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A Brief History of Brass Bands in Palau

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Abstract

This contribution offers an account of brass bands in the Republic of Palau, Micronesia, putting their history in perspective with both pre-colonial instrumental and Christian music-making practices on the islands in the twentieth century. By all evidence, only two brass bands existed on the islands, and both fell apart again after a short while. Drawing on a variety of historical sources as well as ethnographic data, I recount the history and circumstances of the two bands. In closing, I offer a few thoughts on the question why, unlike other Pacific Island communities, Palauans chose to not embrace the brass band in the long run.

Introduction

Brass bands are a peculiar phenomenon in "Most of the World."[1] Music scholars have tried to understand them as "local re-workings of a nineteenth-century European musi-cultural product" (Simonett 2013: 199), framing them as "truly local phenomena" (Brucher & Reily 2013: 1) indicative of their social context's "relative modernity" (Herbert 2013: 35), and even as a metaphor for European colonialism (Boonzajer Flaes 2000, *cf.* Brucher & Reily 2013: 12). As in many places around the world, brass bands in the Western Pacific island world were invariably a side-effect of colonialism and Christian mission. As such, the repercussions they yielded were indeed always particular and "truly local." However, the case of Palau's brass bands is different from most in several regards, and it suggests that modernity and colonial configurations may not always be straightforward analytical categories in connection with the dynamics behind brass band traditions in (post-)colonial settings. This article, which is based on several years of fieldwork as well as a variety of sources and additional interviews, gives a brief overview over instrumental music-making practices in Palau before turning to the documented history of visiting brass bands on the islands in the early twentieth century. I provide basic information about Christian music-making in twentieth-century Palau, instrumental music and multi-part

singing, which forms the background against which the rise and disappearance of Palau's brass bands needs to be seen. Recounting the history of Palau's two brass bands, I will continue by providing a history of both bands. Both bands existed only for a short period of time. In closing, I will offer a few thoughts on the question why, unlike other Pacific Islanders, Palauans chose to not embrace the brass band in the long run—thoughts that will complicate Herbert's claim (2013) of a direct connection between the thriving of brass bands and the "relative modernity" of their social settings, by which he positions the cultural and social present as the bands' main frameworks.

Palau

The Republic of Belau, internationally better known as Palau, is currently home to a population of about 21,000 and lies about 800 km southeast from the Philippine coast. According to all the evidence we have, mainly linguistic and archaeological in nature, Palauans have developed and used trade and communication networks ever since they first settled there. Fijian anthropologist Epeli Hau'ofa, who regularly spoke of the South Seas as "the ocean that links us all," has emphasized that networking across vast spaces, some of them now divided by national boundaries, has always been central to Pacific Island life (Hau'ofa 1993: 11). This holds true for Palau as well, whose networks spanned throughout large parts of what is now Micronesia long before the onset of the so-called globalization. Yet, early contact with mainly European and American navigators from 1783 onward,[2] but first and foremost colonialism and its clerical counterpart, Christian missions, have left decisive imprints on the fabric of Palauan society. The long twentieth century witnessed especially substantial transformation. The territory had officially been Spanish since 1493, but the islands were under effective Spanish colonial rule only from 1886–1898; under German colonial rule from 1899–1914; under Japanese colonial rule from 1914–1945; and under U.S.-American domination from 1947 until the mid-1990s. When the former Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands took on its present political organization in the final quarter of the twentieth century, tiny Palau opted to re-establish her political independence instead of joining the Federated States of Micronesia. This political status was eventually achieved in 1994, closing the chapter on nearly a century of Spanish, German, Japanese and U.S.-American colonialization.

Today, Palau is as globally connected as many other Pacific islands: mass media, real-time communcation networks around the globe, on-demand availability of commercial products, transnational flows of capital, and increased human mobility, especially for labour and tourism, are constitutive components of Palauan daily life. In this regard, Palau's recent history is comparable to that of many island groups in the Pacific, even if the island nation's unique pursuit of independence instead of regional federation makes Palauan political history stand out in the Micronesian context.

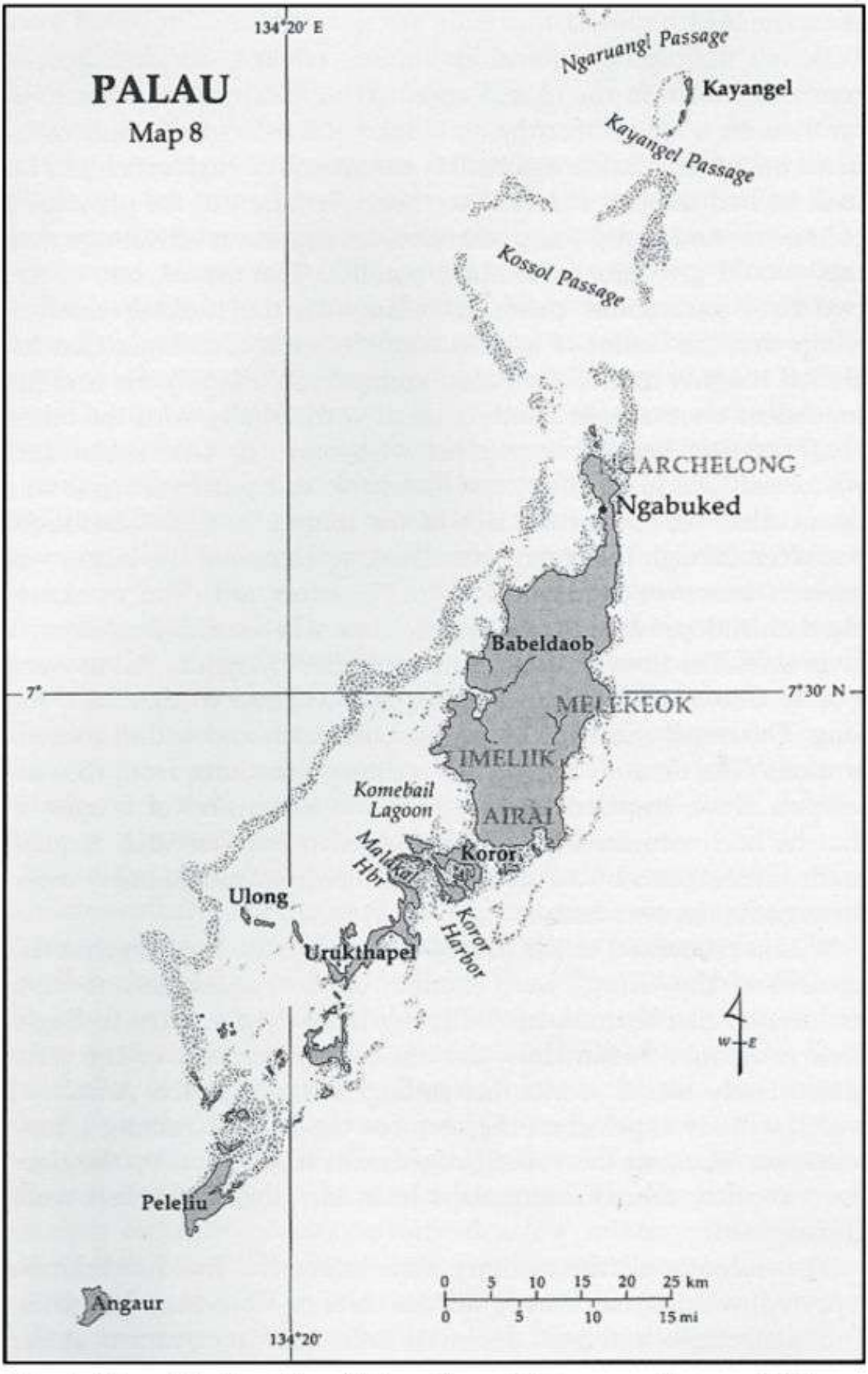

Fig. 1: Map of the Republic of Palau. Copyright Bureau of Arts and Culture, Koror, Palau.

Instrumental Music in Palau

The traditional Palauan concept of music did not include instrumental music. Only five sound-generating items are known to have been used in Palau before the advent of colonialism. They are the 1) *gab r dorod*, an aerophone made from coconut fiber, and the 2) *tumtum*, of which no descriptions have survived. Today, the word *tumtum* is used to refer to the harmonica, but both instruments are extinct today, and Augustin Krämer of the Hamburg South Seas Expedition, who did extensive ethnographic work in Palau in 1909, described them as more of a children's toy than a musical instrument (Krämer 1926:319). The 3) *tumtum ra lild* (lit., "*tumtum* made of bamboo") is a type of Jew's harp which Krämer explicitly distinguishes from the *tumtum*. The 4) *debúsech*, still in existence in Palau today, is not so much a musical instrument as it is a conch shell used as a signaling device. It may communicate the arrival of a visiting party, mark the end or beginning of phases in a ritual or the beginning of a particular section in warfare ritual (accordingly, the *debúsech* is also used in war dances), announce the death of a title-holder or the beginning of a meeting in a *bai*, structure communal activities like pre-performance dance training, etc. (see Kubary 1873:8, 27, 44; Kubary 1885:44, 103, 11, 126, 133; Krämer 1926:298; Länge 1936:46). The 5) *ngaok* is a flute with an external duct, with its windway formed by a thinly sliced piece of the same material as the flute itself (*i.e.* reed).[3] The *ngaok* is no longer played in present-day Palau and it is difficult to determine when it fell out of use. There was at least one *ngaok* performer in 1963, when musicologist Barbara B. Smith visited Palau; this person was able to not only play the *ngaok*, but also to make one upon request.[4] Except for the *debuséch*, which is still used mainly in the context of representational dances for instances during festivals, all of these instruments ceased to be of significance in the course of the twentieth century or earlier. Also, all of these instruments were supposed to be played by a single person, not in a group. Accordingly, when the first brass bands visited Palau, not only their instruments as such were an attraction, but also the concept of instrumental group music-making.

Visiting Brass Bands in Palau

Due to the scarcity of sources, it is difficult to ascertain exactly when the first brass bands visited Palau. Palau has a long history of interaction with mostly European and North American seafarers starting in 1522 (see Abels 2008: 21ff), and it is quite possible that especially in the late nineteenth century, ships with brass bands on board occasionally visited the island. However, there is no documentation of any such visit prior to German colonial rule (1899–1914). This period, in turn, is until today associated with brass bands: the contemporary popular dance *matamatóng*, which can be performed by men, women, or a group of mixed gender and is often translated as "marching dance," attests to this association, for contemporary Palauans usually trace it back to the German period, assuming that both the choreography

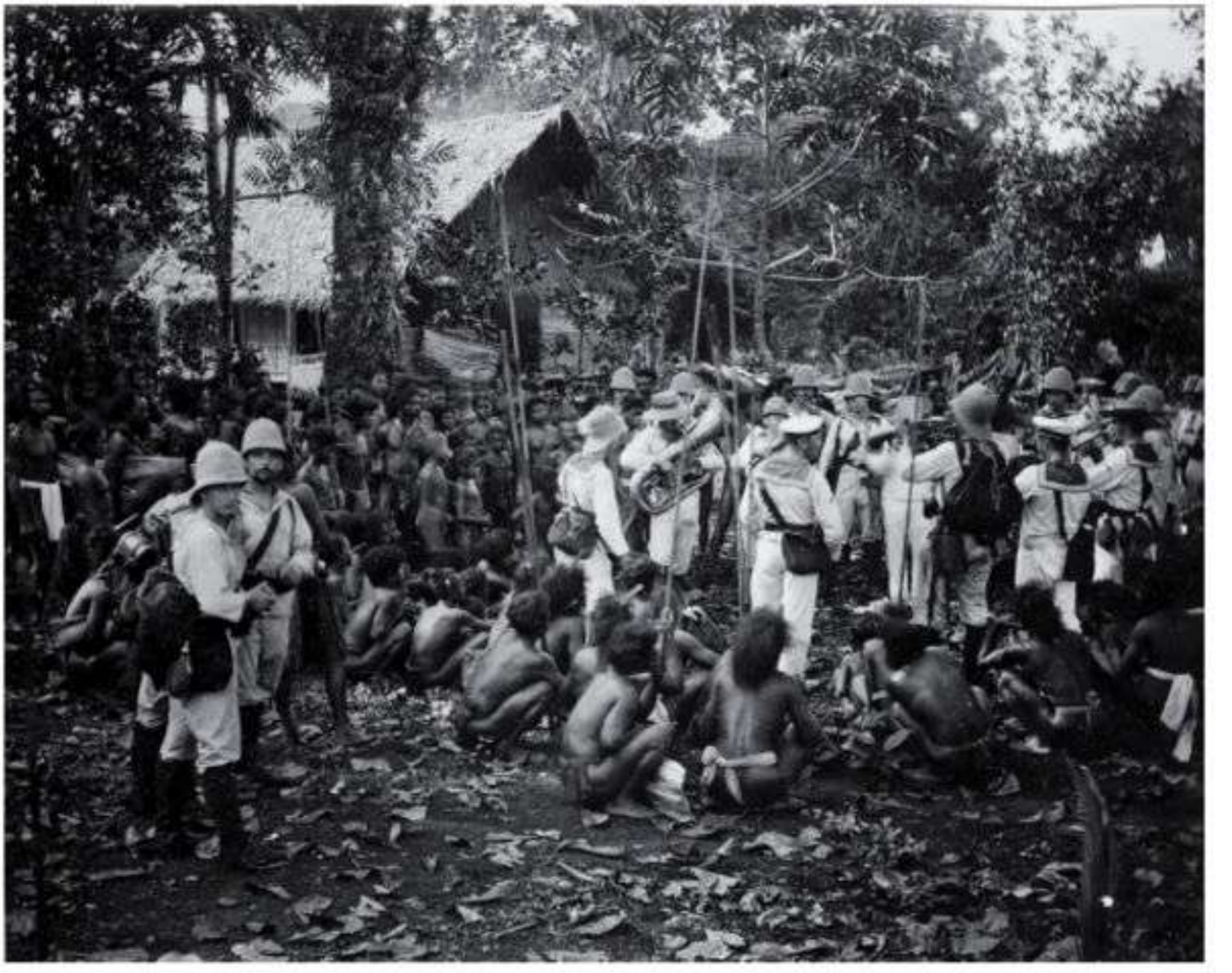

Fig. 2: Crew and brass band of the German M.S. Condor *on a visit in Palau in 1911. From the collection of Dieter Klein, Düsseldorf (Germany).*

and "the tune" were inspired by, on the one hand, the marching, and, on the other hand, the military brass bands of presumably German soldiers.[5] Photographs scattered across various private collections like the own reproduced here as Fig. 2, illustrating the 1911 visit of German ship *M.S. Condor*'s brass band, illustrate the nature of these visits. While we have photographs of Palauans engaging with other instruments brought along by the crews (see Fig. 3), there is no evidence, pictorial or other, of Palauans interacting with brass instruments around this time. If the visits of German brass bands figure prominently in Palauan cultural memory, then Palauans usually attribute this primarily to the marching movements of the soldiers and the catchiness of the accompanying music's binary marching rhythm (Abels 2008: 205f).

The context within which an active Palauan brass band life, however small and short-lived, was going to emerge about half a century later, was that of Christian music.

Fig. 3: From the collection of Dieter Klein, Düsseldorf (Germany).

Christian Music in Palau

Based on the available sources, it seems safe to assume that Christian music first entered Palau with the Spanish missionaries, who brought with them music-making practices of the Roman Catholic Church. Like elsewhere in the Pacific, hymn singing was going to have a decisive impact on later music-making on the islands. As of the German period, missionaries focused on the younger generation in their efforts to spread Christianity (Hezel 2001:560), and instruction in singing, both Christian and secular songs (Hezel 1991:62f), became part of the mission schools' curriculum. As for the teaching of music, the Catholic missionary efforts to compile song books in the local language (Hiery 2001:209) cannot be traced in detail. It is not known whether the missionaries brought with them a hymnal in the first place, or whether they relied on other means in their efforts to spread Christian hymns. Palauan church officials today ascribe this lack of information to the fact that written records started to be kept only recently, *i.e.*, in the 1980s.[6]

In Catholic Church services today, most tunes are of British or U.S.-American derivation, while the words are either an approximate translation of the original content into Palauan or in the original language. Some of the hymns that are part of contemporary Catholic repertory are said to have been composed by Palauans in the 1950s and 60s,[7] but detailed information is lacking and non-reconstructable. In any case, all tunes that are in use today are either part of European and/or U.S.-American hymn repertory, or comparable in style. No attempts at reconciling traditional Palau-

Fig. 4: Protestant church choir, probably in Ngiwal. The photograph was taken between 1930 and 1938. Photo property of the Liebenzell Archives, Germany.

an music-making practices and Catholic worshipping are remembered in the Catholic community.[8] A member of the Seventh-Day Adventist community recalls her late uncle trying to chant the Lord's Prayer in "Palauan style," *i.e.*, in the musical idiom of the recitative genre *chesols*, but stresses that this was a one-time, singular attempt to combine the Palauan musical language with Christian liturgy.[9] In mission schools, hymn singing was widely practiced. The existence of a Catholic parish choir that on a regular basis practiced hymns arranged for up to four parts is first documented for the largest Catholic parish, Sacred Heart Church in Koror, in 1947 (Hezel 1991: 62f). With varying intensity of regular practice, this choir has been persisting ever since. Currently, interested parish members meet on the eve of weekly services in order to rehearse the repertory that will be part of the upcoming service.

For the Protestant community, the historical development after World War II is somewhat better documented,[10] not least because the Liebenzell mission's archive kept some of the relevant documents. Missionaries of the German Protestant-Lutheran *Liebenzeller Mission* (founded in Hamburg as the *Deutscher Zweig der China-Inland-Mission* in 1899), which had been stationed in parts of the Pacific other than Palau from 1906 until 1919, had returned to the Pacific islands in 1927. In 1929, Liebenzell established a local branch on Palau. Missionaries Wilhelm and Margarete Lange were sent here and built a church in Ngiwal; quickly after their arrival, their parish counted 160 Christians. In 1934, a second Liebenzell parish was established in Ngarchelong, North Babeldaob, led by missionaries Wilhelm and Hanna Fey. It is

the Liebenzell community that was going to be home for a number of instrumentalists accompanying hymn singing as well as later on, Palau's first brass band.

The existence of a choir and several guitar and mandolin players as accompaniment is pictorially documented for the time before 1938 (Fig. 4). At that point, Rev. Wilhelm Lange, in Palau 1929 to 1941 (Liebenzell Mission 2003:17), had already translated several hymns into Palauan.[11] In 1940, the first Palauan hymnal (*Chelitakl e Katechismo era Eklesia el Protestant era Palau*[12]) was printed,[13] and it would be revized a number of times in the following years.

As missionaries from the United States joined the Liebenzell team, U.S.-American hymns were added to the repertory.[14] The types of musical arrangements that can be found in the 1978 hymnal suggest that there were three main ways to perform this repertoire: the main melody a) with guitar accompaniment, b) accompanied by a three-part women's choir, and c) accompanied by a chord instrument, probably a keyboard instrument. Liebenzell missionaries stationed in Palau in the third quarter of the twentieth century recall that the Palauan Liebenzell congregation was fond of multi-part singing, often improvizing up to five parts to a given tune.[15] This inclination to multi-part music-making, which has also had a decisive impact on traditional multi-part singing repertoire (see Abels 2009), was later going to be relevant for the brass band's various musical activities.

Liebenzell also had its own girls' school, Bethania. At this school, two Liebenzell sisters (Hildegard Thiem and, later, Ingelore Lengning[16]), instructed their students in harmonium, guitar, recorder, and xylophone playing.[17] In this context, they also taught students to read music,[18] so that Bethania was one of the few places in Palau in the second part of the twentieth century for students to acquire this kind of skill. Sr. Elsbeth Reumann (in Palau from 1958 to 1986) brought a number of melodicas when she arrived in Palau, the playing of which was from then on also part of Bethania musical life. But outside of this narrow context, playing musical instruments never really took root in Palau. Missionary Angelica Leuice Simpson, referring to her years in Palau from 1962 to 1980, remembers that

> as the sisters left or retired, and no teachers came who could teach them [*i.e.* the girls] those instruments, the new girls did not learn them. However, most of the girls during the time we were there could play guitars, ukuleles,[19] and harmonicas (as well as spoons—this was something that had been used in the Marshall Islands [...]).[20]

Palau's Brass Bands

Another place where reading staff notation was taught was Bethania's counterpart, also a Liebenzell educational institution: Emmaus High School in Koror. After World War II, the above-mentioned Sr. Hildegard Thiem had received a donation of brass instruments, which she brought to Palau.[21] An undated photograph (Fig. 5) shows the early usage of these instruments in a brass band.

Fig. 5: Undated photograph of the Emmaus brass-band. From the archives of the Liebenzell mission, Bad Liebenzell, Germany.

As can be gleaned from the picture, the brass band consisted of three trombonists, one euphonium player, five trumpet players, and a drummer. The trumpets seem to be of different make; note in particular the long trumpet played by the second student from left.[22] The band was started by pastor Fey in 1953. He established a music class for selected students of Emmaus School, taught them to read music and play the instruments that were available. The repertory mainly consisted of hymns. When Fey left Palau two years later, the brass band ceased to exist.[23] As the instruments were no longer used, they were handed over to Palau High School, where music classes were held at that time. After a while, here, too, the music classes were taken from the curriculum for want of teachers with an expertise in that area. In 1997, the Japanese government donated to PCC another set of roughly 50–60 brass instruments; the College's efforts to establish a permanent brass bands also failed.[24]

In 1984, the band was re-established by missionary Richard Jones.[25] Jones, a teacher of maths and theology by training, had a background in teaching music, particularly band, when he came to Palau in 1984. Billy Kuartei, then principal of Emmaus High School, favored the idea of re-establishing the Emmaus brass band with Jones as leader, and retrieved 40 trumpets from government elementary schools that had come to Palau from Japan, as Jones relates:

> In World War II there was a major battle in 1944 on the Palauan island of Peleliu. On some anniversary of that battle some Japanese wanted to hold a memorial service for

Fig. 6: Photograph of the Emmaus brass-band, taken between 1984 and 1986. Front row (left to right): Akiem Meika (trombone), ? (bass drum), Jimmy Ngiraked (keyboard) Second row: Bellarmino Tochi (baritone), Kyonori Tellames (French horn), ? (trumpet), Millong Orrukem (trumpet), Edward Charles (trumpet?), Ely Syozitaro (trumpet), Richard Jones (director). Back row: Tiser Reynold (trombone), Ngiraiuetechong Abear (trombone), ? (mellophone?), Pasqual Asanuma (trumpet), Egbert Mabel (trumpet).[27] *From the collection of Richard Jones (first from right), Salem (OR), U.S.A.*

> their dead. They brought 40 trumpets to Palau and taught students at the two government schools to play a couple of songs for the service. Apparently they did not teach how to read music but how to play only those songs by which valves to push at which times. After the service, the Japanese went home but left the instruments. Since there were no teachers and the students could not read music, they could not learn other songs. After playing their couple of songs another time or two the trumpets were piled in cardboard boxes and put in storage in the two schools–20 trumpets in each. At one school the instruments were put back in their cases, so they were in reasonably good shape, but at the other school the instruments were just piled in the boxes and many were dented.

The anniversary was, in all likelihood, either 1969, 1974, or 1979; judging from the condition of the instruments, Jones assumes 1979. As the 40 trumpets were of identical type, he took them all apart, and assembled the parts into ten instruments that worked to his satisfaction. Bernd Seitz, a Liebenzell missionary in Palau from

1976 to 1989, organized additional instruments that at that time were held, but not apparently used, by the German mission on Yap. These instruments included 4 trombones, 1 baritone, 1 mellophone, one B ♭ French horn, a flugelhorn, and several trumpets.

By the end of its first year, it consisted of 14 members who were playing brass instruments, drum, bass drum, snare drum, and electric organ if electricity was available. Particularly on religious holidays, the band also traveled to the more remote villages, presenting four-part arrangements[26] of mostly hymns, occasionally Bach chorales, and the Palauan national anthem (on the national anthem, see below).

When Jones left Palau in 1986, the band continued to exist for short time only. The Emmaus and the Palau High School groups have been the only brass bands in Palau, and unfortunately there are no recordings of either band. In spite of the frequent presence of brass bands throughout Palau's history, which is amply documented in photographs, the availability of appropriate instruments, and the efforts to establish such bands made by missionaries, brass bands didn't last in Palau.

Reasons for the Disappearance of the Brass Bands

Missionaries and, later on, others, have repeatedly tried to instill a tradition of brass band music in various contexts: Christian mission, schools, Palau's community college. In spite of the ready availability of brass instruments, the brass band did not take root in Palau. It flourished for the short time of its invariably foreign director's presence on the island, but thereafter it came to a halt quickly. There are, in my opinion, at least three reasons for this. One is related to the general preference of vocal music-making over instrumental music-making (electric and digital musical instruments are an exception to this tendency) in Palau. Outside of *beches chelitakl* (new music),[28] Palauans have not actually embraced foreign instruments to any significant extent, in spite of various colonial and missionary attempts to spread them. The connection to traditional (pre-colonial) notions of music seems obvious: musical instruments did not play any significant role until the introduction of the *ngaok* flute (the *debuséch* conch shell forms a category of sound-producing devices separate from musical instruments). While there has been a market for Palauan studio-produced popular music since the 1960s, non-digital music production in Palau remains closely associated with the human voice. The intermediation of a mechanical device between sound producer and sound product seems to run counter to this association, and, at the time of the brass bands, perhaps also evoked a certain discomfort because of haptic and customary unfamiliarity with instrumental sound production. Although today, electric and digital sound generation as such is of course ubiquitous in contemporary Palau just like elsewhere, making music on acoustic instruments continues to play a minor role.

A second reason for the disappearing of the brass band certainly lies in the way music is framed[29] in Palau. The brass band was introduced in connection with Chris-

tian mission in the first place, *i.e.*, in the context of religious ritual. This is a context in which music and performing arts have customarily played a central role in Palau. This connection was based on the spoken or chanted word in pre-contact Palau, and verbal content could not be separated from its sonic manifestation in chants, as in traditional belief this connection was of divine origin. Verbal content and musical performance legitimized each other (Abels 2008:57ff). Brass bands in Christian contexts, by contrast, primarily serve an accompanying purpose, all the while the supremacy of the textual component remains unchallenged. In the Palauan missionary context, brass bands as accompaniment for choral singing and other religious and liturgical purposes have served the festive aggrandizement of the Christian message, whereas according to Palauan *kastom*, message and musical form cannot actually be looked at separately. Choirs, on the other hand, had originally been introduced a cappella, without instrumental accompaniment, so that the musical accompaniment did not fulfill a distinct function. Against this background, it seems that to many Palauans, the Christian brass band did not contribute significantly enough to a religious practice that, traditionally, was taken to comprise a dense meshwork of ritual and symbolic interactions. A third and rather pragmatic reason lies in the lack of qualified instructors to carry on the practical music lessons begun by the missionaries.

At the outset of this article, I suggested that the history of brass bands in Palau is different from those that have taken place on other the Pacific Islands. Brass bands in Palau emerged very late, they did not live long, their affiliations were personal, i.e. to their band leader, more than they were institutional, and they ceased to exist the moment each band leader left. For the reasons listed above, the brass band in Palau never developed a life on its own. There is absolutely no evidence that the two brass bands of Palau stood for colonialism, metaphorically or otherwise, as Boonzajer Flaes (2000) claims; likewise, Herbert's reference (2013) to modernity, clearly relevant to the British context, does not offer any productive leads in the Palauan case. Other band formats have flourished around the time of brass bands in Palau, for instance the Palauan cha-cha band that seems to have developed in the 1950s; the brass band format, by contrast, never did. Research on brass bands traditions around the world suggests that a central theme in 'banding' might indeed be the "band" itself, i.e. the small group of people who purposefully come together to contribute to their community within what Herbert calls a "performance domain" (2013:33): current developments within a given social and cultural setting. Clearly, the brass band was not a medium, in this time and place, to pull together a social configuration capable of addressing Palau's performance domains.

Notes

1 By "Most of the World" Partha Chatterjee refers to "those parts of the world that were not direct participants in the history of the evolution of the institutions of modern capitalist democracy" (2004:18), and points to their postcolonial predicament.

2 The "contact period" is usually defined to begin in the year 1783, when the crew of the *Antelope*, an East India Company ship sailing under Captain Henry Wilson, shipwrecked off the Palaus on 10 August. The fifty-man crew was picked up by a Palauan canoe patrol and brought to Koror, they stayed there until they had made the *Antelope* seaworthy again (see Keate 1788:66f). This article is based on fieldwork I conducted in Palau from 2005–2010, and on my PhD dissertation (Abels 2008).

3 Barbara Smith, personal communications, 11 February 2005 and 10 May 2006.

4 The request was made by Barbara B. Smith during her fieldwork in Palau in 1963. She was given two flutes, one of which the manufacturer played on the *ngaok* recordings that Smith made on that occasion. The instruments are now stored in the Ethnomusicology Instrument Collection at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, collection nos. S40215 and S40216. Barbara Smith, personal communications, 11 February 2005, and 10 May 2006.

5 However, please note that the history of marching dances in Micronesia is still under-researched and accordingly, debated (but on the Yapese marching dance, see Marshall Dean (1996:69); on Pohnpeian marching dance (Petersen 1992:25). Barnett (1949:227) assumes that the *matematóng* was appropriated by Palauans from Chuukese co-workers during joint work in the Angaur mines of South Palau; however, no evidence can be found to substantiate this hypothesis, which is also proposed in Kaeppler *et al.* 1998:159).

6 Rusk R. Saburo, personal communication, 15 January 2005.

7 Rusk R. Saburo, personal communication, 15 January 2005.

8 Rusk R. Saburo, personal communication, 15 January 2005.

9 Kiyoko Rengiil, personal communication, 24 January 2005.

10 Missionary work by the Liebenzell missionaries was taken up in 1929, but documents pertaining to the period before the Second World War are very rare. Ilse Szaukellis, personal communication, 6 February 2005.

11 The first hymn that he translated was *Fest und treu wie Daniel, Reichslieder* book no. 336, Palauan 1978 hymnal no. 109; during the first year of his stay, he translated more than fifty hymns. (Lange 1936:56) Lange himself remembers that "I have translated nothing without the help of the natives. We learnt the subtleties of the language later. I remained the leader in my translation work. My helpers had their tasks to fulfill in fine tuning this." ("Ich habe nichts ohne Mithilfe der Eingeborenen übersetzt. Die Feinheiten der Sprache lern[t]en wir erst später. In meinen Übersetzungsarbeiten blieb ich führend; im Feilen derselben hatten meine Helfer ihre Aufgabe zu erfüllen.") Lange 1936:56.

12 Ilse Szaukellis, personal communication, 22 January 2005.

13 The *Katechismo* was the result of a collaboration of missionary Wilhelm Lange, missionary Sr. Hildegard Thiem, and Palauan deacon Johanes Aigesiil (Dwight G. Alexander, personal communication, 23 February 2005). The book was printed in Germany, and delivered to Palau at an unidentifiable point in time. Ilse Szaukellis, personal communication, 22 January 2005.

14 Juanita Simpson, missionary in Palau from 1962 to 1980, played an important role in the musical life of the Protestant community. She had come to Palau as the wife of John Simpson, who was principal and a teacher of Bethania High School and passed away in Palau in 1967. She herself was a teacher for Bethania as well. At Bethania, Juanita Simpson began a class in hymn-singing for all students, which in some years counted about 200 girls, and she also contributed many translations into Palauan to the 1978 hymnal. Angelica Simpson Leuice, personal communication, 17 June 2005.

15 Ingelore Lengning via Ilse Szaukellis, personal communication 6 February 2005.

16 Ingelore Lengning served as director of the Emmaus "Gospel Kindergarten" during a part of her stay in Palau (1954 to 1985). She was an avid accordion player, but apparently, she did not teach the instrument to any Palauan. (Angela Simpson Leuice, personal communication, 21 June 2005) Till today, the accordion is mostly associated with her (Dwight Alexander, personal communication, 23 February 2005).

17 The xylophones were already in a bad shape in 1962; Angela Simpson Leuice recalls that "after a while I think they just got so termite-eaten that they were thrown out." Angelica Simpson Leuice, personal communication, 21 June 2005.

18 Ilse Szaukellis, personal communication, 23 April 2005.

19 My interlocutor added that the ukuleles were most likely brought in by students from other islands, particularly Pohnpei, Kosrae, Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi; she suspects they had been brought to these islands through Polynesia in the first place. Angelica Simpson Leuice, personal communication, 21 June 2005.

20 Angelica Simpson Leuice, personal communication, 21 June 2005.

21 Ilse Szaukellis, personal communication, 23 April 2005.

22 All trumpets have Perinet valves. Trumpets with Perinet valves were built by German companies, however, mostly for export purposes, as they were not commonly used in the country itself. If this donation of musical instruments had been made by a German institution, therefore, these instruments were probably new and had been produced for precisely such a purpose. In such a case, it would be unlikely that they had been used in Germany prior to their export. Christian Ahrens, personal communication, 26 July 2005. These instruments obviously do not belong to a coherent set of brassband instruments.

23 Morimats Kingzio, personal communication, 23 January 2005.

24 Howard Charles, personal communication, 21 February 2005.

25 Richard Jones, personal communication, 18 July 2005.

26 Normally, two or more trumpets were used on the soprano part, two or more on alto, French horn and the available number of trombones on tenor, and baritone and one or more trombones on bass. Jones taught all the performers to read in concert key, so that the players would be able to play directly from the hymnal. Richard Jones, personal communication, 18 July 2005.

27 Identifications provided by Richard Jones, personal communication, 18 July 2005.

28 See Jim Geselbracht's blog on *beches chelitakl*, https://ouchacha.wordpress.com/about/. Last accessed 11 October 2018.

29 I use the concept of framing in the sense of Mieke Bal, *i.e.* as a representational practice centred around cultural objects that affords active participation. See Bal 2002.

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