I'LL REMEMBER YOU:
NOSTALGIA AND HAPA HAOLE MUSIC
IN EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY HAWAI'I

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my parents Makoto and Hiroko Shishikura
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After passing this thesis defense and coming back to Japan, within a month, Hawai‘i and its people became nostalgic to me. I miss the large plate lunch, the gentle rain showers and the people, who collaborated and supported this thesis. I would like to acknowledge them briefly below.

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This thesis is about shifting emotion and performance of hapa haole music. Based on case studies of two events, *Under a Tropic Moon* and *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival*, it discusses how nostalgia transforms as sentiment for a “past Hawai‘i.”

Interestingly, hula practitioners are responsible for both events. They acknowledge the Hawaiianess inscribed in this genre through music and dancing bodies, and consider it part of Hawaiian cultural tradition. Hawaiian music practices continue to shift. By preserving some practices from the past, contemporary practitioners perform hapa haole music drawing upon their own understanding and interpretation. In the early twenty-first century, Hawaiian music practitioners experience hapa haole music as in-between the past and present, and include this genre in Hawai‘i’s cultural heritage to be preserved and perpetuated for the future.
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INTRODUCTION

I'll Remember You

The title of this thesis is from a famous Hawaiian song “I'll Remember You.” A Hawaiian songwriter Kui Lee wrote this song for his beloved wife Nani in 1964, the year he was diagnosed with throat cancer (Shimomoto 2004a). Since then, many singers, such as Elvis Presley, Don Ho and Nina Keali‘i‘iwahamana, have covered the song expressing a sentiment for someone or something far away as described in the lyrics:

I'll remember you
Long after this endless summer is gone
I'll be lonely, oh so lonely, living only to remember you

I'll remember you
Your voice as soft as a warm summer breeze
Your sweet laughter, mornings after, ever after I'll remember you

To your arms some day, I'll return to stay
Till then

I will remember too
Ev'ry bright star we made wishes upon
Love me always, promise always, ooh you'll remember too
(Morse 1980: 6-7)

“I'll Remember You” is perhaps a love song, but the lyrics shy away from telling a specific story. Expressing a sentiment toward someone or something far away, yet still being ambiguous; it may suggest a romance between two lovers apart, sorrow of
someone away from her/his homeland, reminiscence of a visitor’s Hawaiian sojourn or recollection of the past and its people. In other words, “I’ll Remember You” is able to express various sentiments in different contexts. For a U.S. mainland listener who has previously visited Hawai‘i, this song may recall holidays in South Pacific Islands, and in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i, it can invoke affection for Hawaiian cultural tradition by embracing nostalgia for a “past Hawai‘i.”

The Thesis Contents

This thesis explores a dynamic revival movement of hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i. Through case studies, I examine how contemporary Hawaiian music practitioners experience this “old” genre of Hawaiian music. I feel nostalgia invoked through hapa haole music takes an important role in this movement. Since the early twentieth century, hapa haole music has invoked various sentiments in different cultural and historical contexts. These sentiments are related each other and shape a single emotion of nostalgia. Nostalgia shifts from one context to another and transforms as a sentiment for a past Hawai‘i in the new context of early twenty-first century Hawai‘i. Because of this shift of nostalgia, hapa haole music is regarded as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition in the case studies I present. Interestingly, hula practitioners are responsible for this revival movement. They recognize Hawaiian

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1 This genre of Hawaiian music is also called “hapa haole songs” (Kanahele 1979b: 106-7) or “hapa-haole songs” (Tatar 1987). The word “song” is generally applied to “A piece of music for voice or voices” (Chew) and means “the act or art of singing... a piece of music sung or composed for singing” (Agnes and Guralnik 2002: 1367). Whereas “music” is a generic term for “the art and science of combining vocal or instrumental sounds or tones in varying melody, harmony, rhythm, and timbre...” (ibid.: 950). Including non-vocal materials in this study, I call this genre “hapa haole music” applying a generic term “music.” I use the phrase “hapa haole song(s)” to indicate each piece or set of pieces of music in this genre.
features or "Hawaiianess" through their bodies dancing hula. I feel that this
Hawaiianess perceived in hapa haole music further invokes nostalgia for a past
Hawai‘i and motivates the hula practitioners to initiate this revival in the present-day.
This thesis also examines dynamics and stabilities of hapa haole music performance.
By preserving some practices from the past, contemporary music practitioners perform
hapa haole music drawing upon their own understanding and interpretation.
Performance of Hawaiian music is constantly transforming, yet some practices are
transmitted from one generation to another and shared among Hawaiian music
practitioners. Through the discussions of nostalgia, Hawaiianess and performance
of hapa haole music, I propose that emotion and performance of hapa haole music are
shifting, yet still maintain shared senses and practices from the past in the present. In
the early twenty-first century, Hawaiian music practitioners experience hapa haole
music in-between the past and present, and celebrate this genre as Hawai‘i’s cultural
heritage to be preserved and perpetuated for the future.

This thesis has eight chapters, which is divided into three parts: the contexts,
data and academic arguments. The first part, Chapters 1 through 3, provides
background information of hapa haole music for subsequent chapters. Chapter 1
presents a reflective history of hapa haole music through selected personalities.
Writing history includes a selective process of materials to be mentioned and
evaluation of those materials, on which contemporary values about the past often
reflect. A description of history can vary depending on how an author selects and
evaluates activities, events and people, which represent the past as a reflection of the
present. In Chapter 1, I describe selected personalities with the purpose of reflecting
on contemporary values about hapa haole music. Chapter 2 examines definitions of hapa haole music and tentatively provides a comprehensive definition of this genre including two major aspects: American and Hawaiian features. Following this tentative definition, I study ambiguity in hapa haole music regarding differences of emotions and thoughts about this genre. Chapter 3 further explores emotions and thoughts about hapa haole music since the 1970s, in which I observe shared senses or notions with the events I introduce in Chapters 4 and 5. In this chapter, I first examine an “interest in Hawai‘i’s past and its tradition” in the Hawaiian Renaissance, and then explore “nostalgia for past cultural activities” in the famous Hawaii Calls radio program and its revivals. The second part, Chapters 4 and 5, includes case studies and provides data to be examined in the following chapters. Each of these chapters describes a prominent hapa haole music event in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i, Under a Tropic Moon and Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival respectively, and provides a fundamental analysis for further discussions. Based on the data derived from the two case studies, I present the major arguments of this thesis in the third part, Chapters 6 through 8. Chapter 6 explores nostalgia in various contexts to indicate its diversity and unity. Then, employing a concept of nostalgia proposed by Svetlana Boym, I explain how the nostalgia of hapa haole music shifts from one context to another and accommodates a new context in present-day Hawai‘i. Chapter 7 examines Hawaiiana of hapa haole music from a hula practitioners’ viewpoint. I first categorize, referring to literature, Hawaiiana of hapa haole music in two major forms: musical practices and poetic expressions. Then, I discuss how hula practitioners realize the poetic expressions of hapa haole music through their bodies
dancing hula. This Hawaiianess perceived through hula further functions to invoke nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i and to celebrate hapa haole music as part of Hawai‘i’s cultural heritage. Chapter 8 describes a contemporary experience in performing hapa haole music using another case study. With musical transcriptions, I analyze how a singer Paul Shimomoto has changed his musical practices through the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival. To summarize, this thesis is about nostalgia and hapa haole music, and discusses shifting emotion and performance of this genre from the past to present.

**On Writing This Thesis**

This thesis is a reflection of my experience in Hawai‘i since 2000, the year I first visited the Islands. It is the result of interactive and collaborative activities with the local people of Hawai‘i, while I received undergraduate and graduate education in music/ethnomusicology at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. In addition to this spontaneous and ongoing fieldwork, I conducted interviews in spring of 2006 with individuals involved in the events, Under a Tropic Moon and Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival. Through these experiences, I realized that many hula and music practitioners in Hawai‘i are sensitive to the representations of their culture, because they feel that media and even scholarly works have often essentialized or misrepresented Hawai‘i and its people for more than a century. Most of my informants also gave careful attention to the descriptions and discussions of this thesis along with their sincere support and collaboration. With respect for these valuable informants, I sometimes do not identify them in this thesis and choose to protect them.
as human subjects. Although I propose to study emotion and performance of hapa haole music from a local point of view, this thesis is still from my own thought and understanding of Hawai‘i and its people. 2

This thesis is a study of music, however my descriptions and discussions include hula and its practitioners. 3 Hawaiian music, including chanting, is closely related to hula, and therefore it is often hard to separate one from another. Hula cannot be practiced without music, and Hawaiian music enhances its value when it is performed and presented with hula. Music is often part of a student’s education in hula halau (hula school), and the kumu hula (master-teacher of hula) is very possibly a well-established musician, such as Robert Cazimero and Keali‘i Reichel. 4 Furthermore, the events I study in this thesis were principally planned, organized and presented by hula practitioners. Regarding hula and music as an inseparable Hawaiian art form, I include hula and its practitioners in the descriptions and discussions of this thesis.

In contemporary American academic writing on Hawai‘i, the use of the diacritical markings, kahakō (macron) and ‘okina (glottal stop) as in Waikīkī and Hawai‘i, are usually indicated in Hawaiian fonts. I follow this academic practice in general, however problems still remain with the use of diacritical marks. For example, personal names and song titles are often printed without kahakō and ‘okina

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2 In considering a diversity of Hawai‘i’s cultures and people, it seems like impossible to define the word “local” as a single unity. In general, I use “local” to refer the people, who reside in Hawai‘i and are interactive with Hawai‘i’s communities, and do not differentiate them by race. The two events, which I describe in this thesis, include many local people, who do not have Hawaiian ancestry. Also, I do not use the word “local” comprehensively, that is, it may not refer to all the people of Hawai‘i; it may only be applied to some practitioners of Hawaiian music.
3 I call this genre “hapa haole music,” which conceptually includes hula as part of this performing art.
4 Both Cazimero and Reichel are popular Hawaiian music recording artists, who received distinguished prizes such as the Na Hōkū Hanohano Awards, often recognized as Hawai‘i’s Grammy Awards.
on the programs of *Under a Tropic Moon* and *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival*. Also, newspaper and magazine articles are often written without these marks. When I cite or refer to any literature, I present the Hawaiian words as they are printed in the original document. Also, most hapa haole songs are printed without *kahakō* and *ʻokina* on their first published materials. I do not use the diacritical marks in the titles of such hapa haole songs.

This thesis is an ethnographic study of hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawaiʻi. Since I came to Hawaiʻi, I have observed many hula and music activities, and encountered various emotions and thoughts about Hawaiian music. Through this process, I notice that hapa haole music is largely marginalized in academic studies, yet there are still lively local performances of this genre. The two events I describe are the most prominent activities of hapa haole music in present-day Hawaiʻi. I would like to write about these events proposing that hapa haole music is a significant cultural heritage of Hawaiʻi, which needs to be further studied. I hope that this thesis contributes to the study of Hawaiian music by documenting the events, in which hapa haole music is recognized as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition to be preserved and perpetuated for the future.
Hapa haole music, its lyrics, sounds, presentations and representations, reflects Hawai‘i’s history. Incorporating American culture, hapa haole music appeared as a genre of Hawaiian music in the early twentieth century. Soon after the United States recognized Hawai‘i as its territory in 1900, sheet music of early hapa haole songs, such as “My Waikiki Mermaid,” was published.1 As American interest in this new territory grew, hapa haole music spread on the U.S. mainland representing Hawai‘i and its people as domestic, yet primitive and exotic.2 With this American interest, hapa haole music retained its great popularity in the first half of the twentieth century.3 During this period, American movies, theaters and nightclubs featured hapa haole music, and Hawaiian dancers and musicians often traveled to the U.S. mainland to represent Hawai‘i and its culture to American audiences.4 American interest in Hawaiian music had declined throughout the 1950s and 60s, and subsequently hapa haole music lost its popularity. In the following decades, a local resurgence of interest in traditional Hawaiian culture, the Hawaiian Renaissance, occurred.5 In this indigenous movement, hapa haole music, with its emphasis on perceived American

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1 “In 1893 the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown by a group of Honolulu businessmen with strong American ties. In 1900 the Hawaiian Islands were admitted to the United States as a territory” (Tatar 1987: 7).
2 See Desmond (1999).
3 For example, “Sweet Leilani” sold a million records in a few weeks and was played on every radio station and jukebox in the United States. It was on the Hit Parade for 28 consecutive weeks – a record that has never been equaled” (Kanahele 1979b: 380).
4 “Throughout the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s, many Hawaiian musicians traveled to the mainland and performed in various concert halls, hotels, and clubs. These musicians also had an effect on what most American visitors to Hawai‘i expected to hear and see” (Tatar 1987: 15).
elements, was often neglected or even rejected. In early twenty-first century Hawai‘i, the impact of the Hawaiian Renaissance is still observed, however some Hawaiian music practitioners consider hapa haole music as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition by embracing nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i. Hapa haole music, its meaning and value, is shifting according to Hawai‘i’s cultural and social dynamics. It is an art reflecting the history of Hawai‘i.

Writing a history of hapa haole music reflects contemporary values about the past. By reflective history I mean here is that the history in this chapter is written with regard to the presentations of following case studies. The two events, Under a Tropic Moon and Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival, often acknowledge foreign (which is often American) and Hawaiian features in hapa haole music. By referring to literature, such as Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History (1979) edited by George S. Kanahele and The Golden Years of Hawaiian Entertainment 1874-1974 (1974) written by Tony Todaro, I describe how hapa haole music includes foreign elements, yet concurrently retains Hawaiian features in its expressions and practices.

I present selected figures for this reflective history of hapa haole music. First, I introduce a precursor of hapa haole music describing American influence on Queen Lili‘uokalani and her famous composition "Aloha ‘Oe." I propose to indicate continuity from the late nineteenth century Hawaiian music to hapa haole music of the twentieth century through the favorite song written by Queen Lili‘uokalani. Then, I describe three prominent local composers of hapa haole songs, Sonny Cunha, Johnny Noble and R. Alex Anderson, and examine American influence on and Hawaiian
features in their works. There were also hapa haole songwriters originally from a foreign country, such as Harry Owens, Don McDiarmid, Sr. and Jack Pitman. I examine how these non-native composers involved and collaborated with local music communities of Hawai‘i. Finally, I introduce Webley Edwards, a famous radio personality originally from the U.S. mainland. I describe Edwards’s achievement in Hawaiian music through his famous radio program Hawaii Calls. Through descriptions of these personalities, I provide historical background information of hapa haole music for the following chapters.

**A Precursor of Hapa Haole Music: Queen Lili‘uokalani and “Aloha ‘Oe”**

Appealing for American imagination of exotic-romantic islands, hapa haole music retained substantial popularity in the first half of the twentieth century. It represented Hawai‘i and its people to the U.S. mainland public, and promoted American tourism to Hawai‘i. However, the first popular Hawaiian song in the U.S. mainland was not a hapa haole song. According to Kanahele, the first Hawaiian song to become popular nationally was “Aloha ‘Oe” composed by Queen Lili‘uokalani (1979b: 18). Since its first exposition in San Francisco on August 1883, “Aloha ‘Oe” has been one of the best-known Hawaiian songs in the U.S. mainland for more than a century.

Like many hapa haole song composers, Queen Lili‘uokalani wrote “Aloha ‘Oe” under the influence of American culture. She inserted English in the lyrics and adapted American musical idioms for its melody and rhythm. A Hawaiian song composer and music critic Charles E. King notes,
To many of her friends the Queen stated that the English song *The Rock Beside the Sea*, published in a book by the Ditson Company in 1876, which was popular in Honolulu at that time, furnished the idea and rhythm for her own song... At the time the song was written by Queen Liliuokalani the native Hawaiians had learned to speak English and it was quite the fad then to insert *haole* [foreign] words, and even whole lines, in their compositions. Liliuokalani was following the fashion of the period when she used the words “fond embrace” and “until we meet again” in her famous song (“Aloha ‘Oe”).

The late nineteenth century was the time that American culture was infiltrating Hawai’i at a rapid rate. Following the cultural trends of Hawai’i during that period, Queen Lili‘uokalani applied English words and American musical idioms to “Aloha ‘Oe” as did many other Hawaiian songwriters of her days.

Through its major promotion in the U.S. mainland, “Aloha ‘Oe” established a reputation as a representative Hawaiian song. As stated, “Aloha ‘Oe” made its mainland debut in San Francisco under the direction of Henry Berger. As a director of the Royal Hawaiian Band, Berger included “Aloha ‘Oe” in the Band’s repertory and performed the song at major expositions on the U.S. mainland, such as the Chicago Fair in 1895, and the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, Oregon in 1905.

Following these early public performances, American newspapers, magazines, plays, movies and even cartoons incorporated “Aloha ‘Oe” to convey the image of

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6 As well as King, several Hawaiian music critics, such as Allen (1985: 85), Gillett (1999: 38) and Smith (1954: 13), mention that Queen Lili’uokalani partly borrowed musical ideas of “Aloha ‘Oe” from an American popular song “The Rock Beside the Sea” written by Charles Crozet Converse, first published by Lee & Walker, Cop., Philadelphia in 1852 (*The Library of Congress*).

7 See songs of other Royal Composers, such as “Adiós Ke Aloha,” “Aloha Nō Wau I Ko Maka” and “Ku’u Ipo I Ka He’e Pu’e One.”

8 Berger, Kapena (Captain) Henry né Heinrich Wilhelm, born in Postdam in Prussia in 1844, arrived in Honolulu on June 2nd, 1872 upon request of King Kamehameha V. He remained huge impact on Hawaiian music as director of orchestras, bands and choirs.
exotic-romantic Hawai'i. For example, a Broadway show *Bird of Paradise* constantly presented “Aloha ‘Oe” to enhance its sense or atmosphere of Hawai'i.⁹ Such repetitive expositions of “Aloha ‘Oe” on the U.S. mainland established it as a representative Hawaiian song.¹⁰

The frequent uses of the song in the U.S. mainland also essentialized “Aloha ‘Oe” as a sentimental farewell song, and this sentiment further transformed as nostalgia for exotic-romantic Hawai'i. Through an account of the song’s composition story, the sentiment of farewell is prominently evoked (Gillett 1999: 38). Smith introduces the composition story of “Aloha ‘Oe” as,

Aloha ‘Oe was born one afternoon in 1878 during the reign of King Kalakaua, and after the Princess Liliuokalani had been composing songs for about twenty years in friendly competition with other members of the royal family. On that afternoon a party including Princess Liliuokalani, her sister Princess Likelike, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wilson, and Major James Boyd, had gone on horseback over the Pail to visit at Maunawili, the beautiful residence of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Boyd. As they prepared to depart after a pleasant afternoon, leis were placed on each departing guest. When all were on their horses and ready to leave, it was noticed that Major Boyd was still in the garden where a lovely Hawaiian girl was placing one more fragrant lei on his shoulders, accompanying it with an endearing embrace. (1954: 12)

This sentimental story is enough to invoke a myth of the song as, “Liliuokalani seemed deeply touched by this tender farewell, and was pensive as she rode somewhat apart from the others” (ibid.). The English lyrics in the song, “one fond embrace” and

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⁹ *The Bird of Paradise*, written by Richard Walton Tully, opened at Daly’s Theater in New York on January 8th, 1912. Kanahele describes the play as, “[this] Broadway stage play with a Hawaiian setting that became a major vehicle for popularizing Hawaiian music in the US, Canada, and Europe during the first quarter of this [twentieth] century” (1979b: 45).

“until we meet again,” further confirm this sentiment of farewell to American audiences (Gillett 1999: 38). As a result, “Aloha ‘Oe” has been repeatedly performed on various parting occasions as a song of farewell. This sentiment of farewell could be extended to nostalgia for exotic-romantic Hawai‘i, where American public often experienced a transient happiness with a sense of farewell (see Chapter 6 for further discussions of nostalgia).

1 I observe continuity from “Aloha ‘Oe” to hapa haole music in the history of Hawaiian music. Queen Lili‘uokalani inserted English lyrics and borrowed American musical idioms for “Aloha ‘Oe.” The song appealed for American imagination of exotic-romantic islands and retained great popularity as a sentimental farewell or nostalgic song on the U.S. mainland. As a result, “Aloha ‘Oe” has been often performed and presented along with hapa haole songs. Although it was composed before the appearance of hapa haole music, “Aloha ‘Oe” still reveals characteristics of this genre. In Berger’s article, Kahauanu Lake attributes the beginning of hapa haole music to the Royal Composers: King Kalākaua, Queen Lili‘uokalani, Princess Likelike and Prince Leleiohoku.

I call Sonny Cunha the father of hapa-haole music but it (actually) started with the royal court [composers]. The European masters were brought over (and) the royal family music learned European notation and wrote music that came out Hawaiian. They (also) wrote songs with English lyrics or Spanish lyrics and so that was hapa-haole music. (1997)

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11 For example, the song was performed at the closing ceremony of the Los Angeles Olympics in 1932 (Honolulu Star-Bulletin 1932).
Hapa haole music appeared in the early twentieth century following the trends of Hawaiian music in the late nineteenth century. Because there is a historical continuity of Hawaiian music, "Aloha 'Oe" and other Hawaiian songs of that period share some characteristics with hapa haole music. Furthermore, "Aloha 'Oe" opened the market of Hawaiian music in the U.S. mainland, and hapa haole music followed the popularity of "Aloha 'Oe" appealing to the American fantasy of Hawai‘i.

Local Composers of Hapa Haole Songs:

Sonny Cunha, Johnny Noble and R. Alex Anderson

Following "Aloha 'Oe," local songwriters incorporated American elements in their compositions and provided the fantasy of Hawai‘i to the U.S. mainland audiences. At the same time, their compositions still retain characteristics delivered from past Hawaiian music tradition. In the following section, I introduce three prominent local composers, Sonny Cunha, Johnny Noble and R. Alex Anderson, with American and Hawaiian features recognized in their works.

Although some uncertainty remains, "My Waikiki Mermaid" written by Sonny Cunha is considered as the first hapa haole song. Cunha was a songwriter as well as music promoter, who "left an important legacy to Hawaiian music as the chief popularizer of hapa haole songs" (Kanahele 1979b: 69). Following "My Waikiki Mermaid," he composed early hapa haole hit songs and established grounds of Hawaiian music in the U.S. mainland.

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12 "Another of 'Sonny' Cunha's major contributions [as well as establishing hapa haole music style] was the publication and marketing of these [hapa haole] songs. He played an important role with a substantial number of his hapa haole songs featured in 'Famous Hawaiian Songs' published by Bergstrom Music Company in 1914" (Ely 2001).
This [“My Waikiki Mermaid”] was followed by his big hit, “My Honolulu Tomboy,” in 1905. Then came “My Hawaiian Maid” in the same year, “Honolulu Hula-hula Heigh!” in 1906, and “My Tropical Hula Girl” and “[My] Honolulu Hula Girl” in 1909. These songs set the pattern for the hapa haole genre... Take, for example, “My Waikiki Mermaid.” The lyrics are entirely in English except for “Auwe taha ua” in the coda. The subject obviously deals with Hawai‘i and is both romantic and humorous as suggested by the opening lines: “Every evening I meet her, on the beach at Waikiki I greet her/ nothing sweeter nor neater than my mermaid of the southern seas.” Cunha indicates it should be done in “slow hula tempo,” but rhythmically it is very bright and the piano accompaniment has a rag beat. There is a four-measure theme, divided into two, which fits the hula form and is repeated over and over. Also characteristically Hawaiian, it has large intervallic leaps. With his first song Cunha thus established a precedent that has persisted to this day. (ibid.)

This description epitomizes Cunha as a hapa haole song composer. Cunha used English lyrics with romantic and humorous subjects, and put piano accompaniment with a ragtime rhythm in his compositions. At the same time, his songs still retain Hawaiian features, such as referring to Hawai‘i in the lyrics, indicating a slow hula tempo and including large intervallic leaps in the music. With regard to his contribution in establishing and popularizing hapa haole music, a Hawaiian song composer and music critic Tony Todaro gives Cunha credit as, “Earning the title, ‘Father of Hapa-haole Songs,’ is probably Sonny’s greatest accolade... Cunha’s compositions at the turn of the century pioneered the last [latest] stage of Hawaiian music – the hapa-haole song” (1974b: 98). Sonny Cunha and his compositions

13 “There were only a few good pianists in Hawaii in those days, and Cunha was the first to add the piano to a Hawaiian orchestra when he organized his own, doing thereby as much to change the style and tempo of Hawaiian music as his compositions had” (Noble 1948: 43).
established a standard of hapa haole music by blending American and Hawaiian features, and facilitated popularization of Hawaiian music on the U.S. mainland.

Sonny Cunha exerted considerable influence on Hawaiian music and musicians. Among the musicians influenced by Cunha, Johnny Noble "took Sonny Cunha's hapa-haole musical seeds and harvested a heritage of modern Hawaii that captivated the whole world" (ibid.: 270). Noble’s contribution in creating and marketing Hawaiian music was significant in several aspects. First, he effectively applied the rhythms, scales and instrumentations of jazz to Hawaiian music.

...the new jazz rhythm would blend beautifully with Hawaiian music. His opportunity came when he took over the Moana [Hotel] Orchestra. He transformed the orchestra and music by "jazzing it up" and adding new instruments. He quickened the tempo, added "blue notes" to his arrangements, and gave the music a new lilting, syncopated swing. Both by design and effect, Noble thereby turned Hawaiian music into dancing music. (Kanahele 1979b: 267)

Because of his preference and versatility of jazz, Noble became known as the "Hawaiian Jazz King." Second, Noble "obviously understood well what appealed to the haole [foreigners or tourists]" (ibid.: 268), and promoted Hawaiian or hapa haole music through many of his hit songs. His first hit "Hula Blues" was followed by "My Little Grass Shack in Kealakekua," "Little Brown Gal," "I Want to Learn to Speak Hawaiian" and his biggest hit "Hawaiian War Chant." Through these hapa haole songs, Noble opened "an era of the historic development of Hawaiian music from the Traditional phase, which was primarily in the exclusive domain of native Hawaiians, to..."
the Hapa Haole phase, which became national and international by its universal acceptance and promotion” (Todaro 1974b: 270).

Noble played, as well as Cunha, an important role in incorporating American elements to Hawaiian music and promoting it to the U.S. mainland audiences. However, his musical expressions were not limited to Americanizing Hawaiian songs.

Some have criticized Noble for “haolefying” Hawaiian music... The fact, which is easy to forget because of his success as a hapa haole composer, is that he also composed many traditional [style] Hawaiian hula songs. Twenty-five of these songs are included in his collection, Hawaiian Hulas, which he published in 1934... His mastery of the hula-song pattern and feeling underscores the fact that he was really at home in both the hapa haole and the Hawaiian idioms. (Kanahele 1979b: 268)

Noble had a profound understanding and knowledge of traditional Hawaiian music as well as contemporary American music culture. Based on his experience of Hawai‘i and its musical tradition, Noble incorporated American elements and produced hapa haole music.15

As Sonny Cunha and Johnny Noble, R. Alex Anderson wrote hapa haole songs blending American and Hawaiian features. However, Anderson is considered as the most Hawaiian of hapa haole song composers with evaluation of Hawaiian features or “Hawaiianess” in his compositions. First, although the lyrics of

14 Noble also took important roles, as did Sonny Cunha, as a bandleader, pianist and publisher of Hawaiian music. He was the orchestra director of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel as well as the Moana Hotel, and published such sheet music as Johnny Noble's Royal Collection of Hawaiian Songs (1929).

15 His early musical experience could guide him to be a composer of hapa haole songs as Todaro states, “early musical influences in Johnny’s life were sailors and missionaries, who introduced him to the music of far-away lands – and the Sunday concerts of the Royal Hawaiian Band, conducted by Johnny’s hero, Henri Berger. Listening to the Kawaiahao Church Choir sharpened his interest in the beautiful, rhythmic and melodious music of his land [Hawai‘i]” (1974b: 270).
Anderson’s songs can appeal to the American fantasy for exotic-romantic islands, they still describe Hawai‘i, his birthplace and home, from a local perspective telling of “flowers, scenes, islands, seas, people, events, and customs that are typically Hawaiian” (Kanahele 1979b: 23). One of his compositions, “White Ginger Blossoms” is a good example as, “this one [“White Ginger Blossoms”] by R. Alex Anderson is true to one of the favorite themes of Hawaiian songs, the flower” (Wilcox 2003: 282, see Appendix C for the lyrics). Not only in the poetic expressions, Anderson’s Hawaiianaess appears in the melodic/rhythmic materials of his compositions, their adaptability to Hawaiian-style singing and playing.

Of all hapa haole songwriters in recent years, Anderson probably comes closest to catching instinctively a Hawaiian sound. The fact that he has never tried to sound like “Anderson” would seem to bear out his striving for a Hawaiian sound. Two good examples are “Lovely Hula Hands” and “Haole Hula”: both have been adapted to Hawaiian-style singing and playing by many different groups or singers an infinite number of times. Their ease of adaptability attests to their Hawaiianaess. (Kanahele 1979b: 23)

Regarding the Hawaiianaess of his works, Kanahele concludes that Anderson was the successor to Charles E. King, carrying on “a musical style that King himself inherited from the composers of the monarchy period of the last quarter of the 19th century” (ibid.). Expressing Hawaiianaess in poetic expressions and melodic/rhythmic materials, Anderson composed about 200 songs, including many favorite hapa haole

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16 It should be noted that Anderson got inspiration for the song by a remark by Mary Pickford, a Hollywood actress, who never heard a song about the flower (Kanahele 1979b: 22). Inspired by a foreigner, yet he still expressed that inspiration from Hawaiian perspective, that is, hapa haole.
songs, such as “Haole Hula,” “Lovely Hula Hands,” “I’ll Weave a Lei of Stars for You,” “Mele Kalikimaka” as well as “White Ginger Blossoms.”

Sonny Cunha, Johnny Noble and R. Alex Anderson can be considered as representative local hapa haole songwriters. They often preferred to apply American musical idioms borrowed from ragtime and jazz, and used English in the lyrics of their compositions appealing fantasy of Hawai‘i imagined by American audiences. However, their compositions still retain Hawaiian features, such as appropriate musical tempo for dancing hula and poetic expressions of lyrics telling the story of Hawai‘i from a local perspective.

I Fell in Love with Honolulu:

Harry Owens, Don McDiarmid, Sr. and Jack Pitman

There were also hapa haole songwriters who were not born and raised in Hawai‘i, but exerted a substantial influence on hapa haole music. Harry Owens, Don McDiarmid, Sr. and Jack Pitman would be the most significant of those composers. They were originally from a foreign country, yet resided in Hawai‘i for a substantial period, collaborated with local music practitioners and composed representative hapa haole songs, such as “Sweet Leilani,” “When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop” and “Beyond the Reef.” I introduce their contribution to Hawaiian music and its local communities in this section.

Harry Owens was an American composer, who wrote famous “Sweet Leilani.” He first visited Hawai‘i in 1934 to serve as the new musical director of the

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17 “(I Fell in Love with) Honolulu” is the title of a hapa haole song written by Neil McKay, another composer originally from a foreign country, Canada.
Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra, as the successor of Johnny Noble. Since then, Owens had become profoundly involved with the local music communities and attained remarkable achievements in hapa haole music.

Harry researched many old unwritten Hawaiian songs – which were handed down through the years by word of mouth – and added his arrangements of these to his repertoire of modern danceable hapa-haole songs. For seven glorious years, until Pearl Harbor, Harry entertained millions; wrote scores of Island hits; discovered budding stars, such as Hilo Hattie and Ray Kinney; and helped to create a luring musical image of Hawaii – enticing millions to our shores. (Todaro 1974b: 283)

As with many of local hapa haole songwriters, he expresses a deep affection and regard for Hawai‘i and its musical tradition. In his autobiography *Sweet Leilani* (1970), he states, “I declared that 1934 was the year of my birth, while admitting it was really the year of my renaissance, the year in which I landed, for the first time, on the Hawaiian Island shores of Paradise” (1970: 5). Kanahele further introduces Owens as, “The first task he set for himself upon his arrival was to acquaint himself with Hawai‘i’s people, language, customs, and religion; to learn and study Hawaiian songs; and to make orchestral arrangements of them” (1979b: 282). Although Owens was a composer originally from the U. S. mainland, he had respected and learned Hawaiian culture, while providing American elements and blending them with Hawaiian music. Recognizing Hawaiian features in his compositions, Kanahele considers that he was a successor of previous hapa haole song composers.

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18 Owens also states, “No double rainbow arched the heavens on that early May morning [in 1934], but a song bird was blending with the rustling of tradewinds and singing *Aloha ʻOe*. It was the voice of Hawai‘i’s official greeter, Lena Machado, clear, bright, spiritual, and her song seemed meant for me alone. It seemed to say: ‘Aloha, welcome, Ha-lee, to Hawai‘i’s lovely isles...’” (1970: 1).
Philosophically and musically, Harry Owens’ new sound was a natural extension of the *hapa haole* music development initiated by Sonny Cunha and Johnny Noble... He came at the right time (if there can be such) when *hapa haole* music needed reinforcement and popular acceptability on a scale it had not had before. (1979b: 282)

Through his experience of Hawai‘i and its culture, Owens made significant contributions to Hawaiian music and its local communities as an orchestra director and composer of many popular hapa haole songs, such as “To You Sweetheart, Aloha,” “Hawaiian Hospitality” as well as “Sweet Leilani.”

Don McDiarmid, Sr. was another American composer, who also arrived Honolulu in 1934, “Following a tour of the Pacific... enchanted by the easy lifestyle and natural charm of the islands, threw away his return ticket and signed on with Harry Owens’ band at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel” (Lopes 2002).19 Since then, McDiarmid and his family have resided in Hawai‘i, and have been involved with Hawaiian music and its local communities for three generations. Don McDiarmid, Jr. founded a local record publishing company *Hula Records* in 1947, and currently Donald “Flip” McDiarmid, III manages this historical company as well as the *Hawaii Calls* trademark purchased in 1980. As a composer, Don McDiarmid, Sr. produced several popular hapa haole tunes, such as “My Wahine and Me,” “Do the Hula” and “When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop.” His achievements can be recognized in other musical activities as well as composing and arranging hapa haole songs. As the orchestra leader of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, McDiarmid, Sr. appointed young Alfred Apaka as

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19 Lopes continues, “‘When his ship pulled into San Francisco, no father,’ chuckles Don McDiarmid Jr., founder of the venerable Hula Records. ‘My mother went to pick him up, and the boys said, ‘He got off with some hula-hula girl,’ and she went up the wall.’ But the composer had simply found himself a new home base and soon summoned his family to join him in Honolulu” (ibid.).
the singer for the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra, which was Apaka's first major
musical position. He also made a comic hula dancer Clare Inter popular through the
song "When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop," from which Inter adopted her legal name,
Hilo Hattie. In the case of Apaka and Hattie, Don McDiarmid, Sr. recognized
talents of these local Hawaiian music practitioners, and produced hapa haole music
through interactions and collaborations with them.

Jack Pitman, a native Canadian composer/pianist, received his education at
St. John’s College, Winnipeg, Canada, the Royal Academy of Music, London, England,
and Brown University, Rhode Island, U.S. He first came to Hawai‘i in 1943, not as a
musician but as Chief Engineer for the Byrne Organization. Soon after, he began his
musical activities in Hawai‘i, such as operating Jack Pitman Music School, opened in
1945, and playing the piano at supper clubs in Waikiki. Among these activities,
composing hapa haole songs was probably his most significant achievement for the
history of hapa haole music. Especially "Beyond the Reef," one of the all-time
favorites of Alfred Apaka, was the most frequently requested song by tourists in
Hawai‘i, and more than 3.5 million records, next to "Sweet Leilani," were sold
(Kanahele: 24, 44-45). Pitman also composed several favorite songs such as,

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20 Alfred Apaka was a representative Hawaiian singer, often described as the “Golden Voice of
Hawai‘i.” “Alfred’s real professional break came through the Royal Hawaiian Hotel orchestra leader,
Don McDiarmid, Sr., who was searching for a new singer. Alfred sang, ‘To You Sweetheart, Aloha’ and
McDiarmid selected him over six other competitors. Thirty dollars a week and singing at the Royal
spelled “big time” for any singer in that era.” Apaka became an assistant bandleader of the Royal
21 When the song was first written in 1935, Harry Owens neglected it as “not high class.” Yet,
recognizing Clare Inter’s talent to dance for the song, “The appreciative McDiarmid continued to write
different choruses for Clare Inter for several years. She became so closely identified with the song, in
fact, that eventually she adopted the title as her legal name” (Kanahele 1979b: 127-29).
"Aloha Week Hula" and "Lovely Hula Girl." Like Harry Owens and Don McDiarmid, Sr., Jack Pitman’s compositions were created through his experience with local musicians. For example, Pitman was a piano player in Randy Oness’s band at the Elks Club, Waikīkī, and wrote several hapa haole songs with Oness, such as "Haunani," "Kumu in a Muumuu," "Crying on the Gay Hawaiian Shore" as well as "Lovely Hula Girl." Because these three haole composers, Harry Owens, Don McDiarmid, Sr. and Jack Pitman, resided in Hawai‘i and shared experience with the local people, Hawaiian features can be recognized in the lyrics and sounds of their compositions. Furthermore, local music practitioners often preferred to perform their songs and exerted Hawaiianaassness on their compositions (see Kanahele’s definition of hapa haole music in Chapter 2). Blending their own foreign elements with Hawaiian music, Owens, McDiarmid, Sr. and Pitman remained significant achievements in the history of hapa haole music.

Webley Edwards and Hawaii Calls

The history of hapa haole music is partly the history of promotion of Hawaiian music outside of Hawai‘i, especially to the U.S. mainland. In the first half of the twentieth century, Hawaiian music became popular internationally through promotions by various media, such as movies, radio and television. Also, many hotels, nightclubs

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22 "Aloha Week Hula," also known as the 50th State Hula, was written by Jack Pitman when Hawai‘i became a state in 1959. Aloha Week, a cultural celebration of Hawai‘i’s music, dance and history, was started in 1946 by the Jaycees Old-timers of Hawai‘i. Once a week-long celebration, it has grown to span two months and all the islands" (Wilcox 2003: 20).

23 Randy Oness was an active performer of Hawaiian music in the 1940s and 50s. Todaro describes him as, "a product from the golden years era [of Hawaiian music] — and his name is synonymous with competence, professionalism and tradition" (1974b: 279).
and theaters in the U.S. mainland contributed to the popularity of Hawaiian music by featuring the Islands' dance and music shows. The first major showcase of Hawaiian music was at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915. Such Hawaiian songs as "Waikiki Mermaid," "Song of the Islands (Nā Leo O Hawai'i)," "One-Two-Three-Four," "Tomi! Tomi!" and "On the Beach at Waikiki" became popular through this exposition. On May 11th, 1922, KGU radio station began broadcasting, and the following day, it presented Hawaiian music featuring Johnny Noble’s Moana Hotel Orchestra. Since then, radio has taken an important role in broadcasting Hawaiian music internationally as well as domestically, and some local musicians, such as Charles E. King and John K. Almeida, hosted Hawaiian music radio programs. The record industry had also contributed to the popularization of Hawaiian music since 1906 when the Victor Talking Machine Company released 53 Hawaiian records including "Aloha 'Oe," "Old Plantation (Ku' u Home)," "Tomi! Tomi!" and "Hawai'i Pono'." Along with the expansion of the record industry, it provided Hawaiian songs worldwide, and some of them sold more than a million records. American movies had also featured and promoted Hawaiian music since the film Bird of Paradise was first released in 1932. Following Bird of Paradise, such American movies as Waikiki Wedding (1937), Hawaii Calls (1938), Honolulu (1939), Song of the Islands (1942) and Blue Hawaii (1961) presented the American fantasy of Hawai'i featuring the Islands' dance and music. With images of exotic-romantic lands and

24 Tatar states, "The 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, one of the most important promotional efforts for Hawaiian tourism, established Hawaiian music as a promotional tool by popularizing hapa-haole songs" (1987: 11).
25 Although some characteristics of hapa haole music can be recognized, these songs may not be considered hapa haole songs because of their composition date and linguistic aspects, mostly written in Hawaiian.
people provided by these media, Hawaiian music received international attention. American audiences consumed the Islands’ dance and music, invoking nostalgia for their domestic-exotic lands of Hawai‘i. These media played an important role in producing and promoting hapa haole music. 26

A Hawaiian music radio program *Hawaii Calls* was one of the most successful media programs in the history of Hawaiian music. According to Kanahele, *Hawaii Calls* was broadcast on 750 stations and was heard by millions all over the world at its peak in 1952 (1979b: 113). Realizing Hawaiian music was grossly misrepresented by pseudo or “Hollywood Hawaiians,” the founder Webley Edwards planned to present “authentic” Hawaiian music from the Islands to the U.S. mainland audiences (Todaro 1953: 25, *The Honolulu Advertiser* 1954). 27 The first program was presented on July 3rd, 1935 under the historic banyan tree in the courtyard of the Moana Hotel (currently Sheraton Moana Surfrider Hotel). Edwards, as the master of ceremonies, first addressed the U.S. mainland audiences with this phrase, “Hello, Mainland. This is Hawaii calling. We’re about to send you music from the Hawaiian Islands” (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1960). Since this first call, the program presented Hawaiian music from the Islands internationally for 40 years.

Soon after the program began, Edwards faced a lack of funds due to the station’s policy as a non-commercial program. His solution was to receive subsidy from the Hawaii Tourist Bureau (currently the Hawaii Visitors and Convention


27 Edwards states, “Keynote of the program is real Hawaiian music, played in authentic Hawaiian style. The apparently impromptu presentation, before an average crowd of a thousand at the Moana hotel’s banyan lanai, belies many hours of hard work behind each broadcast. We often say that we rehearse and rehearse until the program sounds unrehearsed” (1949: 72).
Bureau), which provided the funds covering major expenses for the program from 1936 to 1973. Because of this intimate relationship, Edwards allowed and supported the Bureau to use *Hawaii Calls* as a promotional tool for Hawai‘i’s tourism industry. For example, the Bureau produced promotional films entitled *Hawaii... Never Easier to Sell* and *Hawaii Calls*, which featured Edwards and *Hawaii Calls* to represent one of Hawai‘i’s popular attractions: hula and music. More than 30 years later, the Bureau still regards *Hawaii Calls* as their most successful promotional activity.

The Bureau took part in many promotional activities over the years, but the most enduring and successful was launched in 1935 as the radio program, *Hawaii Calls*. Originated, produced and narrated by Webley Edwards, it was broadcast for nearly four decades to the Mainland, Canada and Australia every Saturday, usually from the Moana Hotel’s lanai on Waikiki Beach. Listeners grew up with the sounds of Hawaii from that popular show and developed lifelong desires to see and hear the real thing. (*Hawaii Visitors and Convention Bureau*)

Edwards also modified the program from the original plan for the promotion. Although he intended to provide authentic Hawaiian music, Edwards often changed his personnel and insisted on including songs that were appealing to the U.S. mainland audiences (Kanahele 1979b: 110).

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28 In the film *Hawaii... Never Easier to Sell*, Edwards introduces the radio program as, “We’ve been doing this [*Hawaii Calls* radio program] for 27 years now, selling Hawai‘i from Hawai‘i on more than 500 stations and every state of union, and foreign countries on five continents, millions of listeners, at a lot of potential Hawai‘i travelers...” (transcribed from the film).

29 Kanahele also states, “Edwards once described the purpose of ‘Hawaii Calls’: ‘to give an accurate, faithful, and authentic presentation of the music of the islands.’... Notwithstanding his stated commitment to presenting ‘authentic’ Hawaiian music, Edwards and the whole ‘Hawaii Calls’ program were criticized for not being authentic enough” (1979b: 112).
Modification of the program included visual, verbal and musical elements, and further confirmed popularity of the program. For example, Edwards intentionally featured more songs in English than the songs with Hawaiian lyrics, and often presented “jazzed up” hapa haole songs, although he once remarked, “the [Hawaiian] music [of the Bay City night club at San Francisco] was ‘jazzed up’ and not truly island music” (ibid.: 109). He also initiated the television version of the *Hawaii Calls* program in 1966, in which exotic-romantic Hawai‘i created in the American imagination of the Islands is further depicted, providing stories with visual images, such as “a hapa haole hula girl falling love with a visitor.” To summarize, hapa haole music was an ideal medium to convey the fantasy of Hawai‘i. Edwards appealed to the U.S. mainland audiences and potential tourists through hapa haole songs, and contributed to the popularization of Hawaiian music.

As a result of the modification of the program, some music critics felt that *Hawaii Calls* did not provide “authentic” Hawaiian music and further criticized the program and the people involved with it. However, although Edwards modified the program to appeal to American audiences, he still presented Hawaiian music

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30 “Over the years, Hawaii Calls has made a number of songs world famous, including ‘Lovely Hula Hands,’ ‘Beyond the Reef,’ ‘Little Brown Gal’ and ‘The Hawaiian Wedding Song,’ ‘Sweet Leilani,’ which made its debut in a 1936 broadcast, became the only Hawaiian song to win an Academy Award after Bing Crosby’s powerful, yet gentle, rendition from the movie ‘Waikiki Wedding’ thrilled people throughout the world” (*Hawaii Calls*® *Inc./Hula Records®*).

31 For example, Charles E. King states, “The worst offenders are KGU, KGMB [radio stations of Hawai‘i], the Hawaiian Tourist bureau, Harry Owens, Bowman, Holst Macfarlane & Richardson, Ltd., and Al Perry. They, mostly malihinis [foreigners], have the audacity to tell us to pep it up because the mainlanders like the music that way... The taxpayers have the right and should protest the tourist bureau programs broadcast by the radio stations which do not have truly [sic. truly] Hawaiian music... Don’t call songs Hawaiian which are in English and have only one or two Hawaiian words... those musicians who are guilty of speeding up the tempo of Hawaiian songs use the characteristic slower Hawaiian tempo when they write English songs about Hawaii... If you want jazz, write your own or use songs which are intended to be played fast... [However] Let us show enough pride in our own music to keep it pure” (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1939).
performed by local musicians from the Islands settings as he first intended.

Edwards felt that local musicians should perform Hawaiian music to make it “real” Hawaiian music (1954a, see also Chapter 2), and never abandoned this policy. As a result, more than 300 local dancers and musicians were featured in the program.

Beginning with Harry Owens, Joe Kamakau, and the Royal Hawaiian Girls Glee Club who performed on the first “Hawaii Calls” broadcast, the program over the years featured the best Hawaiian musicians and performers. These included Al Kealoha Perry, who succeeded Owens in 1937, and his group consisting of Simeon and Andy Bright, David Kelii, Squeeze Kamana, Mystery Cockett, and Bob Kauahikaua. Charlie Amalu and Amelia Guerrero appeared regularly in the late 1930s. Other stars included George Kainapau, Lena Machado, Andy Cummings, Helen Johnson, Vickie Ii and family (Lina, Nina, and Boyce), Hāleloke, Alfred Apaka, and Bill Akamuhou. Benny Kalama, who had joined “Hawaii Calls” in 1952, took over as musical director when Al Perry retired in 1967. In the 1970s younger artists such as Palani Vaughan, Bill Kaiwa, Danny Kaleikini, and Myra English appeared regularly on the program. (Kanahele 1979b: 111)

The significance of the *Hawaii Calls* program was its engagement with local Hawaiian music communities. Through the program, Edwards provided local dancers and musicians opportunities to perform professionally and supported them by promoting Hawaiian music internationally. As a result, some local music practitioners have expressed affection and nostalgia for *Hawaii Calls* well after the program closed its history in 1975 (see Chapter 3 for post-program history of *Hawaii Calls*).

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32 Todaro states, “Web [Webley Edwards] has received many Mainland offers for radio and TV posts but the lure of New York and Hollywood cannot drag Web away from his beloved ‘Hawaii Calls’ and his numerous friends in the Islands” (1953: 25).
Summary

Hapa haole music is an art reflecting the experiences and activities of Hawai‘i’s people. This genre appeared in the early twentieth century following musical trends of late nineteenth century Hawai‘i. Queen Lili‘uokalani incorporated American elements in her “Aloha ‘Oe” as other local composers did on those days. Early hapa haole songwriters, such as Sonny Cunha, produced hapa haole music following the late nineteenth century musical trends. Johnny Noble and R. Alex Anderson also followed the preceding Hawaiian song composers, such as Sonny Cunha and Charles E. King, and flourished hapa haole music. All of these local composers experienced American culture and included its elements in their compositions. At the same time, their songs still retain Hawaiian features inherited from past Hawaiian music tradition and shared in the local music communities. There were also hapa haole songwriters, who originally came from a foreign country, such as Harry Owens, Don McDiarmid, Sr. and Jack Pitman. These haole composers contributed to Hawaiian music and its local communities by blending their own musical experiences with Hawaiian music. They resided in the Islands for a long period of time, had substantial experiences of Hawai‘i and its people, and often produced hapa haole music by collaborating with local dancers and musicians. As a result, many of their compositions retain Hawaiian features and are considered as part of Hawaiian music. Webley Edwards contributed to the local music communities through his Hawaii Calls program. Although he modified the program according to the preference of the U.S. mainland audiences, Edwards still provided local dancers and musicians opportunities to perform professionally by disseminating Hawaiian music internationally. Hapa haole music
retains Hawaiian features in its expressions and practices, and thus can be considered an art of Hawai‘i, reflecting its history of the twentieth century in which the people of Hawai‘i encountered other people and incorporated foreign elements.
Definitions of hapa haole music are often derived from its history. Activities and practices occurred in the history of Hawai‘i confer knowledge and meaning of this genre. Hapa haole music and its history are related to American colonial expansion in Hawai‘i. This colonial history has evoked various emotions and thoughts on Hawai‘i’s culture and society. In a process of remembering events and people of colonized Hawai‘i, some memories are emphasized and others are forgotten. In the case of hapa haole music, American influence on this genre is often emphasized with a negative emotion. However this genre is sometimes considered to be part of Hawaiian cultural tradition because of its Hawaiian features. As a result, knowledge and meaning of hapa haole music are often entangled, and thus a single definition cannot cover all emotions and thoughts about this genre. In this chapter, I examine definitions of hapa haole music and tentatively provide a comprehensive definition. Then, I investigate the ambiguity in hapa haole music through two Hawaiian songs, “I’ll Remember You” written by Kui Lee and “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]” written by Charles E. King.

Definitions of Hapa Haole Music

Linguistically, *hapa haole* means “half foreign” or “half white,” often applied to describe Western influence or elements of Hawai‘i, such as in “hapa haole girl,” “hapa haole hula” and “hapa haole music.” *Hapa* is a Hawaiian word borrowed from the
English term “half” or “Portion, fragment, part, fraction, installment; to be partial, less” (Pukui and Elbert 1986: 58).  *Haole* is another Hawaiian word meaning “White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin” (ibid.).  *Hapa haole* describes a “Part-white person; of part-white blood; part white and part Hawaiian, as an individual or phenomenon” as in *mele hapa haole* (hapa haole song), which means “Hawaiian type of song mostly with English words” (ibid.: 245).¹ However, hapa haole music is not only a Hawaiian type of music including foreign elements nor written with English lyrics.  *Himeni*, Hawaiian style of hymns, are based on hymns, which were introduced by American missionaries in the nineteenth century. Many contemporary Hawaiian songs are written partly or entirely with English lyrics. This linguistic definition does not identify hapa haole music enough among several genres of Hawaiian music.²

Realizing the inadequacy of the linguistic definition, Hawaiian music scholar George S. Kanahele recognizes the need for more specific criteria regarding the complexity and variety of hapa haole music. He proposes a tentative definition as follows.

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¹ The Hawaiian word “*mele*” means “Song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant” (Pukui and Elbert 1986: 245).

² “Hawaiian musicians and scholars usually recognize 6 types of Hawaiian music, which are associated with successive historical periods: (1) *mele oli, mele hula,* and *mele hula ku‘i* – chants and chanting associated with, but not necessarily originating in, pre-European times; (2) *himeni* – hymns associated with the late 19th century missionaries; (3) *himeni*-like songs – secular songs based on Western melodies and harmonies associated with 19th century royalty; (4) *hula* songs or folk songs – associated with the late 19th century and early 20th century and based on *hula ku‘i* chants; (5) *hapa-haole* songs – literally part-white (or foreign) songs, primarily associated with early 20th century Hawaiian composers in Honolulu, initially based on *hula ku‘i* integrated with mainland “pop”; and (6) “contemporary Hawaiian” songs – associated with Western popular music styles composed and performed by Hawaiians (either ethnic or nonethnic)” (Tatar 1987: 5).
First, either a Hawaiian or non-Hawaiian musician or composer aware of
the general structure of traditional Hawaiian music incorporates popular
trends set on the US mainland for composing text and music... Second, the
text is in colloquial English which may or may not include a smattering of
Hawaiian or pidgin words. The subject also refers to Hawai‘i directly or
indirectly and tends to be either romantic, romantic-nostalgic, or
humorous... Third, hapa haole music corresponds to a current style of the
US mainland such as ragtime, Dixieland, jazz/fox-trot, Latin, blues, pop,
rock, country-western, or folk-rock... Fourth, hapa haole music reflects
general characteristics of traditional Hawaiian music in its large intervallic
leaps, repeated melodic and rhythmic patterns, and melodic contours
outlining a triad and dominant-tonic harmony... Finally, the Hawaiianness of
hapa haole music is established by the individual performer, who executes
appropriate vocal ornaments in the voice qualities unique to Hawaiian
musical expression. (1979b: 106-7)

Kanahele’s definition includes detailed analyses of lyrics and sounds of hapa haole
music. Also, Kanahele observes haole elements in hapa haole music mostly in
relation to the U.S. mainland, although linguistically haole can mean any element of
foreign origin.³ Kanahele’s definition is further specific than the linguistic definition
and valuable for the following reasons.

First, Kanahele notes the importance of romantic, romantic-nostalgic or
humorous subject matters of hapa haole music. He states that the lyrics of hapa haole
music do not need to mention Hawai‘i directly, but they typically imply Hawai‘i
through such subject matters as romance, nostalgia and humor. For example,
“Beyond the Reef” written by Jack Pitman contains, “neither Hawaiian words nor any
mention of Hawai‘i directly” (ibid.: 106), however romantic and nostalgic Hawai‘i is

³ As a matter of fact, hapa haole music reveals a variety of non-Hawaiian influence. For example, Jack
Pitman, a native Canadian composer/pianist, wrote one of the most popular hapa haole songs, “Beyond
the Reef,” and the lyrics of “One-Two-Three-Four” include German and Chinese.
implied through its lyrics (see Appendix C for the lyrics). Another example is “Red Opu” written by R. Alex Anderson. The lyrics of the song are humorous suggesting the experience of visitors in Hawai‘i, who get a suntan or red opu (belly) (see also Appendix C for the lyrics). Romance, nostalgia and humor are often used as subject matters of hapa haole music, implying the lands and people of Hawai‘i without mentioning them directly. Hapa haole songs often convey a vision of Hawai‘i through such subject matters of their lyrics.

Second, Kanahele emphasizes the importance of musical aspects of this genre. Although he notices hapa haole songs characteristically use English texts in its lyrics, Kanahele insists, “it should be noted, the music is the determining factor, not the lyrics – which may be entirely in the Hawaiian language,” and indicates “Hawaiian War Chant [Kāua I Ka Huahua‘i]” as an example (1979b: 107). There are several other hapa haole songs written in the Hawaiian language, such as “Kalua” and “Nalani.” Even though hapa haole music often employs English lyrics, according to Kanahele, its musical elements are the decisive factor in defining hapa haole music.

Kanahele notices both American and Hawaiian features in hapa haole music. However, his definition is significant in the descriptions of Hawaiian musical elements. Kanahele points the three Hawaiian musical characteristics in this genre as, 1) the general structure of traditional Hawaiian music, 2) general characteristics of traditional Hawaiian music in its large intervallic leaps, repeated melodic and rhythmic patterns, and melodic contours outlining a triad and dominant-tonic harmony, 3) the practices

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4 “Hawaiian War Chant” was originally composed as “Kāua I Ka Huahua‘i [We Two in Spray]” by Prince Leleiohoku. Johnny Noble arranged the original song with a new title “Hawaiian War Chant” in 1936. Although the song has English lyrics written by Ralph Freed, the original Hawaiian lyrics by Prince Leleiohoku are often preferred.
unique to Hawaiian musical expression in performing hapa haole music with an emphasis on the execution of appropriate vocal ornaments by individual performers such as Ray Kinney, John K. Almeida, Gabby Pahinui, Leinaala Haili, Genoa Keawe, Moe Keale and Robert Cazimero (ibid.).

Among these three characteristics, Kanahele feels that the third characteristic, Hawaiian musical practices, often establishes the Hawaiianness of hapa haole music. In other words, hapa haole music can be acknowledged as a genre belonging to Hawai‘i through its musical practices. Although not as specific as Kanahele, a Hawaiian music radio personality Webley Edwards also cites the importance of musical practices in performing Hawaiian music.

...give a group of Hawaiians a mainland song and try as they may... they will not play or sing it the way the mainlanders do. Almost invariably, they will wind up singing it in a way that makes it sound like a Hawaiian song. So, it may be that one part of a definition of Hawaiian music is that it is a way of singing or playing that Hawaiians, and only Hawaiians, can put into it... There are today well over 3,000 of the songs that we have come to call Hawaiian music... Whether in Hawaiian or in English words, these are real Hawaiian songs because they are of or about Hawaii. But to become really Hawaiian music, they must be played or sung by Hawaiians. (1954a)

Even in American influenced hapa haole music, the local musicians express Hawaiianness exerting their musical practices. Furthermore, songs written by haole composers can be considered as hapa haole songs performed by local dancers and musicians. For example, “Sweet Leilani” and “Beyond the Reef” were favorites of Alfred Apaka, and “When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop” became famous performed
by Hilo Hattie. Through Hawaiian musical practices maintained by the local performers, such songs became acknowledged as hapa haole music of Hawai'i.

Ethnomusicologist Elizabeth Tatar approaches hapa haole music from the context of American popular culture and tourism.

_Hapa-haole_ songs, created to incorporate current musical trends on the mainland and adapted to _hula ku'i_ melodies, were probably the initial musical responses of Hawaiians to the tastes of American tourists. English lyrics and familiar music adapted from mainland popular music made _hapa-haole_ songs easily understood by American tourists. The lyrics, often comical and risqué for that early period, invariably conveyed images of Waikīkī – sand, surf, coconut trees, and girls (preferably dancing the _hula_). Instrumental accompaniment invariably included an _ʻukulele_. Musically, from 1900 through 1915 most _hapa-haole_ songs were based on simple ragtime harmonies and rhythms, and occasionally on waltzlike melodies; from 1916 through the 1930s, they were based on jazz and blues; from the 1940s through the 1950s, on big-band sounds; and in the 1960s, on rock and roll. The earliest _hapa-haole_ songs retained elements of traditional Hawaiian music. As _hapa-haole_ songs evolved together with mainland pop, musically they became less and less Hawaiian. Their lyrics, however, retained relevance to Hawai'i. Sometime in the 1960s the term _hapa-haole_, as it refers to a continually evolving Western-Hawaiian musical style, was dropped from usage and, by the mid-1970s, was replaced by the designation "contemporary Hawaiian music." The term _hapa-haole_ is used today to refer to the style of Hawaiian music composed and performed (usually in Waikīkī) from ca. 1900 to ca. 1950. (Tatar 1987: 11)

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5 Performing songs written by foreign composers with Hawaiian musical practices or Hawaiinanness can be also observed in the contemporary Hawaiian music scene. "In My Life" performed by Keali'i Reichel and a medley: "Somewhere Over the Rainbow | Over the Rainbow | What a Wonderful World" performed by Israel Kamakawiwo'ole are good examples.
Although Tatar mentions the influence of traditional Hawaiian music, such as *hula ku‘i*, on hapa haole music, her description emphasizes the impact of American culture and tourism on hapa haole music. The use of English lyrics and current U.S. musical trends are prominent characteristics of this genre. Hapa haole music had appealed for the U.S. mainland audiences and tourists by using English lyrics and current U.S. musical trends since the early twentieth century.

Tatar is more specific than Kanahele in describing American influence on hapa haole music and observes genres of Hawaiian music associated with successive historical periods (see footnote 2 for Hawaiian music genres proposed by Tatar). She proposes the time frame of hapa haole music as the style of Hawaiian music composed and performed from ca. 1900 to ca. 1950 (ibid.: 11). This time frame is significant, because it defines American influence on this genre within a specific period. Although “Hawaiian music has been subjected to persistent and deliberate non-Hawaiian influences for the past 200 years” (ibid.: 3), hapa haole music mostly reveals American influence from the first half of the twentieth century. By providing this time frame, she recognizes and differentiates hapa haole music from the other genres of Hawaiian music.

Even though Kanahele and Tatar describe hapa haole music as a genre of Hawaiian music, it was also experienced and appreciated on the U.S. mainland as part of American culture. Hapa haole music attracted and entertained the U.S. mainland audiences providing an American version of Hawai‘i in the colonial process.

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6 *Hula ku‘i* is a style of hula associated with the hula revival initiated by King Kalākaua. *Ku‘i* means joint, stitch or unite, so *hula ku‘i* is literally “joint hula,” which is recognized, “any interpretive hula, so called since the days of Kalākaua... old and new steps were joined together (Pukui and Elbert 1986: 174).
Creating an imagined Hawai‘i for the American public, hapa haole music became part of American culture.

As part of American culture, hapa haole music was one of the ways to inform the U.S. mainland public Hawai‘i as a part or territory of the U.S. This representation includes additional connotations and often results in different interpretations of the term “hapa haole.” Jane C. Desmond, a scholar of American Studies and Women’s Studies, approaches the term hapa haole in the context of American colonialism. She argues, “the female hapa-haole (half-Caucasian) ‘look’ emerged as a sign of the ‘ideal native,’ which simultaneously differentiated Hawai‘i from other sites of imaginary ‘primitivism’ and from racial divisions on the mainland between Caucasians and African Americans” (Desmond 1999: xxii). This concept of “ideal native” is significant when the term hapa haole denotes Hawai‘i as a territory of the U.S. Desmond introduces the concept of ideal native as people, “who are graciously welcoming to outsiders and who present visitors with a nonthreatening, alluring encounter with paradisiacal exoticism” (ibid.: 4). She also explains, “Construction of this ideal native stereotype grew out of a specific nexus of U.S. colonial expansion, racial discourses of the time, and conceptions of U.S. nationhood. Hawaiians emerged in these discourses as brown (not black, not Asian), and as primitive (but delightfully so), not modern” (ibid.: 7). The lyrics and sounds of hapa haole music are part of this representation of Hawai‘i, which is merged with the process of the U.S. colonial expansion. A brown-skinned hula girl often appears in the lyrics of hapa haole songs, as in “My Honolulu Hula Girl [My Hapa Haole Hula Girl],” along with American influenced sounds of hapa haole music to convey the
image of the ideal native and to portray Hawai‘i as a U.S. colony. Combined with visual and verbal presentations, hapa haole music provided a vision of the native as primitive, yet domestic Hawai‘i for the U.S. mainland public.  

In considering the above-mentioned definitions, I tentatively propose a comprehensive definition of hapa haole music to include Hawaiian and American features. First, as Kanahele states, hapa haole music retains Hawaiian features in musical structures, characteristics and often performance practices. In addition to these musical aspects, Hawaiianess, so-called, can be recognized in the composers’ personalities and identities, and often appears in their selection of themes for songs, such as telling stories of flowers, the islands and people of Hawai‘i with their activities and customs. Although American elements of hapa haole music are often emphasized, it is an art reflecting the lands and people of Hawai‘i, and is a genre of Hawaiian music retaining Hawaiian features or Hawaiianess derived from experience of Hawai‘i’s people and their cultural activities. Second, hapa haole music includes the American imagination or vision of Hawai‘i, often depicted as exotic, romantic, nostalgic or humorous, as expressed through its song lyrics. It is an American fantasy of Hawai‘i produced in the colonial process of imagining the new territory, especially in the first half of the twentieth century. Incorporating this fantasy, hapa haole music appealed and was promoted for the U.S. mainland audiences. Providing the fantasy of Hawai‘i through the songs with English lyrics and current U.S. musical trends, hapa

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7 Desmond argues, “visual and verbal representations in pictures, postcards, stereoscopes, advertisements, and scientific discourses during this period [the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century] rendered a vision of Native Hawaiians as ‘ideal natives’ and set the stage for the development of tourism” (ibid.: 60).
haole music functioned to label Hawai‘i as a domestic-exotic, romantic-nostalgic and primitive-native land of the United States.

**Ambiguity in Hapa Haole Music:**

“I’ll Remember You” and “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]”

Although I proposed a tentative definition of hapa haole music above, questions and problems still remain. I defined hapa haole music broadly to include and reflect different opinions: ambiguity of this genre when considering several Hawaiian songs in detail. The ambiguity in hapa haole music often appears in songs, which retain hapa haole music characteristics, yet their Hawaiian features are further recognized. In considering these songs, I often observe a negative attitude toward American influence on Hawai‘i and a preference to establish Hawaiian music identity. These songs are liminal, and thus can be considered either hapa haole song or not. As follows, I examine the ambiguity in hapa haole music through two songs, “I’ll Remember You” and “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song].”

A Hawaiian favorite song “I’ll Remember You” expresses Hawaiian features and the fantasy of Hawai‘i concurrently in addition to other hapa haole songs, so it can be considered as a hapa haole song. Kui Lee wrote “I’ll Remember You” to be performed by a Hawaiian singer Don Ho, “the undisputed king of Waikiki entertainers and an icon of Hawai‘i to visitors around the world” (Harada 2000). Through Ho’s musicianship and its romantic-nostalgic lyrics, “I’ll Remember You” conveys the fantasy of Hawai‘i for the U.S. mainland audiences and tourists (see Introduction for

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8 Kailulani Kanoa Martin also categorizes “I’ll Remember You” as a hapa haole song in the website Huapala: Hawaiian Music and Hula Archives.
the lyrics). At the same time, Hawaiinanness of “I’ll Remember You” is established through Lee’s musical identity. Kanahele writes about Lee in the following passage.

Despite his small number of songs compared to other major hapa haole composers such as Johnny Noble, Lee exerted a profound influence on both the substance and style, if not mood, of Hawaiian music... In fact Lee’s Hawaiinanness was the ultimate source of his identity and strength. His frustrations and joys, resentments and affections, were all tied to his efforts to protect and sustain his island heritage... Lee was a keiki o ka aina or ‘child of the land’ – a Hawaiian. Some have tried to separate his songs into ‘Hawaiian’ and ‘non-Hawaiian’ compositions but this distinction seems unjustifiably arbitrary, for his songs all emanate from the same wellsprings of Lee’s Hawaiinanness.” (1979b: 222-23)

“I’ll Remember You” expresses Hawaiinanness through Lee’s personality and identity, and also includes the fantasy of Hawai‘i providing “a story of summer love and impending separation sweetened with at least pro forma hope of eventual reunion” (Lee: 1997).

As examined, “I’ll Remember You” can be categorized as a hapa haole song. However, I have encountered a dissenting opinion, which claims that “I’ll Remember You” is a contemporary Hawaiian song rather than a hapa haole song, because it has been more favored in Hawai‘i than in the U.S. mainland. It seems that this opinion claims a location of popularity as a factor in differentiating between these two genres. Although contemporary Hawaiian songs also include American elements, they may not be considered hapa haole music, because they are better known and more popular in Hawai‘i than in the U.S. mainland. Also, contemporary Hawaiian songs began to appear with the decline of hapa haole music in the 1960s. Regarding the popularity
of place and composition date, some music critics also separate “I’ll Remember You” from hapa haole music. For example, Keola Donaghy comments on the album *Magic Beside the Sea* (2004) by Paul Shimomoto as, “The selection of songs [of this album] comes mostly from the golden era of Hapa Haole music, but also includes Keola Beamer’s ‘Honolulu City Lights’ and Kui Lee’s ‘I’ll Remember You,’ songs from a later era that can both be viewed as extensions of the Hapa Haole tradition” (2004). In Donaghy’s view, “I’ll Remember You” is not truly a hapa haole song, but still retains hapa haole music characteristics.

In another view, contemporary Hawaiian songs can be considered as progeny of hapa haole music (informal conversation with a Hawaiian music authority February 2006). Hapa haole music gradually lost its popularity in the 1960s, yet contemporary Hawaiian songs still retain characteristics of hapa haole music in their lyrics and sounds. As hapa haole music has an influence of jazz, many contemporary Hawaiian songs incorporate jazz elements in their chord progressions and syncopated rhythms. For example, “Pili Kapekepeke” performed by Nā Palapalai includes jazz elements in its rhythms and chord progressions. Also, as in “I’ll Remember You,” many contemporary Hawaiian songs express a sentiment for Hawai‘i through their lyrics. “Wanting Memories” by Keali‘i Reichel and “I Miss You, My Hawai‘i” by Nā Leo Pilimehana are good examples expressing romance and nostalgia of Hawai‘i through their lyrics (see Appendix C for the lyrics). Although these lyrics predominantly express sentiments perceived from local perspectives, they still refer to romantic and nostalgic Hawai‘i as a subject matter. In the lyrics and sounds of contemporary Hawaiian songs, continuity of the Hawaiian music history from hapa haole music to
contemporary Hawaiian songs can be observed. Because this new genre of Hawaiian music still retains characteristics of hapa haole music, some compositions written in the 60s can be considered either hapa haole song or contemporary Hawaiian song.

The Hawaiian Renaissance began in the 1970s. Since this indigenous movement, the American influence on hapa haole music has been further recognized, and as a result, this genre has been often ignored in a process of establishing Hawaiian identity against a U.S. colonial ideology and influence. If this negative attitude about American culture is emphasized in hapa haole music, then locally favored “I'll Remember You” may not be considered as a song of this genre. “I’ll Remember You” is a liminal song composed in the transitional period of Hawaiian music, from hapa haole music to contemporary Hawaiian songs. It is in-between, and thus can be considered either hapa haole song or contemporary Hawaiian song, depending on emotions and thoughts about Hawaiian music and its identity.

Neglecting or rejecting hapa haole music has occurred since the appearance of this genre in the early twentieth century, not only since the Hawaiian Renaissance. Moreover, since the introduction of Western culture, local music practitioners have selected and sometimes refused haole culture based on their aesthetics and sensibilities. Even in the heyday of hapa haole music, many musicians preferred to use Hawaiian lyrics for their compositions and to perform following traditional styles of Hawaiian music. Charles E. King was one such musician, who tried to keep Hawaiian music free from American influence of the twentieth century.

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9 John K. Almeida is a good example of such musicians.
King challenged the whole transition to *hapa haole* music that followed in the 20th century... He attacked nearly everyone associated with the new “Hawaii Calls” program for “murdering” Hawaiian music by “pepping up” native songs that were meant to be sung or played slowly or in hula tempo... He argued that he had nothing against jazz as such, but it should not be used in Hawaiian music... King once said: “Let’s us have enough pride in our own music to keep it pure.” (Kanahele 1979: 215)

King strongly rejected hapa haole music and defined Hawaiian music in opposition to characteristics of this genre as, “Hawaiian songs should have Hawaiian lyrics, the subject should be about Hawai‘i, and the melodic quality nahenahe (sweet) and not ‘jazzed up’” (Ely 1998).

Experiencing the huge American impact on Hawaiian music in the first half of the twentieth century, King rejected American influenced hapa haole music and attacked the people and events involved this new genre. Because of such his attitude, King is often considered a traditionalist, who did not compose hapa haole songs.

He composed songs with both Hawaiian and English lyrics, but they cannot be classified as hapa haole songs; in fact, he decried the compositions of Sonny Cunha and Johnny Noble, feeling their songs compromised Hawaiian music styles by introducing too much of Tin Pan Alley into their compositions, and called this trend “silly”... His battle with hapa haole music continued to his death in 1950. (Squareone.org)

Under the massive influence of American culture in the first half of the twentieth century, King constructed his Hawaiian music identity in opposition to this new genre of music.

Nevertheless, some of King’s compositions were often presented with hapa haole songs and used to promote the fantasy of Hawai‘i for the American audiences
and tourists. “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]” is one of his most famous compositions used to present the fantasy of Hawai‘i.\(^\text{10}\) The album titled *Hapa-Haole Hulas* (1970) by The Kahauanu Lake Trio includes “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]” regarding its characteristics close to hapa haole songs.\(^\text{11}\) The distributor of this album, *Hawaii Calls® Inc./Hula Records®* introduces this album:

Hapa-haole (part foreign) music was popularized by local entertainers to satisfy Hawai‘i’s burgeoning tourist industry of the ’30s and ’40s. For many of those tourists, this was the only music they connected with the islands. What was a hit with visitors then, is still preferred by many. After all, the music is lovely, the instrumentation distinctly Hawaiian, and the primarily English lyrics understood by most. (*Hawaii Calls® Inc./Hula Records®* 2003)

Because the song was often utilized to promote Hawai‘i for the American audiences and tourists, *Hapa-Haole Hulas* features “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song].”

The wedding song image of this composition conveys the romance and nostalgia for Hawai‘i, although “Ke Kali Nei Au” or with its English title “Hawaiian Wedding Song” was not written as a wedding song. Because the Hawaiian-style weddings were just becoming popular and brides were seeking an appropriate Hawaiian song, “Ke Kali Nei Au” was used to convey the fantasy of Hawai‘i as a...

\(^{10}\) King composed “Ke Kali Nei Au” for his operetta *Prince of Hawaii* first performed on May 4th, 1925 in Honolulu. (Kanahele 1979: 210) He prefers “Waiting for Thee” as a subtitle for this song and never called it “Hawaiian Wedding Song.” “The Wedding Song title came along after some years because the song was so often sung at weddings” (Edwards 1954b).

romantic wedding song for the American audiences and tourists (Allen 1985: 85). The song is also featured in the famous American film *Blue Hawaii* (1961), which captures the exotic-romantic Hawai’i as perceived by American audiences.

The Coco Palms is where much of Elvis’s 1961 movie “Blue Hawaii” was filmed. The last 20 minutes of “Blue Hawaii” comprises one of the most exotic wedding scenes ever filmed, with flower-bedecked Elvis and actress Joan Blackman riding on a platform atop two canoes being paddled through the resort’s famous lagoons as Elvis sings “The Hawaiian Wedding Song.” (Sommer 2004)

As a result of such disseminations, “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]” became one of the most popular Hawaiian songs on the U.S. mainland. Combined with the image of a Hawaiian style wedding, the song presented the fantasy of Hawai’i as well as hapa haole songs.

In addition to “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song],” some writers of Hawaiian music notice that King’s other compositions include American influence in their linguistic and musical aspects. They consider that King incorporated American elements in his compositions, and sometimes classify his songs as hapa haole songs. For example, Gurre Ploner Noble says that Charles E. King wrote “at least one *hapa-haole* tune, the delightful ‘Pidgin English Hula (Ah-Sa-Ma-La You),’ sung and danced with such great success by Hawaii’s favorite comic *hula* dancer, Clara Inter [better known as Hilo Hattie]” (1948: 78). As well as “Pidgin English Hula (Ah-Sa-Ma-La-You),” if not a hapa haole song, King’s compositions reveal characteristics of hapa haole music.
Kanahele analyzes linguistic and musical aspects of King's compositions in the following way.

He [King] was also influenced by the current musical styles around him... For example, his "Honolulu Maids," written in 1916, comes close to being *hapa haole* and may in fact have been influenced by Henry Kailimai's popular "On the Beach at Waikīkī," which was also composed in 1916. Although it is only mildly syncopated, the directions call for a fast tempo. Moreover, the piano accompaniment seems typically ragtime; the melody is short but, in its outline, typical; and even the words are reminiscent of "On the Beach at Waikīkī." Although King emphasized Hawaiian lyrics, the words to over a dozen songs are in English ("Hawai‘i, Aloha Land," "My Hula Lu," "Lovely You"). In 1934 he even wrote a song in pidgin English, the well-known "Pidgin English Hula (Ah-Sa-Ma-La-You"). In a word, he was not dogmatic. (1979b: 216)

In considering King's works, his opposition to hapa haole music is not convincing. Moreover, King recognized Western influence as part of Hawaiian music and once accepted it. As evidence of his collection of Hawaiian music, King's *Book of Hawaiian Melodies* (1948) includes several songs written with English lyrics, some of them he wrote himself, such as "My Dear Hawai‘i" as well as "Honolulu Maids."

Don McDiarmid, Sr. further describes King's different attitude toward hapa haole music in this excerpt.

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12 King states on the preface of his *King's Book of Hawaiian Melodies* as, "The collection here presented to lovers of the beautiful music of Hawaii contains what is considered by authorities on things Hawaiian, to be the most typical of the native melodies... Every effort has been exerted to obtain the best examples of the oli or chants of the ancient days; good samples of the songs of the periods when the natives composed simple melodies that show the influence of the music of the first foreigners who visited these shores; songs of later period when the Hawaiians introduced English words and even complete lines of the foreign language into their productions; and also the most typical of the compositions of the present day" (1948).
But Charlie [Charles E. King] was completely broadminded regarding modern Hawaiian songs and was downright delighted when hearing the words to some of the popular hapa-haole comedy songs. This is completely understandable since he himself authored one of the most popular Hawaiian comedy numbers of all time, The Pidgin English Hula. (1950:5)

The examination of his works and attitudes reveals ambivalence about hapa haole music. King expressed a negative attitude and defined Hawaiian music in contrast to hapa haole music. At the same time, he incorporated contemporary musical trends and presented the fantasy of Hawai‘i to American audiences and tourists, as composers of hapa haole music did.

King’s statements and attitudes appears ambivalent due to his personal experience of dynamic cultural and social changes of Hawai‘i. Raised among Hawaiian royalty and trained in music by Queen Lili‘uokalani, he was deeply rooted in the Hawaiian language and traditional Hawaiian music, especially music of the Royal Composers (Kahahele 1979: 214-17). King’s negative attitude toward hapa haole music stemmed from his affection for traditional Hawaiian music and a sense of its loss. Reflecting on the great popularity of hapa haole music in the first half of twentieth century Hawai‘i, he once stated, “We are in danger of losing our Hawaiian music – it is a valuable heritage; let us cherish it” (Todaro 1974b: 201). Charles E. King, his statements and attitudes are in-between because of his affection for traditional Hawaiian music and appreciation of new musical trends of the first half of twentieth century Hawai‘i.

The ambiguity of hapa haole music is often observed with the negative attitude about American influence on Hawai‘i. With the establishment of Hawaiian
music identity, this negative attitude often emphasizes the American elements of hapa haole music, and as a result this genre is neglected. In such a process, some songs become ambiguous in-between identity of Hawaiian music and impact of American culture. "I'll Remember You" and "Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]" can be categorized either as hapa haole song or another type of Hawaiian song. As Kanahele states, "it is a matter of degree as to whether a song is hapa haole or not" (1979b: 107). It depends on approaches to a song and emphasis of its aspects.

Summary
Hapa haole music is a genre of Hawaiian music and reflects Hawai‘i’s history, especially its colonial history under the United States. In this colonial history, the people of Hawai‘i have invoked various emotions and thoughts about Hawaiian culture and its tradition, and as a result hapa haole music appears ambiguous. To have a better understanding of this genre, it is important to trace the history of Hawaiian music and examine shifting musical meanings according to changing cultural and social contexts. Following a reflective history of hapa haole music in Chapter 1, I examined definitions of hapa haole music and studied the ambiguity in this genre tracing some of emotions and thoughts about colonial Hawai‘i. The next chapter further examines emotions and thoughts about hapa haole music since the 1970s.
CHAPTER 3
EMOTIONS AND THOUGHTS
ABOUT HAPA HAOLE MUSIC SINCE THE 1970S

Hawaiian music changes according to Hawai‘i’s cultural and social dynamics, yet it still shows continuity from the past to present. Emotions and thoughts about hapa haole music observed in present-day Hawai‘i are the result of cultural and musical activities in the previous periods. Although the expressions and interpretations of Hawaiian music are shifting, the following case studies also reveal continuity from the past. This chapter traces precedent emotions and thoughts about Hawaiian music since the 1970s. I first examine an “interest in Hawai‘i’s past and its tradition” in the Hawaiian Renaissance, and then explore “nostalgia for past cultural activities” in the famous Hawaii Calls radio program and its revivals.

The Hawaiian Renaissance: Interest in Hawai‘i’s Past and Its Tradition

The Hawaiian Renaissance is acknowledged as a movement began in the 1970s with resurgent interest in Hawai‘i’s past and its tradition. This movement occurred reflecting a “sense of loss” in Hawaiian culture and a consciousness of Hawaiian identity regarding the political and social situation in twentieth century Hawai‘i. Kanahele explains why this movement occurred as follows.

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1 Preceding this movement, another renaissance of Hawaiian culture is recognized in the late nineteenth century directed by King Kalākaua (Kanahele 1979b: 200). Although the term “Hawaiian Renaissance” often refers to the movement, which began in the 1970s, it can be recognized as the second Hawaiian Renaissance following Kalākaua’s Renaissance. In this thesis, I call this second renaissance movement “Hawaiian Renaissance” as is general use of this phrase in Hawai‘i.
Why [has Hawaiian Renaissance happened]? Because it has reversed years of cultural decline; it has created a new kind of Hawaiian consciousness; it has inspired greater pride in being Hawaiian; it has led to bold and imaginative ways of reasserting our identity; it has led to a new political awareness; and it has had and will continue to have a positive impact on the economic and social uplifting of the Hawaiian community. (bold letters in the original copy, 1979a: 1)

The Hawaiian Renaissance began as a reaction to the American colonial influence on Hawai‘i. After using English as Hawai‘i’s first language and performing hapa haole music under the impact of American culture, this movement generated the identity as Hawaiian and resistance to the colonial power (see Lewis 1988 for further discussion of the Hawaiian Renaissance and its ideology).

In this Renaissance movement, Hawaiian music assumed an important role to express identity and to protest colonial Hawai‘i. Reflecting on the renaissance ideology, many activities related to Hawaiian music were planned and organized, such as festivals, conferences and publications. Also several local organizations were established to provide and support Hawaiian music activities. For example, George S. Kanahele established the Hawaiian Music Foundation in Honolulu in 1971 to perpetuate, develop and promote Hawaiian music. In this Foundation, the music represented the identity of Hawai‘i as stated, “Hawaiian music is part of the body and

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2 Although the Renaissance often conflicted with American hegemony, it was still influenced by a cultural movement on the U.S. mainland, as Kanahele notices, “The movement also engendered a spirit of defiance and rebelliousness that was reflected in the great counter-culture of the ’50s, rock’n roll. Elvis, the Beatles, long hair, new clothes styles, drugs – in a way these were but expressions of independence against the established order. A new generation had arrived to create its own world... So this spirit of protest and all the values and activities it engendered, had an impact on American ethnic groups such as the Chicanos and Puerto Ricans – and the Hawaiians” (1979a: 3).

3 For example, the Merrie Monarch Festival Hula Competition began in 1971, a Hawaiian music conference was also held in 1971 organized by the Hawaiian Music Foundation, and a book Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History, edited by George S. Kanahele, was published in 1979.
soul of Hawaiiana” (Kanahele 1979b: 116). Stillman summarizes Hawaiian music in this movement as, “What continues to mark this renaissance is the symbolic significance of Hawaiian music as a marker of ethnic identity and heritage” (Stillman 1998: 923). She further describes Hawaiian music as a medium to express identity and political claims.

Songs took their material from the multiethnicity that descended from late-nineteenth-century interactions on plantations. Local themes were shared concerns, which unified residents of varying backgrounds; as land increasingly passed into foreign hands and private-property rights excluded residents, texts asserted opposition to commercial development and demanded access to natural resources. (ibid.)

Music, including hula, is often considered as the symbol of Hawai‘i, representing its culture and people. In the first half of the twentieth century, hapa haole music represented the lands and people of Hawai‘i to the U.S. mainland audiences and tourists. This genre declined in the 70s, yet another style of music was still used to express Hawaiian identity and to share concerns with the local audiences in the Hawaiian Renaissance. Although the expressions and meanings are shifting, music continuously represents Hawai‘i and its people in changing cultural and social contexts.

Along with dynamics of the Hawaiian performing art, its practices and presentations are changing. Practitioners of Hawaiian music select different styles by their intentions to express and messages to convey. In the Renaissance, styles of music invoking an image of traditional Hawaiian activities and customs became
dominant. For example, Kanahele notices a significant increase of interest in the Hawaiian slack key guitar, with its Hawaiian name *ki ho'alu*. Stillman also states,

Younger musicians shunned conventional sounds, especially those of steel guitar and 'ukulele [often used in hapa haole music], favoring a more guitar-dominated instrumentation. Students also flocked to hula studios. New songs issued from composers who seriously studied the Hawaiian language. (ibid.: 922)

During this period, the term hula *kahiko* (traditional style of hula) was recognized in contrast with hula *‘auana* (contemporary style of hula). Also songwriters preferred more Hawaiian than English lyrics in their new compositions. By using a style of hula and music invoking images of Hawai‘i’s past and its tradition, Hawaiian music practitioners portrayed their stances in this movement.

In the Renaissance, American influence on Hawai‘i was often intentionally ignored. Moreover, some Hawaiian cultural leaders and authorities disregarded American culture and established the Hawaiian identity against the colonial status. For example, Haunani-Kay Trask, a Hawaiian activist and scholar of Hawaiian Studies, strongly attacked Western and American influences on Hawai‘i as follows.

Of course, the cultural revitalization that Hawaiians are now experiencing and transmitting to their children is as much a repudiation of colonization by so-called Western civilization in its American form as it is a reclamation of

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4 The Hawaiian Music Foundation began to use the term *ki ho‘alu* to popularize the slack key guitar. The term was not used in the 1800s (Kanahele 1979b: 350).
6 Stillman states composition in Hawaiian was exceeded by composition in English in this period (1998: 922-23).
our own past and our own ways of life... The distance between the smutty
and the erotic is precisely the distance between Western culture and
Hawaiian culture. In the hotel version of the hula, the sacredness of the
dance has completely evaporated, while the athleticism and sexual
expression have been packaged like ornaments. The purpose is entertainment
for profit rather than a joyful and truly Hawaiian celebration of human and
divine nature. (italics in the original copy, 1999: 142, 144)

In these statements, Trask describes Hawaiian culture in contrast to American culture,
and indicates the identity of Hawai‘i in opposition to the colonial influence.

Although the voices of the Hawaiian Renaissance were not filled only with the
negative emotion, it often articulated a strong rejection of American culture and its
influence on Hawai‘i.7

In such a reaction against American influence, a concept of authenticity in
Hawaiian music shifted to a style referring past or indigenous Hawai‘i. This shift of
authenticity resulted in disfavor of hapa haole music with its perceived American
elements.

With the coming of statehood in 1959, attitudes changed. By the mid-1970s,
lei Day seemed to be falling from favor. It may have been unintended, but as
the Hawaiian Renaissance fueled interest in traditional grass-roots Hawaiian
music, a tendency developed to reject Hawaii’s rich repertoire of hapa-haole
(part-foreign, part-Hawaiian) music as kitschy, old-fashioned or even
demeaning to local people. (Berger 2004a)

7 For example, the Hawaiian Music Foundation protested the Hawaii Visitors Bureau’s termination of
financial support to the Hawaii Calls radio program, and appealed to the Hawaii State Legislature to
restore the funds to the program, even though the program revealed a strong tie to the U.S. (Kanahele
1979b: 113).
With a resurgence of interest in Hawai‘i’s past and its tradition, the ideology of the Renaissance became widespread. In the movement, Hawaiian music practitioners often used Hawaiian instead of English for song lyrics and eliminated the conventional sounds of the steel guitar. By doing so, they expressed identity, nationality and resistance of Hawai‘i, and appealed to the local audiences. In this trend of Hawaiian music, hapa haole music was often neglected as inauthentic and further considered as offensive to Hawai‘i.

**Remembering *Hawaii Calls*: Nostalgia for Past Cultural Activities**

Although hapa haole music has been marginalized since the Hawaiian Renaissance, some Hawaiian music practitioners continue performing it. For example, Genoa Keawe has been playing hapa haole music as well as other types at the Waikiki Beach Marriott Resort & Spa (formally the Hawaiian Regent) every Thursday evening for decades.\(^8\) Don Ho had been presenting his own Hawaiian music show including hapa haole music at the Ohana Waikiki Beachcomber for many years.\(^9\) These music practitioners remember hapa haole music and have been playing this genre even during the Renaissance movement.

Such practitioners sometimes present hapa haole music with fond memories of past cultural activities. Here, I observe a shift of nostalgia from foreign to local, from exotic-romantic nostalgia for far away islands to retrospective nostalgia for the past and its people. Hapa haole music promoted Hawai‘i and its people by presenting

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\(^8\) Aunty Genoa Keawe, born in 1918, is a living legend of Hawaiian music. She is especially famous with her long-sustained falsetto voice.

\(^9\) Don Ho recently passed away on April 14th, 2007 at age of 76.
the fantasy of domestic-exotic islands, however this genre can also express a sentimental affection for the people and their practices of previous periods (see further discussions in Chapter 6). I recognize this retrospective nostalgia from the last few years of the *Hawaii Calls* program. Local performers and producers of Hawaiian music began to express a sense of loss facing difficulties in continuing the program, then feel nostalgic toward *Hawaii Calls* since the program was terminated.

The *Hawaii Calls* program continued to broadcast until 1975, however the decline of the program could be recognized in the 1960s as hapa haole music was losing ground on the U.S. mainland. Although Edwards initiated its television series in 1966, after 26 episodes, they were at a standstill due to financial problems (Harada 1970). In 1970, the Sheraton Moana Surfrider Hotel ceased to provide its Banyan Court for the *Hawaii Calls* radio program after 35 years of broadcasting.

Moana Surfrider manager Jimmy Cockett said he decided that his Sheraton responsibilities could no longer afford to sponsor "Hawaii Calls." "The show was not paying for its self," he said. "Attendance of its luncheon was down to 125 people. It was a real regret to have to see it go, knowing that it started in our Banyan Court." When Cockett said the show was not paying for itself, he was referring particularly to the fact that the hotel featuring "Hawaii Calls" must pay $275 per broadcast into the coffers of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau. *(The Honolulu Advertiser* 1970)*

In 1972, Webley Edwards retired from the program, and the locally managed Hawaiian Corporation with Danny Kaleikini purchased the program. Kaleikini became the master of ceremonies and Charles "Bud" Dant was named as producer/director of the

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10 However, the program returned to the Sheraton Moana Surfrider Hotel in 1972, when the Hawaii Corporation and Danny Kaleikini took over the program *(The Honolulu Advertiser* 1972).
show. The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* states, “The two parties [the Hawaiian Corporation and Danny Kaleikini] entered an agreement to purchase Edwards’ show… Edwards, 70, has been unable to continue his radio activities in recent months due to illness and has had Kaleikini substituting for him on the program” (1972). Soon after in 1973, the Hawaii Visitors Bureau ceased its financial support of annual $120,000 subsidy for the program, and the owners had to seek funds from other sources (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1973a, 1973b). However, the new owners could not find alternate sources. In 1975, *Hawaii Calls* closed its 40-year history.

After its 2,083rd program Aug. 16 at the Cinerama Reef Hotel, the weekly program will be off the air for the rest of the summer… Randolph Crossley, chief executive of the Hawaii Corp., which has underwritten the show for 19 months, said the decision was made because “we could not generate the income that would even pay half of the cost of producing the show.” (*Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 1975)

The *Hawaii Calls* began broadcasting in 1935 with substantial American interest in Hawai‘i and its people, and closed its history after Hawaiian music lost popularity on the U.S. mainland.

Facing with the decline of *Hawaii Calls*, some local music practitioners began to express a sense of loss for the program as “our” musical heritage. For example, Tony Todaro, as Chairman of the Hawaiian Professional Songwriters’ Society, claims,

Never did I dream that I would ever hear even a whisper of a rumor that our beloved "Hawaii Calls" would face: 1 – Loss of its Hawaii Visitors Bureau

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11 Kaleikini, born in 1937, is also a well-known Hawaiian singer.
subsidy. 2 – The need of emergency funding – made available by Randy Crossley (The Hawaii Corp.) and Danny Kaleikini – to buy a 90-day stay of execution... BEING THE eternal optimist, I refuse to believe Hawaii will commit musical suicide. Once we realize the danger our precious Hawaiian music faces, I’m certain the good people of Hawaii will rise to the occasion. Hawaii wants to remain the only state in America that proudly boasts of a brand of music we can call our own. No other state has such a musical treasure... Keep Hawaii Hawaiian for our good – and for our visitors’ good. Preserve our vanishing culture and heritage. Let’s start with our most popular commodity – Hawaiian music. And step number one is to continue our support of Hawaii Calls – the leader and most cherished voice of Hawaiian music. (1974a)

Although Todaro recognizes the commodification of Hawaiian music and Hawaii Calls, his statement still claims that the program is “the leader and most cherished voice of Hawaiian music.” Webley Edwards initiated the Hawaii Calls program to provide Hawaiian music to the U.S. mainland audiences, yet the local music practitioners began to consider the program as “our” musical heritage and supported it for local benefit in the last days of the program.

Since the program was terminated, several revival events of Hawaii Calls have been planned and presented. Because of its 40-year of broadcast history featuring many local Hawaiian dancers and musicians, the program left huge impact on Hawaiian music and remained as a memory of past cultural activity in Hawai‘i. As follows, I introduce three revival events of Hawaii Calls.

In August 1982, Don McDiarmid, Jr. revived Hawaii Calls as a weekly radio program appointing Nina Keali‘iwahamana as a musical director and Joe Recca as a program director.
“Hawaii Calls,” the radio show that lured visitors to Hawaii for four decades, becomes radio-active again Saturday. Actually, the program – newly produced by Don McDiarmid, Jr., a recording executive who bought the rights several years ago – will be taped again for the first time in seven years, at the Banyan Court of the Moana Hotel, the very site where “Hawaii Calls” blossomed into world-wide fame... “We’re keeping the old formula – even reporting the temperature of the water at Waikiki Beach. Like, 74 degrees,” he [McDiarmid] says. For McDiarmid, the “Hawaii Calls” program is a homecoming of sorts – and marks the end of his premature “retirement.” He recently turned over the presidency of his Hula Records operations to his son, Flip, so he could enjoy an early retirement. (Harada: 1982)

At his retirement, McDiarmid, Jr. revived the program with reminiscence. He produced the program at the historical Banyan Court, tried to keep the old 30-minute formula and featured Keali'iawahamana, who actively performed in the program.

Harada states this program is “a homecoming of sorts” for regarding the history of McDiarmid family and Hawaiian music. Although Don McDiarmid, Jr. still sought business opportunities, he revived Hawaii Calls because of his nostalgia for the old days of Hawaii.

Another revival of Hawaii Calls occurred several years after the program of McDiarmid, Jr. In 1990, the Sheraton Moana Surfrider Hotel “re-established the venue as a place to go for Hawaiian music in Waikiki,” and in the following year, the hotel presented the event Moana Remembers celebrating its 90th anniversary in the Banyan Court with memory of Hawaii Calls (Berger 1991). This program also featured Nina Keali'iawahamana, who represented Hawaii Calls and the old days of Hawaiian music at the Banyan Court. Berger introduces memories of
Keali‘iwahamana describes the Moana Hotel as a home for her family, embracing the memory of *Hawaii Calls*. Nostalgia for past cultural activities overlaps with a sense of coming back home in her memory of the Moana Hotel and *Hawaii Calls*. Just as Harada described the nostalgia of McDiarmid, Jr. for the *Hawaii Calls* program as “a homecoming of sorts,” Keali‘iwahamana also remembered the program with a sense of home, where she performed many times. With reminiscence, she presented music of old Hawai‘i for the audience at *Moana Remembers*. In 1990, the *Hawaii Calls* program still remained in the memory of the people, who remembered the program with a sentimental affection for the past.

In 2003, younger Hawaiian music practitioners took the responsibility of reviving *Hawaii Calls* and hapa haole music. Under the guidance of Dr. Jane Moulin, three graduate students, U‘ilani Bobbitt, Timothy Ho and Aaron J. Salā, of the ethnomusicology program at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa utilized the Chie Yamada Endowment Grant to “assist in a tribute to the Moana Hotel and its role in the
The event was entitled *Dreams of Old Hawai‘i* and was presented on March 28th, 2003 at the Banyan Court of the Sheraton Moana Surfrider Hotel. It featured veteran performers: Nina Keai‘iwahamana, Iwalani Kahalewai, Gary Keawe Aiko, Mahi Beamer, Beverly Noa, Alan Akaka and Kaipo Asing. Young performers from *hālau* Pua Ali‘i Ilima, and the Kamehameha Schools’ Concert Glee Club and Hawaiian Ensemble rounded out the cast. Surprise guests included Kumu Hula Vicky Holt Takamine and Gaye Beamer (Wood 2003). The show included a Hawaiian buffet with music by a local Hawaiian music group Lahuakea and video presentations of the *Hawaii Calls* television series preceding the main show.

Although the three producers, Bobbitt, Ho and Salā, did not experience *Hawaii Calls* and hapa haole music as Don McDiarmid, Jr. and Nina Keali‘iwahamana did, they still expressed nostalgia for past Hawaiian music activities in this production. John Berger reports that one of Salā’s motivations for providing this event was to revive the music-making process.

“(Community music-making) was a normal part of Hawaiian society, but with the advent of the recording industry, the community has taken less of a participatory interaction and now we listen, we observe, so we’re trying to start spontaneous Hawaiian music-making again in the community,” Sala said. (Berger 2003)

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12 All three are active Hawaiian music practitioners as well as graduate students: U‘ilani Bobbitt is *kumu hula* and Hawaiian language instructor at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa; Aaron J. Salā is an active performer of piano and voice, and also a coordinator of the Mele Hawai‘i Institute; Tim Keali‘i Ho is the director of choral music at the Kamehameha Schools (Starbulletin.com 2003).
Although Salā realized that this production format was conventional, it was still part of their community outreach project to revive spontaneous Hawaiian music-making including hula and music performance before the show and during the Hawaiian buffet. 13 Reflecting on the Hawaiian Renaissance ideology, Salā also expressed ambivalent feelings toward hapa haole music: “(Opinions) are mixed about hapa-haole music, and I still don’t have an answer” (ibid.). However, looking at “older musicians – Aunty Genoa [Keawe], Mahi Beamer, Nina Keali‘iwahamana, Bill Ka‘iwa, and interviewing them (about their music and experiences),” Salā began to consider that hapa haole music to be a great part of Hawaiian music history (ibid.). 14 Although planned and organized by the younger music practitioners, this production still embraced nostalgia for past cultural activities of Hawai‘i.

Summary

In addition to my descriptions in this chapter, there must be various emotions and thoughts about hapa haole music, which need to be further studied. In this chapter, I traced an “interest in Hawai‘i’s past and its tradition” through the Hawaiian Renaissance, and “nostalgia for past cultural activities” in the revivals of the *Hawaii Calls* program. The following case studies reveal continuity of these emotions and thoughts about Hawaiian music, yet they shift according to its context. Nostalgia for

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13 “The Sheraton Moana Surfrider, longtime home of the original ‘Hawaii Calls’ radio program, seemed like the natural place to stage a show about some aspect of territorial-era, hapa-haole music. A combination film screening and sheet music exhibit was ruled out after concerns were raised about securing the materials, so Salā, Bobbitt and Ho planned a more conventional show that would add performances by program veterans Nina Keali‘iwahamana, Gary Aiko, Mahi Beamer, Iwalani Kahalewai and Beverly Noa” (Berger 2003).

14 Salā mentions, “Aunty Nina [Keali‘iwahamana] is a great help in that respect. We actually sat down and chose the music together. She helped with the video footage because she knows it so well – she was a part of the whole thing. I learned a lot about the music…” (ibid.).
past cultural activities reaffirms authenticity of hapa haole music, and locates this
genre as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition. In the following two chapters, I describe
two events, *Under A Tropic Moon* and *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* respectively,
as basis for discussions of nostalgia, Hawaiianness and performance of hapa haole
music.
CHAPTER 4
CASE STUDY ONE:
UNDER A TROPIC MOON: 100 YEARS OF HAPA HAOLE HULA

Chapters 4 and 5 are case studies of hapa haole music events in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i. These chapters consist of two major parts: description and analysis. I describe a single hapa haole music event in each chapter and provide a fundamental analysis. The descriptive parts of these chapters are raw data; they introduce the events including information not related to main arguments of this thesis. As stated in Introduction, this thesis is ethnography; it documents hapa haole music events of present-day Hawai‘i in detail. It is important to include a variety of information in the description of each event, because the information may draw additional attention of the readers and lead to further research. For example, even though I do not treat gender issues in this thesis, the descriptions suggest dominance of females in these events, which may be explored in future studies. Following the description, I provide a fundamental analysis of each event. In contrast, the analytical parts of Chapters 4 and 5 are exclusive, and mostly examine selected materials related to the discussions of Chapters 6, 7 and 8. The analysis processes the raw data to be ready for discussions and focus on the issues of this thesis. Through the descriptions and analyses of two events, Chapters 4 and 5 prepare for the following arguments of nostalgia, Hawaianness and performance of hapa haole music.

1 In these events, this genre is also called “hapa haole hula” or “hapa haole hula and music” further recognizing hula elements of this performing art. As stated, I use the term “hapa haole music” including hula elements.
The event I introduce in this chapter is Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula presented on June 26th and 27th, 2004 at Hawaii Theatre in Honolulu. Kumu Hula Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis produced this event as a fundraiser for the Thomas Keola Ahsing Engineering Scholarship for the College of Engineering at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The late Thomas Keola Ahsing was an engineer and also a practitioner of Hawaiian hula and music. Lewis introduces Ahsing and the event:

A Message From The Kumu

On August 30, 2002, I lost a brother who I loved dearly. A Celebration of Life memorial service was held and because of the generosity of his friends, work associates, and family, $20,000 was collected. This money was the beginning of the Thomas Keola Ahsing Engineering Scholarship. This concert came to fruition in order to set up a perpetual scholarship. Keola’s legacy of education will help engineering students make a better life for themselves in a field he loved.

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2 Hawaii Theatre, proclaiming itself as “Paradise of the Pacific,” opened its doors on September 6th, 1922 in downtown Honolulu as a venue for popular entertainment such as vaudeville, plays, musicals and films (Hawaii Theatre Center). Because it is historical and local site of popular entertainment, the Theatre was selected for this nostalgic show (interview anonymous March 2006).

3 “On August 30, 2002, Thomas Matthew Waioikeola Ahsing, 47, passed on after a long illness from complications of a brain tumor. Keola was educated at the Kamehameha Schools and Georgetown University. He was a technical services representative with Island Ready-Mix Concrete and a member of the Structural Engineers Association of Hawaii and the Construction Specifications Institute. He administered the American Concrete Institute Certification of Concrete Field Testing Technicians for the Cement and Concrete Products Industry of Hawaii (CCPI). He was widely respected for his knowledge and was a resource person and mentor to those in the concrete industry. Keola was an accomplished hula dancer who studied under the late Auntie Kaui Zuttermeister. He was a beloved member of the Zuttermeister Ohana [extended family] and performed with them at the Merrie Monarch Festival hoike [show] in 1990. A prodigious reader, Keola amazed his friends and colleagues with his knowledge of music, literature, theater and the arts, and was an accomplished chef and lover of fine food. He leaves behind family, many loving friends and professional associates and will be fondly remembered in the hearts of all who had the privilege to know him. Keola’s lei of aloha is complete; it had a beginning and now it has an end. Keola loved his work in the concrete industry and a scholarship in his name will benefit future engineers. The proceeds of the concert will ensure that the scholarship is perpetual” (bold letters in the original copy, program notes Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula).
Keola would be proud to provide financial assistance to students pursuing a career in civil, electrical, environmental, mechanical, or structural engineering. Keola was a thoughtful and generous individual – always sharing his time and knowledge to help others. Engineering and hula were his passions. He was a student of my mother, Kaui Zuttermeister, and myself for many years. He danced and chanted beautifully. We will always consider him as a member of our family.

Mahalo a nui loa [thank you very much] to each and everyone who helped me with this show. I will never forget your love, support, and willingness to help. My heart overflows with love when I think how grateful I am to have all of you in my life. Sometimes from unfortunate circumstances good comes. I am grateful for the deep friendships I have developed with Keola’s friends, Shorty & Marie Kuhn and George Staples. And I would like to thank Wayne Kawano for all of his help.

Me ke aloha [with the love],
Noenoe Zuttermeister Lewis
(program notes *Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula*)

As stated in the program, Ahsing was considered as a member of Zuttermeister family. This event was a group project of Lewis’s family and *hālau* in memory of Thomas Keola Ahsing. The family and *hālau* members provided their best efforts for this production. They spent more than two years in preparation of this show: conducting research on hapa haole music, practicing hula repertoires of this genre and preparing all the costumes and stage sets (interviews anonymous March 2006). With the success of the show, the Thomas Keola Ahsing Engineering Scholarship was established as a perpetual scholarship.  

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4 “Zuttermeister [Lewis] is now raising the final $35,000 needed to endow a perpetual scholarship in his name at the UH [University of Hawai‘i]” (Berger 2004b).
The show featured Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis and her *hālau* along with guest dancers of Halau Mehanaokala under the direction of Kumu Hula Kuuleinani Hashimoto from Tokyo, Japan. Because of the friendship with Ahsing, Hashimoto and her *hālau* willingly came to participate. Lewis selected other entertainers and musicians among several available performers. They included Loretta Ables Sayre, Mark Yim and The Blue Hawaiian Band, the Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders, and Mahi Beamer. Rory Kim acted as the master of ceremonies for the show (see Appendix D for the names of the entire performers and staff of the show).

The show highlighted hapa haole music, its 100-year history and changing styles. According to the research conducted by the *hālau*, they arranged hapa haole songs in five characteristic scenes: “Boat Days,” “Hawaii in the Movies,” “Nightclub,” “Wacky Songs” and “Favorite Hapa Haole Songs.” I describe each scene of the show with an entire transcription of the narration by the master of ceremonies, which is a summary of the research and includes messages from the *hālau* to the audience.

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5 Hashimoto states, “Keola always came with Aunty Noe [Lewis] to help my halau and me whenever we performed in Hawai‘i. We truly appreciated his kindness and generosity. I remember many happy times he spent with us. I will cherish the feeling that Keola is always with us in spirit” (program notes Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula).

6 Mahi Beamer does not appear in the film I describe. He only performed for the pre-show (interview anonymous March 2006).

7 Rory Kim is a son in law of Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis, and also a well-known radio personality in Honolulu.

8 “Zuttermeister [Lewis] and her musicians and dancers will be doing a bit of everything from 1903 to 2004. We cite (’My Waikiki Mermaid’) as the first hapa haole song written, and we will start our program with that song and then take the history through Boat Days to the movie era, into the nightclubs... and then to the wacky part of hapa haole music like ‘I Had to Lova and Leva on the Lava’ and ‘They’re Wearing ‘em Higher in Hawaii’... and then we’re bringing it up to the present, and songs that we still enjoy, songs like ‘Waikiki,’ that stay with you forever” (Berger: 2004b).
The description of this chapter is based on the video recording of the show filmed on June 26th, 2004.\(^9\)

_Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula_

**Scene I – Boat Days**

Mark Yim and The Blue Hawaiian Band plays music for all the scenes except scene IV. The instrumentation of the band includes the guitar, ukulele, upright bass and steel guitar. The band and Rory Kim are positioned in the stage left side-box. Rory Kim begins the show:

Kim: Welcome ladies and gentlemen to _Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula_. Tonight, we will relive that musical history, on the docks of Honolulu Harbor, under the stars of the Hollywood movies, and the Hawaiian reviews of the famous nightclubs, and the romance of our islands. In 1903, Sonny Cunha wrote this song “My Waikiki Mermaid.” It was the very first of Hawaiian songs with English words. Cunha is often called as “Father of Hapa Haole Music” (background music featuring the sounds of the steel guitar begins), and he ushered in a new genre of music, which captured the imaginations of music publishing houses of Tin Pan Alley. At home, he inspired the new generation of musicians and songwriters. The new music and the hula found an enthusiastic audience, and people the world over yearned to visit Hawai‘i (the music ends, then a ship’s siren is heard). The dream of visiting Hawai‘i soon became a reality. In 1908, Matson started passenger service on the S.S. Lurline, and Boat Days (a picture of a ship circled with a red coronation lei is projected on the stage screen) became the happening in Honolulu. Hundreds of residents flocked to the harbor to join the festivities. The old downtown Honolulu (the siren is heard again) buzzed with excitement (the siren again). On the dock, the Royal

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\(^9\) The video recording was made for the halau members and their families, not for commercial purpose (interview anonymous March 2006).
Hawaiian Band (the siren again) filled the air with music. People shouted greetings to each other (a picture of a ship on the harbor greeting visitors is projected on the screen), hula dancers gathered and lei sellers in lauhala [pandanus leaf] hats, arms laden with leis, lined the streets showing off their creations... strands of colorful blossoms (the siren again, then music begins). Leis!

The first song of the show is “Leis for Sale.” Following the music, nineteen ladies enter the stage wearing mu'umu'u (Hawaiian loose gown for a woman). Their arms are laden with strands of colorful leis made of a variety of flowers such as bougainvillea, orchid, plumeria, ginger and tuberose. Some of the ladies are wearing lauhala hats. There are several other ladies sitting on the stage pretending to make and sell leis. The ladies on the stage are singing the song as if welcoming visitors at the Honolulu Harbor of the Boat Days. With this opening song, the show also welcomes the audience. Toward the end of the song, the ladies walking around the stage line up for the next song “For You a Lei.” They keep on holding the leis in their arms while they dance the hula. Soon after this song, instrumental music featuring the sounds of the steel guitar begins, and the ladies make two lines holding up their leis to welcome pseudo-visitors. The visitors enter and receive the leis from the greeters.

Kim: The lei was the symbol of Hawai‘i, and the lei greeting was a highlight for every visitor, who stepped ashore. Not only were lei greetings unique Hawaiian custom, but so also were the activities on the dock as the visitors disembarked. The sounds of the Royal Hawaiian Band caught [sic. caught] their attention. The song of welcome was often the “Hawaiian War Chant.” It was first written as a ballad, but Johnny Noble jazzed it up during this early hapa haole era (the music begins). The tourist eyes were drawn to the smiling
hula girls wearing ti leaf skirts and plumeria leis, waving whitely colored feathered 'uli'uli. Our dancers tonight will greet our visitors with the war chant, the ever-popular hapa haole hula girls.

Seven female dancers enter the stage wearing white plumeria leis and ti leaf skirts while holding 'uli'uli. Surrounded by the ladies and visitors, they dance for the next sequence of the songs, “Kāua I Ka Huahua'i [Hawaiian War Chant]” and “My Hapa Haole Hula Girl [My Honolulu Hula Girl],” providing the image of the “hapa haole hula girl” (see Appendix C for the lyrics). After this enchanting performance, the ladies come back to the center of the stage for the next medley.

Kim: The leis and the dancing would leave our visitors with no doubt… They finally arrived in Hawai‘i, but many had one more dream to learn the hula, and hula classes for tourist became a regular part of guest activities at the Waikīkī hotels. There are two classic songs that captured that visitor experience, “Show Me How to Do the Hula” and “I'll Teach You How to Do the Hula [I'm Going to Teach You How to Do the Hula]” often performed as they are this evening in a combined medley.

Twenty-five ladies line up on the stage to present the hula for the medley “Show Me How to Do the Hula/I'm Going to Teach You How to Do the Hula.” The tempo of the first song of the medley, “Show Me How to Do the Hula,” is about 152 BPM (beats per minute), so hula movements are relatively fast. The tempo of the second song, “I'm Going to Teach You How to Do The Hula,” is about 116 BPM, and two male visitors are invited to join this slower hula. Following the ladies, the males dance

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10 The 'uli'uli is an instrument used for hula; “A small gourd or coconut shell 3 to 6 inches in diameter is attached to a handle which usually ends in a circular disc of tapa fringed with cock feathers. Ali’ipoe seed, shells, or pebbles are placed in the gourd or coconut shell” (Kanahele 1979b: 408).
awkwardly on the center of the stage. Then, the medley suddenly turns back to the fast tempo “Show Me How to Do the Hula.” As expected, the two visitors cannot follow this fast tempo hula and are perplexed. The sounds of the steel guitar then provide background music for the master of ceremonies.

Kim: The tradition of teaching tourists the hula continues to this day, and is a main... every, every Hawaiian show in Waikīkī. The visitors started their great journey into Waikīkī... Many would stay at world famous Royal Hawaiian Hotel, slowly as... the festivities wind down and the milling crowds disperse returning to their daily activities, perhaps wearing a lei... and looking forward to the next Boat Day!

Scene II – Hawaii in the Movies

The visitors returned from their Hawaiian vacations with their stories of romance under a tropic moon. Then, soon came the moviemakers and the movie stars. The first silent era films about Hawai‘i were produced by Thomas Edison more than a hundred years ago, and since then, Hawai‘i has been featured in dozens of Hollywood movies. Tonight, through hula, we will see a snapshot of some of the classic motion pictures that delighted generations of moviegoers everywhere. (The poster of Bird of Paradise is projected on the back screen) one hapa haole song that became an instant classic is “Kalua” from the 1951 remake of Bird of Paradise. The film, which starred Debra Paget, Louis Jourdan and Jeff Chandler, is one of the great love stories (a snapshot of the movie is projected). A beautiful young Hawaiian woman falls in love with the dashingly handsome visitor to her village. However, the story ends in tragedy because she must walk into the fiery volcano to save her village. We are pleased to have the dancers of Halau Mehanaokala and Kumu Hula Kuuleinani Hashimoto from Tokyo, Japan performing the song “Kalua.”
Kumu Hula Kuuleinani Hashimoto poses at the center of the dim stage, and then 14 ladies of the Halau Mehanaokala dance onto the stage to the song “Kalua.” Hashimoto is depicted as the heroine Kalua of the movie in this presentation. All dancers wear red dresses except Hashimoto, who wears a silky red-black dress, and the choreography of her dance is slightly different from the line dancers focusing attention on her. At the end of the song, Hashimoto poses again as she did at the beginning of the song. This performance re-enacts one of the scenes from the movie.

Kim: “Kalua,” the romance of the movie. Easy to understand why “Kalua” is such a favorite of hula dancers everywhere. Our next song comes from the movie It's a Date released in 1940 (the poster of the movie is projected), and starred Deanna Durbin, Kay Francis, Walter Pidgeon. Now, the story is a romantic comedy about a mother and daughter vying for the same part in the Broadway musical, and also for the attention of the same handsome gentleman. (Another poster of the movie featuring the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra is projected) the song “Rhythm of the Islands” was performed in the movie by the legendary Harry Owens and his Royal Hawaiian [Hotel] Orchestra. The scene, the Governors Ball with gorgeous dancers, creates quite a stir. Ladies and gentlemen, here are our gorgeous dancers in “Rhythm of the Islands.”

Thirteen female dancers dance onto the stage to the song “Rhythm of the Islands.” Described as gorgeous dancers, they wear purple bikinis and skirts made of strands of colorful flowers such as bougainvillea and plumeria. The dancers present a splendid hula performance choreographed with dynamic movements including finger snapping and hand clapping while changing line formations.

Kim: “Rhythm of the Islands!” Imagine yourself sitting in a movie house in Minnesota watching that hula. Now, tribute to Hollywood, the Hollywood
era of hapa haole hula wouldn’t be completed without recognizing the influence of Elvis Presley. Elvis made several movies in Hawai‘i, but his most famous, of course, was *Blue Hawaii* (the poster of the movie is projected). It was Elvis’s biggest box office hit, and the movie gave the biggest boost to Hawaiian music throughout the world. The story has Elvis returning home to Hawai‘i after his stint in the army and becoming a tour guide. He romances his Hawaiian sweetheart and the climax (a snapshot of the movie is projected) is their famous wedding filmed on the lagoon of Kaua‘i’s Coco Palms Resort. We introduce our Blue Hawaiian Dancers with a few bars from Elvis’s “Rock-a-hula Baby.”

Nineteen ladies walk onto the stage following the rhythm of the “Rock-a-hula Baby.” After the fourteen bars of “Rock-a-hula Baby,” the music moves to the song “Blue Hawaii.” These Blue Hawaiian Dancers all wear pink *mu‘umu‘u* just as the ladies cast in the wedding scene of the movie, thereby recapitulating the romance of the film with gentle and smooth hula movements.

Kim: Love and romance with Elvis under Hawaiian style. That song brought thousands of female visitors to our islands. Another very popular movie was released in 1942, *Song of the Islands* (the poster of the movie is projected). It stars Betty Grable, Victor Mature, Jack Oakie and of course, Hawai‘i’s own Hilo Hattie. The film was a musical comedy (the snapshot of the movie is projected) with the romance between Grable and Mature mixed up in the land feud between their fathers. Hollywood style hula productions… insured the film’s popularity with Betty Grable’s singing and dancing and showing off her famous leis. The song that became a national hit with… the title song and our guests from Halau Mehanaokala perform for you “Sing Me a Song of the Islands” (the music begins).
Twelve ladies from Halau Mehanaokala dance onto the stage to the song “Sing Me a Song of the Islands.” As with the previous song, the hula movements closely set the lyrics as if telling a story of Hawai‘i’s fantasy (see Appendix C for the lyrics).

Kim: “Sing Me a Song of the Islands.” The words and the music are beautiful. It’s not a surprise that song was a running hit. (Music begins featuring staccato steel guitar sounds, creating happy mood) Johnny Noble claimed that this song, “On the Beach of [at] Waikiki” written in 1915, was the greatest hapa haole song that had ever been written. Some twenty years later, child star Shirley Temple (the picture of Temple is projected) donned the glass skirt for a brief scene in the movie Curly Top, and she twirled on the beach of Waikīkī to the music of that song. (The poster of Ma and Pa Kettle at Waikiki is shown) the year 1955 marked the release of the Wacky musical comedy Ma and Pa Kettle at Waikiki. The film showcases Hilo Hattie teaching children to dance “Kaleponi Hula.” The song is about young man, who is going to California. He asked his sweetheart, “What would like me to bring you?” In a few minutes, our children will show you her answer. (The poster of South Pacific is projected) the musical South Pacific was released in 1958 after a record breaking run on Broadway. One of the songs in Rodgers and Hammerstein’s was “Happy Talk,” the song emerges as the film’s enduring hit and appealed to all ages. Now, ladies and gentlemen, please welcome our children in “Kaleponi Hula” and “Happy Talk.”

Sixteen girls from five to twelve years old are seated in two rows on the stage. All the girls wear curly wigs, colorful headdresses, bikinis and skirts decorated with artificial flowers as if they were lines of Shirley Temple. After their performance, the audience applauds the girls generously.

Kim: Our little ladies of Hollywood! (The girls are coming off the stage waving their hands). One of the most famous composers of hapa haole songs is Harry Owens. Born on the mainland, he was a child prodigy and was
playing music in opera houses by the age of 14. Owens was hired to direct the orchestra at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, and arrived in Hawai‘i with his wife Bess, who was hāpai [pregnant] with his first child. Within months of their arrival in Hawai‘i, Harry and Bess’s daughter was born. They named her Leilani, lei of heaven. Harry was so moved, at the next day, he wrote the song that was to make him famous, “Sweet Leilani” (the song begins featuring the sounds of the steel guitar).

“Sweet Leilani” is one of the few songs not presented with hula. On the dim stage, a man wearing a white jacket and eyeglasses looks at a baby held by a woman sitting on a rocking chair next to an end table with an arrangement of red bougainvilleas in a vase. A man is holding a note and writing something on it, and begins to sing “Sweet Leilani.” They represent Harry Owens, his wife Bess and newly born Leilani. Instead of hula, this skit conveys the image of the song by recapitulating the composition’s story. At the end of the skit, Harry kisses his wife, and the stage darkens.

Kim: “Sweet Leilani,” Harry Owens’s. The recordings and the sheet music have sold more than 26 millions copies, and “Sweet Leilani” stayed on the Hit Parade for 38 weeks – record that has never been equaled.

Scene III – Night Club

(Mark Yim and The Blue Hawaiian Band begins to play background music). The exotic mystique of Hawai‘i continued to grow, and the period from 1930

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11 Owens describes his composition story of “Sweet Leilani” as, “On October 20th [1934], when she [newly-born Leilani] was one day old, I wrote her song... And, on that wonderful day, after months of pondering and wondering, the words and music flowed like a rippling stream. The actual composing and writing took only an hour and never has a word or a note been changed... That very night I sang ‘Sweet Leilani’ to sweet Leilani. Before I had finished with the first five lines of verse she was fast asleep. She had had a busy day. But she smiled as she slept and it was the smile of an angel – soft, sweet serene, inviting me to share with her the quiet peace of her wonderful little world: ‘My Paradise completed, my dream come true’” (1970: 46).
to 1960 is known as the golden age of hapa haole music. Most songs were in English, but some were in Hawaiian, jazzed up with syncopated beats. In 1937 the Hawaiian Room opened in New York City at the Lexington Hotel, and it featured the most talented Hawaiian musicians and dancers. In its first two years, revenue was more than a million dollars, and more than 300 thousand paper leis were handed out to nightly audiences. This enormous popularity led to more Hawaiian nightclubs in cities across the country and in places as far away as London and Tokyo. Ladies and gentlemen, we travel back to the 30s and 40s, and make you a part and take in the show at the Hawaiian Room of the Lexington Hotel.

The signboard of “Lexington Hotel, the Hawaiian Room” is hung on the right side of the stage. Two small round tables with lamps are set on each side of the dim stage under a mirror ball. Several people are sitting around the tables, and chatting, drinking and waving fans. Also two sets of flowery decorated bamboo trees with small lights are set between the tables, creating a lounge scene with an exotic feeling. These two sets of bamboo-tree decorations are also used as a gate to the stage. This stage setting suggests the Hawaiian Room at the Lexington Hotel. The voice of the female singer, Loretta Ables Sayre, opens the scene with the song “I’ll Weave a Lei of Stars for You.” She sings all songs in this scene except “When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop,” and also acts as the master of ceremonies onstage. Sayre, wearing an elegant black dress, provides a formal and sophisticated nightclub scene.

Sayre: Aloha. Welcome ladies and gentlemen to the Hawaiian Room of the Lexington Hotel. Tonight’s show takes us to beautiful Hawai‘i on the shores

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12 The Hotel Lexington in New York City provided Hawaiian music show at its Hawaiian Room opened on June 23rd, 1935.
13 This song is not credited on the program.
of Waikiki under a tropic moon. Please help me welcome our lovely aloha maids on stage for the ever-popular “A Nalani E.”

While Sayre sings on stage right, sixteen female dancers wearing blue, green, pink or gold bikinis and cellophane skirts dance onto the stage through the bamboo-tree gate to the song “A Nalani E.” The choreography includes slapping the *ipu heke ‘ole*, as the dancers continuously change their formations. With the fascinating choreography and costumes, the lovely aloha maids recreate Hawaiian hula and music at the nightclub.

Sayre: Our dancers told us a story of desire for sweethearts and now, ladies and gentlemen, we would like to do a song for you – one of the favorites from the islands, “Lovely Hula Hands,” and I would like to remind you. Keep your eyes on the hands! Please welcome our featured dancers.

Three female dancers wearing blue bikinis and tied slit long skirts appear from the bamboo-tree gate to present hula to the song “Lovely Hula Hands.” On the darkened stage, spotlights focus on the dancers’ hands and their hand movements for the first several seconds of the hula. Then, the lights illuminate the dancers’ faces and bodies for the rest of the song.

Sayre: Did you keep your eyes on their hands? Yes sir, their hands. Yes sir, they all have hands (laughs). They made an outfit like that for me too and it fit so beautifully around my neck. Back to the show. Composer R. Alex Anderson was a national hero after he led a prison escape during the war. He returned to Hawai‘i to write beautiful songs about his tropical home. Please help me to welcome our lovely hula maidens back on the stage to do his

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14 The *ipu heke ‘ole* is a Hawaiian idiophone consisting of a single gourd, used for accompanying chant and hula.
favorite song and his biggest hit, “Haole Hula.” Listen, and you too will follow under a spell of our these islands.

Ten female dancers in silver bikinis and cellophane shirts dance onto the stage to the song “Haole Hula.” Their hula movements illustrate the beauty of Hawaiʻi’s lands described from a local point of view. The lyrics also convey a message for foreigners, “You will be in love with them [the charms of Hawaiʻi] too” as the lovely hula maidens dance the enchanting hula (see Appendix C for the lyrics).

Sayre: Aloha nā [Thank you so much]. Now, I know where all my tin foil went. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we are so happy to tell you that we have a special guest tonight. She’s one of Hawaiʻi’s best known and most loved entertainers. She brought the house down when she performed last year at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. She did five encores. Please help me welcome to the Hawaiian Room at the Lexington Hotel, the one and only Hilo Hattie!

A lady, wearing a red muʻumuʻu and lauhala hat imitating Hilo Hattie, enters the stage waving her hands. She sings and dances the song “When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop,” recapitulating Hattie’s performance. This hula performance includes comic movements such as the Hilo Hop, lifting up her hip quickly, creating an essentialized humorous image of Hawaiʻi. At the end of the performance, she gives her lei to one of the pseudo-audience members.

Sayre: We are so proud to have her with us. Hilo Hattie has been on tour; she made a special effort to be with us onstage tonight. Please help me once again, thank Hilo Hattie! Well, ladies and gentlemen, please help me welcome our lovely and hula maids back on the stage for our final number for this evening. This next song, written by the composer – Hawaiian
cowboy Mr. Sol Bright, was written right here in New York City. Please help me welcome the hula maidens to do “Sophisticated Hula.”

All the hula maidens, wearing blue, green, pink, gold or silver cellophane skirts, performed the previous numbers of this scene, dance onto the stage to the song “Sophisticated Hula.” This performance is the climax of the scene. Featuring twenty-six hula maidens, it reproduces the grand finale at the Hawaiian Room.

Sayre: Thank you! Did you have good time tonight at the Hawaiian Room here in the Lexington? (Applause). Wonderful, Now remember on those cold New York nights whenever you wanna visit Hawai‘i, all you have to do is come down here to the Hawaiian Room, and we’ll warm you with Aloha, and speaking of Aloha from our hearts to yours. Aloooooooooooha!

Kim: Loretta Ables Sayre! Hawaiian nightclubs opened in cities across the country including San Francisco, New Orleans, Chicago, Cleveland and Baltimore. This! Come on!

A lady and six children holding text boards appear on the stage in front of the curtain. The lady lines the children up to make the words WA – HO ‘O MA HA. She gives a cue for the children and then they turn the boards around to spell IN TE RM IS SI ON!

Kim: Ladies and gentlemen, enjoy yourself with a 15 minutes intermission. Refreshments are upstairs, and we are also selling the official Under a Tropic Moon T-shirts, same as the program...

[Intermission]
Scene IV – Wacky Songs

Kim: Welcome back, ladies and gentleman, to Under a Tropic Moon. We are going to... 100 years hapa haole hula. We visited the colorful docks of the Honolulu Harbor. We relived in the nostalgia of Hollywood movies and felt the shimmering excitement of the Hawaiian nightclub reviews. Now, we turn to those hapa haole tunes that were catchy, campy, sometimes romantic, but mostly funny. They came from the 1920s and 30s, the heyday of hapa haole composing. Tonight, we feature some of the more popular Wacky Songs of that era, and we are fortunate enough to have a musical group, over the last twenty-five years, has researched and recorded many of those early hapa haole songs. We welcome the Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders with their original song “On Okie Dokie Bay!”

Soon after Kim’s introduction, the Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders, performing in the side-box on stage right, begins to play the song “On Okie Dokie Bay.” The instrumentation of the band includes three ukuleles, a bass guitar and steel guitar (not played for every song). All four members sing and perform the vocal sound effects including recitatives and some yells. This song is one of the few songs presented without hula in this show.

Kim: The Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders! (On the middle of the stage, a huge volcano rock flowing lava is placed, and about 20 dancers/performers, riding surfboard, chatting and dancing, are placed for the skits/dances show for this scene). And now they join our dancers in our own Hawai’i nei. As the sun rises in the east (a kid holding the sun made of a board is running from the stage left to right), and then quickly move to the west (the kid follows Kim’s speech). Ha hah. That’s a fast moving sun. (A fat lady wearing blue swing-wear, goggles and yellow flippers, holding yellow tube decorated with duck is walking in from the stage left. The audience laughs). Wait a minute, (the lady is shaking her hips) that’s not in the script. What the heck it’s.
Security! (She says, “quack”). Ha hah. A few great... a little too much, and Alex Anderson captured that feeling in this 1935 song “Red Opu!”

Three middle-aged portly men, wearing Aloha Shirts and short pants, appear on the stage to present the comic hula “Red Opu.” Many female dancers, who perform for the following numbers, gather around and watch the men perform. This comic hula includes a sort of skit that follows the lyrics of the song, such as rubbing their stomachs, pretending to play the ukulele, eating food and lying on a beach (see Appendix C for the lyrics). These performers' comic movements make the audience laugh. At the end of the song, they show their suntanned bellies, red opu, and the audience gives them great applause.

Kim: Waikīkī tourists can relate to that song “Red Opu” and three brave men. In 1912, two mainland composers told the musical story of Henry Meyer. He was a buyer of ladies' clothing in the song “They’re Wearing 'Em Higher in Hawaii.”

A man pretending to be Henry Meyer, holding an attaché case and a small folding chair, enters the stage and walks around. The female dancers on the stage wave and welcome him. Following them, Meyer sits on his chair at the stage left.

Narration by the Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders: In 1492 America was still being discovered. One of the men to come over with Christopher Columbus on the Piña Colada was the man by the name of Henry Meyer, the famous dress designer. Henry moved westward, and as he moved westward, he noticed that hemlines got higher and higher. Finally, he got to California here he noticed they had the mini skirt. He decided to keep on going took his wagon train all the way across the ocean to Hawai‘i. When he got Hawai‘i, he noticed the natives wore them than higher. He wrote this song called
“They’re Wearing ’Em Higher in Hawaii,” dedicated to himself, Mr. Henry Meyer.

Eleven of the dancers perform the hula “They’re Wearing ’Em Higher in Hawaii.” During the interlude of the song, these dancers serve Meyer, such as fanning him with ti-leaves, massaging him and giving him lei. As with “Red Opu,” the choreography includes comic movements as a skit, such as pulling their skirts up when the singers sing, “Higher, higher, higher, higher in Hawaii” (refer Appendix C for the lyrics).

Kim: Some of our visitors came to Hawai’i and, like Henry Meyer, never left. (The lady wearing the blue swimming suit appears again). You are not in the script! (Mayer and this lady hug each other and come off the stage). This new style of hapa haole music had been staying in power. In the 1960s, the Sherman Brothers, under contract with Disney, wrote a song for famed musketeer Annette Funicello. The song became a hapa haole classic “Pineapple Princess.”

A woman acting as Pineapple Princess appears from the left side of the stage wearing a pineapple printed bikini, headdress and skirt. She also wears a ring decorated with a big rubber pineapple, which is sometimes placed on her nose during the performance. On the back of the stage right, a tall portly man holding the ukulele is looking at her. These two present a skit/dance to the song “Pineapple Princess.” In the middle of the performance, the man comes down to the center of the stage to flirt with the Pineapple Princess. At the end of the performance, the Pineapple Princes exits pulling the man by his lei.15

15 The lady acting the Pineapple Princess and the man are actual wife and husband (email communication anonymous March 2007).
Kim: They lived happily ever after. Night falls, and the volcano is erupting, and the lava begins to flow (three ladies are waiving red cloth in front of the volcano rock on the stage). And flow and flow, keep flow. Many of the hapa haole songs were happy tales of love in our Hawaiian islands, but Alex Anderson composed one hapa haole love song that did not have a happy ending, “I Had to Lova and Leava on the Lava.”

Ten ladies dance to the song “I Had to Lova and Leava on the Lava.” As with other dances, the choreography for this hula includes comic movements, such as holding their hands to their mouths to mime yelling. Musically, this song includes the sounds of the steel guitar creating short-segmented melodic phrases rather than syncopated and long sustained notes heard in the other scenes.

Kim: “I Had to Lova and Leava on the Lava.” “Ukulele Lady” is a song that was written in 1925 for Irving Berlin. It has been recorded by many artists over the years including the Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders along with Bettie Midler and Arlo Guthrie. Tonight, we combine “Ukulele Lady” with one of the earliest and wackiest hapa haole songs ever written, “Yaaka Hula Hickey Dula!”

The medley “Ukulele Lady/Yaaka Hula Hickey Dula” closes this scene. Twenty-two ladies dance in random formation to the rhythm of the ukulele. When the singers sing, “moonlight,” they point to a crescent projected on the back screen. Then, they line up to perform hula with some comic movements. In “Yaaka Hula Hickey Dula,” the dancers walk randomly again waving their hands. When the song reaches the line, “Yaaka hula hickey dula,” they suddenly line up and dance together.

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16 According to an informant, it appeared to be random dancing but was actually choreographed the placement of each person, so that the stage would be used completely and there would not be any open, unbalanced spaces (email communication anonymous March 2007).
choreography includes slow walking and waving hands to match ritard in the music.

A few men watch at the right side of the stage.

Kim: “Yaaka Hula Hickey Dula.” In 1915, that song was promoted as a Hawaiian love song. These songs, corny as they seem today, were a big part of hapa haole era. Villagers enjoyed themselves in preparing for another day of festivities. (Two men appear on the stage holding a rubber pig on ti leaves). Rubber pig for everybody! That’s enough Marshall. See you, Marshall and Leon.

**Scene V – Favorite Hapa Haole Songs and Finale**

In 100 years since Sonny Cunha wrote the first English Hawaiian song, thousands more hapa haole songs had been composed, sung and recorded. While many have been lost to antiquity, there were others that were destined to become timeless treasures. Tonight’s performance concludes with some of the classics like “Waikiki,” “Mapuana,” “Lehua Nani” and “Lovely Hula Girl.” “Lovely Hula Girl” was written by Jack Pitman and Randy Oness. Oness wrote more than 200 songs that played well into his eighties. Lani Sang wrote “Mapuana” while living in Los Angeles, where he performed in a Hawaiian club. David Kupele composed “Lehua Nani” for a friend’s daughter on her first birthday, and the song “Waikiki” was written by Andy Cumming on a cold and foggy November night in Lansing, Michigan. Ladies and gentlemen, our dancers dance the hapa haole hula classics.

Mark Yim and The Blue Hawaiian Band returns to play music for this classics scene.

The first song is “Waikiki.” Seventeen female dancers of Halau Mehanaokala are on the stage, including Kumu Hula Kuuleinani Hashimoto. From the chorus part of the song, twelve more dancers join the performance. The next song “Lovely Hula Girl” features thirteen dancers. These dancers dance onto the stage in front of the dancers for “Waikiki,” who stay on the stage yet just stand quietly. The third song is
“Mapuana,” which also features thirteen dancers. The dancers form the previous songs stay on the stage, but do not dance. Eleven dancers dance onto the stage to “Lehuanani,” the fourth song in this scene. Again, the dancers who performed for the previous songs stand on the stage behind the dancers for “Lehuanani.” The hula for these songs is slow and gentle, and all dancers for this scene wear identical ‘iliima headdresses and leis.17

Kim: Ladies and gentlemen, we thank you for joining us (a song “Nā Pua Lei ‘Ilima” begins) on this musical journey through hapa haole hula. We’d like to show our appreciation with one last number. Although not a hapa haole song, “[Nā] Pua Lei Ilima” is a song with the same timeless quality. It was written by Aunty Kau‘i Zuttermeister, who during her lifetime was recognized as a cultural treasure and a master kumu hula.

After several vamps, all dancers on the stage begin to dance the song “Nā Pua Lei ‘Ilima.” On the third verses of the song, the girls who performed in Scene II come back to the stage, and join to the hula from the fourth verse in front of the other dancers (Kim: Welcome back to the stage our keiki [children]). On the ha‘ina verse, the producer Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis comes onto the stage and dances in the middle of the girls (Kim: Ladies and gentlemen, our kumu hula Noenoelani Zuttermeister joins her dancers onstage).18 On the repeat of the ha‘ina verse, her family members join (Kim: her daughter Hauolionalani, her granddaughter Kahulaaulii,

17 “Small to large native shrubs (all species of Sida, especially S. fallax), bearing yellow, orange, greenish, or dull-red flowers; some kinds strung for leis. The flowers last only a day and are so delicate that about 500 are needed for one lei” (Pukui and Elbert 1986: 98). According to an informant, they used the artificial ‘iliima for headdresses and leis made of yarn; ‘iliima is scarce and expensive.

18 Ha‘ina ‘ia mai ana ka puana means “tell the summery refrain (this line followed by the refrain is at the end of many [Hawaiian] songs or precedes the name of the person in whose honor the song was composed)” (Pukui and Elbert 1986: 347).
her niece Ululani, her grandniece Kahanuolonalani, dancing directly in front of them are Noenoe’s five grand nieces and one great grand niece).

Kim: Ladies and gentlemen, Mark Yim and The Bule Hawaiian Band! The Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders! From Japan Kumu Hula Kuuleinani Hashimoto and Halau Mehanaokala! (A man gives Hashimoto a bouquet). From our Hawaiian nightclub, Loretta Ables Sayre! Our four brave men! Kumu Hula Noenoe Zuttermeister and all of the dancers! (A girl gives Noenoe Zuttermeister Lewis a bouquet). Ladies and gentlemen, your host this evening is Roy Kim. We thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for joining us this evening Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula.

Farewell: all the performers bow and wave to the audience, which applauds enthusiastically.

Analysis

In the following section, I provide a fundamental analysis of Under a Tropic Moon. I examine the presentation of each scene to indicate how hapa haole music invokes nostalgia for past cultural activities of Hawai’i.

Scene I - Boat Days: The show partially described the visitors’ experience of Hawai’i in this scene. The two lei songs, “Lei for Sale” and “For You a Lei,” represented Hawai’i’s greeting custom. The two popular hapa haole tunes, “Kāua I Ka Huahua’i” and “My Hapa Haole Hula Girl” codified stereotyped images of Hawai’i, such as hapa haole girls dancing the exotic-romantic hula. Watching the performance of hapa haole hula girls was a highlight of holidays in Hawai’i as was learning how to dance hula. The medley “Show Me How to Do the Hula/I’m Going to Teach You How to Do the Hula” portrayed the visitors’ experience of dancing hula. Through
these numbers, Scene I recapitulated activities of a Hawaiian sojourn and pictured the fantasy expected by the visitors.

Although Scene I showcased Boat Days from visitor perspectives, it also presented this scene as an experience of local people. Preparing and giving leis for the visitors, showing and teaching them hula were local activities of the Boat Days. It was a dual experience: foreigners visiting Hawai‘i and locals greeting them. Without this relationship between the guests and hosts, the Boat Days could not occur as presented in this scene. One of the informants involved in this event mentioned that because of contact with visitors, hapa haole music happened; the Boat Days were important because it was one of Hawai‘i’s early experiences with haole as visitors (interview anonymous May 2006). Just as visitors experienced Hawai‘i, the locals also encountered foreigners and appreciated their culture.

Scene II – Hawaii in the Movies: this scene introduced the impact of American movies on hapa haole music through the visual images. As described in this scene, American movies took an important role in the promotion of Hawaiian music nationally and internationally.19 Through the popularity of such movies introduced in the show, hapa haole music was disseminated and consumed in such countries as Canada, Germany and Japan as well as the U.S. mainland. The show featured Halau Mehanaokala from Tokyo, Japan, which illustrated the internationalization of hapa haole music. Also, the scene included keiki performance appealing this genre for every generation. The bestseller hapa haole song, “Sweet

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19 Vicky Holt Takamine, the producer of the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival, also considers movies and films as important media for hapa haole music (see Chapter 5).
Leilani” represented great popularity of this genre. Through these numbers, Scene II exhibited worldwide expansion and popularization of hapa haole music.

While hapa haole music was disseminated and appreciated internationally, local people of Hawai‘i also experienced American movies. Many movies with Hawaiian themes were filmed in the Islands, and featured Hawaiian musicians and dancers, such as Hilo Hattie and the Royal Hawaiian Hotel Orchestra. Furthermore, according to the informants, many local people of Hawai‘i were cast as extras in those movies, even though they were not mentioned in the credits; the movies captured Hawai‘i’s lands and people, and were also experienced by “our” people (interviews anonymous March 2006). Scene II presented internationalization and popularization of hapa haole music through American movies, yet there was still the notion of the movies as a local experience for Hawai‘i.

Scene III – Nightclub: Scene III presented hapa haole music showcasing the Hawaiian Room of the Lexington Hotel as the representative Hawaiian entertainment nightclub on the U.S. mainland. It portrayed the American fantasy or “exotic mystique” of Hawai‘i featuring female dancers, described as lovely aloha maids or hula maidens, who wore colorful shining bikinis and cellophane-skirts. The scene also included the song “When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop,” which captured the humorous side of the fantasy. Recreating the atmosphere and performance space of the Hawaiian Room, Scene III provided images and essences of hapa haole music appreciated and consumed in the U.S. mainland.

The people of Hawai‘i also experienced the nightclub performance. The informants mentioned that Hawaiian hula and music performers were often featured at
nightclubs on the U.S. mainland, and furthermore the people from Hawai‘i enjoyed the nightclub performances while they were in the U.S. mainland (interviews anonymous March 2006). In the case of the Hawaiian Room, it featured Hawaiian entertainers such as musicians as Ray Kinney, Andy Inoa, Lani McIntire, Alfred Apaka, George Kainapau, Sam Koki, Sam Makia, Hal Aloma and Johnny Pineapple, and dancers as Meymo Holt, Leimomi and Jennie Wood, Pualani and Piilani Mossman, Marjorie Leilani Iaea, Edna Kihoi and Nani Todd (Kanahele 1979b: 120). For those locals traveling on the U.S. mainland, Hawaiian music performances in the nightclubs would be appreciated with nostalgia for the Islands. Although Scene III mostly featured the fantasy experienced by the U.S. mainland audiences, the nightclub performance was still considered as part of experience of Hawai‘i’s people.

Scene IV – Wacky Songs: After the intermission, the show presented Wacky Songs, which were described “those hapa haole tunes that were catchy, campy, sometimes romantic, but mostly funny.” Scene IV was unique among the five scenes for several reasons. First, this scene featured the Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders, which specializes in performing the Wacky Songs.20 After hearing their recordings, Kumu Hula Noenoeani Zuttermeister Lewis considered that the group was appropriate for this scene (interview anonymous March 2006). Second, this scene featured relatively fast tempo songs comparison to the other scenes. The tempo of the slowest song,

20 The group introduces itself citing the words of Jean Holmes, Editor of the Garden Island Newspaper, as, “This musical group recreates... with humor and love... the Hawaii of the thirties and the forties, when it was every mainlander’s dream to sail to Hawaii, sit under a palm tree in the perpetual moonlight, be serenaded by a handsome Hawaiian (with no questions about his real ethnic background) while [sic. while] a lovely hula maiden admonished him to ‘Keep your eyes on the hands.’ She would of course, be wearing a grass or cellophane skirt, and nobody cared if her costume, or the dance, was authentic or not. It was romantic! It was fun! Corn? Of course. But authentic essence [sic. essence] of an era corn” (Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders).
“Red Opu,” was about 112 BPM, which was faster than the tempo of any song in Scene V—Favorite Hapa Haole Songs, and the song “On Okie Dokie Bay” was the fastest song in this show: more than 208 BPM. Third, the scene mostly presented the songs with humorous skits and comic dance movements. Such performances as “Red Opu,” “They’re Wearing ’Em Higher in Hawaii” and “Pineapple Princess” could be called short musical comedies. Through these presentations, Scene IV created different feelings from the other scenes and conveyed essences of Wacky Songs.

Scene IV deliberately described humorous aspects of hapa haole music, however it could be controversial for a local perspective. In fact, according to the informants, some of the halau members expressed their negative feelings toward the Wacky Songs, because they considered that the songs possibly denigrate of Hawai‘i and its people (interview anonymous March 2006). In fact, some lyrics of those songs are too rude or deprecating Hawai‘i; they are often considered politically and culturally incorrect in present-day Hawai‘i. So, the halau had to carefully select the songs presented in this scene. For example, if song lyrics include “kanaka,” the word or song was excluded. Although there were difficulties in presenting Wacky Songs, the show still included these songs recognizing that they are part of Hawaiian

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21 According to an informant, Kumu Hula Noenoe Zuttermeister Lewis told the halau dancers that they were imitating haoles (foreigners) who could not dance hula. “The comic lyrics were combined with our comic imitations of the awkward choreography [for hula practitioners] that used to be passed off as hula. This humor in reverse is found quite a bit in Hawaiian performances” (email communication anonymous March 2007).

22 Webster’s New World College Dictionary defines “kanaka” as, “a person born in the South Sea Islands. This is a neutral term in Hawaiian, but is derogatory as used in English” (Agnes and Guralnik 2002: 780).
music history. One informant mentioned that some of Wacky Songs were popular in Hawai‘i as well as in the U.S. mainland. For example, “Pineapple Princess” was locally favored and performed even though it was written for Disney (interview anonymous March 2006).

Realizing the controversial and negative aspects, Scene IV still presented Wacky Songs as part of Hawai‘i’s experience. This attitude is significant, because it recognizes an inclusive history of Hawaiian music.

Evaluating hapa haole music from various perspectives, the hālau presented this genre of Hawaiian dance and music.

**Scene V – Favorite Hapa Haole Songs and Finale:** The show featured locally favored hapa haole songs, and then presented the song “Nā Pua Lei ‘Ilīma,” associating with the Favorite Hapa Haole Songs as having the same “timeless quality.”

The show provided dramatic change from Scene IV to V, which can be recognized at several points of the presentation. First, Scene V presented the songs written by local songwriters, except Jack Pitman, while Scene IV featured Wacky Songs mostly written by American composers. Second, as mentioned, the tempo of the Favorite Hapa Haole Songs and “Nā Pua Lei ‘Ilīma” were slower than any Wacky Song. Third, the songs were presented one after another, and there was no speech by the master of ceremonies between them. Kim commented about the songs briefly only at the beginning of Scene V, allowing the audience to enjoy hula and music

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23 “Her [Lewis’s] definition [of hapa haole music] also includes the Tin Pan Alley songs [some of them are presented in the scene IV as Wacky Songs] that were pumped out by writers in the early 1900s who’d never been west of Jersey, let alone Hawaii, and who came out with such crazy tunes as ‘Yacka Hula Hickey Dula’ and ‘Oh, How She Could Yacki Hacki Wicki Woo’” (Berger: 2004b).

24 An informant involved in the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival also mentioned, “we” realize that some of these songs are derogatory of Hawai‘i, yet we should not ignore them and recognize that they are part of Hawaiian music history (interview anonymous April 2006).
without interruption. In the other scenes, information was provided between the songs. Fourth, there was no stage set or prop in this scene, while the other scenes effectively used stage sets and props to provide a specific image of hapa haole song. Particularly, Scene IV used more stage sets and props, such as a projected crescent on the screen and a rubber pineapple ring. Through these presentations, the show created a clear contrast from the other scenes.

This contrast signified Favorite Hapa Haole Songs as precious heritage of hapa haole music, which has a “timeless quality.” The informants mentioned that the hapa haole songs in Scene V were more favored in Hawai‘i than on the U.S. mainland, and are passed on from generation to generation. The Wacky Songs were popular just for a while as a fad, yet the songs in Scene V have a timeless quality as well as the following “Na Pua Lei ‘Ilima,” which is the signature song for the family and halau (interviews anonymous March 2006). By providing the songs retaining a timeless quality at the end, the show suggested that significance of hapa haole music tradition.

The show covered various aspects of hapa haole music referring to Hawaiian music history and its relation to American culture. Although the show captured American experience of and influence on this genre, it concurrently described hapa haole music as part of experience by the people of Hawai‘i. With this notion, the informants involved in this event often expressed nostalgia for past cultural activities. One of the informants stated that hapa haole music invokes good memories of old days of Hawai‘i (interview anonymous March 2006). Noenoe Lane Zuttreimeter Lewis also expressed nostalgia recollecting the past, when she and her mother danced, directed and choreographed hapa haole hula in its heyday. Embracing nostalgia for a
past Hawai‘i, hapa haole music was recognized as “our” experience and Hawai‘i’s cultural heritage in the event.

This nostalgia made *Under a Tropic Moon* an educational event. Lewis noted that contemporary people of Hawai‘i often do not recognize this cultural heritage. She stated that hapa haole music happened in Hawai‘i; it is undeniably part of Hawai‘i’s culture and must be acknowledged (interview March 2006). Although the major purpose of the event was to raise funds for the Thomas Keola Ahsing Engineering Scholarship, it also intended to celebrate and inform about hapa haole music. As education, the show recounted various aspects of this genre. The preparations for the event must have been a positive learning process for the *halau* members, and the show was a significant exposition of hapa haole music. *Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula* provided a precious opportunity to consult and experience hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i.

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25 Lewis provides her understandings of hapa haole music in Berger’s article as, “Sometimes the music is done with traditional Hawaii 4/4 time, but the words are in English, so that makes it half English, half Hawaiian. Sometimes the words are in Hawaiian, but the beat is syncopated, so that makes it hapa haole. Not necessarily all Hawaiian songs with haole words are hapa haole. Sometimes the words are Hawaiian and the music is not” (Berger 2004b).
CHAPTER 5
CASE STUDY TWO:
HAPA HAOLE HULA & MUSIC FESTIVAL

This chapter introduces another hapa haole music event in early twenty-first century Hawai'i, *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival*, which has been organized and presented by the PA'I Foundation since 2003. The PA'I Foundation was established in 2001 to preserve and perpetuate Hawaiian cultural tradition for future generations. As one of its activities, it promotes hapa haole music through this annual event. The Executive Director of the Foundation, Kumu Hula Vicky (Victoria) Holt Takamine introduces the event:

Aloha Kakou [greetings everyone],

PA'I Foundation is pleased to welcome you to the 4th Annual Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival. Hapa Haole music and dance have played an important role in the history of Hawai'i. Many songs of this period were written by individuals who had never been to Hawai'i. Some were written by native Hawaiians who no longer could speak their mother tongue. The songs

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1 "PA'I Foundation is a non-profit organization dedicated to the perpetuation, education and preservation in matters relating to the indigenous culture and natural environment of Hawai'i. PA'I Foundation was established in 2001 under the aegis of Pua Ali'i 'Ilima, a traditional halau hula celebrating its 26th anniversary and has a membership of approximately 65 individuals. The foundation is managed by a nine-member board of directors, half of whom are of Hawaiian ancestry, and all of whom are members of the halau. Kumu Hula Victoria Holt-Takamine, a long time resident of 'Aiea [a district located west of Honolulu], currently serves as the Executive Director for the foundation and has an established record with creating and promoting initiatives and programs with local communities" (PA'I Foundation).

2 Other cultural activities conducted by the PA'I Foundation include "Kumu Hula & Halau Survey, Native Hawaiian Artist Survey," which is a needs assessment survey of native Hawaiian artists and cultural practitioners, and "Keiwa Heiau," which purposes to oversee the protection and restoration of Keiwa heiau, a recognized traditional cultural property in the upper mountainous region of 'Aiea, O'ahu Island. Visit the Foundation's website, http://www.paifoundation.org/, for details.
conjure up romantic images of our islands and its people. These images have been used to promote tourism in Hawai‘i.

The purpose of the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival is to bring together musicians and dancers to highlight the music and dance of this era. We hope that you enjoy this evening.

We extend a special mahalo [thank] out to all of our participants who have made this event possible.

Me ke aloha [with the love],

Vicky Holt Takamine,
Executive Director,
PA‘I Foundation
(program notes the 4th Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival)

Along with the participants, the Foundation intends to highlight hapa haole music in the present-day.

The annual Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival includes a preliminary competition, Waikīkī show (the final competition and concert), and film/lecture series. This thesis focuses on four shows held in Waikīkī from 2003 to 2006, which were the main portion of the Festival. The description in this chapter is different from that of

3 The first and second Festivals were entitled Hapa Haole Hula, Music & [or "and"] Film Festival, including film/lecture series. I use “Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival” as the generic term for this annual event. In Takamine’s opinion, films had an important role in the popularization and internationalization of hapa haole music. Although she could not provide the film/lecture series in the third and fourth Festivals, Takamine still wishes to include them in future Festivals (interview Takamine March 2006). The preliminary competitions were held at the center stage of Ala Moana Shopping Center, Honolulu, except first year’s preliminary competition, which was held at Don Ho’s Island Grill at Aloha Tower Marketplace, Honolulu. Also, there was the 1st Annual Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival, Las Vegas held at the Bally’s Las Vegas hotel from August 17th to 19th, 2006. This Festival included a hapa haole hula and music competition/concert, Hawaiian Li‘au show, and Master Teacher Hula Workshops by following kumu hula: Manu Boyd, Sonny Ching, Wayne Kaho’onei Panoke and Vicky Holt Takamine.
Under a Tropic Moon. Because the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival included various individuals and groups, the presentations were not as cohesive as those in Under a Tropic Moon, which was mainly produced and performed by a single hālau. The descriptive section of this chapter introduces each Waikīkī show briefly, provides a summary of each show and illustrates the Foundation’s intention in presenting this Festival. The description of this chapter is based on my observations of the Waikīkī shows and the video recordings made by the participants in this event. The analysis section examines a purpose of the Festival including variety individuals and groups, and investigates nostalgia invoked through hapa haole music.

**Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival**

*The 1st Hapa Haole Hula, Music & Film Festival*

On Wednesday August 6th, 2003 at the Monarch Room of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, the Waikīkī show of the first Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival was presented. The evening began at 6 pm with “Cocktails & Caviar Reception” on the Ocean Lawn of the hotel, just beside the Waikīkī beach and facing Diamond Head. A musical group ‘Aoa provided background Hawaiian music for the reception.

At 7 pm, the guests were invited to the Monarch Room for the show. The show began with “Na Mele Nahenahe (literally soft, sweet or gentle songs, as a

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4 The title of each Festival is as printed on the programs. The first Festival’s film component was presented at Doris Duke Theatre of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu. It included a slide lecture “Hapa Haole Hollywood Hula! Hawai’i’s Fantasy Image in Advertising” on August 5th, and a film program “Historic Hula (and Music) on Film” on August 9th, both hosted by DeSoto Brown (Harada 2003).

5 “Takamine stated that she deliberately chose the Monarch Room, the ultimate hapa-haole showcase, to present her hapa-haole journey. “The caliber of performers (that played the room) equaled the prestige of the venue… The Monarch Room was home to Ed Kenney, Beverly Noa, many of the finest performers”” (Harada 2003).
metaphor of *himeni*”) performed by Kawaiolaonapukanileo under the direction of Nola A. Nāhulu. The song selections included “This is Hawaii,” “Waikiki,” “Sunset of Kalaupapa,” “Lahainaluna” and “A Maile Lei for Your Hair.” Vicky Holt Takamine performed hula for the final medley, which included “I’ll Weave a Lei of Stars for You,” “Kamaaina,” “Straight from Hawaii to You” and “Haole Hula.” Following this *himeni* performance, Takamine and Kawika McKeague, President of the PA‘I Foundation, gave a welcome address.

The competition began at 7:30 pm. This year’s final competition included contestants only for the Hapa Haole Solo Vocal and Ms. Sophisticated Hula categories. The contestants and their song selections were as follows.


Tammy Haili’opua Baker and Aaron Sala acted as the masters of ceremonies in this section.

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6 *Himeni* is Hawaiian hymn genre (see Kanahele 1979b: 129-141 for details). Nola A. Nāhulu is a leading figure of this Hawaiian choral music tradition, serving as Choir Director of Kawaiah’ao Church, Vice President of Hawaiian Music Foundation, Artistic Director of the Hawai‘i Youth Opera Chorus and Director of Hawaiian chorus at the Music Department of the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa

7 Up to 2006, the competition of the Honolulu Festival had eight categories – Hapa Haole Solo Vocal, Ms. Sophisticated Hula (for females aged over 25), Ms. Hapa Haole Hula (for females aged between 18 and 25), Wahine (female) Group, Kane (male) Group, Keiki (children) Group, Combined Group (female and male) and Comic Hula.

8 Aaron Sala (Aaron J. Sala) is an active pianist/vocalist of Hawai‘i awarded the “Most Promising Artist(s) of The Year” of the Nā Hōkū Hanohano Awards in 2006 (see also Chapter 3), and Tammy Haili‘opua Baker is a playwright and director of Hawaiian-language theater company, Ka Hālau Hanakeaka, and a Hawaiian language instructor at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (Cataluna 2006).
Following the competition, the show presented "Na Hulu Mamo" featuring the treasured dancers and musicians: Beverly Noa (hula), Gary Keawe Aiko (bass and voice), Mahi Beamer (piano and voice) and Nina Keai'iwahamana (voice), along with Aaron Sala (voice), Kumu Hula Lilinoe Lindsey and her hālau Ka Pa Hula ‘O Lilinoe. Takamine explains nā hulu mamo as follows.

Nā hulu mamo refers to the treasured mamo lei... in this instance, Nina [Keali‘iwahamana], Mahi [Beamer], Gary [Keawe Aiko] and Bev [Beverly Noa], who are highly treasured carriers of this [hapa haole music] tradition. The hulu mamo is the yellow feather lei made from the yellow feathers of the mamo bird. The mamo bird is pure black with just a few feathers under each wing... gatherers would pluck the feathers then release the birds so the feathers would grow back again... they were used to make feathered capes, lei and helmets all symbols of royalty and status because of the numbers of feathers needed and the few feathers available... (email communication July 2006)

In this section, Keali‘iwahamana sang “That’s the Hawaiian in Me,” “Dance the Hula in the Sea,” “My Hawaiian Souvenirs” and “Hawaiian Hospitality.” Mahi Beamer presented his father’s composition “Blue Lei” along with Takamine performing hula.

After the concert, awards were presented. Paul Shimomoto won for Hapa Haole Solo Vocal and Charlene Ku‘ulei Hazlewood was awarded Ms. Sophisticated Hula. Shimomoto also received an opportunity to release an album with the Hula Records.9 Judges of the competition included Ray Abregano, Mamo Howell, Misty Kelai, Donald “Flip” McDiarmid, III, Nola A. Nāhulu and Pi’ilani Smith.

9 The Hula Records published Shimomoto’s album entitled Magic Beside the Sea in 2004 (see also Chapter 8).
Summary: The first Waikīkī show featured prominent dancers and musicians for the Festival. For example, nā hulu mamo performers were repeatedly featured in the following Festivals and represented hapa haole music tradition. Also, three out of five contestants, Charlene Kuʻulci Hazlewood, Albert Holt and Paul Shimamoto, have consistently appeared as guest performers in the subsequent shows. Kawaiolaonapukanileo was another important group, which presented hapa haole music in hīmeni style. These dancers and musicians are the significant performers of the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival along with Vicky Holt Takamine and her hālau Pua Aliʻi ʻIlima. Although the first year’s Waikīkī show had few categories for the competition and relatively small numbers of contestants, it became the model for the following shows featuring these distinguished dancers and musicians.

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10 Although hapa haole music is sometimes performed in hīmeni style, it is rare to present this genre of Hawaiian music in this style in a hotel show at Waikīkī. Naha A. Nāhulu and Kawaiolaonapukanileo presented its own recital featuring hapa haole music in hīmeni style on 11th January, 2004 at the Orvis Auditorium of the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, which was another important performance space for hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawaiʻi.

11 Most of the performers who appeared in the first Waikīkī show are professional, and some of them are considered to be the finest musicians and dancers in Hawaiʻi. For example, Kealiʻiwahamana had performed in the Hawaii Calls radio program since her youth, and was often featured as the symbol of the program after the program was terminated in 1975 (see Chapter 3). However, interestingly, all of them have (or had until their retirements) another permanent job, as is the case for many other professional musicians in Hawaiʻi. Kealiʻiwahamana worked for Aloha Airlines as an executive secretary and a salesperson. She said that music is just a hobby for her and not her primary career (interview Kealiʻiwahamana March 2006).
The Waikiki show of the second Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival was held on August 18th, 2004 at the Monarch Room of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. As in 2003, it was preceded by a reception on the Ocean Lawn with Hawaiian music by ‘Aoa. The show began with the competition this year. Competition categories included Hapa Haole Solo Vocal, Ms. Sophisticated Hula, Wahine Group, Kāne Group, Keiki Group and Comic Hula. The contestants and their musical selections were as follows.

Hula Halau O Hokulani, Kumu Hula Hokulani DeReggo (Wahine Group) – “Sophisticated Hula Medley,” arranged based on “Sophisticated Hula”

Tammy Martin (Hapa Haole Solo Vocal) – “Kuhio Beach”

Hula Halau O Hokulani, Kumu Hula Hokulani DeReggo (Keiki Group) – “Lahainaluna”

Frances Mahoe, Kumu Hula Joan S. Lindsey (Comic Hula) – “Ala Moana Annie”

Audrey Kahakui, Kumu Hula Joan S. Lindsey (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – “Lovely Hula Hands”

12 The film/lecture series were presented at the Doris Duke Theatre, Honolulu Academy of Arts as follows. August 3rd, “Hula Images in Hollywood” talk. DeSoto Brown, of Bishop Museum Archives, presented a selection of film clips of Hawaiian music and hula spanning from the 1920s to the 1970s from the Museum’s collection. August 4th, “Hawaii Calls: Films of Hilo Hattie and Harry Owens.” Steven Fredrick presented musical short subjects of Hawai’i on film, including an episode of Hawaii Calls made for television. August 5th, Film historian and collector Fredrick shared more gems from a bygone day with a program entitled “Swinging Grass Skirts: The Big Band Era in Hawaii.” August 6th, “Waikiki Wedding” was the selection for Hollywood Film Feature Night. The 1937 film was directed by Frank Tuttle, starring Bing Crosby, Martha Raye and Anthony Quinn. August 7th, “Bird of Paradise” was the Hollywood Film Feature Night selection. The handsomely mounted South Seas romance starring Delores Del Rio, Joel McCrea and Lon Chaney, Jr. was directed by King Vidor in 1932. August 8th, “Tell Me a Joke: Comedians Go Native,” with Fredrick, who shared more screen rarities from his collection, this time a family-friendly program of old-time comedies. August 9th, “Hawaii Au Go-Go: The Swinging Sixties,” with Frederick, who shared rare TV episodes and a travelogue from the jet age. August 10th, “Hawaii’s Fantasy Image in Advertising,” slide show presentation with Brown, who shared beautiful and often whimsical images used to sell Hawai’i and its mystique to the world for more than a century (Starbulletin.com 2004).
Kaloku Holt (Hapa Haole Solo Vocal) – “Take Me Back”13
Ui Pauole, Kumu Hula Pohaikealoha Souza (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) –
“Hawaiian Vamp [The Hawaiian Vamp (That Haunting Hula Glide)]”
Na Pualei O Likolehua, Kumu Hula Leinaala Kalama Heine (Wahine Group)
– Blue Lei”
Kaleolama Bento (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – “Hanalei Moon”
Mahela Ichinose (Hapa Haole Solo Vocal) – “Waikiki”
Halau Hula Ka Noeau, Kumu Hula Michael Pili Pang (Kane Group) – “Hapa
Haole Swing Medley,” consists of “My Hapa Haole Hula Girl,” “I
Wonder Where My Little Hula Girl Has Gone” and “Hula Lolo”
Noelani Goldstein, Kumu Hula Michael Pili Pang (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) –
“Dancing Under the Stars”
Joan S. Lindsey Hula Studio, Kumu Hula Joan S. Lindsey (Wahine Group) –
“All the Lights at Waikiki [Dance the Hula in the Seal]”

There were thirteen entries. Many of them were associated with hula hālau, though it
was not required in the Festival. Vicky Holt Takamine acted as the master of
ceremonies this year.14

Following the competition, the show presented “Special Guest
Performances” featuring nā hulu mamo performers and last year’s competition winners,
along with Takamine and her hālau Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima. Takamine first introduced Mahi
Beamer and Nina Keali‘iwahamana as legendary musicians of Hawai‘i. They
presented the song “Sing Me a Song of the Islands.” Then, Albert Holt (bass) and
Kawika McKeauge (guitar) joined the band. The next song “In a Little Hula Heaven”
featured four female dancers wearing cellophane skirts, described as “hapa haole hula

13 Kaloku Holt is a nephew of Vicky Holt Takamine. During the competition, Takamine stated that she
had no influence on the judges.
14 Although Takamine acted as the master of ceremonies of this show, the name of “Kimo Kahoano”
appears as the master of ceremonies on the program; Kahoano is a KCCN radio personality and also the
master of ceremonies for the prestigious Merry Monarch Festival Hula Competition.
girls.” Keali‘iwahamana introduced Paul Shimomoto as the last year’s Hapa Haole Solo Vocal winner. Shimomoto presented “I’ll Remember You” accompanied by Beverly Noa dancing hula, and sang “Hawaiian Hospitality.” Keali‘iwahamana returned to the stage and presented “Beyond the Reef” with hula by last year’s Ms. Sophisticated Hula winner Charlene Ku‘ulei Hazlewood, and “Show Me How to Do the Hula” danced by the hapa haole hula girls. Then, Keali‘iwahamana introduced the founder of the event Vicky Holt Takamine. She performed the hula to the song “My Sweet Gardenia Lei” with Shimomoto singing. Shimomoto stayed on the stage and presented the song “The Magic Islands.” Keali‘iwahamana introduced Beverly Noa, “the lady who rules the stage as the hula dancer.” Together, they presented “I’ll Weave a Lei of Stars for You.” Then, Shimomoto presented the comic song “Princes Poo-poo’-ly Has Planty Pa-pa’-ya.” To close, all the performers together presented “To You Sweetheart, Aloha.”

After the “Special Guest Performances,” Takamine invited the kumu hula who participated in the competition to the stage and recognized their contributions.

Then, Takamine and Donald “Flip” McDiarmid, III presented the awards. In the show, the three winners were recognized: Na Pualei O Likolehua for Wahine Group, Noelani Goldstein as Ms. Sophisticated Hula and Mahela Ichinose for Hapa Haole Solo Vocal. Ichinose received a recording opportunity with the Hula Records.

The judges were Wayne Kaho‘onei Panoke, Misty Kelai, Donald “Flip” McDiarmid, III, Nola A. Nāhulu and Alicia K. Smith.

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15 Other winners are as follows: Frances Mahoe (Comic Hula), Halau Hula O Hokulani (Group Keiki), Halau Na Pualei O Likolehua, Halau Hula O Hokulani (Group Wahine 2nd place) and Halau Hula Ka Noeau (Group Kane).
Summary: this year’s Waikīkī show included more contestants and competition categories than the last year’s show. The number of entrants increased from five individuals to thirteen individuals and groups, and the competition categories expanded from two solo divisions to six solo and group divisions. As a result, it presented more varieties of hapa haole music. For example, Takamine recognized Frances Mahoe, who performed “Ala Moana Annie” in the Comic Hula category: not part of the previous year’s show. Also, it included several hula halau (including a hula studio) and presented hula by children, female and male groups. As continuity from 2003, this Waikīkī show presented excellence of hapa haole music featuring the nā hulu mano performers, Mahi Beamer, Nina Keali‘iwahamana and Beverly Noa, along with last year’s competition winners.

The 3rd Annual Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival

The Waikīkī show of the third Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival was held on May 6th, 2005 in a new site, the semi-open space of the Luau Garden at the Hale Koa Hotel.16 There was no reception, but drinks and food were available for purchase during the show. ‘Aoa provided the pre-show Hawaiian music as the previous years’ show. Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima also presented keiki hula for such songs as “Puka Puka Pants” and “Show Me How to Do the Hula.”

16 “The Hale Koa celebrated its Grand Opening on October 25, 1975 with an ancient Hawaiian blessing ceremony and royal procession. From this beginning steeped in tradition, the Hale Koa stands as an ambassador of aloha to over one million visitors annually. Since 1975, Hale Koa’s mission has remained unchanged: ‘To operate a first class hotel and recreation facility at affordable prices for military members and their families’” (Hale Koa Hotel).
After the pre-show, Takamine introduced the master of ceremonies of this year, Harry B. Soria, Jr., a famous radio personality for Hawaiian music. Soria first introduced the judges: Donald “Flip” McDiarmid, III, Nola A. Nāhulu, Michael Pili Pang and Wayne Kaho’onei Panoke, and then began the competition. The contestants and their song selections were as follows.

Halau Hula Kamamolikolehua, Kumu Hula Pohaikealoha Souza (Keiki Group) – “The Hula Oni Oni E”
Kelli Koochi, Kumu Hula Alicia K. Smith (Ms. Hapa Haole Hula) – “Hula Town”
Justine Tubana (Hapa Haole Solo Vocal) – “Maui Waltz”
Lori Nakata, Kumu Hula Vicky Holt Takamine (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – “Hula Blues”
Halau Hula Kamamolikolehua, Kumu Hula Pohaikealoha Souza (Wahine Group) – “Somewhere in Hawaii”
Christine Noelani Mai’i-Sakuda, Kumu Hula Pohaikealoha Souza (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – “Dance the Hula in the Moonlight”
Dana Devers (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – “Hawaiian Hula Eyes”
Halau Hula O Nawahine, Kumu Hula Marlene Kuraoka (Wahine Group) – “Hapa Haole Hula Medley,” consists of “My Hapa Haole Hula Girl,” “I Wonder Where My Little Hula Girl Has Gone” and “Hula Lolo”

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17 Soria has been presenting a Hawaiian music radio program Territorial Airwaves, often featuring hapa haole music as well as other types of Hawaiian songs, for 28 years. Hawaiian 105 KINE: The Hawaiian Music Station introduces him, “Harry B. Soria, Jr. is the host of ‘Territorial Airwaves,’ now in its 28th year. Every Friday & Sunday, he takes a beguiling musical stroll back to the days of the Territory of Hawaii, playing historical 78, 33 1/3, and 45 RPM recordings and sharing anecdotes and trivia about Hawaii’s past” (Hawaiian 105 KINE: The Hawaiian Music Station).
18 The program says that Koochi presents “I’ll Weave a Lei of Stars for You,” which she performed in the preliminary competition.
Ke'ala Soares, Kumu Hula Alicia K. Smith (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – “Haole Hula”
Joan S. Lindsey Hula Studio, Kumu Hula Joan S. Lindsey (Wahine Group) – “Blue Hawaii”
Stacey Goodhue-Souza (Hapa Haole Solo Vocal) – “Waikiki”
Kealanei Margeson, Kumu Hula Alicia K. Smith (Ms. Hapa Haole Hula) – “Ku'u Lei ‘Awapuhi,” arranged as a medley with “The Magic Island”
Halau Hula O Nawahine, Kumu Hula Marlene Kuraoka (Keiki Group) – “Hapa Haole Girl of My Dreams”

Soria often communicated with the audience between the performances, while providing information of the compositions and performers.

After the competition, Soria introduced Takamine as the founder and hostess of the Festival. Following audience’s applause, Takamine expressed her sincere gratitude for the contributions of all judges and kumu hula involved in this event. Then, she presented a hula-hoop demonstration with keiki. After the demonstration, Takamine called Soria back to the stage for the next section of the show.

The subsequent section was the performance by the Special Guests including the winners of former competitions. Mahela Ichinose (the Hapa Haole Solo Vocal winner 2004) opened this section with the song “Hawaii Calls.” Takamine presented hula to the next song “Blue Lei” with Ichinose singing. Frances Mahoe (the Comic Hula winner 2004) presented the third song “Mele of My Tutu E” sung by Albert Holt.

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19 The Special Guests included Kalai'i Stern (piano) as well as the performers below.
Kent Ghirard’s Hula Nani Dancers was a historical troupe of hapa haole hula.\(^{20}\) They presented “Hawaiian Hospitality” and “My Little Grass Shack in Kealakekua” with Shimomoto singing. Shimomoto also presented “Soft Green Seas,” which featured Takamine and her mother Kalei Holt dancing hula, along with members of Pua Aliʻi ʻIlima performing in the aisles. Soria described Marlene Sai as the “loveliest woman’s voice.” She presented the next sequence of songs: “Not Pau,” “A Million Moons Over Hawaii,” “Honolulu I Am Coming Back Again,” “Dancing Under the Stars,” “You Taught Me How to Love You in an Old Hawaiian Way” and “Kainoa.” “A Million Moons Over Hawaii” and “Dancing Under the Stars” featured hula by Takamine and Noelani Goldstein (Ms. Sophisticated Hula 2004) respectively. “You Taught Me How to Love You in an Old Hawaiian Way,” a duet sung with Mahela Ichinose, daughter of Sai. This section closed with the song “Papalina Lahilahi” featuring Kent Ghirard’s Hula Nani Dancers.

Kawika McKeague presented the awards. Kealanei Margeson was selected as Ms. Hapa Haole Hula. It was a tie for Ms. Sophisticated Hula, awarded to Christine Noelani Maiʻi-Sakuda and Lori Nakata. Joan S. Lindsey’s Hula Studio won the Wahine Group prize, and Halau Hula O Nawahine was selected as the Keiki Group winner. Kaloku Holt was the Hapa Haole Solo Vocal winner and received a record deal with the Hula Records.

\(^{20}\) Kent Ghirard founded his Hula Nani Girls [or Dancers] in 1948, Ryan introduces the group, “‘Uncle’ Kent and his Hula Nani Girls were the biggest hula group from the late 1940s to Hawaii’s statehood. Ghirard and his group performed throughout the islands and at all of Waikiki’s major hotels, including the Moana, Niulalu, Surfrider, and Royal Hawaiian. Performing with them were such musical legends as Alfred Apaka, Lena Machado, Ray Kinney, Nona Beamer, Maih Beamer, Alvin Isaacs, Pauline Kekahuna, Annie Kerr and Gabby Pahinui. Ghirard and his troupe also headlined the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago and were the first hula group to perform in Japan after World War II in 1955” (Ryan 2004).
After the award presentation, Nola A. Nahulu and Kawaiolaonapukanileo presented hapa haole songs in *himeni* style. First, the members gave the audience leis randomly while they sang “For You a Lei.” Then, they came up on the stage and presented songs including “This is Hawaii,” “Hawaiian Hula Eyes,” “Waikiki” and “Lahainaluna.” The final song “Beyond the Reef” featured Charlene Ku'ulei Hazlewood (Ms. Sophisticated Hula 2003) dancing hula.

**Summary:** This year’s competition had fewer categories: Hapa Haole Solo Vocal, Ms. Sophisticated Hula, Wahine Group, Keiki Group, and Ms. Hapa Haole Hula for the first time. There was no contestant for the Comic Hula and Kāne Group categories. Also there was only one male contestant, Kaloku Holt; the others were all female. However, the show still included new individuals and groups, such as Kumu Hula Marlene Kuraoka and her *hālau*. One of judges from the previous year’s competition, Kumu Hula Alicia K. Smith provided three contestants for the Ms. Hapa Haole Hula and Ms. Sophisticated Hula categories. There were also new participants in the Special Guests, such as Marlene Sai and Kent Ghirard’s Hula Nani Dancers, who showcased their styles of hapa haole hula and music.\(^2\)

It should be also noted that the new venue, semi-open space of the Luau Garden of the Hale Koa Hotel, provided a different atmosphere from the Monarchy Room of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel. The show began at 5:30 pm, so that the initial performances took place in sunshine rather than under stage lights. Also, because this space was designed for *lū‘au* show, it was more intimate enhancing interaction.\(^2\)

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\(^2\) Mahi Beamer and Nina Keali"iwiwahamana could not participate in this show because of other obligations.

\(^2\) *Lū‘au* show is a show or entertainment with Hawaiian style food, hula and music, often for tourists.
example, a man from the audience came up on the stage and received a ti-leaf hat from Francis Mahoe. This kind of interaction did not occur in the previous Waikīkī shows. Moreover, the Luau Garden was less costly to book, so that the ticket price was less than half the price of the previous ones. Takamine felt that the ticket prices of the shows at the Monarchy Room were too expensive (interview April 2006). By moving to the Luau Garden, she could make the show interactive and available to more people.

*The 14th Annual Hapa Haole Hula & Music*

The Waikīkī show of the fourth *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* was held on May 12th, 2006, with financial support from the Hawaii Tourism Authority. As last year, the Hale Koa Hotel provided its Luau Garden for the show. Drinks and food were available for purchase during the show. Veteran musicians, Larry Uchima (piano), Albert Holt (bass and voice), Kawika McKeague (guitar) and Paul Shimomoto (voice), presented pre-show entertainment along with dancers of Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima. The song selections included “Beyond the Reef,” “Hawaiian Hula Eyes,” “I Wonder Where My

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23 The first year’s show ticket was $65 with pre-show cocktail and caviar reception. The second year’s show ticket was $65 including a hosted pāpū (appetizers) and cocktail reception. The third year’s show ticket was $25, with a $5 discount on tickets purchased by April 25th, 2005, providing a free drink. The fourth year’s ticket was $30 including a free drink.

24 The Hawaii Tourism Authority (HTA) was established in 1998 through Act 156 as the lead agency and advocate for Hawaii’s tourism industry, responsible for creating a vision and overseeing tourism from a statewide perspective. This same act also established the Tourism Special Fund – a set percentage of the transient accommodations tax (TAT) collections that is assessed on hotels, vacation rentals and other accommodations. This fund is the revenue source that HTA draws from, for developing, implementing and supporting its tourism programs and other efforts throughout the State. Our mission statement is: To strategically manage the growth of Hawaii’s visitor industry in a manner consistent with our economic goal, cultural values, preservation of natural resources and community interests” (*Hawaii Tourism Authority*).
Little Hula Girl Has Gone,” “In a Little Hula Heaven,” “Rhythm of the Islands,” “Soft Green Seas,” “Somewhere in Hawaii,” “Puka Puka Pants” and “Waikiki.”

Harry B. Soria, Jr. again was the master of ceremonies. In the show, he provided a definition of hapa haole music while introducing general information about the compositions and performers. He defined hapa haole music as, “a genre of Hawaiian music contains English lyrics sprinkled with a few Hawaiian words and concentrates on the subject of Hawai‘i.” He also stated, it was “mainly composed in the first half of the twentieth century and includes a vocal quality unique to Hawaiian music expression.” These descriptions are corresponding to the definitions of Kanahele and Tatar (see Chapter 3). As well as defining hapa haole music, he categorized hapa haole music: 1) birth of hapa haole music – salt of the Hawaiian earth, 2) Tin Pan Alley cashes in – on the post-1915 Hawaiian music craze, 3) hapa haole music grows up back at home and swings up the national charts, 4) Hollywood puts hapa haole music on the silver screen. Providing the definition of and categorizing hapa haole music supported the educational purpose of the event (see Analysis section of this chapter).

This year’s competition included seventeen contestants in seven categories: Hapa Haole Solo Vocal, Ms. Hapa Haole Hula, Ms. Sophisticated Hula, Comic Hula, Combined Group, Wahine Group and Kane Group. The contestants and their song selections were as follows.

Halau Hawai‘i, Kumu Hula Karen Ka‘ohulani Aiu (Combined Group) – Medley: “Sophisticated Hula”/“Hula Town”
Hau‘oli Yamaguchi (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – “Pink Umbrellas”
Willow Chang (Hapa Haole Solo Vocal) – “Beautiful Manoa”
Kawena Chun (Ms. Hapa Haole Hula) – Medley: “Waikiki Mermaid”/“Hula Blues”/“My Honolulu Tomboy”/“My Hapa Haole Hula Girl”

Halau Na Pua Mai Ka Lani, Kumu Hula Kale Pawai (Wahine Group) – “Blue Hawaii”

Ilana Davis, Kumu Hula Karen Ka‘ohulani Aiu (Ms. Hapa Haole Hula) – Medley: “Ukulele Lady”/“The Lady Can Play”

Ann Marie Pulilia Aiu Fernandez, Kumu Hula Karen Ka‘ohulani Aiu (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – Medley: “Hawaii Calls”/“Waikiki”

Halau Hawai‘i, Kumu Hula Karen Ka‘ohulani Aiu (Kāne Group) – Medley: “Happy Hawaiian”/“That’s Hawaiian in Me”

Charis Kaipo Kahauolopua, Kumu Hula Pohaikealoha Souza (Ms. Sophisticated Hula) – Medley: “Aloha Wau ia Oe”/“Hawaiian Moon”

Kira Ka‘ilikeanani Lee, Kumu Hula Hokule‘i Nihipali (Ms. Hapa Haole Hula) – “I’ll Remember You”

Doris Davis (Comic Hula) – Medley: “Cockeyed Mayor of Kaunakakai”/“Hilo Hattie Hop [When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop]”

Hula Halau Ke ‘Olu Makana O Mauna Loa, Kumu‘Hula Meleana Manuel (Wahine Group) – “Kuhio Beach”

Lauren Kanoelani Chang, Kumu Hula Leimomi Maldonado (Ms. Hapa Haole Hula) – “My Sweet Gardenia Lei”

Bennet Namahoe, Kumu Hula Karen Ka‘ohulani Aiu (Hapa Haole Solo Vocal) – Medley: “Hawaiian Hospitality”/“[Waikiki] Chickadee”

Halau Hawai‘i, Kumu Hula Karen Ka‘ohulani Aiu (Wahine Group) – “The Moon Medley,” consists of “Kona Moon,” “Maui Moon,” “Hanalaei Moon” and “A Million Moons Over Hawai‘i”

Kumu Hula Meleana Manuel (Hapa Haole Solo Vocal) – “Shores of Hale‘iwa”

Halau ‘Olapakuikala‘i ‘O Hokuaulani, Kumu Hula Hokuaulani Nihipali (Wahine Group) – “Round and Round in Waikiki”

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25 Kira Ka‘ilikeanani Lee is a granddaughter of Kui Lee, the composer of “I’ll Remember You”
There were more male contestants than in the previous year’s show. Interestingly, more than half, nine out of seventeen, performances were presented in the medley format.

The concert section of this year featured all stars of the *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival*: Gary Keawe Aiko, Mahi Beamer, Nina Keali‘iwiwahamana, Marlene Sai and Kent Ghirard’s Hula Nani Dancers, along with former Hapa Haole Solo Vocal winners: Mahela Ichinose and Paul Shimomoto. Ichinose opened the section singing “Aloha Wau Ia Oe,” “That’s the Hawaiian in Me” and a medley: “Follow Me”/“I Am Hawai‘i.” Paul Shimomoto sang for “South Sea Island Magic” and a medley: “Dancing Under the Stars”/“I’ll Weave a Lei of Stars for You.” Marlene Sai presented “Crushed Flowers,” “Haole Hula” and “Lovely Kau‘i.” Gary Keawe Aiko returned to the show after two-year absence. While playing the bass in the band, he also sang “Kealoha” and “Lovely Hula Girl.” Kent Ghirard’s Hula Nani Dancers performed hula to the songs, “Not Pau” and “Out on the Beach at Waikiki.” While Mahi Beamer played the piano in the band, he sang his father’s composition, “Blue Lei” as he did in the first year. Finally, Nina Keali‘iwiwahamana presented “Yacka Hula Hicki Dula,” “Dance the Hula in the Sea” and “Blue Hawaiian Moonlight.” These songs, except the songs performed by Kent Ghirard’s Hula Nani Dancers, accompanied hula by Vicky Holt Takamine and the dancers from Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima including former competition winners, Charlene Ku‘ulei Hazlewood and Lori Nakata.

All contestants received prizes this year. I present the first place winner of each category here. Halau Hawai‘i won for Combined Group and Kāne Group. Halau ‘Olapakuikala‘i was recognized as the best Wahine Group. Doris Davis was
the first place of the Comic Hula. Bennet Namahoe won for Hapa Haole Solo Vocal and received the recording opportunity with the Hula Records. Ann Marie Pualilia Aiu Fernandez was awarded Ms. Sophisticated Hula and Ms. Hapa Haole Hula was granted to Kira Ka‘iliki‘eanani Lee. The judges included Manu Boyd, Kealoha Kalama, Donald “Flip” McDiarmid, III, Debbie Nakanelua-Richards and Wayne Kaho‘onei Panoke. Following the awards, “I Wish They Didn’t Mean Goodbye” was presented as the finale.

Summary: Again, the number of participants has been increasing since the first year including new individuals and groups. For example, Halau Hawai‘i, Kumu Hula Karen Ka‘ohulani Aiu, first participated the event, provided six contestants and won in three categories. Including these participants, the event featured a variety of hapa haole music. Continuity from past Waikīkī shows could be also observed. Marlene Sai and Kent Ghirard’s Hula Nani Dancers were last year’s Special Guests. The show also featured Gary Keawe Aiko, Mahi Beamer and Nina Keali‘iwahamana. Albert Holt, Mahela Ichinose, Paul Shimomoto and Charlene Ku‘ulei Hazlewood continued participating from previous years. By featuring these performers, the show exemplified the excellence of hapa haole music.

Analysis

Collective Efforts in Presenting Hapa Haole Music

The annual Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival was an activity resulting from the collective efforts of many individuals and groups involved in the event. Although the PA‘I Foundation organized and presented the Festival, it could not occur without the
support of the participants. Vicky Holt Takamine showed her gratitude every year for all the people, who supported the Festival. Collaborating with various individuals and groups, the PA'I Foundation was able to present this annual hapa haole music event.

The Festival functioned as an event to share experience and knowledge about hapa haole music by including many participants from different backgrounds. The event presented more than eighty songs including early hapa haole songs, Tin Pan Alley songs, songs used in American movies, locally favored hapa haole songs and recent compositions (see Appendix E). Various forms and styles, such as a duet, medley and hīmeni, were applied for these songs. Different opinions about this genre could be also observed. Several contestants presented recent compositions, such as "Take Me Back" and "Beautiful Manoa," although they may not be considered hapa haole songs according to Tatar's criteria. Harry B. Soria, Jr. also mentioned that the medley presented by Kealanei Margeson in the third Waikīkī show was not a hundred percent hapa haole music because it included a song with the entire Hawaiian lyrics, "Kuʻu Lei ʻAwapuhi." Different notions sometimes caused people to question what hapa haole music is, and how this genre should be performed and presented. For example, Kaloku Holt performed his own composition "Take Me Back" in the second

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26 Examples of these songs are: "Waikiki Mermaid," "My Honolulu Tomboy" and "My Honolulu Hula Girl" (early hapa haole songs); "Yacka Hula Hicki Dula" (Tin Pan Alley songs); "Rhythm of the Islands," "Blue Hawaii" and "Sing Me a Song of the Islands" (songs used in American movies); "Waikiki" and "Lovely Hula Girl" (locally favored hapa haole songs); "Take Me Back," "Pink Umbrellas," "Beautiful Manoa" and "The Lady Can Play" (recent compositions).

27 Although the lyrics of the song are entirely in Hawaiian, it was written in the same context as many hapa haole songs, for the remake of the American movie Bird of Paradise in 1951. However it still may not be considered a hapa haole song. In addition to its entire Hawaiian lyrics, this poem was set to the melody of an old song "Kuʻu Lei Pupū," a tune the composer, Emily Kekahaloa Namauʻu Taylor, remembered from her childhood. It was not really a new composition in those days (Martin).
Waikīkī show, yet after consulting with experienced practitioners, he presented standard hapa haole songs in a medley form in the third show. Such interactive activity and learning process was expected in this Festival. The Festival facilitated Hawaiian music practitioners to meet each other and consult on hapa haole music.

The *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* was an educational event as the founder intended. In this sense, the Festival shares the purpose with *Under a Tropic Moon*. However, these two events took different approaches. *Under a Tropic Moon* was presented by a single hālau with its extended family members and friends. On the other hand, the *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* was basically open to any Hawaiian music practitioner, who wished to participate. The difference appears in song selection: deductive vs. inductive. The songs in *Under a Tropic Moon* were carefully selected according to the themes: “Boat Days,” “Hawaii in the Movies,” “Nightclub,” “Wacky Songs” and “Favorite Hapa Haole Songs.” The songs in the *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* were selected by participants according to their notion of hapa haole music. Each approach has its strength. *Under a Tropic Moon* was coherent and effective in presenting what Lewis’s hālau recognized and understood about hapa haole music. The *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* allowed participants to provide their own experience and knowledge of this genre. The PA‘I Foundation intends to enrich a mutual understanding of hapa haole music through such a conference event.

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28 Takamine states in Drury’s article as, “when the resurgence of Hawaiian culture and ethnic pride placed emphasis on learning the Hawaiian language, chants and the pre-missionary hula kahiko... [as a result], the young people don’t know hapa haole and looked down on it...” (Drury 2003). Considering that hapa haole music is part of Hawaiian cultural tradition and recognizing that the younger people don’t know this heritage, the PA‘I Foundation endeavored to produce the *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* as an educational event.
Although the Foundation drew on a variety of hapa haole music, it still sustained quality of the Waikīkī show through a competition and by featuring guest performers. Takamine stated the reason for having a competition as, “we are looking for excellence in the field to represent the best of we have… we are looking for certain quality and encourage people [to present their best]” (interview April 2006). The na hulu mamo performers, Beverly Noa, Gary Keawe Aiko, Mahi Beamer, Nina Keali‘i wahamana, Marlene Sai and Kent Ghirard’s Hula Nani Dancers, reinforced the artistry of the shows. Past competition winners exemplified outstanding contestants. Through such a presentation format, the PA‘I Foundation maintained high standards of the show.

The Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival was a conference event including various Hawaiian music practitioners. They shared their experience and knowledge, and contributed for a mutual understanding of the genre. The judges and masters of ceremonies also contributed through their evaluations of the contestants and speeches about the hula and music. Other participants of the event were also recognized as the sponsors and supporters in the program notes (see Appendix D). With collaborative efforts of all the people, the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival intended to enrich knowledge and understanding of hapa haole music.

Nostalgia Expressed through Hapa Haole Music

The participants of the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival often expressed different conceptions of hapa haole music, and possibly have a variety of emotions about this genre. What I am concerned with in this section is an emotion expressed by the
producer of the event, and the people who share this emotion with the producer.

Embracing a sentiment for the past and its cultural activities, the Foundation has been presenting this Festival since 2003.

As mentioned, the PA‘I Foundation was established to preserve and perpetuate Hawaiian cultural tradition. In this sense, its activities can be recognized as an extension of the Hawaiian Renaissance. However the Foundation still promotes hapa haole music as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition. The Executive Director of the Foundation, Vicky Holt Takamine feels that hapa haole music has been unfortunately neglected since the Hawaiian Renaissance, yet it is an important aspect of Hawaiian music history and should receive enough attention as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition (interview April 2006, see also Chapter 6). Takamine contests the negative attitude toward hapa haole music and verifies authenticity of this genre through the Festival.

Some authorities of Hawaiian music agreed with the Foundation and supported the Festival in different ways. Nina Keali‘iwahamana is one such a person stating,

Hapa-haole music has been a very important part of our culture, in the music and in the hula... I think Vicky’s moving in the right direction. For traditional hula, there’s the Merrie Monarch Festival and the Prince Lot Hula Festival. I’m thrilled that someone won’t let hapa haole die (Waikiki News 2006).

A Bishop Museum archivist, DeSoto Brown also considers hapa haole music an important cultural tradition of Hawai‘i, and provided film/lecture presentations in the

“This aspect of Hawaiian culture deserves equal treatment,” agreed local author and Bishop Museum archivist DeSoto Brown. “It represents how Hawaiian culture adapted to, and grew from, the inevitable changes that occurred through contact with the outside world. Even if Hawai‘i had not been put under the control of the United States, American pop culture would have made its mark here just as it has everywhere else in the world.” (Drury 2003)

The judges and kumu hula also participated the Festival to support this Foundation’s activity. It is a collective thought about hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i.

The question here is why these people consider hapa haole music an important cultural heritage of Hawai‘i. One answer may be found in their memories of this genre. Many of them remember the practitioners of hapa haole music, and they themselves performed this genre in the “old days.” Takamine watched as her kumu hula Maiki Aiu Lake danced hapa haole hula wearing a black cellophane skirt and white gardenias, and herself danced in Waikīkī in the 60s and 70s (Drury 2003). The na hulu mamo performers also have similar experiences. Nina Keali‘iwahamana and her family members were leading figures of the Hawaii Calls radio program (see Chapter 3). Beverly Noa often performed with Ed Kenny, who was another star of Hawaii Calls, and Mahi Beamer’s father Milton Beamer composed one of the favorite hapa haole songs, “Blue Lei.” Gary Keawe Aiko was hired by Don Ho in 1961 as a regular singer-bassist, and has been performing hapa haole music as well as other
genre of Hawaiian music at the Waikiki Beach Marriott Resort & Spa for decades with his mother, legendary Aunty Genoa Keawe. These practitioners remember hapa haole music with memories of their family members, friends and teachers, and as experiences of their days of youth.

I find nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i in both Under a Tropic Moon and Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival. The two groups organized these events and presented hapa haole music differently. However, both consider this genre as Hawai‘i’s cultural heritage expressing nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i. In the next chapter, I further examine nostalgia in academic studies and explore it based on the two case studies.
CHAPTER 6
SHIFTING NOSTALGIA IN HAPA HAOLE MUSIC

In Chapters 4 and 5, I described and analyzed two events: *Under a Tropic Moon* and *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival*. In these events, many participants expressed a sentimental affection for past hapa haole music activities. They experienced this genre in their youth, and remember it with fond memories about their family members, friends and teachers. Although hapa haole music has been marginalized since the Hawaiian Renaissance, these music practitioners still consider it as “our” cultural heritage, embracing nostalgia for a “past Hawai‘i.”

In this chapter, I explore nostalgia and hapa haole music. First, I review diversity and unity of nostalgia through academic discourse. Nostalgia as a concept is applied to a variety of phenomena. I examine several concepts to exemplify its diversity and explain how nostalgia can be a single unite of emotion. Then, I describe how nostalgia of hapa haole music shifts from one context to another sharing a sense of sentiment. This nostalgia takes various forms in different contexts and shifts to accommodate a new context in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i.

I consider nostalgia as a “flux sentiment,” which means “a complex combination of feelings [sentiment]” in “continual change [flux]” (Agnes and Guralnik 2002: 1306, 546 respectively). Because nostalgia is in flux, it can shift from one agent to another, and it can further shift even within one agent for different objects. I prefer to use the word “shift” to describe the transformation I observe in nostalgia. I consider the word “shift” as, “transferring from one status to another within a single
system, such as changing gears from one arrangement to another in driving a motor vehicle” (ibid.: 1322). In this definition of “shift,” the word “system” needs to be defined as, “a set or arrangement of things so related or connected as to form a unity or organic whole” (ibid.: 1453). A single system requires unity to keep its coherency, yet it can also include differences, by which a system changes its forms according to circumstances. In this sense, nostalgia can be considered a system: an emotional system of humans, which includes both diversity and unity. Thus, this emotion can include a shared notion or sense of sentiment, yet its forms are different in each case or instance.

Hapa haole music can express and invoke various sentiments according to different contexts within a system of nostalgia. In hapa haole music, I observe two major kinds of nostalgia. One is American nostalgia: a faraway gaze of American longing for exotic-romantic Hawai‘i. Another is nostalgia perceived by the locals: adoration for Hawai‘i as home or the land they belong to. By defining nostalgia as a flux sentiment, I discuss how it shifts between foreign and local in a single genre of music.

Nostalgia perceived by the local people of Hawai‘i can be divided into several forms, and shifts from the past to present. Many hapa haole songs express a sentiment, which was actually invoked in the past. According to the informants interviewed, such a sentiment can be still felt or realized in the present-day. By tracing memories about the past and conflating it to contemporary experiences, those Hawaiian music practitioners conceive a past about Hawai‘i. I use the phrase “past Hawai‘i” as a generic term to indicate the past conceptualized in hapa haole music.
This past includes not only historical evidence, but also an imagined past shaped from experiences and memories. The past is historically far away and cannot reach anymore, however a “past Hawai‘i” is still accessible through this cognitive process. This process further affirms authenticity of hapa haole music as part of Hawai‘i’s cultural heritage. As a result, Under a Tropic Moon and Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival became educational events. I discuss how nostalgia perceived by the locals shifts from the past to present and projects the education of hapa haole music.

Nostalgia in Academic Discourse: Its Diversity and Unity

“Nostalgia” is a catchy, romantic and sentimental word. It often replaces the phrase “good old days” in general English use. The word invokes people’s emotion of longing for something ideal or attractive, which is hardly obtained or quite unobtainable. However the word was not applied to express such ambivalent feelings as a longing toward the old days at home, adoration for native life of the ancestors or affection for a lover in a paradise far away.

The word nostalgia can be traced to its origin in medical science and had a specific meaning. Swiss doctor Johannes Hofer coined the word “nostalgia” and first introduced it in his medical dissertation, “Dissertatio Medica de nostalgia [Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia]” (1934, original publishing date 1688). Sociologist Fred Davis introduces Hofer’s nostalgia as, “a familiar, if not especially frequent, condition of extreme homesickness among Swiss mercenaries fighting far from their native land in the legions of one or another European despot” (1979: 1). Since this definition,

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1 Yet, this process can be also corporeal through bodily practices. See Chapter 7 for further discussions.
nostalgia had been conceived as homesickness, European disease and a public epidemic for about 200 years.\(^2\) By the early twentieth century, the concept of nostalgia shifted from a pathological condition to a sense of longing. Andreea Deciu Ritivoi, a scholar of English and rhetoric, postulates that nostalgia was eradicated as a disease by the mid-nineteenth century and the medical use of nostalgia disappeared around 1900 with only a few isolated recurrences (2002: 27).\(^3\) With the decline of the medical sense of nostalgia, the word began to be used as a sense of yearning or desire toward something fragile.

Interestingly, a new sense of nostalgia appeared in the age of modernity, from the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Svetlana Boym, a scholar of Slavic and Comparative Literature, suggests that modernity conferred on nostalgia the connotation of a sentiment of loss and displacement. She introduces poet Charles Baudelaire, who expresses nostalgia in the ambivalent experience of modernity in his essay “The Painter of Modern Life” (1859-60) (2001: 19-21). The modern period provided an experience of happiness with advanced technologies and newly explored lands, concurrently the experience of modernity was unfamiliar; “modern society appears as a foreign country, public life as emigration from the family idyll, urban existence as permanent exile” (ibid.: 24). Modernity was contradictory providing happiness and anxiety simultaneously, as Baudelaire feels nostalgia for “the present perfect [or happiness] and its lost potential” (ibid.: 21). In-between the

\(^2\) See Davis (1979: 1-30) and Boym (2001: 3-18) for the history of nostalgia as a disease.

\(^3\) Ritivoi states, “The more advanced Western civilization becomes, the less its people will belong to specific places or cultures. Homesickness, if still occurring, would be easily cured by regular mail, automobiles, steam engines, and telegraph lines” (2002: 24).
ambivalent experience of modernity, a sense of nostalgia expanded to include a fascination for happiness and sentiment of loss.

The period of Western modernity was also the era of geographic expansion. With their colonial ideology, Westerners visited and experienced other lands and peoples, giving rise to another connotation of the term: longing for a purer and simpler life discovered in others. Sociologist Dean MacCannell states, “The progress of modernity (‘modernization’) depends on its very sense of instability and inauthenticity. For moderns, reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles” (1999: 3). Because of the instability and inauthenticity caused by new and unfamiliar experiences and detachment from tradition and nature, modernity caused a sense of displacement from reality and authenticity. “Modern Man is losing his attachments to the work bench, the neighborhood, the town, the family, which he once called ‘his own’ but, at the same time, he is developing an interest in the ‘real life’ of others” (ibid.: 91). The lands and peoples newly explored and occupied through colonial expansion could provide real life or authenticity for modern Westerners. They discovered the simpler life in the livelihood of others, which was desired in the modern experience. By projecting reality and authenticity onto others, the meaning of nostalgia extended to include the connotation of longing for the exotic native lands and non-Western peoples. This nostalgia toward others also set the stage for tourism, as sociologist John Urry states, “The tourist is a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other ‘times’ and other ‘places’ away from that person’s everyday life” (2002: 9). It was not coincidental that hapa haole music appeared in the early twentieth century. Hapa
haole music served the faraway gaze, satisfied the American longing for authenticity and set the stage for tourism (see further discussion for authenticity and tourism in Desmond 1999, MacCannell 1999 and Urry 2002).

Since the advent of modernity and following colonial expansion, the meaning of nostalgia has reflected social changes of the West. The instability of modern life and experience with others invoked new types of nostalgia: yearning for transient happiness and longing for authenticity in others. Furthermore, these new types of nostalgia often transformed with their essential images. For example, nostalgia for others was often symbolized as a colored female body. It was often invoked, desired and consumed through a black, brown or yellow female body.

Radhika Mohanram, a scholar of English, women’s and gender studies, recognizes the relation between the black female body and colonialism as,

The black body is metonymically linked to the woman’s body in the power/knowledge system of Western Enlightenment, progress and modernity... Both the female and the black body function as matter, as passive, a blank slate, a point of origin... Place constructs its occupant’s body as the occupant gives meaning to place... The body is inscribed through place as the place is through the body. (1999: 200-201)

According to Mohanram, the black female body functioned to represent a land to be seized, occupied and consumed in Western colonial ideology. Jane C. Desmond, a

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4 She uses the term “black” and “white” as binary opposition in colonial and postcolonial discourses, so it could be replaced “brown” or “yellow” in the same analysis of function. “Notions of black seem to reproduce the dichotomy of white/black and refer to an essentialized identity... [while] I attempt to read the discursive nature of blackness which is constructed in order to function as a binary opposite to whiteness... I will attempt to show the links between the body, geography and the enunciative function of blackness” (Mohanram 1999: xiii-xiv).
scholar of American studies, specifically discusses the stereotyped brown female body and American colonial ideology of Hawai‘i.

...the ideal native was “raced” and “gendered” in particular ways: female, not male, and “brown,” not “black,” “yellow,” or “red.” Combined with ideologies of colonialism, these ideas can produce imaginaries that merge the feminine and the exotic... In the first years of the twentieth century, capitalism’s commodification of feminized leisure in the form of tourism unites the “islands” of woman, “exotic primitivism,” and Hawai‘i in this package tour of the natural, held together under the sign of the “hula girl.” This sign simultaneously symbolizes bodily presence (“native,” “woman”) and cultural enactment (Hawaiian-ness), and stands for the “destination image” of Hawai‘i. (1999: 5)

As stated by Mohanram and Desmond, otherness explored through the colonial expansion was often represented by the colored female body, “as matter, as passive, a blank slate, a point of origin.” Through this transformation, it was symbolized and desired as a “destination” to be occupied. Not only this transformation, but also other transformations could occur through a process of essentialization and symbolization. Nostalgia has been explored in various forms including additional connotations since the mid nineteenth century (see Boym 2001 for other examples of nostalgia).

Along with modernity, colonial expansion and essentialization, the connotations associated with nostalgia constantly continued to shift. Various academic studies also appropriate this catchy word to describe different phenomena. In the study of music, scholars use the term in such issues as identity, nationalism and tradition. As follows, I introduce the studies of “music and nostalgia.”
Anthropologist Paul Sant Cassia explores music and nostalgia in his article “Exoticizing Discoveries and Extraordinary Experience: ‘Traditional’ Music, Modernity, and Nostalgia in Malta and Other Mediterranean Societies” (2000). He observes nostalgia as “seductive veracity” in imagining communities. In his article, Cassia discusses Malta and other Mediterranean societies, where tradition is celebrated through the experience of discovery and recovery of the past. “Nostalgia can be seen as a new way of imagining communities... often erosion of memory into (and as) history, helps create frameworks of interpretation (and narration) for sites of memory...” (ibid.: 299). Music is a medium, through which nostalgia aids the recovery of memory. This nostalgia is a yearning for “tradition” and assists the process of imagining societies, “those that cannot anymore control their interpretations of their past...” (ibid.: 299).

Ron Emoff, a scholar of anthropology and ethnomusicology, describes a complex form of nostalgia, interaction and interconnection between the French and Malagasy, in his “Phantom of Nostalgia and Recollecting (from) the Colonial Past in Tamatave, Madagascar” (2002). He discusses that performances of colonial era music in Madagascar invoke an ambivalent nostalgia, which he calls a “phantom nostalgia.” According to Emoff, phantom nostalgia is a perplexed sentiment in-between. He describes how “French members try to recall and reconstruct sentiment for an old era, while they also express in subtle fashion their current feelings for living [inadequately] in a postcolonial place” (281). Concurrently, Malagasy members “perform a complex effusion of sentiment” for the past, while they carry on the dissimulation of French nostalgia and a colonial era model of performance
In this article, Emoff exemplifies such complexity of nostalgia in the postcolonial era.


Anthropologist Christine R. Yano explains, "Enka encodes within nostalgia a historical moment of self-reflexivity, establishing a particular relationship with the temporal past that distances it from, while also placing it firmly in, the present... it is nostalgia compartmentalized, assigned a place, just as 'things Japanese' are kept categorically separate from 'things Western'" (15). This nostalgia is patterned senses of yearning recognized in the "heart/soul of Japanese," which constructs a nationalistic ideology.

Ethnomusicologist Yoko Kurokawa introduces another type of nostalgia invoked by Japanese practicing Hawaiian music and dance in her dissertation "Yearning for a Distant Music: Consumption of Hawaiian Music and Dance in Japan" (2004). She uses a nostalgia model, proposed by a historian Peter Fritzsche, "nostalgia emerges as a result of an abrupt discontinuity of tradition [in a modern condition]... This shared sense of rootlessness, Fritzsche says, gave rise to a strong interest in remediating this 'memory crisis' by acknowledging and valuing things from a traditional past" (401). Interestingly, Kurokawa states this nostalgia for the traditional past is recognized in foreign music and dance, not necessarily in Japanese performing arts. "For them [Japanese practicing Hawaiian music and dance], the 'smell of earth' did not have to be that of Japanese soil... the contemporary Japanese fascination with tradition is intertwined with an ongoing psychology of 'exocentrism'
or ‘ethnoperipherism,’ that is, an admiration of the foreign, and a corresponding
decentering of one’s position in relation to the foreign” (ibid.: 402). Just as
Westerners experienced modernity and discovered authenticity in others, the Japanese
in the 1990s yearn for tradition or the “smell of earth” in Hawaiian music and dance.5

So, what is nostalgia? Is it just a desultory emotion or random affection?
Is nostalgia expanding its senses or meanings aimlessly? Nostalgia may be entropic:
increasing its degrees of uncertainty, disorder and fragmentation. Yet there is still a
shared notion behind it. The concept of nostalgia proposed by Boym explains this
concurrent unity and diversity, simultaneous mutuality and differences.

Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance
with one’s own fantasy. Nostalgic love can only survive in a long-distance
relationship. A cinematic image of nostalgia is a double exposure, or
superimposition of two images – of home and abroad, past and present,
dream and everyday life. The moment we try to force it into a single image,
it breaks the frame or burns the surface. (2001: xiii-xiv)

Nostalgia is paradoxical in the sense that longing can make us more
empathetic toward fellow humans, yet the moment we try to repair longing
with belonging, the apprehension of loss with a rediscovery of identity, we
often part ways and put an end to mutual understanding. Algia – longing – is
what we share, yet, nostos – the return home – is what divides us. (ibid.:
 xv-xvi)6

Nostalgia is an empathetic sense of longing, yet can be evoked for different objects.
This concept of nostalgia deduced from the origin of the word is insightful, but needs

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5 Kurokawa specifies this Japanese nostalgia is of 1990s in her dissertation.
6 The word nostalgia comes from two Greek roots (from nostos – retune home, and al gia – longing), yet
it did not originate in ancient Greece. Nostalgia is only pseudo-Greek, or nostalgically Greek (Boym
2001: 3).
to be further explored to explain the nostalgia of hapa haole music. Boym says "algia" is longing, which is a “strong desire” (Agnes and Guralnik 2002: 846) often evoked by displacement or “sense of loss.” However, I observe a disappearance, or abatement at least, of a “sense of loss” in the nostalgia of hapa haole music. Because of this disappearance or abatement of a sense of loss, I would prefer to use the modest word “sentiment” for the interpretation of algia, instead of longing. Another word nostos may be symbolically “the return home,” however this phrase cannot describe the diversity of nostalgia. In this context, nostos can be considered an object, to which a sentiment is directed. It depends on circumstances what is an object, so it is “in flux,” and constantly moving according to different contexts. To indicate a diversity of nostalgia, I apply the phrase “someone or something” for the word nostos. Boym mentions, “the return home – is what divides us,” but I still observe a shared notion in the nostos. In nostalgia, symbolic home or an object is often far away and unattainable. Considering these notions, I define nostalgia as a “sentiment in flux for someone or something far away.” Nostos provides diversity in a single system of nostalgia, which is united by algia, a sense of sentiment. However this definition of nostalgia is not sufficient to fully describe emotions and thoughts invoked through hapa haole music. Nostalgia of hapa haole music has been intricately interwoven, and shifting “between foreign and local” and “from the past to present.” It is further complicated including various kinds of sentiments for different objects, but they still relate to each other sharing a sense or notion inscribed in this single emotional system.
Shifting Nostalgia "between Foreign and Local" and "from the Past to Present"

Nostalgia expressed and invoked through hapa haole music is diverse and changing its forms according to different contexts. Although nostalgia is a single unity retaining a shared sense of sentiment, it can be directed towards different objects. As stated, I recognize two major kinds of nostalgia in hapa haole music invoked by different agents: foreigners and locals. They can be described as "American nostalgia for a fantasy of Hawai'i" and "nostalgia perceived by the locals for Hawai'i as their home."

Although these two types of nostalgia are directed toward different objects, they are still related to each other as a single unit of emotion. Nostalgia perceived by the local people of Hawai'i retains coherence, yet it is also changing its forms from the past to present. Nostalgia of hapa haole music can shift from one condition to another according to different cultural and historical contexts, thus this genre can appeal to different cultures and generations of people by providing a shared sense of sentiment.

American nostalgia for Hawai'i is a yearning for a fantasy as I described in Chapter 2. Brown (1982), Tatar (1987) and Desmond (1999) already discussed this fantasy. Also, it is not a central interest in this thesis. I briefly describe it below.

The American fantasy of Hawai'i is a far-away gaze yearning for exotic-romantic lands and people. It is related to the longing for authenticity and reality recognized in others as discussed in tourism discourses by MacCannell (1999) and Urry (2002). Desmond particularly discusses tourism and an American notion of Hawai'i as the islands of "ideal natives." She argues that "at the end of the nineteenth-century imperial expansion, 'scientific' discourses of race, and visual representations combined to produce this notion of Native Hawaiians as 'ideal natives' and set the stage for the
rise of tourism to the islands” (Desmond 1999: 4-5). Hapa haole music was a medium to convey this American fantasy and was utilized to promote tourism in Hawai‘i.

Nostalgia perceived by the locals for Hawai‘i as their home takes various forms according to its contexts. It shifts from the past to present sharing a sense of sentiment and transforms as a sentiment for a “past Hawai‘i” in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i. I notice a unique quality in this nostalgia: disappearance or abatement of a “sense of loss.” Because of accessibility to a past and education for the future, the sense of loss is erased, or at least decreased, in the nostalgia of early twenty-first century Hawai‘i. Based on the two case studies, I discuss how nostalgia transforms as a sentiment for a past Hawai‘i with diminution of its sense of loss.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I introduced the events, *Under a Tropic Moon* and *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival*. Through the analyses of these two events, I recognize different presentations of hapa haole music between the two groups: Lewis’s *halau* and the PA‘I Foundation. However, I also notice a shared notion and emotion about hapa haole music between them. Both events provided this genre as important part of Hawaiian cultural tradition embracing a sentimental affection for a past Hawai‘i.

Why does hapa haole music invoke this nostalgia? As previously mentioned, the producers of these two events remember the old days, when this genre was popular and performed by many Hawaiian music practitioners. Takamine’s following statements represents the emotion invoked through hapa haole music.

I’ve danced almost every nightclub and almost every showroom [in Waikīkī] with many major artists, when I grew up... I remember Alfred Apaka, Ed
Kenny, Beverly Noa... Every hotel had a showroom and every hotel had a show... You could come to Waikīkī any night, and find a major show [of hapa haole music]... I miss those days... (transcribed from the first *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival, Waikīkī show*).

My *kumu hula*, Maiki Aiu Lake, was very fond of hapa haole music, so we danced many hapa haole songs when we’re in class, and we did performances... Aunty Maiki danced in a club Pago Pago, which was a showroom. I think Aunty Lena Machado was also there, and she [Maiki] danced in a cellophane skirt, I danced in a cellophane skirt, my mother danced in a cellophane skirt... you know, we all did hapa haole songs, so I always appreciated and enjoyed hapa haole music... in Waikīkī, we all did hapa haole music because of tourism industry, but many of those songs were written by Hawaiians... it was a time period when Hawaiians didn’t speak their language cause the language was taken away [as a result of American occupation of Hawai‘i], but that didn’t stop them from composing and writing [Hawaiian] songs, so the songs they wrote were in English, [but] it still has the same thought of love for the islands and love for the people [as many other Hawaiian songs express]... you know, I feel that is an important aspect of Hawaiian music history and Hawaiian dance history... you can not ignore that period [of Hawaiian hula and music]” (interview March 2006).

Takamine’s experience is not unique. Other informants, who participated in these events, also had similar experiences and remember hapa haole music with fond memories of people and places. Furthermore, they recognize a continuity of Hawaianness from the past to present in hapa haole music (see Chapter 7 for Hawaianness). Those contemporary music practitioners share the senses or notions about this genre and its tradition.

The sentiment described by Takamine is not invoked for a foreign country or exotic Hawai‘i, where the “ideal natives” live in. Hawai‘i is the place, where those
locals live in and spend their ordinary daily lives. However, it can still be romantic – romantic affection for Hawai‘i and its people – and thus, shares a sense with American nostalgia for fantasy. What Takamine stated, “love for the islands and love for the people” pertain to American nostalgia for Hawai‘i, yet the local people of Hawai‘i invoke this love for a home and its past or history, not for a foreign country. Hapa haole music has uniquely appealed to both audiences in the U.S. mainland and Hawai‘i. This genre concurrently expresses “fantasy for the exotic and romantic islands” and “affection invoked by the locals for their home.” It superimposes these two emotions into a single form of nostalgia. I recognize a shift or transformation between these two emotions. They share algia; longing, sentiment or love for the islands and people. However they direct a sentiment for different nostos; one is for Hawai‘i as the other, which provides authenticity and reality for American public, and another is for Hawai‘i as home, where the locals live in and belong to. Sharing a sense of sentiment about Hawai‘i, yet the nostalgia shifts from foreign to local focusing on different objects.

This kind of shift of nostalgia is not only a recent phenomenon of the twenty-first century; it already occurred in the first half of the twentieth century. The song “Waikiki” epitomizes this shifting nostalgia between foreign and local. Andy Cummings wrote the song in 1938 while he was touring in the U.S. mainland as a member of The Paradise Island Revue.

Ironically, the song was written several thousand miles from Waikiki – in unlikely Lansing, Michigan... [While touring Cummings] was homesick. “It was a cold and foggy night in November 1938,” he recalls, “and we were
walking back to our hotel from the theater. I thought of Waikīkī with its rolling surf, warm sunshine, palm trees, and…” (Kanahele 1979b: 409).

He wrote this favorite hapa haole song longing for Waikīkī because of his homesickness. Cummings expresses his nostalgia in the lyrics of the song as follows.

There’s a feeling deep in my heart
Stabbing at me just like a dart
It’s a feeling heavenly

I see mem’ries out of the past
Memories that always will last
Of that place across the sea

Waikiki
At night when the shadows are falling
I hear your rolling surf calling
Calling and calling to me

Waikiki
'Tis for you that my heart is yearning
My thoughts are always returning
Out there to you across the sea

Your tropic nights and your wonderful charms
Are ever in my memory
And I recall when I held in my arms
An angel sweet and heavenly
Waikiki
My whole life is empty without you
I miss that magic about you
Magic beside the sea
Magic of Waikiki
(Cummings 2004)7

Although these lyrics express Cummings's sentimental yearning for his homeland, they are also appropriate to an American longing for exotic-romantic Hawai‘i using phrases such as, “across the sea,” “your tropic night,” “your wonderful charms” and “magic beside the sea.” These lyrics suit the thematic inspirations of hapa haole music perceived by American audiences. They can be explained as follows.

“Hawai‘i, land of aloha, an exotic, romantic paradise with white sandy beaches, lovely hula maidens and coconut palm trees swaying to the rhythmic sounds of the whispering sea… These are the thematic inspirations for Broadway musicals, Hollywood movies, [American] radio and television shows… (Shimomoto 2004a)

By listening the song, a foreigner can invoke a sentiment for an exotic-romantic paradise of Hawai‘i, but this sentiment is different from Cummings’s homesickness. The song is ambiguous, thus it allows a listener to invoke a different sentiment from an original composer’s one. The song’s meaning shifts from one context to another sharing sense of sentiment for something far away.

As observed in “Waikiki,” nostalgia expressed and invoked through hapa haole songs often overlaps, synthesizes and simultaneously exposes desire for

7 The lyrics are from the album The Wandering Troubadours (2004) by courtesy of Cummings family and the Cord International, Inc.
exotic-romantic Hawai‘i and affection for homeland Hawai‘i. “I Will Remember You” written by R. Alex Anderson is another example of such a superimposition of hapa haole music. Anderson wrote this favorite song when recalling his homesickness for his Island home, while he was a student at Cornell University (Ely 2000). As in the case of “Waikiki,” “I Will Remember You” can also express the American nostalgia for Hawai‘i through its lyrics such as, “The summer came we were together. Oh! It was heaven when summer came. Now dear, it’s over and I must leave you. Only in memory we’ll be together…” (see Appendix C for the complete lyrics). Although it was actually written with reminiscence while he was homesick on the U.S. mainland, the song synthesizes or transposes “a displaced sentiment from Hawai‘i” to “a sentiment between separated two lovers,” which often described in the American fantasy of Hawai‘i.  

“I’ll Remember You” written by Kui Lee is a slightly different case. It expresses a sorrow for the impending separation with his family and friends after he was diagnosed with throat cancer. However, it was also used to stimulate American fantasy for Hawai‘i, and furthermore extended to a sentiment of local youths in the 1960s. The television series of Hawaii Calls episode 12 is a good example of how the song appeals American audiences. By providing the story: an encounter of malihini (visitor) with mystery and romance of Hawai‘i, the episode designates a

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8 Anderson was often inspired by American fantasy of Hawai‘i, yet he expresses the fantasy through his Hawaiianness as in “White Ginger Blossoms” (see Chapter I).
9 Don Ho introduces the composition story of “I’ll Remember You” in Catherine Kekoa Enomoto’s article as, “He walked in with a song called, ‘I’ll Remember You.’ I sat up all night (with him) absorbing the essence of what he was writing about. The next day I wrote down the arrangement of the song at the club. That night I said that this was written by a friend of mine. At that time he had cancer in his throat. I sang it with the Ali’is. I’ll never forget that night. At that moment everybody had tears in their eyes. Then I introduced Kui. He came on stage and he sang it. Then, everybody really had tears. The rest is history” (Enomoto 1997).
specific meaning for the song. In this plot, “I’ll Remember You” expresses a sentiment perceived by a visitor for a transient happiness in Hawaiian sojourn. The song could also express another type of nostalgia invoked by local youths of Hawai‘i. The liner notes of the album The Extraordinary Kui Lee (1997) describes, “the lyric story could be happening anywhere, but taken in context ‘I’ll Remember You’ was a perfect reflection of life and young love in Hawaii. How many Waikiki beach boys sang this song to haole co-eds each summer in the Sixties?” In this context, “I’ll Remember You” expresses a sentiment perceived by the locals: nostalgia for a memory of friendship with haole co-eds. Different kinds of sentiment can be imposed on “I’ll Remember You” to express the sorrow for the forthcoming separation from family and friends, romance in a paradise, or memory of friendship with haole co-eds. These three agents experience and share a fragile happiness, however they express their sentiments for different objects. Although it is a tragic love song from the original composer’s viewpoint, the nostalgia invoked through “I’ll Remember You” shifts according to different contexts.

Nostalgia shifts between foreign and local sharing a sense of sentiment, however American nostalgia yearns for a different Hawai‘i from nostalgia invoked by

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10 Malihini means “Stranger, foreigner, newcomer, tourist, guest...” (Pukui Elbert: 233). Edward explains, “malihinis as we call the strangers or newcomers step from their planes or boats expecting to be transported into a world of song and romance...” Ed Kenny is featured as one of malihini in this episode.

11 The story of the episode is as follows. On the screen, three doves appear and change their shapes to three Hawaiian women. Three men (visitors) arrive to the beach canoeing through the ocean, and the women welcome them with a song and smile. They spend time together singing and dancing on the beach and giving leis to each other in a forest valley. However, the happy time or vacation doesn’t last so long; a visitor has to go back his home. A man sings the song “I’ll Remember You” for the memory of happiness and romance experienced in Hawai‘i. A mysterious Hawaiian woman shows up in the ocean. She chants and dances magically. While the three men are attracted to her chanting and dancing, the three women change their forms to three doves again.
the local people of Hawai‘i. Hawai‘i depicted in a hapa haole song can be interpreted as exotic-romantic otherness for American audiences, yet it is not an exotic place to be discovered for those locals, thus a song can have a different meaning for them. Nostalgia shifts according to its contexts, in this single genre of Hawaiian music, between foreign and local sharing a sense of sentiment, but for different objects.

Nostalgia expressed in *Under a Tropic Moon* and *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* is also invoked by the locals, however, here I observe a different kind of shifting nostalgia. It is a shift from the past to present as well as a transformation between foreign and local. In this nostalgia, interestingly, hapa haole music is not only a medium to invoke and convey nostalgia, but also allows people to access a past. This past accessed through hapa haole music may include an imagined past, yet it can be felt or realized, and eventually affects people’s musical activities. The people involved in these two events access to a past Hawai‘i, and cerebrate this genre as part of Hawai‘i’s cultural heritage.

Nostalgia expressed through hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i is neither a longing for an island home while traveling on the U.S. mainland nor a Waikīkī beach boys’ sentimental memory with haole co-eds in the 1960s. It is nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i: a complex form of a past conceptualized through contemporary experiences and memories. However, this nostalgia still retains a shared sense from the past in the present, such as “love for the islands” and “love for

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12 Although I progress my discussion mainly based on song lyrics, the sounds of music can also have different meanings according to contexts. For example, the sounds of ukulele and steel guitar may evoke, for foreigners, exotic feelings about Hawai‘i, but those locals of Hawai‘i traveling abroad may long to go back their home by listening those sounds.
the people" perceived from a local perspective. This shared Hawaiian nostalgia connects a past with the present and further confirms authenticity of hapa haole music.

Most of the favorite hapa haole songs invoke nostalgia with a shared sense of sentiment perceived by the local people. Again, the song "Waikiki" is a good example. When the song was presented in either Under a Tropic Moon or Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival, the composition story of "Waikiki" was often introduced, conflating Cummings’s nostalgic longing for Waikiki with nostalgia for past Hawaii and its people. In this sense, the composition superimposes two notions; the story itself expresses nostalgia for Cummings’s island home, and the presentation of this historical story in the early twenty-first century invokes nostalgia for past cultural activities. Extending a past sentiment to a contemporary emotion, the song strongly appeals to a contemporary audience. Thus, it is recognized as one of Favorite Hapa Haole Songs in Under a Tropic Moon and is the most-often performed song in the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival (see Appendix E).

Other songs are also presented nostalgically conflating a "past emotion" and a "contemporary nostalgia for a past Hawai'i" in these two events. The "Blue Lei" presented by Mahi Beamer and "I'll Remember You" performed by Kira Ka'ilikeanani Lee could be the representative performances of such double exposure of nostalgia.

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13 There are also hapa haole songs, which may not convey a shared sense of sentiment, such as some wacky or Tin Pan Alley songs, because they are often derogatory to Hawai'i and its people. Yet, it still depends on the context. Although these songs are often not favored, some of Hawaiian music authorities still feel that these songs should not be ignored, because they were part of this genre (interviews anonymous March 2006). Both Under a Tropic Moon and Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival still presented funny or wacky songs, but carefully contextualized the songs so as not to derogate Hawai'i and its people.
The audiences could further extend sentiments expressed by the original composers with contemporary sentiments invoked by their descendants’ performances.

Furthermore, these double exposures can be observed in the presentations of performances. For example, a younger singer Paul Shimomoto sings the song “I’ll Remember You” for the hula of legendary Beverly Noa. This presentation can provide an additional connotation for the song; the contemporary and future generations of Hawai‘i will remember hapa haole music and its practitioners.

Through this juxtaposed presentation of a younger and legendary performer, the song can invoke nostalgia for past Hawai‘i and its cultural tradition, which will be preserved and perpetuated for the future. Under a Tropic Moon also provided experiences of the people in past Hawai‘i nostalgically as “our” heritage through its presentations and the speech of the master of ceremonies. The nostalgia expressed through hapa haole music shifts from the past to present overlapping or synchronizing a sentiment of a song with a contemporary emotion. Through such a process, hapa haole music is appreciated in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i.

Hapa haole music is not just a medium to invoke nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i; it also serves to access a past. It is recognized a cultural activity in the past, and thus emotionally allows the people to access a past. This is a sense or feeling expressed among the people involved in the two events, and is described as a “timeless quality” in Under a Tropic Moon. The following statement by the informant involved in the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival represents how a contemporary feels a past through hapa haole music.
The great thing about the Festival... is that it brings the old music back to places where... I mean, brings it home really, like the Monarch Room... I'm still thinking about that night, that first *Hapa Haole [Hula & Music] Festival* in that moment, actually when we were doing sounds check... standing up among Aunty Nina [Keali‘iwahamana], Uncle Gary [Keawe Aiko]... looking out at the water from that stage with those people... I was singing “Waikiki” yeah! You can just feel like that was it... (interview anonymous March 2006)

Being in the Monarch Room with legendary musicians and singing “Waikiki,” he felt a past when the hapa haole music was performed in the Room. Hapa haole music is an “old” genre of Hawaiian music, yet has “timeless quality” for those people, who consider it Hawai‘i’s cultural heritage. Hapa haole songs were actually written in the past, and their song lyrics express sentiments perceived by the people in the old days. However, contemporary Hawaiian dancers and musicians can still feel or recognize a shared sense with the practitioners of this genre in the past. Because of this perceived timeless quality, hapa haole music can mentally act as a medium to access to a past Hawai‘i.

I would like to pose another question here about a “sense of loss” often discussed in the academic discourse of nostalgia. The word “nostalgia” is often replaced with yearning or longing, which includes a connotation of a sense of loss. Boym states, “Nostalgia (from nostos – return home, and algia – longing) is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement...” (2001: XIII). Because of the correlation of nostalgia with a sense of loss, I anticipated that the people currently performing hapa haole music would also express a sense of loss. Surprisingly, none of the informants in this study
stated either a sense of loss about the past or about this genre itself. Rather, they are very positive about preserving this genre and believe the tradition of hapa haole music will continue in the future. Lewis strongly stated, "hapa haole music is part of 'our' culture and tradition, so it will remain in Hawai‘i with no doubt" (interview March 2006). Actually, both Lewis and Takamine recognize that people, especially young people, don’t know hapa haole music and its past practices. Takamine stated,

...in the 1970s, there was a very big renaissance of Hawaiian culture and Hawaiian language, so there was much emphasis on Hawaiian language, and there were many young musicians that didn’t appreciate hapa haole music, and some told me “Oh, we don’t do hapa haole songs,” and I just thought that was very... unfortunate, because many musicians of old time and we all did hapa haole music... (interview March 2006)

It seems that both kumu hula express conflicting ideas or feelings, however they are understandable by considering the resolve, diminution or even erasure of a sense of loss in the nostalgia of hapa haole music. As follows, I propose two interpretations for the resolve of a sense of loss in this nostalgia.

The first interpretation is, as stated, that hapa haole music is a medium to access to a past. As Boym mentiones, nostalgia is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. However, because of accessibility to a past through hapa haole music, a symbolic “home” or past Hawai‘i can emotionally exist, or at least can be felt or realized through performing this music tradition. In this sense, past Hawai‘i and its people are never emotionally far away; the landscape, cultural practices, emotions and thoughts of the past can be recognized through performing this genre in present-day Hawai‘i (see also Chapter 7 for the discussions of Hawaiianness). The
past is still far away in a historical context, however a past can be accessed by
knowing the background stories of compositions, realizing the lyrics of hapa haole
songs and conflating past experiences in a contemporary context. The people
involved in the two events expressed nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i through hapa haole
music, because it is historically far away. However, they do not feel a sense of loss
because a past is emotionally available, because of the perceived timeless quality of
this genre with a shared sense of sentiment for Hawai‘i’s lands and people.

The second interpretation I suggest is about the future. It is about the belief
in future generations, and the vital role of education plays in solidifying and realizing a
projected future. As I mentioned in previous chapters, the education about hapa haole
music is one of the main purposes for the two events. Lewis’s halau conducted
research on this genre and reflected it in the presentation. The PA‘I Foundation
aimed to enrich a mutual understanding of hapa haole music through the event, and
featured legendary performers to show what is excellence of this genre. Although
using different methodologies, both Lewis and Takamine intended education as a
major goal. In this sense, they are projecting a future of hapa haole music. They
expect or believe that future generations will surely perform and preserve hapa haole
music, and this belief is further ensured through the education. Keiki performing hula
in these events represents this sense about future. Just as those kumu hula learned
hapa haole music in their days of youth, the present-day younger generations
experienced this cultural tradition through the events. This is a sentiment for an
idealized future still far away, not yet obtainable but strived to be fulfilled through
educating younger generations. Because of this projected future, a sense of loss can be lessened or even erased, because the hope will be granted someday.14

Summary

Nostalgia takes various forms sharing a sense of sentiment for someone or something far away. Especially after the advent of modernity following colonial expansion, people have projected nostalgia upon variety objects: exotic-romantic lands and people, colored skinned females and past cultural activities. Even in a single genre of Hawaiian music, nostalgia appears in different forms according to its context. However, these varieties of nostalgia imposed on hapa haole music still share a sense of sentiment, such as love for the islands and people of Hawai‘i. Nostalgia can shift “between foreign and local” and “from the past to present” along a continuum with different contexts in this single genre. Interestingly, a sense of loss, which is often recognized in nostalgia, is diminished or erased in the nostalgia of hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i. Because of its perceived timeless quality, a past Hawai‘i is recognized as accessible, and this cultural heritage is believed to be preserved and perpetuated for future generations through education.

The timeless quality of hapa haole music can be considered to be part of Hawaiiaanness, which is a perpetual Hawaiian quality, a sense and value delivered from the past. As well as the memory of past hapa haole music, its activities and practitioners, this Hawaiiaanness takes an important role for the nostalgia in the early twenty-first century. Interestingly, the hula practitioners produced the prominent

14 If nostalgia is a sentiment for someone or something far away, this sense of projected future is nostalgic; it can be called “nostalgia for the future.”
hapa haole music events in present-day Hawai‘i, not musicians or music promoters. Those hula practitioners realize and recognize the Hawaiinanness of hapa haole songs through their bodies dancing hula, and further confirm authenticity of this genre as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition. In Chapter 7, I explore the Hawaiinanness of hapa haole music through two kumu hula Noenoe Zuttermeister Lewis and Vicky Holt Takamine.
CHAPTER 7
HAWAIIANNESS OF HAPA HAOLE MUSIC

In the course of this study, I am often faced with the question, “what is Hawaiianness?” Although the foregoing descriptions and presentations of hapa haole music are very illuminating, Hawaiianness is still elusive for me. They exemplifies Hawaiianness in various ways; sometimes it appears in Hawaiian musical practices, sometimes it is conveyed through song lyrics and sometimes it can be observed in a composer’s identity. All of these aspects show Hawaiianness, yet they express it in different forms.

In this chapter, I analyze Hawaiianness of hapa haole music drawing its characteristics and forms from literature, which suggests that hapa haole music expresses Hawaiianness in two major forms: musical practices and poetic expressions. Hapa haole music expresses its Hawaiianness through the composers who handle Hawaiian musical idioms and through the performers who exercise Hawaiian musical practices. Hawaiianness is also observed in poetic expressions of song lyrics, which are aesthetics or sensibilities shared among the local people and often related to a composer’s experience and identity. As discussed, the lyrics of hapa haole songs can be interpreted in various ways, shifting in-between different agents and contexts. However, Hawaiian music practitioners tend to recognize them from a local point of view, which often articulated through a songwriter’s musical identity constructed through substantial experience of the lands and people of Hawai‘i.
Then, I examine how the hula practitioners realize the Hawaiianness of hapa haole music drawing upon the two kumu hula, Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis and Vicky Holt Takamine. Hula dancers embody the lyrics of Hawaiian songs through their bodies. In this sense, they approach the Hawaiianness expressed in song lyrics through hula movements. By incorporating lyrical expressions into hula movements and evaluating Hawaiian aesthetics and sensibilities with their bodies choreographed to dance Hawaiian art, these hula practitioners recognize Hawaiianness, assure authenticity and express nostalgia for Hawai‘i, for its culture and tradition.

**Hawaiianness in Two Forms: Musical Practices and Poetic Expressions**

Linguistically, the word “Hawaiianness” is a coined word from “Hawaiian” and a suffix “-ness.” The word “Hawaiian” can be further divided into “Hawai‘i” and a suffix “-an,” and means “belonging to” or “born in or living in” Hawai‘i (Agnes and Guralnik 2002: 49). The suffix “ness” means “state, quality, or instance of being” (ibid.: 967). To summarize, Hawaiianness is, “state, quality or instance of being Hawaiian or belonging to Hawai‘i.” Deducing from these linguistic definitions, Hawaiianness of hapa haole music can be conceived as, “the quality of hapa haole music, which makes this genre part of Hawai‘i.”

This linguistic definition is fairly simple and may not be sufficient to cover all aspects of Hawaiianness, yet Hawaiian music critics often suggest Hawaiianness of hapa haole music as a state, quality or instance of being Hawaiian or belonging to Hawai‘i. As follows, I examine the Hawaiianness of hapa haole music, its musical practices and poetic expressions respectively.
The musical practices often signify hapa haole music belonging to Hawai‘i. Kanahele recognizes that the musical practices, particularly the execution of vocal ornaments and the voice qualities unique to Hawai‘i, establish the Hawaiianess of hapa haole music (1979b: 107, see also Chapter 2). In addition, I recognize Hawaiian musical practices in the ukulele or guitar strumming, style of vocal harmonization, preference for the medley form, and the use of syncopated rhythms and triplets. For example, many contestants of the *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* presented their song selections in medley form, and all the recordings, which I transcribed for analyses, reveal that the singers sing some phrases in syncopated rhythms and triplets, although they are not so indicated in the original music scores (see Appendix F).

Musical practices relate to the body. The body and its movements, often after intensive and repetitive practice and training, produce sounds of music, either instrumental or vocal music, with the exception of some electronic music. Not only in musical practices, the body and its practices often take a significant role in cultural practices, and yet, are often neglected in academic discourse. Recently, the study of the body and its practices are explored in Dance Studies as a substance, in which

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1 A Hawaiian music authority I interviewed considers that these practices are not necessarily in Hawaiian music, but acquired through imitations of musical recordings (interview anonymous March 2006). Another authority states that, in case of “I’ll Remember You,” singing some phrases in triplets are the style introduced by the original composer, Kui Lee (email communication anonymous October 2006). In either case, singing some phrases in triplets or syncopated rhythms are recognized not as a general practice observed in Hawaiian music, yet a style transmitted among some Hawaiian singers. The analyses through descriptive transcriptions as in Appendix F should be further explored to facilitate a better understanding of these practices in Hawaiian music.

2 Because the body and its practices are difficult to describe in academic writing, they are often marginalized in academic discourses. Foster states, “How to write a history of this bodily writing, this body we can only know through its writing. How to discover what it has done and then describe its actions in words. Impossible. Too wild, too chaotic, too insignificant. Vanished, disappeared, evaporated into thinnest air, the body’s habits and idiosyncrasies, even the practices that codify and regiment it, leave only the most disparate residual traces. And any residue left behind rests in fragmented forms within adjacent discursive domains” (1995: 4).
history and culture are written or choreographed. Susan Leigh Foster, a scholar of Dance Studies, states,

A body, whether sitting writing or standing thinking or walking talking or running screaming, is a bodily writing. Its habits and stances, gestures and demonstrations, every action of its various regions, areas, and parts - all these emerge out of cultural practices, verbal or not, that construct corporeal meaning. (1995: 3)

According to Foster, a body and its practices manifest historical and cultural activities. She considers each body to be unique, individual and changing every day, yet it retains some continuity or coherent meaning granted from the past and a place. Sociologist Paul Connerton also explains body and its habits as follows.

Our bodies, which in commemorations stylistically re-enact an image of the past, keep the past also in an entirely effective form in their continuing ability to perform certain skilled actions... Many forms of habitual skilled remembering illustrate a keeping of the past in mind that, without ever adverting to its historical origin, nevertheless re-enacts the past in our present conduct. In habitual memory the pasts, as it were, sedimented in the body. (1989: 72)

the body is seen to be socially constituted in the sense that it is constructed as an object of knowledge or discourse; but the body is not seen equally clearly to be socially constituted in the sense that it is culturally shaped in its actual practices and behaviour. Practices and behaviour are constantly being assimilated to a cognitive model. (ibid.: 104)

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3 She calls this continuity or coherent meaning observed in the body as a skeleton of movements' meaning (ibid.: 3-21).
Both Foster and Connerton recognize that the body retains memory from the past, and the culturally shaped practices are inscribed into the body. The body is also socially constructed as an object of knowledge from the past; in other words, the body retains tradition assimilated from the past as a form of cultural practices (see further discussions in Foster 1995 and Connerton 1989, Pierre Bourdieu 1977 also explores body and its practices).

The concepts of the body and its practices proposed by Foster and Connerton are insightful and significant in considering the Hawaianness inscribed in the musical practices of hapa haole music. Although it is hard to prove how musical practices of Hawai‘i are transmitted, historically and culturally, into hapa haole music, these concepts of the body and its practices can provide an explanation of what Kanahele recognizes; hapa haole music retains traditional musical characteristics of Hawai‘i. The body and its practices can also suggest an interpretation of what Webley Edwards insists; to qualify as true Hawaiian music, Hawaiian songs must be played or sung by Hawaiians (see Chapter 2). This statement includes an ethnic bias stating that only Hawaiians can perform “real” or “authentic” Hawaiian music. However, it is meaningful to evaluate this statement from Edwards’s point of view to understand why he thinks this way. Edwards realized a set of distinct practices among Hawaiian musicians, which U.S. mainland music performers often did not have. In the cases of Kanahele and Edwards, they perceived culturally and historically shaped musical

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4 And I think that the people, who do not have Hawaiian ancestry or who do not live in Hawai‘i, can perform Hawaiian music expressing Hawaianness, if they learn and retain culturally and historically transmitted Hawaiian musical practices. Yet, the people who live in Hawai‘i and are involved with Hawaiian communities will have more opportunities to access and learn the Hawaiian musical practices than those who do not.
practices among local musicians, which define hapa haole music as a Hawaiian performing art.

The poetic expressions of Hawaianness are about aesthetics and sensibilities often expressed through the lyrics of hapa haole songs. These Hawaiian aesthetics and sensibilities are also deduced from composers' musical identity, often described as "keiki o ka 'aina" or "child of the land" of Hawai'i. Born in" or "living in" Hawai'i, as described in the suffix "-an," those hapa haole song composers acquired Hawaiian aesthetics and sensibilities, and expressed them through their compositions. For example, song lyrics of R. Alex Anderson often deal with his birthplace and home, and tell stories of the lands and people of Hawai'i from a local perspective (see also Chapter 1).

Although written in English, Anderson's songs are thematically Hawaiian, such as this one [one of his compositions, "Haoole Hula"] in which he shares with you the beauty of the islands through sight, sound and motion. 'Alekoki, Penei no and Lili'u e are titles of popular songs, the strains of which would haunt anyone who loved the islands. (Wilcox 2003: 44, see Appendix C for the lyrics)

Other favorite hapa haole songs, such as "Waikiki," "Lovely Hula Girl," "Mapuana" and "Lehuanani" introduced in Under a Tropic Moon, have the same quality in their lyrics. These lyrics tell about flowers, scenery and hula motions with sentiment perceived from a local perspective (see Appendix C for the lyrics). Kahauanu Lake brings these insights on poetic expressions in Berger's article:

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5 The phrase is sometimes used to describe the identity of hapa haole songwriters, such as Kui Lee (Kanahele 1989b: 223) and Randy Oness (Todaro 1974b: 279).
People say, “I want to express my Hawaiianess but I don’t know the language.” Do it in English. Hawaiians speak English too. People say, “But it’s not the real Hawaiian.” Isn’t it? How many Hawaiians speak only Hawaiian every day? It’s not that I’m not for people who are purists, the (Hawaiian) language is beautiful, but is a song less beautiful if it is written in English and the *kaona* (hidden meaning) and the *mana‘o* (thought) is there? If you can do both that’s the best of both worlds, but a Hawaiian song can have English lyrics as long as you incorporate the Hawaiianess in it and the story line in it. (1997)

Even though they are written in English, hapa haole songs can express Hawaiianess through the composers’ musical identity and their poetic expressions. As Lake suggests, hapa haole song composers often wrote their songs with the *kaona* and *mana‘o* often inscribed in Hawaiian song lyrics.6

I approached the Hawaiianess of hapa haole music by deducing its characteristics and forms in musical practices and poetic expressions. The musical practices are culturally and historically shaped through the body and its movements, which make the sounds of music Hawaiian. By applying the concepts of the body and its practices, I offered explanations of what Kanahele and Edwards perceived in practices of local musicians. The poetic expressions reveal Hawaiian aesthetics and sensibilities often shared among the local people of Hawai‘i. They are culturally shaped notions about scenery, customs, beauty and feelings of Hawai‘i perceived from a local perspective. Hapa haole music can be recognized as part of Hawaiian music tradition through these two forms of Hawaiianess, which also affirm authenticity of this genre. They can also be a vital source of nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i as analyzed

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6 It should be noted that the lyrics of hapa haole songs could also invoke nostalgia for American fantasy of Hawai‘i (see Chapter 6). In this sense, these lyrics have dual meaning or *kaona*, characteristics of Hawaiian poetic expressions.
in Chapter 6. Interestingly, hula practitioners combine these two forms of Hawaiinness, though what they conduct is hula practices, not musical practices. Hula practitioners realize poetic expressions of hapa haole music through their body movements, and embody sensibilities and aesthetics of hapa haole songs through hula. In the following section, I explore how hula practitioners perceive Hawaiinness through their bodily practices.

Hula Is the Art of Hawaiian Dance Expressing All We See, Hear, Smell, Taste, Touch and Feel

The two kumu hula, Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis and Vicky Holt Takamine, suggest that they perceive poetic expressions of Hawaiian songs through hula: its practices and movements. The close relationship between texts and hula is indicated as follows.

[Lewis:] Students don’t have to be fluent in Hawaiian [language], but they need to know the precise meaning of every Hawaiian word they chant or dance to, because the dance [hula] illustrates the chant. (Hall 1995)

[Takamine:] You can learn those forms [of dance such as modern dance or European ballet] without an understanding of language. But in hula there is no movement without a text, a Hawaiian text. You chant. You dance. But you must know what you are dancing about and that means a knowledge of the Hawaiian language. (Hall 1996)

Although these statements focus on the relation between the texts with Hawaiian language and hula, the same concept can be applied to the relationship between

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7 This inspirational phrase is Maiki Aiu Lake's definition of hula (Ariyoshi 1998: 75).
Hawaiian songs written in English texts and hula ‘auana (contemporary style of hula). The movements of hapa haole hula are also based on the lyrics. Even if they are written in English, the texts of song lyrics confer a meaning of hula, and for hapa haole hula, there would be no movement without the lyrics.

Hula can only be applied to a song that conveys stories through Hawaianness, suggested by Lewis and Takamine. Lewis declared that she wonders how some people dance hula to Christmas Carols in churches, because the lyrics do not describe places and experiences of Hawai‘i. She stated, “How do you describe snow falling in a cold winter with hula movements?” (interview March 2006). Takamine, as a hula practitioner, describes the difference between Hawaiian hapa haole songs and American Tin Pan Alley songs.

I found some of the Tin Pan Alley songs are sometimes a little bit too wicky wacky, and the lyrics are not [telling about Hawai‘i]... because many of the song composers had never visited Hawai‘i, they didn’t know anything about Hawai‘i, and they were [often] just writing silly songs... they don’t have really a good sense of Hawai‘i... [They were] different from Hawaiians, [who wrote hapa haole songs] and [different from] the people who came to Hawai‘i and wrote [hapa haole] songs [such as Harry Owens, Don McDiarmid, Sr. and Jack Pitman]. They CAME here; they were swimming in the ocean, saw the moon light under a palm tree, experienced hula and had interactions with the local people... But the song composers from Tin Pan Alley had no experience... their view of Hawai‘i is like a Mickey Mouse cartoon idea of Hawai‘i... there is no foundation in having any experience [in Hawai‘i]... So, it’s hard for us [hula practitioners] to dance to that, because there is no connection... what is wicky and wacky? I don’t know what they are thinking about... To me it [hula] is culturally based [art of Hawai‘i]... Aunty Maiki said hula is the [Hawaiian] art of expressing everything you hear, you see, you smell, you taste, you touch, you feel... so
they [American Tin Pan Ally songwriters] never experienced that [Hawai'i as locals do]... As dancers for hula... we look at the texts and we have to dance with the feelings [of the texts]... I see the flower, I know that person, I can feel love, I can feel the wind, I see that moon [described in the lyrics of Hawaiian songs]... Even in hapa haole songs for comic hula [such as “When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop” and “Red Opu”], they [the lyrics of those songs] are all [telling] local experience; these are writing about experience the people see, so I know what they are talking about. (interview March 2006)

For Takamine, hula is the culturally based Hawaiian art of telling stories according to the lyrics of Hawaiian songs. If the song lyrics do not have any connection to a local experience of Hawai'i, the practitioners hardly consider them hula. Hula, as the Hawaiian art form, can fully describe or embody song lyrics with the Hawaiian poetic expressions.

Kumu Hula Maiki Aiu Lake's observation that “Hula is the art of Hawaiian dance expressing all we see, hear, smell, taste, touch and feel” is very insightful recognizing hula as a culturally formed Hawaiian art. To further explore Lake's statement on hula, the concept of the body and its practices proposed by Foster and Connerton are useful. Deirdre Sklar, a scholar of Dance Studies, also states, “All movement must be considered as an embodiment of cultural knowledge... The concrete and sensory, in other words bodily, aspects of social life provide the glue that holds world views and cosmologies, values and political convictions, together” (italics in the original copy, 2001: 30-31). The movements and practices are culturally shaped and historically inscribed into the body. I consider hula to be an intensive form of cultural practice, which embodies Hawaiian “world views and cosmologies.”
It is the art that retains the experience and knowledge of the past, of the lands and people of Hawai‘i, and the medium to express Hawaiian sensibilities and aesthetics in the form of dance. Ariyoshi quotes Kumu Hula Maiki Aiu Lake,

Hawai‘i is hula and hula is Hawai‘i. This is as true today as it was hundreds of years ago. The history, the culture, biographies of the people, descriptions of the islands, chronicles of events, messages of love and thanks – or scoldings – all this and more is told in the hula that were danced long ago and that are danced today. (Ariyoshi 1998: 75)

In this instance, Hawaiinanness of hapa haole songs can be manifested through hula: the reflective art of Hawai‘i. The hula practitioners perceive Hawaiinanness of hapa haole music by performing this reflective art, and embody its sensibilities and aesthetics through their movements. Recognizing and expressing Hawaiinanness, the hula practitioners affirm authenticity of hapa haole music and celebrate it in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i.

Summary

Hapa haole music is an art belongs to Hawai‘i and retains Hawaiinanness in its sounds and lyrics. The sounds of hapa haole music express Hawaiinanness derived through culturally and historically shaped bodily practices of Hawai‘i. The lyrics of hapa haole songs tell stories through Hawaiian aesthetics and sensibilities often delivered from composers’ musical identity. The hula practitioners, who perform hapa haole songs, recognize Hawaiinanness by combining their bodily practices and poetic expressions of songs. They perceive and express Hawaiinanness through hula. It is
not a coincidence that Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis and Vicky Holt Takamine produced the two prominent hapa haole music events, and embodied this cultural heritage in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i. As hula practitioners, they realized the Hawaiianness of hapa haole music embracing nostalgia for past cultural activities. Hapa haole music is still authentic because of the Hawaiianness perceived in this genre. Lewis and Takamine defended hapa haole music as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition in these extended activities of the Hawaiian Renaissance.

I discussed nostalgia invoked through and Hawaiianness recognized in hapa haole music in Chapters 6 and 7. These discussions are mostly based on the emotions and thoughts of the people, who actually experienced hapa haole music in the 60s and 70s. The two events also included younger dancers and musicians, who never experienced the popularity of this genre. Those younger practitioners still express nostalgia for past Hawai‘i and its tradition, and recognize Hawaiianness in hapa haole music. Yet, their interpretations and practices of this genre are different from the older generations. In the next chapter, I focus on a younger singer Paul Shimomoto and study his contemporary experiences and practices performing hapa haole music.
CHAPTER 8

PERFORMING HAPA HAOLE MUSIC
IN EARLY TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY HAWAI‘I

Embracing a sentiment for a past Hawai‘i, Under a Tropic Moon and Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival presented hapa haole music. Hawaiianness found in this genre further invokes nostalgia and confirms its authenticity as part of Hawaiian cultural tradition. These two events also provided contemporaries the opportunities to experience this tradition. Although emotion and performance are sifting, contemporary music practitioners still feel a sentiment inscribed in hapa haole music and perform it with Hawaiian music practices.

In this chapter, I present a case study of performing hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i: changing emotion and performance of a younger singer Paul Shimomoto. Shimomoto was the Hapa Haole Solo Vocal winner of the first Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival in 2003, and has also appeared in the subsequent Festivals. As the winner of the vocal competition, he released the album Magic Beside the Sea (2004). Following this recording, he had opportunities to perform with and to receive advice from senior musicians. Through these experiences, Shimomoto has changed his attitude and way of presenting hapa haole music. Based on the information collected from interviews and transcriptions, I describe how a contemporary artist has experienced and performed hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i.
Paul Shimomoto: His Musical Experience through the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival

Paul Shimomoto is an attorney with the Honolulu law firm of Char, Hamilton, Campbell & Thom. While pursuing a law career, he also performs Hawaiian music as a vocalist and bassist. Shimomoto was born in 1967 and raised in Honolulu, yet he did not experience Hawaiian music intensely until his return to Hawai‘i after graduation from the Creighton University School of Law in Omaha, Nebraska in 1993. Shimomoto mentioned that Hawaiian music was always part of his environment, but he didn’t pay attention to it and probably gave less attention to hapa haole music than any other genre of Hawaiian music. Rather, he loved, and still loves American singers such as Frank Sinatra, Nat King Cole and Bing Crosby. His early musical experience was in Western music such as a member of a choir and of an a cappella group. Shimomoto’s website introduces his early musical experience as follows.

Paul Shimomoto’s first exposure to singing and performing came in the 4th grade as a member of Honolulu’s ‘Iolani School choir. From 1986 to 1993 he was the lead singer in a cappella groups during high school (including a stint as first tenor of the quartet “Streetside,” runner-up in the 1986 Hawaii Brown Bags to Stardom contest) college and law school. In 1997 Paul joined the local production of the off-Broadway musical “Forever Plaid,” recreating the role of Sparky. (Shimomoto 2004b)

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1 His album Magic Beside the Sea introduces, “In Hawai‘i, hapa haole is also a term used to describe people of mixed ancestry. When asked about his ethnic background Paul declared: ‘Here they are in all their glory: Japanese, Chinese, Italian, Hawaiian, Portuguese and German’” (Shimomoto 2004a).
Shimomoto became actively involved in Hawaiian music after meeting Kumu Hula Vicky Holt Takamine through his wife Keri, who was a student of Takamine’s Hawaiian hula and chant class at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, and is currently a member of Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima. In 1997, he became the lead vocalist of ‘Aoa, a Hawaiian music group associated the Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima. Subsequently, he began to learn and perform hapa haole music as well as other types of Hawaiian music.

Shimomoto explored hapa haole music by participating in the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival. Upon registration for the competition of the first Festival, Shimomoto conducted research on his musical selection “Waikiki.” He consulted literature and musical recordings for a better understanding of the song and to improve his musical expression. However, Shimomoto could not find a music score of “Waikiki” (interview March 2006). So, he learned the music by listening to recordings and observing performances of other musicians. In the competition, Shimomoto sang “Waikiki” basically following the original melody of the song, yet modified it with some ornamentation and added refrains at the end of the song. He was rather neutral at this point in his own musical expression.

As the winner of Hapa Haole Solo Vocal competition, he released Magic Beside the Sea. The album mostly consists of hapa haole songs including the Maui Medley: “I’m Going to Maui [Tomorrow]”/“Maui Girl,” “Hawaiian Hospitality,” “Honolulu City Lights,” “Beyond the Reef,” “My Honolulu Hula Girl,” “I’ll

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2 I found the music score of “Waikiki,” which is part of the cover design of Cummings’s album published in 2004. It was not available when Shimomoto conducted research for the 2003 Festival.

3 As a tenor singer educated in a choir, he tends to modify melodic lines of cadences: ascending melodic lines to descending (see Appendix F, “I’ll Remember You” from Magic Beside the Sea, measures 6-7, 16-18, 21-22; “Waikiki” from the first Festival, measures 16-17, 36 and from Magic Beside the Sea, measures 8-9, 40).

When I think of Hapa Haole music, I tend to very much think in the past tense, but every once in a while I hear a release that proves this genre is still alive and well in Hawai‘i, and worthy of more recognition that it usually gets. Paul Shimomoto reminds us all of that fact on this outstanding release. His vocals are silky smooth, and the arrangements and accompaniment suit his voice perfectly. (Donaghy 2004)

The resulting CD [of the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival] has higher production values than those found in many win “a record deal” projects and is a first-rate introduction to a talented vocalist. The arrangements are contemporary in style and most are reminiscent of the Brothers Cazimeros’ approach to Territorial Era classics... this is overall a fine salute to Hawaii’s hapa-haole musical heritage. (Berger 2004c)

According to these critics, Magic Beside the Sea invokes a memory of the hapa haole music era through an expression of a contemporary Hawaiian singer. In this sense, the album is successful by expressing nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i,

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4 According to Shimomoto, the song was popular in the U.S. mainland in the 70s and 80s, so younger generations in the U.S. mainland know the song better than most of hapa haole songs (interview March 2006).
This album is a good example of hapa haole music performed by a contemporary singer. As stated by Berger, the songs are arranged in a contemporary style, and Shimomoto modified melodies of the songs to appeal to contemporary audiences (see Appendix F, "I’ll Remember You" from *Magic Beside the Sea*, measures 6-7, 16-18, 21-22, 55-58, 62-65, and “Waikiki” from *Magic Beside the Sea*, measures 8-10, 15-18, 27-28, 42). However, some music authorities commented that Shimomoto changed the original melodies of the songs to a considerable degree. One of the judges at the Festival expressed her reservation that young people would consider the melody as sung by Shimomoto as the original (interview anonymous March 2006). Shimomoto stated,

This [album] is real contemporary, yeah... This is largely influenced by the people I worked with on the project [such as the producer and supporting musicians]... From a recording producer’s standpoint, it appeals for both local and [the U.S.] mainland audiences... It couldn’t be so traditional, has to be contemporary. (interview March 2006)

At the suggestion of the producer and with the support of the musicians, he made this album sound contemporary to increase its marketability. Shimomoto stated that he hummed the songs repeatedly, and modified or created his own melodies of the songs, which the producers and musicians approved of (interview March 2006). As a result, *Magic Beside the Sea* presented hapa haole songs in his own contemporary idiom, which some authorities questioned.

Following this recording, Shimomoto received valuable opportunities to perform and communicate with such performers as Nina Keali‘iwahamana, Mahi
Beamer, Gary Keawe Aiko and Marlene Sai. Through this experience, Shimomoto re-considered the heritage of hapa haole music and modified his musical expression.

...older generation knows the [old] songs, because they grow up with them... When I sat down with my grandmother, and I played some old songs with her, she sang the songs completely differently from the way I knew them, you know... Because that’s how she remembers the melody... She told me “that’s not how the song goes!” (Laugh). I would like to perpetuate the old way... to bring old style back, and recapture the vintage sounds... If I’ll fortunately have another CD... I won’t do it the same way [as I did in Magic Beside the Seal]... It’ll be much more in line with the older style... I’ll try to get as close to the original as possible. (interview Shimomoto March 2006)

Shimomoto’s acquaintance with Nina Keali‘iwahamana was an especially important experience and a turning point for his musical style. Keali‘iwahamana advised him to respect the original composer and to perform the song as it was intended.

Keali‘iwahamana said,

I don’t mind [if younger musicians perform a hapa haole song as their own contemporary way] as long as they honor a composer by doing it at least once the way the composer intended it to be, musically and lyrically, then when they do it again, they can do anything they want... [When I sang a hapa haole song,] I didn’t change the lyrics and I didn’t change the melody. I want to keep it pure, I prefer... That’s what I mean honor a composer... (Do you have any message for younger musicians?) Honor the composer! If you don’t know the song, if the music and lyrics are questionable, go to the source. Go to the composers if they are still alive, or if it’s in a book form [refer to it]. Do your homework! Learn it as the composer intended... and [then] put your own feelings into it, of course... (Did you tell Shimomoto this?) Yes, very often (laughs). (interview March 2006)
Keali‘iwahamana recognizes that each singer has a different voice and way of expression, so s/he can modify a song slightly to suit her/his individual style. However, before putting her/his individuality and emotion into the performance, each singer should know what a composer intended and respect that intention. Following the advice, Shimomoto sang “Waikiki” and “I’ll Remember You” differently in the following Festivals from his recorded version. He did not elaborate on the melodies as he did in the album and mostly followed the original melody of the songs (see Appendix F, “I’ll Remember You” from the 2nd Festival, measures 16-17, 21-22, 52-54, 61-63, and “Waikiki” from the 4th Festival, measures 27-28, 42, 59-61).

The interaction between experienced and younger practitioners is one of the intents of the Festival. It aimed to educate younger generations by showing the excellence of na hulu mamo performers and by providing chances to communicate with those knowledgeable dancers and musicians. Vicky Holt Takamine stated,

Paul [Shimomoto] never knew Nina [Keali‘iwahamana before he participated in the Festival]... She [Keali‘iwahamana] said, “Okay, I can help you [Shimomoto]. You can be creative, but this is how it was written...” She knows music of that time and is an excellent resource [of hapa haole music]... He [Shimomoto] learned from her through talking and talking... Introducing the young musicians to the masters [is one of the purposes of the Festival], so he was very excited because of Nina and Mahi [and other excellent hapa haole music practitioners]... He got to sing with them... They would never have had this experience; they would never had performed together... So, that kind of bringing together this [knowledgeable] generation and this [younger] generation [is an important educational aspect of the Festival]. (interview March 2006)
I also observed such an interaction between experienced and younger performers in a rehearsal for the Waikīkī show of the fourth Festival. The musicians at the rehearsal included nā hulu mamo performers: Nina Keali‘iwahamana, Mahi Beamer, Gary Keawe Aiko and Marlene Sai; and younger performers: Paul Shimomoto and Mahela Ichinose. Vicky Holt Takamine and her hālau members were present as dancers. Keali‘iwahamana facilitated the musical parts and Takamine directed the dancers for the performance. They collaboratively and interactively shared the ideas for interpretations of the music and hula. If they faced some difficulties, they exchanged experience and knowledge with each other until they agreed on the best performance version. Keali‘iwahamana also guided Shimomoto and Ichinose in the singing style of hapa haole songs, such as how to cue other performers when a song to slow down or to finish a song, by demonstrating along with Aiko and Beamer. I feel that this experience must have been educational for all of them and the younger performers especially seemed to have deepened their understanding of hapa haole music through the rehearsal. The Festival made the people bring together to perform and consult about this genre (see also Chapter 5).

While interacting with experienced practitioners, Shimomoto gained a respect for heritage of hapa haole music. As suggested by Keali‘iwahamana and other senior music practitioners, he began to follow the original melodies instead of creating his own modified and elaborated melodies. However, he also recognizes that he does not have equal experience with the composers of hapa haole songs and with those older performers. He identifies himself as a contemporary singer performing hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai‘i. Although Shimomoto
respects the history and cultural tradition of hapa haole music, he still tries to find his own way to express hapa haole music as a contemporary singer.

(How do you perform hapa haole songs such as “Waikiki”?) I think that [it is important] knowing the background of the song... [In case of “Waikiki”] you know why Andy Cummings wrote it; where he was, when he wrote it... Every time I sing a song, I try to think about what was the composer’s thinking about, when they wrote the song, and what emotion they tried to convey, what were the feelings they were going through at that time when they wrote it... [But] you know, you can never totally replicate that because you weren’t there, and you are not [that person]... [Thus] every performer has a different idea [of a song]. If you can blend two [old and contemporary] styles, if you can create an arrangement that accommodates that [old] style, but yet contemporary enough... (interview Shimomoto March 2006)

Knowing or tracing background of a song, Shimomoto tries to convey its emotion. Yet, he also recognizes that he cannot reproduce perfectly an old song, emotionally and musically. As a contemporary singer, he still presents a song with his own interpretation (see Appendix F, “I’ll Remember You” from the 2nd Festival, measures 6-7, 37-38, and “Waikiki” from the 4th Festival, measures 8-10, 16-18; in these musical motives, his own musical expression is observed). This poses a dilemma for a contemporary musician. As stated by Shimomoto, a contemporary performer has different experiences from hapa haole songwriters and older music practitioners. Although s/he may share some senses and emotions with the composers and past practitioners, each contemporary performer also has her/his own individuality and identity. Through the Festival, Paul Shimomoto has learned how to interpret hapa haole songs according to composers’ intention. Yet, as a contemporary singer, he is
still seeking to express himself: how to put his own feelings into a song as suggested by Keali'iwiwahamana.

**Summary**

My transcriptions reveal that none of the singers follow the notated scores of “I’ll Remember You” and “Waikiki” (see Appendix F). Even the songwriters, Kui Lee and Andy Cummings respectively, perform their compositions differently from the written scores. Each singer shows her/his own expression by modifying tempos, rhythms and motives of the songs. For example, Keali'iwiwahamana sings these two songs in the recordings basically following the original melodies, yet with slightly syncopated rhythms. Don Ho sings these songs in relatively slower tempos in the recordings and further syncopates and segments rhythms, which is appropriate for his crooning style. However, in these recordings, the singers mentioned above sing the original lyrics, and mostly follow the basic melodic lines as indicated in the music scores. Following the original lyrics and melodies, these singers still express their musical individualities with syncopated rhythms and variant motives of the original melodies.

Performance of hapa haole music is shifting along with the changes of Hawaiian music trends and musicians’ individualities, however some musical practices remain through experience with and education by older generations. In the case of Shimomoto, at the suggestion of experienced practitioners, he realized the importance of following original lyrics and melodies, portraying the emotions expressed in the original songs. At the same time, he still retains his individuality and expression as a
contemporary singer. Performance of hapa haole music is dynamic and shifts with cultural, social and individual contexts. Yet some musical practices will be perpetuated for future generations through communications and consultations between senior and younger music practitioners.

In this chapter, I discussed Paul Shimomoto's musical experience through the *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival*. Shimomoto's case is just one example of performing hapa haole music in early twenty-first century Hawai'i. I also observed that other performers involved in the Festival had valuable experiences and furthered their understandings of this genre through sharing and consulting their musical ideas and expressions. According to my interviewees, the people involved in *Under a Tropic Moon* also appreciated the learning process and performance experience of hapa haole music. They increased their knowledge and understanding of this genre through the research and performance experience. These two events provided valuable opportunities to learn and perform hapa haole music. Through the processes of planning and performing, they became significant educational events of this genre in present-day Hawai'i.
CONCLUSION

Hapa haole music appeared following Hawai‘i’s cultural and musical changes of the late nineteenth century. Providing a fantasy of Hawai‘i, it retained substantial popularity for U.S. mainland audiences and tourists in the first half of the twentieth century. In the mid-twentieth century, hapa haole music began to decline and gradually lost popularity on the U.S. mainland. The Hawaiian Renaissance of 70s generated a resurgent interest in indigenous styles of Hawaiian culture and music. Hapa haole music was largely marginalized in the present-day due to its perceived American elements. However, some Hawaiian music practitioners continue to perform this genre.

Hawai‘i’s dynamic social changes under American influence impacted on Hawaiian music. Local music practitioners wrote their songs with English lyrics and American musical elements. They were also involved with such American media as movies and radio programs. There were also hapa haole song composers from another country, who brought foreign elements to Hawaiian music and contributed to its popularity by collaborating local dancers and musicians. Hapa haole music can be seen as an art reflecting Hawai‘i, its history and experience of the twentieth century.

The colonial status of Hawai‘i invoked various emotions and thoughts about Hawai‘i and its culture, which are reflected by ambiguity in hapa haole music. Although some Hawaiian songs, such as “I'll Remember You” and “Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song],” contain characteristics of hapa haole music, they may not
be considered belonging to this genre. Whether it is a hapa haole song or not often
depends on individual emotions and conceptions.

Although the American influence on hapa haole music is often emphasized,
Hawaiian features or Hawaiianess are part of hapa haole music. Hawaiianess of
hapa haole music is embodied in culturally and historically shaped musical practices.
English lyrics of hapa haole songs can convey the American fantasy, yet they still
express aesthetics and sensibilities arising from a local perspective. Hula
practitioners often realize poetic expressions of Hawaiian songs through their body
movements. Poetic expressions of hapa haole songs are embodied in the hula: a
reflective art of Hawai‘i. I argue that hapa haole music is a genre of Hawaiian music
because it retains Hawaiianess: a set of culturally based practices and expressions.

In early twenty-first century Hawai‘i, hula practitioners produced hapa haole
music events. Kumu Hula Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis and her halau presented
Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula in 2004. The PA‘I Foundation,
under the direction of Kumu Hula Vicky Holt Takamine, has been organizing the
annual Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival since 2003. Embracing nostalgia and
acknowledging Hawaiianess, these hula practitioners celebrate hapa haole music as
part of Hawai‘i’s cultural heritage.

Nostalgia can shift in different contexts sharing a sense of sentiment for
someone or something far away. In the first half of the twentieth century, hapa haole
music appealed to the American fantasy. In early twenty-first century Hawai‘i, it
invokes a sentiment for past cultural activities. Hapa haole music often expresses a
sentiment perceived in the twentieth century, such as the homesickness described in
"Waikiki." Contemporary Hawaiian music practitioners conflate this past sentiment with the experience of the present-day embodying Hawaiianness. The affection for the past and its tradition also projected for the future. It is expected that hapa haole music will be preserved and perpetuated for future generations. In this nostalgia of the early twenty-first century, a sense of loss disappears, because a past can be emotionally accessed by shared sense of Hawaiianness, which will be eventually transmitted to succeeding generations through education. Nostalgia of hapa haole music shifts "from the past to present" as well as "between foreign and local," and transforms as a sentiment for a past Hawai‘i in the present-day.

Nostalgia and Hawaiianness further confirm authenticity of hapa haole music. During the Hawaiian Renaissance, hapa haole music was often in disfavor because it invoked images of colonized Hawai‘i and its culture. It was "inauthentic" because it did not fit the ideology of the Renaissance: to retrieve and revive pre-colonial culture. I argue that the two events in this thesis are extended activities of the Hawaiian Renaissance, even though the movement once marginalized this genre. Under a Tropic Moon and Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival reaffirm authenticity of hapa haole music extending the Renaissance ideology. In this sense, authenticity of Hawaiian music is shifting along with dynamic historical and cultural contexts. Hapa haole music has been re-framed in terms of nostalgia for a past Hawai‘i in the present-day.

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1 It is important to note that both kumu hula Lewis and Takamine never neglected hapa haole music and continued to perform this genre during the Renaissance. Their concept of hapa haole music did never shift, but they reaffirmed its authenticity in these two events.
As nostalgia in hapa haole music shifts, its performance also transforms. However, culturally and historically shaped practices will be maintained by learning and performing this genre. In this sense, *Under a Tropic Moon* and *HAPA HAOLE HULA & MUSIC FESTIVAL* have provided valuable opportunities to experience and practice hapa haole music. Without learning and performing, the practices embodied in this tradition may not be delivered to the future. As Hawaiian music practitioners continue to perform hapa haole music, they will affirm Hawaiianness and its rightful place in Hawaiian cultural tradition.

This thesis is a small study in considering complicity and diversity of Hawaiian music. The issues discussed in this thesis can be further explored in future studies. I introduce possible extended studies of this thesis as follows.

First, the study of shifting authenticity of Hawaiian music can be an interesting one. As described in this thesis, different emotions and thoughts about Hawaiian music shaped a variety of concepts of authenticity. How were those concepts formed, related and shifting in Hawaiian music? What kind of controversies surrounded them in terms of authenticity? These questions will lead a better understanding of Hawaiian music and its identity.

Second, the concept of shifting nostalgia can be applied to other case studies including performers of Hawaiian music on the U.S. mainland. For example, Rick Cunha is performing hapa haole songs of his grandfather, Sonny Cunha, in Los Angeles. Why does he perform these songs on the U.S. mainland in the present-day? Is his emotion related to nostalgia embraced by Nina Keali‘i‘iwahamana or Mahi Beamer?
The issue of nostalgia and contemporary Hawaiian music practitioners on the U.S. mainland should be examined in detail.

I also feel that the issues of Hawaiianaess need to be further studied. I examined Hawaiianaess referring literature and interviews, yet the sources are limited and not comprehensive. It is possible to explore Hawaiianaess conceptualized in different cases. For example, what kind of Hawaiianaess is expressed and invoked in the Hawaiian Renaissance, Merrie Monarch Festival Hula Competition or King Kamehameha Hula Competition will be appropriate to analyze it in a larger context.

Besides above-mentioned suggested studies, music analysis through descriptive transcriptions, gender issues in hapa haole music and kitsch culture in a fantasy of Hawai‘i will further comprehensive understandings of Hawaiian music. I hope this thesis encourages scholars’ creativity and insight for future studies.

Two kumu hula, Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis and Vicky Holt Takamine, appeared in my defense on May 1st, 2007 to support this thesis. I elaborated upon their emotions and ideas in this thesis, but I feel, the following simple statement by them convinced the committee: “Because I like hapa haole music, I do it. And it doesn’t change us. We all use English and live in the United States, but still keep Hawaiian culture.” I was really impressed with their attitude toward Hawaiian culture and its tradition in the course of this study. They never neglect any Hawaiian art form or aspect of culture, and support it with their sincere efforts. I believe that

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2 Lewis, Takamine and Charlene Ku‘ulei Hazlewood gave me beautiful leis for this defense. I would like to express my sincere gratitude for them.

3 I would like to state here that both Lewis and Takamine also perform, and are rather serious about hula kahiko (traditional style of Hawaiian hula).
hapa haole music will be preserved and perpetuated for future generations by such sensible and responsible cultural leaders.

“I’ll Remember You.”
APPENDIX A

COMPOSITION DATA

“A Maile Lei for Your Hair” (c. 1963)
Lyrics and Music: Norman Kaya.

“A Million Moons Over Hawaii” (c. 1940)
Lyrics and Music: Billy Abrams and Andy Inoa.

“Adiós Ke Aloha” (c. 1870s)
Lyrics and Music: Prince Leleiohoku.

“Ala Moana Annie” (c. 1940)
Lyrics and Music: Jennie Napua Woodd.

“Aloha Nō Wau I Ko Maka” (mid-1800s)
Lyrics and Music: Prince Leleiohoku.

“Aloha ‘Oe” (1878)
Lyrics and Music: Queen Lili‘uokalani.

“Aloha Wau Ia Oe” (c. 1950)
Lyrics and Music: John Pi’ilani Watkins.

“Aloha Week Hula” (1959)
Lyrics and Music: Jack Pitman.

“An Island Love Song” (date unknown)
Lyrics and Music: Alvin Kaleolani Isaacs.

“Analani E” (c. 1941)
Lyrics and Music: Alvin Kaleolani Isaacs, English Lyrics: Gerda.

“Beautiful Manoa” (c. 2006)
Lyrics and Music: Willow Chang.

“Beyond the Reef” (1948)
Lyrics and Music: Jack Pitman.

“Blue Hawaii” (c. 1936)
Lyrics and Music: Leo Robin and Ralph Rainger.

“Blue Hawaiian Moonlight” (c. 1937)
Lyrics and Music: Al Dexter and James Paris.

“Blue Lei” (c. 1937)
Lyrics: R. Alex Anderson, Music: Milton Beamer.
“Cockeyed Mayor of Kaunakakai” (c. 1935)  
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson.

“Crushed Flowers” (c. 1961)  
Lyrics: Harriet Warrick, Music: Benny Saks.

“Crying on the Gay Hawaiian Shore” (c. 1952)  
Lyrics and Music: Randy Oness and Jack Pitman.

“Dance the Hula in the Moonlight” (c. 1956)  
Lyrics and Music: Tony Todaro and George Piltz.

“Dance the Hula in the Sea” (c. 1941)  
Lyrics: Gerda, Music: Alvin Kaleolani Isaacs.

“Dancing Under the Stars” (c. 1935)  
Lyrics and Music: Harry Owens.

“Do the Hula” (c. 1936)  
Lyrics and Music: Don McDiarmid, Sr.

“Follow Me” (c. 1962)  
Lyrics: Paul Francis Webster, Music: Bronislaw Kaper.

“For You a Lei” (c. 1929)  
Lyrics and Music: Johnny Noble and Oscar Hyatt.

“Hanalei Moon” (c. 1974)  
Lyrics and Music: Bob Nelson.

“Haole Hula” (1927)  
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson.

“Hapa Haole Girl of My Dreams” (c. 2000)  
Lyrics and Music: Kala’i Stern.

“Happy Hawaiian” (c. 1948)  
Lyrics and Music: Helo Dominici.

“Happy Talk” (1949)  

“Haunani” (c. 1953)  
Lyrics and Music: Jack Pitman and Randy Oness.

“Hawai‘i, Aloha Land” (date unknown) 
Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King.
“Hawaii Calls” (c.1935)
   Lyrics and Music: Harry Owens.

“Hawaii Pono’i,” (1874)
   Lyrics and Music: King Kalākaua and Henry Berger.

“Hawaiian Hospitality” (c.1935)
   Lyrics and Music: Harry Owens and Ray Kinney.

“Hawaiian Hula Eyes” (c.1945)
   Lyrics and Music: William Harbottle and Randy Oness.

“Hawaiian Moon” (c.1941)
   Lyrics and Music: Tony Todaro.

“Honolulu City Lights” (c.1978)
   Lyrics and Music: Keola Beamer.

“Honolulu Hula-hula Heigh!” (c.1906)
   Lyrics and Music: Sonny Cunha.

“Honolulu I Am Coming Back Again” (c.1922)
   Lyrics: F. B. Silverwood, Music: David Lindeman.

“Honolulu Maids” (1916)
   Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King.

“Hula Blues” (c.1920)
   Lyrics and Music: Sonny Cunha and Johnny Noble.

“Hula Breeze” (c.1936)
   Lyrics & Music: Harry Owens and Bucky Henshaw.

“Hula Lolo” (c.1935)
   Lyrics and Music: Aggie Auld and Norman Hendershot.

“Hula Town” (c.1938)
   Lyrics and Music: Don McDiarmid, Sr.

“I Am Hawai’i” (c.1966)
   Lyrics: Mack David, Music: Elmer Bernstein.

“(I Fell in Love with) Honolulu” (1967)
   Lyrics and Music: Neil Mckay.

“I Had to Lova and Leava on the Lava” (c.1939)
   Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson.

“I Miss You, My Hawai’i” (c.1999)
   Lyrics and Music: Kenneth Makuakāne.
"I Want to Learn to Speak Hawaiian" (c.1935)
  Lyrics and Music: Johnny Noble.
"I Will Remember You" (c.1941)
  Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson.
"I Wish They Didn’t Mean Goodbye" (date unknown)
  Lyrics and Music: Mildred Turner and Ken Darby.
"I Wonder Where My Little Hula Girl Has Gone" (c.1938)
  Lyrics and Music: Johnny Noble, Treve Bluett and Walter Donaldson.
"I’ll Remember You" (1964)
  Lyrics and Music: Kui Lee.
"I’ll Weave a Lei of Stars for You" (c.1948)
  Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson and Jack Owens.
"I’m Going to Maui Tomorrow" (c. 1960)
  Lyrics and Music: Bill Dana.
"I’m Going to Teach You How to Do the Hula" (composition data unknown)
"In a Little Hula Heaven" (c.1936)
  Lyrics and Music: Leo Robin and Ralph Rainger.
"In My Life" (c.1965)
  Lyrics and Music: John Lennon and Paul McCartney.
"Ka Wailele ‘O Nu‘uanu" (1978)
  Lyrics and Music: Jay Kauka.
"Kainoa” (c.1956)
  Lyrics and Music: James L. Taka.
"Kaleilehua” (c.1960s)
  Lyrics and Music: Henry MacKeague.
"Kaleponi Hula" (c.1935)
  Lyrics and Music: Bina Mossman.
"Kalua” (c.1954)
"Kamaaina” (c.1936)
  Lyrics and Music: Sol K. Bright, Sr. and Johnny Noble.
“Kāua I Ka Huahua‘i [Hawaiian War Chant]” (c.1936)
Originally written by Prince Leleiohoku around 1860. Johnny Noble
arranged the song with jazz flavor as “Hawaiian War Chant,” English Lyrics:
Ralph Freed.

“Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]” (1926)
Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King.

“Kealoha” (date unknown)
Lyrics: Lei Collins, Music: Maddy K. Lam.

“Kona Moon” (date unknown)
Lyrics and Music: A. Gaspar.

“Kuhio Beach” (c.1948)
Lyrics and Music: Ihilani Miller.

“Kumu in a Muumu” (c.1953)
Lyrics and Music: Jack Pitman and Randy Oness.

“Ku‘u Ipo I Ka He‘e Pu‘e One” (c.1887)
Lyrics and Music: Princess Likelike.

“Ku‘u Lei ‘Awapuhi” (1951)
Lyrics and Music: Emily Kekahaloa Namau‘u Taylor.

“Ku‘u Lei Pupū (traditional)

“Lahainaluna” (c.1966)
Lyrics and Music: Kui Lee.

“Lehuanani” (c.1954)
Lyrics and Music: David Kupele.

“Leis for Sale” (c.1934)
Lyrics and Music: Johnny Noble.

“Little Brown Gal” (c.1935)
Lyrics and Music: Don McDiarmid, Sr., Lee Wood and Johnny Noble.

“Lovely Hula Girl” (c.1952)
Lyrics and Music: Jack Pitman and Randy Oness.

“Lovely Hula Hands” (c.1940)
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson.

“Lovely Kau‘i” (date unknown)
Lyrics and Music: Benny Saks.
“Lovely You” (date unknown)
  Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King.

“Maile Lei” (c.1963)
  Lyrics and Music: Maddy K. Lam.

“Mapuana” (c.1953)
  Lyrics and Music: Lani Sang.

“Maui Girl” (traditional)

“Maui Moon” (date unknown)
  Lyrics and Music: Andy Inoa and Lysle Tomerlin.

“Maui Waltz” (c.1975)
  Lyrics and Music: Bob Nelson.

“Mele Kalikimaka” (c.1949)
  Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson.

“Mele of My Tutu E” (c.1959)
  Lyrics and Music: Danny Kua‘ana.

“Moonlight in Hilo” (c.1938)
  Lyrics & Music: Jack Ericson & Cliff Friend.

“My Dear Hawai‘i” (c.1915)
  Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King.

“My Hawaiian Maid” (c.1905)
  Lyrics and Music: Sonny Cunha.

“My Hawaiian Souvenirs” (c.1937)
  Lyrics and Music: Johnny Noble.

“My Honolulu Hula Girl [My Hapa Haole Hula Girl]” (c.1909)
  Lyrics and Music: Sonny Cunha.

“My Honolulu Tomboy” (c.1905)
  Lyrics and Music: Sonny Cunha.

“My Hula Lu” (date unknown)
  Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King.

“My Little Grass Shack in Kealakekua” (c.1933)
  Lyrics and Music: Bill Cogswell, Tommy Harrison and Johnny Noble.

“My Sweet Gardenia Lei” (c.1949)
  Lyrics and Music: Danny Kua‘ana and Bernie Ka‘ai.
"My Tropical Hula Girl" (c.1909)
Lyrics and Music: Sonny Cunha.

"My Wahine and Me" (date unknown)
Lyrics and Music: Don McDiarmid, Sr.

"My Waikiki Mermaid" (c.1903)
Lyrics and Music: Sonny Cunha.

"Nā Pua Lei ‘Illima" (date unknown)
Lyrics and Music: Kau‘i Zuttermeister.

"Nalani" (c. 1945)
Lyrics and Music: Alvin Kaleolani Isaacs.

"Not Pau" (c.1942)
Lyrics and Music: Ray Kinney, Frank Sabatella and Meymo Holt.

"Old Plantation (Ku‘u Home)” (c.1899)
Lyrics: Mary Jane Montano, Music: David Nape.

"On Okie Dokie Bay” (c.1984)
Lyrics and Music: Fred Barnett and Jan-Joy Sax.

"On the Beach at Waikiki" (c.1915)
Lyrics and Music: G. H. Stover and Henry Kailimai.

"One Paddle, Two Paddle” (c.1966)
Lyrics and Music: Kui Lee.

"One-Two-Three-Four” (c.1906)
Lyrics: S. Kalama, Music: Jack Alau.

"Out on the Beach at Waikiki” (date unknown)
Lyrics and Music: Alice Johnson.

"Over the Rainbow” (c.1939)

"Pāpāliina Lahilahi” (traditional)

"Pidgin English Hula (Ah-Sa-Ma-La-You)” (1934)
Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King.

"Pili Kapekepeke” (c.2003)
Lyrics and Music: Julian Ako.

"Pineapple Princess” (c.1960)

"Pink Umbrellas” (composition data unknown)
“Princes Poo-poo’-ly Has Planty Pa-pa’-ya” (c.1940)
Credited to Harry Owens, written by Doug Renolds and Don McDiarmid, Sr.
Don McDiarmid, Jr. mentioned, “This song was written on the spot, at a party in Haleiwa by Doug Renolds with help from my Dad [Don McDiarmid, Sr.], who happened to be there. It was published by Harry Owens. Renolds later sued Owens, and won his case, and ended up selling his rights to Harry Owens for a nice piece of change. My Dad never claimed any part of the song but any reader of the lyrics can easily recognize his style. I was told the sheet music came out with Harry’s name on it” (Squareone.org).

“Puka Puka Pants” (date unknown)
Lyric and Music: Eaton Bob Magoon, Jr.

“Red Opu” (c.1935)
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson.

“Rhythm of the Islands” (c.1940)
Lyrics and Music: Eddie Cherkose, Leon Belasco and Jacques Press.

“Rock-a-hula Baby” (c.1961)
Lyrics and Music: Ben Weisman, Fred Wise and Dolores Fuller.

“Round and Round in Waikiki” (composition data unknown)

“Shores of Hale‘iwa” (date unknown)
Lyrics and Music: George Huddy.

“Show Me How to Do the Hula” (c.1936)
Lyrics and Music: Mel Peterson.

“South Sea Island Magic” (c.1936)
Lyrics and Music: Sol K. Bright, Sr.

“Somewhere in Hawaii” (c.1957)
Lyrics and Music: Tony Todaro and Mary Johnston.

“Song of the Islands (Nā Leo O Hawai‘i)” (c.1915)
Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King.

“Sophisticated Hula” (c.1936)
Lyrics and Music: Lysle Tomerlin and Andy Iona.
“Straight from Hawaii to You” (date unknown)
Lyrics and Music: Lani Sang.

“Sunset of Kalaupapa” (c.1950)
Lyrics and Music: Samson Kuahine.

“Take Me Back” (c.2004)
Lyrics and Music: Kaloku Holt.

“That’s the Hawaiian in Me” (c.1936)
Lyrics: Margarita Lane, Music: Johnny Noble.

“The Hawaiian Vamp (That Haunting Hula Glide)” (c.1925)
Lyrics: Bob Lukens, Music: Johnny Noble.

“The Hula Oni Oni E” (c.1949)
Lyrics and Music: Cliff Bernal and Joaquin Cambria.

“The Lady Can Play” (c.2000)
Lyrics and Music: Ku‘uipo Kumukahi.

“The Magic Islands” (c.1959)
Lyrics and Music: Ken Darby.

“The Rock Beside the Sea” (c.1852)
Lyrics and Music, Charles Crozat Converse.

“They’re Wearing ’Em Higher in Hawaii” (c.1916)
Lyrics: Joe Goodwin, Music: Halsey K. Mohr.

“This is Hawaii” (composition data unknown)

“To You Sweetheart, Aloha” (c.1935)
Lyrics and Music: Harry Owens.

“Tomi! Tomi!” (c.1899)
Lyrics and Music: David Nape.

“Ukulele Lady” (c.1925)
Lyrics: Gus Kahn, Music: Richard A. Whiting.

“Waikiki” (1938)
Lyrics and Music: Andy Cummings.

“Waikiki Chickadee” (c.1945)
Lyrics and Music: Melvin Paoa.

“Waikiki Mermaid” (c.1903)
Lyrics and Music: Sonny Cunha.
“Wanting Memories” (c.1994)
Lyrics: Maria Ysae Barnwell, Music: Kealiʻi Reichel.

“What a Wonderful World” (c.1967)
Lyrics and Music: Bob Thiele and George David Weiss.

“When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop” (c.1936)
Lyrics: Howard Adamson, Music: Don McDiarmid, Sr. and Johnny Noble.

“White Ginger Blossoms” (c.1939)
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson.

“Yaaka Hula Hickey Dula” (c.1915)
Lyrics and Music: E. Ray Goetz, Joe Young and Pete Wendling.

“You Taught Me How to Love You in an Old Hawaiian Way” (c. 1942)
Lyrics and Music: Irmgard Farden Aluli.
APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Na Lani 'Eha (Royal Composers):
King Kalākaua [David La'eamea Kamanakapu'eu Mahinulani Nalaiaehuokalani Lumialani Kalākaua] (1836-1891)
Queen Lili'uokalani [Lydia Paki Kamek'eha Liliuokalani] (1838-1917)
Princess Likelike [Miriam Kekauluohi Likelike] (1851-1887)
Prince Leleiohoku [William Pitt Kalaho'olewa Leleiohoku] (1854-1877)

Abrams, Billy (fl.1940)
Adamson, Howard (fl.1936)
Ako, Julian (fl.1961-2007)
Alau, Jack (fl.1906)
Aluli, Irmgard Farden (1911-2001)
Anderson, R. Alex (1894-1995)
Arlen, Harold (1905-1986)
Auld, Aggie (1905-1983)
Barnwell, Maria Ysae (fl.1994)
Beamer, Keola (b.1951)
Beamer, Milton (fl.1937)
Belasco, Leon (1902-1988)
Berger, Henry (1844-1929)
Bernal, Cliff (fl.1949)
Bernstein, Elmer (1922-2004)
Bluett, Treve (fl.1938)
Bright, Sol K., Sr. (1909-1992)
Cambria, Joaquin (fl.1949)
Chan, Willow (fl.2006)
Cherkose, Eddie (1912-1999)
Cogswell, Bill (fl.1934)
Converse, Charles Crozet (1832-1918)
Cummings, Andy (1913-1995)
Cunha, Sonny (1879-1933)
Dana, Bill (b.1924)
Darby, Ken [Kenneth] (1909-1992)
Dexter, Al (1905-1984)
Dominici, Helo (fl.1938-1948)
Donaldson, Walter (1893-1947)
Ericson, Jack (fl.1938)
Freed, Ralph (1907-1973)
Friend, Cliff (1893-1974)
Fuller, Dolores (b.1923)
Gaspar, A. (biographical data unknown)
Gerda (fl.1941-1951)
Goetz, E. Ray (1886-1954)
Goodwin, Joe (1889-1943)
Gordon, Mack (1904-1959)
Hammerstein, Oscar, II. (1985-1960)
Harbottle, William (1914-1976)
Harrison, Tommy (1908-1981)
Hendershot, Norman (fl.1935)
Henshaw, Bucky (fl.1936)
Holt, Meymo (fl.1942)
Huddy, George (fl.1970s)
Hyatt, Oscar (fl.1929)
Iona, Andy [Andy Aiona Long] (1902-1966)
Isaacs, Alvin Kaleolani (1904-1984)
Johnson, Alice (fl.1930s)
Johnston, Mary (b.1922)
Ka'ai, Bernie (fl.1941-1949)
Kahn, Gus (1886-1941)
Kailimai, Henry (1882-1948)
Kaper, Bronislaw (1902-1983)
Kauka, Jay (fl.1978-1994)
Kaya, Norman (b.1922)
King, Charles E. (1874-1950)
Kinney, Ray (1900-1972)
Kua'ana, Danny (fl.1944-1959)
Kuahine, Samson (fl.1950)
Kumukahi, Ku'upio (fl.2000)
Kupele, David (1921-2003)
Lam, Maddy K. (1910-1985)
Lane, Margarita (fl.1936)
Lee, Kui [Kuiokalani] (1932-1966)
Lennon, John (1940-1980)
Libornio, Ignacio (biographical data unknown)
Lindeman, David (fl.1922)
Lukens, Bob (fl.1925)
MacKeague, Henry (fl.1960s)
Magoon, Eaton Bob, Jr. (b.1922)
Makuakāne, Kenneth (fl.1999-2007)
McCartney, Paul (b.1942)
McDiarmid, Don, Sr. (1898-1976)
Mckay, Neil (b.1924)
Miller, Ihilani (b.1938)
Mohr, Halsey K. (fl.1916-1937)
Montano, Mary Jane (fl.1899)
Mossman, Bina (1893-1990)
Nape, David (1870-1913)
Noble, Johnny (1892-1944)
Oness, Randy (1910-2002)
Owens, Harry (1902-1986)
Paoa, Melvin (fl.1940s)
Paris, James (fl.1937-1948)
Petersen, Mel (b.1907)
Piltz, George (1908-1968)
Pitman, Jack (1906-1986)
Press, Jacques (fl.1940-1954)
Rainger, Ralph (1901-1942)
Reichel Keali'i (b.1962)
Renolds, Doug (fl.1940)
Robin, Leo (1900-1984)
Rodgers, Richard (1902-1979)
Sabatella, Frank (fl.1942)
Saks, Benny (fl.1961-1971)
Sang, Lani (fl.1953)
Sherman, Richard (b.1928)
Sherman, Robert (b.1925)
Silverwood, F. B. (fl.1913-1922)
Stern, Kala’i (fl.2000s)
Stover, G. H. (fl.1915)
Taka, James L. (fl.1956)
Taylor, Emily Kekahaloe Namau‘u (fl.1951-1961)
Thiele, Bob (1922-1996)
Todaro, Tony (b.1915)
Tomerlin, Lysle (fl.1931-1954)
Tully, Richard Walton (1877-1945)
Turner, Mildred (fl.1941)
Warrick, Harriett (fl.1961)
Watkins, John Pi‘ilani (1928-1983)
Webster, Paul Francis (1907-1984)
Weeks, Leonie (fl.1934)
Weisman, Ben (b.1921)
Weiss, George David (b.1921)
Wendling, Pete (1888-1974)
Whiting, Richard A. (1891-1938)
Wise, Fred (1915-1966)
Wood, Lee (fl.1935)
Woodd, Jennie Napua (1912-2003)
Young, Joe (1889-1939)
Zuttermeister, Kau‘i (1909-1994)
APPENDIX C

LYRICS OF HAWAIIAN SONGS

In this section, I provide lyrics of following Hawaiian songs. For lyrics of other Hawaiian songs, refer to websites: Hapa Haole Songs: Lyrics to Hawaiian Songs Written in English 1916-1978 (http://www.squareone.org/) and HUAPALA: Hawaiian Music and Hula Archives (http://www.huapala.org/), in which most of song lyrics mentioned in this thesis are available.

The lyrics of Hawaiian songs provided here are:
“Aloha ‘Oe”
“Beyond the Reef”
“Blue Hawaii”
“Haoe Hula”
“I Miss You, My Hawai‘i”
“I Will Remember You”
“Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]”
“Lovely Hula Girl”
“Lehuanani”
“Mapuana”
“My Honolulu Hula Girl [My Hapa Haole Hula Girl]”
“Pidgin English Hula (Ah-Sa-Ma-La-You)”
“Red Opu”
“Show Me How to Do the Hula”
“I’m Going to Teach You How to Do the Hula”
“Sing Me a Song of the Islands”
“They’re Wearing ’Em Higher in Hawaii”
“Wanting Memories”
“White Ginger Blossoms”
“Aloha ‘Oe” (1878)
Lyrics and Music: Queen Lili‘uokalani

Ha‘aheo ka ua i nā pali
Ke nihi a‘ela i ka nahele
E hahai ana paha i ka liko
Pua ‘āhihi lehua o uka

(Translation)
Proudly swept the rain by the cliffs
As on it glided through the trees
Still following ever the liko
The ‘āhihi lehua of the vale

Hui:
Aloha ‘oe, aloha ‘oe
E ke onaona noho i ka lipo
A fond embrace a ho‘i a‘e au
Until we meet again

(Chorus):
Farewell to thee, farewell to thee
Thou charming one who dwells in shaded bowers
A fond embrace ’ere I depart
Until we meet again

‘O ka hali‘a aloha i hiki mai
Ke hone a‘e nei i ku‘u manawa
‘O ‘oe nō ka‘u ipo aloha
A loko e hana nei

Thus sweet memories come back to me
Bringing fresh remembrance of the past
Dearest one, yes, thou are mine own
From thee, true love shall ne‘er depart

Maopopo ku‘u ‘ike i ka nani
Nā pua rose o Maunawili
I laila hia‘ia nā manu
Miki‘ala i ka nani o ka liko

(I have seen and watched thy loveliness
Thou sweet rose of Maunawili
And 'tis there the birds oft love to dwell
And sip the honey from thy lips

(Wilcox 2003: 19)
“Beyond the Reef” (1948)
Lyrics and Music: Jack Pitman

Beyond the reef
Where the sea is dark and cold
My love has gone
And our dreams grow old

There’ll be no tears
There’ll be no regretting
Will he remember me?
Will he forget?

I’ll send a thousand flowers
Where the trade winds blow
I’ll send my lonely heart
For I love him so

Someday I know
He’ll come back again to me
Till then my heart will be
Beyond the reef
(Cuellar 1995: 44-45)
Perfume in the air and rare flowers ev'ry where
And white shadows we could share at Waikiki
A sky full of stars and soft far away guitars
It seems to be only a reverie

Night and you and blue Hawaii
The night is heavenly
And you are heaven to me

Lovely you and blue Hawaii
With all this loveliness
There should be love

Come with me
While the moon is on the sea
The night is young and so are we

Dreams come true in blue Hawaii
And mine could all come true
This magic night of nights with you
(Morse 1980: 19-21)
"Haole Hula" (1927)
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson

Oh, when I hear the strains of that sweet "Alekoki"
And stealing from a far-off guitar "Penei nō"
When "Liliʻuʻe" makes you sway in the moonlight
I know the reason why fair Hawaiʻi haunts you so

The lovely blue of sky and the sapphire of ocean
The flashing white of cloud and of waves' foaming crest
The many shades of green from the plains to the mountains
With all the brightest hues of the rainbow we're blessed

I hear the swish of rain as it sweeps down the valley
I hear the song of wind as it sighs through the trees
I hear the crash of waves on the rocks and the beaches
I hear the hissing surf and the boom of the sea

I love to dance and sing of the charms of Hawaiʻi
And from a joyful heart sing aloha to you
In every note I'll tell of the spell of my islands
For then I know that you'll be in love with them too
(Wilcox 2003: 44)
"I Miss You, My Hawai‘i" (c. 1999)
Lyrics and Music: Kenneth Makuakāne

I hear the wind traveling down the Koʻolau
It touches my skin and makes me think of
How much I miss you, my Hawai‘i

I breathe the fragrance of a yellow ginger lei
I look inside myself to find the words to say
How much I miss you, my Hawai‘i

Every time I stop to watch the moon
Dance across the early evening sky
Every time I hear a country tune
I can see the shores of Wai‘anae
Every time I listen to my heart telling me it longs to go back home
And it makes me want to
'Cause I miss you, my love

I catch the glimmer of your face across the sky
I watch the setting sun and I begin to cry
Because I miss you, my Hawai‘i

I rest my head upon the sands of Waikīkī
I close my eyes and I hear you calling me
How I miss you, my Hawai‘i
(Na Leo Pilimehana 1999)
I Will Remember You (c. 1941)
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson

The summer came we were together
Oh! It was heaven when summer came
Now dear it’s over and I must leave you
Only in memory we’ll be together

I will remember you, in the silent and lonely night
And should I be ever blue, I’ll sing this song of you

Please spare your tears for me, darling smile when I go away
On this sunny summer day, I’ll wear your ginger lei

When the winds of winter come crying thru the darkness
Your lovely voice will come to me
Even tho in spirit across the mighty ocean
Crying “Hawai‘i nei”

I will remember you, in the silent and lonely night
And the memory of your smile, will bring me back the light

I will remember you, when the leaves lie upon the ground
With the memory of a kiss, a kiss in summer found

When the winds of winter come crying thru the darkness
Your lovely voice will come to me
Even tho in spirit across the miles that part us
Crying “I love you”

I will remember you, ’till the spring of another year
’Till I hold you close again, I will remember you
(Wilcox 2003: 83)
“Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]” (1926)
Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King

Eia au ke kali nei
Aia la i hea kuu aloha
Eia au ke huli nei
A loaa oe e ka ipo
Maha ka iini a ka puuwai
Ua sila paa ia me oe
Ko aloha makamae e ipo
Ka‘u ia e lei ae nei la
Nou no ka ‘iini, no‘u ka iini
A nou wale no, wale no
A o ko aloha ka‘u e hi‘ipo‘i mau
Na‘u oe, na‘u oe, e lei, e lei
Na‘u oe, e lei

A he halia kai hiki mai
No kuu lei onaona pulupe i ka ua
Auhea oe ka iini a loko
Na loko ae ka manao
Hu‘e lani ana i kuu kino
Kuu pua kuu lei onaona
A‘u i kui a lawa ianei
Me ke ala pua pikake
A o oe kuu pua, o oe kuu pua
Kuu pua lei lehua, lehua
A‘u e li‘a mau nei hoopaa ia iho ke aloha
He lei, he lei, oe na‘u, oe na‘u
He lei oe na‘u
(King 1948: 63-65)
“Ke Kali Nei Au [Hawaiian Wedding Song]” (1926)
English Lyrics: Charles E. King

Alone I wait and pine for thee
My heart longs and yearns oh where canst thou be, dear?
Thru forests dreary I’ve searched for thee, love
My heart rejoices now I’ve found thee
There is sunshine for the clouds have roll’d away
Ever with thee I shall find true love
Thou art precious and thou art so loving
And it is to thee I pledge my love alone
I shall e’er be true, I shall be true
E’er be true to thee, to thee
With thee dearest one I know true joy will e’er be mine
Be true to me, be true to me
(ibid.)

English Lyrics: Al Hoffman and Dick Manning

This is the moment I’ve waited for
I can hear my heart singing soon bells will be ringing
This is the moment of sweet “Aloha”
I will love you longer than forever
Promise me that you will leave me never
Here and now dear all my love I vow dear
Promise me that you will leave me never
I will love you longer than forever
Now that we are one, my darling
Clouds won’t hide the sun, my love
Blue skies of Hawaii smile on this our wedding day
I do love you with all my heart
(Wilcox 2003: 282)
“Lehuanani” (c. 1954)
Lyrics and Music: David Kupele

Stars that shine tonight, Lehuanani
Cast their magic charms on you

And the tradwind sway the palms in rhythm
Just as hula maidens do

A million flowers scent the air
Embracing lovers every where

All my love is you, Lehuanani
Making all my dreams come true
(Kupele 1986: 7)
“Lovely Hula Girl” (c.1952)
Lyrics and Music: Jack Pitman and Randy Oness

Lovely hula girl
I’m in a whirl
Crazy over you
In your lovely hands
All of my plans
Promise to be true

Lovely hands that seem to say
Happiness will pass away
So share all the love we may send
Caring not how it will end

Sunset is aflame
Burning your name
In the skies above
And the silent night
Shines with the light
In the eyes I love

All the things I ever knew
All the world is only you
Whirling in the dance you do
Lovely hula girl
(Criterion Music Corp.: 13)
“Mapuana” (c.1953)
Lyrics and Music: Lani Sang

Tonight, Mapuana
Hawaii smiles on you
One kiss of sweet aloha
Aloha I love you

I hear soft winds sighing
Your lovely name to me
And hula palms trees swaying
to rhythms of the sea

The moon up in the sky
Whispers to the stars on high
And says that you’re by far
As bright as any star

Sweet dreams, Mapuana
’Til morning meets the dew
One kiss of sweet aloha
Aloha I love you

(Criterion Music Corp.: 12)
“My Honolulu Hula Girl [My Hapa Haole Hula Girl]” (c.1909)
Lyrics & Music: Sonny Cunha

All the time in the tropical clime
Where they do the hula hula dance
I fell in love with a chocolate dove
While learning that funny funny dance

This poor little kid, why she never did
A bit of loving before
So I made up my mind
That I struck a find
The only girl I’d dare adore

I love a pretty little Honolulu [hapa haole] hula, hula girl
She’s the candy kid to wriggle, hula girl
She will surely make you giggle, hula girl
With her naughty little wiggle

Some day I’m goin’ to try to make
This hula hula girlie mine, this girlie mine
’Cause all the while I’m dreaming of her
My Honolulu [hapa haole] hula girl

Out at the beach with your dear little peach
Where the waves are rolling in so high
Holding her hand while you sit on the sand
You promise you’ll win her heart or die

You start in to tease, you give her a squeeze
Her heart is all in a whirl
If you get in a pinch, go to it’s a cinch
When spooning with a hula girl
(Cunha 1909)
“Pidgin English Hula (Ah-Sa-Ma-La-You)” (1934)
Lyrics and Music: Charles E. King

Honolulu pretty girl stop, too muchee guru* looking
Number one sweet, naughty eyes make oh! oh! oh! oh!
You bet I know you no got chance, ’nother fella she sweetheart
But today pilikia* got, she too much huhu* for him

Ahsa-ma-la* you last night?
You no come see mama, I tink so you no likee me no more
You too muchee like ’nother girl
’Nother fella likee me too

He number one guru look he too much aloha*
Ha ha ha ha, ha ha ha ha auwe*
Ha ha ha ha, ha ha ha ha auwe, auwe

This funny kine fella, he think this girl no got brain
She too smart, yes, I tell you true, she smart too smart
He feel sick inside yes, but what the use? Too late now, she mad like
He go down the knee, he like forgive, you know what she been tell him?

I no likee you no more
You no more come my place, bumby this new one girl you forget
She no alle samee me
Sure I know you going pupule*

You pupule loa* for me, your number one sweetheart
Ha ha ha ha, ha ha ha ha auwe
Ha ha ha ha, ha ha ha ha auwe, auwe

*guru (good), pilikia (trouble), huhu (angry), Ah-sa-ma-la (what’s the matter), aloha (love), auwe (oh my), pupule (creazy), loa (very).
(King 1948: 181-83)
“Red Opu” (c.1935)
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson

What am I going to do for my Red Opu
It’s so very sore I don’t know what to do
Listen my little sisters just look at all my blisters
Let them be a warning to you

Yesterday my steamer docked at airplane landed at half past nine
The sun was shining bright and oh, the weather was fine
So I lay out on the beach ’til it was time to dine
That’s how I got my Red Opu

All the pretty little girls were playing around
Getting a suntan
So I thought I’d get one too

Out on the beach I played my ukulele
Getting a suntan
That was not the thing to do

Oh!
What am I going to do for my Red Opu
It’s so very sore I don’t know what to do
I guess the only way’s to take an hour ev’ry day
Just oiling up my Red Opu
(Anderson 1971: 60-61)
“Show Me How to Do the Hula” (c.1936)
Lyrics and Music: Mel Peterson

Show me how to do the hula
Like they do in Honolulu
Where they dance the hula hula
To ho-ni ka u-a wi-ki wi-ki

First you sway and move your hands
Like the waves fall on the sands
And then you smile a pretty smile
To ho-ni ka u-a wi-ki wi-ki
(Criterion Music Corp.: 6)

“A M Going to Teach You How to Do the Hula” (composition data unknown)

We’ll teach you the hula
Come on, it’s easy to learn
You get your feet moving sideways
And then you make a little turn
And now we’re going around the island
Be careful to take it slow
’Cause when you’re going around the island
You’ve got a long, long way to go
Now watch me closely
This is how the wind moves through the trees
Watch while I show you
The way the fishes swim beneath the sea
I’m going to teach you the hula
And now I’ll show you the moon
Come on, it’s easy to do the hula
You’ll be doing it soon
(Squareone.org)
“Sing Me a Song of The Islands” (c.1940)
Lyrics and Music: Mack Gordon & Harry Owens

Here am I enraptured
By the thrill of my Hawaii
While I live I’ll tell of you
The spell of you, Hawaii

Sing me a song of the islands
My serenade that the trade winds know
Sing me a song of the islands
Where hearts are high when the moon is low

Where rippling waters seem to say
“Aloha wau ia oe”

Bring me the fragrance of ginger
Strum your guitars while I dream away
Sing me a song of the islands
“Aloha wau ia oe”

(Gordon, Mack and Harry Owens 1942)
“They’re Wearing ‘Em Higher in Hawaii” (c.1916)
Lyrics: Joe Goodwin, Music: Halsey K. Mohr

Henry Meyer was a buyer buying ladies wear
He took a flier to Hawaii studied fashions there
One day Meyer got a wire, “Hurry back” it read
He wrote, “I’m busy, I’m getting dizzy, the styles here turn my head
You’d say the same if you were here with me”
For they’re wearing ‘em higher in Hawaii
Higher, higher, higher, higher in Hawaii
The beautiful beach at Waikiki
Is not the only pretty sight that you can see
In Hawaii the maidens there are flyer
They simply sway your heart away
Hula maids are always full of pep
All the old men have to watch their step
For they’re wearing ‘em higher in Hawaii
They’re going up, going up ev’ry day

Meyer’s boss was very cross and started on his way
He took a trip upon a ship for Honolulu Bay
He found Meyer in Hawaii weaving skirts of hay
When Meyer taught him the fever caught him, he said, “I’m going to stay
I’ll move my office over here today”
For they’re wearing ‘em higher in Hawaii
Higher, higher, higher, higher in Hawaii
The beautiful beach at Waikiki
Is not the only pretty sight that you can see
In Hawaii the maidens there are flyer
They simply sway your heart away
When you see them dance the way they do
You won’t care just what becomes of you
For they’re wearing ‘em higher in Hawaii
They’re going up, going up ev’ry day

(Goodwin, Joe and Halsey K. Mohr 1916)
“Wanting Memories” (c. 1994)  
Lyrics: Maria Ysae Barnwell, Music: Keali‘i Reichel

I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me  
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes  
I am sitting here wanting memories to teach me  
To see the beauty in the world through my own eyes

You used to rock me in the cradle of your arms  
You said you’d hold me till the pains of life were gone  
You said you’d comfort me in times like these and now I need you  
Now I need you, and you are gone

Since you’ve gone and left me  
There’s been so little beauty  
But I know I saw it clearly through your eyes

Now the world outside is such a cold and bitter place  
Here inside I have few things that will console  
And when I try to hear your voice above the storms of life  
Then I remember all the things that I was told

I think on the things that made me feel so wonderful when I was young  
I think on the things that made me laugh, made me dance, made me sing  
I think on the things that made me grow into a being full of pride  
I think on these things, for they are truth

I thought that you were gone  
But now I know you’re with me  
You are the voice that whispers all I need to hear

I know a please, a thank you and a smile will take me far  
I know that I am you and you are me and we are one  
I know that who I am is numbered in each grain of sand  
I know that I’ve been blessed  
Again and over again  
(Reichel 1994)
"White Ginger Blossoms" (c. 1939)
Lyrics and Music: R. Alex Anderson

White ginger blossoms
Cool and fragrant
Sweeter than the rose
Fairer too than moonlight
White ginger blossoms
From the mountains
Fill the thirsty air
With exotic fragrance rare

Round your lovely throat
You wear my ginger lei
Each white petal nestles
Close and longs to say
“Let me stay here”
White ginger blossoms
Cool and fragrant
By a mountain pool
Guard their sweetness
All for you
(Wilcox 2003: 282)
APPENDIX D

THE SPONSORS, PERFORMERS, STAFF AND SUPPORTERS OF

UNDER A TROPIC MOON AND HAPA HAOLE HULA & MUSIC FESTIVAL

In this section, I provide the names of the sponsors, performers, staff and supporters from the program of Under a Tropic Moon. I also provide the names of the sponsors and supporters from the programs of the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival. All performers’ names in the Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival are provided in Chapter 5.


**Under a Tropic Moon: 100 Years of Hapa Haole Hula**

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Julia Worley
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Kealoha Yamada
Emalia Zuttermeister
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Kalehuamikioikamalulani Zuttermeister
Meaghan Iwaleilani Zuttermeister
Ululani Zuttermeister
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Yuko Asaka                           Kyoko Nakamura
Mikiko Endoh                         Pualalea Sakai
Puakule'a Fuji                       Satomi Sakamoto
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Mino'aka Kaneko                      Hi'ilani Takahashi
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Mariko Kobayashi                     Emiko Takanashi
Aki Kubo                             Masayo Tanaka
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Jude Lampitelli – Stage Manager
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Mahalo to all of our wonderful volunteers!
Acknowledgements

Planning Committee
Kapuapono Pat Couvillon – Script
Malia Cravalho – Finance
Noreen Hong-Von Rohr – Costume
Joan Kalaelae Hori – Research
Luana Kai – Tickets & Props
Carol Kellett – Research
Hauoli and Rory Kim – Advertising
Shorty and Marie Kuhn – Finance
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Mark Yim and The Blue Hawaiian Band
  Mark Yim
  Brian Tolentino
  Danny Naipo
  Casey Olsen
Wiki Waki Woo Serenaders
  Fred Barnett
  Jan-Joy Sax
  Bud Spindt
  Ingrid Spindt

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Sharland Chun

Practice Facilities
The Kamehameha Schools
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David Au

Printing
Peterson Sign Co. – Night Club Sign

And Mahalo to our anonymous supporters!
Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival

[The 1st] Hapa Haole Hula, Music and Film Festival

Mahalo:
Mr. Flip McDiarmid, Hula Records
Ms. Debbie Nakanelua-Richards, Hawaiian Airlines
Mr. Wayne Harada, Honolulu Advertiser
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Mr. Ikaika Uchima, Graphics
Dr. Dale C. Moss, Website
Carlton Kramer, Hilo Hattie
Louise Abilla & the Royal Hawaiian Hotel
Bridget Silva, Takegoro, Betty Lou Kam
‘Aoa, Musical Accompaniment
Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima

[The 2nd] Hapa Haole Hula, Music and Film Festival

Mahalo nui loa to our sponsors and supporters:
Flip McDiarmid III – Hula Records
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Michael & Sylvia Kop – Hula Supply Center
Dale Madden – Island Heritage
Steve Mobley – Honolulu Academy of Arts
Atherton Family Foundation
Dr. Dale C. Moss – Website
Shone Pafe – Graphics
Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima

All of the kumu hula, their haumana [students] and musicians who are the keepers of our Hawaiian cultural traditions.
The 3rd Annual Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival
Mahalo nui loa to our sponsors and supporters:
Flip McDiarmid – Hula Records
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The kumu hula, their haumana and musicians who are the keepers of our Hawaiian cultural traditions

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Mahalo nui loa to our all sponsors and supporters:
Cheryl Apo and the Staff & Management of Hale Koa Hotel
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Dwight Yoshimura – Ala Moana Shopping Center
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Mona Wood – Ikaika Communications
KCCN/KINE – Cox Radio
Dale Moss – Webmaster
UH Athletic Department
Pua Ali‘i ‘Ilima
The kumu hula, their haumana and musicians who are the keepers of our Hawaiian cultural traditions
### APPENDIX E

**THE SONGS PRESENTED IN THE HAPA HAOLE HULA & MUSIC FESTIVAL**

In this section, I list the songs presented in the *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival* with the number of times they were performed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Performances</th>
<th>Song Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 times</td>
<td>“Waikiki”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 times</td>
<td>“Blue Lei”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Dancing Under the Stars”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Haole Hula”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Hawaiian Hospitality”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 times</td>
<td>“Beyond the Reef”</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 times</td>
<td>“A Million Moons Over Hawaii”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Dance the Hula in the Sea [All the Light at Waikiki]”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I Wonder Where My Little Hula Girl Has Gone”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I’ll Weave a Lei of Stars for You”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Hawaiian Hula Eyes”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Lahainaluna”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“My Hapa Haole Hula Girl [My Honolulu Hula Girl]”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 times</td>
<td>“Aloha Wau Ia Oe”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Blue Hawaii”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Hanalei Moon”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Hawaii Calls”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The Hawaiian Vamp (That Haunting Hula Glide)”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Hula Blues”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Hula Lolo”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Hula Town”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“(I Fell in Love with) Honolulu”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I’ll Remember You”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“In a Little Hula Heaven”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Kuhio Beach”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“My Sweet Gardenia Lei”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Not Pau”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Soft Green Seas”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Somewhere in Hawaii”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Sophisticated Hula”</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“The Magic Island”</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“That’s the Hawaiian in Me”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“This is Hawaii”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1 time
“A Maile Lei for Your Hair”
“Ala Moana Annie”
“Aloha Week Hula”
“Beautiful Manoa”
“Blue Hawaiian Moonlight”
“Cockeyed Mayor of Kaunakakai”
“Crushed Flowers”
“Dance the Hula in the Moonlight”
“Follow Me”
“For You a Lei”
“Hapa Haole Girl of My Dreams”
“Happy Hawaiian”
“Hawaiian Moon”
“Hawaiian Souvenirs”
“Honolulu I Am Coming Back Again”
“I Am Hawai’i”
“I Wish They Didn’t Mean Goodbye”
“Kainoa”
“Kamaaina”
“Kealoha”
“Kona Moon”
“Ku’u Lei ‘Awapuhi”
“Lovely Hula Girl”
“Lovely Hula Hands”
“Lovely Kau’i”
“Maui Moon”
“Maui Waltz”
“Mele of My Tutu E”
“My Little Grass Shack in Kealakekua
Hawaii”
“My Honolulu Tomboy”
“Out on the Beach at Waikiki”
“Pāpālina Lahilahi”
“Pink Umbrella”

“Princes Poo-poo’-ly Has Planty Pa-pa’-ya”
“Puka Puka Pants”
“Rhythm of the Islands”
“Round and Round in Waikiki”
“Shores of Hale’iwa”
“Show Me How to Do the Hula”
“Sing Me a Song of the Islands”
“South Sea Island Magic”
“Straight from Hawaii to You”
“Sunset of Kalaupapa”
“Take Me Back”
“The Hula Oni Oni E”
“The Lady Can Play”
“To You Sweetheart, Aloha”
“Ukulele Lady”
“Waikiki Chickadee”
“Waikiki Mermaid”
“When Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop”
“Yacka Hula Hicki Dula”
“You Taught Me How to Love You in an Old Hawaiian Way”
This section provides transcriptions of two songs, “I’ll Remember You” and “Waikiki,” performed by several singers. Six to seven transcriptions are listed for each song horizontally and are organized to match the lyrics of the songs with each other as much as possible for comparative purposes. Because of this comparative format, some measures are indicated X, which means nothing. I transcribed only vocal parts of the main singers and ignored other musical materials. Also, all transcriptions are transposed to C Major for purposes of comparison. The original keys are indicated on the title page of each song. A compact disc of the examples is on file in the Ethnomusicology Archives of the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Music Department.
“I’ll Remember You” (1964)

written by

Kui Lee

Lines:

1. Music Score (M.S.): reproduced from the songbook *Hawaiian Lullaby Plus 12 Hawaiian Favorites* (Morse 1980: 6-7)
   Original Key: F Major

   Original Key: E flat Major

   Original Key: C Major

   Original Key: D Major

   Original Key: F Major

6. Paul Shimomoto (P.S./2nd): transcribed from a video recording of the second *Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival*
   Original Key: F major
Long after this endless summer is
is gone  I'll be alone oh so alone
M.S.

K.L.

D.H.

N.K.

P.S.

M.B.S.

P.S.

2nd
M.S.

I'll remember you

Your voice as

K.L.

I'll remember you

Your voice as

D.H.

I will remember too

N.K.

I'll remember you

Your voice as

P.S.

I'll remember you

Your voice as

P.S. M.B.S.

I'll remember you

Your voice as

P.S. 2nd

I'll remember you

Your voice as
Your voice (as) soft as a warm summer

Your voice (as) soft as a warm summer

Your voice (as) soft as a warm summer

Your voice (as) soft as a warm summer
M.S.

breeze

Your sweet laughter mornings after

K.L.

breeze

Your sweet laughter mornings after

D.H.

summer breeze

Your sweet laughter mornings after

N.K.

breeze

Your sweet laughter mornings after

P.S.

breeze

Your sweet laughter mornings after

P.S.

2nd
ev-er af-ter I'll re-mem-ber you

---

2nd
To your arms some day I'll return to
M.S.:

stay                Till then    I will re - mem - ber

K.L.:

stay                Till then    I'll re - mem - ber

D.H.:

stay                Till then    I will re - mem - ber

N.K.:

stay                Till then

P.S. M.B.S.:

stay                Till then    I will re - mem - ber

P.S. 2nd:

stay                Till then    I will re - mem - ber
too Ev'ry bright star we made

too

Ev'ry bright star

too

Ev'ry bright star

too

Ev'ry bright star we made

too

Ev'ry bright star we made

M.S.

37

wish-es up - on Love me al-ways

K.L.

37

we made wish-es up - on Love me al-ways

D.H.

37

we made wish-es up on Love me al-ways

N.K.

37

we made wish-es up on Love me al-ways

P.S.

M.B.S.

37

wish-es up - on Love me al-ways

P.S.

37

2nd wish-es up on Love me al-ways

233

promise always ooh________ you'll remember

promise always uh________ you'll remember

promise always uh________ you'll remember

promise always uh________ you'll remember

promise always uh________ you'll remember
To your arms some day I'll return.
M.S.

to stay

K.L.

Till then

D.H.

stay
Till then I will

N.K.

Till then

P.S.

stay

P.S.

Till

M.B.S.

2nd

stay

Till
M.S.  
K.L.  
D.H. 
N.K. 
P.S. 
P.S. 
2nd
M.S.  

K.L.  

D.H.  

N.K.  

P.S.  

M.B.S.  

P.S.  

2nd

Ev'ry bright star we made wishes up...
Love me always promised always

Love me always promised always

Love me always promised always

Love me always promised always

Love me always promised always

Love me always promised always
M.S.
K.L.
D.H.
N.K.
P.S.
M.B.S.
P.S.

ways uh you'll remember too

uh you'll remember too

uh you'll remember too

(Chorus: I'll

uh you'll remember too
You'll remember too.

I'll remember you.

I'll remember you.

I will remember you.
"Waikiki" (1938)
written by
Andy Cummings

Lines:
   Original Key: C Major
   Original Key: E flat Major
   Original Key: G Major
   Original Key: C Major
5. Paul Shimomoto (P.S./1st): transcribed from a video recording of the first Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival
   Original Key: C Major
   Original Key: C Major
7. Paul Shimomoto (P.S./4th): transcribed from a video recording of the fourth Hapa Haole Hula & Music Festival
   Original Key: C Major
There's a feeling

no tempo indication

tempo rubato

There's a feeling

There's a feeling

There's a feeling

There's a feeling
deep in my heart stabbing at me just like a dart
It's a feeling heavenly

It's a feeling heavenly

dart

It's a feeling heavenly

It's a feeling heavenly

It's a feeling heavenly

It's a feeling heavenly
I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.

I see mem'ries out of the past.
Memories that always will last of that place

Memories that always will last of that place

Memories that always will last of that place

Memories that always will last of that place
Wai ki ki at night when the shadows are
falling I hear your rolling surf calling
calling and calling to me

Wai-ki
'tis for you that my heart is yearning
My thoughts are always returning out there to you.

My thoughts are always returning out there to you.

My thoughts are always returning out there to you.

My thoughts are always returning out there to you.

My thoughts are always returning out there to you.

My thoughts are always returning out there to you.
cross the sea. Your tropic nights and your wonderful charms.

"Cross the sea. Your tropic nights and your wonderful charms."
are ever in my memory and I recall when I
held in my arms an angel sweet and heavenly
Wai ki ki

my whole life is empty with

(Chorus: Wai ki ki)

my whole life is empty with
out you I miss that magic about you
Your tropic nights and your wonderful charms are ever in my
memor-y and I re-call when I held in my arms an

memor-y and I re-call when I held in my arms an

memor-y and I re-call when I held in my arms an

memor-y and I re-call when I held in my arms an
an angel sweet and heavenly

(Chorus: Wai'ki

\[\text{M.S.}\]
\[\text{A.C.}\]
\[\text{D.H.}\]
\[\text{N.K.}\]
\[\text{P.S.}\]
\[\text{1st E}\]
\[\text{M.B.S}\]
\[\text{P.S.}\]
\[\text{4th}\]
ki my whole life is empty without you
I miss that magic about you magic beside the
M.S.

A.C.

D.H.

N.K.

P.S.

1st E.

P.S.

M.B.S.

P.S.

4th

---

Magic of Waikiki
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Baudelaire, Charles.

Berger, John.


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Boym, Svetlana.

Brown, DeSoto.

Cassia, Paul Sant.

Cataluna, Lee.
Chew, Geoffrey.  

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