

**The Kini Kapahu Amendments:
Editing and Retaining an Accurate Representation of the Hula Dance
at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair**

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Introduction

Hawai'i is the fiftieth state of the United States of America and has become synonymous with an American paradise. A vacation in the sun on beaches with mai tais in hand are images that tend to come to mind. One imagines dancing hula girls, wearing grass skirts and coconut bras that leave little to the imagination. One hand is holding a lei and the other a pineapple. Her breathy "Aloha" entices viewers to hop on the next plane to Hawai'i. Guests at hotel luaus see scantily clad hula showgirls wearing feathered headdresses and leis, waving grass pom-poms, and gyrating their hips. But are these hula dances "authentic," or is there an older, more traditional hula? Is there a hidden history and controversy regarding the hula and its representation to mainland American audiences?

When Christian missionaries landed in Hawai'i in the 1820s,¹ the hula dance was banned because it was perceived to be an overtly sexual dance form. In the 1880s and 1890s, the United States government became increasingly interested in the burgeoning fruit and sugar industry on the Islands.² In 1893, U.S. businessmen staged a coup d'état and overthrew the last Hawaiian monarch, assumed control of the Hawaiian legislature, and began legally annexing Hawai'i in the name of the U.S. government.³

On May 1, 1893, nearly five months after the overthrow, the Chicago World's Fair opened its doors.⁴ This fair was a celebration of the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's arrival in the New World.⁵ At the fair, a road called the Midway Plaisance

¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 15th ed., s.v. "Hawaii."

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, 1st ed., s.v. "World's Columbian Exposition."

showcased different ethnic villages and performances.⁶ Four hula dancers and two musicians from Hawai'i performed at the Chicago World's Fair for four months.⁷ It was at the Midway Plaisance that Kini Kapahu led her dancers and performed a wide range of traditional hula dances for a mainland U.S. audience.

The Hawaiian community considered Kini Kapahu and her dancers troublesome. Instead of being celebrated as the first Hawaiian hula dancers to perform on the mainland, they were called *hilahila*, or shameful.⁸ Kapahu was accused of “selling” Hawai'i to the Americans at the World's Fair. The hula dance is a moving archive of Hawaiian dance, language, culture, and history. By performing a sacred dance form for the country that took control of Hawai'i, Kini Kapahu and her dancers indeed appear guilty of selling the hula and Hawai'i.

This paper will analyze Kini Kapahu and her performances by comparing and contrasting her accounts of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair to recorded hula traditions. First, I will look at changes in costuming to show that the changes were a response to the lack of resources to make traditional costumes, but were still in line with hula tradition. Second, I will show that Kini Kapahu performed the hula in an appropriate setting, therefore respectfully presenting the hula dance to an American audience as it would have been in Hawai'i. I will then follow up with a comparison between Kini Kapahu's controversial song choice and the compositional style of Hawaiian *meles*,⁹ or chants, to show that her song did not further sexualize the hula and that she only made the hidden sexual nature of the hula more accessible to an American audience. Lastly

⁶ *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, 1st ed., s.v. “World's Columbian Exposition.”

⁷ Kapahu interview ec2583. Kini Kapahu did not clearly say the names of the dancers or the musicians.

⁸ Ella Chun, “Auntie Jennie,” *Hawai'i Advertiser*, 12 August 1954.

⁹ Hawaiian terminology will be used throughout the paper out of respect to the Hawaiian language. It is inevitably difficult for the English speaker to learn all of the terminology. Definitions of all of the Hawaiian words used in this paper will be listed in the appendix for reference.

I will look at the types of hula dances that were performed and Kapahu's dedication of the hula to the old monarchs of Hawai'i. In piecing together these hula traditions with Kini Kapahu's interview, it is clear that the hula that Kini Kapahu and her dancers performed accurately represented the Hawaiian hula to American audiences.

Review of Literature and Methodology

It is difficult to research the Hawaiian hula since so many of the traditions are passed down orally between *kumu hulas*, or hula instructors, and their students. The Hawaiian language originally was not a written language, so very little written information can be found prior to the arrival of U.S. missionaries in the 1820s.

In 1893, the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations convened a meeting to discuss the relationship between the mainland U.S. and the Hawaiian Islands. The hula was discussed briefly but disparagingly referred to as a lascivious dance form. Transcripts of this meeting are dated only two months before the Chicago World's Fair opened in May 1893 with Kini Kapahu's hula group.

Even though the Chicago World's Fair had 27 million attendees,¹⁰ newspaper articles about the hula performances are limited to short, non-descriptive paragraphs and will not be used to provide details on the hula performances at the World's Fair.

Instead, I will be relying on two key pieces of evidence. The first is considered the standard text of the Hawaiian hula, *Unwritten Literature of Hawai'i*, written by Nathaniel B. Emerson, A.M., M.D.,¹¹ a medical physician who was once a clinical assistant from Columbia

¹⁰ Ella Chun, "Auntie Jennie," *Hawai'i Advertiser*, 12 August 1954.

¹¹ Nathaniel B. Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula* (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1909).

University's very own College of Physicians and Surgeons.¹² His book is a collection of descriptions of different subtypes of traditional hula and their accompanying *meles* written in Hawaiian next to their English translations. Dr. Emerson was not a native Hawaiian, nor do I speak Hawaiian. Although the original Hawaiian is written in his book, Dr. Emerson notes that any symbolism in the writing of the chants is simply lost in translation and may not bear the same significance to an English reader.¹³ I also cannot verify the accuracy of his translations. This book is extensively cited in literature on the Hawaiian hula and is treated as the foundational text of hula. However, any uncorrected errors in Emerson's book may trickle into literature that cites this book, thereby misrepresenting the hula. To circumvent this potential for misinformation, this discussion focuses on Kini Kapahu, a dancer who is able to corroborate or debunk some of the claims that Emerson makes in his book.

Kini Kapahu is a difficult woman to locate in historical records. The names of specific Hawaiian hula performers are difficult to find because they are often generically labeled as "dancers." This paper heavily relies on a sixteen-hour recording of an oral history of Kini Kapahu conducted by an American anthropologist, Joann Kealiinohomoku, in June 1962. The tapes are currently missing from the University of Hawai'i. Since Kealiinohomoku's death in 2015, her archive, Cross-Cultural Dance Resources, has been cataloguing its numerous resources but was unable to locate the tapes.¹⁴ After several months of searching and waiting, I acquired the tapes from the Archives of Traditional Music at Indiana University.¹⁵

¹² "Nathaniel Bright Emerson Papers 1766-1944," *Online Archive of California*, <<http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt6t1nb227/>> (13 January 2017).

¹³ Emerson, 20.

¹⁴ Adair Landborn, <adair.landborn@asu.edu> "Columbia University Senior Thesis Research," 9 November 2016, personal e-mail (12 November 2016).

¹⁵ Kini Kapahu, interview with Joann Kealiinohomoku, 1962, Indiana University. This group of twelve recordings was made available to me by Marilyn Graf and Ilze Akerbergs from the Indiana University Archive of Traditional

In these tapes, Kini Kapahu speaks more frequently about her experiences at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair than other fairs or similar events. This paper focuses on this one fair because expanding the topic to include other fairs without having detailed descriptions of those experiences would force me to rely solely on newspaper clippings. Knowing how the U.S. Congress regarded the hula dance and the Hawaiian Islands, it would be irresponsible to assume that these newspaper articles are devoid of that same bias. They would ultimately be inaccurate accounts of hula dance performances.

However, as with all sources, Kini Kapahu's interview testimony cannot be blindly trusted. The tapes were recorded when Kini Kapahu was ninety years old and a month before her death on July 23, 1962. The 1893 Chicago World's Fair lay sixty-nine years in the past. The interview serves as one of the few sources on the hula dance that was performed at the World's Fair, but the accuracy of the details of her performances were at the mercy of Kapahu's own memory. I duly note that I am unable to verify the validity of her accounts of her performances. With that in mind, I cross-reference her recorded chants and descriptions of each type of hula she performed with Emerson's book whenever possible.

Using *Unwritten Literature* and Kini Kapahu's testimony together offers as accurate a description, understanding, and analysis of the Hawaiian hula as possible. Each section is therefore structured to include a comparison of both works.

There are two types of hula dance, the *hula 'auana* and the *hula kahiko*. However, this paper will focus solely on the *hula kahiko* because Kini Kapahu performed several subtypes of

Music whose help I gratefully acknowledge. The tapes will be cited hereafter as Kapahu interview followed by the tape number ec25XX.

the *hula kahiko* at the World's Fair. I will refer to the *hula kahiko* as the traditional hula to assist me in proving that Kini Kapahu did indeed preserve hula tradition as best as she could.

Background

The origins of the Hawaiian hula are shrouded in mystery. The islands of Hawai'i, Moloka'i, O'ahu, and Kaua'i, all claim to be the birthplace of hula and link its beginnings to a number of gods.¹⁶ Some attribute two sister goddesses, Pele and Hi'iaka, with the origin of the hula. The story goes that Hi'iaka dances with her good friend, Ho'poe, to appease Pele, the goddess of fire, lightning, wind, and volcanoes.¹⁷ Still others connect its origins with various forms of the pan-Polynesian cultural hero, the great navigator Laka. It is unimportant to identify the sole goddess who created the hula. It is more important to recognize that the hula is ultimately a dance form that functions as an archive of Hawaiian myths and legends.

In modern times, there are two types of hula dancing. The *hula 'auana* is the most commonly recognized hula. The dancers perform by swaying their hips side to side with modern music, such as the ukulele and nostalgic tropical-sounding ballads.¹⁸ The *hula kahiko* is the traditional hula that uses more angular movement to recount mythical epics of old Hawaiian gods, goddesses, and monarchs.¹⁹ This paper will focus solely on the *hula kahiko*.

Hula dancers are trained by a *kumu hula*, or hula instructor, in a *halau*, or dance school. The *'olapa* are the young agile dancers, and the *ho'opa'a* are the students who play the

¹⁶ "The History of the Hula," The Ka'imi Nau'auao O Hawai'i Nei Institute, <<http://www.kaimi.org/education/history-of-hula>> (31 March 2017).

¹⁷ *The International Encyclopedia of Dance*, s.v. "Hula."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

instruments.²⁰ The hula is accompanied by chants called *mele* by both the dancers and the musicians.²¹ Female dancers wear a wrap skirt called a *pa`u* made of patterned cloth; men wear loincloths.²² Dancers adorn their wrists and ankles with *leis* and *ku`pe`e*, or anklets, made of vegetation collected from the surrounding land.²³

The hula has been practiced for centuries, but “soon after their arrival in 1820, Calvinist missionaries pressured *ali`i* (chiefs) to ban hula performances,”²⁴ claiming that the hula was immoral because prostitutes allegedly practiced it. This negative sentiment toward the hula extended even further to include the United States government. In a 1893 report from the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the hula dance was mentioned six times. The most extensive mention is as follows:

One of the foul fluorescences of the great poison tree of idolatry is the hula....The chief posturings and movements of the hulas are pantomimes of unnameable lewdness, illustrated and varied art, and accompanied with chants of unspeakable foulness of diction and description....The multitudes of men, women, and children who throng to these royal hula operas there drink in the heathen ethics of social life... embellished with foul wit in soul, extolling and dramatizing impurity. Against such schooling, it must be a powerful civilizing force that can make head and redeem any Hawaiian homes from becoming brothels.²⁵

In the eyes of the United States Senate, the hula was an impure and lewd practice that promoted prostitution and drinking.

²⁰ Emerson, 28.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²² *Ibid.*, 29.

²³ Dorothy B. Barrere, Mario Kelly, and Mary K. Pukui, *Historical Hula Perspectives* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1980), 59.

²⁴ Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 14.

²⁵ U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, *Hawaiian Islands: Report of the Committee on foreign relations, United States Senate, with accompanying testimony and executive documents transmitted to Congress from January 1, 1893, to March 10, 1894* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894.)

Hula dances are the most important part of Hawaiian identity because they bring together morals, values, customs, and religious beliefs in a form that is accessible and provides cultural continuity, connecting one Hawaiian to another. With the hula stripped away, Hawaiian identity becomes incomplete.

Even though the hula ban was lifted in the 1850s, fines were put in place to discourage hula dancers from performing the hula in public. However “from 1874 to 1891, King David Kalakaua famously defied abstemious missionaries and revived Hawaiian religious and cultural practices. With his support, hula began to make its way out of the shadows.”²⁶ The hula was showcased on palace grounds during the king’s coronation and his fiftieth birthday jubilee, which featured a court dance troupe called the *Hui Lei Mamo*.²⁷

Performing the hula and *meles* was an act of defiance by the Hawaiian monarchy against the colonization and intrusion of American missionaries and the U.S. government. These court dances showed that Americans could not control Hawaiians because Hawaiians would fight for their freedoms. The celebrations “legitimated the nation and constituted a national narrative for Hawai’i.”²⁸ The hula provided a way to resist colonization and the degradation of the Hawaiian right to sovereignty. A hula under imperialism became a hula liberated.

Of all the dancers in Kalakaua’s *Hui Lei Mamo*, Kini Kapahukulaokamamalu, or Kini Kapahu for short, is the subject of great historical controversy. She was born on March 4, 1872 in Honolulu and was informally adopted by her *hanai*, or adoptive mother, Kapahu Kula O Kamamalu.²⁹ By pure luck, she grew up next to Kalakaua “at the corner of Punchbowl and

²⁶ Imada, 29.

²⁷ Ibid., 29.

²⁸ Ibid., 44.

²⁹ Chun, “Auntie Jennie.”

Queens street for many years before the king moved to Iolani Palace in 1882.”³⁰ She made her debut at King Kalakaua’s fiftieth birthday jubilee on November 16, 1886.

In 1893, Kini Kapahu was approached by Harry W. Foster, an American businessman, to go to the Chicago World’s Fair to be a part of the Midway Plaisance, a street of themed villages from around the world.³¹ The 1893 Chicago World’s Fair was the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’s arrival in the New World.³² The Midway Plaisance was inspired by the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition, where the French government and prominent anthropologists turned representations of the French colonies into ethnological villages featuring people from Africa and Asia. Chicago's exposition directors placed the Midway under the direction of Harvard's Frederic Ward Putnam, who had already been chosen to organize an anthropology building at the fair.³³ As visitors walked down the Midway Plaisance, they would encounter multiple exhibits of “primitive” human beings to measure the progress of humanity toward an idealized civilization presented in an attraction called the White City, a collection of Venice-like waterways and white, stucco palaces.³⁴

Six months before the fair opened, Hawai’i’s last monarch, Queen Liliuokalani, was overthrown by American businessmen. The U.S. government was heavily reliant on Hawaiian sugar imports during the Civil War.³⁵ Later fruit plantations became profitable as well because of Hawai’i’s fertile soil. Controlling Hawai’i would allow the U.S. to control Pacific trade. A movement grew among American citizens in Hawai’i to annex the country. In 1887, American

³⁰ Chun, “Auntie Jennie.”

³¹ Kapahu interview ec2583.

³² *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, “World’s Columbian Exposition.”

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Hawaii.”

anti-monarchists drafted a new Hawaiian constitution known as the Bayonet Constitution.³⁶ King Kalakaua was forced to sign the document or be deposed. Upon signing the document, the Hawaiian League, a group of American businessmen, assumed legislative roles, ultimately stripping King Kalakaua of his power.³⁷ When King Kalakaua died, Queen Liliuokalani assumed the throne and found a loophole in the Bayonet Constitution. Because King Kalakaua had passed away, the Bayonet Constitution had no provisions in place in the event of the death of a monarch. Liliuokalani selected new cabinet members, but her actions were overturned by the legislature.³⁸ On January 16, 1893, United States Marines surrounded the Iolani Palace and informed her that a provisional government would be in place to facilitate the official annexation of Hawai'i.³⁹ On January 17, Queen Liliuokalani abdicated the throne.⁴⁰

In May 1893, just five months after the coup d'etat, Kini Kapahu along with three other female dancers and two male instrumentalists left for the mainland. Kapahu traveled to Chicago during a tumultuous period of American imperialism that ultimately stripped away Hawaiian sovereignty. She took the Hawaiian hula, with its myths, traditions, language, and dance steps, and brought it to the Chicago World's Fair, a place where non-American and non-European cultures were lined up on a street next to the White City, in an attempt to celebrate the advances of Euro-American society. King Kalakaua may have liberated the hula to protest American imperialism, but Kini Kapahu and her performances at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair would complicate the narrative.

³⁶ Encyclopaedia Britannica, "Hawaii."

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Setting the Stage-- The Kini Kapahu Problem

Although Kini Kapahu was known for being the first Hawaiian dancer to perform in the mainland, she was met with great disdain back in Hawai'i. As she reminisced about her days after returning from touring in the States, she laughingly said,

Many [Hawaiians] 'til today, they hate me, and I don't know why. I don't know what for. They all make fun of me, and I don't care. Oh especially when I came back from the mainland. Oh it was awful. I cried. My mother knows I'm crying, she hold me.... They make fun of me in the street, and I never danced the hula ever since I came back. I never danced no hula until John was the mayor.⁴¹ I came back and the first time I ever danced in the public, a big luau night... a New Year's Eve party... I saw those women who used to make fun of me in the street. They used to spit at me, making faces at me."⁴²

Being publicly ridiculed in a manner as spiteful as being spit at in the street suggests that Kapahu had done something on the mainland that Hawaiians believed was a disgrace to Hawaiian culture. She did not know why they treated her in this manner, so completely did she believe in her own innocence. The argument that follows will provide insight into how Kapahu accurately represented the Hawaiian hula to a mainland American audience.

Costuming

The Ku'pe'e

An important part of a hula dancer's attire is the *ku'pe'e*, or anklets. They were typically made out of whale teeth, bone, shell-work, or leaves.⁴³ When Kapahu was on tour, she would make her own *ku'pe'e* out of rooster feathers and dye them a variety of colors, indulging in a

⁴¹ Kini Kapahu's husband, John H. Wilson, was a civil engineer, co-founder of the Democratic Party of Hawai'i, and the mayor of Honolulu, Hawai'i from 1920-1927, 1929-1931 and finally from 1946-1954. Kini Kapahu is referring to the year 1927 in this story.

⁴² Kapahu interview ec2582.

⁴³ Philip J.C. Dark, ed., *Artistic Heritage in a Changing Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1993), 47.

little bit of creativity.⁴⁴ When asked why she and her troupe chose to make their *ku'pe'e* out of rooster feathers, she responded, "Oh I don't know."⁴⁵ She did not speak about how she managed to find rooster feathers. But she did say that the anklets had to be remade multiple times during her time at the fair from the wear and tear of performing.⁴⁶

Each costume piece of the hula dance is associated with a ritual. There are *mele*, or chants, that are to be sung while putting on the costumes. When putting on the *ku'pe'e*, the *mele ku'pe'e*, or anklet-song would be sung:

Fragrant the grasses of high Kane-hoa.
Bind on the anklets, bind!
Bind with the finger deft as the wind
That cools the air of this bower.
Lehua bloom pales at my flower,
O sweetheart of mine,
Bud that I'd pluck and wear in my wreath,
If thou wert but a flower!⁴⁷

The *mele* consistently alludes to images of nature. These *ku'pe'e* were made from materials that were taken from the land, so that each time the dancer performed, he or she was connected to the land, which was seen as a gift from the Hawaiian gods.

Although it seems that Kapahu put very little thought into changing the materials that the *ku'pe'e* were made from, the use of rooster feathers was still a reflection of her environment. She said that on the island she would have used *lauhala*, or the leaves of the hala tree.⁴⁸ The rooster feathers she used in her makeshift *ku'pe'e* connected Kapahu and her dancers to the Chicago fairgrounds where they performed. Traditional Hawaiian hula dancers made costumes from the

⁴⁴ Kapahu interview ec2583.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Emerson, 49.

⁴⁸ Kapahu interview ec2584.

resources of the land where they found themselves. So too did Kapahu and her dancers. Kapahu did not misrepresent the hula. The changes in the *ku'pe'e* are instead reflective of her time at the fair.

The Wool Pa'u Skirt and Kapahu's Invented Skirts

Kapahu's innovations did not stop at the *ku'pe'e*. In fact,

The dancers had one major problem -- coconut frond hula skirts were not lasting and became chaotic costumes when not replenished daily. They weren't as practical as the brittle leaves could stand no more than a motion or two... [Kapahu] conceived the idea of making hula skirts from common brown twine painting it green.⁴⁹

The dancers were away from their native island for six months, performing multiple times a day. Because the costumes were traditionally made from natural materials found in Hawai'i, limited resources forced the dancers to improvise. In addition to the twine skirts, Kapahu's proudest invention was the green *ti* leaf skirt.⁵⁰ She claimed that the dried brown *ti* leaf skirt is what was traditionally used on the island.⁵¹ She even said, "I should have patented it."⁵²

⁴⁹ Chun, "Auntie Jennie."

⁵⁰ Kapahu interview ec2582.

⁵¹ There are logistical issues with this particular statement. Kapahu remained on the mainland for several years before returning to the island to be with her mother. The *ti* leaf is a native plant of the Polynesian Islands and Hawai'i. It is not indigenous to the mainland U.S. It is possible that she brought *ti* leaves while on tour, but if she had a limited supply of *ti* leaves, it stands to reason that over time Kapahu would have had dried *ti* leaves to dance with instead of fresh green *ti* leaves. During the interview, Kealiinohomoku claimed that there was a man at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu who claimed that Kapahu invented the dried *ti* leaf skirt and that the green *ti* leaf was the original. Kapahu insisted that this was not the case and throughout the sixteen hours of interviewing, she adamantly declared that she invented the green *ti* leaf skirt.

⁵² Ibid. This statement from Kapahu comes up several times throughout the interview. However, this idea is at odds with the Hawaiian idea of land ownership. Hawaiians do not have a concept of land ownership as there is in Western cultures. Because hula costuming connects the dancer to the land and is a way of respecting the gods for the land that is provided to them, patenting the green *ti* leaf skirt would be at odds with this key Hawaiian cultural ideal. Because Kapahu is criticized for selling out and is accused of misrepresenting the Hawaiian hula, the desire to patent her skirt hints at the possibility that she was at least in part motivated by profit by performing at the fairs. But, again, I was unable to delve deeper into her motives with the tapes that I have.

While on the road she also made *pa'u* skirts from wool because that was the material that was available to her. Again, as with the *ku'pe'e*, Kapahu does not go into detail as to why wool was the fabric of choice but only states that it was available to her at the time. When Kealiinohomoku asked Kapahu about using the wool *pa'u* on the island, Kapahu responded, “We don’t dance with that thing over here. We dance with cloth, the tapa skirt.”⁵³ For Kapahu, the wool *pa'u* skirt is purely something she used for the hula while on tour. It was a material that was indicative of her time at the fair and nowhere else.

In a similar fashion, the *pa'u* skirt is venerated as “the most important piece of attire worn by the Hawaiian female... it represented many stages of evolution beyond the primitive fig-leaf, being fabricated from a great variety of materials furnished by the garden of nature.”⁵⁴

The *mele* compares the *pa'u* to the land. For example, a popular *pa'u* chant is as follows:

Hung on the roof-tree Ha-la'a-wili,
 Make a bundle fitting the shoulder;
 Lash it fast, rolled tight like a log.
 The bundle falls, red shows the pali;
 The children should, they scream in derision.
 The a'o bird shrieks itself hoarse
 In wonder at the pa'u--
 Pa'u with a sheen like Hi'i-lawe falls,
 Bowed like the rainbow arch
 Of the rain that's now falling.⁵⁵

The *pa'u* fabric connected the Hawaiian dancer to the land. Wearing the *pa'u* was a way of celebrating the Hawaiian landscape and a symbolic way for dancers to take parts of Hawai'i with them when they performed. In fact, the names of locations were only culturally significant to native Hawaiians, making it very clear that wearing the *pa'u* was a way for Hawaiians to honor

⁵³ Kapahu interview ec2584.

⁵⁴ Emerson, 49-50.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Hawai'i. Surroundings influenced what the dancers used back on the Hawaiian islands, much as they did on the mainland.

The changes that Kapahu made to the hula costumes were not done to express malicious intent or as a deliberate act of selling out to make the hula more entertaining to a *haole* audience. Kini Kapahu and her dancers were simply adapting to their environment while abiding by hula traditions.

Location, Location, Location

In Chicago, Kapahu and her dancers performed in a theater space with 300 chairs for six months.⁵⁶ When questioned if she and her dancers performed outside, she responded,

We don't go on the street in our hula clothes. We don't dance the hula for everybody, to all, to Tom, Dick, and Harry.... Hula is very religious. It has to be done in a house not on the street. That makes it common. People make fun of it. But if you are in the house, then you are not dancing on the street. But now, my God, it's everywhere, on the beach, on the street, everywhere. So the hula is no more hula.⁵⁷

There is an audible change in tone at this point of the interview. Kapahu becomes agitated when defending her actions and expresses her disappointment at the state of hula in modern times.⁵⁸

When Kini Kapahu speaks about the Hawaiian hula as a religious dance, she means that the hula dance has religious connotations. There were rituals associated with the hula dance. There were dances and *meles* dedicated to specific Hawaiian gods, such as Hi'iaka and Pele.⁵⁹ In training, there was an altar to Laka, the patron goddess of the hula.⁶⁰ Because of these religious

⁵⁶ Kapahu interview ec2583.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ The interview was conducted in 1962.

⁵⁹ Kapahu interview ec2582.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

associations, the Hawaiian hula dance was not to be treated lightly. It was to be performed in an appropriate space that treated the hula with the appropriate respect. Performing the hula in the open for all to see clearly violated what Kapahu had been taught as a child. Dancing the hula behind closed doors kept it for those who understood the dance and would appreciate it. Performing the hula in a theater was Kapahu's way of respecting it.

Even when Kapahu was dancing in King Kalakaua's court, she performed the hula at the royal boat house. Kapahu claimed,

Kalakaua always had dancers in his court dancing for his pleasure.... There were parties for his guests from the mainland on their way to Australia with dancers as well. They weren't only for his friends, but for everyone in Honolulu.⁶¹

Based on her anecdotes, it seems that it was acceptable for the hula to be performed as entertainment, so long as the dancers performed in an enclosed space, such as a boat house. It appears that performing the hula as entertainment was in line with practices set forth on the island by King Kalakaua himself.

However the situation is not as simple as stating that Kini Kapahu performing in a theater was sufficient to demonstrate her respect toward the hula. She was simply a hula dancer at the fair performing with her troupe for strangers, not a member of the royal family who was entertaining guests.

She expressed anger that dancers had "cheapened" the hula dance by performing it on the street "all-over." But upon reflection, it seems that in Kapahu's own performances she was doing the same thing. She claimed to have

Performed the whole thing in six to eight minutes. There were 300 chairs. The shows were from 11am, 2, 4, 6, and 9pm. It was a 10 minute show... we had our own concession.⁶²

⁶¹ Kapahu interview ec2582.

⁶² Kapahu interview ec2583.

Performing the hula so frequently and being compensated in ticket sales seems to be not so different from the dancers that she believed changed the traditions and performed simply what would be well-received and profitable.

As a member of the royal family and the reigning monarch of Hawai'i, King Kalakaua had the rightful authority to dictate when the hula would be performed. Similarly, within the hula *halau* on the island, Kapahu had an esteemed title of her own. She claimed to have been named the *po'pua'a*,⁶³

an officer chosen by the pupils to be their special agent and mouthpiece. He saw to the execution of the kumu's judgments and commands, collected the fines, and exacted the penalties imposed by the kumu. It fell to him to convey to the altar the presents of garlands and the like that were contributed to the halau.⁶⁴

In this role, the *po'pua'a* was the *kumu hula's*, or hula instructor's, protegé and would oversee the protocol and the rituals of the halau under the direction of the *kumu hula*. The *po'pua'a* was the one responsible for keeping order within the halau and therefore the one in direct contact with the *kumu hula*. As an elected position, the *po'pua'a* was someone the pupils and the *kumu hula* trusted to carry out such prestigious duties.

This earned position granted Kapahu certain rights over the hula dance. She claimed that as the *po'pua'a* she was the head of her class and “owns the hula. “I am the one who starts the hula. Or finds a place to start the hula.”⁶⁵ She also states, “This is what I was taught. I cannot go beyond that.”⁶⁶ She maintained her role as the *po'pua'a*. Even outside of the halau, she believed that it was her job to preserve the traditions.

⁶³ Kapahu interview ec2584.

⁶⁴ Emerson, 29.

⁶⁵ Kapahu interview ec2584.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

Kapahu was the one who initially formed the troupe that went to Chicago. She was approached by Harry W. Foster to perform at the fair, but she was the one who found the other three dancers and the two musicians to go to the mainland. She was not the *kumu hula*, since she was not a teacher, but keeping her former *kumu hula*'s instructions in mind, she was still acting as the *po'pu'a*. She extended her position by choosing to perform the hula in a theater at the fair and choosing the material to make the costumes. Kini Kapahu was the troupe's sole dancer with the knowledge to make decisions that reflected the teachings of her *kumu hula* in order to accurately present the hula to an American audience.

Finally, all of Kalakaua's dancers were kept on retainer and were given a place to live on the palace grounds.⁶⁷ These dancers, musicians, and chanters were all compensated for performing. Dancing the hula for entertainment was their source of income, not so different from what Kini Kapahu and her dancers were doing in Chicago. The only difference was that it was Kini Kapahu, not King Kalakaua, who was instructing the dancers when and what to perform.

At the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, Kini Kapahu exercised her rights as a *po'pu'a*, a title she had earned. She performed the hula in a theater space because she had a clear understanding of the hula traditions that necessitated performing within an enclosed space. Kini Kapahu, once again, is representing the hula well within the lines of what is acceptable in hula traditions.

⁶⁷ Kapahu interview ec2582.

Sexing Up the Hula-- Naughty Happenings at the Midway Plaisance?

As the *po 'pua 'a*, Kini Kapahu may have overstepped her boundaries. Critics accused her of sexualizing the hula dance. Admittedly, this is a difficult accusation to disprove, especially because she claimed to have sung the following song to attract visitors:

On the Midway, Midway, Midway Plaisance
 Where the naughty girls from Honolulu do the naughty hula dance
 The married men with their wives cast about a [longing] glance
 At all the naughty naughty doings at the Midway Plaisance.⁶⁸

This song is clearly suggestive. Even if Kapahu does not say exactly what she and her dancers will be doing, the word “naughty” along with the phrase “longing glance” implies that the hula dancers will be dancing in a sexually provocative manner. The mention of “married men with their wives” watching the dancers suggests that social taboos such as infidelity can be broken in the theater.

On the island, Kini Kaphau claims in the interview tapes, when she would perform for audiences,⁶⁹ she would “see the husband and do a little wink at him. . . . [Their wives] get mad. They say, ‘Why do you steal my husband?’ I say, ‘No, no; down below he’s good to you not to me. I go home.’”⁷⁰ There is an acceptable amount of flirtatiousness in Kapahu’s idea of what is appropriate hula dance practice. In Hawai’i, she would interact with her audience by winking at the men, and on the mainland, she would sing a sexually-enticing song. Her Chicago World’s Fair song was an extension of the flirtatiousness she used on the island and thus of a piece with her island practices. For Kapahu, the flirting was a part of the hula performance.

⁶⁸ Kapahu interview ec2583.

⁶⁹ She claims to have not performed for twenty-five years between returning from her tours, so it is unclear as to what year she is referring to.

⁷⁰ Kapahu interview ec2589.

However, this was not a traditional song, but was given to Kapahu by an unidentified white man who approached her outside the entrance to the theater where she performed. She said, “I play this song outside with the ukulele, standing on the table to get all the people to come and watch the show. I do the tickets. I do everything.”⁷¹ This song is a *haole* man’s impression of the dancers, yet she accepted the song and used it as a business strategy. She seems to have cast aside her proud title of *po’pua’a*.

However, it is necessary to compare this strategy to the Hawaiian hula *meles*. As discussed previously, Kapahu stated that the hula dance was not to be danced outside for all to see. In hula *halaus*, the training of the students was also done behind closed doors. In order for people to see the dancers, they would ask for permission by chanting,

To enter, permit me to enter, I pray;
 Refuse me not recognition; I am he,
 A traveler offering mead of praise,
 Just a voice,
 Only a human voice.
 Oh, what I suffer out here,
 Rain, storm, cold, and wet.
 Oh, sweetheart of mine,
 Let me come in to you.⁷²

Typically, only former hula dancers knew this chant, but non-hula dancers could enter the halau if they were accompanied by a hula dancer.⁷³

If the song is correct, then the hula dancers inside of the halau must give the guests permission to enter the halau. They respond by chanting,

Call to the man to come in,
 And eat till the mouth is estopt;
 And this the reward, the voice,

⁷¹ Kapahu interview ec2589.

⁷² Emerson, 39.

⁷³ Kapahu interview ec2582.

Simply the voice.⁷⁴

The hula dancers were the ones who had the sole right to decide who could see them perform. The phrase “this the reward, the voice, simply the voice” implies that the only reward the guest will be receiving is the confirmation of entrance to the halau and watching the dancers perform-- nothing more.

Kapahu’s Midway Plaisance song was her version of the entrance chant. She stood outside of the theater and invited her guests, the fairgoers, into her sacred space to watch the dance. The only thing that she gave them was the pleasure of watching her and her troupe dance. Attracted by her song, visitors were granted permission to enter the theater by approaching Kapahu to buy the tickets that she was selling. This exchange between Kapahu and her audience, although monetary in nature, gave audience members explicit permission to come and watch the performance, much like people who wanted to visit the *halaus* back in Hawai’i. Kapahu carried out the traditions of her *halau* in a manner appropriate for the Chicago World’s Fair.

Kini Kapahu’s song is undoubtedly suggestive, but she may only be guilty of making the sexual nature of the hula more explicit to her *haole* English-speaking audience. Referring to the *meles*, she explains, “The dirty things are like riddles. The ones who know the language know what the song is saying.”⁷⁵ Kapahu does not give a clear example of these “dirty things” but cryptically adds, “It makes me laugh watching the haole girls dancing to the words they don’t know what it means....If you only know the words, they wouldn’t dance.”⁷⁶ This hidden meaning of the songs is called *kaona*. It is the art of layering different meanings, allowing for

⁷⁴ Emerson, 41.

⁷⁵ Kapahu interview ec2589.

⁷⁶ Kapahu interview ec2582.

more nuanced interpretations.⁷⁷ Even though the Hawaiian dance is portrayed as a religious dance form, there are *meles* that are sexually suggestive songs. The hula already had *meles* that were sexual in nature, but the sexuality was masked and left to the audience to decode. To watch the hula was to engage with the language of the *mele* and its deeper meaning.

The *meles* for the hula dance were more important than the dances.⁷⁸ According to Kapahu,

the main thing about the hula are the hands and the song. The Hawaiians like the song, to hear the words, how it was composed. It is not the way you dance. Different people compose.... You've got to hear the words.⁷⁹

Because the songs are the most important part of the hula performance, the words in the *mele* need to be carefully chosen. Since only Hawaiians understand the words, the *meles* are solely meant for them to enjoy.

If the songs are the most important part of the hula and the true meaning of the songs can only be understood by Hawaiians, then the songs and their meanings belong to the Hawaiian people. Kapahu's song was in English, made by and for *haole*. It had no place in the Hawaiian hula. The sexual nature of the song, however, was not the root of the tensions between Kapahu and the Hawaiian community. It was the fact that she took the hidden sexual aspects of hula, which could only be appreciated by the Hawaiian people, and laid them bare for *haole* to hear,

⁷⁷ Amy Marsh, "Le'ale'a O Na Poe Kahiko - Joy of the People of Old Hawai'i," *Electronic Journal of Human Sexuality*, 14 February 2011. <<http://www.ejhs.org/volume14/Joy.htm>> (13 February 2017). There is limited access to these more suggestive *meles*. The subtle suggestiveness of the *meles* is probably lost in the English translation because English readers cannot fully grasp the intricacies of the language, sentence structure, or connotations of the original Hawaiian language. Water elements in Hawaiian *meles* tend to represent lovemaking, but to the *haole*, water in a *mele* is simply water. While translations may attenuate some implied meanings, they also risk leading to an overly sexual translation. For example, *ho'okela o ka ho'oipoipo* means fantastic lovemaking. A *mele ho'oipoipo* is a love song. However "whore monger" has been translated into the phrase *ka poe ho'oipoipo*. The more accurate translation of *ka poe* is the person. Thus is the risk of reading translated readings.

⁷⁸ Kapahu interview ec2587.

⁷⁹ Kapahu interview ec2591.

see, and understand. Using a *haole*'s song meant that Kapahu had offered up the most prized part of the Hawaiian hula for *haole* consumption. By singing this song to advertise the hula, she in turn incorporated a *haole* song into the large collection of *meles* written by and belonging to Hawai'i's monarchs. Singing this song was Kapahu's greatest infringement upon the Hawaiian hula and its traditions. But even so, her understanding of acceptable hula traditions allowed for moments of sexual innuendo.

The Performance-- He Inoa⁸⁰ to Who? The Hula Ala'apapa and the Hula Pu'ili

Kapahu states that at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, she performed several different subgenres of the traditional hula, including the *hula uli uli*, *pu'ili*, and *ala'apapa*.⁸¹ Shows were only ten minutes long,⁸² but even with that time constraint, she was still able to show a range of different types of hula dancing. The *hula uli uli* was typically danced "with a rattle that was a small gourd the size of a large orange with seeds in the cavity of the gourd."⁸³ She also danced with bamboo sticks in the *hula pu'ili*. She showed a variety of different instruments, dance steps, and *meles*.⁸⁴

In the interview tapes, Kapahu provides a few details on the *hula pu'ili* that she performed at the fair. She said that "there were two people facing each other and two bamboo sticks. You must have a partner.... Yes, it was all for fun. Was never religious."⁸⁵ Kapahu showcased a more casual form of the hula, one that was fast, lively, and loud. The *pu'ili* are

⁸⁰ Translates to "This belongs to."

⁸¹ Kapahu interview ec2583.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Emerson, 107.

⁸⁴ She did not explicitly speak about the steps used in the performances.

⁸⁵ Kapahu interview ec2587.

made from sections of bamboo where one end was spliced into thin vertical sections so that moving the *pu'ili* resulted in a rustling sound. The *pu'ili* are twisted back and forth, bouncing off of each other and the dancers' shoulders and arms, with each contact resounding with the rattle of the bamboo. It showcased the dancers' training because the dancers must coordinate their foot movements along with the rapid movements of the *pu'ili*.

Kapahu offered even more details about her 1893 performances of the *hula ala'apapa*. The movements of the *hula ala'apapa* are vigorous and bombastic rather than soft and languid, and the instrumental accompaniment is provided by the indigenous double-gourd *ipu*. According to Kapahu, "you never do the *ala'apapa* by yourself. Always in a group."⁸⁶ She does not give any details of the group performance, but does discuss the closing prayer.⁸⁷

All the other girls beat the drum at the other end of the stage. I come out and [another dancer] comes out on the other end. And she is beating the drum while I am dancing. I sing, not her. I do the singing. I sing myself and dance at the same time. That has always been that way.⁸⁸

As this makes clear, Kapahu retained the group structure of the *hula ala'apapa* as well as the dual singing-dancing role of the solo dancers. Not only was she retaining the rules of the dance, she was also abiding by the rules in place at the Hawaiian courts.

The song that she sang was a closing prayer to honor the song's composer.⁸⁹ Kapahu stated, "Well you know, before the kings and queens, the ending of the song belongs to

⁸⁶ Kapahu interview ec2587.

⁸⁷ The *hula ala'a'apapa* section in Emerson's book does not include the closing prayer. Because this type of hula is predominantly a dance form meant to tell a longer story, he showcases the *mele* for the hula's best-known story of two sister goddesses, Pele and Hi'iaka.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid. Kapahu sings the closing prayer for the tape recording. The words are muffled, and she says them very quickly, making it very difficult to match up the words she says with any written *mele*. Neither Emerson's book nor the Huapala Hawaiian Music and Hula Archives that is overseen by the Hula Preservation Society of Hawai'i includes this chant. Unfortunately, the words of the *mele* cannot be analyzed to better contextualize the closing prayer.

[Liliuokalani] and Kalakaua... and that comes at the ending.”⁹⁰ Kini Kapahu does not identify the monarch to whom the song is dedicated. However, dedicating her performance to the old kings and queens of Hawai'i only months after the overthrow of the monarch was an astounding action for her to take. Kapahu does not describe this prayer as an act of defiance, but the prayer is written in Hawaiian, performed in Hawaiian, and intended for Hawaiians to hear. Its significance is hidden away for Hawaiians alone to understand. Honoring the monarchs of Hawai'i shortly after Hawai'i was stripped of its sovereignty was akin to King Kalakaua's hula celebrations at his coronation and jubilee. With her closing prayer, Kini Kapahu used the hula to celebrate Hawaiian language, culture, and sovereignty.

Kapahu does not state her reasons for including this prayer in her performance. But it hardly matters. The Hawaiian language conveys hidden meanings only Hawaiians can understand, making it unnecessary to explain those reasons in a tape-recorded interview for strangers. Her intentions are privileged information for the *kanaka*, or natives, of Hawai'i, not the *haole* of the mainland.

This was Kini Kapahu's truest representation of the Hawaiian hula on American soil. She honored the authenticity of her dance form and her culture, proclaiming that the dances belonged to Hawaiians and the Hawaiian monarchy.

⁹⁰ Kapahu interview ec2587.

After Chicago

Shortly after their mainland engagement, Kini Kapahu and her dancers were booked to tour Europe for a year. She performed for Tsar Nicholas II in Russia, King Oscar of Saxony, and Kaiser Wilhelm II in Germany.⁹¹ On one occasion while Kapahu was talking to the Kaiser, his wife, Augusta of Schleswig-Holstein, tugged on Kapahu's hair because she did not believe Kapahu's long hair was real.⁹² As an apology, Augusta gave Kapahu the necklace she was wearing.⁹³

From Europe, Kapahu returned back to Hawai'i, where she took up farming, planting taro and raising chickens.⁹⁴ In 1899, she chaperoned a hula dance troupe to the Omaha World's Fair. At the 1901 Buffalo World's Fair, she performed as Pele, the volcano goddess. At the Kilauea Cyclorama, there was an exhibit of Hawai'i's active volcano where the visitor was surrounded by eleven-foot tall canvases with ninety-foot circumferences to simulate standing at the middle of the Kilauea crater.⁹⁵ Here, Kini Kapahu sang "Aloha 'Oe," the most famous song written by Queen Liliuokalani, Hawai'i's last monarch.⁹⁶ At one performance, native Hawaiians who had come to the mainland stood up in the audience to sing the song with Kini Kapahu.⁹⁷ In 1915, Kapahu went to the San Francisco World's Fair.⁹⁸ In 1927, Kapahu was teaching hula classes to *haole* tourists at The Royal Hawaiian, a luxury resort hotel in Waikiki.⁹⁹ Finally in 1937, Kapahu chaperoned a hula dance troupe to China.¹⁰⁰

⁹¹ Chun, "Auntie Jennie."

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Kapahu interview ec2588.

⁹⁵ Kapahu interview ec2583.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Kapahu interview ec2582.

¹⁰⁰ Kapahu interview ec2592.

None of these experiences are discussed in great detail, nor did Kealiinohomoku attempt to delve more deeply into the specifics of Kapahu's performances. Kapahu and Kealiinohomoku did speak at length about a few Hawaiian hula dancers and chanters who were performing professionally in Hawai'i. Kapahu dismissed most of them as mere singers and chanters and did not seem to see much value in their work.

The larger question of why Kapahu felt so compelled to go to so many World's Fairs still remains. We also may never know why she took part in the last three fairs only as a chaperone instead of performing or why she decided to teach the hula to *haole* girls. However, she was adamant in her disdain toward modern-day dancers she believed misrepresented the Hawaiian hula to *haole* audiences. Perhaps Kapahu felt that it was her duty as a practitioner of the dance form to showcase Hawaiian culture, language, and history as best as she could to a larger *haole* audience, thereby proving Hawai'i had a rich and living culture worthy of celebration. Even so, perhaps all Kini Kapahu really wanted was a chance to travel the world, doing what she loved the most-- dancing the hula. Whatever the reason, Kini Kapahu felt that she had faithfully represented the Hawaiian hula.

Conclusion

After returning from the Chicago World's Fair, Kini Kapahu and her dance troupe were met with disdain in Hawai'i, accused of misrepresenting the Hawaiian hula and of shaming the Hawaiian people. Kini Kapahu became a target of public ridicule and was spit at in the street. She claims that after her U.S. and European tours, she did not dance for twenty-five years. Her artistic career prompts three important questions: 1) what changes did she make to the Hawaiian

hula; 2) did these changes still adhere to hula traditions, and 3) did she accurately represent the Hawaiian hula?

It is true that the hula that Kapahu performed at the World's Fair was not completely representative of the traditional hula. She created skirts from green *ti* leaves instead of the traditional brown *ti* leaf. She made her *ku'pe'e* from rooster feathers instead of tree leaves and used wool instead of cloth to make her *pa'u*. To entice visitors, Kapahu sang a sexually suggestive song given to her by a *haole* man in order to sell tickets to a cultural tourist attraction. She created performances that were barely ten minutes long. On the surface, she grossly misrepresented the Hawaiian hula.

However, upon closer examination of recorded *meles* in conjunction with Kapahu's interview, her revisions to the hula do adhere to hula traditions. Hula costuming was meant to connect the dancer to the land in which the dancers practiced. Kapahu danced on the mainland and did not have access to the same leaves and fabric as she would have used in Hawai'i. By making costumes from what was available on the fairgrounds, she was as linked to her environment as hula dancers back home in Hawai'i.

Kapahu adamantly believed that the hula dance must be performed inside a closed space and that performing hula outside in public denied it the respect that hula deserved. She thus performed on a stage in a theater that seated 300 people. Her earned status of *po'pua'a* meant she had the knowledge to carry on hula traditions based on her *kumu hula's* teachings.

The song that she used to entice her visitors was highly questionable. However, this is merely a technicality. Kapahu's song was meant to invite people into the theater, and a ticket meant that Kapahu granted the visitor permission to watch the hula. This was similar to hula

dancers explicitly granting visitors permission to enter the halau to watch them dance. Kapahu believed that the most important part of the Hawaiian hula was the chants, which did contain hidden sexual meanings, although these could only be understood by Hawaiians who spoke the language. Rather than further sexualizing the hula, Kapahu was merely exposing its sexual nature to non-Hawaiians.

Finally, Kapahu and her dancers performed a wide range of hula dances, as many as was physically possible to do in a short ten-minute performance. The troupe performed the *hula uli uli*, the *pu'ili*, and the *ala'apapa*. The *hula uli uli* and the *pu'ili* showcased the dancers' skilled coordination of dance movements with the rapid movements of the instruments. But most importantly, Kapahu's decision to close with a prayer dedicated to Hawai'i's kings and queens demonstrated respect for hula traditions and history. Accessible only to Hawaiians, the meaning of the closing prayer was hidden from the *haole* audience at the Chicago World's Fair.

Much of what Kini Kapahu did at the Chicago World's Fair remains lost in time. Joann Kealiinohomoku's interview recordings are incomplete and historical newspapers offer few insightful details. Standard texts on the Hawaiian hula are written by non-Hawaiians. Translations of *meles* will always be inaccessible to non-Hawaiian speakers. Therefore, the Hawaiian hula may be a reflection of Hawaiian culture and history, but it remains difficult to separate fact from fiction when examining the dance's history and traditions.

Kini Kapahu did make changes to the hula dance that she performed at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair. These modifications, however, were simply a reflection of her environment. Ultimately, she did not misrepresent the hula dance. She performed it adhering to the traditions that she was taught as a foundation, changing these teachings to reflect her own personal

circumstances as a Hawaiian hula dancer on the mainland. The traditional hula told stories of Hawaiian gods, goddesses, kings, and queens. The Hawaiian hula is a collection of Hawai'i's costumes, myths, legends, genealogies, and language. Kini Kapahu's appearance at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair told the story of the first hula dancer to perform in the continental United States and her valiant attempt to faithfully represent her culture in a foreign land.

Appendix: Hawaiian Words and their Definitions¹⁰¹

Hawaiian	English
Ala'apapa	Style of traditional hula accompanied by the ipu gourd
Ali'i	Chief
'auana	Modern hula typically accompanied by the ukulele
Halau	Hula school
Haole	A person who is not a native Hawaiian
He inoa	This belongs to
Hilahila	Shameful
Ho'opa'a	the hula students who play the instruments
Ipu	A drum made from a hollowed out gourd
Kahiko	Traditional hula
Kanaka	Native Hawaiian
Kaona	Hidden meaning, as in Hawaiian poetry; concealed reference
Kumu hula	Hula instructor
Ku'pe'e	Anklets
Lauhala	Leaf of the hala tree
Mele	Chants
'Olapa	Young agile dancers
Pa'u	Cloth wrap skirt

¹⁰¹ Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian, 1st ed. All words in this appendix were defined using this dictionary.

Po'pua'a	Head student
Pu'ili	Bamboo sticks cut on end into thin strips, moving them results in a rattle like sound
Uli uli	Feathered gourd rattles

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