CONNECT BACK TO DIS PLACE:
Music and Identity of the Cultural Renaissance of Hawai'i

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN PACIFIC ISLAND STUDIES

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THESIS COMPACT DISC (CD) TRACK TITLES

The Thesis CD is a data CD and can be played on a computer. Track descriptions are listed below.

Track 01- Cyril Pahinui talking about "Hi'ilawe"
Track 02- Gabby Pahinui plays "Hi'ilawe"
Track 03- John DeMello on The Sons of Hawai'i
Track 04- The Sons of Hawai'i play "No Ke Ano Ahiha'i"
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Track 13- Jerry Santos on political music
Track 14- Olomana plays "Ku'u Home o Kahalu'u"
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Track 17- Jerry Santos on Kaho'olawe
Track 18- Olomana plays "Mele O Kaho'olawe"
Track 19- Henry Kapono on Cecillo and Kapono (C&K)
Track 20- C&K play "Lifetime Party"
Track 21- C&K play "6 o'clock Bad News"
Track 22- Aunty Cookie Schrader on C&K
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Now, I can look at you, Mr. Loomis, and see you a man who done forgot his song. Forgot how to sing it. A fellow forget that and he forget who he is. Forget how he's supposed to mark down life...See, Mr. Loomis, when a man forgets his song he goes off in search of it ...till he find out he's got it with him all the time.

From the play “Here and Gone” by August Wilson
As quoted in the New Yorker article by John Lahr

Caught in the shadow of colonialisit demands and globalized ideologies for over two hundred years Pacific nations have undergone major social and political upheaval. Because of the actual and imagined location of Pacific nations, pathways of the transpacific market have been built, leaving Pacific communities at a crossroads strategically marking them as prime places for business, warfare and vacation. Some of the major consequences of these types of uses are typically loss of land, cultural displacement, and objectification.

These devastating processes are well documented in literary works and government policies and are discussed thoroughly within the frameworks of scholarly theory by anthropologists, environmentalists, sociologists, and historians alike. However these many forms of textual rhetoric tend to be one-sided, glossing over at the least the true personal experiences and struggles that Pacific peoples have endured. The inabilities of these texts to accurately represent Pacific peoples have pushed Pacific Island studies, in the name of de-colonization, to search for indigenous ways of knowing. This has led to the newfound importance of expressive mediums such as art, dance, architecture, music, poetry, and speech which all have long histories and firm
places in Pacific Island cultures. David Hanlon explains, in the context of history, one reason for the need to incorporate all forms of knowledge and communication rather than focus solely on textual information:

[The decentering or decolonization of history requires, for some of us anyway, an appreciation of all of the different ways in which a consciousness of the past can be expressed. History, it seems to me, can be sung, danced, chanted, spoken, carved, woven, painted, sculpted, and rapped as well as written. I have a very strong suspicion that listening to stories of an elder, sailing aboard a double-hulled voyaging canoe such as the Hokule'a, or witnessing a powerful performance of Holo Mai Pele...often brings one a closer connection to the past than any lecture, article, or book ever could (2003, 29-30).

These art forms however, do more than offer a “closer connection.” In the shifting contexts brought on by colonialism and globalization, they are more than a way to communicate a history, share a belief, or tell a story. They have become a means of resistance, a statement of identity, and a political declaration; in essence they have become explicit demonstrations and reiterations of cultures and peoples whose livelihoods have been threatened by major altering processes.

For example, the tattoo, as Albert Wendt explains in “Tatauing the Post-colonial Body,” has a long history in Samoa for being a means of communicating and identifying the family and place from which one came. He notes “The tatau and malu are not just beautiful decoration, they are scripts/texts/testimonies to do with relationships, order, form, and so on (1996, 19).” Wendt goes on to explain how the tradition of tattoo has gained even more significance and continues on today. He says

...when they [tattoos] were threatened with extinction by colonialism, Samoa was one of the few places where tatauing refused to die. Tatau became defiant
texts/scripts of nationalism and identity. Much of the indigenous was never
colonized, tamed or erased (1996, 19).

Mom Kamahele takes Wendt's latter ideas even further in her article "Hula as
Resistance." Kamahele gives a compelling account of the resilience of hula during the
most devastating years of Hawai'i's history when the culture, the people, and the dance
were oppressed by many different means. It is because of its resilience that Kamahele
says the hula is an overt form of resistance. She notes why hula and other Hawaiian
cultural things are explicitly political:

To assert that things Hawaiian have great significance is to politicize them...The
resurgence of the Hawaiian culture was a political act that signaled to everyone
in Hawai'i that the hula and its cultural wardrobe would no longer strut solely
before gaping tourist (1992, 43).

These examples show the ability of expression to take on a more versatile
role than that of pleasing aesthetics. In this thesis, I will examine the multiple roles
that music during the last Hawaiian Cultural Renaissance (late nineteen sixties to the
late nineteen seventies) filled. Music has a unique ability to not only convey thoughts
and emotions, but to represent the full scope of particular moments in time.
Furthermore, the ability of large groups of people to easily and equally access music
makes it more pervasive than nearly all other expressive forms. Because of these
reasons, I argue that music produced during this time was a means of resistance, a
statement of identity, and a political declaration; it was a major force in connecting
people back to their place.
Methodologies

To build my argument I began with a set of questions that I felt would be necessary to help me better understand the music, the times, and the reception of the music. From here, I did textual research in ethnomusicology books, and sought out specifically books that related music to social movements, music to politics, and music to identity. Then, I researched the bands and the songs that were considered key to this era, or representative of the decade. This was conducted through everyday conversations with friends and family as well as by listening to the radio and watching specials on TV that dealt with Hawaiian music. This resulted in a focus on The Sons of Hawai'i, The Sunday Manoa, Country Comfort, Olomana and Cecilio and Kapono. Na Hoku Hanohano award winner, Melinda Caroll, helped me and set up interview appointments with certain artists from the groups I identified: Peter Moon and Cyril Pahinui from the Sunday Manoa, Gaylord Holomaila from Country Comfort, Jerry Santos from Olomana, and Henry Kapono from Cecilio and Kapono. Melinda also connected me with a number of listeners who were old enough to remember when these particular songs and bands came out. Some of them were either heavily involved in the music industry during that time, like John DeMello and Keaumuki Akui, and others were musicians who were heavily influenced by music like David Kauahikaua, Owana Salazar, and Melinda Carroll herself. Others were just everyday listeners with good memories of what music was like at the time like Aunty Cookie Schrader.

Before the interviews, and throughout the process of the interviews, I researched the newspaper and magazine archives for articles that came out around the time period of the Renaissance, or about the Renaissance in order to gain a better sense of the music's reception during the period.

These interviews were conducted namely at people's workplaces, except for Uncle Cyril, who came over to my house, Jerry Santos, who met me at a park in
Nu'uanu, and Owana, David, and Aunty Cookie who were interviewed at their homes. The interviews were digitally recorded and structured around questions that I developed in the beginning, and most interviews went into storytelling sessions from there. As soon as the interview was done, I transcribed them and began to analyze the literature, including the small but significant descriptions given in cover leaflets in re-issued copies of the albums, in relation to the interviews, in order to construct a clearer sense of not only the histories of the bands but also to construct a clearer sense of the times and the impact of the music.

I therefore decided to structure this thesis around the five particular bands mentioned above. They are arranged in somewhat of a chronological order that paralleled the levels of experimentation in Hawaiian music during that time. Through this analysis a progression will be seen not only in terms of Hawaiian music, but also in terms of the entire social reformations that took place.

Though these analysis will be framed in theoretical workings of ethnomusicologists, the true essence of the music and its' impact cannot fit so neatly in these works. The true essence and power is in the spirit that carries through the sounds and the stories of the song. This is why I have chosen to include a compilations compact disc (CD), entitled “Thesis CD” to provide specific samples of what is discussed in this thesis. The tracks will consist of samples of songs as well as clips of some of the interviews that I conducted. The reader is directed to specific track numbers when appropriate throughout this thesis.

I hope that the result of this thesis is a fuller and deeper understanding of how versatile, important, and meaningful music of this time was.
To understand why the music came to hold such importance during the nineteen seventies, it is critical to be familiar with the major events in Hawai'i's colonial as well musical history that lead to beginnings of the Renaissance

A Brief Political History

Settled more than fifteen hundred years ago, the Hawaiian Islands became home to an estimated 800,000 kanaka maoli, Native Hawaiians. They developed a highly sophisticated form of agriculture and irrigation, a vibrant and flourishing culture, and an intricate land tenure system. The way-of-life centered on a constant and consistent interplay between the land, its people, and their gods. As Lilikala Kame'elehiwa explains in her book Native Land and Foreign Destres: Pehea La E Pono At?, this interplay between land, people, and gods, created a delicate and necessary balance in Hawaiian life, it created pono. Three main guidelines set through the cosmology of kanaka maoli had to be followed in order to keep the gods happy. These guidelines, illustrated by Kame'elehiwa, were to: malama ka 'āina, or take care of the land; the acceptance of ni'aupūlo, or incestual mating for the ali'i in order to maintain the divinity of the blood; and 'aikapu, which was the “separation of the sacred male element from the dangerous female (1992, 25).” 'Aikapu essentially forbade man and woman to eat together and forbade women to eat certain foods associated with male akua for the sake of saving man and male akua from the dangerous powers of women. These guidelines had to be adhered to, especially by the ruling chiefs (the mediators between the gods and the people), in order to maintain pono.

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2 For an in depth discussion on pre-colonial Hawaiian life, see David Malo’s Hawaiian Antiquities. (Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1951.) or Samuel Kamakau’s Moʻolele o ka Poʻe Kahiko: Tales and Traditions of the People of Old. (Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1993.)
The most well documented Western contact with Hawai'i starts in 1778. Hawai'i was key in the sandalwood trade and an important stopover for whalers. Predictably increased foreign contact brought exposure to diseases previously never seen before in Hawai'i due to its insular location and limited contact with the outside world. With no immunity to these diseases, Hawai'i's native population began to decrease dramatically. These foreigners also brought with them their own customs which contrasted significantly with Hawaiian customs, mainly that of 'aikapu, further contributing to changes of the Hawaiian way-of-life. Foreigners broke 'aikapu regularly but continued to live and be fairly healthy, while kanaka maoli, who were abiding by 'aikapu, continued to perish. This situation, as Kame'eleihiwa argues, brought doubt the validity of the traditional guidelines.

In 1819, King Kamehamehanui, the first Mōi or paramount chief, passed away. Kamehamehanui adhered strictly to the traditional guidelines, but upon his death, his wife, Ka'ahumanu, insisted that 'aikapu be broken. Kame'eleihiwa explains this decision as a reaction to the mass depopulation of kanaka maoli that was occurring. The result she says is as such:

The dispersal of power that began with Liholiho's ascent to Mōi was exacerbated by the breaking of the 'Aikapu and the severing of that ancient bond between the Akua, in particular Kū and Lono, and the Mōi. The abandonment of the state religion and its attendant ritual (because it no longer seemed to make the universe pono) in the face of enormous depopulation from foreign diseases, detracted from the religious focus and importance of the office of Mōi, thereby demeaning the role of that office (1992, 134).

This drastic change left a missing link between the Mōi and the Akua, there were no guidelines with which to maintain pono, with which to please the Akua, and with which to validate the Mōi's power.
Calvinist missionaries arrived in 1820 determined and committed to "...raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization..." (Bradley 1942, 124). This resulted in the beginning of cultural disenfranchisement of *kanaka maoli*. Missionaries banned "things Hawaiian" (i.e., dance, chant, and games) in the name of Christian salvation and "civilization." Foreigners residing in the islands could see a drastic change in the way-of-life. One of the first Russian visitors to the islands noted:

> The streets, formerly so full of life and animation, are now deserted; games of all kinds, even the most innocent, are sternly prohibited; singing is a punishable offence; and the consummate profligacy of attempting to dance would certainly find no mercy. On Sundays, no cooking is permitted, nor must even a fire be kindled: nothing, in short, must be done; the whole day is devoted to prayer, with how much real piety may be easily imagined (Bradley 1942, 157).

Eventually, Christian attempts to coerce *kanaka maoli* into a "civilized" way-of-life resulted in the official suppression of the Hawaiian language in 1896 (Trask 1999, 16).

More importantly, Calvinists missionaries also provided the missing link between the *Mōi* and the *Akua*, the link that would bring *pono*. Over time certain missionaries took the place of the *Mōi*’s *Kahuna Nuʻu*. They gained these crucial positions in the Hawaiian political system because they were trusted and were considered to be the link to the new *Akua*, the new means of *pono*.

This newfound power became the means by which Western advice and political change could be disseminated and implemented (with enough persistence). This approach advocated transforming Hawai‘i’s system into a capitalist one for this was the Calvinist view of *pono* (Kame‘elehiwa 1992, 306). A capitalist system required introducing the concept of private ownership of land. It was through this approach,
accompanied by the need to be pono and find a new Akua that the Land Mahele of 1848 was adopted. Lilikala says of the missionaries:

To the outside world they presented themselves as merely political and economic advisors to an infant nation rising from the shackles of barbarism. In reality they were biding their time until they alone would rule Hawai‘i (1992, 306).

The events leading up to the Mahele had succeeded in bringing about significant changes to the religion and, ultimately, to the political system. The Mahele, however, produced the greatest changes. Land once considered communal and the responsibility of everyone, was now privately owned. Though the Mahele was adopted with the intention of keeping land under the ownership of kanaka maoli, the inability to raise money for land surveys and the lack of complete understanding of the implications of a privatized system of land ownership resulted in a failed intention. The kanaka maoli suffered a near total loss of land and a majority of land was transferred to foreign control.

The next major loss for kanaka maoli came with the forced adoption of the Bayonet Constitution of 1887. Kalākaua was elected to throne in 1874 and set out to help his people re-establish themselves in the islands. He brought back cultural practices, such as the hula, which had previously been banned. He also abolished ownership of property as a prerequisite to voting so that his people might be able to vote in greater numbers. By 1887, a small group of powerful foreigners living in Hawai‘i who had control over the growing sugar industry as well as large tracts of land began to dislike the king. Due to their self-serving interest in the sugar industry and their being "[un]happy with the king’s administration and its policies, unhappy with monarchy, unhappy even that Hawaiians simply showed no apparent desire to become Americans (Osorio 2001, 366),” they decided to do something about it. Threatening King Kalākaua with words and the Honolulu Rifles (a small group of armed men), they forced him to
sign a new constitution otherwise known as the Bayonet Constitution. This constitution reduced the monarch's powers to strictly ceremonial, transformed the House of Nobles from a group of king-appointed offices to elected offices, and opened voting rights to foreigners regardless of Hawaiian citizenship (with the exception of the Asian immigrants). The Bayonet Constitution struck another blow at what kanaka maoli could claim as theirs; it stripped them of their power in government leaving it once again in the hands of foreigners.

One of the last notable losses suffered by kanaka maoli occurred in 1893 with the overthrow of their Queen. Upon Queen Liliuokalani's ascension to the throne, she was determined to pass a new constitution that would reinstate the powers of the monarchy and limit voting rights to those who were naturalized citizens of Hawai'i or Hawaiian born. Furthermore, she intended that the new constitution would make it possible for the legislature to remove cabinet members by process of election. Threatened by the new constitution and desperately desiring to be annexed by America so that tariffs on sugar could be avoided, a group of powerful and wealthy foreigners residing in Hawai'i took control of the palace with the help of the United States Marines. They declared the termination of the monarchy and the establishment of a provisional government (made up of themselves) until Hawai'i could be officially annexed to America. President Cleveland's objection to the proposed annexation led to delays. During this time, a group of opponents to the provisional government attempted revolt but ultimately failed. The Queen who feared the loss of her peoples' lives opted to forfeitt her throne. Ultimately the provisional government officially declared Hawai'i a Republic. Annexation passed in 1897 which paved the way for statehood in 1959.

With statehood came "Americanization", development, urbanization, and economic overhaul. Massive structural and economic growth began to take shape at a
rapid pace that ultimately altered Hawai'i's economic base from an agricultural one to one fueled by American militarism and tourism. The result was catastrophic.

To put it impressionistically but accurately, the 1960's were the years when Hawai'i, and especially Honolulu went from rural to urban, from small-town to big-city, from low-rise to high-rise, from modest to gaudy, from slow-paced to hyperkinetic (Cooper and Dawes 1990, 10).

Due to the various wars that America was involved in (World War II, Korean War, Vietnam War, and the Cold War) America saw Hawai'i as a vital and strategic location for the military. As a result major government investments were made in building up military bases such as Pearl Harbor, Schofield, Wheeler, and other locations throughout the state. Military development meant further confiscation of land for such purposes and a massive inflow of money triggering Hawai'i's biggest economic boom to date (Cooper and Dawes 1990).

Along with these changes came the growth of tourism in Hawai'i. Although tourism had been part of the economic scene during the previous fifty years, it never really had a stronghold in the economy until the introduction of commercial jet planes to Hawai'i in the early 1960s. Jet planes allowed for faster travel and, eventually, more affordable vacations for those in the continental United States thus prompting a significant increase in tourism. Tourism served to promote a blatant bastardization of Hawaiian culture by appealing to vacationers' image of Hawai'i. Tourism is a capitalistic endeavor that must be advertised, sold, and bought. Traditional advertising places limits on the amount of time and space to display the product in any form of media. Therefore, Hawai'i, its people, and its culture, had to be generalized, modified, and feminized, in order to fit into the American imaginary of its consumers. These changes caused Hawai'i to reemerge in visitor's minds as Eden on earth, where the

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3 For a further discussion on the social and ideological contexts created by tourism see Jane Desmond's *Staging Tourism: Bodies on display from Waikiki to Sea World.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
Natives are lazy yet willing to serve, the girls are beautiful and willing to accept, and the land is a playground for those that can afford it. This resulted in a statewide attempt to cater to tourists' imaginations by a series of varied performances, shows, and images that could be classified minimally as gentle exoticism and typically as cultural exploitation.

An increase in tourism also coincided with and affected an increase in land development by foreign investors for purposes of building income-producing properties such as hotels, timeshares, and vacation rentals. This new development resulted in "land-lords [driving] up the price of land, capitalizing on the post-statehood rush toward commercial, especially hotel, development (Trask 1999, 66)," further alienating kanaka maoli. This resulted in a series of land evictions (which are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters) of those living in the countryside, mainly kanaka maoli, for purposes of urbanization. Haunani-Kay Trask sees the final social, political and economic outcome of the colonial history of Hawai'i as follows:

Despite the presence of a small middle class, Hawaiians as a people register the same profile as other indigenous groups controlled by the United States: high unemployment, catastrophic health problems, low educational attainment, large numbers institutionalized in the military and prisons, occupational ghettoization in poorly paid jobs, and increasing outmigration that amounts to diaspora (1999, 17).

**Hawai'i’s Musical History**

Understanding changes in music throughout Hawai'i's history helps to see the pattern of the deep connection between the music and social and political environment. There is also a significant link between Hawai'i's older musical traditions and the music of the Cultural Renaissance of the 1970s.
According to George Kanahele's encyclopedia of Hawaiian music, there have been seven distinct moments in Hawaiian music up until the 1970s. The foundation of all seven periods, however, was the music of the pre-contact period, which consisted of mele and oli, chants of poetry and chants respectively. Mele and oli were central to the culture and activities of the Native Hawaiians, because these types of orations recorded genealogies, reinforced hierarchies, spoke of kapu (forbidden things), taught moral lessons, explained creationism, entertained with stories of gods and love, and gave descriptions of past journeys.

The underlying theme in the ancient oli and mele was aloha or love, namely aloha ‘aina (land). Though references to the ‘aina were not based solely on beauty, its provisions, and its relationship to the people, the references were a mode of metaphorical telling of ancient myths, love relationships, political stances, and many other aspects of their culture. These hidden meanings in oli and mele are what in Hawaiian referred to as kaona.

Pre-contact music in Hawai‘i had a primary focus on the lyrics. Therefore, aspects that are commonly thought to be essential to music such as rhyme and rhythm, were not dominating factors in pre-contact music. Rather, the lyrics controlled the music and even determined the rhythm. This meant that the music was "characterized by special rhythmic ornamentation patterns (Kanahele 1979, p. xix), or by "improvisatory, non-metric rhythmic patterns (Kanahele 1979, p. xix)."

The arrival of missionaries and increased visits by sailors and tradesmen marked the first period of Hawaiian Music (1820-1872) (Kanahele 1979, p.xxv). The two types of music that characterized this period therefore, are hymns and "secular music" (Kanahele 1979, p.xxv). The ban placed by the missionaries on traditional dance and song logically led to the creation of hymns translated into Hawaiian that consisted notably of melodic harmonization. The importance of Hawai‘i as a stopover for trade
between major continents, led to the introduction of popular songs from many different countries as played by visiting sailors and tradesmen. It also led to the introduction of a variety of instruments such as guitar, flute, bass, etc. These elements combined and helped foster the next period of Hawaiian music.

The Royal Hawaiian band created by Henry Berger marks the second period in Hawaiian music (1872-1900) (Kanahele 1979, p.xxv). The Royal Hawaiian band played songs composed by Hawaiian royalty, namely from the Na Lani 'Ehā, that combined missionary harmonization with popular Western waltz beats. Famous songs of this time, composed by the Queen, include “Aloha Oe” and “Pali Anuanu.”

The third period is characterized by the heavy influence of American pop music, namely “Ragtime” (1895-1915) (Kanahele 1979, p.xxv). The music of this time was predominantly string, with fast dance beats, and quintet harmonies. According to Kanahele, this period also claims the first hapa-haole song called “My Waikiki Mermaid,” composed by Sonny Cunha and the introduction of the ‘ukulele.

The fourth period marks more of a change in American popular music, which served to change Hawaiian music (1915-1930) (Kanahele 1979, p.xxv). This period is the time of Tin Pan Alley, where hapa-haole music was made popular in the United States.

The business aspects of music and tourism shaped the fifth period (1930-1960) (Kanahele 1979, p.xxv). Hapa-haole music, the product of the tourism industry, became the characteristic music of Hawaiʻi. Music began to be made for and by the ideals that the tourism industry set up in order to promote travel to Hawaiʻi.

In plain talk, hapa-haole songs emerged when composers — smitten with the tropical paradise that was Hawaiʻi — wrote about it in English because they didn't excel in the Hawaiian language... hapa-haole tunes were often genuine
about the love for the Islands but occasionally downright silly and cutesy (Harada 8/1/2003).

_Hapa-haole_ music was promoted and popularized in venues such as traveling exhibitions, tourism industry, and movies such as Elvis’s *Blue Hawaii*. Native Hawaiian perspective are conspicuously lacking during this musical time period. The majority of the music during this time was created and consumed by the Hollywood film industry and American visitors to the Islands. This is not to say that there was a complete lack of _kanaka maoli_ in the music industry for “[m]usical performance was one of the few vocational options for Hawaiians, a role that the tourist and recording industries expanded for Hawaiians in the twentieth century (Buck 1993, 118).” During this period _kanaka maoli_ were not necessarily restricted to performing, some actually composed songs and most of the local audience actually enjoyed the songs. But being that the compositions were made with a particularly heavy American influence, which invaded the iconic imagery portrayed in the songs, the music at this time was a far departure from the description of actual everyday lives of _kanaka maoli_.

The sixth period in Hawaiian music (1960-1970) (Kanahele 1979, p. xxvi) is marked by a heavy decline of interest in Hawaiian music and an increased interest in rock ‘n’ roll. This is noted by the 5 percent radio time allocated to Hawaiian music (ibid.). This period of absence of Hawaiian music is the prelude to the Cultural Renaissance.

**The Cultural Renaissance**

A rebellion in response to a colonial history of oppression, socioeconomic marginalization, and disenfranchisement from the native culture (as evidenced in the history of the music) came to fruition in the 1970s prompted by the beginning of a
series of land evictions (to be discussed in later chapters). People began to ask "What have we lost?" and "What more are we willing to lose?" The result was a movement that re-awakened the spirit of *kanaka maoli*. This movement is now known as the Cultural Renaissance.

Four key aspects marked the Cultural Renaissance: the resurgence of hula, the return to the art of voyaging marked by the *Hokule'a*, the fight for land exemplified by the fight for *Kahoʻolawe* (land that had been under military control) and land eviction protests, and a major shift in the paradigm of Hawaiian music.
The Death of Hawaiian Music?

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the popularity of *hapa-haole* songs, songs popularized by the tourist industry and Hollywood films such as *Blue Hawai'i* slowly pushed traditional music out of the way. The English language characteristically dominated songs during this period and romanticized a Hawaiian backdrop. As Tony Todaro pointed out, "mainland" (continental United States) publishers of Hawaiian music (basically the only publishers during that time) actually began to request that Hawaiian songs be written without reference to Hawai'i in order to fulfill the perceived tastes of the tourist musical consumer market as the local market which embraced the images that Hollywood created (5/19/1973).

Those involved in the social/musical scene in Hawai'i during the late 1960s and early 1970s began to question, with some trepidation, whether Hawaiian music was becoming an extinct art form. The parallel development of music, including mainstream music, which they believed, was taking over, and locals' interest in those diverse styles of music became bothersome to the critics. Headlines such as "Is Hawaiian music *pau*?" and "Must we bid sad aloha to Hawaiian music?" began appearing in Hawai'i's newspapers. These articles debated the seemingly inevitable demise of Hawaiian music. One author described the dismal island music scene as such:

They [tourists] hear rock 'n' roll and other raucous novelties at nightclubs, at fairs, in stores, in cafes, and even at the Aloha Week Festival. They see Hawaiian kids rocking and rolling. They hear strangely non-Hawaiian cacophony
emanating from lei sellers' booths... These islands have a unique musical
tradition and all the ingredients for musical inspiration. But can they survive the
Mainland onslaught? (Lovinger 10/19/1967).

The fear of the potential impact of "Mainland music" was clearly spelled out in
George Kanahele's article published in 1971. Kanahele describes his apprehensiveness
about the influence or rather damage that the "mainland" rock and roll had on the
future of Hawaiian music. He noted:

Of all the signs, it is Aquarius that may spell the finish for Hawaiian music, for in
this Age of Rock with its turned on frenzy and violent, menacing symbolism,
there is no room for the moonlight-and-palm-tree sentimentality of Hawaiian
music. Ask any kid in Hawaii and he will say Hawaiian music is a drag—it's out;
it's dead. Which means that rock 'n' roll has virtually captured the musical
allegiance of nearly a whole generation of Hawaiians who most likely couldn't
care less about the fate of Hawaiian music (1/15/71).

The invasion of rock music in the islands was not solely to blame for the
perceived imminent demise of Hawaiian music. These authors attributed the
impending death of Hawaiian music to the accompanying disintegration of the Hawaiian
culture and language altogether. Kanahele wrote:

Music, after all, is an expression of a culture and if Hawaiian music is dying it is
because Hawaiian culture is wasting away. Language is an integral part of a
culture as well as its music, and the loss of the Hawaiian language is a basic
cause for the decline of Hawaiian music (ibid.).
Another article printed later that year said:

Many young Hawaiians no longer hear Hawaiian music regularly at home, as was the case with their parents and grandparents. Fewer and fewer understand the Hawaiian language well enough to really appreciate the music as it was sung by their grandfathers ("The Fight To Save Hawaiian Music, 11/24/71).

These fears, however, were on the verge of being quelled. In the back roads of Waimanalo, the answer to the death of Hawaiian music began to take shape in the form of a band soon to be called The Sons of Hawai'i (also referred to as The Sons).

“We are the Sons of Hawai’i…”

A young “ukulele virtuoso” named Eddie Kamae officially formed The Sons of Hawai’i in early 1960s. Kamae began playing at the age of fifteen, when his brother brought home a ukulele from the lost-and-found. Although his father encouraged him to play Hawaiian music, Eddie was more interested in the musical complexity of swing, latin, and classical music, and found Hawaiian music at the time to be too simplistic.

Eddie began to make a name for himself when he started to perform with another ukulele talent, Shoi Ikemi, at the Lau Yee Chai restaurant in Waikiki. Eddie and Shoi brought the 'ukulele to the forefront of their performances, highlighting the 'ukulele as a solo instrument as well as a rhythmic one. Together they called themselves The Ukulele Rascals. They proved to be crowd favorites because of the amazing ability that each one had on the 'ukulele, but Eddie was beginning to be known as the 'ukulele genius around town for his unique abilities. “Eddie had developed an original, innovative picking style that enhanced single-string or double string melody with simultaneous chording (Houston 2004, 13)."
In 1949, The Ukulele Rascals auditioned for a touring variety show starring famed local entertainer Ray Kinney and landed the job. However, Eddie grew tired of life and business on the road and came home to eventually work in a variety show in Waikiki as a soloist. After work, Eddie would visit the Queen's Surf in Waikiki, where another band, The Eddie Spencer Band, performed. It was through this experience that Eddie would befriend the legendary Gabby Pahinui.

Gabby Pahinui was born Charles Kapono Kahahawai, in 1921 in the Honolulu area. Later he was hānait-d or adopted by the Pahinui family and renamed Phillip Pahinui. He came to be known as Gabby, named after the gabardine pants he always wore. Though Hawaiian music was a large part of his childhood, Gabby became increasingly interested in jazz music. In an interview he said:

I'd bring home some Benny Goodman, Lionel Hampton and Django Reinhardt records and listen to them and play along on a borrowed guitar... I didn't like Hawaiian music. I liked jazz. I liked the kind of chords they were playing and the harmonies they had. To me, Hawaiian music all sounded the same (Thornton 4/7/1977, 21).

Gabby began playing stand-up bass for money in bars at the age of thirteen. During this period of performing locally, Gabby learned how to play the steel guitar and slack key. The groups that he filled in for played popular Hawaiian music, namely hapa-haole songs, because that was what would bring in the tourist audiences. Gabby noted:

When I first started playing music, things were much simpler... If you heard one group, you heard them all. They all did the same songs. You could go into every bar in town and hear Hawaiian music (Thornton 4/7/1977, 22).
Gabby eventually became a part of the Andy Cummings Band, spending eighteen years with the band before moving on to the Eddie Spencer Band. He was also one of the first artists to record a slack key album in the late 1950s. It was during these times that Gabby began to be recognized as one of the greatest living slack key artist (Thesis CD Track 01, Track 02). Ray Kane, another slack key legend, said that he held Gabby in such high regard because of the "great power which he projects in his music (Kanahele 1979, 286)."

This "great power" drew Eddie Kamae to Gabby as well. Although Eddie frequented Gabby's weekend jam sessions, it was not until a chance visit that Eddie made to Gabby on his way to teach 'ukulele lessons that, a special bond formed.

Gabby accomplished on every stringed instrument was impressed by Eddie's versatility and technical expertise. And Eddie began to hear something he had previously not been able to hear, to feel something that until this meeting he had not been able to feel...It was in Gabby's strum, his sense of rhythm, with its echo of old hula drumming. It was also in his voice (Houston 2004, 27).

This chance jam session turned into a month of collaboration on different, namely traditional, Hawaiian songs, working out chords, rhythms, and other aspects of composition. At the end of the month, bassist Joe Marshall, a friend of Gabby's, stopped by for a visit. Marshall was already a veteran bass player, encouraged by his father who played in the Royal Hawaiian Band. He had played around Waikiki and was currently a member of the Eddie Spencer Band with Gabby. Marshall joined the jam session in progress and complemented the duo well. The trio continued to practice for days.

During their jam session, they felt that what was missing from their sound was the steel guitar and Joe Marshall suggested steel guitar musician, David "Feet" Rogers. David was from a big Hawaiian family in Kalihhi where many of his relatives were already
wel-known steel-guitar players. His father, George Rogers, played the circuit in Waikiki and his Uncle Benny Rogers played steel guitar for Aunty Genoa Keawe, Hawai'i's famed falsetto singer. Feet, however, was thought to be the best because of the purity of his guitar tone and his amazing ability to compliment other players with his technique. Feet added the final element of what would soon become a legendary band.

The successful sound of these four players was not solely due to each one's amazing musical ability; it was due, in part, to each member's desire to achieve a new sound with Hawaiian music. The new sound consisted of old traditional songs but supplemented with more complexity, not just the usual three-chord structure typical of Hawaiian music. There would be chord progressions and intricate string work and most of all a driving rhythm. Joe Marshall explains this desire for a new approach in terms of Feet joining the band. He said:

Feet was playing a lot, but he wasn't happy with those other groups. He was already searching for the same thing we were searching for, everybody looking for that one thing we can own that is our identity. (Houston 2004, 34)

The band got their first gig before they had even decided on a name. In the spring of 1960 they were hired to play at a bar on Sand Island in Honolulu that catered to a local clientele. The bar, owned by Pat Dorian, was called The Sandbox. When the band started playing, the masses came to listen. Eddie Kamae describes the scene:

At the Biltmore or the Queen's Surf, you just never saw this many kinds of people in one place at the same time. They stood for hours in lines that went out the door. I had no idea there was such enthusiasm for pure Hawaiian music, which was all we were playing. Thirty or forty haole kids from Punahou School would come in at one time...Oldtimers, too, started coming in. I mean, tutu ladies from the Queen Emma Society, in their best mu'umu'u. I guess it was
because we were the only group around in those days playing that kind of music (Houston 2004, 37).

Although the band was fired from the Sandbox a couple months later due to a conflict that arose with the new management of the club, the Sandbox appearances led them to be discovered and recruited by a local record distributor, Don McDiarmid Jr., who had just started his own record label, Hula Records (originally called Let's Hula).

He [McDiarmid Jr.] understood what the band had done, taking these songs he'd heard for years at lu'au and family parties and giving them fresh life. To his ears the authenticity of feeling, coupled with the exceptional musicianship, wasn't being heard in the clubs and lounges scattered along the beachfront, and had seldom been recorded (Houston 2004, 51).

Due to the lack of recording technology in Hawai'i, McDiarmid recorded the band in the studio of a local radio station, a studio so small that the stand-up bass had to be played lying on Marshall's lap. They recorded twelve songs, all from their Sandbox performances, and all in Hawaiian. The album, named *Gabby Pahinui with The Sons of Hawai'i* was released in 1961. It was a ground-breaking record due to the fact that it was all in Hawaiian and comprised of traditional songs done in un-traditional ways, and the Hawaiian lyrics to all the songs were on the back of the album. All of these aspects had never been featured before and as a result marked the standard foundation of what would soon be known as the Cultural Renaissance (Figure 2.1). The gig at the Sandbox brought not only an opportunity to record an album, but the performances led Eddie to meet Mary Kawena Pukui and Pilahi Pāki, two women that would guide Eddie in his search to rediscover songs of old Hawai'i, songs that were on the verge of being lost. They directed him to seek out kūpuna, or the elders, on different islands, to find their songs and what they meant. Kawena Pukui and Pilahi Pāki also played another crucial role in teaching Eddie how to correctly pronounce and speak the Hawaiian language.
Two years after the release of their first record, *The Sons* recorded and released their second album entitled *Music of Old Hawaii* (Figure 2.2). Again, this album consisted solely of Hawaiian songs. The sound was significantly more mature characterized by a cleaner and tighter performance than that of the previous recording. This album included a printed version of the Hawaiian lyrics to all of the songs, but this time they were accompanied by English translations. In addition to the translations, there were short summaries of the stories from which the songs developed. Finally, within the album there was a tribute to Eddie's cultural guide, Pilahi Pāki, acknowledging her help and guidance with the Hawaiian language. The second album was yet another landmark in the Hawaiian music scene not only because it was again done all in Hawaiian, but also because its visuals were distinctly Hawaiian.
It would be six years before the band released their third album. In the meantime, Eddie began to realize the lack of celebration and exhibition of Hawaiian music and entertainment. Along with Carl Lindquist, Eddie produced the first ever Ho'olaule'a (now known as Aloha Week in Hana) in remote Hana, Maui, a destination generally not frequented by tourists. Over fifty performers gathered in Hana to share their talents and to share what they were discovering in terms of their arts. It was an exposition of Hawaiian cultural expression that had long been kidnapped by the "Americanization" brought on by statehood and the tourist industry. Carl Lindquist, in the video The Sons of Hawaii, describes what he feels was the essence of the festival:
It was the first time we realized it could be traditional Hawaiian music but done in a brand new way and yet still honoring the language and traditions we all know and love (2000).

During this time, Eddie also started to delve deeper into his search for Hawaiian elders and their stories and songs. With Kawena guiding him, Eddie traveled to the countryside seeking out various elders and recording their songs. It was a search that continues for Eddie today. He also began to compose songs, all in Hawaiian, with the encouragement and guidance of Kawena as well as the help from friend Larry Kimura. One of the first songs was "Ke Ala A Ka Jeep" which would later become a Sons of Hawai‘i classic.

Finally, The Sons of Hawai‘i were approached by up-and-coming producers, Witt Shingle, Steve Siegried and Lawrence Brown of Pānini Records, who wanted to record The Sons’ third album. The Sons were also approached by a man name Bob Goodman, a book publisher most known for his pictorial book The Hawaiians, who also wanted to produce The Sons’ third album. It soon became a collaborative effort by the Pānini trio and Goodman to produce the best Hawaiian album ever. The album would not only be produced in Hawaiian with state of the art technology from California, but it would include an album booklet with portraits by famed Hawaiian artist Herb Kāne, biographical essays of each band member (of which there were now five, including Moe Keale), as well as the printed lyrics of the songs. In addition, a bound book called “Old Hawaiian Folk Music,” which consisted of old photos and an essay by Honolulu Advertiser newspaper columnist Sammy ‘Āmalu, would accompany the album. This revolutionary album entitled “The Folk Music of Hawaii” (commonly known as “the red album” or “the five faces album”) was released in 1971 (Figure 2.3) (Thesis CD Track 03, Track 04).
Wayne Harada, local music critic at the time, wrote in the Honolulu Advertiser:

a two-book, one-record volume that is perhaps the most ambitious, most
significant package produced and released locally in the last decade....It is the
first collection of printed material and companion recording to rival the sets
offered by Time-Life and Reader's Digest...it is the first effort in building local folk
heroes...It is in short, a milestone (10/3/71).
Shortly after this album was released, the band suffered a blow when Gabby announced he was leaving the band in order to pursue a solo deal offered by Panini record executives. This album would be the last recording of the original band members of Sons of Hawai'i. Several years later Eddie would regroup the band with Dennis Kamakahi continuing the legacy of the band with respect to their musical stylings and composition. They went on to create some of the most popular contemporary Hawaiian music, considered to be classics and still enjoyed today.

"...And We Are Hawaiian."

The history of The Sons of Hawai'i is more than a success story of a band; it is a step-by-step account of the beginnings of the Cultural Renaissance. The contributions made by the band go beyond innovative music stylings and provide the fuel for a revival of a culture and language, the burgeoning of a rediscovered Hawaiian identity, and a platform upon which the Hawaiian community could be rebuilt. The significance of these contributions can only be seen in the context of the disparity that was characteristic of the Hawaiian community in general during this period.

Statehood and tourism, as noted earlier, were major contributors to the oppression of Hawaiian identity. "Americanization" was taking hold of the islands and people were intent on being as American as possible; it could be seen on the newly developed streets and heard through the orchestrated music on the radio. Keaumiki Akul, KCCN DJ during the sixties and seventies notes:

...hapa-haole music clearly identified what Hawai'i was to everybody else in the world and so you know we assimilated into the culture of America and at that time Hawaiians were struggling for identity (Akul, interview).
There was an image that was being projected upon *kanaka maoli* and there was no image to counteract those perceptions, in essence it was as Keaumiki said, a struggle for identity. The struggle for identity was a product of the disbanding Hawaiian community for purposes of statehood, tourism, development and assimilation. Political scientist Ray Pratt explains the dissolution of a community in terms of a lost sense of place:

An important dimension of the alienation arising out of the disintegration of community relates to separation from physical place and, more broadly, nature itself...psychologically this erosion [of locality] may entail great costs; disruption of sense of place is of profound importance in human efforts at self-identification (1990, 27).

This statement takes on literal meaning when placed in the context of the Hawaiian community and Hawaiian colonial history. The actual land alienation suffered by the Hawaiian community can be seen as “separation from physical place”, and in turn, separation from the core of Hawaiian identity and cosmogony that binds *kanaka maoli* to the land of Hawai‘i. People growing up Hawaiian during this time could feel the effects of the suppression of “Hawaiian-ness”. Aunty Cookie Schrader comments:

...you didn’t want to be Hawaiian...I remember as a kid growing up in Kalili seeing how I felt that some people looked at me or looked down at me...I mean we couldn’t even speak Hawaiian because you would have to speak English...that’s the kind of thing that would happen back in those days (Schrader, interview).

The disconnect between the people and their sense of place, the disbandment of the Hawaiian community, and the suppression of Hawaiian identity would be remedied through a communal connection with a unique expression of a recognizable sense of
place, a sense of Hawai'i that was more familiar than an American or tourist perception. Music, because of its unique ability, was the method by which some could make a reconnection, and by which others could continue to mediate their identity through. Political scientist Mark Mattern explains this ability of music:

The process is reflexive: the music expresses common experiences and, by playing and listening to it, people re-experience its sentiments and forms, which reflects back on the identity of the participants. This, in turn, may contribute to the development of community as individuals acquire and maintain an awareness of common experiences, memories, beliefs, and commitments (1998, 19).

Pratt takes this idea further; giving music a more permanent and pervasive place in an individual's identity and past by saying that music "creates a commonality of cultural experience that remains part of each individual's cultural heredity (1990, 25)." These ideas of music speak to the function of the music of The Sons of Hawai'i.

The Songs

The fundamental nature of the music of The Sons of Hawai'i was that their songs were recognizable elements lifted from the everyday lives of local people. As McDiarmid, their first producer, understood, the songs were familiar and often performed at local gatherings of "li'i'au and family parties" but The Sons had given them a "fresh life." Even the band members themselves recognized this music as part of their past or "cultural heredity". Kamae was astounded when he first heard Gabby play Hawaiian songs.
This reintroduction to Hawaiian music, which Kamae first heard from his grandmother...was a cultural shock for Kamae. It really affected me when I heard the way he [Gabby] did the old songs, and made me realize that Hawaiian music was what I should have been playing all along' (Thornton 9/8/1977, 21).

The public also recognized the sound and songs, which contributed to the band's success from their first performance at the Sandbox to their continued record sales successes. As Eddie remembered, a large group of Punahou students would come to the Sandbox to listen and they would "sit up front and sing the Hawaiian words right along with us. If we skipped a verse or mispronounced a word they'd yell out and let us know (Houston 2004, 37." The songs were a part of the students' memory; the lyrics were something that they recognized. The songs took the band and the people to a common place in their memories, experiences, identities, and lives and reconnected them with those places that were specifically Hawaiian. The songs were a platform upon which listeners could recognize their experiences, and see during the popular live performances that others in the audience had similar experiences - thus recreating a community of sorts.

The Sound

Another element of The Sons' music that contributed to the rebuilding of a Hawaiian identity was the sound of the music. Although the rhythms of the traditional songs were more upbeat, and had more musical complexity than the typical Hawaiian composition of three chords, the sound was still something familiar. Pratt explains that certain sounds are symbols of an identity and the use of these sounds can serve to "preserve or nurture or evoke or create some sense of the past or to construct or inflect some memory of it (1990, 31)." The instrumentation, namely the steel guitar played by Feet and the slack key guitar played by Gabby, functioned as a form of "audio
branding" - a sound that imbued an essence of Hawai'i right into the song. Steve Siegfried, producer at Pānini records said of their music:

Things in Hawai'i that are gone now, the music represents, and they can hear that in the music, that can't see it anymore a lot in Hawai'i, but they can hear it (The Sons of Hawai'i DVD).

The steel guitar, of which Hawai'i is the birthplace, had been very popular in the beginning of the twentieth century in Hawai'i. The sound was so unique that the popularity of the steel guitar quickly spread throughout the world. Although different styles of playing developed, the steel guitar remained “synonymous with Hawaiian music (Kanahele 1979, 376).” After the 1930’s, however, the popularity of the instrument in Hawai'i began to decline. Some critics at the time paralleled the decline of the steel with the decline of Hawaiian music itself. A producer of steel guitar music from Canada was convinced “that there is a direct correlation and believe[d] that only a revival of the steel guitar could lead to greater interest in Hawaiian music (Kanahele 1979, 377).” However true this might be, the inclusion of the steel guitar in The Sons’ music during a time when steel guitar was scarce, was definitely making a statement through sound about the community’s cultural heritage and of the band itself. The sound and the band were distinctly Hawaiian. Kamae believed that “Hawaiian music without the steel is not really Hawaiian music (Kanahele 1979, 363).” Although its popularity in the recording industry was evident throughout the twentieth century, the sound of slack key was characteristic of “backyard” jam sessions in Hawai'i and thus it could immediately evoke a unique Hawaiian experience. The tunings of slack key as well as the method of playing slack key were developed by musicians prior to the Cultural Renaissance and kept in the musicians’ families as a secret. Furthermore, the rhythms played by slack key had roots deeper in Hawaiian history. The rhythms mimicked the rhythms played by the hula-accompanying percussion instruments, the
The Sons' attempt to not only incorporate slack key, but also to feature it throughout their performances emphasized that "backyard" family feeling even more. It brought forward a sound that was recognizable to local people. His extraordinary ability to play slack key emitted through his music "a deep understanding of aloha which is uniquely Hawaiian (Kanahele 1979, 359.)."

In addition Gabby's talent and personality that spoke through the sound of the slack key gave people one more way to relate to the music. Gabby was also a working-class man like the majority of the local population during this time - he had a full-time job in road construction for the City and County of Honolulu and his local following recognized him as a member of their working-class community. Mattern explains the relationship between the musician, the music, and the audience as follows:

Presumably, the musician has had many of the experiences common to others and has absorbed some of that common meaning..." thus "listeners recognize their own experiences, and the meaning that they derive from those experiences, in the music (1998, 18).

The Language

As noted earlier, there was a correlation drawn between the death of Hawaiian music and the language itself. One of the major contributions the music of The Sons of Hawai'i made was the reintroduction of Hawaiian language. All of their albums featured songs sung primarily in Hawaiian and accompanied by printed Hawaiian lyrics and this became their signature.

The use of Hawaiian language was and is an identity marker. On a basic level, it distinguishes those familiar with the language from those that are not, thus creating identity markers, but more importantly it marks the identity of a certain time and era when the language was alive, and people thought and composed songs in their own
language. The Sons' music came out during a period when Hawaiian culture was silent; it was a significant cultural statement and reminder of what had come before. In essence, by bringing the language back into a popular medium during this time, it brought the dignity of the culture back. The popularity of The Sons' music allowed people to claim the language as their own again and through the use of language, recognize a cultural bond and develop a familiarity with things from the past.

Due to the commercial success of The Sons, a broader audience was exposed to the language and this prompted a renewed interest in the language itself. There was a curiosity about the words of these popular songs that people enjoyed. Kamae himself sought out knowledge of the language through his mentors Mary Kawena Pukui and Pilahi Päki. He could see the importance of knowing the literal and hidden meanings of the words for the purposes of improving performance and interpretation. Subsequently, the lyrics and their meaning were printed on all released records. I believe that the popularity of the songs by The Sons of Hawai'i contributed to the revival and interest in the Hawaiian language. People, like Eddie Kamae, wanted to know how to pronounce the words and what the song meant in order to sing it or understand it better. John DeMello, famed local music producer who began his career during this time, notes the correlation between the music and the language saying:

...suddenly now there is enormous value to Hawaiian language, and that Renaissance period of the late 60s and 70s, that Renaissance period was responsible for, I think, making that all happen (2-8-05).

Composition

The reintroduction to Hawaiian music, a Hawaiian sound, and the Hawaiian language eventually lead to the inspiration to compose new songs in Hawaiian. Eddie began from the beginning to compose songs to document his travels with the help of his
mentors. The result was classic songs such as "Ke Ala A Ka Jeep," "Kela Mea Whiffa," and his most famous composition "Ku'u Morning Dew," (composed with the help of University of Hawai'i Professor Larry Kimura and Eddie's wife Myrna). Dennis Kamakahì, the young guitarist who took Gabby's place in the band, also composed Hawaiian songs. His was motivated "by a desire for cultural identity. He found himself looking from the outside at his own culture (Haugen March 1979, 4)." His compositions, now considered Hawaiian classics, reflect this desire. They were composed to celebrate the old traditional relationship between the kanaka māoli and the land but transposed into a modern Hawaiian song with recognizable settings. "In an era when most musicians his age [21] were captivated by rock and roll, Dennis was looking for ways to bring Hawaiian songwriting into his own time (Houston 2004, 142)."

Dennis and Eddie's ability to successfully compose "modern" Hawaiian songs allowed people to reconnect on a broader basis than simply via a nostalgic impression of what had come before. The qualities of the songs were in parallel with those of the traditional songs, but were transcribed into the more familiar context of the present time. Subconsciously this served to remind the community that despite the social and structural changes that were occurring, there were parts of their sense-of-place and identity that remained constant and in parallel to what was described in older traditional songs. Take, for instance, the lyricism in Kamakahì's song "Wahine 'Ilikea" that he wrote during a trip to Moloka'i where he saw the three waterfalls, Hīna, Hāhā, and Mo'oloa - waterfalls that could not often be seen (Figure 2.4) (Thesis CD Track 05).
Hui:

Pua kalaunu ma ke kai
'O Honouluwai
Wahine 'ilikea i ka poli 'o Moloka'i
Nō ka heke

Nani wale nō nā wailele 'uka
'O Hīna 'o Hāhā 'o Mo'oloa
Nā wai 'ekolu i ka uluwehiwehi
'O Kamalō i ka māle

Chorus:
Crown flower by the shore
Of Honolulu
Fair skinned woman in the bosom
of Moloka'i
Is the best

Beautiful waterfalls of the upland
Hīna, Hāhā and Mo'oloa
The three waters in the verdant
overgrowth
Of Kamalō, in the calm

Beautiful is the land, Halawa
Hospitable home to the visitors
Land verdant, in the evening mist
Brought by the wind of Ho'olua

Figure 2.4: Wahine 'Ilikea - Lyrics and translation (L. Akana Collection)

The beauty of the land that Kamakahō observed obviously inspired this song “He likens the mist of Mount Kamakou to an enchanting beauty who lingers forever in the mind of the beholder. The song is a spirited call to the woman, to the seductive mist, to the island itself (Houston 2004, 150).” In this song he uses the ancient method of kaona, or hidden meaning, when he speaks of the beauty of a loved one through the imagery of the land. The imagery he invokes throughout the song is reminiscent of the more traditional songs.

This Sons of Hawai‘i song exemplifies a contemporary composition that utilizes traditional ideologies of Hawaiian composition. These new compositions created something specifically Hawaiian in the present and laid a foundation for the future evolution of a modern Hawaiian identity. Dennis remembers the words Kawena Pukui spoke to him about the value of composing in the present time, she said:
Write about your time, she said, write about what's happening now in your time, because once that's written it becomes the past for someone else, but they can tell what you felt when you wrote it (Houston 2004, 151).

The Image

Visual imagery as evidenced by the various album covers of The Sons of Hawai'i releases provides a subtle clue as to the progress the band was making towards the rediscovery of their traditional cultural roots transposed into contemporary life. "Hawaiian" music album covers of this time typically emphasized the image of the "Happy Hawaiian" - a Polynesian equivalent of a black-faced minstrel. This image - the artist smiling broadly adorned with a lei posing in front of a recognizable Hawai'i landmark was designed to cater to the tourist's expectation.

The Sons' first album Gabby Pahinui with The Sons of Hawai'i, may appear at first glance to follow the above-described imagery, a closer look reveals slight differences. Gabby is not smiling and is standing on the Iolani Palace grounds in front of the Coronation Pavilion, a symbol of Hawaiian independence. The Sons' second album cover, is thematically different than the first but continues to build on the concept of cultural identity. Here they show nothing but an erupting volcano and a black silhouette of the land and palm tree. There were no lei, no beach setting, and no smiling artists. It was a distinct image; an image of land, of the birth of land, of the origins of The Sons of Hawaii. Gillian Rose points out in her book Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials that "visual imagery is never innocent; it is always constructed through various practices, technologies, and knowledges (Rose 2001, 32)." The image displayed on The Sons' second album was created with the knowledge of a particular Hawaiian value relating to the land. Houston explains the symbolism of the images as:
...moving lava provides a constant reminder of the deepest sources of creative power...The islands, meanwhile, have nurtured the voices of singers like Gabby and Eddie, voices that carry haunting echoes of a centuries-old chant tradition. In this way certain singers of the 1960's, in the very sound they delivered, began to speak what would become the guiding call for the renaissance: aloha 'āina, "affection for the land," love for the earth's ancestral power (68).

Carl Lindquist, Eddie's partner in the Ho'olaule'a Hana production, believed that The Sons' "five faces" album, was the most significant Hawaiian record at the time of its release "because the group embodies so much of what is truly Hawaiian (Harada 10/3/71)." The embodiment of what was Hawaiian emanated through their music, their sound, and their songs, and the language as previously discussed. What might be overlooked, however, is the deliberate effort made to ensure that the image of The Sons did the same.

The album covers of The Sons truly reflected a developing Hawaiian identity. As noted earlier, the cover of the second album made a clear statement about the importance of the life of the land.

The third album sought to convey the spirit of contemporary Hawai'i, and was "designed to express the rising pride of our heritage (The Sons of Hawai'i DVD)." Herb Kāne, the artist of the "five faces" portrait, attempted to capture the essence of the band by making sketches of each member during rehearsal; capturing their looks of concentration, relaxation, as well as their laughter which were also included in the accompanying book. Thus the spirit of the band, which "embodied" what was "truly Hawaiian", was captured and shared with the audience not only through the music but through the illustrations.

When the band regrouped, after the release of the "five faces" album, with new member Dennis Kamakahī, they began to appear wearing palaka shirts, denim overalls and rubber slippers - all symbolic socio-economic and cultural markers that were
specific and familiar to locals. *Palaka* is a checkered thick fabric that usually comes in the colors of red, black, or blue. The *palaka* shirt, made of durable fabric, is tied to the roots of labor in Hawai‘i, from the *paniolo*, the Hawaiian cowboys to the plantation workers. Thus, wearing the shirts, along with overalls and rubber slippers, provided a link to the working class community familiar with laboring on the land (Figure 2.4).

there had emerged a widespread yearning to reconnect and get regrounded. In Hawai‘i it gave new urgency to the phrase aloha ‘āina (love the land). When *The Sons* took the stage in palaka shirts and denim overalls, they caught the spirit of those times. The outfit itself said ‘songs of the people,’ and ‘music of the earth.’ And the shirts somehow fit the proud announcement that now open and closed every show: ‘We are the Sons of Hawaii! And we are Hawaiian!’ (Houston 2004, 137).

![Figure 2.5: Photo of Sons of Hawaii (Houston 2004, 140)](image)
The Foundation

The contributions of *The Sons of Hawai‘i* go beyond the music. In the context of the Cultural Renaissance, the role that *The Sons of Hawai‘i* played was that of laying a foundation upon which the rest of the Renaissance could be built. Their music, sound, songs, soul and image helped to create a concrete public reflection of what “Hawaiian” was in a time when “Hawaiian” barely existed. Their contributions to the music world and to the local scene, in general, created an identity in which people could recognize themselves but that preserved the traditional values of *kanaka maoli*.

Hawai‘i native Jackie Kaho‘okele Burke says of *The Sons*, “Their music gave me an anchor, told me where I came from. I felt like my soul came home (Houston 2004, 138).” Not only did people recognize themselves in the musical product and image of *The Sons*, they discovered that there was more to know about themselves and their culture. Boogie Kalama, well-known Hawai‘i local, and states:

> After awhile their whole attitude—‘We are the Sons of Hawai‘i and we are Hawaiian’—really got to me. I began to feel pride in being Hawaiian. As a result of being turned on to that one aspect of my culture, I started looking at other sides of it as well (Thornton 9/8/1977, 22).

The talent, mastery, and spirit of *The Sons of Hawai‘i* would forever inspire the next generation of both musicians and audience. They contributed to the legacy of Hawaiian music through musical creations of their own and thereby laid a foundation for the cultural renaissance.
CHAPTER 3
THE SUNDAY MANOA

The After Effects

The Sons of Hawaii played an integral role in the developing the foundation of Hawaiian music and Hawaiian identity in the sixties. Their stylings, songs, sound, and image inspired a new generation thought to be caught in the grips of rock ‘n’ roll. The band showed “a whole generation of youngsters that it was possible to make a living playing the songs of their ancestors (Thornton 9/8/1977, 22).” In turn the “generation of youngsters” showed that the versatility of Hawaiian music was much broader and adaptable than previously perceived.

The Sunday Manoa was the pioneer band for this younger seventies generation. They were responsible for pushing the boundaries of Hawaiian music, drawing in the youth of Hawai‘i into Hawaiian music, and officially launching the Renaissance. The driving force behind The Sunday Manoa was Peter Moon, now recognized for his remarkable talent on the ‘ukulele and guitar and his astonishing ability to arrange music. Moon is a locally born Chinese-Korean who attended a private high-school, Punahou high school and graduated from a public high-school, Roosevelt high school. He graduated from the University of Hawai‘i with a degree in English. Throughout his childhood, he was influenced by his parents’ interest in classical music, but as he grew older, he became increasingly drawn to the stylings of Mary Ford and Les Paul, jazz guitar populars (Jacobs 1990, 48). During his elementary school years he had already begun to learn how to play a variety of instruments but his interest in the ‘ukulele developed during his teenage year (The Sunday Manoa, Meet Palani Vaughn and the Sunday Manoa. Hula Records, 1967 (leaflet)). In his teens, Peter would frequent Ala Moana Bowls, a local surf break, and would always bring his ‘ukulele with him. Since
he was never fond of Hawaiian music and, like many, found it too simplistic, he would play latin, bossa nova or jazz at the beach, eventually attracting a group of young musicians.

This group consisted of Waimānalo boys, Cyril, Martin, and Bla Pahinui, as well as Albert "Baby" Kalima, all Kailua high school graduates and members of musically inclined families. "Baby" Kalima is from a well-known musical family in Hawai'i and learned how to play bass from his father. Cyril, Martin, and Bla Pahinui are the sons of the famed Gabby Pahinui, and, therefore, music was inherently a part of their childhood. Cyril said of music "music was a comfort of everything. It brought out happiness in us, brought us together, we'd be home, get one party, and everyone together (Pahinui, interview)." Each had interest in different stylings of music; Cyril was interested in Hawaiian and jazz, Martin was interested in rock 'n' roll such as the Rolling Stones and the Beatles, and Bla was always a fan of the "oldies but goodies" (Pahinui, interview). Gabby did not mind his sons's musical taste but always reminded each of them to "stick to your Hawaiian music," however, they were, for the most part, uninterested in following his advice (Pahinui, interview). There was no formal musical education at the Pahinui's, everything was learned from the jam sessions regularly held in their backyard. These informal "watch and learn" lessons combined with their individual musical tastes resulted in them developing their own musical stylings and forming several rock bands.

They were attracted by Peter's music and ability to play and, in time, Bla began to bring his guitar to the beach to jam with Peter. They formed a musical bond and eventually Bla brought Peter to meet his dad. During this time, Gabby was playing with The Sons of Hawaii and the boys would follow Gabby wherever he went just to watch him play.
Peter was amazed by Gabby’s abilities

...we would just sit, you know, on summer nights, in awe, just listening to this masterpiece. We would follow him wherever he was drinking on a Saturday night. All the kids would just pile in the car and go follow the guy. Then, sit in the rafters and shut up (Jacobs 1990, 48).

Cyril said he recognized that “we was with the masters, we would just listen and watch (Pahinui, interview).” Peter said of The Sons “They were great. I tried to see them every weekend and listen to their modern-sounding arrangements of the traditional songs. You could say I drew a lot of inspiration from them (Thornton 9/8/1977, 22).” By the time the boys reached their late teens and early twenties, this awe and inspiration was enough to start The Sunday Manoa.

The Sunday Manoa’s exploration of Hawaiian music intensified when Moon and fellow University of Hawai‘i fine arts graduate, Palani Vaughan, began to take a more active interest in Hawaiian songs and search them out. Their knowledge was limited, Palani knew a handful of songs from his years at Kamehameha high school, and Peter knew half that. Larry Kimura, who came to help Eddie Kamae later on, provided several of his family songs (as well as language coaching) to the band. The rest of the songs they found by searching through Hawai‘i’s Bishop Museum archives department. They practiced these songs for months, Palani on vocals, Cyril on guitar, Peter on ‘ukulele, “Baby” on bass, and, occasionally, Bla stepping in on guitar. They took their songs to Don McDiarmid Jr., producer of The Sons of Hawaii, who had seen the increasing popularity of The Sons of Hawaii, and, consequently, he agreed to record The Sunday Manoa’s first album.

The band practiced for several months before recording the album Meet Palani Vaughan and the Sunday Manoa (Figure 3.1) in 1967. The sound of the album resembled that of The Sons of Hawaii, they were even referred to as “the sons of The
Sons of Hawaii (The Sunday Manoa, Meet Palani Vaughan and The Sunday Manoa, Hula Records, 1967 (leaflet)), but their sound was softer and sweeter, and somewhat romantic due to Palani’s baritone voice.

Peter says of this album:

...the most beautiful music may have come out of innocence- the first album with Cyril and Bla Pahinui, Baby Kalima, Palani Vaughan and myself...It was real clean, innocent music at that time (Jacobs 1990, 49)"

The album visually echoed the music. With the white backdrop, the chandelier, and the clean cut matching outfits of the band, there was a visual elegance portrayed that coincided with what could be heard on the album. The album resembled the content of The Sons’ albums in that there were printed lyrics, translations and stories of the songs told. However, in addition to the lyrics, there were side notes explaining the setting of the cover photo (the Bishop Museum) and a detailed explanation of the lei that the
performers were wearing. In essence, *The Sunday Manoa* was building on the foundation of authenticity that *The Sons of Hawaii* had laid.

After the release of the album, which was relatively well received, Palani left to pursue a solo career, later releasing his solo album *Hawaiian Love Songs*, and Peter, Bla and "Baby" went on to record the album *Hawaiian Time*, which has since gone out of print. After recording this album, Peter met two brothers who had just graduated from Kamehameha high school, Robert and Roland Cazimero. Both had hauntingly beautiful voices with impressive harmonizing abilities and a keen sense of music. While in high school they were members of Aunty Winona Beamer's Hawaiian Ensemble, a select group of twenty students who focused solely on performing and singing (Bowman 7/28/77). These brothers, along with Peter Moon would comprise the new, and eventually most popular, iteration of *The Sunday Manoa*. Their first album together, *Guava Jam*, is considered the album that launched the musical renaissance. Although the cover of the album appeared quite simplistic [Figure 3.2], the music that came with it was explosive.

![Guava Jam](image)

**Figure 3.2** *The Sunday Manoa*'s third release *Guava Jam*, on Hula Records, 1969.
As the cover leaflet warned:

"What you are about to listen to is not only contemporary Hawaiian folk music, but a serious attempt, a further extension if you will, of the new direction in which Hawaii's music is changing...a departure from traditional Hawaiian music, and an excursion into a totally new concept (The Sunday Manoa, Guava Jam, Hula Records, 1969 [leaflet])."

The songs were mostly traditional, but the sound was full, the beat was driving, and the arrangements were complex. There was a flavor of the American rock sound, sometimes even familiar rock riffs, coupled with the typical Hawaiian band instruments ('ukulele, bass, guitar), featuring the brothers' operatic voices. A local entertainment writer described the sound:

"Not since Richard Kauhi and his quartet added a jazz dimension to Island songs more than 20 years ago has such a revolutionary interpretation of Hawaiian music been heard (Wood 1/5/1972)."

The record was groundbreaking and, because of its new sound, had the ability to draw in a large portion of the younger audience that heretofore had been missing from the Hawaiian music demographic, precisely the audience that would eventually carry the Renaissance.

People growing up during this time remember when they first heard Guava Jam, and, especially, the most hard-hitting song "Kāwika". David Kauahikaua, a local music producer who grew up during this time describes:

...it wasn't like normal Hawaiian music...this was really a different kind of Hawaiian music, more rhythmic...I was trying to figure out what it was I guess...All my friends loved it, you know, go and walk around school [Kamehameha High School] and everybody was trying to learn the parts
especially for "Kāwika," and the harmony, everyone wanted to sing that and play
Peter Moon's licks (Kauahikaua, interview).

Owana Salazar, Hawai'i entertainer, remembers:

*Sunday Manoa* was very contemporary with the, you know, how many, 34-54
bar entry into "Kāwika." That was landmark! You know they did stuff like that,
they were just ripping – ok, this is our culture and this is how we are going to do
it now (Slazar, interview).

*Guava Jam* was the first mark of a widespread interest in Hawai'i, an interest
that completely crossed generational boundaries. Although some elders were upset
about the “be-bopping” of the music, the youth took notice and began to pay attention
to Hawaiian music and things Hawaiian (John DeMello, interview).

After the release of *Guava Jam*, Moon along with Ron Rocha, a local DJ for
newly-developed KCCN radio station as well as KPOI radio station, decided to put on the
first "Kanikapulu" concert at Andrews Amphitheater on the University of Hawai'i
campus. This approach was similar to music concerts being held on the mainland but
rather than feature rock 'n' roll they featured music of the islands. The meaning of the
concert title is "let's make music" and the concert did just that. It showcased Hawaiian
entertainers such as Aunty Genoa Keawe, Nina Keali'i'iwahumanu, *The Sunday Manoa*,
and others making Hawaiian music. The concept was new at the time because it
appeared to Moon and Rocha that live Hawaiian music in the early 1970s was limited to
"cocktail trios" (Jacobs 1990, 48). Furthermore, Peter related his concern about the
younger generation's lack of interest in Hawaiian music and his intent behind staging
the concert:
Hawaiian music has been the most successful means of making people aware of Hawaii. I REALLY THINK we are losing a certain flavor of Hawaiian music because of the upward trend of contemporary rock. The young Hawaiians are not knowledgeable when it comes to their own music...when I look around, I can’t see any young Hawaiian singers or musicians coming up...This program on Sunday is to make the people of Hawaii aware that this is their music (Wood 10/6/1970).

The concert was a success. Those that were growing up during this time remember the magic of seeing the very first “Kanikapila.” Owana Salazar remembers vividly going to the first “Kanikapila” in which she participated as part of the Kamehameha Glee club. She recalls:

...he [Peter] wanted to showcase all the different genres of Hawaiian music so we could see what a wide breadth of expression people have today, from the old to the very new...that’s what he did and so that was, I thought, a fabulous theme to do; so unique. It took a lot of work of course, but it was very creative and courageous and everybody who was there – everybody - brought the house down...[Salazar, interview].

The success of the “Kanikapila” was a testament to the burgeoning Hawaiian music scene and the Cultural Renaissance. It added velocity to the movement and as a testament to its the impact on the Renaissance, “Kanikapila” concerts became an annual event for the next twenty-five years.

The Sunday Manoa’s fourth release was entitled Cracked Seed, reflecting the local community’s affinity for salted seeds as a snack food, and came out two years after the first “Kanikapila” in 1972 (Figure 3.3). The album was a continuation of Guava Jam, it incorporated innovative “rock” stylings with traditional Hawaiian music.
As an added bonus, Gabby Pahinui contributed his steel guitar skills to this album. The *Cracked Seed* album was not as successful as its predecessor, but served as a stepping-stone to the final, matured sound of *Sunday Manoa* exemplified in their following album. Their fifth album, entitled *The Sunday Manoa 3* (Figure 3.4), was released one year later in 1973. The songs on the album were produced with a choral backup and string accompaniment and used the latest technology. The album's songs were considered even more innovative than the previous albums because they incorporated instruments that were not normally associated with Hawaiian music such as the electric fiddle, the banjo and the dobro, a resonator guitar. Robert says that the incorporation of these new elements "was why the album was really something (Bolante, 139)."
The sound created on this album was what the sound of *The Sunday Manoa* had evolved into. Roland noted:

We were all grown up already. There was a lot more experience. On this album, there was a focus by all three of us, versus Peter just focusing and us filling up musical parts. It was something we did together (Bolante 2004, 139).

Unfortunately, *The Sunday Manoa* 3 would be the last recording they did together. The maturity of the group that was evident on this album was what led the members to discover their own individual musical paths. The brothers stayed together and formed a duo called *The Brothers Cazimero* (also referred to as *The Brothers*). Their subsequent career has produced some thirty-five albums and a Grammy nomination. Their music continued to expand on the approach of mixing of traditional sounds and songs with modern stylings, although the emphasis has shifted more towards the
traditional. Peter Moon created the *Peter Moon Band* that would release some twenty-three additional albums. He continued to push the envelope with his band, releasing one of the most controversial renditions of "Kaulana Nā Pua," a protest song written about the imprisonment of Queen Lili'uokalani. However, the three albums that these performers did as *The Sunday Manoa* will always be remembered as the catalyst for an entire musical movement.

**The American Climate of the Times**

Where *The Sons of Hawaii* served as an emblem of identity for a disbanded community, *The Sunday Manoa* brought that identity into a new age, and subsequently, and more importantly, drew the younger generation into the Hawaiian music scene.

The climate of the times assisted the success of *The Sunday Manoa* to a large extent. Whereas in the fifties people in Hawai'i were trying to be as American as possible, in the sixties people in America were trying to figure out exactly what being American meant, who they were as Americans and what others perceived them to be. Major events took place that forever altered the social, political, racial, and cultural structure of America. One of the major movements was the Civil Rights movement that reached its peak during the sixties. It was a fight for equality and justice for black America, and a byproduct of that fight was the revelation that there was an option to fight back. Furthermore, the Civil Rights Movement was a catalyst for other minorities, including Hawaiians, to take up their own fights for justice.

The Vietnam War and subsequent anti-war movement came shortly thereafter. People in the anti-war movement first and foremost demanded justification for the loss of lives. They viewed American occupation in South Asia as a process of American exploitation of Third-World countries, their peoples and conditions. They demanded that the United States pull out of Vietnam. In essence, this movement was about
discovering what America stood for and how it related to foreign lands and how American people could shape the policies of their government through protest.

The "love movement" or "hippie movement" which also took place in the sixties was in essence a culmination of the Civil Rights movement, the anti-war movement, the women's right movement, and the environmental movement. This was a generation that grew up during the Cold War under the threat of world-ending warfare. When this generation came of age in the sixties, all of these sentiments of these movements coalesced and manifested itself in a theology that life should be lived to its fullest and peace should rule. Experimentation and rebellion were just some manifestations of this new generation's theology and experience. This was a generation attempting to look "toward creation of a society in which every person could find 'a meaning in life that is personally authentic.'" (Pratt 1990, 34)

Popular music during this time simply reflected the societal upheaval of the times. Folksongs made a comeback and spoke of the hardship of war and dissatisfaction with governmental policies. Expansion of rhythm and blues and soul music was prompted by a renewed interest in music traditionally created and performed by black artists -most likely as a by-product of the civil rights movement and the search for the cultural identity of blacks in America. Finally, reflecting the rebellious nature of this generation, music followed with artists such as Jimi Hendrix and his contemporaries.

Ex-KCCN disc jockey Keaumiki says of the sixties:

...if you miss the decade of the 60s you've missed a lifetime because the 60s that's really what started a lot of things where music was concerned; protest songs that came out; Bob Dylan, Joan Baez and all these other people; and I think it ignited the youth of America. So by the time the '70s rolled around here we were pretty ripe for the changes (Akut, interview).
The Hawaiian Climate of Times

As Keaumiki pointed out, when Hawai'i stepped into the age of the seventies, the long history of colonization/occupation and the recent history of rapid development left Hawai'i in need of change. The native community along with environmentalists and other locals had had enough when, in 1970, Bishop Estate, a land trust established as a result of Princess Bernice Pauahi's will, attempted to evict local tenant farmers and families from Kalama Valley. Bishop Estate had plans to build high-income housing subdivisions in the valley and had ordered the evictions of the occupying residents. Originally opposition focused on the displacement of these families, but it soon became clear that the eviction was representative of the problems that Hawai'i was experiencing socially, environmentally and economically.

By 1970, nearly 80 percent of Hawai'i's residents could not afford the new units that had been built [by the tourist industry in the sixties]...In addition to the problem of a soaring cost of living and badly lagging salaries, local people were being forced to bear an increasingly heavy tax burden to pay for the infrastructure (roads, police, sewers) demanded by the tourist industry (Trask 1987, 127).

The evictions from Kalama Valley highlighted concerns about rapid development and associated roadblocks it put in the way of attempting to maintain a "local" way of living. Additional concerns dealt with the sustainability of a suitable environment for the purposes of agriculture and farming. As reported in the Honolulu Advertiser:

There can be no doubt that one of the most serious planning problems on Oahu today is the situation created by the scattered and sprawling subdivisions, depleting our best agricultural lands and requiring extension of expensive community facilities...Being an island community it is desirable that Oahu be
self-sustaining...[however] Oahu has not been able to keep pace with market demands for agricultural products (Jones 10/1/1970).

The anti-war movement in America inspired groups of resistance in Hawai‘i who saw a parallel between the imposition of American values and policies on South Asian countries' right to self-determination and the imposition of development and the tourist industry on Hawai‘i's local people's way-of-life (Trask 1987). Local people saw these evictions as a choice between their lands and way-of-life versus a livelihood based on catering to an international tourist market that did not have the concerns of local people in mind. The result was the creation the Kōkua Kalama Committee (KKC), which was committed to opposing Bishop Estate's eviction notices. KKC was joined by another group called The Hawaiians, a grass-roots organization committed to bringing attention and change to the mismanagement of the Hawaiian Homes Commission (set up to distribute lands to those Hawaiians with fifty percent blood quantum). As Trask pointed out:

The groups were natural allies. The Hawaiians pointed to the failure of the homestead program, while tenants in Kalama valley were living proof of that failure. It was public knowledge that several families in the Valley had been on the Hawaiian Homes waiting list for decades (1987, 142).

Although the efforts to stop the Kalama eviction eventually failed, the seeds of the movement were already taking root. The Kalama eviction gave new clarity to the negative impact of rapid development, and demonstrated the need to control urban sprawl by entering into the public arena of politics. Furthermore, the Kalama protests began to define who these land fights belonged to. "For many locals coming to consciousness in a radicalizing historic period, the class line was too abstract. It didn't account for oppression along color lines (Trask 1987, 144)." During the protests, haole, Caucasian, supporters were asked to leave because they contributed to the
media's perception that these protests had a "Woodstock atmosphere" which offended locals that were involved (Trask, 1987, 144). Finally, the relations between The Hawaiians and KKC showed that land dispossession was as much, if not more, a kanaka maoli issue as it was a local issue.

"Where Are Your Bones?"

This was the social and political climate in which The Sunday Manoa's Guava Jam was introduced. Although the individual members of the band had no intention of initiating change, that is exactly what they did. As Robert Cazimero notes, "People still ask me what it was like being at the forefront of the Hawaiian Renaissance, but we didn't realize it. We were just having a good time playing music (Bolante 2004, 15)."

The ability of the band to connect to the younger generation, which was pre-occupied with the sounds of the continental United States, was crucial to the beginning of a Hawaiian re-awakening. The music opened a pathway to this generation through which messages and a point-of-view could consciously, as well as subconsciously pass. Their sound is what drew the younger, rock loving crowds in, and the music is what encouraged them to re-discover.

The sound of the band reflected the times. Moon acknowledged "the Sunday Manoa of the '70s...was reflective of the music of America, especially black America (Jacobs, 49)." He said that the goal of the sound of the band was as follows:

We [Sunday Manoa] attempt to expand upon the basic foundations of Hawaiian music - its melodies, feelings, rhythmic patterns - through arrangements and even new material...We're not calling it authentic Hawaiian music...What we are trying to do is interpret the collective music of Hawaii - music written in the past 75 years - in today's vein or mood (Wood 1/5/1972).
The sound coupled with the music of *The Sunday Manoa* exploited music's versatility and ability to "take listeners to the past and future (Lipsitz, 26)" by taking advantage of the present. They did this through the deliberate choice of certain instruments, rhythms, harmonies, and songs. Some elements of their songs were done to *hoʻomana* (give tribute to) the past and others were done to appeal to the present (lecture: Kanalu Young 4/8/04). A great example of this is their most memorable song "Kāwika" (Thesis CD Track 06, Track 07) "Kāwika" is a name chant, a *mele inoa*, written for King David "Kāwika" Kalākaua and praising him for his journeys. The chant is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eia nō Kawika `ehe</th>
<th>This is of David</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ka heke a<code>o nā pua </code>ehe</td>
<td>The greatest of the descendents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka uwila ma ka hikina `ehe</td>
<td>Like the lightning from the east</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mālamalama a <code>o Hawai</code>ī `ehe</td>
<td>He illuminates Hawai`ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ku<code>i e ka lono i Pelekane </code>ehe</td>
<td>The news spreads to Britain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohe ke kuini <code>o Palani </code>ehe</td>
<td>The Queen of France hears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na wai e ka pua i luna `ehe</td>
<td>Whose descendent is this?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na Kapa<code>akea no, he makua </code>ehe</td>
<td>He is the son of Kapaakea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ha<code>ina </code>ia mai ana ka puana `ehe</td>
<td>This song is performed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka lani Kāwika he inoa `ehe</td>
<td>Honoring the name of the royal David</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.5: Lyrics and Translation for “Kāwika by The Sunday Manoa (Trimillos, 2)**

This chant clearly pays respect to the past but the fact that the chant honors Kalākaua is a deliberate nod to the current time. Kalākaua is considered by most historians to be responsible for Hawai`i’s first Cultural Renaissance by urging the resurrection of traditional song and dance that had been banned by the missionaries. This period brought about the birth of hula ku`i, a mixture of old and new. To use this chant in the beginning of the second Cultural Renaissance in Hawai`i (however conscious the band was of this) is to *hoʻomana* or, pay tribute, to the man...
responsible for starting the very first renaissance. Like hula ku'i, this new music combined the old and the new.

The instrumentation in this song also retrieves an element from the past by using traditional instruments in the opening. The song begins with the pahu, adding in the ipu heke, then the 'ulili, and, finally, the kāla'au, - some of the most significant traditional instruments used in kahiko (ancient) hula (Trimillos August 1977, 3). However, an American presence is also heard in the choice of the next instruments the raquinto, 'ukulele, and guitar. Therefore, the introduction, which lasts an unprecedented 45 seconds, combines cultural influences that make the music so unique.

"Kāwika"s arrangement also employs a traditional element found in chants that accompanied hula ku'i by repeating each verse. Repetition of the verse at least twice was characteristic of hula ku'i because it allowed the song not only to be danced to but it also served to maintain pono or balance (i.e. if you go to left you must do the same on the right) (lecture: Kanalu Young 2/24/2004). However, the line is repeated for a third time which is also a contemporary styling that allows the song to bridge into the next verse.

The traditional style is apparent again in "Kāwika" in the fashion that the first repetition of each verse is sung. It employs only two tones. Two tones are characteristic of ancient chant due to how the chant was used. It was critical for each word to be heard not only in order to be understood, but also to comply with the strict protocol (Trimillos August 1977, 2). The second and sometimes third time the verse is sung, it has a multi-toned melody, which is typical in western arrangements (lecture: Kanalu Young 2/24/2004).

Finally, the most recognizable American component of the song is the guitar solo by Peter Moon. The focus of a guitar solo is on melody, and the individual and his
abilities. This is not only characteristic of the importance American society places on
the individual but is characteristic rock 'n' roll.

Not everybody welcomed this combination of western, namely American
elements, and traditional Hawaiian elements. Some complained about the harsh sound
of the music and others complained about the inaccuracy of language use saying:

"Wrong lyrics...grammatical errors...mispronunciation...limited subject
matter...limited vocabulary...limited understanding (Stillman July 1978, 6)."

However, the ability of the music to move the youth took precedence. Keaumiki
explained to me the feeling about new styles by relating a story where he asked
legendary kumu hula George Na'ope what he thought of the radical new hula styles that
were coming out:

And he says "You know because of what we have done in the past, because it is
so powerful, we can always come back to the past. But we cannot suppress our
youth to experiment and to be innovative...they take that innovation from the
force of the past and it will always be there (Akui, interview).

Keaumiki added:

You know, thank god we have old time artists like Aunty Genoa [Keawe] and
Kealoha Kalama, George Na'ope...all those people who are still with us. They
may not have liked some of the stuff that was coming out but they understood
and they had firm belief in the strength of the culture itself...and I think they
were all proud...(Akui, interview).

The music of The Sunday Manoa, like the music of The Sons of Hawaii, exhibited
cultural pride that encouraged the people, especially the young people, to overcome
their apprehensions about their own culture and unlearn the shame that their parents
had passed on to them during the rush to "be American". However, it was the
combination of American music standards with Hawaiian ones that caused the youth to pay attention and reacquaint themselves with, and more fully embrace, their culture. It created, I believe, what Eyerman and Johnson refer to as the mobilization of traditions. Their definition is as follows

...in social movements, musical and other kinds of cultural traditions are made and remade, and after the movements fade away as political forces, the music remains as a memory and as a potential way to inspire new waves of mobilization (1998.2).

The music of Hawai‘i was remade by Sunday Manoa and lives on through the combining of a musical memory of the Hawaiian culture with the musical memory of the American cultural revolution of the 1960s and 1970s. The American sound served to catch the attention of local youth, but the substance of the music, which was Hawaiian, encouraged them mobilize and rediscover their past, rediscover their roots, rediscover their “bones”.

Keaumiki explains:

Those groups had the real songs that moved the youth...you know like Gabby said there is a certain sound regardless of the lyrics and the composition. In the ‘70s they had a certain sound that identified with it [the generation]. I guess you might call it brave...courageous...when you look how it was born out of the tradition, but it was such a different sound for Hawaiian music. It captured everybody's imagination. (Akui, Interview).

The music did more than capture imagination. Whether or not it was intended to be, the music was a testament to the political upheaval of the time. In one sense, it was political because it was used politically. In the Kalama eviction protests, songs were used (as they were in the continental United States during the sixties) as part of the protest:
Despite all the Estate's rhetoric about violence and the presence of armed policemen, the actual arrest was low-key, even humorous. Singing "Sons of Hawai'i" (The Kamehameha Schools' song), and tossing poi and oranges at the cops, Kōkua Hawai'i members faces mass arrest with passive resistance (Trask 1987, 147).

"Sons of Hawai'i" is, as noted a Kamehameha School song, but it was also released to a wider audience because it was recorded on The Sunday Manoa's first album, Meet Palani Vaughan and The Sunday Manoa.

As previously discussed, their music was also political because it introduced people to part of their past that was otherwise not visible. Keaumiki pointed out:

All these people, innovative and talented people, writing great music, you know, arrangements and stuff. Peter Moon was very innovative in his songs, but it also reawakened people to music they never knew existed like "Hawai'i Aloha" and "Kaulana Nā Pua." (Akui, interview)

Ellen Keho'ohiwaoka'alanui Wright Prendergast wrote "Kaulana Nā Pua" in 1893 as a statement of opposition to the forced resignation of Queen Lili'uokalani. The lyrics are translated in Figure 3.6. The song itself is clearly political in nature:

...this rallying song remains a favorite political statement of bitterness and rebellion for the people of Hawai'i who seek a return to sovereignty. Its words of fame (kaulanana), stand firm (kūpā'a), and love of the land (aloha 'āina) support the theme of Ouapa'a (steadfast)... (Nordyke 1993, 29).

Though the song had been recorded in the sixties (Noelani Mahoe and the Leo Nahenahe Singers' Polksongs of Hawai'i (Nordyke 1993, 39)) The Peter Moon Band re-recorded it for inclusion on their 1979 album Tropical Storm, Peter's first release after the break-up of The Sunday Manoa (Thesis CD Track 08, Track 09).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kaulana nā pua a‘o Hawai‘i</th>
<th>Famous are the children of Hawai‘i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kūpa‘a mahope o ka ‘āina</td>
<td>Ever loyal to the land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiki mai ka ‘elele o ka loko ‘ino</td>
<td>When the evil-hearted messenger comes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palapala ‘ānunu me ka pāhaka.</td>
<td>With his greedy document of extortion.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pane mai Hawai‘i moku o Keawe.  
Kokua nā Honō a‘o Pilani.  
Kāko‘o mai Kauai o Mano  
Pa‘apū me ke one Kakuhthewa.  

'Aole 'a'e kau i ka pūlima  
Maluna o ka pepa o ka ēnemi  
Ho‘ōhui ‘āina kū‘ai hewa  
I ka pono sivila a‘o ke kanaka.

'Aole mākou a‘e minamina  
I ka pu‘ukalā a ke aupuni.  
Ua lawa mākou id a pōhaku.  
I ka ‘ai kamaha‘o o ka ‘āina.

Ma hope mākou o Līlī‘u-lani  
A loa‘a ‘e ka pono a ka ‘āina.  
(A kau hou ‘ia e ke kalaunu)  
Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana  
Ka po‘e i aloha i ka ‘āina.

| Hawai‘i, land of Keawe answers.  
| Pilani’s bays help.  
| Mano’s Kauai lends support  
| And so do the sands of Kakuhthewa.  

No one will fix a signature  
To the paper of the enemy  
With its sin of annexation  
And sale of native civil rights.

We do not value  
The government’s sums of money.  
We are satisfied with the stones,  
Astonishing food of the land

We back Līlī‘u-lani  
Who has won the rights of the land.  
(Shē will be crowned again)  
Tell the story  
Of the people who love their land.

---

**Figure 3.6: Lyrics and Translation for Kaulana Nā Pua (Elbert 1970, 63-64).**

Continuing with *The Sunday Manoa*’s fusion of rock and traditional, Peter gave the song a faster tempo, a rhythm and blues style bass-line, and heavy guitar solos interspersed throughout the song. Not only did he speed up the lyrics, but also he had Larry Kimura, write an introduction for the song. The lyrics and translation of the introduction were taken from the cover leaflet of *Tropical Storm* and are shown in Figure 3.7. As with the incorporation of the rock elements in the song, the introduction brought the context of the song into the present times asking that guidance and victory be provided to the younger generation. According to Cyril Pahinui the symbolic meaning of the fast and upbeat tempo of this song was that this generation was looking forward in a positive fashion (Pahinui, interview).
Again, while some traditionalists did not approve of the new rendition, the younger generation made an immediate connection. In a review of Peter Moon's rendition, Hopkins states:

I'm also reminded of Jimi Hendrix's bluesy version of "The Star Spangled Banner." Neither anthem suffered from the updated arrangement. Rather they conveyed the strength and spirit the original lyrics and tunes intend (Hopkins August 1979, 11).

Most importantly, it was political because it was a widely appreciated exhibit of a culture that had long been suppressed. Owana Salazar is most eloquent when she explains the political connection of this music:

Oh, I think it made a huge political statement even if it didn't say something specifically about the movements...what was clear was that we all...
knew that our culture was being expressed in song and dance and it belonged to us and we belonged to it...and this is how we were telling everyone. We told it-we shared it...I think that living our lives culturally is the most profound political statement we will make as Hawaiians, as human beings... (Salazar, interview).
A New Wave

The presence of Hawaiian music grew strong in the early seventies in Hawai‘i. In 1971, soon after the release and overwhelming response to The Sunday Manoa’s Guava Jam, the Hawaiian Music Foundation was established. The purpose of the foundation was to help preserve and promote the tradition of Hawaiian music. To this end, they sponsored music conferences, organized music festivals – some specializing in slack key and others in falsetto- and encouraged music education in Hawai‘i. The foundation was also responsible for publishing the first monthly completely devoted to Hawaiian music. Also, in conjunction with St. Louis high school, a Catholic Boy’s school in Honolulu, they launched the first ever Hālau Mele Hawai‘i which was an educational program devoted to teaching students how to play a variety of traditional Hawaiian instruments, as well as slack key and steel guitar.

The establishment of the Foundation was not the only sign that Hawaiian music was establishing itself in the community. In 1971, Hawai‘i governor John A. Burns declared a week in November, Hawaiian Music Week. This observance has continued to this day regardless of the administration in power. Governor Ariyoshi believed that “Hawaiian music has always been a source of special pride and strength for all the people of Hawai‘i (SB 11/3/73).” He also said “It is absolutely necessary to the preservation of Hawaiian culture that we preserve Hawaiian music in all its richness of variety and texture (SB 11/3/73).”

The revival of Hawaiian music continued its path during the mid-seventies. Where bands like The Sons and Sunday Manoa focused mainly on reinterpreting Hawaiian songs, new bands focused on expanding the repertoire of Hawaiian music.
The result was essentially American folk acoustic-rock, with English lyrics and western musical stylings - a departure musically from what had been done up to this point. The topics, however, remained specific to Hawai'i's seventies generation.

One of the first bands to do this was *Country Comfort*. The original band consisted of Jimmy Freudenberg, Billy Kauai and Chuck Lee who were childhood friends from Waimanalo, O'ahu. Later, Randy Lorenzo and Eugene Matsumura joined them. They began performing together at The Spy in Niu Valley on the east side of O'ahu, and eventually, through word of mouth, secured a recording contract with Trim Records. Their first album, released in 1974, was entitled *We Are The Children* named after their title track (Figure 4.1).

![Figure 4.1: Album cover for Country Comfort's first album, We Are The Children.](image)

This album contained some of Hawai'i's most popular songs, such as "Sun Lite, Moon Lite," "Waimanalo Blues," "We Are The Children," and "Manha De Carnival." The sound however, was anything but Hawaiian; it was a mixture of American acoustic-
rock, country western, with a touch of blues. In fact, some of the songs on the albums were remakes of popular songs by current American songwriters. For the most part, the only Hawaiian words used in *Country Comfort*’s songs were the names of places where band members had grown up. Despite the lack of Hawaiian words or musical forms, in an era when “there was a resurgence in all phases of Hawatiana, especially in the ancient (pre-Cook) culture (Stillman 1978, 6)”, they became immensely popular and received a lot of radio airplay. When I asked Keaumiki, KCCN DJ during this time, how the new brand of Hawaiian music fit into KCCN’s programming, he replied:

> Yeah, it fit in perfectly because the new Hawaiian music inspired these guys. You know, there was a certain sound of the '70s that no matter how or what you played it was...it was...you recognized an era in this music. We had trouble formatting that stuff cause we were a traditional Hawaiian music station, so then we started categorizing classic, traditional, and contemporary Hawaiian music (Aku, interview).

Thus, with *Country Comfort*, and the bands that would follow in their footsteps, a new category called Contemporary Hawaiian music was created.

They would expand on the rock-acoustic sound with their second release which was self titled (Figure 4.2). There were changes in the composition of the band, Randy Lorenzo left and was replaced by Steve Wofford. They also added a synthesizer played by Gaylord Holomaliala. He told me the story about how he got to join the band:

> ...when I was 22, I bought a book...kid size...and taught myself [how to play keyboard]...and 5 months later I was with *Country Comfort* but the reason...see you have to be in the right place at the right time...the reason I could play with them because what I did I taught myself all the keys and all the scales so if they said the song was in D, I could just play around...and they never had a keyboard player before so anything I did was cool (Holomaliala, interview).
The incorporation of a synthesizer into the band was something not particularly Hawaiian, nor was their music. The results, as the cover leaflet says, "...sound like the band was torn between maintaining the extremely successful sound of its first album and experimenting with a country-rock posture (Country Comfort, Country Comfort II, HanaOla Records, 1995 (leaflet))." Despite what the album leaflet described as a dilemma in sound, the second album found success with songs such songs as "Look Into Your Eyes," "Pretty Girl," and "Hello Waimanalo."

Even with their growing popularity, this would be the last album they released. The band, which had a reputation for their "ability to party", let the "experimentation" of the times get to them. "Drugs – alcohol, marijuana, 'reds', and heroin..." brought about the demise of Country Comfort in 1976 (Country Comfort, Country Comfort II, HanaOla Records, 1995 (leaflet)). Just two years later, lead singer and songwriter of the group,
Billy Kau'i who was building his solo career, passed away from a drug related brain hemorrhage (although he had gone through detox [Country Comfort, *Country Comfort II*, Hana'Ola Records, 1995 (leaflet)]. Only a few years later, Chuck Lee also passed away from drug-related causes. Some of the remaining musicians went on to contribute to other local bands such as *The Peter Moon Band*, *Cecilio & Kapono*, and *Kalapana.* Others went on to live their own reclusive lives. Because of this, their history, for me, is mostly limited to Compact Disc cover leaflets, newspaper articles and an interview with a remaining band member. Their contributions to Hawaiian music, however, can still be heard on local radio today.

**Image and Popularity**

*Country Comfort*’s success was due in some part to their image as well as their musical sound. Their sound and image spoke to a generation in Hawai‘i that could envision themselves as a member of such a band with all of the personal difficulties they experienced.

In terms of sound, Gaylord Holomalia explains:

> I think the reason the music was so popular in those days, what Country Comfort was doing...that kind of acoustic music was happening on the mainland... and because they had acoustic guitars and stuff like that, we could pick up guitars and do the same thing here as good as they did...[Holomalia, interview].

Although the sound of the band lacked the common Hawaiian musical elements, such as the instrumental trio (*'ukulele, stand-up bass, and guitar*), or Hawaiian language itself they spoke to the movement through their “from the country” image. Their ability to produce a sound on a par with national artists spoke to generations of local Hawai‘i people who grew up believing that they were not on the same playing field.
as people on the mainland. *Country Comfort* was a prime example of "local guys" doing what bands on the mainland did, doing it well and being successful. It was a boost in confidence for Hawai'i's younger generation and for the older ones who had tried to be as American as possible.

Another aspect of *Country Comfort*'s image as John Osorio points out, was that their image was a political counter to the iconic image of Hawaiian musicians that had been built by the tourist industry over the previous decades. He notes:

Hawaiian music, which had developed several formal protocols (e.g., uniform dress, lots of smiles, the drawn out "aloooha" and songs about dark maidens on a lonely beach) underwent a serious change with the appearance of musicians like Liko and Country Comfort...in both the music and the personae of the musicians, a clear divergence from the days, in which a happy Hawaiian in white pants and aloha shirts, sang for the tourists (1992, 429-430).

An examination of *Country Comfort*’s first album, *We Are The Children*, gives more insight into the image that *Country Comfort* portrayed. When analyzing the first album cover, the first thing to observe is their dress. The members of the band are wearing normal, everyday clothes (for that time); jeans, t-shirts, rubber slippers, sunglasses, shorts, long hair. These were not components of dress usually found on the covers of Hawaiian music albums in previous decades. Like The Sons of Hawai'i’s wardrobe of palaka shirts, rubber slippers, and overalls, *Country Comfort*’s dress symbolized that they were local Hawai'i twenty-somethings, more involved with country living than the urbanized life that was being forced upon Hawai'i.

Building upon this dichotomy of country versus urban, the location of the picture reveals more about the "country" image of *Country Comfort*. The band is waiting in front of a Taxi stop that takes people from Kailua (i.e., country) to Honolulu (i.e., town). The choice of this particular location clearly states that they are from the
windward side of the island that at that time was the more rural side. It can also be interpreted as symbolic of the distinction between rural and city life, local to statewide recognition for the band; and, perhaps, Hawaii to national recognition as well – in essence an image that shows where they came from and where they were headed.

The third element of the cover is the candidness of the shot. Unlike album covers from the previous decade, where the adorned singers smiled and posed for the camera, nobody in this shot is paying attention to the camera. They are all relaxing, looking in different directions, some are smiling, some are concentrating, some are standing, some are sitting, and some are leaning against the bench. There is a distinct image of “cool” running through their poses. I believe this portrays an image of local boys that just made a record, a *backyard* jam band, a band that comes from the country, and a band that is not caught up in the typical tactics of marketing a Hawaiian album. It also is representative of the image of their generation, a counterculture, rebellious one, as indicated by their choice of casual clothes, their lack of a structured pose and the deliberate act of ignoring the camera.

The color of the picture is symbolic as well. The *Country Comfort* picture is taken in sepia to give it an “old” country feel that is in keeping with the image of their band. It can also be seen as a way to evoke nostalgia, which is a distinct element of some of their songs (“Waimanalo Blues”) and also represents an element of the Renaissance. It could be seen as symbolic of a desire to stop development, preserve the country, and return to a simpler life as it used to be.

Finally, the *Country Comfort* cover provides additional symbols important to the band. While it gives the impression of an old country photo by using sepia tones and including a graphic picture frame around the portrait it also displays *pakaʻalōʻo*, the symbol of their generation, in the corners of the frame. Not only does this make a solid reference to the age of experimentation and the drug culture, but, on a more personal
level, it is a direct reference to the involvement of some, if not all of *Country Comfort*’s members with drugs.

The cover of the first album spoke directly to the seventies generation in Hawai‘i. The nostalgic folk element of the album lent an image to the ideologies of the Renaissance that called for the return to an earlier time, to the backyard life where one could leave the fast pace of the city and preserve the country. The image also reflected the “counter-culture” by defining the way Hawaiian bands had previously been marketed to tourists. These two aspects combined to create a compelling bond between the seventies generation and *Country Comfort*, and by doing so helped the band and that generation realize that they did not have to cater to an outside perception of how they should behave or look. They could be who they were and be successful, and take pride in that.

**The Message**

While the success of *Country Comfort* relied upon their sound and image, it only constituted part of their appeal. A large part was due to the message in their lyrics that can be attributed to Liko Martin (Figure 4.3), one of the most notable songwriters of the seventies in Hawai‘i, and the one responsible for writing most of *Country Comfort*’s hits.

Liko Martin of Chinese, Spanish, Hawaiian and Irish descent, learned to play a variety of instruments before even attending school. He came from a local family in Hawai‘i with substantive political, judicial and business credentials. His grandfather was a city councilman in Honolulu, his mother was a businesswoman and court stenographer, his stepfather was a well-known local attorney, one of his uncles was a judge, the other was in the legislature (Hopkins May 1978, 1). Liko spent four years in the Air Force in the mid-sixties; two years in Idaho, where he was influenced by country music and began to write songs; and the other two back in the islands.
His position was at Hickam Air Force base, where he was in charge of destroying classified material for the U.S. "including top secret messages from Vietnam telling about illegal U.S. air flights over North Vietnam (ibid)." It became clear to Liko that there were things in America that he strongly disagreed with. He later attended the University of Hawai'i for a year until he moved to Kwajalein. This atoll, located in the Marshall Islands, is set up as a military base that conducts missile testing in North Pacific waters. The base houses U.S. military personnel and their families and is equipped with amenities similar to those found in a typical suburb. Next to Kwajalein is
the atoll of Ebeye, where the majority of Marshallese islanders live, in what has been referred to as "ghetto" living conditions. Their main source of employment is as laborers for near by Kwajalein. The two islands serve as a microcosm for the long history of inequality that has occurred between a colonial power, their military goals and a local island community. Liko's experience there is described as follows:

Following eight months on Kwajalein - listening to Bob Dylan's album John Wesley Harding,.., smoking a half-pound of grass he'd taken with him, and growing the wispy beard that he's kept ever since- Liko went to his boss and said, "I'm leaving this cesspool and I'm never going to forget what I've seen." He was dedicated, he says now, to correcting injustice (Hopkins May 1978, 3).

When Liko returned home, he expressed this desire to correct injustice through his songwriting. He eventually met the band Country Comfort while they were playing at The Sty in Niu Valley. Liko, in fact, played a large part in getting Country Comfort their record deal. When I asked Gaylord what he knew of Liko and the band's relationship, he replied:

Liko had a message in the songs and I think they [Country Comfort] believed in his message, you know. The message that Liko was giving out was something that they liked, that's why they did the songs...plus you know his songs fit them (Holomalia, interview).

Liko's message was a product of the times and his life experience. Since the Kalama Valley evictions, additional land evictions took place around the State; there were plans for development on the Windward side of Oahu in Waikane and Waiahole, there were plans to develop a new highway, and plans to develop the North Shore. People were being pushed out of their land to make way for homes and places that they could not afford and lifestyles that they did not relate to or want to live. Karl Mannheim, suggests that:
The quicker the tempo of social and cultural change is, then the greater are the chances that particular generation locations will react to changed situations by producing their own entelechy (Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge, rev. ed., (London: Routledge, and Kegan Paul, 1959, 1972): 116, quoted in R. Serge Denisoff, Sing a Song of Social Significance (Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972), 116).

The foundation of the new generation's ideal existence was portrayed through the songs of Liko Martin. The hurt people felt about the land evictions, the pride people felt when they first heard Hawaiian music again - these were the things that Liko was eloquently able to convey in his songs. One of his most famous songs, which he composed with the help of Thor Wold, was "Nanakuli Blues," (which Country Comfort, with Liko's permission, changed to "Waianalo Blues")\(^4\). The lyrics (Figure 4.4) reflect the sense of loss that was being experienced by the native population due to development and the feeling of confusion caused by the pace of change, and the sense of nostalgia for a Hawai'i that was more recognizable. The song was in essence "an anthem for this movement (Osorio 1992, 429)." More than just the sense of loss portrayed by these lyrics, there is an obvious attempt to draw distinct lines between "them," the ones selling the beaches, and "us", the ones being displaced, creating a distinct political divide between the local working-class and native Hawaiians and those who held economic and political power. The ideology of the movement, the belief that there is and inherent injustice between the developers and the community, is clearly expressed in these lyrics. An additional sense of loss is evoked by he slow bluesy sound that Country Comfort delivers in "Waianalo Blues" (Thesis CD Track 10, Track11).

\(^4\) It should be noted that the most well-known version of this song, Country Comfort's version, left out the Hawaiian language interludes.
"Nanakuli Blues"

Wind's gonna blow so I'm gonna go
Down on the road again
Starting where the mountains left me
I end up where I began
So where I will go, the wind only knows
Get in my car, going too far
Never coming back again

Tired and worn, I woke up this morning
Found that I was confused
Spun right around, I found I had lost
The things that I couldn't lose
The beaches they sell to build their hotels
My fathers and I once knew
Birds all alone, the sunlight at dawn
Singing Nanakuli blues

'O ka leo, 'o ka manu
E ho'i mai e pili

Down on the road the mountains so old
Far in the countryside
Birds on the wing forgetting the wild
So I'm headed for the Leeward side
In all of your dreams sometimes it just seems
That I'm just along for the ride
Some people have cried because they have
Pride
For Someone who was loved here died

'O ka leo, 'o ka manu, e ho'i mai e pili
'O ka leo, 'o ka manu, e ho'i mai e pili
Keiki o ka 'aina i ka pono, Nanakuli 'ea
E ho'i mai e pili

Wind's gonna blow so I'm gonna go
Down on the road again
Starting where the mountains left me
I end up where I began
The beaches they sell to build their hotels
My fathers and I once knew
Birds all alone, the sunlight at dawn
Singing Nanakuli blues

Figure 4.4: Lyrics to "Nanakuli Blues" by Liko Martin and Thor Wold. 1968 (Osorio 1992, 429).
The use of the blues, or more particularly country-blues, says something more than just its aesthetic impact. This sound emerged from the displacement and oppression of blacks in America. The blues, argued by Paul Garon, "are an 'aggressive and uncompromising assertion of the omnipotence of desire and the imagination in the face of all resistance (Firth 1981, 19)."

Firth adds to this idea by saying that:

Blues are the poems of revolt against 'the degradation of language, the repressive forces of the church, the police, the family and the ruling class, against the inhibition of sexuality and aggression, against the general repugnance of everyday life' (Firth 1981, 19-20).

As can be noted, there are obvious parallels between not only the displacement of the general community in Hawai'i by wealthy developers and the displacement of blacks in America, but there is a parallel between the suppression and marginalization of Hawaiian culture and black American culture. Therefore, the very use of the blues enhances and speaks to the feeling of loss that is being expressed.

Another one of Liko Martin's songs, made famous by Country Comfort, is the song entitled "We Are The Children" (Thesis CD Track 12). The lyrics of this song (Figure 4.5) take a more hopeful tone than those in "Nanakuli Blues." It is a song that reinforces the identity of Hawai'i's people by mere statement as well as through lyrical reference to Hawaiian cultural cosmogony that became core of movement of the seventies. The chorus of the song is obviously encouraging, telling the listener that "we are the children" of tomorrow. He refers to the constant change in an "endless light" and I take this to mean a change that is positive or strengthened. My interpretation of his last verse is that he is discussing the current concerns of the movement, the displacement and disenfranchisement.
"We Are The Children"

O how I love to hear the whisper of the wind
A gentle hearted songbird on the wing
Somehow I feel you softly, feel your heart in mine
With thoughts I have for only you my home

Sit upon a stone I trust to feel so close at times
Tip to toe so gently I will stand
O the flowers mile the hours gently on my mind
And the calling of the yellow feathered friend

Chorus:
We are the children
We are the dawn of life
Together we are changing in an endless light

Tumble turning, still I'm yearning
To glide on whispering wind
Flicker little feathered friend of mine
Can you imagine how things happen
Still I look to find
The thoughts I have for only you my home

Figure 4.5: Lyrics by Liko Martin to "We Are The Children"
( Olomana. Like a Seabird on the Wind. Seabird Sound, 1976)

The “tumble” and “turning” refers to the upheaval that was felt at that time in Hawai‘i.
I believe his question “Can you imagine how things happen?” is simply saying, “How did we get here, in this position?” Finally, despite the changes he describes, he takes comfort in his home and his thoughts of his home. I believe that this song not only speaks to the movement, but also speaks in particular to Native Hawaiians. The reason for this interpretation is that his lyrics make distinct references to aspects of thought that are fundamentally Hawaiian. For instance, in this song, he sings to the land and, by using this approach, he personifies the land. He notes that he sits on a stone that he trusts in order to feel close to the land, he also notes that he feels the land’s heart in his heart. These ideas are fundamental to kanaka maoli’s foundation of existence, aloha ‘āina, the love of the land, which can be explained by the following:

77
A Hawaiian, because his blood is of the land, understands the meaning of aloha ʻāina. It cannot be defined in the English sense of definition. Its meaning is not in the breaking down, but it is in the coming together— the togetherness, the wholeness, the unity, the oneness, the harmony (Shimabukuro 3/10/1977, 9).

In a sense, this quote brings us full circle and makes the listener realize that the song is calling for unity, unity of the people and the land which is held close to their hearts and is in keeping with the most ancient of tenets of Hawaiian beliefs and culture.

**Is it Hawaiian music?**

The sound and songs introduced by *Country Comfort* and Liko Martin changed Hawaiian music forever. Many believed that the songs that they were producing could not be considered Hawaiian music. I argue, however, that because of the role that their music had in developing a contemporary Hawaiian identity and political position it would be impossible to ignore their contributions and not include their music in the repertoire of “Hawaiian music.” While their contribution was significantly different than what had previously been thought of as “Hawaiian music” it was, none-the-less, integral to the education of the younger generation, in the only language they understood (i.e., contemporary sounding music and English lyrics), about their home and their culture, and espoused a direction for the future. For this reason, I consider their contributions to be “Hawaiian music”.

The lack of Hawaiian language in *Country Comfort*’s songs was a significant obstacle to its being classified as Hawaiian music. However, Eldon Akamine points out that “Sing in Hawaiian and you sing to Hawaiians (what few still listen to Hawaiian music with understanding) and Hawaiian music aficionados, or sing in English and sing to the English-speaking world (June 1978, 2).” In other words, the very use of English articulated a particular message about the condition and the plight of modern
Hawaiians to a wider audience, including locals and Hawaiians who were no longer fluent in their native tongue. Although the revamping of Hawaiian music as seen in the songs of *The Sons* and *Sunday Manoa* expressed Hawaiian identity by exploring the roots of Hawaiian music, *Country Comfort* and Liko Martin spoke of Hawaiian identity by exploring the contemporary Hawaiian situation in song to a younger local audience that was largely composed of English speakers.

Another obstacle to classifying their music as Hawaiian was its sound. It was much more like American country-blues than anything else and it did not incorporate Hawaiian musical elements, as had previous bands. But this really spoke to the contemporary Hawaiian situation by the use of musical elements from other disenfranchised, disillusioned and oppressed peoples in the world. Lipsitz points out that:

> As people in different places around the world face similar and interconnected kinds of austerity, inequality and social disintegration, a transnational culture speaking to shared social realities starts to emerge...A peculiar inversion takes place as people from colonized countries long connected to global migrations emerge as experts about displacement and the qualities needed to combat it. (Lipsitz 1994, 7).

Therefore, the sound actually spoke to the Hawaiian cause by the very use of their musical choice.

Frith and Denisoff are proponents of what is called the reflection theory of music. They contend that music has the ability to reveal the social and political undertones of a period of time. Frith continues by relating lyrical realism to music's ability to reveal by saying that there is a "direct relationship between a lyric and the social or emotional condition it describes and represents (Frith 1987, 86)." He goes on to say that lyrics not only describe the literal condition of the environment, but are a
form of "ideological expression." In other words, songs convey the reality and the fantasy of what reality could and should be. The music of Country Comfort and Liko Martin did all these things. They articulated the social and environmental concerns about development through their lyrics and the emotional condition of the local and native people through the utilization of the blues sound. Finally, they pointed towards a hopeful outlook for the generation of tomorrow, stating their clear identity with the land and their ability to deal with change.

Carlos Andrade, when describing the dilemma of classifying Hawaiian music, concluded that what makes music Hawaiian—music is that it connects back to this place that we call Hawai‘i. By articulating the current social, environmental, and emotional climate of Hawai‘i’s people in the seventies, Country Comfort and Liko Martin, despite the fact that they did not use musical elements from traditional Hawaiian music, did in fact connect listeners back to Hawai‘i the place. Their lyrics also pointed them toward the problem that resulted in their disenfranchisement and, in doing so, they contributed to the formation of a contemporary Hawaiian position on the current issues facing the native population. This is without a doubt a political message.
CHAPTER 5
OLOMANA

With the diversity of Hawaiian music that was introduced by bands such as 
*Country Comfort*, others musicians began to explore the potential variations in Hawaiian 
music. The results were songs blending English and Hawaiian languages and American 
and Hawaiian sounds. One of the most well known bands to do this is called *Olomana*, 
originally composed of Jerry Santos and Robert Beaumont.

Jerry Santos was born in Ka‘a‘awa and raised in Kahalu‘u on the Windward side 
of O‘ahu. He is the youngest of nine children. Growing up for him was much like other 
local people during that time, a rural lifestyle with few every-day luxuries. Growing up, 
Jerry was always surrounded by music, a brother-in-law played the ‘ukulele, another 
brother worked at Kamaka ‘ukuleles, and music, in general, was predominant in their 
family life especially during hard times. He recalls that as a student at Waiahole 
Elementary, he and his friends would go home during lunch to play music. His first 
experience performing was in the fourth grade, where he and a friend performed 
“Michael Row Your Boat Ashore” at the school talent show and won.

Later, Jerry attended Kamehameha School where he was involved in the school 
choir. However, after school, his friends and he would get together and try to play the 
music that was streaming in over the radio from the mainland (continental United 
States); songs from artists such as Peter, Paul and Mary; Crosby, Stills and Nash; and 
Jimi Hendrix. It was at this time, Jerry says, that he began to notice a void:

... it became very clear that something was missing because radio in Hawaii was 
playing top 40 music. I think after the war in the 40s by the time we were born 
in the 50s everybody was so intent on becoming as American as you possibly 
could be that most of the TV stuff and most of the radio influence and
everything...we were singing songs but we didn't know what we were singing about you know? And the songs that they were playing in terms of Hawaiian music on the radio like at KCCN at the time was very much the *hapa-haole* period, you know, "Lovely Hula Hands." Although they are lovely songs, that was an image we couldn't grasp. There was this void between what was coming from the outside, what we were perceived to be, and where is our music?...what is it that we are...you know, this moment in time? (Santos, interview).

From this void, Jerry found his inspiration. He began to write songs and perform solo clubs around town. During one performance at Chuck's Cellar, a local KCCN DJ, Al Kalama, came to hear Jerry perform. At that time, Jerry's repertoire consisted of songs that he wrote as well as other songs from local bands like *Country Comfort*. Al liked what Jerry was doing and invited him to the station so that Al could record him. He recorded Jerry on reel-to-reel tape and began to play Jerry's songs on the air. Through the airing of Jerry's song "O Malia" Jerry began to work musically with Robert Beaumont.

Robert Beaumont was raised in Kailua, on the Windward side of Oahu. He came from a family with many musicians, and music was always apart of his upbringing. During his years at Kailua High School, he was into the rock 'n' roll. Although he was acquainted with Jerry, it was not until he heard "O Malia," that they took a musical interest in each other. Robert liked Jerry's sound and connected with its message.

In 1973, they collaborated for three straight days and were pleased with the results. Thus, the band was formed and called *Olomana*, the name of the mountain peak at the base of the Ko'olau Mountains on the Windward side of O'ahu. The two began playing together at Chuck's Cellar where, Mike Kelly, Records Hawaii store manager, first saw *Olomana* (Coleman 11/3/2002). He was on a mission to find suitable entertainment to promote the store, and *Olomana* agreed to play at Mike Kelly's promotion. Mike Kelly and the two men became friends and decided to try to record an
album. They made a demo tape and took it to Pānini records, the company that produced The Sons of Hawai‘i, Sunday Manoa, and later Gabby Pahinui. Pānini executives advised the three, that with their background, their smartest move would be to open up their own label. Pānini agreed to later distribute their recordings. Thus Seabird Sound was created and Olomana’s first album, entitled Like a Seabird in the Wind was released in 1976 (Figure 5.1).

Mike Kelly did not expect to sell the thousands of albums that were sold that year. Their success can be attributed to the quality of their compositions and their unique sound that blended old traditional Hawaiian musical elements with a more contemporary sound obtained by their unique combination of slack key tuning and regular tunings. They not only combined Hawaiian sounds with American sounds, they combined Hawaiian words with English words, and, on the album, there was a
combination of Hawaiian songs and songs in English. The technical production quality on this album was also some of the best available at that time.

Jerry explains what went into the making of their first album by saying:

*When we did the first *Olomana *album we were just trying to make our own music. We wrote most of the songs... and the first album was really a reflection of all the things we wanted to do when we got a chance to record without thinking about how what the impact would be* (Santos, interview).

Melinda Caroll, Hoku award winning vocalist, said when she first heard these songs in Florida

...these songs were, oh my gosh, they were singing about a seabird... the land they were born on, you know, and it was like, wow, this is so different and the arrangements were so beautiful and so I started learning songs... and those were the songs I was memorizing from the album and trying to read them [the lyrics] and I was doing it in Florida, you know, it just vibrated so deeply in me... I am just saying that from another person looking in that was huge because the music was universal, the rhythms, the beautiful guitar, and every way they did...but the stories were very much Hawaiian, very much in the Hawaiian style of looking at life...(Caroll, interview).

The release was a major success and record sales reached over 60,000. Some of their most famous songs on this album are “Ku'u Home o Kahalu'u,” “Home,” and Jerry's song “O Malia.”

*Olomana* continued their musical approach of fusing the new and the old, English and Hawaiian, on their second release in 1978 entitled *And So We Are* (Figure 5.2).
This particular album was in keeping with the current Hawaiian generation’s focus on the concept of *aloha ʻāina* which can be heard, not only *Olomana*’s choice of songs, but also seen in their album dedication which says “*Mahalo nui* to our ʻāina, and to the people of Hawai‘i, for it is you who create the thoughts and feelings that pass through us...” Songs on this album included “*Mele o Kaho‘olawe*” written by Uncle Harry Mitchell, “*Brothers Got a Problem*” and the traditional “*Kanaka Waiwai*.”

Wally Suenaga and Willy Paikuli IV then joined *Olomana* on bass and on percussion, respectively. *Olomana* also collaborated with Aunty Emma DeFriese who also provided them the guidance they needed regarding the Hawaiian language and tradition. This culminated in the 1980 album *Come To Me Gently* (Figure 5.3). Aunty Emma not only contributed two of her writings to this album, “*Pua Alani,*” and “*E Ku‘u*
Sweet Lei Poina'ole" but actually sings in the latter. She was also the inspiration for Jerry's composition "The Light in the Lady's Eyes."

The intent of the album was to highlight the importance of sharing between generations, an important element for the younger generation who were discovering the value of the knowledge of their elders, their *kumus*.

*Come To Me Gently* would be the last album for Jerry and Robert, due to Robert's untimely death in 1982. In memory of Robert, *Olomana* released the anthology album *Through the Years* to commemorate Robert's talents and the contributions he made to *Olomana* and its music. This album includes a song written by Jerry especially for Robert called "The Lovelight in Your Eyes."
Olomana was able to continue as a band in part thanks to Haunani Apoliona, currently the Chairperson of the Board of Trustees for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. She understood the spirit in Olomana's music and offered to contribute her musical talents to the band. She has since become a crucial member of their band. Since their coming together, Olomana has released the album *E Mau Ana Ka Ha'aheo: Enduring Pride* (1991) an album that marked the new beginning of Olomana, an intended to serve as a tribute to the endurance of Hawai'i's native people and pride in their traditions.

**In The Middle of a Movement**

Olomana's music continued the trend that Liko Martin's songs started, that is to say using song to express a generations' commentary on the political, economic, and social condition of local and native peoples. In part this was due to the fact that Olomana's songs were recorded during the peak of the Cultural Renaissance when people were really beginning to realize what they were fighting for and, more importantly, why.

Three important events occurred during the peak of the Cultural Renaissance that served as a stage for the movement.

The first was the building and launching of the *Hokule'a*, a double-hulled canoe built to replicate the canoes used by ancient *kanaka maolis*. In 1975, this canoe voyaged to Tahiti from Hawai'i using only traditional navigational techniques; the stars, winds, clouds, and ocean currents. It was a significant accomplishment and it inspired pride in the native and local people. It became a cultural symbol that contradicted the downtrodden way that Hawaiians had viewed themselves in the recent past.

The other event was the land struggle at Waiahole and Wailake. Kalama Valley evictions were only the beginning of a string of evictions and related protests during the sixties and seventies. One of the better known of these evictions, and one that achieved
some kind of success for the opposition, was the fight over Watahole and Waikane valleys on the Windward side of O'ahu. People living in these valleys were mainly Hawaiians whose livelihood depended on their ability to work the land in a self-subsisting way. In 1974, the owners of the land, the McCanless Estate, who were leasing it out to these farmers, petitioned to the State to reclassify the two valleys from agricultural to urban use. The petition was denied, but, despite the denial, land developer Joe Pao purchased the land from the McCanless Estate in hopes of constructing a residential development. Pao, again petitioned the State Land Use Commission to reclassify the lands. Those who were living in the valleys strenuously opposed reclassification and claimed if granted it would threaten their way-of-life and even their life itself. One resident said “I can't live in an apartment; I might as well live on my plot in Hawai'i Memorial Park. After they finish with the valleys, that will be the only place for me (Newport 7/6/1976, 1).” The Land Use Commission once again struck down the petition to reclassify. But due to a loophole in the system, which allowed for the building of “rural housing” on agricultural land, Pao threatened to build luxury housing in the valleys under the disguise of “rural housing” therefore making the valley inhospitable to and out-of-reach for the current residents, effectively driving them out.

In 1975, Pao was obtained eviction notices for most of the residents on his property despite his current inability to develop the land. Protesters occupied the valley for several days, anticipating the eviction notices. The sheriffs showed up and issued the protesters their eviction notices and the people, in return, set them on fire (Lynch 4/13/92). Unfortunately for Pao, he was ultimately denied permission to build his proposed “rural housing”, and as a result Pao threatened to sell the land in two-acre plots, the minimum size for agricultural parcels, dividing the land and dispossessing those that resided there. Finally, in 1977, Hawai'i's Governor Artyoshi negotiated with
Pao and the State purchased some 600 acres of his land in Watahole. Artyoshi designated this newly obtained state land as an agricultural park with some related residential use. Pao sold the remaining Waikane valley off by two-acre lots.

The land struggle in Watahole and Waikane had a great deal of significance for the Renaissance because it was one of the first major victories for the movement. An article in the Star Bulletin that year noted:

> With the new back-to-basics sensibilities of the 1970's, where a whole generation has profoundly questioned the concepts of upward mobility, a place like Watahole becomes more than a valley. It becomes a symbol that stands for a goal. It becomes a rallying point upon which decisions pitting the old establishment against the new social morality pivot. The remarkable thing about Watahole is that it is a pivot point where, for the first time, the weight of the establishment has swung in the direction of the new social morality (Bowman 3/1/1977).

This new social morality became a part of not only issues of land reclassification but also issues of reparations due and the sustenance of the Hawaiian culture and spirit. This played out in the third major event of the peak of the movement, the fight over Kaho'olawe, one of Hawai'i's eight primary islands. The Navy sublet Kaho'olawe after World War II (WW II) for purposes of conducting live ordinance target practice. After WWII, Eisenhower signed an executive order that nullified the Navy's leasing contract, but put Kaho'olawe under Navy control for whatever time the Navy felt necessary for military preparedness on the condition that it would be returned to Hawai'i after the Navy's use. In 1975, a group was formed, called the Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana, with the mission to safeguard the Island by stopping the live ordinance use of the island and return it to the people. There was a desire to have "Kaho'olawe ...become a place of refuge for the 'old Hawai'i,' where the ancient traditions and ways can be preserved and nurtured (Furusato, 10/27/1976)." The fight for Kaho'olawe was for some the epitome of the movement (an unpopular theme to the
more mainstream Hawaiians), incorporating the needs to preserve the land, preserve
the culture, preserve the rights, and revitalize the people. The Protect Kaho'olawe
Ohana's mission began in January of 1976 when four members of the Ohana landed
and hid overnight on Kaho'olawe. They were later charged with trespassing by the U.S.
Navy and the U.S. Attorney's Office but subsequently acquitted.

During this time, the Navy maintained that Kaho'olawe was necessary to the
training of the troops and, therefore, to the protection of the nation. They indicated that
if they were forced to relinquish Kaho'olawe the military would pull out of Hawai'i
completely. This was intended as an economical threat to the State. However,
opposition to the Navy's occupation of Kaho'olawe persisted and a number of hearings
were held in both the State House and the United States Congress. There were also
additional attempted occupations of the Island, one of which resulted in the tragic loss
of Native Hawaiian community activists George Helm and Kimo Mitchell. The two were
lost at sea while returning from a mission intended to rescue other protesters that had
been stranded on the Island and were running low on provisions. Kaho'olawe became a
symbol for the assertion of land rights by native peoples, cultural awareness and an
expression Hawaiian identity.

**How The Music Was the Movement and the Movement was the Music**

*Olomana*’s music is an example of how music played an important political role
in the Renaissance as well as an example of how music can act as a form of resistance.*
*Olomana*’s music provides a social commentary on the Wai'ahole-Waikane and
Kaho'olawe land struggles by writing about their feelings regarding the onslaught of
development as Hawaiians and as people who were born and raised in Hawai'i and,
therefore, it transmitted a highly political message. Furthermore, because of their
unique combination of traditional and contemporary sounds exemplified in their music,
they were able to transmit this message across the borders of social classes as well as across racial lines. In a sense their sound and message was created by and helped to create the movement. Eyerman and Jameson explain the relationship between social movements and artistic will as such:

On the one hand, social movements challenge dominant categories of artistic merit by making conscious – and problematic – the taken-for-granted frameworks of evaluation and judgment...by experimenting with new aesthetic principles and creating new collective rituals. On the other hand, social movements utilized the media of artistic expression for communicating with the larger society and, by so doing, often serve to (re)politicize popular culture and entertainment (10).

The Sound

*Olomana*’s unique mixture of sounds and languages defied easy categorization into either Hawaiian or American music, thereby creating a new standard commonly referred to as Hawaiian contemporary music that exists today. This fusion of sound and language served as a perfect example of music acting as “an important vehicle for the diffusion of movement into the broader culture (Eyerman, 1).” *Olomana* provided balanced and palatable music that allowed for the transmission of the message into places where it otherwise might not have been heard. Bands like *Sunday Manoa* spoke specifically to the Hawaiian aspect of generation, and bands like *Country Comfort* spoke specifically to the American aspect of the generation, and as influential as each band was, there was a portion of a potential audience that was consistently left out. It was *Olomana*’s ability to operate in the middle ground that spoke to a larger audience, including as Osorio points out, a “more proper and staid” audience than that of *Country Comfort* (1992, 431). Jerry explained the motive for the combination, citing some issues such as language accessibility by saying:
...there were people around town who were pursuing almost the same kind of
ing in different ways... Peter Moon and the Sunday Manoa ... and what they
were doing was going back and searching out Hawaiian language music, the
older music, and updating it in terms of rhythms and chords and beats and
things like that which made it interesting to people. We were also the generation
that...we heard Hawaiian around the house but nobody was really teaching it to
us. At Kamehameha they were offering Spanish and French and those kinds of
things there was no real Hawaiian language class at the time when I was there.
So, you know trying to express what you really wanted to say when you didn't
have a full grasp of the language that well... I don't want to just take something
old and give it life and not know what I am talking about. I was always very
interested in words so we took Hawaiian thoughts and Hawaiian phrases perhaps
and the idea of kaona, the metaphor, and tried to express it in a way that could
come to the English part of the language so that people would know what it was
that we were trying to talk about. and there were people around town Leon and
Malia, Liko Martin, who were doing that kind of stuff and then of course ... Eddie
[Kamae] was pursuing it from a very traditional perspective... and thank
goodness there are people who want to do that. I think it needs all types. You
want to have somebody who has the foundation to be able to take that resource
to stand on but at the same time we are responsible for creating what we have in
our own time (Santos, interview).

What Olomana created "for their own time" was quality music, but more
significantly a substantive, on-point message. The result was they provided a voice for
the movement as well and by doing so helped some of the more aesthetic listeners
become "acclimated to the notion that a true appreciation for Hawaiian music
demanded a true appreciation for the roots of the Hawaiians' plight, namely the
degradation of their natural environment (Osorio 1992, 431)."
The Message

*Olomana* was able to transmit a message that was anti-development and pro-self-worth. One of their many songs that spoke directly to the issues in the Waahole-Waikane protests and became a symbolic transmission of feeling and thought about those evictions was entitled “Ku’u Home of Kahalu’u” (Thesis CD Track 13, Track 14). The lyrics are shown in Figure 5.4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ku’u Home o Kahalu’u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I remember days when we were younger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We used to catch ‘o’opu in the mountain stream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘round the Ko’olau hills we’d ride on horseback</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So long ago it seems it was a dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last night I dreamt I was returning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And my heard called out to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But I fear you won’t be like I left you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me ke aloha ku’u home o Kahalu’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I remember days when we were wiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When our world was small enough for dreams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And you have lingered there my sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And I no longer can it seems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last night I dreamt I was returning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And my heart called out to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But I fear you won’t be like I left you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me ke aloha ku’u home o Kahalu’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change is a strange thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It cannot be denied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It can help you find yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or make you lose your pride</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Move with it slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As on the road we go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Please do not hold on to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We all must go alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I remember days when we were smiling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>When we laughed and sang the whole night long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And I will greet you as I find you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With the sharing of a brand new song</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last night I dreamt I was returning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>And my heart called out to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To please accept me as you’ll find me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me ke aloha ku’u home o Kahalu’u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.4: Lyrics to *Olomana*’s Ku’u Home of Kahalu’u
This song addresses the changes to the land, brought on by rash development, and the inevitable changes that result on people who have some connection to the land. In this song he references the Windward side of Oahu, his home as well as the Wai'ahole-Wai'akane Valleys. There is a nostalgic element that speaks of the loss of the past brought on when land is lost and people are changed. He expresses a fear that because of these changes, the relationship that once existed between the land and the individual, in this case the artist himself, might not be there any longer. However, the singer learns to accept changes to the land and goes on to describe a way to move on by creating a “new song.” Osorio says of this song:

Loss of innocence was the human equivalent of nature's retreat before the city sprawl. The relationship between the land and the child expressed...is given greater force in this song as nature's loss is seen, on the personal level, as loss of happiness, freedom, even identity (1992, 430).

Through this song, Olomana is able to connect and convey to the audience the deep sense of sadness that occurs with the onset of development. Pratt points out that the focus on the past and what is lost empowers a movement of revolt in listeners and performers. Pratt uses the following quote, "loss of a sense of the past is an important matter, if only for its functional necessity to revolt. How can there be a creative spirit of youthful revolt when there is nothing for revolt to feed upon but itself? (31)."

In essence, being able to convey clearly what has been taken away empowers people to look to the future, and if they are moved enough, take action to prevent anything else of fundamental importance from vanishing.

Another song, written by Jerry that speaks of what was lost is called “Kahana’s Song.” The following is a verse from the song:
I thought that I was crazy
For wanting to make the plane
And leave Kaua‘i
Just to return here again
Cement, cars, and asphalt
And people by the score
Seems that’s all this home of mine
Has come to stand for anymore
Just when I thought
This might be what’s real
You called me out to feel
Out where the mountains are tall and green
The river is clean and thriving
Out where Oahu feels alive and proud
Ua nani o Kahana

This song again addresses the change and loss of an identifiable “home” due to development. It also speaks about the emotional turmoil of those that are experiencing the change, by referring to not being able to tell or the inability to “feel” what is real or not. Finally it stresses the importance of a clean, undeveloped countryside that one can be proud of and be in touch with nature that is otherwise lost when overdevelopment takes place.

The issues of emotional turmoil and self-respect, which the previous song alludes to, were problems that the local community could identify with. Development was destroying a way-of-life. As Mike Kahikina, who at the time was a coordinator of alternative schooling on the Leeward side of O‘ahu, said during a 1982 interview:

Development has kept us from getting what is rightfully ours. Now they’re forcing development down our throats. Families are splitting up because of this. Kids now don’t even know what it means to be a Hawaiian, to appreciate the goodness in plants and human nature (Shaplen 9/6/1982, 67).

Development was causing the degradation of self-respect and spirit among the people. In another interview in the same article, Kalani Ohelo, who at the time was working on a small farm of the Leeward side of Oahu said:
We were smashed by the Americans to the point where we were taught to think negatively about our own culture and life style. This place is full of schizophrenic Hawaiians who turn to crime because they've been forced to remain ignorant and have become desperate (Shaplen, 69).

Another comment more specifically about the self-respect of Hawaiian children at that time noted

These deficiencies [in scholastic abilities] it is said sometimes lead to feelings of isolation and rejection among Hawaiians... Too many Hawaiians believe they're losers, and they act out that role,' says Myron Thompson (Shaplen, 75).

Jerry's first song “O Malia” spoke specifically to these issues, and offers through its words, support and encouragement promoting self-worth of the younger generation (Thesis CD Track 15, Track 16). The lyrics are in Figure 5.5. Jerry describes the inspiration as such:

I had written a song called “O Malia” which is on my first album and basically it was a way of looking around at people in my family, kids that were growing up, and the sense of self worth that sometimes is missing in local children when they are compared to maybe town schools [kids] or people coming in from the outside. The community is changing, the faces are changing, there's different things going on, and it's like why is there this lack of self confidence when we have been given some very special gifts... and so anyway I wrote “O Malia”...and it was the first song that I wrote that was really kind of introspective in terms of who am I in the world and if I feel this way and I am noticing it in the other people around me: something is missing and we need to do something (Santos, interview).
**O Malia**

O Malia don't be shy  
O Malia come raise your eyes.  
For you have the beauty  
That was touched by nature's hand  
Your long dark hair blowing  
Gently in the wind  
The sun on your brown shoulders  
Knows that this is where you'd be  
O Malia stay by me  

O Malia we must be strong  
O Malia we've been silent too long  
So raise your voice  
In story of our land  
And tell them how our Fathers  
Worked by hand  
For they saw in it the beauty  
That only love could keep from dying  
O Malia don't you cry

An though our lands they take away  
With their changes everyday  
And cement towers stand  
Where we once played  
What they cannot take away  
Is the love we share today  
And the children we will bear  
To carry on...

O Malia can't you see  
O Malia it's up to you and me  
So run and tell the children  
Of our kind  
Tell them to be strong in hearts and minds  
And sing to them a song  
Of a thousand years of pride  
O Malia take my hand  
It is time for us to stand

"Ua mau ke ea o ka 'aina in a 'opio."
"The life of the land is perpetuated by its youth"

**Figure 5.5: Lyrics to Olomana's O Malia**

In the song, Jerry reiterates the deep connection between the people and the land and urges "Malia" or the local or native children to take pride in that connection.
and to tell everyone about what that deep connection nourishes. He addresses the issues of development by referencing how land is lost to cement towers, but he also offers encouragement by noting that the love and the children will carry on despite what is taken away. Finally, he tells Malia to tell all the kids about “our kind” and remember that they come from a “thousand years of pride.”

As Jerry noted, what he expressed in “O Malia” was something that he witnessed in many people around him and it was something that Robert recognized as well. Again, “[music] works through embodying widely shared dreams and desires, and anxieties, as such creating new kinds of communities linked through common participation in shared cultural imagery (Pratt, 35).” Through this song, Olomana was able to express the concerns of a good portion of the generation and those connected to the movement. Jerry gave an example during an interview in 1977:

“When we did a concert at the Shell for Watahole-Walkane, it was the first time we knew an audience understood our own feelings. We could see our message in their eyes (Keith 6/16/1977).”

Because of this connection and Olomana’s ability to so vividly convey a particular message, people involved in political protests and the movements began to ask Olomana to play on behalf of their cause. The result was that their music became more closely related to the movement, thereby increasing the political overtones associated with their music. Jerry said:

The good side of the impact for what we were trying to do in the music was that other people recognized it and realized how it could be utilized for other things...case in point lot of land struggles going on at the time, Watahole-Walkane, the whole idea of development on that side of the island, you know... if you have a visibility through the arts or through whatever your position may be it acts as a platform for other people so you can gather people together to create
those kind of things. So out of this I got started becoming more involved in the land struggles because people were inviting us to play so that they could get people out there to listen ... and the more you get called into the community to experience those kind of things the more it permeates what you do. So it was kind of a backwards journey, it's like I started with the music just trying to say something about the time I was in and then realizing how little I actually knew about what had brought me to that moment in time (Santos, interview).

Since most of Olomana's songs in the beginning spoke of the impact of losing land to development and because of their popularity, as Jerry noted, more people involved in the Renaissance began to request their help to promote their issues. This is how Olomana became involved in the Kaho'olawe struggle. After all the attention that their first album received, the Protect Kaho'olawe Ohana approached Olomana and asked them to sing the song "Mele O Kaho'olawe," written by Uncle Harry Mitchell, whose son Kimo Mitchell was lost at sea with George Helm (Thesis CD Track 17, Track 18). The song's lyrics are in Figure 5.6. There are several elements to this song that make it a political form of resistance. The first is the actual content of the song. The song speaks of the history of the island including the torture of the island caused by American control. It then speaks of the Ohana's move to rescue the island from despair. It urges the people of Hawai'i to band together and persist in the fight for the island and to continue to pressure the government for its return.

The second element is that whole song is written and sung only in Hawaiian. Elizabeth Buck speaks of the political use of language saying:

Resistance in the late twentieth-century contemporary Hawaiian music has occasionally been evident in explicitly political lyrics but is found most particularly in the strategic use of the Hawaiian language. Hawaiian words and
Mele O Kaho'olawe

Aloha ku'u moku o Kaho'olawe
Love my island, Kaho'olawe

Mai kinohi kou inoa o Kanaloa
From the beginning your name was Kanaloa

Kohe malamalama lau kanaka 'ole
You are the southern beacon, barren and without population

Hiki, mai na pua e ho'omalu mai
Until you were visited by nine people, and they granted you peace

Alu like kākou Lāhui Hawai'i
Let us band together people of Hawai'i

Mai ka lā hiki mai k ka lā kau a'e
From sun up to sun down

Ku pa'a a hahat ho'ilkaika na kanaka
Stand together and follow, Be strong kanaka

Kau li'i mākou nui kealoha no ka 'āina
We are but a few in number, but our love for the 'āina is unlimited

Hano hano na pua o Hui Alaloa/ Hawai'i Nei
Popular are the young people of Hui Alaloa/ Hawai'i Nei

No ke kaua kau holo me ka 'aupuni
For the civil strife caused against the government

Pa'a pu ka mana'o no ka pono o ka 'āina
Together in one thought to bring righteousness to the 'āina

Imua na pua lanakila Kaho'olawe
Go forward young people and bring salvation to Kaho'olawe

Figure 5.6: Lyrics to Olomana's Mele O Kaho'olawe

their hidden meanings-relearned by Hawaiian musicians from kūpuna (elders), kumu hula, or in Hawaiian language courses—are used as a way of separating insider from outsider. Words and their meanings have been the only things that Westerners could not totally appropriate, could not buy like they bought land, or remake into their own as they did the political system. Even though wedded to Western forms and the capitalist incentives and constraints of the music market,
the continued use of the Hawaiian language in Hawaiian songs is a statement of pride and ethnicity... (Buck 1993, 119)

In other words, the use of language in this song is a means of resistance by separating those that can understand it from those who cannot. Furthermore, it is a reiteration of cultural identity that connects itself to the land, which applies directly to the fight for Kaho‘olawe.

The light-heartedness of the music provides a cover to the militancy of lyrics. Those that do not understand the language hear the pleasant upbeat melody of the song and enjoy the music. In the meantime, the message is explicitly calling for the rising-up of the young people connected to the land. The message is calling for opposition to the government and perseverance in the fight for the land, while the melody provides an ingenious disguise of the message by creating the opposite feel.

These songs are just some of many of Olomana’s songs that articulate the political concerns of the time. However, a 1977 newspaper article said “it would be unfair to label Olomana “political” (Keith 6/16/1977).” When I asked Jerry if he felt that it was unfair to classify his music as political, his answer summarized Olomana’s political contributions to the Renaissance and the context in which it arose. I include his answer below.

I think out of that whole environment [of the sixties] it would be hard pressed to write conscientiously and not have some sense of politics involved... and I think from the very beginning even though it is not exclusively, there has been a lot of that in my music. I think that perhaps in that moment in time it was a very touchy subject- now it is politically correct to say this is Hawaiian history the way it is... (Santos, interview)
And he continues on to say:

So not everyone who was playing music wanted to put themselves out in that way and it became clear early on from people like Aunty Emma [Defreis] - "OK you have been given this opportunity what do you do with it? Do you just use it for yourself to have people tell you how wonderful you are or really enjoy the music - Or do you also use it in a way that will change the way people think and will change opportunities for other people?" So in that sense it was always a conscientious decision to point toward the politics. It was about the land, it was about the environment, it was about, you know, a reason that we hold dear - local culture is changing so very quickly what are we going to do about this, you know... If you have the opportunity and the visibility and you truly care about your home and what is happening to it then you need to be a little political and certainly after Robert passed away I mean we had already been doing those things (Santos, interview).
CHAPTER 6
CECILIO AND KAPONO

As the previous chapters explained, music in Hawai'i during the seventies went through a variety of phases, each one representing the coming out of a contemporary Hawaiian identity and each one helping the cause of the movement and inspiring pride in local achievement. The music's message also served to coalesce the key issues important to the native and local people. Right before The Sons of Hawai'i began, there was a general feeling of shame that accompanied being Hawaiian. Statehood and tourism pushed this feeling even further with the process of Americanization that was pushing things-not-American to the backbuner. When The Sons began to play their music, there was gradual realization that the uniqueness of the culture should come to the forefront rather than be morphed into a tourist attraction. Sunday Manoa brought this concept home to the younger audience through their unique blend of Hawaiian songs and rocking interpretations. Country Comfort took the music a step further by providing English lyrics describing the struggles with development that were occurring. Olomana elaborated on that concept by providing more poignant social commentary as well as a call to action by combining traditional Hawaiian elements and lyrics introduced by Sunday Manoa and The Sons while using English, as did Country Comfort, to reach a broader audience. Cecilio and Kapono (C&K) mark the finale of the Renaissance. It is not just the stylings and content of their music, but also the wide popularity enjoyed by the band due to the context of the times. They represented a "youthful rebellion" and at that point in time, rebellion was still a fun thing to do. As Kanalu Young says "We knew le'ale'a before we knew the word." Furthermore, I find that their music is a precursor for the next generation of music to come and for these reasons I have chosen to examine C&K as the final band in this thesis.
Cecilio Rodriguez and Henry Kapono Ka‘aihue began their lives and careers in different ways. Cecilio was born to a young Mexican couple that migrated to California. At a young age, Cecilio and his family moved back to Mexico only for the children to return to the United States several years later. Their father dropped them off at their step-grandfather’s house and never returned. The grandfather could not afford to take care of all six children and they were eventually institutionalized by the State. Two foster parents took the children in, relocated them to Santa Barbara, and provided them with a good home and education. This caused Cecilio to be a sort of an outcast, “Because he spoke such flawless English, other ‘brown kids’ (as he calls them) shunned him (Cinnex 11/8/1989).” It was at this point that he turned to music. His ability to play music and to sing helped him defeat youthful taunts. This was the point where Cecilio really focused on his music. In Cecilio’s early twenties, he was considered a professional musician, playing gigs around the United States, including local venues, such as the Red Noodle club in Honolulu.

Henry Kapono is pure Hawaiian and was born into a family of eight children. They were raised in Kapahulu, O‘ahu. Like most Hawaiians of his generation, he grew up in a household where his parents spoke Hawaiian but did not teach it to the children so as “to protect us from scoldings and lickings (in school) (Cinnex, 11/8/89).” He had always been athletic, and while attending Kaimuki Intermediate School, he won a baseball scholarship from local “prestigious” Punahou High School. It was here, at a high-school known for its large attendance of haole (Caucasian) children that Kapono understood that he was pure Hawaiian, and that that being Hawaiian was something special. It was also at this time that Kapono began to play the guitar. When I asked him whom he initially tried to emulate, his response was that he tried to emulate his friends, who at the time were playing tunes from the Beatles, Jimi Hendrix, and James Taylor, the best that they could.
Kapono went on to play football for Treasure Valley Community College in Oregon and eventually transferred to the University of Hawai‘i where he continued his collegiate college football career. His initial dream was to become a professional football player, however after a serious injury where he suffered two broken knees, his dreams shifted to a career in music (Cinnex, 11/8/1989). In his early twenties, Kapono began a solo career playing small gigs at local clubs in Waikiki. One night after work, he went down to the Red Noodle club in Honolulu to hear the band that was playing; it turned out to be Cecilio’s band Unicorn. This however, would not be the first time they met.

Kapono joined a local rock band called Pakalolo, who was booked to do several gigs entertaining U.S. troops in South East Asia. Kapono performed there for two years and it was not until the early seventies that he returned to Hawai‘i and resumed his solo career.

Upon his return a friend of Kapono’s told him about another musician that he knew who would be a perfect musical match. When Kapono heard it was Cecilio, he remembered the band that he heard at the Red Noodle club and followed up on the suggestion. Cecilio, who was in California at this point and opening for Little Anthony and the Imperials, caught a plane to Hawai‘i. The two finally met over dinner one night on the North Shore of Oahu. According to Kapono, the rest was history:

...we sat down on the North Shore and had dinner with a group of people and after dinner we sat down and played one song and kind of looked at each other and kind of laughed because it sounded so good... and we tried another one ...by the third song we said “Ok so when are we going to play again?” So it just kind of like happened...it was meant to be (Kapono, interview).

Their sound was hypnotic due to their perfect harmonies and their “feel-good, folk rock tunes (Bolante 2004, 71).” They composed and wrote all of their songs, and all
of the songs were in English. It was the soundtrack to an easygoing lifestyle. Cecilio describes the inspiration for the music as such:

We were writing about what everybody was living. Parties, getting away, travels, love. It was a more innocent time—nobody was in a hurry to grow up. C&K personified kicking back and listening to good music. We were very distinct in the sound that we had, and it became the C&K sound (Steele Aug/Sept 2003).

Kapono's description isn't much different:

...I think it was easy listening; it was about having fun, you know, it wasn't real Hawaiian but it kind of had a Hawaiian flavor to it just by what were saying lyrically you know. Our music was different I think from all the other music that was going on, and it was different from the regular Hawaiian chord structures you know so I think it was just...our lyrics were conveying to people about who we are and what we were doing...having fun (Kapono, interview).

In an article, Kapono says his songwriting focus was a result of the years he spent entertaining in South East Asia, saying:

I learned a lot when I traveled to the Far East because I had a lot of time to kill over there. When I came back home, I felt so much freedom. After everything I saw in that war zone, I was spiritually happy to be home. That helped me with my music to write songs about being happy and having a good time. Cee and I, when we met, we were both doing the same thing and thinking the same way (Berger 8/23/2002).

They took their feel-good music and began to play together professionally as C&K at a local Waikiki club called the Rainbow Villa. After being heard publicly, they were asked to open for Frank Zappa's concert in Hawai'i. Not long after that, their gigs at the Rainbow Villa were mostly sold out with standing room only. They later took their music to the mainland, playing in clubs around California. It was at a gig at the
Troubadour in Hollywood that an agent from Columbia Records discovered them. They received a three album recording contract with Columbia, one of the first contracts issued to a Hawai'i group, and what was even more impressive is that they did so within only eight months of meeting each other. Their first album, self-titled, was released on Columbia records in 1974 (Figure 6.1). James Taylor's band provided the musical backup and this album itself boasted some of their most famous hits such as “Feeling Just the Way I Do (Over You),” “Lifetime Party,” and “Friends” (Thesis CD Track 19, Track 20).

![Figure 6.1: Album Cover for C&K's first album, self-titled, released on Columbia records in 1974.](image)

As can be seen from just their song titles, their music reflected, as they described, an easy-going, simple, fun lifestyle that anyone could relate to. The only song that even slightly echoed the sentiments of other bands of the time, of a home in
the country, in this case Hawai'i is called "Gotta Get Away." and it speaks to leaving the busy life of town behind and going to the country to relax.

Their album cover, somewhat resembling a Jimmy Buffet style, reflects the same thing. It was a close up drawing of a bright colored aloha shirt decked in little faces of C&K, palm tree islands, flowers, and planes. Whether or not this was the choice of C&K or the choice of Columbia records, it reflected an easy-going lifestyle, one that could be identified no matter where one's origins were. The planes, bright colors, flowers and islands on an aloha shirt may have been a marketing technique to connect C&K's music to the "tropical paradise" that is Hawai'i. Regardless of this intention, these songs soon became very popular in the islands, playing on "top 40" radio stations, as well as on the west coast of the continental U.S.

C&K's second album (Figure 6.2) done with Columbia entitled Elua, meaning second or two in Hawaiian was released just one year later in 1975.

Figure 6.2: Album Cover for C&K's second album, Elua, released on Columbia records in 1975.
They continued with the same successful sound, and created other hits such as “Good night and Good morning”, “I Am The Other Man”, “Highway In the Sun,” and “About You.” Again these songs spoke about situations in love and life. It spoke of the simple things such as driving down the highway in the sun, meeting up with friends, and partying. For the most part, this, like their other album, focused on love, hope, and good times.

C&K’s final album (Figure 6.3) with Columbia was their 1977 release *Night Music*. The sound on this album was noticeably more lush and orchestrated, but the message of the songs remained focused on the good times in life, love and traveling.

![Figure 6.3: Album Cover for C&K's third album with Columbia, *Night Music*, released in 1977.](image)

Their songwriting was more mature with a greater poetic ability to tell a story, such as the song “Sailin’.” Other hits on this album include the title track “Night Music,” “Here With You,” and “We’re All Alone.”
After this third album, C&K's contract with Columbia expired. They had a chance to renew, but decided to take things into their own hands. Cecilio notes:

We wanted to give it our own try. We were in a position to do something for ourselves, and decided to take the opportunity. We always had artistic control. Now we're at the point where it's really our baby from the beginning to end. Before, there was always someone else we had to please, like the producer, who sometimes was just handed to us. Now we can choose who we want (SB unknown article).

The group signed on with Starbolt records, a locally based recording company, and released their fourth album, *Life's Different Now* in 1978 (Figure 6.4).

![Figure 6.4: Album Cover of C&K's fourth album, *Life's Different Now*, released on Starbolt records in 1978.](image)

The duo took more risks in their musical stylings by incorporating reggae rhythms and a touch of blues. Their topics however, were unchanged and consisted of
travel, love and heartache. The hits off of this album included its title track, "Life's Different Now" as well as "Goodbye."

Shortly after the release of this album, the duo went their separate ways and explored their lives as solo artists. Cecilio released three albums on his own, with lyrics dealing with love and hope. Kapono released about twelve albums and his song content began to shift toward the plight of the Hawaiian people and the issue of sovereignty. Their solo careers have not prohibited them from joining together from time-to-time to do concerts or release albums, and they still enjoy enormous success as a duo today. These four albums, however, were their early works that fall into the time frame of the Renaissance.

The Impact

C&K made several contributions to the Hawaiian music world in terms of business and exposure.

To begin with, they were one of the first local groups during that time to secure a national record deal with a major record label, Columbia Records. This meant that, unlike other local groups, C&K's fan based stretched across the ocean from the Rockies in the east and to Japan in the West. Their record deal allowed them to take their music and the feeling about life in Hawai'i to a broader audience than had previously been done.

Second, their record sales volumes due to their popularity here, as well as abroad, achieved levels never previously associated with a local music product. Their albums sold as well as American pop albums did in Hawai'i, which heretofore was unheard of.

C&K, with the help of local concert promoter Tom Moffat, introduced the concept of big concerts with upwards of 35,000 seats. Up until then Hawaiian music was
primarily on display only at local bars and restaurants, and some protest gatherings. C&K brought contemporary Hawaiian music "out of the Waikiki nightclubs, away from the noise of clinking glasses, and into the Blaisdell, the Stadium, the Shell, where fans just listen to the music and not worry about fulfilling the two-drink minimum (Gomes 1/28/1979)." What was even more impressive was that their fan base was able to fill all of their concert venues to near capacity. In 1975, they played a concert at the Shell to an audience of 11,000 (Berger 9/3/1998). In 1976, they headlined a concert at Aloha Stadium, along with Kalapana, and played to an unprecedented 25,000 people; which made that concert the biggest local concert of the decade (ibid.). They continue to perform to sell-out venues even to this day.

Their popularity and success motivated the record industry to look for similar acts that could produce the same type of musical product and garner a similar sized following thus setting new standards for local recording artists to aspire to.

C&K's musical stylings and harmonies, as well as their original songs opened the door for another successful pop band in Hawaii called Kalapana. One resource says that "Kalapana was something of a 'boy band,' assembled specifically for their hit-making potential" by the head of Kahuku Productions, Ed Guy, who helped C&K (Bolante 2004, 43). Another source says that members of the band met while doing separate gigs and just clicked. Either way, C&K cleared the way for other bands by showing that a local band could achieve significant commercial success and could become a "top 40" band.

As much as C&K did for Hawaii's music industry, there remains the question of how and why they achieved such great success in Hawaii during a time when politics of cultural identity were dominating the Hawaiian music scene.

One reason might be the very lack of particular references to Hawaii or Hawaiian issues enabled them to connect to a broader fan base.
Melinda Caroll, local musician, said:

... I think that this renaissance opened up Hawaiian music to a much broader audience because when I was in Florida this was 1977 I was singing at a club there and people would come in and bring me albums from Hawaii...like C&K and Olomana and I mean I was listening to this music in Florida and going “cool music” you know before I even thought about coming out here and anybody could see that it was good juicy wonderful rhythm, great stories about the land and it was unusual - maybe it was normal if you grew up around Hawaiian music but if you grew up somewhere like that people didn’t sing about Jacksonville...(laughter)...... and, you know, ...the ocean sound they didn’t do that so to hear somebody write lyrics and a song that was beautiful about seabirds...(Caroll, interview).

During this time the State was also experiencing a population boom, fueled primarily by mainlanders moving to Hawai‘i in search of a more idyllic lifestyle. The image and songs that C&K were producing fit in with that idyllic interpretation of Hawai‘i and were strikingly similar to music these transplanted residents were familiar with. They were able to appeal to everyone regardless of background or politics. They were able to appeal to tourists, *maihint*, and the youth of Hawai‘i alike.

Another reason might be due to recent tumultuous times, both on a State and a national level, America and Hawai‘i were simply ready for this type of carefree sound. There was as Cecilio noted “space” for feel-good music:

There were some blank spaces in music in those days that needed to be filled and we just happened to come along at the right time. We sing songs that have to do with hope and love, feel-good songs. People were ready for that kind of thing. The fact that it became the music of a generation, we couldn’t have foretold that, it just happened (Cecilio interview: Steele Aug/Sept 2003).
As Simon Firth explains, “The problem is that the young...have come to symbolize leisure, to embody good times...It is because they [the youth] lack power that the young account for their lives in terms of play, focus their politics on leisure (Firth 1981, 200-201).” It might be interpreted that because there was a feeling of “lack of power” during these chaotic times that C&K’s focus on the aspects of life that were worry-free and leisurely were welcomed. This association of lack of power and leisure can even be seen in their lyrics for their song “6 o’clock News,” one of their few songs that dealt with the more serious issue of war (Thesis CD Track 21). The chorus in the song is as follows:

6 o’clock bad news is on everyday  
People out shooting, some getting paid  
And others abusing the energy today  
The weather report is the best news today...  
What’s the use of complaining when nothing gets done?  
What’s the use of restraining from having some fun?”

As can be seen, the lyrics portray helplessness in the face of “bad news” and because of this inability to make a difference they draw the conclusion “What’s the use of restraining from having some fun?”

Despite their broad appeal and politics of leisure, it still remains curious that C&K would enjoy such success among local people in Hawai‘i during such a politically charged time. What is interesting to me is the speed with which the local community welcomed this new feel-good music, after decades of listening to pre-renaissance music that did not speak directly to them and finally nurturing and responding to music that did in fact speak to their issues. This is not to say that C&K did not capture some flavor of Hawai‘i in their music, but as one article noted “The tropical flowers and aloha shirts on their album covers are the only ‘Hawaiian’ things about the duo’s work- there are no
Hawaiian words or specific references to Hawai'i in any of the group's songs (Gomes 1/28/1979)." This was due to, as the article pointed out, a conscious about the wider market that C&K were trying to obtain. The article continues on to say:

Part of the reason for that, they say, is artistic- to make specific, immediate experiences universal so they can be appreciated by everyone, whether they live in Makiki or Manhattan...He [Cecilio] says that considering the market they are trying to attract, there might be problems if they "localized" a song too much (Gomes 1/28/1979).

Kapono clarified this for me when I asked him about it, saying:

Yeah, I guess you could say that but we... our thing was that I for one being pure Hawaiian; didn't really speak Hawaiian; didn't know Hawaiian; didn't grow up singing Hawaiian music. At that time it was forbidden. I was at the age where my parents couldn't talk to me in Hawaiian, so it was almost a lost language. So I didn't know enough of Hawaiian to do it ... I just did what I knew which was English. I went to Punahou so I knew how to speak English well...I think consciously... I think more subconsciously we did what we did you know? I don't think we were real conscious about a lot of things (laughter) (Kapono, interview).

The answer to my question came when I was interviewing Aunty Cookie about C&K's popularity. I asked her why, during a time when people were looking to their roots, rediscovering their identity especially through music, and becoming proud again to be Hawaiian, why was C&K so popular? She replied:

...simply because they were local boys...local boys that sounded good...and that's it, they were just a local band. That's how Hawai'i is right? (Schrader, interview) (Thesis CD Track 22).
That's how Hawai'i came to be, that was not how Hawai'i was. Before the Renaissance, there was a different feeling, as previously mentioned. Robert Cazimero sums it up perfectly when he said “Small kid time, I thought it was more important to be haole, to be American (Harada 11/11/1977).” Through the process of the Renaissance, through the resurgence of ethnic pride, it came to be more than enough to be “just local boys.” It goes back to what Gaylord Holomalia tried to point out to me: there was pride that local people had in being able to do what mainland bands did, and in some cases do what they did better.

C&K was the epitome of this ideology. They wrote their own songs, played their own music, sent out a consistent feel-good message and were successful at it. They were local boys with a national recording contract; they were local boys selling out large venues; they were simply local boys that sounded good and did well. After nearly a decade of trying to overcome a climate of lack of self-respect, shame about being Hawaiian, trying to discover who Hawaiians were in a contemporary world, there was enough of a resurgence to simply be proud to be local, to be Hawaiian and to be doing things well.
CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

Where are your bones?

_Dancing as songs and old words in my head_
_deep in the timelessness of my mind_
from the poem “Silence...on another maree” by Keri Hulme

Why Music?

Music is, as John DeMello, owner and founder of Mountain Apple Company, describes, “the spearhead of all art forms.” It can convey emotion, be political, invoke thought, appeal to a spiritual side of man and motivate. As previously discussed all of these components are present in the music of the seventies.

It is the ultimate mode of communication because even though lyrics might not be able to be understood, the sound and the melody alone can convey the emotion of the music. In other words, music connects not only on an intellectual level but also on an emotional one and, as such, it has the ability to be one of the most personal and public expression of emotion simultaneously. Eyerman explains that:

...the exemplary action of music and art is lived as well as thought: it is cognitive, but it also draws on more emotive aspects of human consciousness. As cultural expression, exemplary action is self-revealing and thus a symbolic representation of the individual and the collective which are the movement. It is symbolic in that it symbolizes all the movement stands for, what is seen as virtuous and what is seen as evil (1998, 23).

Furthermore, within the act of expression lies the potential for empowerment. As Street points out, “the expression and exploration of desires and pleasures is as potentially disruptive as any demonstration or political tract (1986, 184).”
In Hawaiian music during the seventies for example, the expression of a sense of loss as well as the longing for a return to the past was seen as politically disruptive. Jerry Santos gives us this example:

...this whole idea of Kaho'olawe- returning an island to the state of Hawaii- is politically correct and people can say those kinds of things now but in the early 1970s, mid 1970s, it was not, and I'm,... we lost work, we lost opportunities because we were involved in those kind of things so not everyone who was playing music wanted to put themselves out in that way.

Within the frameworks of music was the possibility of opposition and defiance and these could be achieved not only through explicit lyrics, but also because of music's ability to convey clearly the environment and emotion of particular times. Elizabeth Buck notes that:

In Hawaiian music there is evidence of what Jameson calls "cultural revolution" - the coexistence of competing sign systems derived from different modes of production- where the old resists assimilation, projecting its own ideological message, calling attention to a history of domination, positioning the dominant culture as a culture, not the culture, of Hawai'i (1993, 119-120).

Music is also a platform upon which the development of identity and culture can take place. Hawaiian identity and culture, like all other cultures, undergoes change, it is in the constant process of mediating what has come before and what will come in the future. Culture is the constant dialogue between the past and the future, and therefore, music is the expressive documentation of that dialogue. An article by Rutherford and Peterson says that:

What one must remember is that...identity is part of an infinite movement, that one can only come into a dialogue with the past and future, a dialogue which is necessary, if one ceases to invest in a single identity...One must be prepared to
participate in the immense and specific challenges of a wider community...

(Rutherford & Peterson 1995).

The music of the seventies is the “dialogue” as well as the “participation in challenges” of the Hawaiian community during a time where an ever increasingly modern American society began to overtake Hawai‘i. The interplay and “infinite movement of identity” is seen not only in the lyrics, but also in the melody, the repetition, the rhythm, the tones, the instrumentation as well as the construction of the song.

Although music has these many abilities to convey and portray, the exceptional value of music is its ability to connect to each and every individual through a shared memory. First and foremost, music, unlike any other art form, permeates everyday life. In terms of Hawai‘i, Buck points out that Hawaiian music is “the most public manifestation of Hawaiian culture (1993, 119),” and as such can be accessed by a variety of people at any given time. Unlike dancing, architecture, poetry, or painting, music can be heard at any time of the day in any setting and can be replicated, albeit at a rudimentary but recognizable level, by an everyday person who may not be a skilled musician. In a sense, if the audience connects to a song or to an artist, they can access the song’s invoked memories and emotions, as well as the melody at anytime either through records or radio, or through their own attempts at imitation.

Furthermore, music, like the movements themselves was not monolithic. Each song represents an extremity or different ideals that comprise the whole movement. Because of this each song could speak to a particular group of people, depending on the extremity of their ideologies, and therefore songs in their collection have the ability to be a full representation of the scope of the movement.

The leads me into one of the most important aspects of music, the connection that is made between the artist, the music, and the audience is critical to the utilization
of music. As many ethnomusicologists note, the music means only what the audience makes of it. Jerry Santos explains the feeling of this connection:

...some very articulate intelligent Hawaiian was up giving a political speech but people weren't really hearing the essence of how important the speech was they were more focused on the intensity of the speaker and forming opinions in that way. So while they are being distracted by the person they are not really hearing what the person is trying to say no matter how valid it is...I think in music it's a simpler... I forget Aunty's exact words to me, it's a kinder and simpler way. She said they will listen to you singing a song sweetly and be more apt to hear what you are trying to say which is the same message than somebody who is standing at that podium delivering it in that way. And I think that is absolutely true, I think that even without knowing the language many people go and ...they hear the music: there is a certain gut level experience that happens. You experience the emotion of it and that already opens the door to being able to be perceptive of what it is you are trying to do. When you feel about something and you deliver it and you see that somebody else has made a connection to that there is a feeling that happens it makes you feel good when you do that...I don't know how to say it...Alcohol wouldn't do it, anything else wouldn't do it, there is a certain connection that happens when something from your soul is delivered and somebody else accepts it and understands it and that is what keeps me playing all the time...

In the late 1970s, George Kanahele, scholar and founder of the Hawaiian Music Foundation, delivered a memorable speech on the Cultural Renaissance that was later published in the Honolulu Advertiser. In this speech, he defines the Renaissance as the following:

Some have called it a "psychological renewal," a purging of feelings of alienation and inferiority. For others it is a reassertion of self-dignity and self-
importance...What is happening among Hawaiians today is probably the most significant chapter in their modern history since the overthrow of the monarchy and loss of nationhood in 1893. For, concomitant with this cultural rebirth, is a new political awareness which is gradually being transformed into an articulate, organized but unmonolithic, movement (Kanahele 3/24/1977).

The progression of what Kanahele suggests as a "psychological renewal" or "reassertion" of Hawaiian identity and self-dignity coincided with the progression and development of Hawaiian music during this time. Each of the various musical works produced during this time contributed to the re-building of Hawaiian identity and political awareness. This movement, in essence, found its voice and the people found their song, which had long been silenced by Americanization and the tourist industry. George Lewis, professor at the University of the Pacific, describes the various elements of the music during this time by saying:

...a new form of Hawaiian music that was, at the same time, emergent in its ideological implications, residual in its ties to traditional forms, and oppositional in its challenges to the political, social and cultural assumptions of the dominant mainland-created ideology (2000, 4).

Each of the bands discussed in this thesis represents the very elements described by Lewis.

*The Sons of Hawaii*, for instance, provided the "residual...ties to traditional forms" and because of this they are now considered the "architects of the Hawaiian renaissance (Thornton 9/8/1977, 22)." They came out during a time when things Hawaiian were suppressed and dormant, forbidden and somewhat forgotten. From this blank canvas they were able to lay down the foundation of the movement by re-exposing the public, in general, and the Hawaiian public, in particular, to the musical roots and cultural past of Hawai'i. Their utilization of traditional Hawaiian songs and certain
instruments, which are aurally connected to Hawai'i's past, helped connect people to a common geographic place as well as helped to "...retain or bring back the emotional context [of the song] and make the memory of the past more genuine... (Pratt 1990, 29)." The Sons helped to create for Hawaiian people, a living public connection to the past. But more importantly, because their musical arrangements were somewhat innovative for their generation, they provided an example of a more balanced mediation between that which is outside influence, and that which is homegrown. As Aunty Cookie noted, the music "gave them [kanaka maoli] a sense of being a unique group of people and from there it went into learning about their past (Schrader, interview)."

The Sons inspired the next generation of musicians, namely The Sunday Manoa, to look for inspiration from the past as well. They gathered old family songs, songs learned from Kamehameha, and songs found in the archives and re-interpreted their musical composition. They utilized fundamental elements of rock 'n' roll, such as faster rhythms, more complex chord structures and guitar solos, to create a new sound that was uniquely Hawaiian but modern. This combination made Hawaiian music palatable and interesting to a younger generation whose previous interest in Hawaiian music was limited. Furthermore, the music of Sunday Manoa, especially in the context of the rising political turmoil, represented not only an overt cultural expression, but a political expression as well. The music, as Goodwyn points out, helped to create the "psychological space to dare to aspire grandly- and to dare to be autonomous in the presence of powerful new institutions of economic concentration and cultural regimentation (Pratt, 106)." In addition, the outward public expression of Hawaiian-ness, transmitted through the music, evoked a wealth of emotion but most importantly pride. The music became political because it was emotional about a cultural past. As John Street points out:
...its politics emerge from the way that sound acquires a shared understanding, from the way that personal emotion becomes a public experience. Such politics may not have the rigor of political theory nor the effect of political action, but they exist, nonetheless, amidst the complicated intermingling of artistic intention, audience response, musical convention, and social context (1986, 167).

This relation of politics and music became more unequivocal in the next phase of Hawaiian music exemplified by the band Country Comfort and the music of Liko Martin. Hawaiian music morphed from being culturally explicit with political undertones to being politically explicit with cultural undertones. Though there was little to nothing Hawaiian about their sound, their English lyrics dealt clearly with the issues of Hawaiian land dispossession and loss of traditional ways-of-life. The topics of their songs were not the only things that had a political bent to them. As Lewis describes:

...the style and emotional level of presentation of the music, the body language of the performers, and the styles of dress they choose – usually in opposition to the established way of presenting popular music in the larger society – all serve to identify these players and their performances as symbolic of the group (2000, 2).

The image of the band, spoke as clearly as their music, connecting them to the real people of Hawai‘i by distinguishing them from the tourist imagery of Hawaiian musicians. Therefore, they placed themselves, lyrically and visually, in opposition to the industry that they were so outspoken about in their songs.

The band Olomana illustrates the next segment of Hawaiian music that was the amalgamation of Hawaiian and American musical elements, as well as the combination of cultural and political expressions. Through the combination of Hawaiian expressions and thoughts and English articulation of them, Olomana had the unique ability to remain deeply rooted in Hawaiian culture, while at the
same time be palatable and accessible enough to cross social boundaries. This unique blend served as an affirmation of identity and origins to people within the culture and as instruction to those people outside of the culture. As Buck notes:

...[Hawaiian music] continues to carry within its forms and its language the subtext of history, sediments of earlier forms as well as the later forms of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, those cultural amalgamations now perceived by many as part of the Hawaiian tradition. Both ancient and not-so-ancient forms of Hawaiian representation are reminders that Hawai'i was once separate, unique, and sovereign (1993, 119).

The final segment of Hawaiian music, exemplified by C&K, represents a coming of age of the local musical industry. Though lyrically their songs were somewhat associated with the scenic beauty found in nature, for the most part, they lacked an explicit connection to the Islands, either through their message or their sound. They however contributed greatly to the Hawaiian resurgence of pride scene through means of their success:

[Peter] Moon insists it was Cecil Rodriguez and Henry Kapono (C&K)...who really “broke the Hawaiian music scene loose.” Moon’s statement acknowledges the Mainland record contracts of these groups and the incentive these inspired in Hawai'i's young hopefuls (Hopkins 3/9/1978, 22).

Not only did C&K “inspire” the younger generation, they were a product of the resurgence of pride in their generation. Their popularity was partly due to their quality music, but also partly due to the local resurgence of pride being reflected onto them.
The Lasting Effects

Eyeman and Jamison point out that the lasting effects of social movements are the music by saying:

...it is the cultural effects that often live on; it is through songs, art, and literature – and as ritualized practices and evaluative criteria – that social movements retain their presence in the collective memory in absence of the particular political platforms and struggles that first brought them into being (1998, 11).

Because music has such staying power, the effects of the song either carry over into the next generation or they remain forever available for another generation to pick up and access the feelings and thoughts of that time. This ideology resonates more deeply in the context of Hawaiian music. Since oration has forever been the way of transmission of thought, beliefs, stories, etc. Music remains not only as a continuation or an access point of knowledge, but a critical means of cultural survival and a key element in the continued existence of kanaka maoli.

The biggest testament to the contributions that Hawaiian artists made during this time can be seen in the current social environment. The effects of these songs are broader than personal experiences. They affect a broader sense of identity in the children and local community today. Keaumiki notes it most clearly when he says:

...all of those things [Punana Leo, Hokule'a, etc.] emerged out of that Renaissance... that is why everybody talks about the music of the Renaissance. These kids [today] are like “What was that?”... you are experiencing your identity today because of what came before...the real awakening came from that time... We perpetuate it [Hawaiian culture] by living it and so all of those steps taken in that music guides us through all of these things that we have experienced and it touches our kids today...(Aku, interview)
What is important is that people today know who they are because the musicians and political voices of the Renaissance decade were able to articulate in song their shared common cultural identity. Finally it was through the music, which was influenced by the new social morality, that past generations were able to teach the younger generations about their heritage.

Moreover, these songs remain as a repository of knowledge and insight for those that may lose sight of who they are. Jerry Santos summed this idea up eloquently by saying:

I always hope that the lasting effects [of Olomana's music] are that somebody will listen to the words, hear the spirit of what's trying to be said and that it changes their perspective in some way. We live in an island community that is changing so rapidly and we are asking the children that come out of local families to feel about something that they don't experience on a daily basis. So how do you get people to feel the attachment, how do you get them to feel like Hawaiians if they are sitting in the mall with their cell phones and all the latest earrings on? It is very difficult to do that. So we go to the arts, we go to the hula, we go to the music, we go to the different kinds of things to try to bring that sense of attachment that we don't get on a daily basis because we ought to; because that is important and it really does enrich us. God, I sound like an old man saying this, but if somebody had told me those things when I was a teenager I would have done the same thing I would have gone "Yeah, big deal," but as life goes along and things change and not necessarily for the better in terms of how we treat each other and what happens to us on a daily basis then we realize what the real treasures are - how do you perpetuate those things? (Santos, interview).

For me personally, these songs still play integral parts in the lives and memories of my family and friends today. I can always count on hearing personal renditions of "Waimanalo Blues," or "Guava Jam." at local gatherings. Furthermore,
certain songs arouse reactions to distinct memories about specific times in me and those around me. Those memories are varied and individual and belong uniquely to each person regardless of the shared familiarity of the melody and lyrics. When I observe their reactions when these songs are played, I can almost see into their memories. I can see clearly what moves them and makes them feel. I recognize that the shared identities that reveal themselves when certain songs are played have roots in life experiences of those musicians and others that have come before that have inspired them or that they have learned from and that they have chosen to share.
GLOSSARY

The definitions and spellings of this glossary are based on definitions and spellings given in Mary K. Pukui and Samuel H. Ebert's *Hawaiian Dictionary*, rev. and enlarged ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986).

'āikapu: Hawaiian custom of eating with under certain restrictions
akua: god, gods, goddesses, spirits
alii: chief, royalty
aloha: love, affection compassion
aloha 'āina: to love the land
haole: Caucasian, formerly used to reference foreigners
hapahao: Part Caucasian, Part Westerner
hapahao music: popular music typical of the beginning of the twentieth century in Hawai'i, using mostly English words and ideas
ho'omana: to pay tribute to
hula: Hawaiian dance form
hula ku'i: type of hula that came about in the late nineteenth century which combines western and Hawaiian elements
ipu heke: a gourd drum that has a top section
kahiko: old or ancient
kahuna nui: high priest a part of the chief's council of advisors
kāla'au: stick used in dancing
kanaka maoli: Native Hawaiian person/people
kaona: hidden meaning
kapu: bans, prohibitions, things forbidden
kumu: foundation, base, source, teacher
kūpuna: elder, grandparent, ancestor
mahele: to portion or divide
malama ka ʻāina: to take care of the land, to look after the land
malahint: visitor, stranger, tourist
mele: song, anthem, chant
mele inoa: chant or song composed to honor someone; name chant
mōi: paramount chief
Na Lani ʻEhā: the Royal composers consisting of David Kalākaua, Queen Liliʻuokalani, Miriam Likelike, and William Pitt Leleiohoku
niʻaupiʻo: the progeny of the relations of high ranked brother and sister or half-brother and half-sister
olt: chant that is not danced to
pahu: drum, usually accompanying hula kuʻi dances
pakalōlō: marijuana
palaka: modern day reference to a checkered type of fabric commonly used in the older days by plantation workers
pono: balanced, goodness, proper
raquinto: Mexican style guitar
ʻuliʻuli: a gourd containing seeds, an instrument used to make a rattling noise
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Connect Back to Dis Place:
Music and identity of the Cultural Renaissance of Hawai‘i

Thesis CD
(must be played in computer)

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Division
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