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TWO HAWAIIAN DANCERS AND THEIR DAUGHTERS

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Women have always been important in Hawaiian society in societal arenas ranging from politics to entertainment. Female chiefs were sought after for their exalted blood lines traced back to the gods and for passing on this blood within the royal lineages. High-ranking women composed and performed poetry that was sung and danced in honour of the gods and chiefs. With the coming of Europeans and Christianity, the political involvement of women changed, but in many ways it did not diminish. Women retained, and even enhanced, their importance by becoming more and more involved in the retention of traditions. This article centres on Mary Kawena Pukui and Kau'i Zuttermeister, two women born in the years that the 19th century turned into the 20th century, who became custodians of knowledge for much of the 20th century. This knowledge lives on in the daughters of these two remarkable women, Patience Namaka Bacon and Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis.

KAWENA (1895–1986) AND PATIENCE

Mary Abigail-Kawena-‘ula-o-ka-lani-a-Hi‘iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele-ka-wahine-‘ai-honua ‘lit.the rosy glow in the sky made by Hi‘iaka in the bosom of Pele the earth consuming woman’ Wiggin (usually known simply as “Kawena”) (Fig. 1) was born at Hāniumalu, Ka‘ū, Hawai‘i island 21 April 1895. She was the daughter of a Hawaiian woman, Mary Keli‘ipa‘ahana Hi‘ileilani Hi‘iakaikawaiola Kanaka‘ole (usually known as Pa‘ahana, who was born c.1867), and an American, Henry Nathaniel Wiggin (1866–1910). Kawena’s mother descended from a line of medical and canoe-building specialists (*kāhuna*). They were also religious practitioners dedicated to the fire goddess Pele and traced their family god (‘*aumakua*) connections to the *pueo* ‘owl’ and *mo‘o* ‘lizard’. Kawena’s father was born in Salem, Massachusetts, and of English heritage. He migrated to Hawai‘i in 1892. He held important positions at Hutchinson’s Sugar Plantation in Ka‘ū, including head *luna* ‘overseer’ of the plantation.

Kawena was given as an infant to her maternal grandmother, Nali‘ipo‘aimoku (1830–1901), to be reared in the Hawaiian way. Nali‘ipo‘aimoku had been a Court dancer for Queen Emma (wife of Kamehameha IV) and often travelled with her. Kawena’s early training with her grandmother in Hawaiian traditions was to shape her life. At age six Kawena’s grandmother died and her mother continued her Hawaiian education. She was also encouraged by her father to



Figure 1. Mary Kawena Pukui performing “Mukiki Wai” (in a film); Hawaii, c. 1930. Still photo by Tiki George, from a film by Vivienne Mader. Photograph courtesy of Bishop Museum. Mader collection.

both learn about the European side of her ancestry and to write down what she had learned from her mother, grandmother and others.

Kawena attended grade schools in Ka‘ū and Hilo and then moved to Honolulu where she attended Central Grammar School and Kawaiaha‘o Seminary. The family lived in the Liliha area of Honolulu and Kawena spent much time looking after her father’s invalid brother so was not able to finish high school. Later, the family moved to Birch Street, which remained the family home until 1966. At age 18, Kawena was married to Napoleon Kaloli‘i Kapukui (1874–1943), a Kona-family Hawaiian who had grown up in a Mormon community in Skull Valley, Utah. A fluent speaker of Hawaiian, Kaloli‘i had a variety of occupations which made use of this knowledge, such as title searches.

The marriage was not a happy or prosperous one, and when in 1920 Kaloli‘i refused to adopt a two-month-old child of Japanese descent from Kaua‘i who had been orphaned by the influenza epidemic, Kawena asked her father to legally adopt this child as Kawena’s ‘sister’ and then give her to Kawena to raise. Thus began the long and important *hānai* ‘adoptive’ relationship between Kawena and Patience Namakauhoa-o-kawena‘ula-o-kalani-ikiiki-kalaninui, ‘lit. the haughty eyes of Kawena of the rosy skies in the intense head of the heavens’, Wiggin (usually known as Patience or Pat). Though

adopted as Kawena's sister, she was raised as her daughter. Patience grew up in a totally Hawaiian household where children were to be "seen and not heard". In Hawaiian households, children did not ask questions, which was thought to be *nīele* 'nosy', but Patience listened and learned. Today, she is one of the few totally fluent Hawaiian speakers who learned Hawaiian as a child.

In 1921 a second child, Faith Charlotte Kalama 1915–2007 of Hawaiian-Japanese ancestry), was awarded by the court to Kawena's parents at Kawena's request, again to be brought up by Kawena. On 27 February 1931, Asenath Henrietta Pelehonuamea Napuaala-o-Nu'uuanu, known as Pele (1931–1979), was born to Kawena and Kaloli'i.

As a married woman, during the 1920s, Kawena attended high school at the Hawaiian Mission Academy and graduated in 1925. It was also during the 1920s that she began to teach Hawaiian language classes at the YWCA on Richards Street, taking young Patience with her as they walked back and forth to their home on Birch Street.

A variety of religious influences on Kawena's life, coupled with strong feelings of loyalty and conviction, led to both religious vacillation and inclusive religious beliefs. From her mother's side came non-Christian elements, from her father's side came Protestantism and from her husband and on her grandmother's side came Mormonism. At one time she was a member of the prominent Kawaiaha'o Church, but she was excommunicated because of an internal conflict over the minister. Patience attended all of these religious rituals with the old folks and also incorporates all of them in her cultural traditions.

Kawena had early training in *hula* from her grandmother, her mother and her aunts, as well as from the well-known *hula* dancer Emma Fern. In 1934 the noted Kaua'i *hula* dancer, Keahi Luahine (1877–1937), had a dream in which her deceased teacher told her she must teach Kawena the *hula* tradition of Keahi's ancestral line from Kaua'i so it would not be lost. Kawena was a perfect choice because of her knowledge of language, tradition, music and dance. Patience at age 13 was summoned by Keahi to concentrate on the '*olapa*' 'dancing part of the tradition' while Kawena at age 39 concentrated on the *ho'opa'a* 'playing the musical instruments and singing/chanting' part of the tradition, but each learned the other part as well.

On the first day of this new *hula* relationship, a one-day *kuahu* 'altar' was set up and Kawena and Patience were in *kapu* 'taboo' status from sunrise until sunset. This was done at the Pukui's Birch Street residence in Honolulu. The usual greens of the *kuahu* were supplemented by *koa* (*Acacia koa*), added specifically for Patience in order to overcome her shyness. During the day Keahi chanted and small skirts of *kapa* 'barkcloth' and other *hula* accoutrements were made and placed on the altar. They were under the usual *kapu* dealing with kissing, funerals, gossip, food and excrement. At sundown the ritual

eating (*ailolo*) focussed on mullet (sea hog) which had to be eaten from head to the tail. The remains of the ritual eating were placed in *ti* (a woody plant, *Cordyline terminalis*, also known as *kī*) leaves and white cloth. After dark the remains, weighted with a rock, were disposed of in the ocean by Mr Pukui.

For about two years, Kawena and Pat studied with Keahi two afternoons a week at Keahi's Kaka'ako (O'ahu) residence. For 20 minutes at the beginning of each session they learned *hula* movements that centred on lower body motifs accompanied by the *ipu* 'gourd idiophone'. Pat had learned some *hula* previously in primary school and informally from Kawena, but her movements did not please Keahi who said she jerked like a monkey on a string. Keahi had another dream about solving this problem by using a form of *hakahaki* 'limbering exercise'. Accordingly, Keahi carried out this ritual on Pat. It consisted of Keahi chanting special incantations while she held Pat's shoulders and Pat revolved her hips as Keahi pushed her lower and lower. The *hakahaki* worked and from that day Pat danced so beautifully and gracefully that even Keahi was pleased. Keahi was also pleased that Pat had a phenomenal movement memory and would be the perfect carrier of the dance tradition until Keahi's grandniece, 'Iolani Luahine, would be ready to learn more seriously than she had up to that time.

For much of the first year Kawena and Pat learned *hula pā ipu* 'dances accompanied with a gourd idiophone'. Keahi had a long thin bamboo pole with which she swatted Pat's ankles if she did not dance well. Later they learned *hula pahu* 'dances with a sharkskin-covered drum' and *hula* with *kā lā'au* 'rhythm sticks' and *papahehi* 'treadleboard'—all associated with Keahi's Kaua'i traditions. In 1936 Keahi considered Kawena and Pat to be qualified *po'e hula* 'knowledgeable individuals' of her tradition and a *hu'elepo* 'graduation ceremony' was held. *Hu'elepo* is held at 12 noon with the sun directly overhead so no shadows are cast. Kawena and Pat performed the entire repertoire as learned from Keahi, then Keahi chanted and taro leaves and mullet were ritually eaten. Keahi then chanted the special *noa* 'kapu freeing' chant thereby releasing them from her power, meaning that they were free to go to another teacher if they wished. Keahi, however, placed a restriction on her teachings. These were family *hula* and they were to teach no one except Keahi's niece 'Iolani and Kawena's daughter Pele when she was old enough. Anyone else that they might wish to teach in the future had to be acceptable to all three—'Iolani, Pat and Kawena. In 1936 and thereafter, Kawena and Keahi gave a number of public lecture demonstrations.¹

Keahi sent Kawena and Pat to her cousin Kapua, also from Kaua'i, with whom they studied for about a year. At this time Kawena's daughter Pele was about five years old and sometimes danced with them. In this class there were Pat and several other female dancers, as well as Kawena and a

man who studied the *ho'opa'a* part. All of Kapua's dances were also from Kaua'i. Kawena and Pat's next teacher was Joseph Kealiiakamoku 'Ilala'ole-o-Kamehameha (1873–1965) who was both a cousin and uncle of Kawena. 'Ilala'ole was born in Puna, Hawai'i, and was said to be the great-great-great-grandson of Alapa'inui, the ruler of the island of Hawai'i in the early 18th century. In the 1930s, 'Ilala'ole was living in Honolulu and served as a custodian at Ka'ahumanu School, where he also produced Hawaiian pageants. 'Ilala'ole was 62 years old when Kawena and Pat began to study with him, studies they continued for three years. During this time they were expected to respect selected *hula kapu*, especially those dealing with sex and the dead. During each lesson Kawena and Pat were placed in a *kapu* state by 'Ilala'ole chanting appropriate texts, and at the end of each class they were again made *noa*. 'Ilala'ole's *hula*, all of the Hawai'i Island tradition, were much more dynamic and colourful than the more elegant but sombre Kaua'i dances of Keahi's tradition. *Hula pahu* 'hula with sharkskin drum accompaniment' were not part of 'Ilala'ole's repertoire and in later years he often suggested to individuals who wanted to learn *hula pahu* (such as Emma Sharpe) that they ask Kawena or Pat for instruction. The last major teacher of Kawena and Pat was Hattie McFarland, who in the 1940s taught them *hula pahu* of yet another tradition.

In 1943, after they had been training and performing for about ten years, U.S. Army photographer George Bacon filmed performances of Kawena and Patience (Fig. 2) as a favour to Bernice P. Bishop Museum anthropologist Kenneth P. Emory to thank him for his help in making a film on survival techniques useful on Pacific Islands for an official U.S. Army film. Although the *hula* film contains no sound and all repetitions of dance movement sequences were not filmed in order to conserve film (which had not been detailed by the army for this purpose), the dances can be reconstructed from the film—if one knows the tradition and how to perform it. The films were never shown (except for the initial check) and were deposited in the Bishop Museum with the restriction that no one could view or use them without permission from Patience Wiggin. They have now become treasures that preserve many dances of a tradition for which most exponents have now passed away.²

A well known performer from this tradition was Kawena's daughter, Pele Pukui (Suganuma) (1931–1978). As noted above, Pele at age five followed along when Kawena and Pat learned from Kapua, but was only three and four years old when they learned from Keahi. Although Pele did learn some of Keahi's traditions from Kawena and Pat, Pele's learning was much more pragmatic; most of her learning experience was aimed at specific performances. So, as Keahi's dances could not be passed into public domain, she did not emphasise this part of the repertoire in her learning. Pele did,



Figure 2. Kawena Pukui and Patience Wiggin perform a movement from “*Eia ‘o Kalani Kamanomano*”. Photograph from a 1943 film by George Bacon, re-photographed from a video copy by Vic Krantz, Smithsonian Institution.



Figure 3. At a performance at Bishop Museum, Kawena Pukui (left) orally translates a Hawaiian text into English, while her daughter Pele dances and Ka’upena Wong (right) chants and plays the *‘ipu heke*, 19 December 1955. Photograph courtesy of Bishop Museum.

however, learn the *hula* forms that were not restricted and passed these on to selected students. Pele often danced with Ka‘upena Wong as *ho‘opa‘a*. He had also learned from Kawena (Fig. 3). Tragically, Pele suffered a massive heart attack and died while chanting to introduce Edith Kanaka‘ole during a ceremony at the Hawai‘i State Capital—following in the tradition of Pele’s teacher, Malia Kau, who died chanting at the Kamehameha statue for a ceremony on Kamehameha Day.

Pat was very shy and did not often perform, especially after her younger Hawaiian sister, Pele, was taught many of the dances by Pat and Kawena. While Pele performed, Pat became a repository of knowledge about the choreography and a preserver of Keahi Luahine’s tradition. Meanwhile, Keahi’s niece, ‘Iolani Luahine, did become more interested in traditional Hawaiian dance and, as the dream of Keahi had prophesied, ‘Iolani could go to Kawena and Pat in order to relearn the dances of her ancestral line.

Kawena and Patience learned from Keahi Luahine and ‘Ilala‘ole in the most traditional way, that is, with an altar to the *hula* gods and with certain *kapu* or restrictions imposed by their instructors. These teachers and teachers’ teachers placed a high value on exact reproduction of the dances and insisted that changes should not be introduced. Dances were to be performed exactly as taught. Keahi learned them in 1889 from an aged kinsman who probably learned them before 1850, and his teacher may have gone back to pre-Christian times. Thus, it is likely that the tradition as perpetuated by Patience is only three generations away from the religious rituals performed in the temples before 1820, and that changes in the choreography are minimal (Kaepler 1993).

As part of the war effort from 1941–1943, Kawena served as forelady of a camouflage unit in Waikiki, under the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, working with the *lei* ‘garland’ makers, whose job was to weave burlap strips into chicken wire for moveable covers for coast artillery, airplanes and trucks. Kawena’s job was primarily counselling and peacekeeping among the some 100 employees and management staff. Also during the war, Kawena put together a dance group of nearly 50 people who entertained Army, Navy and U.S.O. groups.³ Patience was one of the dancers that held this group together. In the 1930s both Kawena and Pat started their careers at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu. Kawena had previously worked with folklorist Martha Beckwith and then became an assistant to anthropologist E.S.C. Handy. Until 1962, when Kawena retired, she carried out ethnographic research and assisted others, often as an interviewer of other Hawaiians, especially in her home area of Ka‘ū. As her own wealth of information about traditional and modern life in Hawai‘i continued to grow, she became a primary resource to countless researchers. At the Bishop Museum she also served as official translator and left a rich legacy of English translations

from various sources, now known as the “Hawaiian Ethnological Notes”. During this time, Kawena tape-recorded many Hawaiian elders from all the Hawaiian Islands about their lives and traditions. (The recordings are now deposited in the Bishop Museum.)

Patience was employed at the Bishop Museum from 1939 to 1946 as a receptionist, telephone operator and typist for Directors Herbert Gregory and Peter Buck. For a few years she stayed at home as a housewife and mother, but then in 1959 she returned to the Bishop Museum where she assisted Ynez Gibson in the bookshop until 1965. She then served as administrative assistant in the Anthropology Department, where she was also the primary knowledgeable person on Hawaiian culture and protocol, as well as performing her elegant Hawaiian *hula* when called upon for important museum functions. In 1992 she found her perfect niche in the Bishop Museum Archives where she was engaged in translating tape recordings from Hawaiian to English, working with Kawena’s tapes and ethnological notes, and extracting Hawaiian chant and song texts from the archives that are now accessible on the internet. Pat compiled 80 of the texts into a book, *Nā Mele Welo* (1995). As a native speaker of old Hawaiian, Pat is one of the few living people who can understand these speakers of yesteryear; the younger speakers of modern Hawaiian have difficulty with the elder’s pronunciation, grammar and use of metaphor. Essentially, Kawena and Pat have transformed oral tradition to cyberspace.

Kawena taught Hawaiian culture at Punahou School and the Kamehameha Preparatory School. She also taught Hawaiian language and culture to professional linguists and anthropologists, notably Samuel Elbert, Kenneth P. Emory and Edwin Burrows. Encouraged by Elbert, Kawena began to organise the research she had begun when she was a young girl, that of writing down Hawaiian words and their various meanings, and their uses in proverbs and traditional sayings. Out of this work grew the *Hawaiian-English Dictionary* (Pukui and Elbert 1957 and subsequent editions) and *‘Olelo No ‘eau* (Pukui 1983). She wrote or contributed to more than 50 academic works and composed some 150 songs. The academic works of E.S.C. Handy and Martha Beckwith depended largely on the work of Kawena. She was also a primary source for the works of Dorothy Barrère, Kenneth Emory, Adrienne Kaeppler, Alphonse Korn, Margaret Titcomb and many others. After her retirement from the Bishop Museum in 1962, Kawena volunteered at Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center where she was a consultant in Hawaiian culture to the social workers and popularised the Hawaiian concept of *ho ‘oponopono* ‘to do properly/ correctly’. Two books based on this work were published in the 1970s (Pukui *et al.* 1972, 1979).

Kawena, as a woman of Hawaiian ancestry was awarded many honours. These include two honorary doctorates: from the University of Hawai‘i (1960) and from Brigham Young University (1974). She was awarded the 1974

“Governor’s Award of the Order of Distinction for Cultural Leadership” from the State Council on Hawaiian Heritage, and named “A Living Treasure of Hawai‘i” by the Honpa Hongwanji Mission and an “Outstanding Hawaiian” by the Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs in 1969. She was given the David Malo Award from the Rotary Club in 1957 and named one of five *Loea Hula* ‘highest *hula* authority’ in a report by the Bishop Museum to the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts (Kaepler 1970). In 1963 she received the Roseland Award for Outstanding Contributions to the Field of Arts and Letters from the Honolulu Chapter of the National Society of Arts and Letters and in 1981 she was nominated for the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Patience has emphasised the language and *hula* segments of this varied background in Hawaiian culture. Although neither Kawena nor Pat established formal *hula* schools, they have taught selected students. Their most notable students of Hawaiian music and dance, besides daughter Pele, were ‘Iolani Luahine (the grandniece of their teacher Keahi Luahine), Lokalia Montgomery and Ka‘upena Wong. Kawena became a resource on all things Hawaiian and eagerly shared her knowledge with non-Hawaiians as well as Hawaiians. This enlightened attitude, which is also shared by Patience, has been responsible for the preservation and continuation of much Hawaiian knowledge to the present day—much of it in written form.

Pat taught numerous workshops at home and abroad, including an annual event in Mexico for several years. She often served as a judge for *hula* competitions as part of the Merrie Monarch Festival, the King Kamehameha Chant and Hula Competition, Keiki Hula and High School Competitions sponsored by the Kalihi Palama Culture and Arts Association, and several *hula* competitions in Mexico.

The *hula* tradition of Kawena and Pat is a composite from a variety of esteemed teachers and also includes many pieces composed by Kawena. Although Pat learned from Kawena, she also learned at the same time as Kawena—from *hula* masters now long passed on. As the present keeper of these dance traditions that come from a variety of sources, Pat has an extensive and varied repertoire much of which was learned more than 80 years ago and she has passed some of this knowledge to Pele’s granddaughter Kuhi Sukanuma (the daughter of Pele’s son La‘akea) and her other grandnieces. Although Patience generously shares much of her knowledge with a wide variety of people, she only shares her esoteric *hula* knowledge with those she respects and especially only with those that she trusts to perform exactly as she taught them.

The late 19th-century Kawena and her 20th-century *hānai* ‘adoptive’ extension Patience have spanned more than a century of Hawaiian knowledge and tradition—bequeathing a treasure trove of Hawaiian language and dance to the 21st-century renaissance of Hawaiian culture.

KAU'I (1909–1994) AND NOENOELANI

Emily Kau‘i-o-Makaweli-o-na-lani-o-kauai-o-ka-lani-po, ‘lit. Heavenly child of Makaweli, Kua‘i, realm of the gods’, known as Auntie Kau‘i (Fig. 4), was born 8 March 1909 in Ha‘ikū, He‘eia, Ko‘olaupoko, O‘ahu. Kau‘i’s natal parents were Gabriel Kukahiwa and Elizabeth Kaili Kukahiwa, but she was taken as a *hānai* ‘adopted’ daughter by William Kamahumahu Kalani (1850–1953) and Virginia A‘ahulole Kalani (1859–1957). Kau‘i’s natal parents had other children so, in the Hawaiian way, Kau‘i was given as a *punahale* ‘favoured child’ to a couple who had no children, but she was always in contact with both sets of parents. About 1915 the Kukahiwa ‘ohana’ ‘family’ moved to Pākālā Plantation, Kaua‘i, where Gabriel was a steward for the senior Robinsons (of the island of Ni‘ihau).

Kau‘i attended St Ann’s School and Benjamin Parker School on O‘ahu and Waimea High School on Kaua‘i, and had little interest in Hawaiian dance as a child. From ‘A‘ahulole and William, Kau‘i learned the traditions of Hawai‘i by living them. William raised Hawaiian food and caught Hawaiian fish and ‘A‘ahulole cooked them in Hawaiian style. From her adoptive father, Kau‘i



Figure 4. Kau‘i Zuttermeister chants and plays the *ipu* for daughters Noenoelani and Ku‘uipo at Club Jetty in Nawiliwili, Kaua‘i 1950s. Photograph Manila Art Studio, Hanapepe, Kaua‘i. Photograph courtesy of Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis.

learned about nature—different kinds of winds, phases of the moon, planting, the importance of balance and the Hawaiian language. From her adoptive mother, she learned the arts and crafts of Hawaiian women, especially *lauhala* ‘pandanus fibre’ plaiting, *lei* making and quilting. Kau‘i excelled at all of these; her works were exhibited and won blue ribbons in State Fairs and other craft competitions. Her quilts were made in the old Hawaiian style of starting at the centre, known as the *piko* ‘navel’, and quilting outward in complete circles following the pattern. This quilting process captures the *mana* or sacred power of the quilter and the resulting quilt is considered to have life. The quilt then becomes the top layer of bedding and should not be sat upon. Kau‘i’s quilts have now become treasures of her children.

As a young woman, Kau‘i married Patrick J. McCabe. They had two children, Justina (1928–1987) and Patrick Jr (1929–2012). The match was not a happy one and divorce soon followed. For some years Kau‘i was a telephone operator at the State Hospital in Kāne‘ohe and then became an assistant to the chef at the hospital. On 13 October 1934, Kau‘i married Carl Henry Zuttermeister Sr, an American of German descent. This match was a happy one and Zuttermeister formally adopted the two children, even changing the name to Patrick McCabe Jr to Carl Henry Zuttermeister, Jr. Kau‘i’s new husband was a radioman first class in the U.S. Navy, stationed in He‘eia, and it was he who urged Kau‘i to learn *hula*.

At age 24, Kau‘i had the opportunity to join the class of Samuel Pua Ha‘aheo (1885–1952), the husband of her mother’s cousin, Ahmoe. Each evening the whole family drove to Kahana where Uncle Pua taught his class in a fishing and net-making shack in Kahana Bay. While Kau‘i learned, Zuttermeister and the children visited Aunt Ahmoe—and Carl Jr could long recall the “spooky sounds” that would emanate from the dark enclosed shack.

Although not interested at first, after six months of lessons Kau‘i’s interest developed and she continued to study with Pua until the formal graduation (*‘ūniki*) of the class in 1935. During these years Kau‘i participated in various *hō‘ike* ‘performances’ and a *hu‘elepo* ‘the performance of the dances learned and a feast’. By the time of the 1935 *‘ūniki*, Kau‘i was considered by Pua to be a qualified teacher of his tradition.

Pua Ha‘aheo began to teach in the 1930s at the request of the Mormon Church through the Mutual Improvement Association (MIA). This was in keeping with the Mormon view that traditional dance was an appropriate activity as long as it was not associated with religious rituals. At this time Pua was 45 years old, a policeman, keeper of Huilua fishpond at Kahana, a well-known *kilo i‘a* ‘fish spotter’, and an elder of the Mormon Church. Pua agreed to teach *hula* only, but not the *kuahu* rituals ‘rituals held at the altar of the *hula* gods’ which apparently he felt did not fit with his Mormon beliefs.

He felt, however, that *hula* itself was not antagonistic to his Christianity. After class he occasionally talked to his Mormon students about the *kuahu* rituals, but felt that these rituals were unnecessary for learning *hula* and that it was inappropriate to perpetuate them in a class sponsored by the Mormon Church. Classes took place at Pua's home on the shore of the mouth of the river that ran into Kahana Bay. Before and during class the windows were closed and the students chanted for admittance. Pua chanted in answer if they were permitted to enter. Classes were held each evening (except Sunday) from 6:00 to 9:30 or later. Pua's daughter Mamo and Kau'i remained for discussion or to perfect the learning of some of the chants. Pua taught *hula* in a secular form, which no longer had associations with religion, on the grounds that *hula* was important as part of Hawaiian tradition.

All the students were Mormon except Kau'i (who was Roman Catholic) and, except for Mamo, the students were adult women, most of whom were married. Although a dancer since he was a child, it is likely that Pua had not taught *hula* before this time. One may well wonder why, after not teaching the *hula* traditions that he had learned as a child and young man, Pua decided to do so in the 1930s. In addition to acceding to the request of MIA, Pua was probably inspired by the 1931 'ūniki 'graduation' of a Hawaiian dancer, Eleanor Hiram, who had learned from some of his Mormon friends. After the official graduation performance where Eleanor performed her repertoire, Pua performed in her honour. On this occasion he must have noted that his knowledge included a number of *hula* that were not performed—including several *hula pahu* 'with skin-covered drums' and *hula āla 'apapa* 'with gourd idiophones', as well as a *hula kā lā 'au* 'with notched rhythm sticks', a form not widely known or performed.

Pua was interested in *hula* as a dance tradition, rather than the associated *kuahu* 'altar' rituals. There is little doubt that Pua knew about the rituals, but being a man of the modern world, he realised that although the days of *hula kapu* 'sacred *hula*' were over, the dances themselves should live. Like Kamehameha I and King Kalākaua, Pua helped in the process of modifying traditional forms in ways that would make them appropriate in the modern world. That the dances have lived through Kau'i Zuttermeister and her daughter shows the wisdom of his choice of the importance of dance over *kapu*. After the 'ūniki of this class in 1935, Pua taught classes at Kalihi Gymnasium, assisted by Kau'i and Mamo.

During these years, Kau'i purchased a parcel of land on Wailele Road from the Castle family. She sub-divided the land into seven lots and built several houses—including one for her parents. She became a business entrepreneur, renting some of the houses until they were sold in the 1950s; the others have been inherited by her descendants. She gave up working for the State Hospital

and opened a sweet shop/soda fountain called “Z’s Coffee Shop” in Kāne‘ohe. She also ran a small business from her home, where she and her children made cellophane *hula* skirts and musical instruments for sale to other dancers and musicians. At that time, she was one of the few female members of the Kāne‘ohe Business and Professional Association. She also taught *hula* at the Kāne‘ohe Community Center and at military bases including Kāne‘ohe Naval Air Station, Pearl Harbor and Barber’s Point, and she was the only woman among the five founders of the Ko‘olaupoko Hawaiian Civic Club.

After 36 years of active duty, Kau‘i’s husband Carl Zuttermeister retired from the Navy but remained in the active reserve as an electronics mechanic. During the military build-up to the Second World War, the family moved to Kāne‘ohe Naval Air Station. Then, on Sunday, 7 December 1941, while (Lutheran) Zuttermeister was at home, the rest of the family was at Catholic mass in Kailua. When they arrived at the gate on the way home, Japanese Zeros were bombing. Zuttermeister was activated as a Chief Petty Officer radioman and Kau‘i took up her old profession as a telephone operator at Fort Hase Army Base. Zuttermeister carried out top secret work during the rest of the War.

From the mid-1930s Kau‘i taught *hula*. In the 1930s and 1940s, she taught *hapa haole* ‘modern *hula*’ to military wives and dependents, as well as members of the Women’s Army Corp (WAC) and Women’s Navy Corp (WAVE).

Hula ‘auana, as it is now known, has always been an important part of Kau‘i’s teaching and is still taught and performed in the Zuttermeister Hula Studio (originally known as ‘Ilima Hula Hale). Kau‘i was also the composer of several well-known *hula* songs. Her most popular song, “*Nā Pua Lei ‘Ilima*”, was set to music by Alice Kalahui and copyrighted on 14 January 1965. It has been recorded by many artists, and serves as a signature piece for the Zuttermeister family. During the late 1930s, Kau‘i replaced her teacher, Pua Ha‘aheo, as the chanter/musician (*ho‘opa‘a*) for Lei Conn, a dancer at famous Waikīkī nightclubs—Don the Beachcomber, Hawaiian Village, Niumalu Night Club and the Queen’s Surf.

Only a few people have learned from Kau‘i the old chants and dances, for which her tradition has now become famous. During the 1930s Kau‘i, wanting her daughter Justina to learn the old traditions, taught her and a group of her friends the traditional dances of Pua Ha‘aheo. This group had a small *hō‘ike* ‘graduation’, which consisted of a performance and dinner at “The House in the Garden”, in Nu‘uanu, on 22 May 1937, and a performance at the Civic Auditorium. Justina, however, did not carry on the tradition. After graduating from Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore, Maryland, she became a radiologist at Fronk Clinic in Honolulu and later a medical technician in Saigon, Vietnam. She passed away in 1987.

The focus of Kau‘i’s teaching turned to her two Zuttermeister daughters, Ku‘uipo (b. 1944) and Noenoelani (b. 1945). The sisters performed with Kau‘i during the 1950s at public and private events (see Fig. 4). Noenoelani had started learning *hula* from her sister Justina when she was three years old and from Kau‘i when she was five years old. She continued to learn both traditional and modern *hula*, and during the 1970s and 1980s performed as the soloist with Chuck Machado’s Waikiki Luau and as a choreographer for the dancers. Noenoelani was the most serious of Kau‘i’s dancing daughters and was Kau‘i’s *alaka‘i* ‘lead dancer’ and principal teacher for many years. With the passing of Kau‘i in 1994, Noenoelani took over the Zuttermeister studio. Noenoelani’s daughter Hau‘olionalani (b. 1966) has learned *hula* from Noenoelani and Kau‘i since she was three years old and has also become a repository of the tradition of Sam Pua Ha‘aheo. Hau‘olionalani’s daughter Kahulaauli‘ikala‘imaikalani (known as Kahula) has also been groomed to carry on the tradition (Fig. 5). Three of Kau‘i’s other granddaughters—Ululani Zuttermeister (daughter of Carl Jr), Kau‘ilani Kekuaokalani and Noenoelani Kekuaokalani (daughters of Ku‘uipo)—have also learned dances of this tradition, and Ululani assists Noenoe and has been teaching on her own. For the present generation, however, daughter Noenoelani is the keeper of the dance tradition of Kau‘i Zuttermeister and her mentor Sam Pua Ha‘aheo.



Figure 5. Four generations of Zuttermeister dancers, 1989: Kau‘i Zuttermeister (left), granddaughter Hau‘olionalani Lewis (top), great-granddaughter Kahulaauli‘ikala‘imaikalani (Lewis) Guinn (bottom) and daughter Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis (right). Photograph courtesy of Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis.



Figure 6. Kau‘i Zuttermeister and Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis perform for the American Dance Festival, Durham, North Carolina, July 1987. Photograph courtesy of Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis.

During the 1980s, Kau‘i and the Zuttermeister dancers began receiving increased national attention. In 1984 Kau‘i, along with her daughter and granddaughter, became part of “The Grand Generation” programme at the Festival of American Folklife at the Smithsonian Institution, and in 1984 Kau‘i became the first Hawaiian to receive a “National Heritage Fellowship” from the National Endowment of the Arts in Washington, D.C. In 1987, the three generations performed at the special Hawaiian programme at the American Dance Festival in Durham, North Carolina (Fig. 6). And, in 1989, four generations of Zuttermeisters became part of the Hawai‘i State Program at the Festival of American Folklife at the Smithsonian. During the year of 1989–1990, the Zuttermeister family undertook the immense task of presenting the family *hula* tradition during the exhibition evening of the Merrie Monarch Festival on Wednesday, 19 April 1990, which included all family members even if they had not danced before. This year of practice

and family gatherings was documented by Hawai‘i Public Television and presented in 1990 as “*No na Mamo*”, ‘lit. For the Descendants’. In 1996, the Zuttermeisters were called back to the Smithsonian to perform at the Smithsonian’s 150th Anniversary celebration.

As one of the most respected *hula* teachers of the 20th century, Kau‘i left a *hula* legacy of grand proportion. She was honoured numerous times by the Hawaiian community: in 1971 she received the “*Nā Makua I Mahalo ‘Ia*” ‘Appreciated Elders’ award for perpetuating Hawaiian culture from Brigham Young University, Hawai‘i; she was designated as a Living Treasure in 1982 by the Honpa Hongwanji Mission; and she was named as one of five *loea hula* ‘highest *hula* authorities’ in a report by the Bishop Museum (Kaepler 1970) to the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts. She took a leading part in many special Hawaiian events, such as the opening ceremonies for the Nu‘uanu Pali tunnels; she was a chanter for the crowning of the Lei Day Queens for 18 years; and she organised pageants for special Hawaiian occasions and holidays, such as the 1954 pageant on the life of Kamehameha and the 1974 pageant honouring Hawaiian Queens. She was a judge for more than 20 years for the *hula* competitions of the Merrie Monarch Festivals, the Kamehameha Day Chant and Hula Competitions, and Intermediate and High School *hula* competitions, as well as competitions held in San Jose, California.

Over the years Kau‘i had many students. However, except for her daughter Noenoelani, Kau‘i did not feel that any of them had acquired enough knowledge about the traditional chants and *hula* of Sam Pua Ha‘aheo to be considered a *po‘e hula* ‘knowledgeable *hula* person’ of his tradition. Many students were interested in learning a few chants and dances to expand their own repertoire of traditional dances and pass them on to their own students. Kau‘i was repeatedly upset when changes were made in dances that came from her repertoire, either by her students or by people who had seen her dances and borrowed movements from them. For several years during the 1970s and 1980s, Kau‘i taught advanced lessons in traditional *hula* and chant which consisted of two 10-session classes. Many of the students in these classes were *hula* teachers who had studied with other teachers. Kau‘i did not have formal graduations. Kau‘i and Noenoe hope that their students will perform and teach exactly as they were taught; their students are never given permission to make any changes in the dances.

Noenoelani has gone on to become a noted dancer, teacher, judge and mentor in her own right. Since 1989 she has taught Hawaiian dance and chant in the Music Department of the University of Hawai‘i and has performed at the highest level University events. In 1990, her University students performed in Hong Kong for the World Dance Alliance. A student from Japan, Ku‘uleinani Hashimoto, has taken private lessons from Noenoelani since 1992 and continues to study with her. Ku‘uleinani’s *hula* school, Halau Hula ‘O Mehanaokalā, has

won awards in both *hula kahiko* ‘traditional *hula*’ and *hula auana* ‘modern *hula*’. In 2004 Noenoelani and her daughter, Hau‘olionalani, performed at the opening of the Hawaiian Treasures exhibit “Nā Mea Makamae” at the Smithsonian Institution, and in 2009 Noenoelani and her granddaughter, niece and grandniece performed at the Cook-voyage exhibit at the Bonn Kunsthalle, Germany. Noenoelani has served as a judge for *hula* competitions in Honolulu, Las Vegas, Tokyo, Canada and other places. She has also judged at the prestigious Merrie Monarch Festival in Hilo, Hawai‘i, for many years.

KAWENA AND KAU‘I; PATIENCE AND NOENOELANI

Kawena and Kau‘i came from quite different backgrounds. They had different teachers from different *hula* traditions. They started dancing at different times of their lives and used their dance traditions in quite different ways. Nonetheless, they had great respect for each other and their respective dance traditions. Like a few other dance families in Hawai‘i (such as the Kanaka‘ole family of Hilo) they have preserved the knowledge inherited within their family lines by passing it on to their daughters. They exemplify a Hawaiian proverb: *‘A‘ole i pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okahi* ‘All knowledge is not taught in one school’. Patience and Noenoelani have accepted the responsibility of keeping these traditions alive by preserving and passing on their knowledge (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. The descendants: Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis and Pat Namaka Bacon, June 2015. Photograph Dodie Browne.

Through these four women we can celebrate 200 years of Hawaiian dance.
E ola mau. May it live forever.

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I would like to thank Kawena Pukui and Pat Bacon, who began my *hula* instruction in the late 1960s. I would also like to thank Kau‘i Zuttermeister and Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis, from whom I learned *hula* in their ten-session classes (mentioned above) and beyond. These four *hula* masters are teachers who became friends and friends who became teachers, and we have continued to interact to the present day. We all worked together on my *Hula Pahu* book, because they wanted this material to be preserved as they taught it, along with their insights. This article is an offshoot of our work together, and was read and approved by Pat Bacon and Noenoelani Zuttermeister. I also want to thank the late Carl Zuttermeister Jr and Pat Couvillon for helpful comments on the manuscript.

NOTES

1. One of these lecture-demonstrations, at the Kaua‘i Historical Society, was published in 1936 (Pukui 1980).
2. Copies of these films are now in the Bishop Museum and the Smithsonian Institution’s National Anthropological Archive. Patience Wiggin married the film-maker George Bacon in 1945, they had one daughter, Dodie, born 1952.
3. This acronym stands for United Service Organizations Inc., a nonprofit organisation that provides programmes, services and live entertainment to United States troops and their families. Established in 1941, during the Second World War, the USO became the U.S. service men’s “home away from home”, beginning a tradition of entertaining the troops that continues today.

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ABSTRACT

Two Hawaiian women, born around the turn of the 19th century into the 20th, became students, performers and finally acknowledged repositories of *hula* and its associated knowledge. They passed on their expertise and knowledge in many ways to many others, and especially to one daughter each, who has passed it on yet again. This narrative of aspects of these women's lives focusses on their learning and teaching, and contributes to a deeper understanding of the *hula* tradition in Hawai'i and the significant role of women in maintaining and enhancing it.

Keywords: Hawaiian dance, hula, biography Mary Kawena Pukui, biography Kau'i Zuttermeister, Bishop Museum, Second World War.

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