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The Steel Heard 'Round the World: Exposing the Global Reach of Indigenous Musical Journeys with the Hawaiian Steel Guitar

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In the late nineteenth century, Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) physically modified guitars and created a new technique for playing them. In the years that followed, hundreds of Hawaiian troupes, engaging new entertainment circuits that crisscrossed the globe, introduced the world to their "Hawaiian steel guitar," from Shanghai to London, Kolkata to New Orleans. While performing Hawaiian *mele*, or songs, with their instrument, they demonstrated new virtues for the guitar's potential in vernacular and commercial music making in these international markets. Based upon archival research, this essay considers the careers of several Hawaiian guitarists who travelled the world in the early twentieth century, connecting local soundscapes through the proliferation of an indigenous technology.

Keywords: steel guitar, Hawai'i, Ernest Ka'ai, Joseph Kekuku, Tau Moe.

This issue's focus on cultural brokerage and glocal soundscapes yields a perfect opportunity to explore a heretofore understudied phenomenon: the role of indigenous people in shaping the sounds of modern commercial musical practices. The settler logic that posited indigenous people as "uncivilized," passive recipients of "civilization's" superior cultural palette has long influenced historians to ignore native musicians (and audiences) as figures worthy for study in the history of commercial music. Likewise, for decades before the advent of ethnomusicology, and for years following its genesis, musicologists constructed indigenous musics as the anti-modern, as performances of "tradition," decisively contrasted with those Western musics seen to exhibit innovation. In many cases, meanwhile, colonial regimes even attempted to police the musical performances of indigenous peoples, and to use Western art or martial marching musics as tools to enforce their agendas of imposed cultural assimilation.[1] These academic and political contexts have each

worked, whether inadvertently or intentionally, to conceal the presence of native peoples within commercial music histories. Yet when we determine to look for them, we find native musicians and audiences actively engaging this music. And when we expose the early development of the modern, culture industry infrastructure—of global routes and entertainment circuits throughout Europe and Asia—then we discover native people on the centre stage, journeying throughout the world with breathtaking speed, as principal creators of its new, modern scores. Seeking to engage new labour opportunities, to challenge oppressive colonial circumstances at home, and to forge bonds with other indigenous communities and members of their own diaspora, native musicians not only embraced modern entertainment circuits but also used them to fortify their own cultural agendas.

We can contemplate the role of indigenous people in glocal soundscapes by investigating one of modern music's greatest success stories, that being the rapid proliferation and appropriation of the kīkā kila, or Hawaiian steel guitar. Developed in the town of Lā'ie on the island of O'ahu in the late 1880s and 1890s by a young man named Joseph Kekuku, the steel guitar applied an innovative technique, style, and technology to the traditional Spanish guitar.[2] Native Hawaiians had embraced the introduction of Spanish guitars in the islands during the nineteenth century, when foreign merchants, sailors, labourers, and missionaries began to visit and settle there. By the 1880s a new genre of Hawaiian music, hula ku'i, specifically featured guitars and other string instruments.[3] Hawaiians at that point had typically replaced standard gut strings with wire or steel, developed a variety of open tunings, originated guitar vamps, and chimed harmonics to echo their falsetto singing. In this context, Kekuku began experimenting with guitars by running metal knives, combs, and then fabricated steel bars over the strings, raising the nut to extend the distance between the strings and fretboard, and adopting the guitar as a lead, melodic instrument in Hawaiian mele, or songs. By ignoring the frets as the steel bar glided above them, Kekuku opened a new world of microtones, sustain, glissando sweeps, and melodic vocal effects. The timing was not inconsequential: the kīkā kila was developed during the tumultuous illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom by Americans in 1893, the colonial prohibitions of hula dance and the Hawaiian language in the years that followed, and the islands' subsequent "annexation" by the United States in 1898. Quickly adopted by Hawaiians throughout the Islands, the instrument facilitated new musicking that provided a soundtrack of resistance to the unwelcome occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom by the United States.[4]

Kekuku and other musicians left in droves following the "annexation" of their homelands. Displaced from their 'āina, or land, and forced to choose between plantation labour or clerical work for what they roundly considered an illegal colonial regime, they turned to what they observed as the liberating circumstances that the new global entertainment circuits provided them—circuits that did not prohibit their language or their music, and that paid them far more than they could earn at home. The attraction for young musicians to work these circuits is clear in terms of the economic gain and adventure that such transient labour would yield; what is surprising is the

speed by which these circuits could distribute their influence. Kekuku left for San Francisco in 1904; by the 1910s he and his fellow Hawaiian guitarists had engaged all the mediums and channels of the adolescent U.S. music industry. Vaudeville and Chautauqua tours and theatrical productions set in Hawai'i such as Richard Walton Tully's *Bird of Paradise* led them into small towns throughout the country, while their success at world fairs, particularly the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, brought millions of people to them. Meanwhile, the industry's recorded mediums of wax cylinders and 78 rpm records gave name recognition to the islands' most prolific and talented guitarists, including Pale K. Lua, July Paka, Walter Kolomoku, Kekuku, and Frank Ferreira. In 1916, by industry accounts, Hawaiian guitar music was outselling every other recorded genre in the country. Within twenty years of Kekuku perfecting his steel guitar, cutting-edge indigenous musicians came to shape the modern sounds of American string bands. The U.S. music industry genres that emerged in the 1920s—particularly "hillbilly," or country music, and "race records," including the blues—featured the Hawaiian steel guitar as the lead instrument of choice.[5]

For Hawaiian musicians, the United States offered but one market of economic opportunity and cultural influence, however; this essay will trace the efforts of several Hawaiians who laboured in other parts of the world as they stitched together a global embrace of Kekuku's steel guitar. Indeed, Kekuku and fellow Hawaiian steel guitarists moved to Western Europe in the 1910s via small, roving troupes of Hawaiian string bands, through the horns of Victrolas, and through *Bird of Paradise* and other productions that trudged through each country on vaudeville and theatrical circuits, from one week to the next, setting up the scenery, striking their strings, and spreading the new Hawaiian sounds, village by village. In Australasia and Micronesia, Hawaiian musicians such as Ernest Ka'ai and married couple Queenie and David Ka'ili worked in similar fashion, moving seamlessly between vaudeville halls that catered to the masses, and hotels that catered to the elites. Meanwhile, Tau Moe, a Samoan migrant to O'ahu, introduced the steel guitar to audiences in East and South Asia, where it would leave an indelible mark on raga, Bollywood, and Indian classical music. Those who saw or heard these musicians play would never look at a guitar in the same way. The following stories of travel, exploration, and labour—of the indigenous trafficking of a new, guitar-centric sound—are gathered largely from the personal accounts of Hawaiian musicians who crafted a remarkably agile indigenous musical globalization.

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Soon after steel guitarists embarked upon tours of the United States, they began to capitalize on Europeans' burgeoning interest in Hawaiian music. Visits in the nineteenth century by ali'i nui, or Hawaiian nobles, as well as vaudeville tours and campaigns by the recorded music industry sparked interest within new European entertainment circuits and markets. By the end of World War I, several Hawaiian musicians had already established successful careers throughout Europe. Steel guitarist Kiwini Panui's letters from London to his mother in 1920, published while

he was abroad in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, open a window into the world of musicians and their loved ones traveling the British Isles in the aftermath of World War I. Such letters expressed their love and affection toward their families, but when published in Hawaiian newspapers, they also served as important news sources. Panui, like others who left home, detailed the whereabouts and welfare of fellow Hawaiian musicians whom they encountered abroad.

Panui encountered over a dozen Hawaiian entertainers working in London when he arrived in 1920, including Joseph Kekuku.[6] Other entertainers had already left London after squandering their money, as Panui put it, or losing their contracts; they had to work on ships, some "pouring oil into the engine," in order to return to the United States, where the work was more plentiful in the aftermath of the war. Panui's troupe had secured consistent work, however, most recently at the restaurant in London's high-end Selfridges department store, which claimed to accommodate five thousand diners. Mekia Kealakaʻi's troupe also performed regularly at the department store, where patrons eagerly requested such mele as "Pua Carnation," and where many "bought" seats near the stage for the duration of Panui's residency. For those under contract, he wrote, the money was good and the hours were short. This gave them ample time to explore their new surroundings.[7]

Explore they did. Panui described London's architecture, as "like the houses you see in Fairy Tale books," though he preferred the vistas and beauty of the skyscrapers in New York. The city still exhibited destruction unleashed by German zeppelin raids during the war, but he was awed by the size of the Palace of Westminster and the Abbey. The zoo also delighted him—"its size is maybe the same as the town of Honolulu"—and was filled with "monkeys, elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses, hippopotamuses, all sorts of birds, eagles, tigers, llamas . . . snakes" and more. He enjoyed the "huge" market at Piccadilly, watched a world championship bantam boxing match, and thrilled at his first performance before a motion picture camera. Panui and his friends took in the city's famous fog, quite literally, when it invaded not only the performance hall but also their throats as they sang—"it is as if you had no voice," he complained. They were quite taken by the habits of Londoners, as well, from their unusual expressions, to drinking rum on any occasion, such as "when the British see that there is a lot of fog," to drinking tea . . . all the time: "I believe that the British are the most fanatical behind the Chinese and the Japanese. You wake up in the morning at 7 a.m., and drink tea; at 9 a.m., drink tea again; at 12 noon, you drink tea; at 4:30 p.m., you of course drink tea; at 6 p.m., you have tea while you dine."[8]

Of course, Panui also missed home. He expressed how he missed his family and enjoyed receiving his mother's letters and newspapers from home: "I was delighted to read the news of my beloved land." In particular, he missed poi, noting that while his mother was certainly enjoying pig with poi at the celebration of the New Year, he was stuck in London, "having chicken on this side of the world." Fortunately, his troupe eventually found a chance to eat poi palaoa (made with flour and water) with stew and raw mackerel ("like opelu") when fellow Hawaiian musician John Moa invited

them to his London flat. He wrote that he planned to return to Hawai'i soon, and added, "if I accumulate a sufficient sum, I am coming home for good."[9] Indeed, he returned to Honolulu with the others on 1 June 1921.[10]

Beyond providing a first-person window into the leisure activities of musicians on the road, Panui's letters reveal the expansive travels of Hawaiian musicians during this period, their impact on local entertainment industries, as well as the interconnectedness of the diaspora. This window also enables us to reconstruct the travels of the many Hawaiians he encountered in England. Several of those mentioned in his letters, for example, were on tour under the leadership of troupe manager and steel guitarist Joe Puni. Born in Honolulu in 1868, by 1901 Puni was managing various Hawaiian troupes as they performed in New England and the southeastern United States.[11] After playing for eight years at Coney Island, he sailed for Paris in 1913 with fellow steel guitarist William Kulii Kanui on a three-month contract.[12] This modest contract, in fact, ultimately sparked for Puni a solid twenty-six–year run of tours that spanned four continents.[13]

But on the occasion that Panui met him, Puni was in London to accompany a Hawaiian ensemble for the first British production of *Bird of Paradise*, which debuted at the West End's Lyric Theatre in September of 1919.[14] Puni was accompanied by a married couple, John and Lily Moa, brothers William and John Kamoku (William was assigned to play the steel guitar in this production), and Diamond Kekona, who had married an Englishwoman years before and enlisted in the British army during the war.[15] Puni was for a time married to a French woman from La Fère named Lucia, though it is unclear if she had accompanied him for the London contract.[16] This *Bird of Paradise* production, postponed by the war but soon after introduced to the London stage with great fanfare, ran for 310 performances before closing in June of 1920. Long before the end of the first run, however, Richard Walton Tully had organized and deployed yet another *Bird of Paradise* company—his twenty-ninth such ensemble, in fact—to take the show to Portsmouth and other towns in the British Isles.[17] With Hawaiian guitarists traveling throughout the U.K. to perform in the show in the years that followed, the production was revived once more in London at the Garrick Theatre in 1922.[18]

Although the *Bird of Paradise* productions, like those in the United States, perhaps should receive the most credit for so early and so quickly introducing the steel guitar to residents of cities and hamlets in Great Britain, many British and other European audiences had already become primed to hear Hawaiian music. Considering the long list of ali'i nui who had conducted visits and diplomatic missions to England, from Kamehameha and Kamamalu's journey in 1824, to the visits of King Kalākaua and his successor Queen Lili'uokalani, to Princess Ka'iulani's abrupt departure following the overthrow, the British court had long exposure to Hawaiian sovereigns and their mele.[19] Maka'āinana (non-elite Hawaiians) had visited as well, however: soon after the overthrow, a hula troupe that had trained in Kalākaua's court toured Europe. A charm bracelet, once belonging to hula practitioner Kini Kapahu, and in the 1980s found in the hands of a Honolulu stamp and coin dealer, gives us a sense of the places

they visited: stamped into the bracelet are charms from Hamburg, dated 28 April 1894; Munich, 10 May 1894; Chemnitz, 6 June 1894; and Berlin, 6 June 1894.[20] Yet we know that they also performed in Paris and toured England for two months before sailing for the continental United States.[21] Doubtless more soon followed; a 1912 letter to Hawaiian newspaper *Kuokoa Home Rula* indicates that several musicians from the islands had performed in England, Germany, and France in more recent years.[22] The steel guitar quickly followed, if it had not arrived before: Pale K. Lua seems to have performed in London with David Kaili and the rest of the Irene West Royal Hawaiians group in 1914.[23] Finally, Hawaiian steel guitarist Lui Thompson relocated to Europe in 1914 and performed and recorded regularly in England and France over the next several years, invoking a colourful series of aliases along the way.[24] By 1919 he had performed with his steel guitar in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Germany, and several other European countries. By early 1920, at least, London music stores were responding to customer demand by stocking steel guitars with "Kamiki Method" instructional materials.[25]

Joseph Kekuku, for his part, arrived in London in 1919, alongside Mekia Kealaka'i and William Kamoku, and at the behest of Joe Puni, to fulfil a contract at the prestigious Savoy Hotel.[26] Soon after their arrival, however, Kamoku signed onto the first English *Bird of Paradise* production, while Kekuku worked in Europe for the next eight years both independently and with Hawaiian troupes. While assuming residences in Paris and London, he performed in Spain, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Portugal, Sweden, and Denmark.[27] Consistently referred to in the British press as the "originator of the Hawaiian steel guitar," he taught the instrument in England, performed in a number of stage productions, and eventually developed a successful vaudeville routine before returning to North America.[28] The work of Kekuku, Panui, and their compatriots generated a longstanding passion in Europe for the Hawaiian guitar, as amateur and professional "Hawaiian" troupes made up of Europeans donning leis and grass skirts, and taking up 'ukuleles and steel guitars soon emerged all over the continent.

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On the other side of the world, meanwhile, the call for Native Hawaiian string bands spread quickly as news of their talents rippled throughout the Pacific Rim. In 1905, the Astor House Hotel of Shanghai delivered a request through the *Honolulu Advertiser* to "procure the services of the best quintette club in Honolulu to go there for a six months' contract."[29] The hotel offered to pay transportation both ways, along with free board and lodging, and a "tidy sum daily" to the musicians to perform twice daily, every day of the week.[30] New labour opportunities for Hawaiian musicians beckoned from afar, while the allure of travel sprang from a variety of sources—some sought adventure, others prestige, while others may have sought to leave as the new American territorial government tightened its grip on Hawaiian lands.

Ernest Ka'ai, the most powerful musical impresario in Honolulu during the early twentieth century, was one of the first Hawaiians to lead a string band to the lands of

the southwest Pacific Rim. Born in Honolulu in 1881, he was the son of Simon Ka'ai, a cabinet member for King Kalākaua, a member of the House of Royals before the overthrow, and since then, a "staunch royalist."[31] Coming of age after the overthrow, Ernest Ka'ai made his mark performing and singing Hawaiian music; he achieved exceptional ability on the 'ukulele and mandolin, and was also skilled on the violin and steel guitar. Ka'ai was in 1904 the first to organize string bands into larger "dance orchestras" in Honolulu, and he would come to operate around a dozen bands to perform in clubs and hotels in downtown Honolulu and Waikiki.[32]

Ka'ai toured the continental U.S. in 1906, and five years later organized a tour of Australia and New Zealand.[33] Ka'ai travelled with a sizable cohort that included his family and eight others from Hawai'i. The women wore white dresses while men dressed in white shirts and trousers with purple sashes and ties, recalling the dress of Hawaiian troupes before the overthrow; they all wore leis around their necks to remind them of their homelands. Despite the fact that they mainly performed Hawaiian compositions unintelligible to foreign audiences, their audiences were riveted.[34] As a result, the troupe remained there for some time, with Ka'ai hiring more musicians and dancers to join him from the islands. His troupe also tapped into local indigenous traditions more familiar to some of their audiences, at least, with one member learning to perform Maori haka dances.[35] One new member of the troupe, Esther Kapuaahiwalani, wrote home after she arrived in Melbourne that April, and her family sent the letter to the Hawaiian language newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina* to share her news. She reported that after Ka'ai and the rest of the group met her, she was able to take in the city with its "new sights for me that I will not be able to forget for a long time to come," though after experiencing the cold weather of the Australian fall, she thought back "to her homeland so warm with aloha." Their troupe was "very well received by the people of this city," and she reported that "all of the members of the group are well, the boys and girls; and we are all looking forward to the day that we will once again set foot on the beloved sands of Hawai'i. This is news that our friends should know."[36]

Ka'ai returned in 1917, performing first with a *Bird of Paradise* production, and then, along with Henry A. Peelua Bishaw, settling in Sydney for a time as a 'ukulele and steel guitar instructor.[37] It is unclear whether the steel guitar appeared in the Western Pacific before the *Bird of Paradise* tours, but Australians seemed familiar with the instrument by early 1918, when players from the *Bird of Paradise* productions would take secondary gigs at cafes and clubs in Adelaide and elsewhere, billing themselves, for example, as a "Band of Hawaii[a]n Ukulele and Steel Guitar Players."[38] By that point, more and more Hawaiians had begun to tour not simply Australasia, but Asia and Micronesia as well. One group toured Japan and China in 1912, and while Robert Akeo was performing with a troupe in Shanghai in 1917, he noted in a letter published in *Kuokoa* that "there is much admiration for Hawaiian music in China … they are constantly asked to fulfil the desire of those people for Hawaiian music and hula."[39] He continued, "in order to grant the wishes of Shanghai's people for hula, one of the boys transformed himself into a woman by

putting on women's clothing, and he would dance with one of his fellow boys, as most of the rest of them play music while the others hula and sing all at once."[40] By 1918 Hawaiian musicians were featured regularly in variety shows on Australia's Tivoli Circuit, and Ka'ai, for his part, in 1919 embarked on an ambitious tour of Malaya, Sumatra, Borneo, Java, Burma , and India.[41] Like many Hawaiian musicians, he integrated his family members into his troupes so that they could work together as itinerate troubadours: when his daughter Thelma became old enough, she became his featured steel guitarist.[42]

More and more audiences in Oceania and beyond became exposed to the steel guitar through these tours, and particularly, by the 1920s, through the efforts of Queenie and David Kaili.[43] David Luela Kaili, born at Joseph Kekuku's birthplace of Kahana, O'ahu, in 1890, had achieved early fame through a series of records that he had made in the 1910s with steel guitar virtuoso Pale K. Lua. As part of the Irene West Royal Hawaiians, Lua and Kaili, toured the U.S. and Great Britain together and in fact recorded over twenty of the bestselling 78 rpm Hawaiian records of all time, all cut between 1914 and 1916.[44] Lua passed away a few years later, however. Kaili eventually began to record as a steel guitarist in his own right, and married a Hawaiian singer and guitarist named Mary Louise, or "Queenie."[45] Together, as their scrapbooks gingerly document, they joined Ernest Ka'ai for a tour of Singapore, Australia, and New Zealand that ran for several years starting in 1923.[46]

The Kailis featured prominently in the acts. During the first half of the show, they would perform a set of mostly instrumental Hawaiian pieces; in the second half, the troupe would sing and perform hapa haole (a hybrid Hawaiian genre translating to "part Hawaiian, part foreign") and more jazz-oriented, popular songs.[47] Described by a Perth newspaper in 1930 as a "high class vocal tsar," Queenie sang, played instruments, and danced, while audiences revelled in the Kailis' sense of humour.[48] David Kaili's performances on an acoustic, hollow-necked steel guitar seemed to command encores repeatedly through the shows, and were captured in a series of popular recordings made by the Kailis in Australia in the late 1920s. In addition to the steel guitar, these featured Hawaiian chants and vocal techniques.[49] He and Ka'ai were "the most popular performers" on the show in Rockhampton, while in Melbourne, "Mr. Kaili, with his steel guitar, was loudly applauded."[50] Their reputations began to precede them: by 1930, an Australian critic now long familiar with the Kailis noted, "David's wizardry on the steel guitar has always been a source of delight to audiences everywhere."[51] A critic in Perth remarked after a 1928 performance that "the undiminished popularity of the Hawaiians, Queenie and David Kaili, was reflected in the sustained applause they received, especially from the gallery."[52]

Indeed, the enthusiasm from "the gallery," suggests that Hawaiian musicians were quite popular across all strata of Australian and New Zealand society. This seems to have been the case particularly among New Zealand's Māori population. New Zealand's *Manawatu Times* reported that at a 1911 performance by Ka'ai's troupe, "in the audience were a large number of Māori folk [who came] to see what like were

the people of Hawaiki descended from the same ancestors, and they were most enthusiastic and encored every item, while they also carried on animated conversations from stalls to dress circle and across the building during the interval, and made many an appreciative comment during the performance."[53] Evidence of indigenous cross-cultural learning and collaborative opportunity proliferated as the Kailis and other Hawaiian performers continued to work in the Māori homelands. For example, one New Zealand musician recalled in the 1920s witnessing a troupe consisting of between six and eight Māori musicians at an agricultural show. He wrote, "they appeared as a sideshow, most of them played steel guitar, all standing up. The guitars were hanging around their neck, there were a couple of them playing rhythm. I'd never heard anything like it."[54] David and Queenie Kaili included snapshots of their trip to the Māori Museum in their scrapbook from a tour of New Zealand in 1924 and 1925, as well as a photograph of their colleagues and friends in the musical outfit, Walter Smith & His Māori String Band.[55]

Māori and Hawaiian musicians collaborated and influenced one another as they continued to appropriate other musical technologies then circulating worldwide. Formed in 1922, Princess Te Puea's string band troupe, Te Pou o Mangatawhiri, featured steel guitar, banjos, mandolins, and 'ukuleles.[56] Their tours of the far north prompted a revival of Māori music and kapa haka, and also featured hula and Hawaiian music. On clear Saturday nights, *NZ Radio Record* reported in 1929, "numbers of native chiefs would gather to listen through the static [of Auckland's station 1YA] to Island Nights' Entertainments, especially enjoying the Hawaiian music on guitars and ukuleles."[57] Cross-cultural indigenous engagements continued to reveal themselves: Emera Hite (also known as Mati Hita), born in 1914 in Taranaki, became, according to one scholar, "the first New Zealand steel-guitar virtuoso." He wrote that Mati was "a natural showman . . . some patrons would stop dancing to watch as he played complicated licks while conversing; another of his stunts was to play the guitar behind his back."[58] One observer wrote that "at speed, he would mix multiple single notes, third and fifth harmonies, chords, octaves, harmonics—and at the end of the number you would not be able to remember where he had put what. . . . [The vibrato he performed on the steel guitar] was that of the Māori voice."[59] Such glimpses of the tight connection reinforced through the steel guitar between Māori and Hawaiian music, and indeed between Māoris and Hawaiians, suggest that both adapted to new opportunities for expressing and maintaining old relations, as the Pacific Ocean, connecting a "sea of Islands," had long facilitated relationships between the myriad indigenous peoples inhabiting the vast region of Oceania.[60]

As the Ka'ais and Kailis worked their way through Australia and New Zealand in the 1920s, they left in their wake a number of awed enthusiasts who began to establish Hawaiian "clubs" and instrument stores, such as Sydney's Hawaiian Supplies Unlimited. It appears that thousands of students attended music classes at Sydney's Hawaiian Club alone, where Tui Hamilton taught.[61] According to one scholar, "Hawaiian-influenced music dominated the first boom in New Zealand's local

recording industry, starting in 1948 with the gentle weep of Jim Carter's steel guitar in 'Blue Smoke' and reaching its zenith in the 1950s. But the phenomenon had been building for decades."[62] By the 1950s, recalled musician Mac McKenzie, "if it had a steel guitar in it, it was a Hawaiian band, and they were everywhere in Auckland." Indeed, every region in New Zealand featured steel guitar stars at that time, from Wellington (Mati Hita), to the Hauraki Plains (Fred Radich) to Rotorua (Tawhao "Bronco" Tioke).[63] Meanwhile, the Hawaiian steel guitar phenomenon continued to spread, with Tongans and Samoans taking great interest. One Tongan, Charlie Sanft, after having travelled to Utah to study at the behest of Mormon missionaries in the 1930s, returned home via Hollywood, where he acted in films. There he met a large contingent of Hawaiian musicians and actors who taught him to play the steel guitar. He soon returned home to teach the instrument. One of the most popular bands in Auckland, Bill Wolfgramm and the Islanders, was composed principally of Samoans, Māoris, and Tongans.[64] Non-Hawaiian, indigenous practitioners of the steel guitar quickly multiplied and gained influence in the Pacific. In fact, likely the most well-travelled and internationally recognized Hawaiian steel guitarist of all time was none other than a Samoan named Tau Moe.

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In 1918, ten-year-old Tau Moe and his family relocated to Lā'ie, Oahu, from their Samoan village, where the influenza pandemic had killed more than 20 percent of the population. In Lā'ie he quickly adopted the Hawaiian language and became enthralled with Hawaiian guitar records, the first being a wax-cylinder recording of Joseph Kekuku that he heard soon after he arrived. His sister saved the money she earned from a Chinese laundry to order him a guitar from a Montgomery Ward catalogue.[65] He quickly converted the standard guitar to a kīkā kila by installing a raised nut, while he filed the ridges off a metal file to serve as a bar. Recognizing the additional need for fingerpicks, he used his mother's hairpins to craft his own.[66] Within a few years he began performing in Honolulu, and soon joined a troupe that featured his half-uncles and his future spouse, Rose Ka'ohu. Under the management of a French entertainment entrepreneur named Madame Claude Riviere, in 1928 they embarked upon a five-year tour that would extend far into South and East Asia.[67]

In 1929 alone, the group, billed variously as the Royal Samoan Dancers, The Samoan Troupe, and Madame Riviere's Hawaiians, performed for audiences in Manila, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Beijing, and Hangzhou, as well as several cities in Japan. The group cut thirteen sides in a Tokyo studio before moving on to perform in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Burma, as well as Kolkata, Delhi, and many other cities and towns in India, where they continued to work through 1933.[68] After performances in Karachi and Manila, where they ran into Queenie and David Kaili, Rose and Tau established a career as a duo, all the while training their young son Lani, who was born in Kyoto, to join their act.[69]

In those first years, however, the troupe toured under the aegis of Riviere. Her shows were very particular—she marketed them as "educational" performances by

attempting to demonstrate Samoan and Hawaiian lifeways both before and after their contact with "civilization." Such a trope was not original to Riviere; it was previously common in Wild West shows and other entertainments featuring indigenous peoples.[70] Tau Moe described how Riviere instructed them to provide a "before and after" presentation in quite stark terms: "Madame Riviere had us wear our hair all bushed out to look li[k]e savages, you know. We couldn't speak English or wear jewellery. I had to take my watch off.… At the opening of the show, I had to climb up a big tree on stage and go up, way up, to pick a coconut.… The second part of the show was Occidental—Hawai'i today. Here we dressed modern and I played tunes like 'Show Me the Way to Go Home,' and 'Yes Sir, That's My Baby" while Rose danced.[71] Tau intimated that while she succeeded in keeping the troupe booked for nearly five years—no easy feat—she ultimately treated the troupe members as children unable to take care of themselves.[72] The steel guitar figured prominently in both halves of Riviere's shows, as programs from Tau and Rose Moe's scrapbooks attest.[73]

News of their act preceded them throughout South Asia as their bookings multiplied. Tau delightfully recalled that in 1932, "it was because of my steel guitar that we met Mahatma Ghandi," with whom he then engaged in long conversation.[74] Such attention paid to Tau's steel playing created tension between he and his uncles, who, playing in Bombay one night in 1933, suddenly quit the Riviere troupe and signed a contract with Ernest Ka'ai.[75] Tau, Rose, four-year-old Lani, and Riviere then formed the "Royal Hawaiian Entertainers," and over the next year and a half began working their way through contracts in Singapore, Shanghai, Kuala Lumpur, Penang, Bangkok, Manila, and Mumbai. Tau, who recalled that by 1935, they "had already played every town in India," was at that point celebrated by name in playbills as "the Kreisler of the Steel Guitar."[76] Yet by the end of that year, after Riviere was swindled out of the entirety of the group's savings by a carnival operator, the trio—now featuring six-year-old "Baby Lani"—for the first time found themselves broke and without contracts. Taking a chance, they sailed, without Riviere and without contracts, for Port Said, Egypt.[77]

The Moe family scrapbooks feature clippings that document their travels over the next two years.[78] After quickly finding work in Alexandria, by January of 1936 they were playing the Continental Cabaret in Cairo with the already famous American blues singer Alberta Hunter.[79] Tau Moe's recollections of Egypt indicate that Hawaiian guitar records were by that point selling well all over the world:

> We were the first Hawaiian act ever to come to Egypt. When they heard the steel guitar music they came to our hotel and wanted to see how I played it. They took my fingers in their hands to see the picks. *Of course*, they all had Sol Ho'opi'i recordings and they were crazy about Hawaiian music and the steel guitar. They kept on taking us to the radio station and our picture was always in the newspapers. They even booked us to appear at the Folks Theater where only Egyptian culture was allowed, just to let the Egyptian people hear the Hawaiian steel guitar music. The same thing happened in Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece, where I also gave steel guitar lessons.[80]

After several successful months in Cairo, they moved on to Abu Qir, Egypt, then Istanbul, Greece, and Belgrade, Yugoslavia. They continued to introduce their steel guitar trio to new audiences in Albania, Bulgaria, and throughout Eastern Europe, before moving on to Denmark and Sweden. In 1938, after tours in western Russia and Poland, they settled into a significant run in Germany, during which time they assisted recently-deported Jewish friends by smuggling their valuables (and sometimes their friends) out of the country.[81]

The situation in Berlin became increasingly tenuous, however, and in 1940 the family finally fled, reaching Bombay before the war prevented further travel.[82] Their daughter Dorian was soon born in Kolkata; upon the conclusion of the war the family continued to tour the world for another thirty years. For the duration, their reach extended well beyond the affluent audiences who encountered them in the early days of ritzy hotel contracts in Kuala Lumpur and Bombay. According to Dorian, Tau spent much of his "off-time" jamming with locals, in whatever city they were contracted to perform in at the time. Tau Moe recalled having returned to Athens two years after they had last resided there, when he had provided local residents steel guitar lessons during the day. On his return, however,

> we happened to hear the sound of a steel guitar and four voices singing in beautiful harmony. The song was "Imi Au Iā 'Oe," the same one I had taught two years before. They sang it so beautifully, except the words were not pronounced clearly. Then they found out we were there; they nearly mobbed us and we had to get out fast…. Even in the Islands of the Mediterranean, Malta, Cyprus, Gibraltar, Lisbon Portugal and Spain they loved Hawaiian music…. We played in Spain about 20 times, also Beirut Lebanon, Baghdad, also Iran where I taught music to fourteen boys…. In Israel…. it was a 'must' for me to play "Maui Chimes" and "Aloha No Wau I Kou Maka."[83]

Italians demanded he record "O Solo Mio" and "Santa Lucia" on the steel, and in Berlin and Vienna he recorded with their symphony orchestras.[84]

Of the dozens of countries in which Tau Moe performed on the steel guitar, however, it was in India that his influence was particularly profound. Indian audiences had been familiar with the Moes since the 1930s, when they performed for them in Riviere's troupe. Even earlier, Ernest Ka'ai and perhaps Queenie and David Kaili had toured the country.[85] In addition, parallels already existed in technique between the Indian gottuvadyam and vichitra vina and the steel guitar. However, Tau Moe's increased exposure in India during the 1940s and 1950s, particularly through the popularity of his locally-recorded music, his lessons to children, and the Moe's routine radio broadcasts, clearly brought about a revolution in the country's vernacular musics. Indian musicians, enamoured of the instrument's sound and versatility, began adapting the steel guitar to their ragas.

Tau Moe's lasting influence as the source of inspiration for modern Indian guitar music began with his star student, Garney Nyss, who later recorded Hawaiian and other songs in India with a group of Anglo-Indian and Goan musicians who called themselves, The Aloha Boys.[86] Like Tau Moe's radio broadcasts and records produced in India, Nyss's output became well known throughout the country, not

simply in Kolkata, where Moe's family lived for many years. Modern-day Indian steel guitarist Kay Das emphasizes the impact of both Moe and Nyss when recalling his initial interest in the instrument. Das's parents developed a strong interest in Hawaiian music beginning when he was about ten, in the mid-1950s. His mother bought an acoustic steel guitar and took lessons in Secunderabad from a local woman, one of two people teaching steel guitar in that town, before she eventually passed the instrument along to him. When I asked how he learned to play the instrument, Das responded,

> Okay, you must know of Tau Moe? Tau Moe started a school in India, in Kolkata. And one of his students was a guy named Garney Nyss…. My mom would come home occasionally, [having bought] one of these shellac 78s, and one time she had Garney Nyss's steel guitar 78 and it had "Moana Chimes" on one side, and "St. Louis Blues" on the other, and I must have played that record, over three or four years, I must have worn it thin. I still have it....It never got out of my ear. I still hear it…. And he was a student of Tau Moe.[87]

By the 1960s, the Hawaiian steel guitar had created what one Indian music scholar called a "craze" for Hawaiian music in Northern India.[88] This craze translated into a significant growth of steel players and teachers in the country, who in turn began to reshape a number of its genres. Garney Nyss taught Sri Brij Bhushan Kabra, who later recorded a breakthrough album, not of Hawaiian music, but of Indian classical music (shastriya sangit) adapted to the steel guitar.[89] His 1967 album, *Call of the Valley*, featured his steel, modified with a drone string, alongside traditional Indian instruments.[90] Illuminating the possibilities of the Hawaiian steel in Indian music, Vishwa Mohan Bhatt further modified his Hawaiian guitar to create a new instrument, the mohan veena, that, in addition to melody strings played with a steel bar, incorporated four chikari drone strings and twelve tarab sympathetic strings to create the buzzing sound of the sitar.[91] Another prodigy, Barun Kumar Pal, had mastered the sitar under the instruction of Ravi Shankar and Nikhil Banerjee; yet the Hawaiian guitar was his first love, and in 1973 he applied their instruction to a steel guitar that he modified in similar fashion to Bhatt's.[92] Other established Indian steel guitarists working in the 1950s and 1960s included Van Shipley, a major figure in Bollywood soundtracks, and others who recorded mostly Tagore, Nazrul and filmi songs, including Batuk Nandy, Kazi Aniruddha, Nalin Mazumdar, Mohon Bhattacharya, Robin Paul, Hazara Singh, Sujit Nath, and Sunil Ganguly.[93] One of the greatest contemporary Indian steel guitarists is Debashish Bhattacharya, one of Kabra's students, who during one of his tours stopped into Lā'ie to visit and thank Tau Moe, who had recently retired from the road. Tau remained sought out by Indian guitar royalty through the end of his life because, quite simply, they all understand his significance: Moe created a steel guitar culture during the 1940s in India that has come to shape in profound ways the sounds of modern Indian music and film today.[94]

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Hawaiian steel guitarists and Tau Moe, a transplanted Samoan, criss-crossed the hemispheres during the first half of the twentieth century, continuing a longstanding

Hawaiian tradition of vast exploration into uncharted territory. While doing so, they engaged sprawling new entertainment circuits that seemed to stitch together a new global, cultural economy, town by town. Our information on their fates is uneven, and at times scant. Yet we know, for instance, that Joseph Kekuku eventually married an Englishwoman with whom he relocated to Chicago in 1926, and eventually to Dover, New Jersey, where he died from a cerebral haemorrhage in 1932. Joe Puni, who was touring North America by 1901, and Europe by the 1910s, continued to tour for decades to come. After surviving World War I in Paris and London, he and his Hawaiian troupe made their way through Europe, North Africa, Asia Minor, and South America, picking up, like the Moes, several languages along the way. He did not return to the Hawaiian Islands for forty years, until the end of 1940, at seventy three years of age, when he was evacuated along with 800 other American refugees from German-occupied France.[95] Ernest Ka'ai left Hawai'i in 1941, shortly before the war reached the islands, and opened a music store near Miami while living out his days in semi-retirement.[96] Queenie and David Kaili were not as fortunate; while working in Manila during the war they were tortured by Japanese troops, and David soon succumbed to his injuries.[97]

The two world wars seemed to bookend an indigenous, global phenomenon, the rapid proliferation of the Hawaiian steel guitar. We have recounted the experiences of only a handful of guitarists, but the more one looks in the annals of this period, the more one finds. Even during the war-torn early 1940s, according to one observer, "the night clubs of Shanghai were packed to capacity every night. The Chinese patrons demanded at least one session of Hawaiian music before the night was over."[98] After Tau Moe started performing on Athens radio in the mid-1930s, "just about every Greek record after [that] through the late '30s ha[d] a Hawaiian guitar on it."[99] Likewise, although the ever-popular Hawaiian music was banned in Japan during World War II, it grew even bigger afterwards. Today, Hawaiian music is probably more popular in Japan than in any other part of the world outside of Hawai'i. The instrument sparked imaginations throughout Africa as well; a Griqua guitarist from South Africa known as Kimo Koa learned the technique directly from Joseph Kekuku when the two toured Europe together.[100] According to African music scholar Gerhard Kubik, a "Hawaiian guitar craze" led guitarists in Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia to seek ways to "reproduce the glissando effect of Hawaiian guitar music."[101] They named the technique and its accompanying open tuning as "Hauyani…. an adaption of the English word 'Hawaiian' in the languages of South-east Africa, such as Cinyanja/Chicewa…. 'Hawaiian guitar' playing was extremely popular in Malawi during the late 1940s and the 1950s," and was popularized there by a number of players, including Ndiche Mwarare and Daniel and Donald Kachamba.[102] And by the 1970s in Nigeria, juju music legend King Sunny Adé was featuring the sounds of Demola Adepoju's steel guitar as a fundamental component of his music.[103] In only a few short decades, an indigenous, technological revolution, that of the Hawaiian steel guitar, had seemed to reverberate within and transform musical soundscapes in nearly every pocket of the world.

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Notes

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1 See, for example, Troutman, *Indian Blues*, or Parkhurst, *To Win the Indian Heart*.

2 The history of the *kīkā kila* features many origin stories, not all of which agree on Joseph Kekuku's role. I examine each of them and provide a comprehensive cultural history of the Hawaiian steel guitar in *Kīkā Kila*.

3 In the 1880s, Native Hawaiians and migrant laborers from Madeira began building their unique varieties of instruments of the guitar family, including the taro patch guitar and the 'ukulele.

4 See Troutman, *Kīkā Kila*.

5 For a treatment of these genres in the United States, see ibid.

6 "He Leke Na Ke Keiki I Ka Makuahine," 59:12, in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (March 25, 1921): 3. Translated by the staff of Ho'olaupa'i: Hawaiian Newspaper Resource, in "London, a 1920 Hawaiian Boy Writes Home," 28:3, in *Ka Wai Ola*, March 2011, 20.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 Manifest of the SS *Manoa*, Sailing from San Francisco to Honolulu T.H., May 25, 1921, List of United States Citizens, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900–1959, Arrivals, June, 1921, 199. Ancestry.com. *Honolulu, Hawaii, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900–1959*.

11 "Some Tales from Buffalo," *The Honolulu Advertiser,* December 5, 1901, 3. By 1905 he was referred to as a manager of Hawaiian troupes. See "Public and Promotion Matters," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, November 14, 1905, 7.

12 HSL, "Joseph Puni, Wanderer for 40 Years, Glad He's Home," unidentified newspaper, December 11, 1940, 13, Newspaper Clipping and Pamphlet File. Marsden, "Hawaiian Music in Great Britain," 223.

13 HSL, "Joseph Puni, Wanderer for 40 Years, Glad He's Home," uniden tified newspaper, December 11, 1940, 13, Newspaper Clipping and Pamphlet File.

14 Balme, "Selling the Bird," 8.

15 VAM, "The Bird of Paradise," Lyric Theatre, Program, Theatre and Performance Archives, Blythe House.

16 "Certificate of Registration of American Citizen," Cardiff, Wales, 1916. <http://interactive.ancestry.com/2995/40457_1521003240_0599-00994/75999?backurl=http%3a%2f%2fsearch.ancestry.com%2fcgi-bin%2fsse.dll%3fnew%3d1%26gsfn%3dkiwini%26gsln%3dpanui%26rank%3d1%26gss%3dangs-g%26mswpn__ftp%3dHawaii%252c%2bUSA%26mswpn%3d14%26mswpn_PInfo%3d5-%257c0%257c1652393%257c0%257c2%257c3249%257c14%257c0%257c0%257c0%257c0%257c%26msbdy%3d1900%26sbo%3d1%26pcat%3dROOT_CATEGORY%26h%3d4025433952%26recoff%3d8%2b9%26db%3dnypl%26indiv%3d 1&ssrc=&backlabel=ReturnRecord#?imageId=40457_1521003240_0599-00994>. Accessed May 20, 2015.

17 "The Theatres," *The Times* (London), February 2, 1920, 10.

18 Balme, "Selling the Bird," 8.

19 Marsden, "Hawaiian Music in Great Britain," 222.

20 Imada, *Aloha America*, 299 n170.

21 Imada, *Aloha America*, 98.

22 "Na Keiki Hawaii Himeni Ma Amerika," *Kuokoa Home Rula*, September 5, 1912, 2. Translated by nupepa-hawaii.com: <http://nupepa-hawaii.com/2012/09/06/more-on-hawaiians-performing-in-lands-afar-1912/>. Accessed May 23, 2015.

23 Pale K. Lua, Irene West, and the rest of the troupe—Willie Kahakalau, Julia Anelika Willing, John K. Paaluhi, and Louise Rose Kamakea—together

appeared to apply for passports in March of 1914. Pali Luau, Passport Application, March 21, 1914, Ancestry.com, *Passport Applications, January 2, 1906–March 31, 1925*. The troupe embarked from Liverpool to New York on August 22, 1914. Ancestry.com, *New York, Passenger Lists, 1820–1857*.

24 Thompson was born in Honolulu on April 22, 1882. His aliases, according to British Hawaiian music researchers Les Cook and John Marsden, include Luvaun Tawmsen, Keouli Tawmsen, Carlo Luvaun (likely a misspelling of Keouli), Lu Thompson, Louis Thompson, Keouli, Professor Keouli, Segis Luvaun, and Juan Akoni. It is unclear why he took on such a variety of names, but he left behind a significant combined legacy of European recordings. Before arriving in Europe, he performed as a member of the "Honolulu Students" and toured throughout the continental United States. Marsden, "Hawaiian Music in Great Britain," 223, 235.

25 Marsden, "Hawaiian Music in Great Britain," 223; Advertisement, *B.M.G.*, February, 1920, iii.

26 The witness for Kekuku's and Komoku's passport applications was Joseph Puni, who swore in the application that he had known both of them for twenty-five years as a family friend. Joseph Kekuku and William Kamoku, Passport Application, June 6, 1919, Ancestry.com, *Passport Applications, January 2, 1906–March 31, 1925*. Tranquada and King state that Kealaka'i also also traveled on their ship that June, the SS *Baltic*. Tranquada and King, *The 'Ukulele*, 111.

27 His residence in Paris in late 1920 was the Hotel Excelsior, rue Pigalle 59. Joseph Kekuku, Passport Application, November 29, 1920, Ancestry.com, Passport Applications, January 2, 1906–March 31, 1925; Joseph Kekuku, Passport application, November 1, 1922, Ancesry.com, Passport Applications, January 2, 1906–March 31, 1925.

28 For example, see Kapua, "Joseph Kekuku," and "To Harrods from Honolulu," *The Times* (London), October 15, 1923, 10. Kekuku taught lessons on 'ukulele, as well, and performed at the London Hippodrome off and on for nine months in 1924 in the cast of *Leap Year*, starring George Robey. Marsden, "Hawaiian Music in Great Britain," 226.

29 "Astor House Hotel of the Paris of the Far East Sends Query to Honolulu to Learn if Singers are Available," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, February 2, 1905, 1.

30 Ibid.

31 Tranquada and King, *The 'Ukulele*, 59.

32 Noble, "Hawaiian Musicians in the Jazz Era," 24; and Kanahele and Berger, "Ernest Kaleihoku Ka'ai," 410.

33 "Ernest Ka'ai and Company Given Warm Welcome at Opera House," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, August 6, 1911, 6.

34 "The Royal Hawaiians," *Queensland Times* (Australia), March 30, 1911, 5.

35 Kanahele, "Ernest Ka'ai, a Giant in Hawaiian Music," 3; and "The Royal Hawaiians," *Queensland Times* (Australia), March 30, 1911, 5. This is likely Anehila Hobron from Hilo, who later toured with the Mildred Leo Clemens Schenck troupe in the United States.

36 "He Leta Mai Auseteralia Mai," *Ke Aloha Aina*, May 27, 1911, 1.

37 Tranquada and King, *The 'Ukulele*, 131; and Bourke, "South Seas Rhythm: The Hawaii–New Zealand Connection, part 1," 21.

38 "Special Easter Attraction," Advertisement, *The Register* (Adelaide), March 29, 1918, 5.

39 For the 1912 tour, see *Kuokoa home Rula*, December 19, 1912, 1. For Robert Akeo's letter, see "Nui Ka Hialaaiia O Na Mele Hawaii Ma Kina," *Ke Aloha Aina*, February 2, 1917, 8.

40 "Nui Ka Hialaaiia O Na Mele Hawaii Ma Kina," *Ke Aloha Aina*, February 2, 1917, 8. Translation by Ho'olaupai: Hawaiian Newspaper Resource: https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=231528590218035&set=a.150883714949190.26988.116857171685178&type=1&permPage=1

41 Coyle and Coyle, "Aloha Australia," 33–34; and Kanahele and Berger, "Ernest Kaleihoku Ka'ai," 410.
42 See, for example, "Hawaiian Music: A Night in Honolulu," *Freeman's Journal* (Sydney), March 5, 1925, 26.
43 By 1922, one could find ads for used "Hawaiian steel guitars" in the Singapore classifieds. "Latest Advertisements," *The Straits Times*, June 15, 1922, 7. By 1920, one could find "Hawaiian guitars" at H. C. Hudson's House of Catchy Music in Singapore. H. C. Hudson, advertisement, *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, May 8, 1920, 10.
44 Cook and Berger, "Pale K. Lua," 512–14.
45 The cause of Lua's death at such a young age remains unknown.
46 Presumably they toured with Ka'ai's troupe to other nearby countries before heading to Australia in 1924. For a review of a Singapore show, see "Ka'ai's New Hawaiian Troubadours," *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, March 14, 1923, 7. Based on these early reviews, it is clear that Thelma Ka'ai, Ernest Ka'ai's daughter, had long before introduced local audiences to the steel guitar. Documentation of this in Singapore goes back to 1921. "Big Success of the Hawaiian Troupe," *The Straits Times*, November 29, 1921, 10. It seems that David Kaili at first accompanied Thelma Ka'ai on Spanish guitar, as he had Pale K. Lua, and then gradually integrated his own steel playing into the Ka'ai act. "Hawaiian Troubadours," *The Straits Times*, March 16, 1923, 10.
47 Coyle and Coyle, "Aloha Australia," 34.
48 "Real Hawaiians," *Mirror* (Perth), March 15, 1930, 11; "The Royal Hawaiians," *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton), July 15, 1924, 8; "Bijou—Vaudeville," *The Argus* (Melbourne), October 12, 1925, 14; and "Hawaiian Music: A Night in Honolulu," *Freeman's Journal* (Sydney), March 5, 1925, 26.
49 A promotional photograph in a Parramatta, Australia, newspaper features Kaili holding such an instrument, while a photograph in their scrapbooks reveals two individuals strumming on similar guitars, with the caption "Home-made steel guitars." "A Night in Honolulu," *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate* (Parramatta), February 24, 1925, 4; BMLA, Scrapbook Belonging to Queenie Kaili, 1978.237.01, 1978.237.02, Donor: Mrs. Gay Slavsky; and Coyle and Coyle, "Aloha Australia," 36.
50 "The Royal Hawaiians," *Morning Bulletin* (Rockhampton), July 15, 1924, 8; "Bijou—Vaudeville," *The Argus* (Melbourne), October 12, 1925, 14. In the 1924 and 1925 tours, Ernest Ka'ai's daughter, Thelma, was also noted for her steel guitar playing. See "Hawaiian Music: A Night in Honolulu," *Freeman's Journal* (Sydney), March 5, 1925, 26.
51 "Real Hawaiians," *Mirror* (Perth), March 15, 1930, 11.
52 "Entertainments: Luxor Theatre," *The West Australian* (Perth), September 3, 1928, 16.
53 "Some Notes for Women," *Manawatu Times*, 17 June 1911, 3. I am deeply indebted to Jim Tranquada for his impeccable research on Hawaiian music during this period, and for his sharing this source with me.
54 Coyle and Coyle, "Aloha Australia," 41.
55 BMLA, Scrapbook Belonging to Queenie Kaili, 1978.237.01, 1978.237.02, Donor: Mrs. Gay Slavsky. When Ka'ai's troupe was touring New Zealand as the Royal Hawaiians in 1911, Walter Smith was touring with his Hawaii-Maorian Quintette alongside the Royal Hawaiian Quintette.
56 Bourke, "South Seas Rhythm: The Hawaii-New Zealand Connection, part 1," 22.
57 Quoted in Ibid.
58 Bourke, "South Seas Rhythm: The Hawaii-New Zealand Connection, part 1," 23.

59 Mac McKenzie, quoted in Ibid.
60 Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands."
61 Coyle and Coyle, "Aloha Australia," 51.
62 Bourke, "South Seas Rhythm: The Hawaii-New Zealand Connection, part 1," 21.
63 Bourke, "South Seas Rhythm: The Hawaii-New Zealand Connection, part 1," 23.
64 Bourke, "South Seas Rhythm: The Hawaii-New Zealand Connection, part 2" 24.
65 Halfon, "The Moe Family." Appendix D, "Moe Family Film Outline," 1. Moe described the cylinder as "a round disc like a glass that we drink water in. . . . The color of the glass record was I think dark brown or black." Tau Moe to Lorene and Art Ruymar, August 26, 1990, reproduced in Ruymar, *The Hawaiian Steel Guitar*, 21. In one interview, Tau indicates that he had learned how to play Spanish guitar in Samoa, before his family arrived at Lā'ie. "The Aloha Four," *The Heritage Series*.
66 Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix D, "Moe Family Film Outline," 1.
67 Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix D, "Moe Family Film Outline," 9. The troupe may have included four additional musicians and dancers who sailed with them from Honolulu. "List or Manifest of Outward-Bound Passengers," SS *President Jefferson*, Honolulu to Manila, December 27, 1928, Ancestry.com, *Crew Lists of Vessels Arriving at Honolulu, Hawaii, August 1912–November 1954*.
68 The Tokyo session in September of 1929 yielded an interesting mixture of Hawaiian, Samoan, and popular American songs: "Goodbye My Felina," "Ellis March," "Lau Lupe Ua Sola," "Paahana Hula," "Fort Street Rag," "Mama E," "Mountain of Samoa," "Tofa Leve Ta," "He Aloha No O Honolulu," "Aue Si Ta'e," "Maikai No Kauai," Tofa Sole Oe," and "Lei I Ka Mokihana." Rockwell, *Hawaiian & Hawaiian Guitar Records, 1891–1960*, 835.
69 Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix C-I, "Tau Moe Family Chronology," unpaginated.
70 See Troutman, *Indian Blues*, for multiple examples of this production trope in federal Indian boarding schools as well as on professional entertainment circuits.
71 Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix C, "Treatment," 12.
72 Interestingly, it was Tau and Rose who saved Riviere from financial ruin in Bombay and supported her for two years as their own group gained ground. Halfon, "The Moe Family," 11.
73 Photocopies of programs from the Moe scrapbooks, now lost, are included in Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix C, "Treatment."
74 Quoted in Ruymar, *The Hawaiian Steel Guitar*, 35, and Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix D, "Moe Family Film Outline," 10.
75 Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix D, "Moe Family Film Outline," 10–12. In another source, Tau suggested that his family's departure from his half-uncles was amicable. He wrote, "In 1934 after our contract in Calcutta, India, I told Pulu, Louisa, Fuifui, Tauivi and their Families that I have decided to return back to Hawaii for the Education of my young Son Lani Moe." Tau Moe to John Marsden, undated letter, courtesy of John Marsden.
76 Tau Moe to John Marsden, undated letter, courtesy of John Marsden. Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix C-I, "Tau Moe Family Chronology," unpaginated. The Austrian-born Friedrich "Fritz" Kreisler (1875–1962) was a celebrated violinist and composer.
77 "Tau Moe: A Hawaiian Odyssey, Part I;" Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix C-I, "Tau Moe Family Chronology," unpaginated; Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix D, "Moe Family Film Outline," 14; and Tau Moe to John Marsden, undated letter, courtesy of John Marsden.

78 Photocopies of programs from the Moe scrapbooks, now lost, are included in Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix C, "Treatment."
79 Clippings, Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix C, "Treatment."
80 Quoted in Ruymar. *Hawaiian Steel Guitar and Its Great Hawaiian Musicians*, 36: my emphasis. Sol Hoʻopiʻi was a highly influential and celebrated Hawaiian steel guitar virtuoso who recorded dozens of popular jazz-inspired recordings in the 1920s.
81 Halfon, "The Moe Family," Appendix C-I, "Tau Moe Family Chronology," unpaginated. I detail what is known about their efforts to defy the Nazi's persecution of their friends in Troutman, *Kīkā Kila*.
82 Tau Moe to John Marsden, undated letter, courtesy of John Marsden.
83 Quoted in Ruymar, *The Hawaiian Steel Guitar*, 36.
84 Ruymar, *The Hawaiian Steel Guitar*, 36.
85 McNeil, "A Mouse, A Frog, The Hawaiian Guitar and World Music Aesthetics," 84. Ernest Kaʻai's troupe first toured India for five months in 1922. Personal correspondence with Jim Tranquada, May 25, 2015.
86 McNeil, "A Mouse, A Frog, The Hawaiian Guitar and World Music Aesthetics," 85.
87 Author Interview with Kay Das, October 6, 2012, Joliet, IL.
88 McNeil, "A Mouse, A Frog, The Hawaiian Guitar and World Music Aesthetics," 85.
89 Ibid. See also "Mahima: Debashish Bhattacharya and Bob Brozman."
90 Ellis, "The Secret World of Hindustani Slide," *Premier Guitar*, June 8, 2012: <http://www.premierguitar.com/articles/The_Secret_World_of_Hindustani_Slide>. Accessed May 20, 2015.
91 Ellis, "The Secret World of Hindustani Slide," *Premier Guitar*, June 8, 2012: <http://www.premierguitar.com/articles/The_Secret_World_of_Hindustani_Slide>. Accessed May 20, 2015.
92 Ibid.
93 Filmi refers to music produced for films. Tagore music refers to renditions of compositions by the Nobel Poet laureate and musician Rabindranath Tagore. Nazrul was also a famous musician and poet from Bengal, where audiences of "millions of people on the east coast of the subcontinent" listened to steel guitarists' versions of his and Tagore's work. McNeil, "A Mouse, A Frog, The Hawaiian Guitar and World Music Aesthetics," 85.
94 Bhattacharya's encounter with the Moe family was confirmed to me by Basil Henriques. Personal communication with Basil Henriques, July 27, 2013.
95 HSL, "Joseph Puni, Wanderer for 40 Years, Glad He's Home," unidentified newspaper, December 11, 1940, 13, Newspaper Clipping and Pamphlet File.
96 Kanahele and Berger, "Ernest Kaleihoku Kaʻai," 411.
97 As Queenie Kaili recalled to the *Honolulu Advertiser* upon her return to Hawaiʻi at war's end, "they beat me constantly, stuck bamboo slivers which had been soaked in salt water under my finger and toe nails, used any part of my body they fancied for putting out their cigarette butts." Annabel Damon, "Four Years of Hell in Manila Described by 'Queenie' Kaili, *Honolulu Advertiser*, December 16, 1945, 1, 5.
98 Bernardo Endaya, quoted in Ruymar, *The Hawaiian Steel Guitar*, 29. Ruymar published a wonderful collection of accounts of the instrument's arrival in several countries. Ibid., 39–46.
99 Bob Brozman quoted in "Tau Moe: A Hawaiian Odyssey, Part II."
100 Ruymar, *The Hawaiian Steel Guitar*, 42.
101 Kubik, *Theory of African Music, Volume Two*, 245.
102 Kubik, "African Guitar: Solo Fingerstyle Guitar Music form Uganda, Congo/Zaïre, Central African Republic, Malawi, Namibia an Zambia," 58–59.

103 For examples of steel guitar playing by Adepoju see, in particular, King Sunny Adé albums from 1977 on, including *Synchro Chapter 1* (1977), *African Beats in London* (1977), *Sound Vibration* (1978), *Chapter 3* (1978), *Private Line* (1979), and *The Golden Mercury of Africa* (1979). After 1979, he switched to pedal steel. For an excellent example of his pedal steel playing with King Sunny Adé, listen to his *Ju Ju Music*. Fellow juju musician, Chief Commander Ebenezer Obey's Inter-Reformers Band, featured Lai Yinusa Dauda on steel guitar.