

JOHN KING AND JIM TRANQUADA

## A New History of the Origins and Development of the ‘Ukulele, 1838–1915

IN HIS PIONEERING 1979 work *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*, George Kanahale observed that until he and his collaborators set to work, the field of Hawaiian music was “terra incognita . . . much of what we thought we knew was incomplete, unreliable or fallacious.”<sup>1</sup> Surprisingly, Kanahale’s lament still holds true today for the ‘ukulele, despite its iconic status. First crafted by Madeiran immigrants who arrived in Hawai‘i in the late 1870s, the ‘ukulele’s fate has been similar to that of its older cousin, the guitar, which, as one historian has noted, also suffers from the “promulgation of legends and the misrepresentations of historical fact.”<sup>2</sup>

With the exception of a new dictionary of early Hawaiian luthiers,<sup>3</sup> much of the information in print about the ‘ukulele is unreliable or incorrect. Most accounts are based on the same small group of frequently cited books and magazine articles, which in turn rely on “family traditions” or on reminiscences solicited 40 years or more after the fact.<sup>4</sup> This article seeks to correct and enhance the histori-

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cal record by drawing on contemporary sources whenever possible, and to provide a broader social, historical, and economic perspective on the origins, introduction, and early dissemination of the ‘ukulele.

Precisely when the ‘ukulele—or more accurately, the machete, a small, four-stringed treble guitar from the island of Madeira—was introduced to Hawai‘i remains a matter of dispute. No contemporary references to the machete’s presence in Hawai‘i prior to 1879 have come to light. By the turn of the century, when the ‘ukulele had become inextricably linked with Hawai‘i, some promoters of the instrument and of Hawaiian music did little to correct the assumption on the mainland that it was a native instrument.<sup>5</sup> However, the origin of the instrument was acknowledged in print as early as 1886, when Honolulu newspaper editor Augustus Marques noted in an article on music in Hawaii that

Hawaiians do not seem to take much, nor readily, to our instruments; either piano, or wind or string. But they are exceptionally fond of the guitar, and they play it as a solo instrument, with a tenderness, a softness which speaks well for the delicacy of their feelings. They also extensively use the guitar to accompany their modern meles and even their hulas: of late they have taken to the banjo and to that hideous small Portuguese instrument now called “taro patch fiddle.”<sup>6</sup>

The Portuguese origins of the ‘ukulele, as the instrument came to be known in the 1890s, were repeatedly noted by subsequent writers, including Charmian London, who wrote in 1907 that the ‘ukulele “seems a part of the native at every merrymaking. It hailed originally from Portugal, but one seldom remembers this, so native has it become to the islands.”<sup>7</sup>

Nineteenth-century accounts of life on Madeira—the small island west of Morocco that has been part of Portugal since the early 15th century—frequently mention the machete as its most popular folk instrument. (Machete is the name used in both Portuguese and English-language accounts of Madeira throughout the 19th century. *Braguinha* appears to be a 20th century term, which first appears in Hawai‘i in 1917.<sup>8</sup>) “In the evenings [Madeirans] often amuse themselves with their guitars (violas) and machettes, upon which they frequently perform well,” English visitor Fanny Burney Wood wrote in her journal during a stay in 1838–1839. “On such days as this—fes-

tas—the countrymen go about in parties, dancing, singing and playing to the music of these little instruments, of which they are so fond.”<sup>9</sup> (fig. 1) A visit in 1843 left American tourist John Dix unimpressed. The machete, Dix wrote,

is a dwarf guitar, the body perhaps eight inches long, with four strings of catgut tuned in fifths. Its tones are like those of a violin, when the strings are snapped with the fingers instead of being played on with the bow, excepting that they are higher, and, consequently, more shrill. Its music, by itself, is thin and meagre; but in the streets at night, with a guitar or violincello accompaniment, it is very pretty. There are two or three performers in Funchal who have attained a wonderful proficiency in playing on it. Their execution is astonishing. . . . It is not probable that the machete will ever emigrate from Madeira. It is the most common instrument here; but I doubt very much whether it would be, if this were not its birthplace.<sup>10</sup>



FIG. 1 Country Musicians, William Combe, *A History of Madeira* (London: R. Ackermann, 1821) n.p.

The machete also traveled with emigrants to other parts of the Madeiran diaspora in the 19th century. Driven by overpopulation, poverty, a series of crop failures and food shortages, chronic political instability, and an unpopular system of compulsory military service, Madeirans emigrated by the tens of thousands to Brazil, to Demerara (what is now Guyana), and to the Caribbean as well as to Hawai'i.<sup>11</sup> "Fond of music, [Madeiran emigrants] enlivened their homes by the guitar, accompanied by the voice," noted Henry G. Dalton in his 1855 history of British Guiana. "A small kind of guitar, called by them 'michette' [machete], is a very favourite instrument, with which, playing the most pleasing airs, they often perambulated the streets."<sup>12</sup>

Madeiran emigration to Hawai'i began with the arrival of 123 contract workers aboard the German bark *Priscilla* in September 1878.<sup>13</sup> Among the more than 420 Madeirans aboard the *Ravenscrag* the following year, were three men who would play key roles in the development of the 'ukulele: cabinetmakers Augusto Dias (fig. 2) (1842–



FIG. 2 Augusto Dias (1842–1915), J. A. Gonsalves, photographer, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands. Jim Tranquada Collection.

1915), Manuel Nunes (1843–1922), and Jose do Espirito Santo (1850–1905).<sup>14</sup> Cabinetmaking in Madeira dates back to the 15th century—not surprising for an island whose virgin forests were responsible for its name, which means “wood” in Portuguese.<sup>15</sup> While visiting the village of Ponta do Sol in 1839, Fanny Burney Wood noted “the very handsome new tables, chairs, and sofas (evidently of island manufacture)” in the home of her host, and when English-born Isabella de França visited the island in 1853, she wrote that nearly all of the furniture she saw was of island manufacture, cabinetmaking being a trade in which “the Madeiran people excel.”<sup>16</sup> Furniture shops were plentiful in Funchal in 1889, guidebook author Ellen M. Taylor noted, “and in some of these excellent wardrobes, chairs and tables may be found of Til [*Ocotea foetens*], or Vinhatico [*Persea indica*, also known as Madeiran mahogany], walnut, or plane.”<sup>17</sup>

Fellow *Ravenscrag* passenger João Fernandes (1854–1923), a tin-smith by trade, may have been the first to publicly play the machete in Hawai‘i. According to his own account, he borrowed a machete from João Gomes da Silva—who reportedly was too shy to play in public—and “strummed away to his heart’s content” to celebrate the ship’s safe arrival.<sup>18</sup> Such impromptu musical celebrations had been witnessed elsewhere: in 1841, Madeirans landing in Demerara “were so delighted to have reached the ‘El Dorado’ of their dreams that they danced and sang and embraced the sailors on their arrival.”<sup>19</sup> But Fernandes was not the only musician aboard the *Ravenscrag*, nor was de Silva’s machete unique, as the *Hawaiian Gazette* reported less than two weeks after the ship’s arrival:

During the past week a band of Portuguese musicians, composed of Madeira Islanders recently arrived here, have been delighting the people with nightly street concerts. The musicians are true performers on their strange instruments, which are a kind of cross between a guitar and a banjo, but which produce very sweet music in the hands of the Portuguese minstrels. We confess to having enjoyed the music ourselves and hope to hear more of it. “Music hath charms to sooth the savage breast,” it is said, and although not savage ourselves, we plead guilty to the soothing influences of the Portuguese music.<sup>20</sup>

Although most of the adults aboard the *Ravenscrag* had signed contracts as agricultural workers, more than half of the male heads of

household and single men aboard, including Santo, Nunes, Dias, and Fernandes, were natives of the city of Funchal, the commercial and administrative center of Madeira.<sup>21</sup> An anonymous 22-page pamphlet, *Breve Notícia Acerca das Ilhas de Sandwich*, printed to recruit contract workers in Madeira and the Azores, painted an alluring portrait of Hawai'i's high wages and low cost of living. "Craftsmen like cabinetmakers, carpenters, blacksmiths, tilelayers, etc. never receive less than 1,500 reis per day, and can sometimes earn 2,500 reis or more," it promised—several times the average wage for skilled workers in Funchal.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* noted little more than a month after the *Ravenscrag's* arrival that word was circulating of a new shipment of Azorean immigrants "said to be agriculturalists almost exclusively, and therefore more to be desired than the mixed lot of mechanics—cobblers, tinkers, and all sorts—who came by the *Ravenscrag*."<sup>23</sup>

Precisely when the new immigrants established themselves in Honolulu is not clear. As Hawai'i's capital, largest city, and commercial center, it offered the best opportunities for pursuing their trade. Honolulu's first professional cabinetmaker, Louis Morstein, had opened his doors half a century before; by the mid-1880s, the city's growing population supported a flourishing furniture trade, with 12 manufacturers listed in the 1884 city directory.<sup>24</sup>

Neither Santo, Nunes, Dias, nor Fernandes are listed in the 1880–1881 Honolulu directory. According to grandson John Nunes of Wailuku, Maui, Manuel Nunes worked as a laborer on the Big Island before returning to Honolulu.<sup>25</sup> Dias' daughter Caroline testified that her father worked on Hawai'i and Kaua'i before moving to Honolulu; "Augusto Diaz" is listed on tax assessment records as an employee of Lidgate's Plantation in Laupāhoehoe on the island of Hawai'i in 1880.<sup>26</sup> Santo's and Fernandes' whereabouts during this period have not been determined.

Nor is it clear whether Santo, Nunes, and Dias had previous experience building instruments. J. A. Gonsalves, a fellow *Ravenscrag* passenger, told ethnomusicologist Helen Roberts that the three men were partners in Madeira, but no evidence has been found to confirm this account.<sup>27</sup> They were not among those known to have built stringed instruments in Funchal during the last half of the 19th century, including Octavianno João Nunes, his son, João Augusto Nunes,

Augusto da Costa, Antonio Quintal, Rufino Telles, and Vicente de Menezes.<sup>28</sup> Dias, Nunes, and Santo all were identified as *marceneiros*, or cabinetmakers, in their emigration files, rather than as *viroleiros*, or stringed-instrument makers.<sup>29</sup> However, the immigrants' knowledge of the specialized techniques needed to build machetes and other instruments suggests that they were not novices. Given the numerous examples of 19th-century European and American cabinetmakers who also turned their hands to instrument making, it's possible that Santo, Nunes, and Dias began building instruments on the side while working in one of Honolulu's furniture firms.<sup>30</sup>

Dias is the first Hawaiian guitar maker for which there is any documentation. In the 1884 city directory, Augusto Dias, guitar and furniture maker, was listed as living and working at 11 King Street in Honolulu's Chinatown, near the bridge over Nu'uuanu stream.<sup>31</sup> A 1956 contest to find the oldest 'ukulele in Honolulu, sponsored by the firm of Kamaka & Sons, identified a Dias instrument dated 1884 that allegedly accompanied 13-year-old Princess Kaiulani to England.<sup>32</sup> (fig. 3) That same year, "Emanuel Nunis" is listed as a cabinetmaker with C.E. Williams, proprietor of the Pioneer Furniture House on Fort Street—the oldest, largest, and most successful furniture store in the Islands.<sup>33</sup> Santo's whereabouts in 1884 are not clear, although it appears that at some point during this early period he worked with Nunes in Williams' shop, as his name appears on an elaborately inlaid Williams center table.<sup>34</sup> An inlaid tilt-top table of similar design owned by King Kalākaua also has been attributed to Nunes and Santo.<sup>35</sup>

In August 1885, both Dias and Nunes advertised their services as guitar makers in Honolulu's Portuguese-language newspaper, *O Luso Hawaiiiano*—Dias, "Manufacturer of guitars and machetes, and all string instruments" (*Manufactor de violas e machets, e todo o instrumentos de corda*) at 11 King Street, and Nunes' "cabinetmaker's shop of string instruments, guitars and machetes" (*tenda de marcinaria de instrumentos de corda, violas e machets*) at 77 Nu'uuanu Avenue.<sup>36</sup> Dias and Santo may have been working together by the summer of 1886, when *O Luso* reported a "more than disgraceful" unprovoked attack by Dias on a fellow immigrant "in the shop of Mr. Jose Espirito Santo" that resulted in a broken window and numerous cuts to the victim.<sup>37</sup> It may be that Santo took in Dias as a result of the April 1886 Chinatown

fire, which leveled 37 acres of the city and gutted all of King Street from the Nu‘uanu stream to Bethel Street—an area that would have included the Dias shop at 11 King.<sup>38</sup>

Dias and Santo were working together in February 1887 when they were successfully sued by a customer who claimed they had lost the \$25 guitar he had left with them for repair.<sup>39</sup> The suit, tried in Honolulu Police Court in April 1887, names Dias and “Do Santos” as “being by trade repairers and makers of Guitars” and refers to their establishment as a “shop” or “store.” Dias and Santo claimed the guitar had been stolen by “the reform school boys”—appropriately enough, as the Honolulu Reform School was a favorite recruiting ground for Henry Berger, director of the Royal Hawaiian Band.<sup>40</sup>

In the 1888 Honolulu directory, Manuel “Nunas,” described as a guitar maker for the first time, was listed as living and working on Alapai above Young.<sup>41</sup> August Dias, guitar maker, had moved his estab-



FIG. 3. (left to right) Unidentified, Annie Cleghorn holding ‘ukulele, and Princess Kaiulani in kimono holding parasol, late 1880s. Hawaii State Archives.



ishment to 89 Nu‘uanu Avenue; close by, at 99 Nu‘uanu, was the shop of Jose do E Santos [sic].<sup>42</sup> Santo was the first to buy a display ad in the directory to publicize his services as a “Guitar Maker and Repairer”:

I make a specialty of repairing all Musical String Instruments, and solicit orders from all the Islands. Any work sent in will be attended to immediately. I guarantee first-class work in all respects. Special orders taken to make Guitars of all sizes.<sup>43</sup>

Santo’s phrase “guitars of all sizes” underscores the uncertainty surrounding early nomenclature. For example, the taro patch fiddle, or simply taro patch, has been generally understood since World War I to be a large ‘ukulele with four courses, double or less commonly single—the instrument described in early method books by Kealakai and Kia.<sup>44</sup> But taro patch was also a term that was applied to the ‘ukulele for years. In 1892, the pseudonymous author of *Land of the O-O* described the taro patch fiddle as “a diminutive guitar of four strings”; as late as 1918, in describing the ‘ukulele, Albert A. Stanley stated that “‘taro-patch fiddle’ is a name frequently applied to the instrument.”<sup>45</sup> Thus it is not clear to which instrument Marques was referring in 1886, or which the family of Robert Louis Stevenson took with them at the start of their 1889 voyage from Honolulu to Samoa, which Fanny Stevenson described as “a native instrument something like a banjo, called a taropatch fiddle.”<sup>46</sup>

To add to the confusion, *Paradise of the Pacific* described the taro patch fiddle in 1906 as a five-stringed instrument “in length and size something between the ‘ukulele and the guitar.”<sup>47</sup> In his *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*, Nathaniel Emerson described the taro patch as having five strings, a definition also used by Helen Roberts in 1924.<sup>48</sup> “The taro-patch fiddle in its original home [Madeira] had five strings, as it has here [in Hawaii], and was known as the ‘rajao’; while the ukulele with four strings had its Portuguese representative in the ‘braga,” Roberts wrote.<sup>49</sup> In her 1889 guidebook, Ellen Taylor noted the manufacture of “machêtes, the native instrument, both large and small” for the tourist trade in Funchal, and listed “the machete, the rajão, and the machete de Braga” without detailing the differences among the three.<sup>50</sup> Even earlier, Platão de Vakcel listed “violas, rajões e machetes” in his 1869 survey of Madeiran music.<sup>51</sup>

Slightly larger than the machete, the *rajão* appears to be a Portuguese variant of the Spanish *guitarro* and a close relative of the baroque *tiple*. Significantly, the *rajão* was tuned re-entrantly, D G C E A (the lowest note being the third string, C). This same relative tuning appears as early as 1760 in Andres de Sotos' *tiple* method, and is also documented in Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira's 1966 survey of Portuguese instruments.<sup>52</sup> The earliest published tuning for the 'ukulele is that of instrumental virtuoso, composer, teacher, and band leader Ernest Kaai in his pioneering 1910 method book, *The Ukulele: A Hawaiian Guitar, And How To Play It*. Kaai's tuning of G C E A is the standard, re-entrant, my-dog-has-fleas tuning known today.<sup>53</sup> However, it differs substantially from that described for the machete in 19th-century Madeira. Notwithstanding John Dix's assertion that the machete was tuned in fifths, most of his contemporaries reported that the Madeiran instrument was tuned in intervals of thirds and a fourth, in descending order<sup>54</sup>—the same D G B D tuning confirmed by Michael'angelo Lambertini and Veiga de Oliveira.<sup>55</sup>

Five years after Kaai's method appeared, A. A. Santos and Angeline Nunes—a granddaughter of Manuel Nunes—published a brief primer entitled *Original Method and Self-Instructor on the Ukulele*. This tutor would be unremarkable but for the fact that it calls for the 'ukulele to be tuned like a Madeiran machete: D G B D. "The original way of tuning the Ukulele has not been put into print, consequently it is unknown to most people," Santos and Nunes wrote. "There are several methods in circulation which are adapted to the taro patch instead of the Ukulele. In fact, it is the taro patch method which has been applied to the Ukulele."<sup>56</sup> Every method known to be in circulation in 1915—Kaai, Kia, Kealakai, and Bailey—used what Santos and Nunes called "the taro patch method" of tuning the 'ukulele, the standard tuning in use today: G C E A, the tuning of the first four strings of the *rajão* and the five-string taro patch.

The earliest Hawaiian name applied to the newly introduced machete has been reported to have been *pila li'ili'i*, or little fiddle.<sup>57</sup> An early Santo business card (ca. 1898) suggests that the name *pila li'ili'i* actually may have referred to an instrument larger than the 'ukulele. The card identifies Santo as a manufacturer of big guitars, small guitars, and 'ukuleles (*Mea hana i na Pila Gita Nunui Pila Gita Lii Lii a me na Pila Ukulele*) consistent with Santo's advertised readiness

to build “guitars of all sizes.”<sup>58</sup> However, by the turn of the century the name ‘ukulele had clearly become the popular term of choice.

In her account of a visit to Hawai‘i in 1890, tourist Helen Mather described a high tea in Honolulu where “native musicians, on the guitar, violin, *taropatch*, and *ukelele*, were rendering delightful music.”<sup>59</sup> This is the earliest known appearance in print of the word ‘ukelele, which predates the appearance of the now-preferred spelling of ‘ukulele by at least five years, when a short story published in *The Hawaiian* refers to “the twang of the ukulele, the soft melodious cadence of the hula song.”<sup>60</sup> Mather’s spelling might be more than just a quirk: according to Gurre Ploner Noble, native Hawaiians named the new instrument “ukelele—from the word uke, which means striking on wood, and lele meaning jumping or strumming, the manner in which the instrument was played.”<sup>61</sup>

The word ‘ukulele was not coined in response to the introduction of the machete, but appeared perhaps a century earlier to describe another European export—the cat flea (*Ctenocephalides felis*).<sup>62</sup> Defined in Lorrin Thurston’s 1865 Hawaiian dictionary as simply “a flea,” ‘ukulele appears in earlier accounts of life in the Islands. In an account of his travels on O‘ahu in 1823 with Kamehameha II, missionary Hiram Bingham described an overnight stay in a house in Pu‘uloa, “the occupancy of every inch of which was stoutly disputed by the uku-lele.”<sup>63</sup>

By the turn of the century, ‘ukulele was commonly understood to mean leaping or jumping flea. Jack London, in *The Cruise of the Snark*, wrote that ‘ukulele “is the Hawaiian for jumping flea as it is also the Hawaiian for a certain musical instrument that may be likened to a young guitar.”<sup>64</sup> Ernest Kaai provided the first extant rationale for the name in his 1910 method book: “The Hawaiians have a way of playing over all the strings at the same time, strumming and skipping their fingers from one side of the instrument to the other, hence the name, Ukulele (a bouncing flea).”<sup>65</sup> There are several accounts of how the name ‘ukulele came to be applied to the new instrument; one of the most frequently cited is that it was derived from the nickname for Edward W. Purvis, vice chamberlain to King Kalākaua.<sup>66</sup> However, Purvis resigned in August 1886 after Chamberlain Charles H. Judd was dismissed from his post.<sup>67</sup> Purvis was the suspected author of two notorious burlesques on the Kalākaua monarchy, *The Grand Duke of*

*Gynbergdrinkenstein* and the Gynberg Ballads. It is unlikely that the nickname of a man who sought to undermine the king in the months prior to the imposition of the Bayonet Constitution of 1887 would have been applied to an instrument favored by native Hawaiians. This seems even more unlikely given that Nunes and Dias were advertising “machets” just 12 months before Purvis’ resignation and that the earliest known reference to the ‘ukulele did not appear in print until 1891 (three years after Purvis’ death in Colorado.)<sup>69</sup>

From 1890 to 1898, Santo and Dias are listed in city directories as guitar makers at a variety of addresses in the Chinatown area. Nunes is listed as a cabinetmaker, first with H. H. Williams & Co.’s undertaking, furniture, and upholstery establishment on Hotel Street, then with Hopp & Co.’s furniture, bedding, and upholstery business on King Street through 1896, and as a guitar maker (with his name misspelled as “Munez”) in 1898. The directory entries for 1898 are significant for several reasons: they contain the first explicit reference to ‘ukuleles, to the use of native hardwoods, and to the first competition to *os tres violeiros*. Santo advertised himself as a manufacturer of “guitars, ukuleles, and taropatch fiddles”; Dias billed himself as a “Guitar-maker and Repairer, Instruments Made of Hawaiian Wood”; and a guitar maker by the name of Naapohu was listed for the first and only time that year.<sup>70</sup>

It is the Madeirans’ use of Hawaiian hardwoods for the tops of their instruments, rather than spruce or pine, that marks the ‘ukulele’s most significant departure from European tradition. While Honolulu cabinetmakers used a variety of native and imported materials in their furniture, the most sought-after pieces were made of native woods, particularly koa (*Acacia koa*), which Hawaiians had used for centuries for building canoes, calabashes, and other items.<sup>71</sup> With the opening of Lorrin Andrews’ steam sawmill in Makawao, Maui, around 1880, Santo, Nunes, and Dias presumably had a reliable source of koa at a cost comparable to or cheaper than imported spruce.<sup>72</sup> Given that the machete was introduced during a period of political turmoil that ultimately led to the loss of Hawaiian independence, the purchase of a koa ‘ukulele may have been seen in the same light as the purchase of koa furniture: an expression of pride in Hawai’i and of love of the land.<sup>73</sup>

The ‘ukulele achieved a widespread popularity in Hawai’i in a

remarkably short period of time. As early as 1888, its ubiquity was such that one visitor who took a trip aboard the inter-island steamer *Kinau* described how the native Hawaiians camped out on deck sleeping, smoking, and “playing the taro-patch fiddle—the national instrument of Hawaii.”<sup>74</sup> Less than ten years later, while in Washington, D.C., Queen Lili‘uokalani described how the daughter of Rep. Samuel G. Hilborn of Oakland, California, “sang some of my own Hawaiian songs, to [the accompaniment of] our instrument, the ukulele, [and] gave to me that joy, so sadly sweet, of listening to the sounds of home in foreign lands.”<sup>75</sup> Just as quickly, the ‘ukulele became an indispensable element of island iconography. Among the hundreds of photos taken by amateur photographer Alfred Mitchell during an 1886 visit is a portrait of an unknown Hawaiian woman dressed in a holokū and posing with an ‘ukulele.<sup>76</sup> By 1892, commercial studio photographs of a trio of hula dancers posing with an ‘ukulele, a guitar, and a taro patch were on sale in Honolulu—an archetypal image that later became a popular postcard.<sup>77</sup> (fig. 4) Its uniquely Hawaiian identity was firmly established by the turn of the century, when one mainland visitor described how Hawaiians

indulge in the delights of a *luah* [sic], where they can—arrayed in *holokus* and flowers, hair unbound, feet bare or slippers—recline on the mat-protected ground, eat *poi*, seaweed and fish, and other indescribable Hawaiian dishes, with the aid of their fingers alone, listen to the sweet music of the *eukalili* and native voices, and watch the beautiful swaying dance of the *hulah* girls . . .<sup>78</sup>

Some of the ‘ukulele’s popularity was no doubt due to its oft-noted characteristics of being small, portable, and easy to play. Its price tag was also smaller than that of a guitar, although the purchase of an ‘ukulele still represented a major investment during an era when the vast majority of workers were employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs and plantation laborers were earning from \$10 to \$15 per month.<sup>79</sup> Little contemporary evidence exists regarding the cost of an ‘ukulele prior to 1900; when Santo died in 1905, his widow sold 18 ‘ukuleles for an average wholesale price of \$5.78.<sup>80</sup> However, the explosive growth of the sugar industry—interrupted only by the imposition of the McKinley tariff from 1891 to 1894—fueled a new prosperity that no doubt encouraged sales of the new instrument.<sup>81</sup> As

one visitor in August 1897 noted, "Honolulu, we can see at a glance, is a well-kept and thriving place . . . in fact, people are making money here, and there would be many who would have little to complain of were it not for the worries of politics."<sup>82</sup> The playing and singing skills of Fernandes, Dias, Santo, and other immigrants who strolled the streets of Honolulu, Madeiran-style, helped to popularize the instrument among Hawaiians who, Lili'uokalani wrote, "have been from time immemorial lovers of music and poetry."<sup>83</sup>

The patronage of King Kalākaua, leader of the late 19th-century revival of traditional Hawaiian culture, played perhaps the most visible role in popularizing the 'ukulele and fostering its recognition as a native instrument. The earliest evidence of its use in the royal circle can be seen in an 1889 photograph of the king with Robert Louis Stevenson: behind them are ranged the King's Singing Boys (fig. 5), one of whom is playing an 'ukulele.<sup>84</sup> The Singing Boys were "that little group that played for him at our suppers and private parties,"



FIG. 4. 'Ukulele, Guitar and 5-String Taropatch (Photographer: J. J. Williams, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, ca. 1890). Hawaii State Archives.

wrote Stevenson's stepdaughter, Isobel Strong, who lived in Hawai'i for seven years (1883–1889) and became a frequent guest at 'Iolani Palace. "There were five of them, the best singers and performers on the ukulele and guitar in the whole islands."<sup>85</sup> As late as 1893, this same group of musicians was still closely identified with the late king. During that year of revolution, visiting Chicago journalist Mary Krout attended a musical program that concluded with "a number given by a native quintette known as King Kalakaua's Singing Boys. Their contribution was a song in Hawaiian, written for the occasion, in which the missionaries and Provisional Government were soundly rated."<sup>86</sup> Strong's memoir also provides the only known eyewitness account of Kalākaua himself playing the 'ukulele during late-night gatherings in the palace billiard room:

He [Kalākaua] would occasionally pick up a ukulele or a guitar and sing his favorite Hawaiian song, Sweet Lei-lei-hua, and once he electrified us by bursting into



FIG. 5. King Kalākaua and Robert Louis Stevenson with The King's Singing Boys accompanied by 'ukulele, 1889, "Iolani Days." Farrington Collection, Hawai'i State Archives.

Hoky Poky winky wum  
 How do you like your taters done?  
 Boiled or with their jackets on?  
 Sang the King of the Sandwich Islands.<sup>87</sup>

João Fernandes reported that he, Dias, and João Luis Correa often played for Kalākaua in the king's bungalow on the palace grounds:

“Lots of people came. Plenty kanakas. Much music, much hula, much kaukau, much drink. All time plenty drink. And King Kalakaua, he pay for all!”<sup>88</sup>

Christina Dias Gilliland, the oldest of Dias' nine children, said that Kalākaua was a frequent visitor to her father's King Street shop and that Dias “enjoyed being part of the scene at King Kalakaua's court.”<sup>89</sup>

While George Kanahale writes that the 'ukulele was used to accompany hula dances at Kalākaua's 50th birthday jubilee celebration in 1886, an eyewitness account of the November 23 lū'au and hula performance that followed that evening mentions “calabash drums” (*ipu*) and “rattles made of small gourds filled with pebbles” (*'uli'uli*) as the only instruments used.<sup>90</sup> Another account of a hula performance two years later during a poker party at Healani, Kalākaua's boathouse, described the musical accompaniment as “a troupe of men with guitars.”<sup>91</sup> Regardless, claims of royal patronage—either implied by the use of the Hawaiian coat of arms on 'ukulele headstocks, used by many makers after 1915, or stated directly in advertising—testify to the commercial importance of the royal seal of approval.<sup>92</sup>

The first years of the 20th century appear to have been lean ones for 'ukulele sales, despite the instrument's popularity in Hawai'i. From 1901 to 1905, Santo, although working from his home, was the only original manufacturer consistently listed as a guitar maker in Honolulu directories. In 1903, his son, J. E. Santos Jr., is listed as a guitar maker at the same address, 628 Beretania.<sup>93</sup> (The senior Santo died suddenly in June 1905 of blood poisoning.<sup>94</sup>) Nunes was listed as a cabinetmaker in 1902–1903, and also worked out of his home as a guitar maker in 1904 before opening a shop on Beretania in 1905. Dias worked at the Porter Furniture Co. from 1901 through 1903, returning to instrument making at his home the following year. Two



new competitors, Jose Vierra and Manuel Fernandez, surfaced briefly during this period, but each was listed for just a single year.

As the decade drew to a close, however, conditions appear to have improved and competition increased. Dias opened a shop on Union Street in 1907; by 1909, Kaai was advertising himself as “maker of the finest ukuleles in the world.”<sup>95</sup> That same year, Nunes announced the opening of M. Nunes & Sons in the Kapi'olani building on Alakea Street with sons Julius and Leonardo.<sup>96</sup> In 1911, although Dias had retired as a result of the tuberculosis that eventually would kill him in 1915, three new makers opened up shop in Honolulu: James N. Anahu, Ishiga Sakai, and Jonah Kumalae.<sup>97</sup> Kumalae—politician and former schoolteacher, farmer, and clerk—reportedly began making 'ukuleles as early as 1895 and eventually became one of the most prolific of the early manufacturers.<sup>98</sup> It was during this period that 'ukulele manufacture began to shift from traditional artisanal craftsmanship to mass production techniques. The change became apparent as early as 1909, when Nunes advised prospective customers that his 'ukuleles would be made under his direct supervision, rather than by himself personally.<sup>99</sup> By early 1915, Island manufacturers were turning out 500 to 600 'ukuleles a month, according to one estimate.<sup>100</sup>

Helping to fuel a new demand for 'ukuleles on the mainland was the convergence of a variety of factors: the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States; the systematic development of the tourist industry; the popular appetite for international expositions; vaudeville; and the birth and growth of the Chautauqua movement and of the recording industry.

Annexation and the national political debate that surrounded the issue fostered a new public awareness of the Islands. After the overthrow of the monarchy in 1893, coverage of Hawai'i dramatically increased, not only in weighty journals like *The Nation* and the *North American Review*, but in popular magazines like *Cosmopolitan*, *Century*, *Scribner's*, and *Lippincott's*.<sup>101</sup> The business community in Honolulu was quick to exploit the opportunities that annexation, Hawai'i's new visibility, and regular steamship service provided for the fledgling tourist industry.<sup>102</sup> In 1903, the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce and Merchants Association formed the Hawaii Promotion Committee. Backed with both public and private funding, the committee

produced a stream of pamphlets and brochures with such titles as *Hawaii, the Paradise of the Pacific* touting the Islands as a tourist destination and investment opportunity.

Santo, Nunes, and Dias were likely no strangers to catering to the tourist trade: tourism was one of Madeira's chief industries in the 19th century, and was credited with keeping the island economy afloat in times of agricultural disaster.<sup>104</sup> Ellen Taylor advised tourists in Madeira of current prices for machetes in Funchal in the 1880s; the *Bazar do Povo* (People's Bazaar) in Funchal advertised the sale of "Violins, Guitars and Machetes" in a 1903 guidebook.<sup>105</sup> As the numbers of tourists grew, the 'ukulele came to be regarded as one of the chief souvenirs of a trip to Hawai'i. "The musical instruments peculiar to the islands are the ukulele or taropatch. They are small guitar shaped instruments, made of native woods, hundreds of which are sold to visiting tourists, and are now scattered all over the world," the *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* boasted in 1899.<sup>106</sup> Three years later, when Mira Jacobus, a young librarian at the Kamehameha Schools, wrote to her sister in Los Angeles to inquire what sort of keepsake she would like, she asked, "Now what would you rather have, a souvenir spoon, an ukulele (little guitar), or another silk waist, or what?"<sup>107</sup> Some 'ukulele manufacturers sold not only 'ukuleles but a variety of other souvenirs. In the 1913 Honolulu directory, for example, Jonah Kumalae advertised not only "ukuleles made to order" but also "high grade koa furniture . . . canes, calabashes, trays, plates, [and] fancy ivory and tortoise shell goods."<sup>108</sup> At least three years prior, Ernest Kaai saw enough of a market to publish an 'ukulele method book, which was clearly aimed at the tourist trade.

For many on the mainland, however, the first exposure to Hawaiian music came at one of the many expositions held in major cities across the country. Although Hawaiian goods were on display at the Centennial Fair in Philadelphia in 1876,<sup>109</sup> and again at the New Orleans Exposition in 1885,<sup>110</sup> the first time Hawaiian music is known to have been presented appears to have been at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. There, on the Midway between the Chinese Theater and the Ferris Wheel, was the Hawaiian Pavilion containing Lorrin Thurston's cyclorama of the great volcano of Kilauea.<sup>111</sup> "In front of the pavilion was a heroic statue of Pele, the Hawaiian goddess of fire, made by Mrs. Copp, the sculptor, and under

the canopy a choir of Kanak [sic] musicians sang to the public, evoking much applause,” according to one account.<sup>112</sup> Also performing at the fair was a troupe of four hula dancers and two chanters and musicians, including former Kalākaua court dancer Jennie Wilson, believed to be the first hula dancers to appear on the mainland.<sup>113</sup> Later that year, the cyclorama was shipped west to be exhibited at the San Francisco Midwinter Fair, where music was again a featured part of the program. Fairgoer Phil Weaver, Jr., described how he paid his 50 cents, went in and “listened to the lecture and the sweetest Hawaiian quartet singing in the moonlight among the volcanic rocks of the great Kilauea to the accompaniment of the ‘taro-patch fiddle.”<sup>114</sup> Nearby, another visitor described how

The stroller along the Midway Plaisance . . . is greeted by no more alluring sound than the sweet strains from the “taro patch fiddle,” banjo, and guitar skillfully played by native musicians . . . the soft melody of native airs and songs has awakened more than a transient response in the breasts of our sentimental music lovers and no small number of fair pupils from San Francisco’s ‘swell set’ have been for weeks industriously practicing the ‘taro patch fiddle’ under the tuition of the dusky player at the Hawaiian Village.<sup>115</sup>

In 1901, a 10-piece orchestra headed by Mekia Kealakai was dispatched to the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, to play in the Hawaiian Village on the Midway, next to the “House Upside Down” attraction.<sup>116</sup> Stationed on a platform at the building’s entrance, orchestra members, wearing distinctive straw hats and white suits with sashes, played “seductive music” to the crowds outside, providing the “ballyhoo” or come-on to lure passers-by into the building for hula-hula dancing and other delights.<sup>117</sup> A studio portrait of the orchestra taken in Buffalo shows that it included as many as four ‘ukuleles. Four years later, the Royal Hawaiian Band played a four-week engagement at the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon, and returned the following year for a trouble-plagued tour that took them as far east as Kentucky and as far north as Canada.<sup>118</sup>

After the turn of the century, a new generation of Hawaiian musicians—many of whom grew up with the ‘ukulele—began to break into vaudeville and Chatauqua circuits on the mainland. Toots Paka’s

Hawaiians, formed by the non-Hawaiian wife of July Paka, one of the musicians in Kealakai's exposition orchestra, became a successful vaudeville act that by 1909 was regularly featured on the New York stage and in shows such as "The Echo" that traveled to Detroit, Milwaukee, and Chicago.<sup>119</sup> With instrumentation that sometimes included guitars, flute, violin, and 'ukulele, Toots Paka's troupe members were "pioneers who paved the way for future recognition of Hawaiian music."<sup>120</sup> Other performers, including guitarist Frank Ferera and composer-arranger-pianist Albert R. "Sonny" Cunha, also toured the mainland during the century's first decade.<sup>121</sup> Hawaiian music quickly became a staple of the chautauqua circuit. One of the first groups to appear was the Honolulu Students, a six-person group that toured New York state and New England in 1907–1908, playing the guitar, flute, violin, "and the native instruments, 'Ukulele' and 'Taropatch.'"<sup>122</sup> In 1910, an unidentified Hawaiian quartet even played at the Taft White House, performing a series of "melodious and mysterious songs and renditions on stringed instruments" for visiting Prince Tsai Tsao of China.<sup>123</sup>

Hawaiian music's first significant exposure on the mainland coincided with the rise of the fledgling record industry. The first major commercial recordings of Hawaiian music appear to have been made in Honolulu around 1904 by Victor, featuring such artists as Nani Alapai, the Ellis Brothers (William and John), and H. Keaweamahi, backed by flute, guitar, 'ukulele, and possibly violin.<sup>124</sup> About the same time, the American Record Co. recorded a series of sides, probably in New York, by a group identified only as the Royal Hawaiian Troubadours, a name later used by Ernest Kaai.<sup>125</sup> While entertaining native Hawaiians in Honolulu in June 1907, Charmian and Jack London discovered that "none of our visitors had heard the records of Hawaiian music which we played for them, and clapped their hands over the hulas like joyous children."<sup>126</sup> Columbia later conducted its own Honolulu recording sessions and released records by such artists as Kaai, Alapai, and Dan Makaena around 1912.<sup>127</sup>

Despite such developments, the 'ukulele and Hawaiian music remained sufficiently obscure so that *Paradise of the Pacific* felt obliged to explain what an 'ukulele was in 1906.<sup>128</sup> The following year, when C. F. Martin & Co. experimented with its own line of 'ukuleles—the first attempt by a mainland manufacturer to make and market them

—it failed, “thanks to the little problem that nobody especially wanted ukuleles in 1907.”<sup>129</sup> Charles H. Ditson & Co.’s Manhattan store advertised “Hawaiian Ukuleles” in March 1910 under the heading of “Odd Musical Instruments,” a category of exotica that included Turkish cymbals and Arabian war drums.<sup>130</sup> It was not until the play, “Bird of Paradise,” appeared on the Broadway stage in January 1912 that Hawaiian music was memorably brought to the attention of large mainland audiences. Set in Hawai‘i during the early 1890s, and featuring such spectacular effects as a glowing volcano, “not the least part of the [play’s] realistic effect is gained by the employment of a number of native musicians and singers who supply to the action an almost continuous undercurrent of the sweetly plaintive Hawaiian airs and harmony.”<sup>131</sup> Photos of the Broadway production show a Hawaiian quintet playing Spanish and steel guitars, ‘ukulele, and *ipu*.<sup>132</sup> After a successful Broadway run, the play spent another 12 years on the road in the United States and Canada as one of the era’s most lucrative properties.<sup>133</sup> “For years travelers who returned from Hawaii brought stories of the strange and beautiful music that the natives played on their Ukuleles, but it was not until [Richard] Tully’s opera ‘The Bird of Paradise’ was produced that musicians gave any serious attention to the instrument and its music,” *Edison Phonograph Monthly* reported in September 1916.<sup>134</sup>

Nowhere during this early period did the ‘ukulele gain a greater foothold than in California. Because of its proximity to the Islands, and because of San Francisco’s role as the chief port of the Pacific seaboard, California long had been Hawai‘i’s chief point of contact with the mainland. “Bird of Paradise,” written by Richard W. Tully, a California native and graduate of the University of California, produced by Los Angeles impresario Oliver Morosco, and backed financially by sugar mogul Claus Spreckels and San Francisco Mayor James D. Phelan, debuted in Los Angeles on September 11, 1911, three months prior to its Broadway opening.<sup>135</sup> But the ‘ukulele’s presence in California dates back to at least 1894, when the “taro patch” made its earliest documented appearance on the mainland at San Francisco’s Midwinter Fair. It was the daughter of a Bay Area congressman who entertained Queen Lili‘uokalani in Washington by singing the queen’s own songs and playing the ‘ukulele in 1897.<sup>136</sup> The January 1900 issue of the San Francisco-based *Overland Monthly* contained a

short story, "A Hawaiian Expedient," in which a Honolulu hostess relies on her 'ukulele to extricate herself from an embarrassing social predicament.<sup>137</sup> In 1912, Charles S. DeLano, a long-time music teacher in Los Angeles, first began to advertise his services as a "teacher of Guitar, Banjo, Mandolin and Ukulele."<sup>138</sup> Two years later, Leonardo Nunes, son of Manuel Nunes, appeared in Los Angeles advertising his services as an 'ukulele manufacturer.<sup>139</sup>

Convinced that there was now a national market for the diminutive instrument, Sears, Roebuck and Co. offered mahogany 'ukuleles in two models, priced at \$3.75 and \$4.45, in its Fall 1914 catalogue. "The Ukulele is creating a sensation in this country, especially on the Pacific Coast, where it is exceedingly popular," the catalogue copy read. "It is a sweet toned instrument that anyone can learn to play without the aid of a teacher and is especially suitable for vocal accompaniments."<sup>140</sup> That same year, three 'ukulele method books appeared on the mainland: Kealakai's *Self Instructor for the Ukulele and Taro-Patch Fiddle*, published by the Southern California Music Company of Los Angeles; Kia's *Self Instructor for the Ukulele and Taro-Patch Fiddle*, published in Los Angeles by R. W. Heffelfinger; and N.B. Bailey's *A Practical Method for Self Instruction on The Ukulele*, published in San Francisco by Sherman, Clay & Co.<sup>141</sup> The 'ukulele "has invaded the Pacific Coast states to such an extent that one is sure to hear its soft tones wherever young people congregate. In one university alone there are over one thousand of these charming little instruments," Bailey wrote in his introduction.

But it was the Hawaiian presence at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915 that launched a national craze for Hawaiian music and the 'ukulele. (fig. 6) Hawai'i was represented by a substantial building of its own in a prime location on the Esplanade, opposite the California Building and the Fine Arts Palace and directly north of the Baker Street entrance.<sup>142</sup> In the center of the main hall was a clump of palms and tree ferns, where the house band, the Royal Hawaiian Quartette, led by guitarist George E.K. Awai, played and accompanied hula dances.<sup>143</sup> Though small, the Hawaiian building proved one of the most popular attractions among the record 17 million visitors to the fair.<sup>144</sup> Large crowds were also entertained by musicians in the Hawaiian Gardens in the Horticultural Building, where free samples of pineapple and other Hawai-

ian products were served. Author Laura Ingalls Wilder was among the fairgoers who dropped by. She described the

large pavilion where Hawaiian coffee and pineapple juice and salad and other combinations of pineapple are served at little tables. There is a fountain in the center and water vines and shrubs and flowers



FIG. 6. Hawaiian Quintet featuring Henry Kailimai (*center*), Hawaiian Building, Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, Ca., 1915. Hawaii State Archives.

around the fountain's rim. The fountain and a little space are enclosed with golden ropes and there are marble pedestals inside with canaries in cages on them. At one side is a balcony where a Hawaiian band plays and sings their native songs, which are lovely. The canaries have heard the music so long that at certain places they take up the tune and sing an accompaniment. It is beautiful. The waiters are Hawaiian men and girls and it's a delightful place to sit and rest, listen to the music and sip either coffee or delicious pineapple juice.<sup>145</sup>

However, it was the Hawaiian Building on the Esplanade that made the biggest impression on fairgoers.<sup>146</sup> Among the visitors was New York musician and singer Irving Fisher, founder of the Musical Murrays, who was initially struck by

the fresh-faced, zoftig hula girls in their little grass skirts. But I was—in my present mood—more taken by the haunting and yet bouncy sound of a shrunken guitar that I soon learned is call the 'ukulele.' An orchestra of these joyous instruments backed the undulating hula girls and the combination of the wobble of sounds with the shaking of hips was intoxicating.<sup>147</sup>

Fisher introduced himself to composer, singer, and musician Henry Kailimai, after hearing him sing his hit song, "On the Beach at Waikiki," and was introduced to Jonah Kumalae, Leonardo Nunes, and Ernest Kaai, the last of whom Fisher says gave him a crash course in how to play the 'ukulele. The effect on Fisher was profound.

Hawaiian music was about to be the latest fad, I felt sure. So I needed to get some new girls, the right songs, a few short skirts, some chocolate-colored pancake make-up—and, of course, a whole heap of ukuleles. I soon found out that they came in many sizes and that already there were American companies manufacturing them. This was the fad of the hour, and I had to catch the wave before it broke and I'd be washed up.<sup>148</sup>

The Panama-Pacific International Exposition proved to be a watershed event. 'Ukulele production among Hawaiian manufacturers soared from an estimated 500 to 600 per month in August 1915 to 1,600 one year later, and was unable to keep up with the demand, as Fisher's colleagues in New York began cranking out such pseudo-



Hawaiian fare as “Yacka Hula Hickey Dula” and “Oh, How She Could Yacki Hacki Wicki Wacki Woo.”<sup>149</sup> “Two years ago, what did the public know about Hawaiian Music, Ukuleles, Hula Hula Dances?” *Edison Phonograph Monthly* asked in September 1916. “Since then Hawaiian music and American versions of it have taken the United States by storm.”<sup>150</sup>

And yet such dramatic success, which in a single generation transformed the 'ukulele from an immigrant novelty into an instantly recognizable symbol of Hawaiian culture, proved to be a mixed blessing. As early as September 1915, three months before the Panama-Pacific International Exposition closed its doors, Hawaiian manufacturers were complaining that mainland companies were fraudulently passing off their 'ukuleles as island-made.<sup>151</sup> Two years later, the Hawaii Promotion Committee issued another plaintive—and vain—protest:

Hawaiian music, as it is composed and sold here is Hawaiian music at its best, and no one will have any apologies to make for its quality. But the managers of the East have changed much of the spirit of the songs, and Hawaii is not going to benefit by it.<sup>152</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> George S. Kanahale, ed., *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History* (Honolulu: U P of Hawaii, 1979) ix.
- <sup>2</sup> Harvey Turnbull, *The Guitar: From the Renaissance to the Present Day* (London: Batsford, 1974) 1.
- <sup>3</sup> John King, *The Hawaiian Ukulele & Guitar Makers as Listed in the Honolulu City Directory and Other Contemporary Sources For the Years 1884 to 1930* (St. Petersburg: NALU Music, 2001).
- <sup>4</sup> These include “How the Ukulele Came to Hawaii,” *PP*, 35 (Jan. 1922): 8–10; Helen H. Roberts, *Ancient Hawaiian Music* (Honolulu: BPBM, 1926) 9–10; Elma T. Cabral, “Grandpa Was a Troubadour,” *PP*, 58 (Dec. 1946) 17–20; Samuel H. Elbert and Edgar C. Knowlton, “Ukulele,” *American Speech*, 32 (Dec. 1957) 307–310; and John H. Felix, Leslie Nunes, and Peter F. Senecal, *The 'Ukulele: A Portuguese Gift to Hawaii* (Honolulu: Published by the authors, 1980) 1–5.
- <sup>5</sup> See George Kia, *Self Instructor for the Ukulele and Taro-Patch Fiddle* (Los Angeles: R.W. Heffelfinger, 1914) 4; Ernest K. Kaai, *The Ukulele and How Its Played* (Honolulu: Hawaiian News Co., 1916) 8; E. N. Guckert, *Guckert's Chords for the Ukulele at Sight* (Chicago: Lyon & Healy, 1917) 2.
- <sup>6</sup> Augustus Marques, “Music in Hawaii Nei,” *HAA* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum,

- 1886) 58. Marques, born in France of an English mother, studied at the University of Paris and taught music at Punahou School before becoming editor of *O Lusó*. [Charles S. Bouslog, "Dr. Auguste Jean Baptiste and Evelyn Oliver Marques," *HJH*, 26 (1992) 157-164.]
- 7 Charmian Kittredge London, *Our Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan, 1917) 94.
- 8 The word *braguinha* first appears in Hawai'i in an advertisement for Honoka'a instrument maker João Maria Soares in the May 1917 issue of *O Lusó*.
- 9 Margaret S. Rolt, ed. *A Great-Niece's Journals, Being Extracts From the Journals of Fanny Anne Burney (Mrs. Wood) from 1830 to 1842* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1926) 291.
- 10 John A. Dix, *A Winter in Madeira and a Summer in Spain and Florence* (New York: D. Appleton, 1853) 71-73.
- 11 "Emigração," in Fernando Augusto da Silva and Carlos Azevedo de Menezes, eds., *Elucidario Madeirense*, vol. I (Funchal: Tipografia "Esperança," 1921) 345-346; Alberto Vieira, "Emigration from the Portuguese Islands in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Madeira," in David Higgs, ed., *Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1980) 42-58.
- 12 Henry Dalton, *The History of British Guiana*, vol. I (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855) 457.
- 13 Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. III, 1874-1893, *The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: U of Hawaii P, 1967) 124.
- 14 *Livro de Matricula de Cidadanos Portuguezes, Consulado Geral de Portugal em Hawaii*, entries 185, 170, and 193, Aug. 22, 1879.
- 15 T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands: Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in Seventeenth Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1972) 10; Peter Russell, *Prince Henry 'the Navigator': A Life* (New Haven: Yale U P, 2002) 87-89.
- 16 Rolt, *Great-Niece's Journals* 271; Isabella de França, *Journal of a Visit to Madeira and Portugal, 1853-1854* (Funchal: Junta Geral do Distrito Autónomo de Funchal, 1969) 64.
- 17 Ellen M. Taylor, *Madeira: Its Scenery, And How to See It* (London: Edward Stanford, 1889) 77.
- 18 "How the Ukulele Came to Hawaii," *PP*, 35 (Jan. 1922) 8; Bob Krauss, "Hula hoops and ukes," *HA* Aug. 30, 1979: A3.
- 19 Mr. James Hackett to Gov. Light, July 5, 1841, in *Papers Relative to the West Indies and British Guiana 1841-42*, cited in Mary Noel Menezes, *The Portuguese of Guyana: A Study in Culture and Conflict* (np, 1993) 23.
- 20 "Portuguese Musicians," *HG*, Sept. 3, 1879: 3.
- 21 Of the 124 heads of family and single men aboard the *Ravenscrag* reported in the *Livro de Matricula*, a total of 68, or 55 percent, were from the Funchal parishes of São Roque, São Pedro, São Antonio, Sé, Santa Luzia, Santa Maria Maior, Monte, São Martinho, or São Gonçalo.
- 22 *Breve Notícia Acerca das Ilhas de Sandwich e das vantagens que ellas offerecem á emi-*

- gração que as procure* (Funchal: Typographia Liberal, 1878) 11. Compare with average daily wages of 70 to 100 reis for skilled workers just prior to World War I [*Elucidario Madeirense*, II: 409–410.]
- <sup>23</sup> “More Portuguese,” *PCA*, Sept. 27, 1879: 3.
- <sup>24</sup> Irving Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture and Hawaii’s Cabinetmakers 1820–1940* (Honolulu: Daughters of Hawaii, 1983) 93, 138; Frederick Bagot, ed. *McKenney’s Hawaiian Directory Including a City Directory of Honolulu, and Hand Book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: L. M. McKenney, 1884) 83, 102, 107, 110, 132, 134, 181, 205, 214, 222, 246, iii.
- <sup>25</sup> Larry Ikeda, “Ukulele from the Portuguese,” *Maui Today* (Feb. 1977): 7.
- <sup>26</sup> Testimony of Caroline Tranquada, Petition for the Registration of the Hawaiian Birth of Charles Francis Gilliland (26 Nov. 1947), Application 27587, Office of the Secretary of Hawaii; Tax Assessment and Collection Ledgers (224-2-1880) vol. 2, District of Hilo: 91.
- <sup>27</sup> Roberts, *Ancient Hawaiian Music* 9–10.
- <sup>28</sup> For Octaviano and João Nunes, see Carlos M. Santos, *Trovas e Bailados da Ilha: Estudo do Folclore Musical da Madeira* (Funchal: Edição da Delegação de Turismo da Madeira, 1939) 15–22, and René Vannes, *Dictionnaire universel des luthiers*, vol. I (Brussels: Les Amis de la musique, 1972) 259; for Augusto da Costa and Antonio Quintal, see Vannes, *Dictionnaire universel* I: 68, 290; for Telles and de Menezes, see Taylor, *Madeira*, 30.
- <sup>29</sup> Manuel Nunes, passport application, emigration file No. 316 (1879), Arquivo Regional da Madeira, ARM; Jose do Espirito Santo, passport application, emigration file No. 302 (1879), ARM; Augusto Dias, passport application, emigration file 105 (1879), ARM.
- <sup>30</sup> The classic American example of cabinetmaker turned instrument maker is Christian Frederick Martin (1796–1873), founder of C. F. Martin & Co.
- <sup>31</sup> Bagot, *McKenney’s Hawaiian Directory* (1884) 113.
- <sup>32</sup> “‘Oldest’ Ukulele Turns Up,” *HA*, May 19, 1956: A8.
- <sup>33</sup> Bagot, *McKenney’s Hawaiian Directory* (1884) 188; Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture* 141, 145–146.
- <sup>34</sup> Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture* 147.
- <sup>35</sup> Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture* 150–151.
- <sup>36</sup> *O Luso Hawaiiano*, Aug. 15, 1885.
- <sup>37</sup> *O Luso Hawaiiano*, July 15, 1886.
- <sup>38</sup> Richard A. Greer, “‘Sweet and Clean’: The Chinatown Fire of 1886,” *HJH*, 10 (1970) 33–51.
- <sup>39</sup> *John Brown vs. Dias and Dos Santos*, filed Apr. 15, 1887, Law 2497, First Circuit Court Series 006, Judiciary of Hawai‘i, AH. Thanks to Lydia Guzman for finding this file.
- <sup>40</sup> Kanahēle, *Hawaiian Music* 339.
- <sup>41</sup> J. C. Lane, ed., *Hawaiian Directory and Hand Book of the Kingdom of Hawaii* (San Francisco: McKenney Directory, 1888) 316.
- <sup>42</sup> Lane, *Hawaiian Directory* (1888) 207, 338.

- <sup>43</sup> Lane, *Hawaiian Directory* (1888) unpaginated advertisements.
- <sup>44</sup> Mekia (Major) Kealakai, *Self Instructor for the Ukulele and Taro-Patch Fiddle* (Los Angeles: Southern California Music, 1914) and Kia, *Self Instructor*.
- <sup>45</sup> Ash Slivers, Sr., *The Land of the O-O. Facts, Figures, Fables, and Fancies* (Cleveland: Cleveland Printing & Publishing, 1892) 96; Albert A. Stanley, *Catalogue of the Stearns Collection of Musical Instruments* (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1918) 161.
- <sup>46</sup> Sidney Colvin, ed., *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, vol. III (New York: Scribner's, 1915) 144.
- <sup>47</sup> *PP* (Feb. 1906): 11.
- <sup>48</sup> Nathaniel Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1909) 251.
- <sup>49</sup> Lorin Tarr Gill, "Portuguese Were First to Introduce Ukulele In Hawaii Says Miss Roberts," *HA*, Aug. 10, 1924; Magazine: 3.
- <sup>50</sup> Taylor, *Madeira* 30, 63.
- <sup>51</sup> P. de Vakcel, "Alguns traços de história da Música da Madeira," *Gazeta de Madeira*, 27 Feb. 1869, reprinted in *Revista das Artes e da História da Madeira*, V. 3 (1957) 36.
- <sup>52</sup> Andres de Sotos, *Arte Para Aprender Con Facilidad, y sin Maestro, a templar a taner rasgado La Guitarra ... y también el Tiple* (Madrid: Lopez y compañía, 1760) 61–63; Ernesto Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais Populares Portugueses* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1966) 141.
- <sup>53</sup> Ernest K. Kaai, *The Ukulele: A Hawaiian Guitar, and How to Play It* [Revised Edition] (Honolulu: Wall, Nichols Co., 1910) 4. Originally published in 1906 and catalogued by Amy Stillman in the 1980s, no copy of the 1906 edition is known to survive. A 1909 tutor in the collection of Tom Walsh, T. H. Rollinson, ed., *Method for the Ukulele (Hawaiian Guitar)* (Boston: Oliver Ditson Co.) is probably based on material from the Kaai original.
- <sup>54</sup> Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley, *A Visit to Portugal and Madeira* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1854) 233; Robert White and James Yate Johnson, *Madeira: Its Climate and Scenery*. (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1856) 77–78.
- <sup>55</sup> Michael'angelo Lambertini, "Portugal," in *Encyclopedie de la Musique* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1920) 2466; Veiga de Oliveira, *Instrumentos Musicais* 141.
- <sup>56</sup> A. A. Santos, and Angeline Nunes. *Original Method and Self-Instructor on the Ukulele* (Honolulu: Santos-Nunes Studios, 1915) 3.
- <sup>57</sup> "Doc" Adams, "Old Fisherman Tells How Steel Guitar Originated; Also How Ukulele Got Name," *HA*, Jan. 24, 1932: 5; first cited in Kanahale, *Hawaiian Music* 395.
- <sup>58</sup> Original in the possession of William Voiers.
- <sup>59</sup> Helen Mather, *One Summer in Hawaii* (New York: Cassell, 1891) 159–160.
- <sup>60</sup> "Sunday in Honolulu," *The Hawaiian*, Feb.–Mar. 1896, cited in Jay Scott Odell, "Ukulele," in Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 19 (London: MacMillan, 1980) 323.

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- <sup>62</sup> Glenn E. Haas, P. Quentin Tomich, Nixon Wilson, "The Flea in Early Hawai'i," *HJH*, 5 (1971): 59-61.
- <sup>63</sup> Lorrin Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1980 [facsimile of the 1865 edition]) 119; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands . . .* (Canadaigua: H.D. Goodwin, 1855 [3rd edition]) 176.
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- <sup>65</sup> Kaai, *The Ukulele* 1.
- <sup>66</sup> Gill, "Portuguese Were First," *HA*, Aug. 10, 1924: Mag. 3.
- <sup>67</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom III*: 346.
- <sup>68</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom III*: 346-347.
- <sup>69</sup> *F* (Sept. 1888): 74.
- <sup>70</sup> F. M. Husted, comp., *Husted's Directory and Hand-Book of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands . . .* (San Francisco: Hawaiian Gazette, 1898) 65, 208, 210.
- <sup>71</sup> Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture* 3; William Alanson Bryan, *Natural History of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1915) 211.
- <sup>72</sup> Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture* 225-227.
- <sup>73</sup> Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture* xi.
- <sup>74</sup> Lee Meriwether, *The Tramp At Home* (NY: Harper & Brothers, 1889) 264.
- <sup>75</sup> Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, 1898) 342.
- <sup>76</sup> BPBM 1967.289.06, cited in Roger G. Rose, *Hawai'i: The Royal Isles* (Honolulu: BPBM, 1980) 173.
- <sup>77</sup> Slivers, *Land of the O-O* 97.
- <sup>78</sup> Rear-Adm. L. A. Beardslee (ret.), "Pilikias," *North American Review*, 167 (Oct. 1898): 479.
- <sup>79</sup> Clarence E. Glick, *Sojourners and Settlers: Chinese Migrants in Hawaii* (Honolulu: U P of Hawaii, 1980) 67, 123.
- <sup>80</sup> In re Estate of Jose do Espirito Santo, File 3781 (1905), Probate Division, First Circuit Court, Territory of Hawaii.
- <sup>81</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom III*: 57-58.
- <sup>82</sup> Archibald Cary Coolidge, "First Impressions of the Hawaiian Islands," *The Nation*, 65 (30 Sept. 1897): 259.
- <sup>83</sup> Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story* 30.
- <sup>84</sup> Photo 100, "Iolani Days" Photo Album 87B, Wallace R. Farrington Collection, AH.
- <sup>85</sup> Isobel Field, *This Life I've Loved* (New York: Longman's, Green, 1937) 175.
- <sup>86</sup> Mary Krout, *Hawaii and a Revolution* (London: John Murray, 1898) 142.
- <sup>87</sup> Field, *This Life* 175.
- <sup>88</sup> *PP*, 35 (Jan. 1922) 9.
- <sup>89</sup> "Aunt Tina of Kailua Helped Kalakaua Direct Making of Island's First Uke," *Pali Press* July 31, 1963.

- <sup>90</sup> Kanahale, *Hawaiian Music* 395; Wilma James, "Hawaii's Last King," *Pacific Historian*, 24 (Fall 1980) 314-315.
- <sup>91</sup> Meriwether, *Tramp* 277.
- <sup>92</sup> Nunes advertised that his ukuleles were "Patronized by the Royal Hawaiian Family" in the 1916 *Polk-Husted Directory of Honolulu* [131]; his ads competed with those of the Hawaiian Ukulele Co., which claimed its "Royal Ukuleles Have no Superior in Tone or Popularity." [121].
- <sup>93</sup> F. M. Husted, ed. *Husted's Directory of Honolulu and Territory of Hawaii* (Honolulu: F. M. Husted, 1903) 340.
- <sup>94</sup> "Local Brevities," *PCA*, June 11, 1905: 12.
- <sup>95</sup> *Husted's Directory of Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii 1908* (Honolulu: Polk Husted, 1908). Advertisements are unpaginated.
- <sup>96</sup> *PCA*, Dec. 29, 1909: 11.
- <sup>97</sup> *Polk-Husted Directory Co.'s Directory of Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii, 1911* (Honolulu: Polk-Husted, 1911) 124, 608, 1057.
- <sup>98</sup> John William Siddall, ed., *Men of Hawaii: A Biographical Reference Library*, vol. II (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1921) 241; Karen S. Drozd, *The Hawaiian 'Ukulele: its players, makers, teachers and continuity in traditional transmission processes* (MA thesis, U of Hawai'i, 1998; Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1999) 99.
- <sup>99</sup> *PCA*, Dec. 29, 1909: 11.
- <sup>100</sup> "Industry Enriches Hawaii," *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1916: VIII, 6.
- <sup>101</sup> The number of articles on Hawai'i cataloged in *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature* increased more than five-fold from the 1887-1892 volume (14 items) to the 1892-1896 period (72 items).
- <sup>102</sup> John D. Spreckels, "Hawaii for Tourists," *Overland Monthly*, 25 (June 1895) 661.
- <sup>103</sup> David Farber and Beth Bailey, "The Fighting Man as Tourist: The Politics of Tourist Culture During World War II," *Pacific Historical Review*, 65 (Nov. 1996) 4; *National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* (London: Mansell, 1972) 235: 417.
- <sup>104</sup> Dix, *Winter in Madeira* 104.
- <sup>105</sup> Taylor, *Madeira* 30, 234; A. Samler Brown, *Brown's Madeira, Canary Islands and Azores: A Practical and Complete Guide for the Use of Tourists and Invalids* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, 1903) 17.
- <sup>106</sup> Wray Taylor, "Musical Status of Hawaii," *HAA*, 1899 (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1898) 166.
- <sup>107</sup> Miranda Jacobus to Vinia Jacobus, Apr. 29, 1902, original in the possession of Jim Tranquada.
- <sup>108</sup> *Polk-Husted Directory Co.'s Directory of Honolulu and the Territory of Hawaii, 1913*. (Honolulu: Polk-Husted, 1913) 446.
- <sup>109</sup> Jenkins, *Hawaiian Furniture* 143-144.
- <sup>110</sup> *The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints* (235: 427) lists a pamphlet, *The Hawaiian Exhibit at the World's Exposition, New Orleans*, published by the Hawaiian Islands Commission to the New Orleans Exhibition.

- <sup>111</sup> *The Dream City: A Portfolio of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition*, vol. I (St. Louis: N.D. Thompson, n.d.) Plate 9; Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom* III: 534, 620.
- <sup>112</sup> *The Dream City* I: Plate 9. An illustrated pamphlet from the Chicago World's Fair, recently discovered by Michael Simmons, identifies the "Kanak musicians" as Keoui Maipinepine, Keoui Elemeneni, A. O. East Kahualualii, and Nulhama Aeko. Known collectively as "The Volcano Singers," they are pictured accompanying themselves with two Spanish guitars, five-string taropatch and 'ukulele.
- <sup>113</sup> Joann Wheeler Kealiinohomoku, "A Court Dancer Disagrees With Emerson's Classic Book on the Hula," *Ethnomusicology*, 8 (May 1964) 161.
- <sup>114</sup> Phil Weaver, Jr., "Going With the Swim," *Overland Monthly*, 23 (Apr. 1894) 417.
- <sup>115</sup> "The Hawaiian Village at the Midwinter Fair," *PP*, 7 (July 1894) 87.
- <sup>116</sup> Kanahele, *Hawaiian Music* 209–210, 275; "The Diary," an anonymous account of a visit to the Pan-American Exposition, posted at <<http://www.buffalonet.org/opus/docs/history.html/>>
- <sup>117</sup> "The Diary"; Thomas Fleming, *Around the "Pan" with Uncle Hank: His Trip Through the Pan-American Exposition* (NY: Nutshell Publishing, 1901) 32–33, 35.
- <sup>118</sup> David W. Bandy, "Bandmaster Henry Berger and the Royal Hawaiian Band." *HJH* 24: 75–78.
- <sup>119</sup> Kanahele, *Hawaiian Music* 388–390; *New York Times*, June 6, 1909: X: 9; Feb. 16, 1910: 18; Apr. 9, 1910: 11; Aug. 21, 1910: X: 5.
- <sup>120</sup> *HSB* Sept. 1935, quoted in Kanahele, *Hawaiian Music* 389.
- <sup>121</sup> Tim Gracyk and Frank Hoffman, *Popular American Recording Pioneers 1895–1925*. (New York: Haworth Press, 2002) 118–120; Kanahele, *Hawaiian Music* 68–70. Cunha's father, Emanuel S. Cunha (1851–1918), proprietor of the Union Saloon in Honolulu, married Angela Eva Gilliland (1859–1922), older sister of Frank C. Gilliland (1862–1893), the husband of Christina Dias (1867–1967), the oldest daughter of Augusto Dias.
- <sup>122</sup> *The Honolulu Students: from the Hawaiian Islands* (Rochester: Central Printing & Engraving, n.d. [ca. 1909]). Redpath Chautauqua Collection, Special Collections, U of Iowa.
- <sup>123</sup> Elsie K. Kirk, *Music at the White House: A History of American Spirit*. (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1986) 190.
- <sup>124</sup> L. E. Anderson and T. Malcolm Rockwell, "Hawaiian Recordings: The Early Years." *Victrola and 78 Journal*, 7 (Winter 1996): 3; personal communication from T. Malcolm Rockwell, Apr. 30, 2002.
- <sup>125</sup> Anderson and Rockwell, "Hawaiian Recordings" 1–2.
- <sup>126</sup> London, *Our Hawaii* 102
- <sup>127</sup> Anderson and Rockwell, "Hawaiian Recordings" 3–4.
- <sup>128</sup> *PP* (Feb. 1906): 11.
- <sup>129</sup> Jim Washburn and Richard Johnston, *Martin Guitars: An Illustrated Celebration of America's Premier Guitarmaker* (Emmaus: Rodale Press, 1997) 86.

- 130 *New York Times*, Mar. 19, 1910: 2.
- 131 *Life Magazine*, Jan. 18, 1912.
- 132 The *New York Times*' pictorial section of Jan. 21, 1912, contains a photo that shows the quintet with their instruments.
- 133 Helen Morosco and Leonard Dugger, eds., *Life of Oliver Morosco, the Oracle of Broadway* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1944) 184; Gerald Bordman, *The Oxford Companion to the American Theater* (New York: Oxford U P, 1984) 81.
- 134 Cited in Gracyk, *Recording Pioneers* 119.
- 135 *Life of Oliver Morosco* 180–184, 194; John Hutchens, “‘The Bird of Paradise’ On An Eighteen-Year Front,” *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 1930: 120.
- 136 “Hawaii’s Ex-Queen’s Concert,” *New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1897: 1.
- 137 Jessie Kaufman, “A Hawaiian Expedient,” *Overland Monthly*, 25 (Jan. 1900): 17.
- 138 *Los Angeles City Directory, 1912*. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1913) 464.
- 139 *Los Angeles City Directory, 1914*. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1914) 1727. Leonardo Nunes is listed as an ‘ukulele manufacturer in Los Angeles through 1929.
- 140 *Sears, Roebuck And Co. Catalogue #129*, Fall 1914: 1130.
- 141 Bailey’s method book was later reprinted with a new cover and title page that included “banjo ukulele” in the title; all other content was reprinted unaltered.
- 142 Ben Macomber, *The Jewel City: Its Planning and Achievements; Its Architecture, Sculpture, Symbolism, and Music; Its Gardens, Palaces and Exhibits* (San Francisco: John H. Williams, 1915) 29–31.
- 143 Macomber, *Jewel City* 177; Kanahale, *Hawaiian Music* 290–291.
- 144 Macomber, *Jewel City* 177.
- 145 Roger Lea McBride, ed., *West From Home: Letters of Laura Ingalls Wilder to Almanzo Wilder, San Francisco 1915* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974) 82–83.
- 146 There was a Hawaiian Village on the Zone, the P. P. I. E. midway, but it “was hardly representative and executed a meager program . . . without the really beautiful and interesting things of island life it had no drawing power.” [Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. II (New York: G. P. Putnam’s, 1921) 352.]
- 147 Irving Fisher, “The Titanic, The Ukulele, and Me,” Typed MS, Huntington Library, cited in Ian Whitcomb, *Ukulele Heaven* (Pacific: Mel Bay, 1999) 14–15.
- 148 Whitcomb, *Ukulele Heaven* 14–15.
- 149 “Industry Enriches Hawaii,” *New York Times*, Oct. 15, 1916: VII: 6
- 150 *Edison Phonograph Monthly* (Sept. 1916), cited in Gracyk, *Recording Pioneers* 119.
- 151 “Hawaiians Are Angry,” *New York Times*, Sept. 19, 1915: II: 10.
- 152 Virgil Jordan, “The Yarn of the Ukulele,” *Everybody’s Magazine*, 36 (Mar. 1917) 334.