele.

Laka

Mo‘olelo reveal, since the earliest accounts, hula’s special closeness to the native forests of Hawai‘i. (Kamae, 1991) The source of this close relationship stems primarily from the nature of the patron goddess who presides over the hula, Laka. Known as the wife and sister of Lono, Laka is also a goddess of the forests, whose “kinolau or body forms are some of the majestic and fragrant plants of the forests.” (P. Kanahele, 1992, 73) Kumu hula Pualani Kanahele honors Laka as the “primary deity of the hula.” (P. Kanahele, 1992, 74) According to Emerson, for many of his hula informants, “Laka was the one and only divine patron of their art.” (Emerson, 1997, 24) It is to Laka that hula practitioners
pray, asking that she take possession of them, to inspire them “in all parts and faculties—voice, hands, feet, the whole body.” (Emerson, 1997, 24)

Laka is also known for her other incarnations. (Gutmanis, 1983, 91 note 206) In his male form, Laka oversaw the work of the kalai wa’a, or canoe carver. In her female forms, Laka-aloha oversaw the art of hula, and Laka-kea and Laka-uli were the patrons of the la’au lapa’au, or herbal healers. (Gutmanis, 1983, 91 note 206) Laka resides in the forests as the palapalai fern, and as various flowers and plants, such as maile, ‘ōhi’a lehua, lama, halapepe, ‘a‘ali‘i, ‘ilima, and laua’e. According to Emerson, “all flowers and leaves of the wildwood were sacred to Laka and were his (or her) physical representation.” (Gutmanis, 1983, 93 note 232)

How Laka came to be the patron deity of the hula is unclear. The answer lies hidden in deeds of a far off time, i ka wā kahiko, when men walked among gods and gods were like men. Emerson’s informants described Laka as a friend of the Pele family of gods, but not a relative. (Emerson, 1997, 24) However, according to Pualani Kanahele and McDonald, a closer tie to the Pele clan is established for Laka through Kuku‘ena. McDonald identified Kuku‘ena as “Laka’s mother and Pele’s elder sister.” (McDonald, 1978, 76). According to the traditions passed down to McDonald, Kuku‘ena presided over the making and distribution of lei. And, it was Kuku‘ena who gave Hōpoe the lehua groves of Puna and taught her how to make lei from the blossoms of the ‘ōhi’a lehua tree. Pualani Kanahele describes Kuku‘ena as one who moved in a “capacity of a faithful sibling to Pele” and is responsible for preparing the ‘awa for the Pele family, stringing lei, and caring for the lehua grove at He‘eia, O‘ahu. (P. Kanahele, 1992, 46)

Hula and Hawaii’s Forest Plants

As with other Hawaiian cultural practices, the hula is intimately related to the plant world, particularly those plants representing the bodily manifestations of the hula gods. Hula stories describe the character and deeds of its gods and the plants that played important roles in their lives. These are the hula plants that hālau today search for in the
forests. In the past, hālau adhered to strict kapu in their training. The gathering of forest greenery for the kuahu hula, or hula altar, was significant among these. Special prayers were uttered while gathering the greens and during the kuahu’s construction to entice the goddess Laka to dwell within the hālau and inspire the students in their training and performances. Today, however, forest greenery are gathered primarily for use as adornments for the dancers.

Laka resides in the forest and has as her kinolau many of the fragrant plants of the forest. As the following ‘ōli, or chant, illustrates, Laka is associated with the lushness of Hawaii’s forests and is responsible for growth – that of plant life and of knowledge.

He kanaenae no Laka (an adulatory prayer for Laka):

A ke kuahiwi, i ke kualono
Ku ana o Laka i ka mauna
Noho ana o Laka i ke po’o o ka ohu
O Laka kumu hula
Nana i a’e ka waokele

In the forests, on the ridges,
Of the mountains stands Laka;
 Dwelling in the source of the mists.
Laka, mistress of the hula,
Has climbed the wooded haunts of the gods.

(Emerson, 1997, 16-18)

The two primary hula goddesses, Laka and Hi‘iaka, are both forest deities, and their kinolau are those most sought after by practitioners. Pukui identified the following five plants as being essential to the hula altar: maile, ‘ie‘ie, halapepe, ʻōhiʻa lehua, and palapalai. (Pukui in Barrere et al., 1980) Another important plant for the hula altar was lama. Emerson recalls that a block of lama, wrapped in a yellow, 'ōlêna (Curcuma longa) stained kapa, was often placed on the altar to represent Laka’s place within the hālau. (Emerson, 1997, 20) Each plant on the kuahu had its significance and its own story to tell.

Each plant symbolized the presence of the hula gods within the hālau. While customs vary from island to island, the following six plants are commonly considered essential to the kuahu hula:

(1) Maile (Alyxia oliviformis): This shrubby plant is endemic to the Hawaiian islands and has a vining habit. Different varieties represent four mythical sisters: Maile haʻi wale (brittle maile), Maile kaluhea (sweet-smelling maile), Maile lau liʻi (small-leaf maile), and Maile pākaha (round-
(1) Maile (Ficus lyrata): The maile vine is one of the kinolau of Laka. (See Figure 1)

(2) 'Ie'ie (Freycinetia aborea): This woody climber has large orangecolored flowers. 'Ie'ie represents the beautiful demigod Lau-ka-'ie'ie, another goddess of the hula. (Pukui in Barrere et al., 1980, 70) Sorcery transformed her into the 'ie'ie plant. (See Figure 2)

(3) Halapepe (Pleomele sp.): All species of this tree-like rosette plant are endemic to Hawai'i. Halapepe is a kinolau of Laka, as well as of Kapo. (Barrere et al., 1980, 58; Abbott, 1992, 117) (See Figure 3)

(4) 'Ohi'a lehua (Metrosideros polymorpha): This red-blossomed endemic tree is a dominant element of Hawaiian forests. 'Ohi'a lehua is believed to be another nature form of Laka and figures prominently in the mythology of the hula. Kū-kā-'ōhi'a-laka is identified by some as a rain god and a god of the hula and canoe building. (Handy et al., 1972, 364) This is also the name of a legendary 'ōhi'a tree that possessed a red flower on its eastern branch and a white flower on its western branch. (Abbott, 1992, 117) 'Ohi'a lehua is also associated with Kapo, believed by some to be the mother of Laka. Others say Kapo is one and the same as Laka, but represents her darker side. Thus, the tree likewise represents the dual nature of Laka and Kapo. In another hula story, Hinaulu'ōhi'a is credited with creating the hula by imitating the swaying branches and flowers of this tree. (G. Kanahele, 1986, 129) From the Pele and Hi'iaka cycle, it is suggested that Hōpoe taught the hula to Hi'iaka. In thanksgiving, Hi'iaka planted the famous red-and-white 'ōhi'a groves of Puna in honor of her friend. (See Figure 4)

(5) Palapalai (Microlepia strigosa): This endemic fern represents Hi'iaka on the kuahu hula. (Abbott, 1992, 117) On her journey to bring Pele's lover back to Hawai'i, Hi'iaka was given a magic skirt, or pā'ū, made of palapalai
fern. The skirt gave her the power to overcome the many dangers she encountered as she made her way through the island chain. (See Figure 5)

(6) Lama (*Diospyros sandwicensis*): Both species of native persimmons are endemic. Emerson wrote that a block of lama wood wrapped in yellow kapa and scented with 'ōlena was placed on the kuahu to represent Laka’s presence in the hālau. (Emerson, 1997, 23) Others argue that lama is not a kinolau of Laka, but rather was used by hula students to appeal to Laka to grant them the knowledge, inspiration, and agility needed to perform successfully the functions of the hula. The word “lama” is translated to mean light or enlightenment. (Pukui and Elbert, 1986; Gutmanis, 1983, 91 note 206) (See Figure 6)

Other plants were also placed on the kuahu hula, depending on the particular characteristic a dancer hoped to embody or a particular god the student wished to call on for assistance and inspiration. For example, wood from the koa (*Acacia koa*) tree was sometimes used to ask for bravery and strength. One meaning of koa is warrior. (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) Pili grass (*Heteropogon contortus*) could also be found on the altar. The word pili suggests togetherness or closeness, (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) a desirable situation between the deities of hula and haumana, or students, during training and performances.

These forest plants symbolized the gods who presided over the hula, as well as other aspects of Hawaiian life. Their placement on the kuahu showed the gods and goddesses of the hula proper respect when the hālau was active. As adornment, the wearing of certain plant materials helped the dancer manifest a transformation essential to the telling of a story. For example, to present the hula in its fullest form, the dancer needs to become the person or thing of which the dance speaks. In dancing a hula about Pele, to become Pele, hālau often wear one of the plants associated with her, such as the 'ōhi’a lehua. For a hula about Kamapua‘a, the pig god, the leaves or flowers of the kukui tree (*Aleurites moluccana*), one of his kinolau, is appropriate. If dancing about a particular place, is it common for hālau to wear a plant associated with that place. For example, when
Figure 1. Maile (*Alyxia oliviformis*)

Figure 2. ‘le‘ie (*Freycinetia aborea*)
Figure 3. Halapepe (*Pleomele* sp.)

Figure 4. ʻŌhiʻa lehua (*Metrosideros polymorpha*)
Figure 5. Palapalai (*Microlepis strigosa*)

*Diospyros sandwicensis*
Ebenaceae
© M. LeGrande

Figure 6. Lama (*Diospyros sandwicensis*)
dancing a Kaua'i song, hālau may choose to wear berries of the mokihana (*Pelea anisata*) - a shrub endemic to Kaua'i. Also, with Laka's and Hi'iaka's role as healers and restorers of life, the evocative medium of dance, the inherent power of the spoken word, and the wearing of plant materials, the dancer is able to invigorate life into Hawaii's mythological past and the vibrant forces of nature.

It is for these reasons that the wearing of certain plant materials is so important to nā mea hula, those who dance. For, in effect, the dancer must become one with the gods who have influence over the hula as well as other aspects of Hawaiian life. The dancer does not simply imitate life, but is transformed into that particular ali'i (chief), akua (god), ka makani (wind), or ke kai (sea) of which the dance speaks. The dancer becomes Laka or Hi'iaka, restorers of life - by restoring life to those things important to the Hawaiian people.

**Function of the Hula in Hawaiian Society**

Barrere et al. noted that "an attempt to document any ritual associated with the hula in ancient—that is to say pre-historic, or pre-1778 – Hawai‘i, is impossible." (Barrere et al., 1980, 1) The best modern practitioners can do is to reconstruct what the hula was like and what it meant to Hawaiians of old. Pukui and Korn, for example, wrote: "The hula combined at least three functions, being simultaneously: (1) a fertility cult; (2) an organization for practicing various arts of healing and for inculcating cosmetic lore (principles of hygiene and physical beautification); and (3) a school that combines the arts of music, poetry, mime, and dance.” (Pukui and Korn, 1973, 43) Emerson characterized the hula as “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.” (Emerson, 1997, 11-12) Handy described the hula as “in essence, a magical ritual to bring rain and fertility.” (Handy, 1931,12) Though these descriptions cover a wide array of functions, they are all connected by a common theme of inspiration, growth, and life – be it vegetative or human.
Religious dancing was a prominent feature of worship in ancient Polynesia. It was based on the principle of establishing a good rapport with nature. In prayer-spells, words were the instruments of communication; in dancing, this was established with movement. (Handy, 1927, 210) The erotic dancing of Polynesia, originally a form of worship, was designed to stimulate and bring into action the mana, or procreative power, of the gods, upon which the fertility of human beings, the earth, and sea depended. (Handy, 1927, 210) Dynamic action, as well as utterance, was believed to affect nature. Hula heightened the life-giving power of the word through the mimetic devices of dance and the wearing of forest greenery, the kinolau of the gods. The dancer and the audience were thus brought into the presence and under the influence of the gods.

In its origin and primary function in Hawaiian society, the hula closely mirrored the Tahitian Arioi, a highly organized institution used to forward the fertility of the earth as well as the ali`i nui, or ruling chiefs. (Handy et al., 1972) Hula troupes participated in religious festivals in much the same way as the Arioi, singing chants composed of mythical, historical, and eulogistic subjects during the seasonal rites, or upon the birth or marriage of a chief. These rituals were used to produce certain desired effects, such as increasing the desires of the nature gods and men - particularly those of the ruling class - to procreate and multiply, thus insuring the perpetuation of life, both vegetative and human, in these islands.

In Hawaiian mythology we find the source and rationale of the Hawaiian religion, the foundation from which developed Hawaiian cultural practices such as the hula. (G. Kanahele, 1986, 50) Myths are the sacred narratives that tell us about the gods and their deeds, and from these examples Hawaiians learned how to live. They developed a social system that was well-ordered, practical, and effective: “well-ordered because of the imperative need to impose some control over the unpredictable and uncontrollable forces of nature and practical because their survival depended on the best and most efficient use of available resources.” (G. Kanahele, 1986, p. 42) The stories and dances of the hula reinforced this view of the world through its portrayal of the lives and deeds of the gods.
In addition, aside from being just instructive, "the hula was [and is] enjoyed by all, inclusive of the deities, the dancer, and all those present." (P. Kanahele, 1992, 72)
CHAPTER 3

Elements of Change

Introduction

The impact of Western contact in the Hawaiian Islands in the late 18th century, with the opening up of the islands rich natural resources to European, and later American, exploitation, are still being felt today. No aspect of the Hawaiian cultural and natural environment escaped untouched. Hula traditions, however, have survived to the present relatively intact, though changed in form and function. Sadly, Hawaii’s forests and other natural areas have been much less fortunate. This chapter focuses on a few key events that impacted both the hula and the relationship of hālau hula to threatened native forests.

European Contact

As soon as the islands became known to the Western world, the number of foreign expeditions increased. The introduction of foreign ideas, customs, and diseases also increased. The highly profitable sandalwood and whaling industries brought in a cash economy that quickly displaced the old economic order based on a communal working and a sharing of the land’s abundance. Mercantilism resulted in the rapid exploitation of Hawaii’s natural environment, and the spread of new plant and animal species caused a dramatic decline in native plant populations. The Hawaiian people suffered a similar fate. In the span of about 100 years, from 1778 to 1893, the native population experienced near extinction from Western diseases and other hardships brought about by radical social changes, declining from 400,000 to 40,000. (Kameʻeleihiwa, 1992, 20) Prior to Western contact, Hawaiian society had developed and operated in relative isolation and was ill prepared to deal with the inundation of new influences. It, like Hawaii’s native plant and animal species, stood little chance of resisting the forces of change brought by foreign contact.
One of the first cultural activities Western explorers came in contact with upon their arrival was the hula. The first written account of the dance comes from the journals of Captain Cook in January, 1778, when he and his men witnessed a performance on the island of Kaua‘i of a hula kālā‘au (wooden sticks) and a hula ‘uli‘uli (feathered gourd rattle). While Cook’s account of the hula were free of pious commentaries, later explorers did not engage in unbiased reporting. Not understanding the function of the dance as a celebration of the fertility of the land and the Hawaiian people, descriptions of the hula communicated to the world portrayed it as an example of the reckless behavior of a lascivious and wanton people. The hula, and Hawai‘i, have yet to live down this notorious reputation.

‘Ai Noa – Alienation of the State Religion in 1819

Following initial contact, the next powerful event that influenced life in Hawai‘i was the destruction of the kapu system. In 1819, Mō‘ī Liholiho (King Kamehameha II) and Kuhina Nui Ka‘ahumanu (Queen Regent) effectively overturned the traditional religion by breaking one of its most sacred restrictions, the ‘ai kapu. The ‘ai kapu prohibited males and females, particularly those of high rank or birth, from eating together, as well as from eating certain foods. Maintaining balance through the separation of opposite forces (male/female, sacred/profane, restricted/free) was an essential tenet of the Hawaiian religion. Cultivating lōkahi, or harmony, applied to the relationships between men and women and extended to the relationships between the Hawaiian people and their gods, as well as their relationship to the natural environment.

The kapu system was the means of enforcing this balance. Using primarily the fear of retribution, the kapu system established a reverence in the authority of the ruling class, as well as in people’s attitudes and behavior toward nature. Kapu kept the sacred separated from the profane. It established “rules of conduct” for Hawaiian society by placing restrictions on personal behavior towards others, particularly the ruling chiefs, and on the use of natural resources. The latter meant strict limitations on when and how much fishing, planting, and gathering of materials from the sea and forest could be done throughout the...
year. In effect, these restrictions formed a highly efficient method for conserving natural resources based on generations of astute observations and experimentation that came only from living closely within the natural rhythms of the environment and having a thorough understanding of its life cycles. Breaking the ‘ai kapu had been punishable by death. When Liholiho and Ka‘ahumanu defied this ancient law, however, all Hawaiians, with this one act, were freed from the fear of retribution under the kapu system. No one could foresee the far-reaching consequences this would have on the environment and the hula.

One year after the official overthrow of the Hawaiian religion, the first wave of American missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i. Their intent was the complete conversion of Native Hawaiians to Christianity and the Western way of life. Barrere describes this period (1820-1900) as a “time of transition into a new religious experience and viewpoint . . . where old and new customs marched side by side.” (Barrere et al., 1980, 33) This transition affected how hula practitioners taught and performed the hula. The abdication of the Hawaiian religion, however, did not end the ancient traditions of dancers or the honoring of the gods and goddesses who presided over it. While the breaking of the ‘ai kapu abolished chiefly religious rituals, it is important to remember that it did not mean an immediate or complete abandonment of traditional religious beliefs, customs, and practices. Hula continued to serve its same functions within Hawaiian society for many years to come. (Barrere et al., 1980, 33-36)

The 1830s mark the beginning of the decline of public hula performances. (Klarr, 1996, 32) Due to the influences of the missionaries and their vocal disapproval of the dance as a “licentious” and non-productive “past-time,” hula schools went underground, away from the criticisms and influences of foreigners, especially the missionaries. (Klarr, 1996, 32) From 1830 to 1832, public performances of the hula were banned under an edict of the recently-converted Queen Regent Ka‘ahumanu. Yet, resistance to Western influences occurred among all classes of Hawaiian citizens; and as Barrere notes, “the missionary influence, while strong, never wiped-out the hula as a functional part of the Hawaiian society.” (Barrere et al., 1980, 41) After the death of Ka‘ahumanu in 1832,
chiefs and commoners alike ignored the edict. As missionary letters and newspaper editorials from this period decried the “sounds of hula drums” at night and the gathering of people to watch this “heathenistic” display, dancing continued despite the “official” abandonment of the ancient religion by the monarchy. (Barrere et al., 1980, 41-43; Klarr, 1996)

Emerson’s *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii* evidences the persistence of traditional hula beliefs and practices. (Emerson, 1997) At the turn of the 20th Century, gods of the old religion were still much alive and recognized by practitioners. During formal training of the hula, its *kapu* were still enforced, such as a total dedication to one’s training, abstinence from sex, and the prohibition of certain foods. (Emerson, 1997; Barrere et al., 1980) Emerson’s personal commentaries aside, his careful recording of many different aspects of the hula provides a valuable piece to the puzzle of hula’s evolving history. Serious students of the dance are referred to his work as a reliable window to hula’s past, its mythological beginnings, and its many customs, protocols, dances, chants, and prayers. All of this indicates that at the level of everyday practice, many basic beliefs of the Hawaiian religion lived on.

As late as the 1950s, certain kumu hula continued to conduct their classes under the prescribed altar dedicated to the hula gods. (Keaulana, 1997; Bacon, 1998) Kapu were placed on the students, though restrictions were adapted to the needs of 20th Century. (Keaulana, 1997; Bacon, 1998) The hula is quite fortunate in that much of its traditions survived intact, perhaps more so than any other Hawaiian cultural practice. This is in great part thanks to those hula practitioners who refused to yield to missionary pressures, and to the Hawaiian people who refused to let this important part of their spiritual culture be swept away. Of special importance is the manner in which hula knowledge was, and still is, transferred — through strong familial lines. In Hopkin’s *The Hula*, he traces the line of teaching of many of today’s Hula Masters back to four distinct groups of instructors, all born during the late 1700s or early 1800s. (Hopkins, 1982) Admittedly, his list of Hula Masters is subjective, and may be considered controversial by some, but his genealogy is
useful in that it reveals the source of today’s traditional hula knowledge, teachings that go back to pre-contact Hawai‘i and lives on in many of today’s hālau hula.

It is difficult to fully comprehend the far-reaching ramifications brought about by the loss of a society’s religious foundation. Religious belief is one of the defining characteristics of a culture, answering a basic, universal human need to understand where one comes from, one’s role in life, how nature operates, one’s relationship to others and to the natural world. Religion provides the answers to such questions. Traditional Hawaiian society was ordered around a belief system that taught how Hawaiians evolved from nature, that nature was family, and to see in nature the kinolau, or bodily representations, of their gods and ancestors. Every action and relationship took place within the mental construct created by religion. The overthrow of the state religion by the Crown government had a devastating effect on the national psyche and culture as a whole, yet it did not end the basic religious beliefs and values of the people.

The ‘ai noa may have abolished the “institution” of the Hawaiian religion, but not the actual values and beliefs at its heart. McGregor refers to this core of spirituality as the ‘ohana belief system, which sought to maintain the balance between chiefs and commoners, and between all people and the elemental life forces of nature. (McGregor, 1996) The ‘ai noa did not stop Hawaiians from revering their aumakua or ancestral spirits, or stop cultural practitioners, such as ka po‘e hula, from performing the songs and dances that honored the gods and chiefs of Hawaii’s past.

Alienation of the ‘Āina: The 1848 Māhele

The Māhele or Land Division of 1848 was the event that transformed Hawaii’s traditional communal, subsistence land tenure system into one based on private ownership. Handy et al. described the Māhele as “the peaceful yet revolutionary episode of the partition and distribution of feudal lands.” (Handy et al, 1972, 53) “Revolutionary” - yes. “Peaceful” – that is a question still being hotly debated. Kame‘eleihiwa, a Native Hawaiian scholar, sees the Māhele as “a tragic historical event, a turning point that had catastrophic negative consequences for Hawaiians.” (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992, 8) In her eyes, the loss of
sovereignty and the ability of Hawaiians to control their own destiny began not with the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, but with the alienation of the people from their ancestral lands in 1848.

The Mahele resulted from pressures brought about by increasing Western influences and power in Hawai‘i. By the 1830s, Hawaii’s subsistence economy was quickly giving way to a mercantile economy run primarily by foreign business interests engaged in the whaling and sandalwood trade. With the depletion of both resources, entrepreneurs saw new opportunities in Hawaii’s fertile lands and began to invest in large-scale commercial agricultural production. In order to secure financial backing for their investments, Western businessmen needed a system of land tenure more in line with models based on exclusive, private ownership.

Exclusive, private ownership of land was a completely foreign concept to Hawaiians. Land had always been traditionally held in trust by the high chiefs to be managed for the benefit of the people. King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) reaffirmed his commitment to maintaining this relationship in the Constitution of 1840:

Kamehameha I, was the founder of the kingdom, and to him belonged all the land from one end of the island to the other, although it was not his own private property. It belonged to the chiefs and people in the common, of whom Kamehameha I was the head, and had the management of the landed property. Wherefore, there was not formerly, and is not now any person who could or can convey away the smallest portion of land without the consent of the one who had, or has the direction of the kingdom. (MacKenzie, 1991, 5)

However, swift and dramatic changes occurred over the next ten years, as concessions were made to a growing body of foreign businessmen. Non-Hawaiians were appointed to ministerial positions in the government of the monarchy, which gave them the power to influence legislation favorable to foreign interests. In 1841, island governors were allowed to enter into 50-year leases with foreigners. In 1845, foreigners were granted the right to become naturalized citizens. That same year, under heavy demands from foreigners, the government established the Board of Land Commission to investigate claims of private individuals, Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike, to lands acquired prior to 1845. In 1848, all the lands of Hawai‘i were divided between Kamehameha III and his chiefs.

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Two years later, the Kuleana Act was enacted to grant fee simple title to commoners, but for a variety of reasons, the majority of native tenant farmers failed to secure title to their house lots and cultivated plots. Further, legislation permitted any resident of Hawai‘i to own land regardless of citizenship. At the end of the Māhele process in 1855, “99.2 percent of Hawaii’s lands was concentrated among 245 chiefs, the crown, and the government. Less than 1 percent of the lands were given to 28 percent of the people, leaving 72 percent of the people landless.” (McGregor, 1996, 9) Thus, the stage was set for the swift and massive transfer of land title to foreign ownership.

Traditionally, native tenants had always enjoyed liberal use rights to the resources of the ahupua‘a (a traditional land division scheme incorporating mountain and in-shore resources) in which they lived. These included the right to move freely within the ahupua‘a to hunt and gather materials from the forest and sea. Recognizing the importance of ahupua‘a rights to the subsistence lifestyles of native tenants, the government instituted provisions to preserve these rights alongside those of private land owners, such as: (1) government and the king’s lands were made subject to the rights of native tenants (MacKenzie, 1991, 7); and (2) the Kuleana Act of 1850 protected the rights of native tenants to gain access to the mountains and seas to continue the practice of gathering. In the following decades, much of Hawaii’s land was transferred to foreign control, and the rights of native tenants became a source of contention with the underlying concept of exclusive ownership of private property.

If cases considered by the Hawai‘i Supreme Court are an indication, it would appear that native gathering on private lands did not prove to be a problem until the latter half of the 20th Century. Perhaps private landowners did not see native gatherers as a threat. Or perhaps native gatherers lacked the resources or knowledge to take their cases to court when their rights were denied. It was not until 1982 that the Hawai‘i Supreme Court addressed the issue of native tenant gathering rights in Kalipi v. Hawaiian Trust Co. (MacKenzie, 1991, 226) In this instance, the primary contention was the statutory residency requirement that a native tenant have permanent residency within the ahupua‘a
from which he wished to gather. In more recent years, the issue of gathering and access rights has become a serious concern among private landholders and a rallying point for the Hawaiian cultural practitioners and people active in the sovereignty movement. (Barrett, 1997; Enomoto, 1997; Durbin, 2000) Hula practitioners have joined forces with the sovereignty movement to protect native gathering rights from what is perceived by many as a threat to their right to practice their culture.

Cultural Evolution of the Hula

Hula as Entertainment

From its inception in mythological times, hula was meant to be enjoyed. In a formal or informal setting, dances were performed throughout the islands by ali‘i and commoners alike. In one mythological tale about Pele and Hi‘iaka, Pele asks her sisters to entertain her with a hula. To Pele’s surprise, her youngest sister, Hi‘iakaikapoliopele, complied with a hula le‘ale‘a, a delightful hula celebrating the movement of the sea and the winds of Puna, Hawai‘i. In another example, upon arriving in Ha‘ena in Kaua‘i, Hi‘iaka heals the lame chief, Malaeha‘a-koa. In gratitude, the chief orders a feast to be prepared with hula as the main entertainment. In honoring Hi‘iaka, the chief and his wife “stood forth and led in the performance of a sacred dance, accompanying their rhythmic motion with a long mele that recited the deeds, the events, the mysteries that had marked Pele’s reign since the establishment of her domain in Hawaii.” (Emerson, 1965, 111-112) The feasting and dancing were said to have lasted for days.

Hula was also a popular amusement among the ruling class, who acted as spectators as well as performers. In the journals of David Samwell, a surgeon aboard Captain Cook’s ship Discovery, he observed how “the Young women spend most of the time in singing and dancing of which they are very fond.” (Sereno, 1990, 68) Lt. James King wrote: “The boys and girls ran before us, as we walked through their villages, and stopped us at every opening, when there was room to form a group for dancing. At one time we were seated within a circle of young women, who exerted all their skill and ability to amuse us with
songs and dances.” (Sereno, 1990, 68) Pukui wrote: “In the days when every island had its own ruling chief, hula dancing was much practiced by chiefs and commoners, by the aged and the children.” (Pukui in Barrere et al., 1980, 74) In the latter 19th century, King David Kalākaua and Queen Emma were avid supporters of the hula despite the disapproval of the missionaries.

Hula as a Profession

Hawaii’s transition from a communal, subsistence economy to a mercantile economy was probably less disruptive to hula practitioners than to other areas of the culture. At the time of contact, the hula functioned as a “profession” of sorts in Hawaiian society. In January 1794, Archibald Menzies, botanist with Captain George Vancouver’s expedition, commented on this aspect when he observed:

After breakfast we were entertained with the performance of a young girl, who danced in a small area before our door. We were given to understand that this actress, who might be termed an opera girl, and her father, belonged to a party who strolled about the country from village to village and gained their livelihood by entertaining the inhabitants with their performances. (Barrere et al, 1980, 19)

Malo, a Hawaiian scholar of the early 19th Century, supports Menzies’ observation by noting that hula dancers often earned their livelihood from gifts presented to them by their audiences. (Malo, 1951, 231) According to Emerson’s native informants:

The actors in this institution were not producers of life’s necessities. To the ali‘i belonged the land and the sea and all the useful products thereof ... Everything belonged to the King. Thus it followed of necessity that the support of the hula must in the end rest upon the ali‘i. (Emerson, 1997, 26)

As seen from Menzies’ account, however, hula troupes were not in the sole employ of the royal courts. They were free to roam the countryside presenting public performances in exchange for whatever gifts would be offered. Emerson similarly notes that “profits of the hula” came not only in the form of praise and applause, but also entailed food, garments, the favor of the ali‘i, as well as the use of lands. (Emerson, 1997, 27) If the time came that the applause and gifts were no longer satisfactory, the hula troupe was free to move on to “fresh woods and pastures new.” (Emerson, 1997, 27)
Commercialization of the Hula

Though not involved in a cash economy before the 1800s, it could be said that "professional" hula practitioners, in a sense, had "commodified" the hula in pre-contact Hawai'i, in that they performed a highly valued service for which they received material compensation. Under the new cash economy of the 1800's, hālau hula continued to provide their services for public and private consumption. As the audience, however, expanded to include non-Hawaiians – initially male foreign traders and sailors – the character of the hula necessarily changed to accommodate them. The traditional emphasis of the dance is on the text, or the story being conveyed. This aspect was downplayed in favor of the sexual appeal of the hula, which was exaggerated and exploited, for the benefit of a new audience.

From its first encounters with the West, the hula had gained the reputation of being a sexually explicit dance. In 1778, SamwelJ provided what is most likely the first detailed account of the hula by a foreigner. To this day, his commentary lives on in the minds of people around the world. He wrote: "They moved their Arms up and down, repeated a Song together, changed places often, wriggled their backsides and used many lascivious Gestures." (SamwelJ in Barrere et al, 1980, 17) With these words, Samwell planted the image of the hula and overt sexuality in the collective consciousness of people everywhere.

In 1790, Captain George Vancouver's report echoed Samwell's claim:

Had the performance ended with the third act, we should have retired from their theatre with a much higher idea of the moral tendency of their drama than was conveyed by the offensive, libidinous scene, exhibited by the ladies in the concluding part. The language of the song, no doubt, corresponded with the obscenity of their actions; which were carried to a degree of extravagance that was calculated to produce nothing but disgust in the most licentious. (Sereno, 1990, 71-72)

In traditional Hawaiian society, there was no shame or guilt associated with sex, and dances of a sexual nature were common. According to Pukui, "The sexual act was accepted without shame in those days as being both creative and one of supreme pleasure." (Sereno, 1990, 24) A primary function of the hula was to enhance or heighten the power of
fertility rituals through sacred words and movements. In the proper cultural context, the sexual nature of the hula was far from being lascivious or simply lustful.

In the late 1800s, however, the sexual nature of the hula was embraced and exploited to sell a wide range of products. The image of a seductive and alluring hula maiden proved successful as a marketing tool to add exoticism and mystery to the products on which it appeared. This vision, presented to the world on everything from Washington State apple boxes to souvenir dolls to Hollywood movies, was an artificial and manufactured product created to serve the needs of the growing entertainment, advertising, and tourist industries. (Sereno, 1990)

For half a century, to the 1950s, hula received widespread exposure through movies, songs, advertisements, and the occasional company of dancers that toured the continental United States. Many of the growing number of tourists coming to Hawai‘i wanted to learn the hula. In Honolulu, numerous studios were opened for tourists and other new arrivals from around the world wanting to learn the dance. Hula no longer belonged exclusively to the Hawaiian people. The dances being taught in these new studios were not traditional – thought ancient dances continued to be taught and performed – but were a modern style called the hula ku‘i (combined hula) or hula ‘auana (modern hula). Both had been created during the reign of King David Kalākaua and combined the movements and music of Hawaiian and Western dances.

The Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s

The 1970s saw the culmination of many past attempts to restore pride and integrity to the Hawaiian culture. Nationally, this was a period of ethnic pride and a questioning and challenging of the establishment. In Hawai‘i, young, educated Hawaiians – turned on by the activism of the 1960s – began to challenge the State on issues relating to Hawaiian rights and self-determination. It was a time of excitement and hope for the future of the Hawaiian people. The expectations of what came to be known as the Hawaiian Renaissance brought about many positive changes, both politically and culturally.
The hula, considered the most visible component of the cultural re-birth, saw a sharp increase in the number of hālau, hula competitions, and festivals. There was a particular interest in teaching and performing hula kahiko, the ancient style, and with this came the desire for authenticity. The wearing of native plants was seen as an important part of a traditional performance. Renewed emphasis was placed on understanding the Hawaiian language and adherence to “traditional” movements and costuming. This period also saw the return of the male hula dancer to the hālau.

Some have questioned, however, whether all the changes brought about by the Renaissance have been positive. “What are we trying to preserve, the ‘practice’ of the hula or the value system these practices promote?” (Keaulana, 1997) The impacts of the Hawaiian Renaissance are far-reaching. There has been a marked increase in Hawaiian identity and Hawaiian pride. In 1978, the state of Hawaii’s constitution was amended, and ratified by public vote, to acknowledge the special rights granted to Native Hawaiians. The Hawaiian language was made the official language of the state, along with English. Today, the Hawaiian language is flourishing as public, private, and immersion schools educate young people in the language and culture from pre-school through college. Kupuna warn, however, of the possible negative outcomes that may have resulted from the Renaissance. (Keaulana, 1997) Interest in learning and practicing the ancient customs of Hawai’i has grown, but slower to come is the adapting of these practices to modern conditions, particularly those facing Hawaii’s native ecosystems.

Changing Demographics of the Hula

At the end of the 20th century, the aspects of the hula that have fundamentally changed are its teachings and performances. In traditional times, hula was truly a way of life. It was a professional endeavor performed by trained troupes of dancers. It was also a form of entertainment performed and enjoyed by all levels of society. As part of a larger ritual or as a form of entertainment, hula was used to promote fertility, increase agricultural productivity, celebrate the birth of new ali‘i, or to recall the great deeds of the past. Future dancers were chosen at birth or at a very young age for hula training. Initiates were strictly
regulated by kapu that included restrictions on food and certain types of behavior. All members of a hālau prayed to their special gods for inspiration, skill, agility, and grace.

Today, anyone can dance the hula. For most people, hula is not a way of life nor is it a profession. For many, it is a form of exercise, a hobby. For others, hula holds a deeper meaning – a way to connect with the Hawaiian culture or with their identity as Hawaiians. The traditional perspective that required honoring particular gods and respecting nature in specific ways is no longer universal among hula dancers. Dancers come from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds. Typically, hālau members are urbanized and do not live as closely with the environment as people did in the past. The highest concentration of hālau hula is on island of O'ahu. As city dwellers, most do not depend on nature like past generations or like people from more rural islands still do. Today, the connection hula people have to nature is not as direct. There is a physical and spiritual distance from nature that affects how hula practitioners view and relate to the natural environment. We live in a world where nature is not seen as the living embodiment of gods, but as a natural resource. We may love nature. We may want to protect it. But, for many, we do not relate to it as Hawaiians under the old religious and kapu system did.

Foreign Contact and Hawaii's Native Ecosystems

As with Hawaii's native people and culture, the European experience was devastating for the native flora and fauna. Introduced plants and animal species and foreign land-use schemes have wrecked havoc upon the native environment. Like the early Polynesian explorers, Europeans and later immigrants brought with them plants of their homelands for economic and aesthetic reasons. Many more alien plants and animals arrived by accident. However, the number of post-1778 foreign introductions and the impact of these plants on the native environment far exceeded that of pre-historic Polynesian introductions. Dr. Clifford Smith of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa estimated that over 4,600 non-native plant species were brought into the Hawaiian Islands since 1778, with 86 of these plants (approximately 2% of the total) becoming serious
threats to the native ecosystems. (Stone et al., 1984, 180) Vast areas of native forests, particularly lowland, dry forests, have been cleared to make way for housing and agricultural developments. Native plants in the higher elevation wet forests are struggling to maintain their foothold. This is the reality that hula practitioners face when they enter the forest. More hālau are returning to Hawaii’s forests to experience the realm of their patron goddess, Laka. Hawaii’s native forests, however, are on the verge of extinction.
CHAPTER 4

Traditional Practices and Modern Realities

Introduction

Scientists estimate that less than 8% of the land area on Hawaii's four major islands (Kaua‘i, Hawai‘i, Maui, and O‘ahu) is covered by “relatively intact” native ecosystems. (Gagne, 1988) Agricultural and urban developments cover approximately 72% of Hawaii's land area with the remaining 20% occupied by disturbed native forests and plantation-style forests. (Gagne, 1988) As the area of native forests has diminished, hula schools have increased, primarily as a result of the Hawaiian cultural resurgence that took place in the 1970s. In the 1930s, there were eight major hālau hula on O‘ahu that catered mostly to the visitor industry. (G. Kanahele, 1979) In 1983, kumu hula Roselle Bailey estimated approximately 120 hālau operating throughout the state. (Bailey, n.d.) At the end of 1998, this research identified 150 hālau throughout the state. This was done by compiling names from various sources such as island phone books, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs directory of hālau hula, and entrants lists from hula competitions such as the Merrie Monarch Hula Festival, the King Kamehameha Hula Competition, and the Prince Lot Hula Festival.

With hula’s increasing exposure and popularity, the events and occasions at which it is performed have also increased. The result of this growth in practice is that more dancers are going to the forests to gather more often. In the forests, hālau are discovering the plants they are seeking are becoming more difficult to find. After hālau have gathered, native plants are finding it more difficult to recover.

Hula and Hawaii’s Forests Today

In a 1982 presentation with members of Ka Iwi Na‘auao o Hawai‘i nei, kumu hula Roselle Bailey commented on the problem of competing interests over-utilizing forest resources. In a paper titled Kokee: The Impact of the Forest on our Lives and the Forest in
Hawaiian Dance, she called on fellow members of the seminar to reacquaint themselves with the role forests played in their daily lives and to consider their own roles in their care and protection. (Bailey, 1982) For Bailey, forests are much more than an exploitable source of material goods. They are also a source for water, food, clothing; for beauty, peace, joy; for even fright and humbleness. (Bailey, 1982) She appealed to members of the seminar, on behalf of Ka Imi Na’auao o Hawai‘i nei, to look upon the forests as “the very essence of our existence.” (Bailey, 1982) This sentiment is similar to that expressed by kumu hula Pualani Kanahele at the 1996 Hula Conference when she said, “The forest is beautiful and mysterious. We are beautiful. In order to maintain the beauty in ourselves, we need to preserve the beauty of the forest. You don’t belong in the forest if you don’t know how to give back.” (P. Kanahele, 1996)

In the spring of 1996, the problem of hālau not being good “practitioners of the forest” caught the headlines of The Honolulu Advertiser: “Leimakers’ foraging may be laying waste to Isle ecology.” (Viotti, 1996) The article highlighted the impact hula may be having on Hawaii’s dwindling native forests and the concerns of the hula community about their impact on this valued resource. The article appeared days before the 1996 Merrie Monarch Hula Festival and focused on the pressures placed upon native forest species during times such as those preceding major hula competitions and festivals, times when hālau went out in great numbers to gather native forest plants for use as adornments. Members of the hula community were particularly concerned with the conduct of some hālau while gathering and how these practices showed disrespect for the forests. Wasteful and destructive gathering practices are a sign of disrespect for the hula and for the Hawaiian culture. Many within the hula community viewed the problem as more than one of an increasing user group utilizing a dwindling resource. For many kumu hula, the problem is one that goes to the heart of what it means to dance the hula and to be a cultural practitioner.

As discussed in the preceding chapters, hula’s social function and Hawaii’s native ecosystems have changed dramatically over the past 200 years. For many who dance today, hula is no longer their primary occupation in life. In times past, a child was selected
at a very young age to learn the hula. Today, hula is taught to anyone who desires to learn. In times past, hula was performed on special occasions such as the birth of a high-ranking chief or during the Makahiki festival. Today, it is performed for the entertainment of tourists at resorts across the state, at any number of celebratory events such as graduations and weddings, and for a growing number of competitive events such as the Merrie Monarch Hula Festival, the Kamchameha Hula Competition, and the World Hula Invitational. Where in the past hula plants were used primarily upon the kuahu hula, today native plants are considered essential as adornments and are lavishly worn by some hālau. At the Merrie Monarch Hula Festival, hālau are scored on the authenticity of their costumes for hula kahiko. Some hālau have interpreted this to mean that the more native plants worn, the higher their score will be.

Commenting on the lavish adornments worn by hālau in recent years, kumu hula Pat Namaka Bacon recalled that her hālau primarily wore maile lau liʻi (Alyxia oliviformis) because maile was plentiful in Mānoa Valley, the place where her hālau primarily went to gather. Haumana would wili, or intertwine, a few strands of maile to fashion lei. She described her kumu hula as “very practical people” when it came to the use of natural resources. “They used what they had, and they didn’t use more than what was needed.” (Bacon, 1998) Kumu hula Kimo Alama Keaulana expressed his dismay with the excessive use of lei materials by hālau over the past ten to twenty years and the insistence of some hālau to adorn themselves with native plants that are struggling for survival in the wild. (Keaulana, 1997) He sees the problem as the result of a lack of understanding by a new generation of dancers who were not trained under the kuahu hula, or hula altar, and therefore not familiar with the strict training this entailed. This knowledge, he feels, is not being communicated effectively nor widely enough:

[These marvelously schooled teachers of the hula knew that it was the essence of the dance that was important – not all the physical or material trappings. Within the past twenty or so years, the focus of hula has switched from the essence of the dance as an art form to that of a staged theatrical performance. Pleasing the crowd took precedence rather than conforming to tradition and the obedience to those hula teachers who came before us. (Keaulana, 1997, 4)
At the 1996 Hula Conference, Keaulana got to the heart of the problem when he asked participants: “Is it the perpetuation of our culture when disrespect and over-picking is being carried out? It is folly to think that the hula needs to be perpetuated but not the attitudes, regulations, and mannerisms that accompany it.” (Keaulana, 1997, 7)

**Traditional Approaches to Forest Gathering**

What are the attitudes, regulations and mannerisms that guide how hula practitioners interact with nature? Where can hula practitioners look to find them? Teachers of the Hawaiian culture tell their students to “nana i ke kumu,” to look to the source for the answers to their questions. Emerson’s *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii* preserved for generations to come the chants, practices, and mana‘o, or thoughts, explaining the chants and practices of his hula informants. Hula is said to reveal the “most telling record of a people’s intimate life.” (Emerson, 1997, 7) If one were interested in learning how hula practitioners, and Hawaiians of old, “approached the great themes of life and death, what was his attitude toward nature,” the answer could be found in the “songs and prayers and recitations of the hula.” (Emerson, 1997, 7)

Emerson’s work recounts the seriousness with which forest gathering was done at the turn of the 20th Century and serves as a source for modern practitioners on the attitudes, practices, and prayers that went into the undertaking. Gathering was a very somber and serious business:

> Gathering of green leaves and other sweet finery of nature was a matter of so great importance that it could not be entrusted to any chance assemblage of wild youths. There were formalities that must be observed, songs to be chanted, prayers to be recited. (Emerson, 1997, 15-16)

Other sources of gathering practices are held within the traditions passed down through hula families and hālau themselves. Pukui’s training as a hula practitioner and a researcher of Hawaiian culture supports Emerson’s account:

> Gathering of the greenery for the altar [hula] was an important undertaking. The person sent was watchful for any inauspicious sign such as the barking of a dog, chirping of a bird, crowing of a cock or the meeting of a person on the highway. He started at dawn when silence ruled, uttering
his prayers on the way and as he reached forth his hand to gather each necessary plant. He must have no fear and under no circumstance should he utter a sound besides the prayers. (Pukui in Barrere et al., 1980, 71)

Kumu hula Pat Bacon, hanai, or adopted, daughter of Pukui, tells that in her own hula training during the 1930s and 1940s she was not taught to gather forest materials or make lei. (Bacon, 1998) In her hālau, a person experienced in the art of gathering and lei-making collected the desired plants and flowers. (Bacon, 1998) This person would know where to gather, when and how much. Being an expert in lei-making, this person would know exactly how many leaves and blossoms to pick, how to pick so as not to harm the plant, and also how to store the materials so they would not perish. This knowledge ensured that the gatherer would only take what was needed and that there would be no waste or damage to the forest.

Puanani Anderson-Wong explained that when she goes to the forest to gather it is her goal to leave no trace of her work. (Anderson-Wong, 1997) She doesn’t concentrate her gathering in one place (such as taking all the blossoms from one tree), and she takes leaves and blossoms in such a manner as to not permanently damage the plant, realizing that she would like to return to that spot and find her plants flourishing. (Anderson-Wong, 1997) Many hālau today continue this tradition of having the gathering done by an alaka‘i, a student leader, or by someone outside of the hālau appropriately trained for the job. (Bacon, 1998; Josephson, 1998, 19)

A‘ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okahi – “Not all knowledge is found in one school.” Hula traditions varied from island to island, from one hālau to another. (Pukui in Barrere et al., 1980, 70) This diversity applies to gathering and lei making. Some hālau emphasize the gathering and making of one’s own lei as an important component in a student’s training. The forest is a place of learning and inspiration. Others find it a place to find peace. Kumu hula Pualani Kanahele goes to the forest to find repose from the hustle and bustle of modern living, to connect with her ancestors, and to see what the winds and the rains have to tell her. (P. Kanahele, 1996)
Throughout hula’s storied past, a common thread has always been hula’s emergence from the movements of nature. Students can improve their dance by observing the movements of the wind in the trees and the rains and clouds across the skies. The forest has life lessons to teach an observant student, such as ho’omanawanui, or patience, ha’aha’a, or humility, and maka‘ala, or alertness. (Bailey, 1998) These lessons can be learned by being in the presence of Laka – in the forests – for these are her attributes.

As evidenced by the damage done to forest areas from hālau gathering, however, conscientious and culturally appropriate instruction on how to gather is not being universally taught among hālau hula. To remedy this situation, hula practitioners need only reflect on their relationship to Laka and her attributes as the goddess of the forest and woodland growth.

Tuan believed the environmental landscape reflected the nexus between a culture’s belief system and their customs and practices. (Tuan, 1974) In the context of hula, this connection takes place in the forest where hālau gather the plant materials worn as adornment. Through the wearing of forest plants such as palapalai ferns, kukui leaves, and ‘ōhi’a lehua blossoms, the dancer becomes one with the kinolau of the hula gods, Laka and Hi‘iaka. As kumu hula Pualani Kanahele told the audience at the 1996 Hula Conference: “When we adorn ourselves in the realm of the forest, we become a part of the forest through our lei, our kupe‘e.” (P. Kanahele, 1996) It is suggested, therefore, that in the gathering and wearing of plant materials taken from the forests, the hula dancer should be Laka.

Laka – Values of the Ancestor

Traditionally, Hawaiians look to their ancestors and to the gods for guidance on what was pono, or proper, and what was hewa, or wrong. For this reason, hula has always played an important function in society because, through the hula, the great deeds and lessons of the past could be played over and over again. Patterson, in Exploring Maori Values, sees this method of ethical learning by example as an alternative to the Western
system of ethical rules of law. Termed virtue ethics, this system is based on "being, rather than an ethics of doing ... [it is more] about the type of person we should try to be."  
(Patterson, 1992, 100)  
This way of learning through "being" has not changed for many modern Hawaiians and can be used by hālau to teach responsible stewardship of forest resources.

Kumu hula Roselle Bailey believes her responsibility as a teacher is twofold: to instruct students in (1) how to be adept dancers, and (2) how to live the values of the hula in their everyday lives. (Bailey, 1998) She does this by teaching her students about Laka, patron goddess of the hula, and what it means to be like Laka. For many who practice the hula, it is more than a beautiful dance to be performed for friends at parties or for tourists in the hotels. “Hula, simply put, is a way of life.” (Bailey, 1998) It teaches a particular philosophy about how one should live in the world. It teaches discipline, or laka, balance, or lōkahi, grace, or ‘olu’olu, and about being thankful, or mahalo nui, for the many gifts found in nature. (Bailey, 1998) These qualities can be used to create a set of values to guide practitioners while they gather in the forest.

Because of hula’s relationship to Laka and Laka’s association with the forests, the hula is an appropriately situated and visible vehicle to discuss Hawaiian values as they relate to environmental stewardship. The following section discusses stewardship values that arise from the hula dancer’s relationship to and the attributes of Laka, and how, if adopted by the dancer while in the forest, they can guide the student to act more appropriately and gather more responsibly. The following set of values came out of discussions with kumu hula and other cultural practitioners, as well as from written sources discussing the traditional Hawaiian view towards nature. It is by no means an exhaustive list of Hawaiian values, but rather one which hula practitioners could look to for guidance. Being a highly visible and popular activity, hula has the potential to serve as a powerful medium to communicate the viability of Hawaiian values in contemporary society, especially as they relate to wise resource management of Hawaii’s diminishing native ecosystems.
Laka

Laka is defined as “tame, domesticated, gentle, docile; and to tame, domesticate, and attract.” (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) Kumu hula Roselle Bailey, of Maui and Kaua‘i, speaks extensively on the importance of Laka, in all its various meanings, to the hula. (Bailey, 1998) Laka is the primary goddess of the hula. It is for Laka that the hula altars are constructed. And, it is for Laka that hula dancers continue to wear her kinolau and sing her praise in oli. Bailey teaches her students that the learning of the hula is really about embodying the qualities and attributes of Laka. (Bailey, 1998) The qualities of Laka should be practiced in one’s learning of the dance and in one’s everyday life, particularly while in the realm of Laka – that is, while in the forest gathering the plants that are her kinolau. (Bailey, 1998)

Bailey describes the discipline of hula as the domestication, or taming, of the dancer and the ego. (Bailey, 1998) When one goes to the forest to gather, one must be Laka – gentle and docile – in that endeavor. Wearing the kinolau of Laka – the palapalai fern, the maile, or the blossoms of the ‘ōhi‘a lehua – the dancer becomes Laka, the gentle, attractive and alluring patron of the hula. The wearing of forest greens helps the dancer to effectuate this transformation by increasing his or her attraction and allure visually and through the sense of smell. Bailey believes the dancer’s adornments functioned to enhance the physical beauty of the dancer in two ways. Wearing the lush flora of the forests, the dancer was pleasing to the eye, and when dancing, the heat from the dancer’s body heightened the natural aroma of the plants entrancing the audience, and the gods, with their fragrance.

When gathering lei materials, the dancer should remember Laka and act accordingly, that is gentle and tame, or – as Bailey teaches – disciplined. (Bailey, 1998; Bailey, n.d.) Her instruction to students is that one must be domesticated in order to have true independence and freedom. (Bailey, 1998) She explained that having freedom without any discipline often leads to negative results. (Bailey, 1998) This philosophy could certainly explain what is happening in Hawaii’s forests with hālau having the freedom to gather without discipline or an understanding of the full ecological consequences of their actions.
For kumu hula Kimo Alama Keaulana, “With hula, it is not that way. It is one way – a disciplined way.” (Keaulana, 1997) And, for kumu hula John Lake, hula is about “discipline, dedication, and commitment.” (Lake, 1996)

When gathering from the forest, or in deciding whether or not one should even gather, one must be disciplined. There must be discipline in thought and action. (Bailey, 1998) Being disciplined means not being greedy or thinking only about your needs. The needs of the forest must be taken into consideration. Being laka also means not speaking loudly or behaving rudely in the forest. Dancers must remember that when they enter the forest, they are entering a realm in which they do not truly belong, ka wao akua, or forest realm of the gods. It is the home of their patron deity as well as a host of other nature gods. One must, therefore, act accordingly, as if visiting the house of another person.

Lōkahi

Throughout the Pacific, the concept of balance is looked upon as a “philosophy of survival.” (Patterson, 1992, 39) The Hawaiian concept of balance and harmony is lōkahi. Perhaps, this is a result of an island mentality, of being aware of the precariousness of island living. The concept of balance permeated the Hawaiian belief system and is most often exemplified in the designation of people, things, and events as either kapu (sacred/prohibited) or noa (profane/free from restriction). The kapu system was the principle method employed by ancient Hawaiians to manage their natural resources. During certain times of the year, for example, a kapu would be placed on harvesting a certain fish species. The restriction would coincide with that species' spawning cycle and would protect the species from over consumption.

The hula embraces the concept of lōkahi through Laka and in the form of the dance itself. Laka herself has this concept of balance within her personality. In her gentle, woodland form, Laka is known as a patron of the hula and a symbol of grace and beauty. Laka, however, also has a darker side that needs to be kept in check. If she is angered, perhaps by the breaking of a hula kapu, or hula restriction, Laka is believed to become Kapo, a sorceress and a vengeful dealer in the dark arts. Hula itself is an embodiment of
this concept of balance, or lōkahi. The basic hula stance is feet flat and shoulder width apart; the knees are slightly bent. This stance grounds the dancer firmly on the earth, creating movements that showcase grace, strength and balance. Kumu hula Roselle Bailey uses the philosophy of the hula to ground her students in the other arts of living by stressing the concept of lōkahi. Her students are taught, through the hula, to find balance in their thoughts and actions. (Bailey, 1998)

When speaking of the concept of lōkahi, Puanani Anderson-Wong is quick to point out that the concept of balance is not static, but dynamic. (Anderson-Wong, 1997) For example, traditional practices, such as fishing, through the placing and lifting of kapu, were actively regulated by konohiki, or land managers, as environmental conditions changed. In times of plenty, the kapu was lifted. In days of scarcity, the kapu was enforced. In ancient times, Hawaiians were accustomed to changing their practices to maintain balance with the natural environment. Hula practitioners, therefore, would be well within the traditions of the Hawaiian culture to regulate their own behavior to be more in balance with the realities of today’s forest ecosystems.

At the 1996 and 1997 Hula Conferences, hālau were eager to find alternatives to forest gathering or the use of native plants in lei making. Looking back at tradition, Kimo Alama Keaulana spoke at the 1997 conference about different non-native plants that were commonly substituted in place of native plants. (Keaulana, 1997) He spoke of how lei made from mock orange (Murraya paniculata), chinese banyan (Ficus microcarpa), and mahagony (Swietenia mahagoni) leaves were worn instead of maile. He emphasized that native plants were necessary for the kuahu hula and not for the adornment of people, and that today, there are few hālau who continue to train students under a kuahu. It was the essence of the dance that was important, not the adornment of the dancer. Tradition did not dictate that certain plants must be worn for certain dances. Tradition, however, did dictate wise use of scarce resources. Hālau, therefore, should be conscientious about the plants they choose to wear and for what reasons. In order to restore balance between the needs of hālau and the needs of the forests, the dancer should follow the traditional precepts of a
nature-based belief system. These precepts call for taking only what is needed, of not being greedy or wasteful with the materials that are picked, and, when appropriate, using a substitute when a particular plant species is not abundant.

**Aloha**

Aloha is generally known to mean hello, good-by, or love. (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) It is used causally in Hawai‘i by people from all walks of life, in all types of situations. However, kumu hula John Lake speaks of aloha’s deeper meaning, an interpretation that often goes unrecognized by those who causally use the word today. This enhanced meaning of aloha exemplifies the foundation of the Hawaiian worldview. Kumu hula John Lake defines aloha as “the recognition of the presence, or alo, of the breath of life or divine spirit, or hā, in all things.” (Lake, 1996) In Hawaiian thinking, all things of nature, animate and inanimate, possessed hā, or breath, life. Aloha, therefore, recognized the life-spirit within all people and all things. A greeting of aloha is an ultimate sign of respect. “I recognize the spirit of life in you.” (Lake, 1996) Aloha ‘āina recognizes the presence of life in the land or nature and re-enforces the familial tie between man and nature. The land is viewed in the same manner as one would view another person and would therefore be accorded the same respect.

Showing aloha for the kinolau of Laka means you recognize the hā in those plants of the forests that are her physical forms, those plants that hālau traditionally used on the hula altar and that hālau today continue to wear as adornments. Hālau should therefore conduct themselves in a respectful manner while in the forest and when taking such plants. Respectful behavior has been articulated, but, as Pat Bacon explains, it is more an attitude of conduct than specific actions or rules of conduct. (Bacon, 1998) One manner of showing respect is to ask permission before taking. This is usually done in prayer, or oli.

Ma mua o kau huki ‘ana i ke kalo
Ma mua o kau lawe ‘ana i ka i‘a
Ma mua o kau ‘ako ‘ana i ka ulu
E nooni mua i ka ‘ae ‘ana, no ka mea
Hō‘ike ia i ka mahalo
No nā mea ola a pau loa.

Before you harvest the taro
Before you catch the fish
Before you pick the breadfruit
You must first ask permission
For this shows respect
For all living things.

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Mahalo

E Laka, e!
Pupu we‘uwe‘u e, Laka e!
E Laka i ka leo;
E Laka i ka loa;
E Laka i ka waiwai;
E Laka i na mea a pau!

O goddess Laka!
O wildwood bouquet,
O Laka!
O Laka, Queen of the voice;
O Laka, giver of gifts;
O Laka, giver of bounty;
O Laka, giver of all things!
(Emerson, 1997, 34)

Mahalo is “thanks, to thank.” (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) It also means “to admire, praise, and appreciate.” (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) Laka is the giver of inspiration, of knowledge of the hula, of the bounty of the forests. Hula practitioners often describe the practice of gathering as going to someone else’s house, the house of Laka and the other akua, or gods, who preside over the hula. As is the practice when visiting the house of a friend, you do not act disrespectfully, and you do not take anything without asking permission and without giving thanks for gifts received.

Giving an offering of mahalo can take many forms and is personal to the person giving thanks. According to Emerson, there was no set “liturgy” of prayers for gathering. “They formed a repertory as elastic as the sighing breeze, or the songs of the birds whose notes embroidered the pure mountain air.” (Emerson, 1997, 21) Kepa Maly, a respected cultural historian, believes that sometimes one can be so moved by the gifts of nature, of Laka, that there is nothing tangible one could give that would equal the gift. (Maly, 1997; Maly, 1998) Sometimes, the only gift one could offer is the voice – ka leo wale no, only the voice. (Kamae, 1991) It is believed that the voice, which contains a person’s hā or life spirit, is the greatest gift and possesses much power.

There are many ways to give back to ke akua for the forests and all it provides. A gift could be: a ho‘okupu, a gift given as a sign of respect; a mōhai, a gift given as sacrifice; or an ‘ālana, a gift offered of free will. Perhaps the most common gift given over the ages is the voice. Emerson and Gutmanis provide traditional oli that are given when entering the forest and when gathering. (Emerson, 1997; Gutmanis, 1983) Kumu hula Pualani Kanahele told that certain gifts from the sea, such as a red fish, could also be offered as a gift of mahalo. (P. Kanahele, 1999)
Contemporary hālau are interested in finding ways in which they could offer thanks to the forests. Aside from learning the chants and practicing them when gathering, a suggestion discussed at the 1996 and 1997 Hula Conferences was the idea of hālau becoming stewards of those forested areas where they gathered. Hālau members could be trained to recognize alien species and how to propagate hula plants in the wild. Another suggestion was for hālau members to grow their own hula plants at home or in community gardens. The gift given by hālau in these instances would essentially be their increased awareness of the Hawaii's native environment and their active participation in its protection and conservation.

Mālama

Mālama means “to take care, preserve, protect.” (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) Mālama i ka ‘āina translates “to care for the land.” This phrase was made popular during the environmental and cultural resurgence movements that took place during the 1970s. The roots of this concept, however, are found in the creation stories of the Hawaiian people. The story of Hāloa tells us that the kalo plant is the elder brother of the Hawaiian people. Hawaiians were raised to take care of the kalo plant because the kalo will take care of them – kalo will feed and ensure the survival of the Hawaiian people. Caring for the land goes along with the concepts of aloha and mahalo. For hālau hula, to care for the land is to know its limitations, to gather within one’s own ‘ahupua’a, or on the land that you mālama. Today, most people live in urban areas and gather elsewhere. Under these circumstances, to mālama i ka ‘āina may mean developing innovative strategies, such as volunteering at community gardens or with native plant restoration projects offered by organizations such as ‘Ahahui Mālama i ka Lōkahi or The Nature Conservancy. At the 1996 and 1997 Hula Conferences, the State Department of Land and Natural Resources proposed the idea of hālau adopting forest areas where they gather. The Nature Conservancy was also interested in exploring the idea of allowing hālau onto their preserve lands in exchange for stewardship commitments. At present, however, these plans have not progressed beyond
the discussion phase, but the opportunity exists for hālau to put the practice of mālama i ka 'āina into action.

**Maopopo pono**

Maopopo means “to understand, recognize, realize.” (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) To have maopopo pono, or proper thinking, tradition tells us to look to our ancestors, our makua, aumakua, and akua. For hula practitioners, Laka is the kumu or source of proper thinking and behavior. As discussed earlier, Laka and the hula teach discipline – discipline in action and discipline in thinking.

Maopopo pono means the gatherer should know what he or she is doing when in the forest. This knowledge should be at two levels, as kumu hula John Ka‘imikaua explains: the level of intellect and the level of intuition. (Ka‘imikaua, 2000) At the level of the intellect, one should know the area where one is gathering — its resources and the seasonal cycles of these resources. This knowledge comes from being “he kupa o ka ‘āina” – “one familiar with the land.” In pre-contact times, Hawaiians gathered only within the ahupua‘a in which they lived. The belief was that by working and caring for the land, the ahupua‘a resident would know the capabilities and limitations of that ahupuaa’s natural resources. Being familiar with an area would inform the hula student about what plants would be appropriate to take, how much, and at what time of the year so as to cause the least damage to the plant.

This is not the reality of today, particularly on the island of O‘ahu where most hālau are located. Hula practitioners today are primarily urban dwellers and are unfamiliar with the areas in which they gather. As comments from the 1996 and 1997 Hula Conference revealed, many hula students were unaware of the stresses placed upon Hawaii’s forests and the impacts of their forest gathering.

Maopopo pono also addresses the spiritual aspects of forest gathering: “when one deflowered the woods of the fronds of ‘ie‘ie and fern or tore the trailing lengths of maile – albeit in honor of Laka – the body of the goddess was being despoiled, and the despoiling
must be done with all tactful grace and etiquette.” (Emerson, 1997, 16) Emerson provides a traditional chant that reminds the gatherer, while in the forest, of what their work really entails – the despoiling of the body of Laka:

Haki pu o ka nahelehele,
Haki hana maile o ka wao,
Ho‘oulu lei ou, o Laka e!
O Hi‘iaka ke kaula nana e ho‘oulu na ma‘i,
A aeae a ulu a noho i kou kuahu,
Eia ka pule la, he pule ola
He noi ola nou, e-e!

The forest materials sought are the kinolau of Laka, and the other hula gods. Being home to these gods, the forest realm was treated with respect. Having maopopo pono for the spiritual aspects of the work would ensure that gathering took place with the proper protocol and behavior. This would mean that loud, boisterous behavior would not be allowed in the forest; one would ask before taking; and when possible, the gatherer should give something back. This could be to return to the forest unused plant materials or one’s adornments after a performance, to mālama the area by replanting native species and removing alien species, or, as was mentioned earlier, the voice could be given in a pule or oli of thanksgiving.

Tutu Lydia Hale, a manaleo, or native speaker, who volunteers her time to the University of Hawaii’s Hawaiian language program, spoke of maopopo pono as being important to the outcome of one’s work, of how one’s state of mind determines the quality of work. (Hale, 1998) For Tutu Hale, oli or prayers were recited before entering the forest “to clear the path,” which meant placating the gods of the forests as well as clearing one’s mind of any negative thoughts. (Hale, 1998) The recitation of an oli helps one to achieve maopopo pono. According to Tutu Hale, if one took ‘ōpala, or garbage, into the forest, one would come out of the forest with ‘ōpala. (Hale, 1998) So, if one were to go to the forest
to make lei for adornment or a gift, yet had bad thoughts or feelings while gathering, the finished product would not be pono, or good; it would contain the negative thoughts you had carried with you.

**Ha`aha`a**

Ha`a means “low.” (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) It is also known to mean “a dance with bent knees; dancing that came to be known as hula after the 1800s.” (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) To be ha`aha`a is to be “humble, meek, or unpretentious.” (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) To ‘ai ha’a is to dance on bended knees, low to the ground. (Pukui and Elbert, 1986) It is a dance style most commonly used today for performances of hula kahiko, or ancient hula. Tutu Hale explained that to dance ‘ai ha’a is to dance humbly, on bent knees, as if in prayer. (Hale, 1998) The concept of ha’a returns us again to the attributes of Laka. To be Laka is to be docile. To be ha’a is to be humble. When approaching the forest, the dancer should do so humbly and with respect. An attitude of humility usually takes the form of asking permission before entering the forest and before taking anything. You are entering the realm of the gods and should act accordingly.

**Conclusion**

Over the years, hula has served as a form of religious ritual to inspire fertility and growth, to honor the gods and departed ancestors, to aid in the healing of mind, spirit, and body. At its most basic level, however, hula was, and is, a form of communication and connection between the physical and the spiritual world, between the past and the present. Hula is a reaffirmation of belief, trust, and experience through the reenactment of the deeds of the gods and people of old. (G. Kanahele, 1986, 133) The wearing of plants by dancers and the placement of certain plants upon the kuahu hula serve to heighten the power of the spoken word and ritual movement of the hula to bring about this communion. In this tradition of the hula, students today can bridge the past with the present, the physical and the spiritual, by looking to Laka as a model by which to develop respectful and responsible...
gathering practices. Laka – the ideal of humility and discipline. Laka – who epitomizes the values of lōkahi, aloha, mahalo, mālama, maopopono, and baʻahaʻa.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Looking to the Future

This thesis set out to identify what the attitudes, regulations and mannerisms are that guide proper gathering of plant materials by hālau hula. It was quickly discovered, as one kumu hula impressed upon me, that much of the specifics of how, when, and where to gather, and by whom, have been lost. (Bacon, 1998) It is clear, however, that what has not been lost is a knowledge base that can inform modern practitioners gathering in a changed natural environment.

As told in Hawaiian creation stories, set out in Chapter 2, the plant world holds a significant place in Hawaiian material and spiritual culture. The Kumulipo recounts the birth of all things of nature, from the creatures of the sea, the plants of the earth, to the first Hawaiian. (Beckwith, 1951) Hawaiians saw a continuous line of genealogical descent from themselves to the other entities of nature. In the traditions of the hula, plants serve an important function as a source of both physical and spiritual inspiration. The maile, the 'ōhi'a lehua, and the palapalai are a few of the kinolau of the gods who watch over the hula. Wearing these plants brings the dancer in physical contact with the gods of the hula. Certain plants are symbolic of particular places, such as the mokihana plant for the island of Kaua'i, and the lehua blossoms for the island of Hawai'i. Wearing these plants as adornment transports both the dancer and the observer to a different place; and perhaps, depending upon the mele, to a different time, to be in the company of people and gods long since gone.

As discussed in Chapter 3, with the coming of foreign influences, the familial relationship of Hawaiians to nature dramatically changed. For hula practitioners today, this separation from nature and the unfamiliarity with the old nature gods are perhaps the primary reasons behind the disrespectful gathering practices that are causing concern within the hula community. Today, people in Hawai'i no longer live in close contact with nature,
being distracted by the concerns of urban living and modern mentalities. Nature is no longer the beneficent elder sibling whose good will is needed for survival. It is no longer the mysterious realm of gods and departed ancestors. Nature is no longer afforded the same sense of respect or awe as it once was in days past. This change in the perception of nature’s place in our everyday life – in the lives of those who participate in the hula – is played out upon the landscape in how we interact with nature in the gathering of plant materials for the hula.

In essence, this thesis was a search for the environmental values held within the traditions of the hula. As discussed in Chapter 4, the gathering of plant materials for use either upon the kuahu hula or as adornment for the dancer, was and should continue to be conducted with the utmost respect for the plant materials, as they are the embodiment of the hula gods and as this conduct reflects a truly Hawaiian view of the world. In the tradition of looking to our kupuna and akua, e nana i ke kumu, look to the source, for what is pono, or proper, hula students should follow the lessons to be learned from Laka, patron goddess of the forest and the hula. By emulating her characteristics and attributes, or, as kumu hula Roselle Baily teaches, by being like Laka or being laka, or disciplined, hula practitioners will find the proper attitude and mannerisms that will lead to responsible and respectful gathering practices. (Bailey, 1998)

**Where to From Here?**

The imperative for hālau hula to become conscientious of their relationship to the forests was made apparent by the speakers at the 1996 and 1997 Hula Conferences. For a number of reasons, Hawaii’s forests are losing the battle to meet the needs of hālau for native plant species, particularly those plants important to the hula. Hula practitioners, as students of Laka, have the responsibility to protect the source of their inspiration.

In 1997, the Hawai‘i legislature proposed a bill to restrict the access of cultural practitioners to certain undeveloped lands, lands from which hālau hula often go to gather. Senate Bill 8 attempted to regulate where hula people could gather, what they could gather
and how much through a permitting process requiring practitioner to prove his or her “right” to access a certain pieces of land. It was suggested that the call for regulating cultural practitioners related, in part, to landowners’ and resource managers’ concerns regarding the impact of hālau gathering on Hawaii’s native forests.

In response to the proposed legislation, on February 25, 1997, over two hundred kumu hula, and their haumana, staged a 24-hour vigil at the State Capitol to oppose Senate Bill 8 and House Bill 1920. (Barrett, 1997; Enomoto, 1997; Adams, 1998) Kumu hula, and other cultural practitioners, succeeded in killing the bill, and in the process, a new grassroots organization was formed with the express purpose of protecting the traditions and customs of the Hawaiian culture from misinformed legislators. The group called themselves ‘Ilio’ulaokalani, red dog of the heavens. The name refers to a formation of red clouds seen on the horizon that was said to portend the arrival of a powerful force. And indeed, a new force had arrived on Hawaii’s political scene. The message of this group to the legislature, and the public, was that cultural practitioners know how to be good environmental stewards; cultural practitioners can regulate themselves by following the customs and values of their ancestors.

‘Ilio’ulaokalani has grown in number and influence over the past years. In the Fall of 2000, it presented a slate of candidates under a newly formed political party, Aloha ‘Āina. The first principle of the Aloha ‘Āina bylaws is to “Preserve and restore our natural environment.” (Durbin, 2000, 6) With ‘Ilio’ulaokalani and the Aloha ‘Āina party, hula practitioners stepped – unified – into the political realm, serving the goal of “preserving, perpetuating, and promoting” the Hawaiian culture. (Enomoto, 1997) For kumu hula Victoria Holt-Takamine, the formation of ‘Ilio’ulaokalani “is what sovereignty is. And that to me will pave the way for everything else.” (Enomoto, 1997) The power of hula to communicate the values of the Hawaiian culture and to move people to action is a realization of George Kanahele’s portent that hula will one day become the “modern repository and transmitter of Hawaiian values.” (G. Kanahele, 1986, 134) Hula is on its way to surpassing George Kanahele’s prediction by becoming a vibrant force in the
Hawaiian sovereignty movement in a way it has never done before. Laka inspires and teaches self-control – attributes useful in the life of hula and in the life of sovereign Hawaiians.
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APPENDIX A
PROGRAM FROM 1996 HULA CONFERENCE

No Nā Pua
o ka Hālau Hula

for the flowers of the hula

February 3, 1997
Kamehameha Secondary School

SPONSORED BY
Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate

The 'Ahahui Mālama i Ka Lékahi Board of Directors
would like to thank our sponsors for this year's conference:

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Illustrations of maile and ti leaves courtesy of Tom Aikau.
Illustrations of ti leaves by Lani Hōkūkāmō and Kula pāpā
courtesy of Sig Loo.

'Ahahui Mālama i Ka Lékahi
is a non-profit organization founded and created
by native Hawaiian. Our members believe that the
preservation of native Hawaiian economics and culture
is not only intrinsically valuable and appropriate, but is essential
to the perpetuation of the culture of the Hawaiian people.
It is our intention to provide a venue within the community
that not only reflects accurately the scientific facts
pertaining to conservation issues, but also plays
responsible to preserve cultural values.

Visit our home page at: http://www.hula.org or
as e-mail us at: hula@hawaii.net

PAPA HANA 200 PROGRAM

8:00 A.M. - 9:00 A.M.
Registration in K'e'elikolani Auditorium
Landing of Registration Folder
Workshop Sign-In
Volunteer to Registration
Refreshments

9:00 A.M. - 10:00 A.M.
 PRESIDENT'S TEAM: (All Present)
WELCOME: Chuck Murata 'Ahahui Mālama i Ka Lékahi
Lauhala: Waihona Pua

Traditions and Science of Hawai'i's Forests

Niihau Oloa (Moderator)
Uditha Ranasinghe (Hawai'i School of Tropical Science)
Penelope A. Lewis-Wong (Hawaii Tropical Botanical Gardens)
Kūkia Ali'ia Kanaka'ai (La'ie High School)
Bonet Cueto (Hawaii Trees Source System)
Frank K. Hamai (Hawaii Trees Source System)

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION
ANNOUNCEMENTS

11:00 - 12:00 P.M.
Lunch in 'Alelo Dining Hall

78
PLANT SALE BEGINS AT KOKOA FIELD

12:15-3:45 P.M.
Workshops - Session 1
Stewardship and Community Projects in Kona 107–109
David Means Bird
Hawai'i Tropical Botanical Garden
Eric Enos
Kilohana Farms, Inc.
Terry Nagano
Urban Garden
Kamilo Pang
Volunteer Ministers for Kula
Malu Sakaume
Dept. of Land and Natural Resources
Lei Making in Kī'ulamakila Auditorium
Bill Oliver
Propagating Native Plants in Kona
Bill Garrett
Wilkie Hallock Plant Sale

PRESENTERS

Uluru Bernice is a born of Uluru School of Hawaiian Dance in Kōloa, Kaua'i. Her Career includes Alii Kula-lehua Institute and Uluru Aina Lake. She graduated in a born in 1972 at Lei's Pāho-Hāna Lehua.

Kimo James Kamuela was established in Uluru School in 1912. As a born she has been influenced by Kimo Kai, Aloha Hanaui, and Hākuna Matata. She is a born of the Uluru Aina Lake. She is a born of the Uluru Aina Lake and Uluru Aina Lake. She is also the founder of Uluru Aina Lake.

French E. Kamuela's sister, Marie, is a born of Kīulamakila. She has been influenced by Kimo Kai, Aloha Hanaui, and Hākuna Matata. She is also the founder of Uluru Aina Lake.

Presenters: Audriana Wong is a born of Kīulamakila. He has been influenced by Kimo Kai, Aloha Hanaui, and Hākuna Matata. He is also the founder of Uluru Aina Lake.

Bill Garrett is the executive secretary for the National Arbor Foundation (NAF) and has been a long-time conservationist in Hawaii. He has been responsible for bringing to our attention the devastating effects of the invasive plant, Macaranga, in Hawaii after using its crop to demanage Kīulamakila. Since then, Bill has been working to eradicate the plant from Kīulamakila.

Bill Garrett is one of the premier lei makers in the State of Hawaii. He has been responsible for introducing the Hawaiian species to their families in Hawaii. He is currently working to propagate native Hawaiian plants and restore areas of the degraded forest ecosystems in Waimea, Kaua'i.

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APPENDIX B
PROGRAM FROM 1997 HULA CONFERENCE

No Nā Pua o ka Hālau Hula
For the Flowers of the Hula

-PROGRAM-

March 2, 1996
Kamehameha Secondary School

Sponsored by ‘Aha‘aha Mālama i ka Lōkahi (‘AML) and Hui Lāna - Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate

-WORKSHOPS-

NOTE: You can pick up your colored ticket from the Workshop Monitors in the conference lobby. You should not have more than 2 tickets and they should be of different colors. One ticket will provide entrance to a workshop in Session 1 and the other colored ticket will provide your entrance to a workshop in Session 2. Staying in the workshops is limited. Be aware that Workshop A and Workshop B will change rooms after lunch and that Workshop D will only run in the morning.

WORKSHOP A GATHERING FROM THE FOREST
ROOMS: KELIUOLOLANI AUDITORIUM (SESSION 1) (Max. Occupancy 600)
KÖHIA 108-109 (SESSION 2) (Max. Occupancy 90)
COLOR: PINK
MODERATOR: HANNAH NISHIMURA
Kauhi Au Educator, Leeward High School
"Picking with Respect"

WONG, Sangee Forest Service, Natural Area Reserve System
"Forest Plant Identification"

Michael Buck Assistant Department of forestry and Wildlife
"Access and Permits on State Lands"

WORKSHOP B PLANT MATERIALS FROM OUTSIDE THE FOREST
ROOMS: KÖHIA 108-109 (SESSION 1) (Max. Occupancy 600)
KELIUOLOLANI AUDITORIUM (SESSION 2) (Max. Occupancy 90)
COLOR: BLUE
MODERATOR: GINA NAGATA
Sarah Kaele Educator, Sanohale Nuku
"Using Your Own Backyard to Grow Native Plants"

Serena Kaele Educator
"Bringing Alien Plant Materials"

Marie Mahimahi Teacher Educator
"How to Establish a Lāl Garden"

WORKSHOP C A LEI MAKER'S PERSPECTIVE
ROOM: KÖHIA 208 (Max. Occupancy 35 per Session)
COLOR: YELLOW
MODERATOR: KARMA HARRISON AND SHARON CORDOVA

A Discussion with Bill Choy, Master Lei-maker, on Collection Methods, Storage and Lei Styles

WORKSHOP D GROWING NATIVE PLANTS
ROOM: MIDKIFF LISTENING AND LEARNING CENTER (Max. Occupancy 60)
COLOR: GREEN
MODERATOR: NÂMEHI DİLLIAM VICTOR

A Slide Presentation of Hawai‘i’s Habitats with Heidi Lestansce Bernhardt, Horticulturist

PAPA HANA (PROGRAM)

8:00 A.M. - 9:00 A.M.
REGISTRATION IN KELIUOLOLANI AUDITORIUM
WILLIAM OF REGISTRATION PACKETS
SHOP: WORKSHOPS
WALK-IN REGISTRATION
REFUNDS
9:00 A.M. - 1:30 P.M.
OPENING CEREMONY: JOHNNIE LEECHERS, KAMEHAMEHA STUDENTS
WELCOME: KUA PANO, PRESIDENT YIAIL
WELCOME: JOHN LAMETU Haka, Hawai‘i Academy of Film Music and Dance Hālau
"Traditional Uses of Plants and Protect by Hālau Haka"

PUNAHI WONG-BOYER, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and ‘AML Board Member
"Traditional Hawaiian Conservation Values"

KAIHI NA‘ALE-HUWE, ‘OIA HIKI HĀLUA HANES
"The Relationship between the Hālau and the Forest"

SAM COBB-HOOGAARD, ‘The Nature Conservancy of Hawai‘i and ‘AML Board Member
"Sponsor of Hawaiian Forests"

PUDERI KAMEHAMEHA-HUKA, HUKA o KALUA
"Listen to the Forest"

ANNOUNCEMENTS
11:00 A.M. - 11:15 A.M.
BREAK
11:15 A.M. - 1:15 P.M.
SESSION I WORKSHOPS A, B, C, AND D
PICK UP YOUR COLORED TICKET AT THE DOOR
WORKSHOP A PINK: KELIUOLOLANI AUDITORIUM
WORKSHOP B BLUE: KÖHIA 108-109
WORKSHOP C YELLOW: KÖHIA 208
WORKSHOP D GREEN: MIDKIFF LISTENING AND LEARNING CENTER
12:15 P.M. - 1:00 P.M.
LUNCH (ARIA DINING HALL) BRING YOUR LUNCH TICKET
1:00 P.M. - 2:00 P.M.
SESSION II WORKSHOPS A, B, AND C
PICK UP YOUR COLORED TICKET AT THE DOOR
WORKSHOP A PINK: KÖHIA 108-109
WORKSHOP B BLUE: KELIUOLOLANI AUDITORIUM
WORKSHOP C YELLOW: KÖHIA 208
2:00 P.M. - 3:30 P.M.
PAN, AND EVALUATIONS

* WORKSHOPS A AND B SWITCH ROOMS AFTER LUNCH

The Board of Directors for ‘AML and the Conference Subcommittee
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Kahi Aliu, Kim Kaneshiro, Eric Kanahele, Dorothy Lee, Harry Low, B. Marc, Edward and Ray Mack,
Masani Sakamoto, Lenna Sato, Vicki Vast, Kimo Fairbanks

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