

a slave, however, though disapproved of, is still possible, even though this seems to be inconsistent with the principle enunciated above. For if sexual intercourse between father and daughter is thought of as impossible because it is not to be reconciled with the accepted ideas as to the relationship of authority between them, a relationship between master and slave should be equally impossible, since it is inconceivable that a master should court his slave without losing his authority. That this is indeed the case appears from the fact that such a marriage, while not forbidden, is disapproved of; and that, in addition, a slave who marries her master and bears him a child is, under adat law, considered a free woman.

The prohibition among the Bataks to marry one's father's sister's daughter, whereas marriage with mother's brother's daughter is welcomed, may be explained in the same way. To marry a father's sister's daughter is, as we have seen, impossible, since it is a reversal of the normal relations between the clans. It is felt so "unnatural" by the Bataks, as a matter of fact, that they say of this, "You cannot make water flow up-hill." Sexual relations between such cross-cousins is *sumbang* because it violates the accepted relations of respect between clans, for in this case the superior clan (the *hula-hula*) would become the *anak-boru* (the inferior) of its own *anak-boru*.

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CHANGES IN THE FORM AND FUNCTION OF HAWAIIAN HULAS¹

By PHILIPPA POLLENZ

THIS paper covers only a small part of the extremely complex and well-studied history of Hawaii—but it is an important one. For while the religion, the traditions, the government and the economy of ancient Hawaii has disappeared, and while the Hawaiian himself has mingled with other races, *hula*, the dance of Hawaii, is still flourishing. The dance seems to have outlasted the dancers, the kings and priests who supported it, and even the culture which engendered it. The purpose of this paper is to trace the development of the hula from a religious rite to a secular entertainment, and to discuss some of the reasons for its survival.

The period which ended with the breaking of the tabus and the coming of the Protestant missionary in 1820 might be called the Classic Period for Hawaiian dance. Before complete degeneration set in, hulas played an important role in religious life. The origins of the dance were ascribed to Hiiaka, younger sister of Pele, the volcano goddess; Laka, patron goddess of the hula ranked among the lesser gods of the hierarchy. Hulas flourished as part of a state-sponsored art, for the direction, the performance and the ideals of the dance were dependent upon the chief or king of the district. In Ancient Hawaii, the dance was kept alive by a class of paid professional performers, in a situation comparable to Civil Service. Those fortunate enough to enter the service of the hula goddess were offered free training, steady employment with excellent pay, prestige in the community, and a retirement system. Hula dancers were chosen from promising youngsters (both male and female) in the district.² They were sent to the *halau* (hall of hula) where they lived under dietary and sexual restrictions, where they were taught to chant genealogies, sing ritual songs, make their own costumes and learn the dances. In all these arts they were trained by the *kumu* (priest of hula) and his assistants. When the pupils had mastered the dances, they were presented to the king and court in a formal debut (*uniki*). From that time on, they comprised part of the entourage of the court, performing the dances in honor of the gods, on the occasion of a chief's birthday or funeral, or to entertain visiting guests. According to Handy, the traditional hula dancing was part of the cult of fertility which centered in the *Moi* (ruling chief). The hula was in essence a magical ritual designed to bring rain and cause fertility, and the hula troupe attached to the court of every *Moi* rehearsed and performed their chants and dances, which anciently were highly sacred, for two

¹ A lecture-demonstration given at the 48th Annual Meeting of the AAA in New York formed the basis for this paper.

² For a full description of classic hula training, see Emerson, 1909.

purposes and on two occasions; as an enriching and empowering magic in connection with the union of *alii* and the birth of a child destined to become a great chief and as rain and fertility magic during the makahiki festival.³

Actually, the hula chants were a method of preserving various traditions about gods and legendary kings. The dance also provided a means for a commoner to gain prestige, for dancers were chosen from all ranks.

In addition to these ritualistic ties, hulas were used as an accompaniment to various sexual games. These dances, fitting into a lay, rather than professional category, could be performed by anyone who knew them, including the kings and queens. Among the chamberlains whose duties included lighting the chief's pipe was listed a courtier known as the "*hula*." It was his duty to entertain the king with jesting and dancing.⁴

The dances of this period might be compared to those staged by a large ballet company, for sometimes as many as 200 dancers would take part in a single ceremony.⁵ The costumes were simple, consisting of sheets of tapa which were fashioned into wrap-around skirts. Sometimes the tapa would be stamped with decorative designs, or frequently strips of the cloth would be braided to form a skirt. Ornamentation consisted of leis (garlands of vines or flowers) and anklets of dog's teeth (*kupe'e*). On very formal occasions, female dancers wore layers of tapa made into skirts, the whole effect curiously resembling the "tutu" of a ballet dancer.

Ancient hulas were varied in number and complexity. The basic technique of the dances depended upon a vocabulary of hand gestures, similar to those found in India and Indonesia.⁶ These gestures could be divided into three types: the first consisted of one or two hands which formed a symbol for a specific object—a flower, a tree, a house; the second type utilized both hands in moving position to represent various acts of locomotion, such as walking, paddling a canoe, climbing a mountain, or rain, water, air; the third type used one of two hands in a stationary position to represent abstract concepts, such as love, sorrow, power, jealousy. Using these gestures, the dancer enacted the story of the accompanying chant, which was sung either by the dancer or by a singer. The many varieties of dances could be grouped into two categories—those performed in a seated position, and those performed in a standing position.

In the seated dances, the dancer knelt on the floor, never cross-legged, with the buttocks resting on the floor. Sometimes the dancer changed her own song, beating her chest for rhythm (*paiumauma*). In other varieties, auxiliary instruments were brought into play; grasping these rattles, the dancer performed the appropriate gestures. Such instruments consisted of *ululi* (feather-

³ Handy, 1931, p. 12.

⁴ Remy, 1874, p. 230.

⁵ Vancouver, 1801, p. 128.

⁶ Pollenz, 1948, p. 653.

tufted gourd rattles), *puili* (split bamboo rattles), *ilili* (stone castanets) and *kalaau* sticks.⁷

The standing dancers depended upon an extremely difficult type of hip movement for their effect. The dancer stood in a semi-erect position, with the knees bent, but with the back straight. In this position, the hips were rotated in a circular motion, or moved slowly from side to side; the dancer rarely lifted the feet from the floor. Other foot and hip movements consisted of "*uwehe*" (the dancer rises on toes, with knees bent, then returns to flat-footed position), *huki* (a quick hop to the side) and *ami* (extremely fast rotations of the pelvis). All ancient hulas were accompanied by chanting; the musicians (*hoopa'a*) were retired dancers who had become too old or heavy to perform in public. Rhythm was beaten out on *ipus* (calabashes) which were slapped with the hand, or struck against floor or knee. The pahu drum was later introduced from Tahiti. For certain dances a *puniu* (knee drum) was fastened to the knee of the chanter; still other dances were accompanied by instruments like the *ukeke* (musical bow) and *ohe* (nose-flute).⁸

The effect of these ancient dances depended upon large groups of performers, all going through the stereotyped motions in unison. Every arm, every head, every foot had to be in line and this produced a magnificent spectacle. Unquestionably, hours of strenuous rehearsal were necessary before the dancers achieved the necessary precision.

Observers fortunate enough to witness these hula ballets were impressed by them. Cook described a dance he witnessed as follows:

They are prefaced with a slow, solemn sing in which all the party joins in, moving their legs and gently striking their breasts in a manner and with attitudes that are perfectly easy and graceful, and so far they are the same as the dances of the Society Islands. When this has lasted about ten minutes, both the tune and the motions gradually quicken and end only by their inability to support their fatigue. . . . It is to be observed that in this dance the women take only a part and that the dancing of the men is of the same kind with what we saw at small parties at the Friendly Islands and which may be called the accompaniment of songs, with corresponding and graceful motions of the whole body.⁹

Vancouver, who saw a performance of a hourah (hula) in 1794 observed:

This representation was a compound of speaking and singing, the subject of which was enforced by appropriate gestures and action . . . the variety of attitudes into which the women threw themselves, with the rapidity of their action, resembled no other amusement in any other part of the world within my knowledge, by a comparison with which I might be enabled to convey some idea of the stage effect this produced, par-

⁷ Again, fuller description may be found in Emerson, 1909.

⁸ Bishop, 1940, p. 53.

⁹ Cook, 1821, p. 131.

ticularly in the first three parts in which there appeared much correspondence to harmony between the tone of their voices and the display of their limbs. . . .¹⁰

Campbell, who visited the Islands shortly after Vancouver, remarked:

In dancing they seldom move their feet, but throw themselves into a variety of attitudes, sometimes all squatting and at other times springing up at the same instant.¹¹

These travellers were fortunate enough to see classic performances of the dance, before degeneration had set in. However, the events of the ensuing decades were to threaten the existence of hula. The formation of a United Kingdom of Hawaii under Kamehameha I merely transferred the patronage of the hula troupes from the local monarchs to the larger courts. But the gradually increasing discontent with the rigid religious tabus, the interest of foreigners in the more lascivious aspects of the dance, and finally the arrival of missionaries in 1820 nearly obliterated all traces of ancient hulas.

For seventy years after the coming of new religions to the Islands, hula as a dance form was suppressed. When the temples and priests fell victims to this new influence, so did the hula schools, and the formal training of dancers ceased. The rulers of Hawaii also withdrew their support, and the remaining dancers were faced with starvation or compromise. They compromised by giving paid performances in the forbidden dance halls and taverns.

Unquestionably, in this confused period, standards of performance deteriorated. In 1825 a naturalist who sailed to Hawaii on the "Blonde" wrote:

I was much amused observing the native's simple manners and mode of dancing, which they accompany with a song and graceful motions of the arms and body.¹²

Yet elements of indecorous behavior had already entered into the dancing. Another observer wrote:

They seem to be fonder of singing and dancing in their own mode than any girls we have ever seen and notwithstanding there is a great deal of lasciviousness in both, yet! it is attended with a peculiar kind of simplicity and innocence.¹³

Most writers were not as broad-minded, for they all saw erotic movements in the dances of this period. Bates¹⁴ was shocked by the spectacle of a young girl dancing nude, and Mathison, in describing a "hourah-hourah" said "the whole dance was far too lascivious and indelicate to admit of a very minute description."¹⁵ Stewart "associated them with exhibitions of licentiousness and abomination which must forever remain untold."¹⁶

Periodic efforts to suppress these dances were partially successful, but the hulas merely went "underground" and were performed at a secret meeting

¹⁰ Vancouver, 1801, p. 73.

¹² MacCrae, 1925, p. 18.

¹⁵ Stewart, 1828, p. 120.

¹¹ Campbell, 1819, p. 144.

¹³ Gilbert, 1926, p. 26.

¹⁶ Mathison, 1925, p. 386.

¹⁴ Bates, 1854, p. 284.

place in the back woods, or at various establishments in Honolulu's growing red-light district. Kamehameha V was persuaded to introduce a bill to prohibit all performances of hula unless a special license were first obtained.¹⁷ Mark Twain, who visited the Islands in 1866, had to see a performance conducted behind closed doors. He was struck by the perfection of gesture and the excellent timing, but remarked that few dancers really could dance the hula in the highest perfection of the art.¹⁸

When David Kalakaua came to the throne in 1874, the finer types of hulas had already died out. Over protests, he attempted to revive those which were left, and due to his foresight, some of the older dancers escaped oblivion. At his coronation over 262 varieties of hulas were performed, each in appropriate costume.¹⁹ But dancers never again had the security of state-support, and without that they could not regain their former position. As late as 1898, exhibitions of the dance were thought to be only for those with depraved minds. One gentleman who viewed the more respectable dances commented, "The missionaries have not completed their work yet."²⁰

While the hip movements might have been shocking to Victorian audience, they might seem rather mild to a modern spectator. After all, at this time (about 1877) a critic had this to say about the waltz:

an open and shameless gratification of sexual desire and a cooler of burning lust . . . it is an actual realization of a certain physical ecstasy which should, at least, be indulged in private and no pure person should experience save under the sanction of matrimony.²¹

It is highly probable that the attempts to describe the dances as lurid might have resulted from unfamiliarity with dance form itself. Sauvin (who really thought the dances no more immoral than a Paris Opera Ballet) unfairly compared them to the "danse du ventre" of Egypt,²² and Dr. Marcuse made the same observation.²³ The "danse du ventre" is very different from even the hulas held not to be respectable, since, the former employs twitching movements, especially of the breast and the pelvic region, which are totally lacking in hula. Other inappropriate titles for hulas were "couchee-couchee dances"²⁴ and "the same as that devil's quick-step—the can-can."²⁵

However, by 1900, when the United States annexed Hawaii, the dance form had been influenced by foreign elements. First of all, a new kind of accompaniment had been brought in to replace the *ipu* and *pahu* drums. Sailors had introduced the Spanish guitar and the Portuguese ukelele to provide a more interesting background for the dancing. The missionaries had also enforced a change in costume. Gone were the tapa robes, and in their place

¹⁷ Lyman, 1895, p. 15.

²⁰ Musick, 1898, p. 80.

²³ Marcuse, 1894, p. 120.

¹⁸ Mark Twain, 1938, p. 56.

²¹ Herman, 1877, p. 50.

²⁴ Young, 1898, p. 53.

¹⁹ Sharpe, 1944, p. 31.

²² Sauvin, 1893, p. 170.

²⁵ Silvers, 1892, p. 101.

was the "*holoku*," a loosely fitted gown of cotton, which covered the dancer from her neck to her ankles. Another garment was the *mumu*, a long chemise, over which the dancer wore a *ti* leaf or shredded *hanu* fiber (grass) skirt.

Under this influence, the sanctioned hula became a slow, stately affair, with a peculiar grace emphasized by the long lines of the holoku. Typical of the period was the *hula kui*, sponsored by King Kalakau. The dancer used her arms in graceful gestures, but pointed her toes in a manner more reminiscent of the Spanish fandango, or a quadrille.

Hulas finally emerged from the cloud of disapproval when Hawaii became a territory of the United States. Tourists became an important part of Island industry, and tourists wanted to see dancing because it seemed to exemplify Island life. Interest in rekindling the ancient arts resulted in the sponsoring of field work by specialists like Emerson, who recorded extant hulas in 1909, and by Helen Roberts, who recorded old chants and mele.²⁶

The modern hula is based primarily on the demands of tourists, although the dancers play a curious role in Island life. They welcome arriving visitors, publicize sales, inaugurate special events. No self-respecting politician would campaign for office without a troupe of dancers, nor would any hotel be without these entertainers. That hula has full social approval is apparent, for even the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. gives a course in hula dancing.

Today's hula dancer is probably not a pure-blooded Hawaiian, but is usually part-Hawaiian. In most cases, women have entirely taken over the dance, and it is hard to find a man willing to learn or demonstrate the hulas. The halaus have been replaced by popular dancing schools which offer quick three-week courses in the dance. The Hawaii Visitor's Bureau²⁷ has estimated that there are about 200 of these newly trained professional performers. For many, dancing is part-time work, a way of making additional money.

On occasions like "Aloha Week" or "Lei Day," ancient hulas are performed. Some of these dances have been kept alive by certain families, while others are "reconstructed" by dancers who have looked up Emerson's descriptions, and have fitted new choreography to the older chants. However, most hulas consist of new songs, many with English words, songs which popularize tourist themes. "I Want to Go Back to my Little Grass Shack," "Hawaiian Hospitality" and "Little Brown Gal" fall into this category. Occasionally as a reminder of old times, dances are originated to commemorate a special event; the arrival of a movie star on Molokai gave rise to "The Cockeyed Mayor," and the proposal to dig a tunnel through Nuuanu Pali resulted in the hula Puka (hole) in the Pali.

Today's hulas differ from the ancient ones not only in form but in manner

²⁶ Roberts, 1926, devotes over 100 pages to hula chants.

²⁷ Personal correspondence, February, 1948.

of performance. Hand gestures have become more pantomimic, showing fishing, rocking in a chair, even driving a car. Instead of standing in one place, today's dancer moves around in a quickened tempo, playing up to her audience. To some, if performed correctly, they may seem "repetitious";²⁸ to others, if the hips are accentuated, they become "frankly sensuous and passionate."²⁹ At best these very mild dances can be described as "simple, happy alfresco forms reflecting the harmony of their surroundings."³⁰

However, the fact that the dances have survived at all should be of interest to students of culture, since other aspects of what the Hawaiians produced have been relegated to the museum or the dust-heap. Here is a dance form which has outlasted the culture which fostered it, and which has taken root in alien ground. Perhaps the reason for its survival lies in the pleasing effect of the dance itself, and in the fact that it could reach a foreign spectator. Religious dances very often depend upon the auto-intoxication of the dancer to be effective, and have little appeal for an outsider. If hula had remained as an essentially religious rite, it probably would have gone the way of the chieftain, the priest and the tabu. By shifting its emphasis from the ceremonial to the theatrical, the dance has managed to flourish.

It would be futile to insist that the older dance form was better or functioned more efficiently. Rather, it is necessary to record the hulas as they exist in the Islands today, for change is continually taking place. The hulas learned by the writer's informants thirty years ago are no longer being performed, while other and newer dances are coming into existence. Yet with all its change, the hulas are the one remaining relic of Ancient Hawaii.

COMPARISON OF ANCIENT AND MODERN HULA PATTERNS

	ANCIENT	MODERN
Performers	Large numbers, both men and women	Extremely small groups, sometimes solo dancers, nearly always women
Accompaniment	Solo voice Calabash (ipu) Pahu drum Nose flute Musical Bow Bamboo and gourd rattles	Ipu, pahu, gourd rattles Steel guitar Ukelele Piano and modern band instruments Choral groups
Occasion	Religious ceremonies Court entertainments Formal debuts of dancers Recreational games	Ship-launching Political campaigns General entertainment purposes

²⁸ Vandercook, 1937, p. 27.

²⁹ MacSpadden, 1939, p. 59.

³⁰ Lloyd, 1949, p. 193.

	ANCIENT	MODERN
Training	Special schools (halau); period took as long as two years	Theatrical and tourist schools, a dance may be learned within a week
Routines	Many varieties, extremely stereotyped, economy of hand gesture	Fewer varieties, pantomimic gesture, facial expression
Attitude	Deep reverence	Varies, depending upon dancer
Purpose	To play part in religious and ceremonial life	To make money

TRADITIONAL HULAS AND THEIR PERFORMANCE TODAY³¹

EMERSON'S LISTING	DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS
<i>hula pahu</i>	standing dance, the dancer holding a stick while gesturing	Not known at all
<i>hula pele</i>	standing dance of reverence, little motion, slow gesture	Known, but not danced frequently. Writer witnessed one performance
<i>hula paiumauma</i>	chest-beating dance	Known and performed today. Not done too often because of the difficulty of technique
<i>hula kiu molokai</i>	standing dance in which the performers pretended to box	Obsolete
<i>hula ki ilei</i>	strenuous and vigorous dance, employing extreme body postures	Obsolete
<i>hula mu'umu'u</i>	dance of the cripples	One informant knew of this dance but could not describe it
<i>hula kolani</i>	seated dance, without instrumental accompaniment	Known by three, but not performed today
<i>hula kolea</i>	dance imitating movements of a bird	One informant demonstrated fragments of this dance. Rarely performed
<i>hula mano</i>	dance dedicated to the shark	Not known
<i>hula ilio</i>	imitated movements of a dog	One performance of this dance; witnessed; it might be a reconstruction
<i>hula ohelo</i>	performed in a reclining position, the dancer resting on one leg and arm, swinging the opposing leg	Occasionally done in public. Might be reconstructed

³¹ Fifty informants were questioned on these dances as listed in Emerson. Thirty-five were professional hula dancers from Honolulu, Hilo, and San Francisco. Fifteen were older people who had seen or danced ancient hulas.

EMERSON'S LISTING	DESCRIPTION	COMMENTS
<i>hula kilu</i>	dance accompanying betting game	Obsolete
<i>hula hoonanu</i>	recreational dance	Obsolete
<i>hula uliuli</i>	dance performed by opposing rows of men and women in order to select partners for love-forfeits	Known, but rarely performed
<i>hula oniu</i>	amusement dance, featuring top-spinning	Obsolete
<i>hula kuolo</i>	dance of dignified character, in which kneeling dancer sang and beat ipus	One informant knew this. Dance has been modernized.
<i>hula ki'i</i>	dance originally performed by small puppets, later by dancers	Obsolete
<i>hula pahu</i>	dignified dance, accompanied by pahu drum	Known and performed today by all informants
<i>hula uliuli</i>	seated dance in which dancer used a feather-tufted gourd rattle	Still performed
<i>hula puili</i>	seated dance in which the dancer used a split bamboo rattle	Still performed
<i>hula kalaau</i>	seated dance in which dancer held sticks of kalaau wood	Ten informants knew this dance, but it is rarely performed
<i>hula ilili</i>	seated hula, in which dancers held stone castanets	Still performed today
<i>hula niau knai</i>	hula performed to accompaniment of musical bow	Routine is known, but it is impossible to get a bow-player
<i>hula ohe</i>	standing dance, performed to the accompaniment of nose-flute	Obsolete
<i>hula ala papa</i>	dance of moderate action, employing great arm motion	Still performed

NEW VARIETIES OF HULAS

- Holulu hula* —Standing dance performed in the holoku (in this version dancer wears dress with train). Motions are slow and graceful.
- Comedy hula* —This is a comic dance, employing exaggerated pantomime for comedy effect. Dancer sometimes wears a Mother Hubbard wrapper, with a wide sash and battered hat (for the hula "Hilo Hattie Does the Hilo Hop") or white duck trousers, colored "aloha" shirt, for "Cockeyed Mayor" or "Manuela Boy" hulas.
- Standing uliuli* —Some dances with feather gourd accompaniment are now performed in a standing position. The dancer holds a rattle in each hand. Tempo has been speeded up.

NEW VARIETIES OF HULAS

- Double bamboo* —In this seated hula, dancers hold the puilis in each hand, employing two rattles instead of one as in the ancient style.
- Standing Ipu* —The dancer holds an ipu in her hand, and while dancing, beats it with her hand; occasionally she slaps the instrument against thigh or buttocks.
- Hukilau*³² —Ballroom hula. Performed by a man and woman in modern dress. Step is a modern fox-trot, except that at intervals dancers perform old hula movements, like *amis*, and *wwehes*.

BROOKLYN
NEW YORK

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³² For complete routine of Hukilau, see *Dance Magazine* (1949).

SOME PRESENT-DAY ACCULTURATIVE INNOVATIONS IN A NONLITERATE SOCIETY*

By ALBERT HEINRICH

THIS paper is an account of the genesis, among a group of rather isolated Eskimos, of several innovations that depart widely from anything that existed previously in the culture of these people. These innovations occurred among the inhabitants of the permanent and relatively stable village of Diomedede, Alaska, situated on Little Diomedede Island which lies approximately in the middle of the Bering Straits. The period of time under consideration includes the four years, 1944 to 1948, during which they were under direct observation, and the six or eight years previous to that. The field of interest is the local ivory carving industry, carried on for the purpose of sale to the tourists, and not for home consumption. From 1938 to 1948, the population of the village has averaged slightly over one hundred inhabitants. Ivory carving is strictly men's work, and the number of individuals engaged in it during the years 1944-48 averaged approximately twenty-five.

The Diomedede Islanders, though they have taken over fewer elements from American culture than any other group of Alaskan Eskimos, nevertheless have adopted a large number of items from this source. Firearms, ammunition, salt, coffee, tea, sugar, flour, cotton and wool underwear, woolen socks, cotton cloth, steel knives, tobacco, nails, outboard motors, gasoline, kerosene, motor oil, primus stoves, cooking utensils, soap, twine, shirts, trousers, and many other articles have become necessities for them, despite the fact that they must be paid for in dollars. Unlike most other regions of Alaska, the barren, rocky island does not produce any cash crop that can be sold to the outside world in a relatively unfinished form. Fur bearing animals and fish are present only in negligible quantities, and there is no local labor market. Their isolation, coupled with the Eskimo pattern of family life, prevents all but a very few from going to the American mainland for employment, and these only for short and infrequent periods. But they have an abundant supply of ivory and a moderate amount of spare time, and the tourists that visit the larger cities of Alaska are eager to take home souvenirs. With the encouragement of middlemen interested in profits, Diomedede has therefore developed ivory carving into the industry that supplies it with most of its cash income.¹

* Data used were obtained while in the employ of the Alaska Native Service during the years 1944 to 1948. The manuscript was read by Dr. Bernard J. Stern and Dr. Melville J. Herskovits, to whom I am indebted for valuable criticism and help toward clarity of presentation.

¹ All Alaskan Eskimo communities that have access to a dependable supply of walrus have developed some ivory carving industry, but none has developed it to the extent that King Island and Diomedede have, and none depends upon it as a source of revenue to the extent that Diomedede does. These two communities have a greater supply of walrus than any other Alaskan group. The King Islanders, however, also depend upon wages earned during the summer at Nome. Ice con-