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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

SANTA CRUZ

THE PRISON SONGS OF LILI'UOKALANI

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

MUSIC

By

Cynthia Morris

June 2013

The Thesis of Cynthia Morris
is approved:

Professor Amy Beal, Chair

Professor Linda Burman-Hall

Professor Dard Neuman

Tyrus Miller
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

THE PRISON SONGS OF LILI'UOKALANI

By

Cynthia Morris

June 2013

This thesis is a study of the music composed by Lili'uokalani, the last monarch of Hawai'i during her 1895 incarceration at the hands of the Republic of Hawai'i. Aspects of text and context are considered for each of the songs. This thesis also engages in a discussion of the alleged politicization of a copy of "Aloha Oe," notated by the Queen during the incarceration.

My research consisted of visits to the Hawai'i State Archives and the Bishop Museum Archives in Honolulu. I enlisted the help of Hawaiian Language professor, Dr. Puakea Nogelmeier to translate the Queen's songs.

This study establishes that these songs inform us of the people and entities upon which Lili'uokalani relied to help her through her incarceration. They provide us with valuable insights into the mind and spirit of this dethroned, imprisoned Queen still actively engaged in a fight for the sovereignty of her native lands.

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- | | |
|----------------|--|
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Introduction

Lili'uokalani, the last ruling monarch of the Hawaiian Islands was born in 1838. She composed over 150 songs during her life and is primarily known for having composed the love song, "Aloha Oe" (Gillette and Smith, xi). Lili'uokalani ascended the throne of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1891 and was overthrown in 1893 by a group of businessmen intent on actuating the annexation of the islands to the United States in the interest of maximizing profits from their sugar crops.

This thesis examines the political aspects of the songs that Lili'uokalani composed during her 1895 incarceration at 'Iolani Palace. Upon her arrest in January of 1895, the bulk of her personal papers were destroyed by agents of the Republic of Hawai'i. These songs are among the Queen's few surviving documents from this tumultuous period. In this thesis, I document where the protest exists in Lili'uokalani's prison music. I argue that political resistance in music is not exclusively expressed by words and that injustice and hardship, in conjunction with context, contributes to protest in music.

In Chapter One, I provide a brief account of traditional Hawaiian society both before and after contact with the West in 1778. I define the

historical elements that contributed to the destabilization of Hawaiian society. Among these elements was the precipitous decline in population that resulted from exposure to mass contagion. This decline in population led to the wholesale conversion of the Native Hawaiians to the Christian religion. This religious conversion was encouraged by the Hawaiian nobility. Their hopes were of appeasing the God of the Christian faith in anticipation of bringing to an end the deadly epidemics that had beset the islands. In an attempt to further gain favor with the Christian God, the *ali'i* (the Hawaiian ruling class) persuaded missionaries of the A.B.C.F.M.¹ to school the next generation of rulers. Consequently, Lili'uokalani, along with her siblings and cousins, were educated at the Chief's Children's School. Lili'uokalani's education at the school provided her with a foundation in Western European music theory as well as exposure to European music. The chapter concludes with a delineation of the events surrounding Lili'uokalani's ascension to power, her eventual dethronement, and her subsequent imprisonment.

¹ The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was one of the most influential missionary organizations of the nineteenth century. Their objective was to spread Christianity throughout the world.

Chapter Two is an examination of the seven songs composed in prison.² Also included is a discussion on the Queen's notation of "Aloha Oe," completed during the incarceration. Although the Queen has stated in her book, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, that she executed this notation with the intent that the song be sent to Chicago for publication, my search through musical score repositories produced no records of a Chicago publication of the song until well after the beginning of the twentieth century.

Two *mele Hawai'i*³ songs were composed during the Queen's internment, "Kuu Pua i Paoakalani" and *Kilioulani*. Both songs reveal previously unknown details of the Queen's life and imprisonment. "Kuu Pua i Paoakalani" contains a reference to the Queen's Uluhaimalama garden, a garden that she had inaugurated three months prior to the failed Hawaiian counter-revolution. I argue that the reference to the Uluhaimalama garden in this song is a gesture of appreciation to her supporters. These were people who, while gathered at Uluhaimalama, sent the Queen flowers wrapped in newspapers. These newspapers, forbidden to her by her jailers, were selected by them for their relevant political content and served to inform her of the

² One of the songs, "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole," has a total of six installments. The first two installments were not set to music. The second two installments have revised/alternate versions that were published in Lili'uokalani's 1897 songbook, *He Buke Mele Hawaii*. The last two installments appear only in *He Buke Mele Hawaii*.

³ Secular Hawaiian songs mainly derived from European and American parlor songs.

news of the day. Also enclosed in the boxes of flowers were notes expressing her followers' love and support.

Kilioulani provides us with insight into the Queen's relationship with her friend, Evelyn Kilioulani Wilson. In this song, the Queen portrays herself as a lost wanderer. The song associates Evelyn Wilson with Kaiona, the Hawaiian Goddess of the Lost who helps those in need of guidance. *Kilioulani* reveals to us that Evelyn Wilson was the person upon whom the Queen relied to guide her through the turmoil and confusion of her overthrow and imprisonment.

The Queen composed a *mele inoa* or name song for her nephew, Jonah Kalaniana'ole in March or April of 1895. Four installments of the *mele inoa* were smuggled out of her prison apartment and published anonymously in the pro monarchist newspaper, *Ka Makaainana*. The anonymity associated with the mode of publication enabled the Queen to communicate in a forthright manner with her people through these *mele inoa*. With these songs, the Queen historicizes the events of the day in the manner of traditional Hawaiian chants. She lashes out at her captors, warning her people of their lies, and expresses her love and devotion to the patriots of the land.

The Queen composed four *himeni* (hymns) during this period, “Ke Aloha o ka Haku,” (a.k.a. “Liliuokalani’s Prayer,” a.k.a. “The Queen’s Prayer”), *E Kuu Hoola, Leha ‘Ku Kou Mau Maka*, and the unfinished *Himeni Hoole a Davida*. I propose that these pieces are functionally more than just hymns. The politically charged circumstances under which they were composed, along with the Queen’s references to her adversaries within the texts of the songs, are evidence that these songs were written from the perspective of a political prisoner. I argue that these “hymns” are political in nature and should be categorized as spiritual songs of protest.

Chapter Three presents modern day perspectives on the Queen’s music. In the years after the overthrow of the monarchy, “Aloha Oe” was transformed into a song of mourning over the loss of the Hawaiian Nation to the United States. Then, in the twentieth century, it was appropriated by commercial interests and converted into a tacky song of touristic yearning for a return to the islands.

Central to understanding modern day perceptions of the Queen’s music is the issue of Native Hawaiian affective devotion for their monarch. Here, I examine the perception of the Queen as a maternal figure to the Native Hawaiians. This chapter also explores the Hawaiian community’s

alienation from their culture. In modern day Hawai'i music acts as a healing agent for the Native Hawaiian community by providing them with the means to connect with each other over lost places of cultural significance.

During the course of my study, two research trips were made to Honolulu, Hawai'i. The bulk of my research was performed at the Hawai'i State Archives, the Bishop Museum Archives, and the Hamilton Library Hawaiian Collection at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Although my ancestral roots in the islands extend back to the late nineteenth century, I do not have the advantage of knowing the Hawaiian language. I have put my trust in my translator, Dr. Marvin "Puakea" Nogelmeier, Hawaiian language professor at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

It is my hope that this thesis will further open the door to the study of the music of Hawai'i in the context of the political and cultural challenges of the last two centuries. This current project has the potential to be of interest to academics in the fields of anthropology, political science, Hawaiian folklore and literature, linguistics, as well as ethnomusicology and musicology. It is my wish that this research inspires those with better access to resources in the islands to continue the study of the Queen's music with an eye toward modes of protest and political expressions.

The thesis is accompanied by a digital video recording of the first public performance of five of the Queen's songs, and interpretations of the Queen's three songs that have become popular. Also attached are sound files of studio recordings made of the aforementioned eight pieces.

Chapter One: Historical Perspectives

There are conflicting theories as to when the Hawaiian Islands were settled by the Polynesians. Although some models place the Hawaiians in the islands in the time between AD 200-400 (Dougherty 1992, 15), recent research suggests that the islands were settled around AD 1300 (Reith et al, 2012, 2744). The Hawaiian population originated from the Marquesas Islands. They traveled thousands of miles across the Pacific by navigating by the stars and observing the patterns of migratory birds. The Hawaiians brought with them a tradition that included a system of taboos encapsulated in a polytheistic religion and a culture that historicized their lineages in the form of extensive chants (Siler, 2012: xviii-xix).

Traditional Hawaiian society was one where the *ali'i* (the nobility or the royal class) were regarded as mediators between the *kama'ainana* (the commoners) and the gods. The *ali'i* were deemed closer to the gods because they had proven themselves in battle and to have prevailed in battle meant that they were anointed by the gods. The *ali'i* were obliged by tradition to allocate land and resources to chieftains who in turn distributed the lands among the *kama'ainana* to fish from, cultivate taro, raise pigs and chickens,

and gather bark to make *tapa* cloth. A thriving community illustrated *pono*, a state of harmony in the balance of nature.

Hawaiian societal structure before European contact was one of mutual dependency between the classes. The *kama'ainana* saw to the needs of the *ali'i* by building his huts and canoes. They also provided food and textiles for the community. The *ali'i* in turn, looked after the needs of the *kama'ainana* by seeing to it that no reasonable request for food, clothing or shelter materials was denied. It would have been an admission of a lack of *mana* (spiritual power) on the part of the *ali'i* to deny such aid. The *kama'ainana* could not own land but each commoner was free to uproot his household and move to the lands of another chief if he was dissatisfied with his circumstances under one chief's rule. In this system, if an *ali'i* wanted to be a powerful, highly regarded chieftain, he was obligated to treat the *kama'ainana* with respect and generosity.

The arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778 brought about monumental changes in the Hawaiian Islands. Starting in 1785, the chieftain, Kamehameha I (1758-1819) fought wars of hegemony against rival chieftains, finally unifying the islands under his rule in 1810. Kamehameha died in 1819 and within six months of his death, Queen Ka'ahumanu (1768-1832), his

favorite wife broke with the ancient system of *kapu* (taboo) by participating in *'ainoa* (sinful eating, men and women dining together) that for centuries had served as a part of a code of conduct and a system of regulating politics, lifestyle and religion.

In the forty some years since the arrival of Cook, the Hawaiian population had experienced mass death from epidemic diseases that arrived with the Europeans. Hawaiian scholar Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa writes that prosperity and plenty were indicative of the strength of the *ali'i's pono*. Thus "epidemic disease and massive death were signs of loss of *pono*, but Kamehameha – who ruled at the time - was the epitome of a *pono Ali'i*" (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 81). Yet, in the face of Kamehameha's perceived *pono*, the epidemics and mass deaths continued. According to Kame'eleihiwa, Ka'ahumanu reasoned that since the foreigners broke every law of the *'ai kapu* (the law prohibiting men and women from dining together) and participated in *'ainoa* yet did not die, then *'ainoa* was the foreigner's secret to immunity from disease. Since the *'ai kapu* no longer functioned to protect the people, perhaps the *'ainoa* would (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 81).

Consequently, when Christian missionaries arrived in the islands in 1820, one year after the death of Kamehameha I, they arrived in what was in

essence, a religious void. By this time, Queen Ka'ahumanu who served as co-regent with Kamehameha II (1797-1824), had recognized the need for laws and religion. The arrival of the missionaries provided her with the means with which to apply a religious structure upon Hawaiian society. Under Ka'ahumanu's regency, a system of laws founded on Christian dogma was implemented.

Hawaiian scholar, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio writes that the Hawaiians' acceptance of Christianity " is understandable, especially because it appeared that the old *akua* [gods] had, for some reason, turned their faces away from the *kanaka*" (Osorio 2002, 12; italics mine). He suggests that the destabilization of traditional Hawaiian society was brought about by imbalances in *pono*; imbalances which came as a result of contact with Euro-American settler colonials in the nineteenth century. Osorio states that the act of colonization was not a rapid and violent one. It was "a slow insinuating invasion of people, ideas, and institutions" (Osorio 2002, 3). This colonization of the islands transformed the political system in nineteenth century Hawai'i from one in which rulers were chosen by gods to one where wealthy foreigners and a sprinkling of affluent Native Hawaiians were able to assert their political influence.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the newly “discovered” Hawaiian Islands became the focus of attempts at colonial aggression by both European and American interests. The islands were at the nexus of trans-Pacific trade between China and the United States and were frequented by ships from both Great Britain and France. Kamehameha III (1813–1854) recognized the islands susceptibility to colonization by these Great Powers of Europe. To repel these powers, the king’s advisers urged him to take steps to conform “to European conventions of statehood, including the creation, in 1840 of a constitution and the enactment of laws of recognizably European type” (Silva, 2004: 36).

Kamehameha III enacted a scheme to mimic the colonizing nations of the world in the hopes of projecting an image of the Hawaiian Kingdom as a civilized nation; a nation that was part of an elite club of colonizers and therefore one that should be above colonization. The Hawaiians took steps toward nationhood by demarcating the territory of the islands and procuring the acknowledgment of the Native Hawaiians that they exist as a single nation (Silva 2004, 36).

They willingly took on social institutions of the West and strove to mirror the British whom they regarded as the dominant colonizing power in

the world at the time. The Hawaiians adopted the British national anthem, “God Save the Queen” as their own (Siler 2012, 50). The flag of the Hawaiian Kingdom, commissioned by Kamehameha I in 1816, and largely still in use today, displays the British flag in its upper left corner. This flag was designed to be an acknowledgement of the Great Powers of the world, who in the early nineteenth century had demonstrated substantial interest in the islands. It is a combination of the standards of the United States, France and England (Nicholson 1881, 86). The Hawaiians mimicked the British manner of dress as well and in spite of the overwhelming presence of Americans in the islands, members of Hawaiian royalty spoke with perfect British accents (Siler 2012, 31, 39).

The Hawaiian’s continued mimicry of the Europeans resulted in a new palace, built in 1844 on the site of the present day ‘Iolani Palace. Missionary wife, Laura Fish Judd noted in her journal,

“A guard stands at the gate, and people are required to send in their names before admittance, which we hope will prevent the rabble from access to the king, as heretofore, with every petty concern, as if he were a constable or justice of the peace” (Judd 1966, 191).

Of course, the “rabble” that Judd referred to were the citizens of the kingdom who, in accordance with Hawaiian tradition, were entitled to visit the *ali’i* to requisition provisions and supplies for their families.

The mass deaths persisted through the 1820's and the 1830's, yet the *haole* (foreigner) seemed immune to the epidemics. The traditional Hawaiian gods had ostensibly turned their backs on their people. The *ali'i* became convinced that relief from the deadly epidemics could be attained by turning to and appeasing the god of the *haole*. Christianity was accepted by the *ali'i* and encouraged among the *kama'ainana* in a desperate attempt to bring an end to the mass deaths (Kame'eleihiwa 1992, 81-82). In addition, the *ali'i* decided that their children, the future rulers of the islands, would be educated by the missionaries. The missionaries were deemed to be closest to the Christian God, and the hope was that a closer association with the missionaries would bring an end to the mass deaths that had beset the Hawaiian people.

In her article, "A Christian and 'Civilized' Nation," University of Hawai'i Professor Emeritus, Linda Menton (1992, 222-223) writes of the founding of the Chief's Children's School. The school was opened in June of 1839 and was run by missionaries Amos and Juliette Cooke. The Cookes were New England missionaries sent out into the world in the service of the American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) as part of

a “crusade to convert the ‘heathen’ throughout the world” (Menton 1992, 214) and fashion the world in the image of New England.

In her article, Menton (1992, 222) writes of the Cookes’ reluctance to accept responsibility for the education of the *ali’i*. They viewed their mission in the islands as one focused on converting all Hawaiians, not just the royal family. As a missionary, Amos Cooke was an unconventional choice to educate the children of the *ali’i*. His work experience was as a store clerk and a bookkeeper. Cooke had only turned to missionary work after failing the entrance examination to attend Yale University.

To the *ali’i*, a man of the Christian faith, a missionary, was the logical choice to educate their children in the ways of gaining favor with the Christian God and bring to an end the horror of the mass deaths brought on by epidemics. Menton (1992, 222-223) states that it was only at the insistence of the royal family that the Cookes opened the Chief’s Children’s School. The realization that their training of the young *ali’i* would likely transform the culture of the Hawaiian Islands to resemble the religious landscape of New England and thus fulfill the mandate of the A.B.C.F.M. was a key factor in the Cookes’ decision (Menton 1992, 214). The school’s mission was to educate the

children of the *ali'i*; to see to it that these future monarchs of the islands would be Christian and thus “civilized” rulers.

The missionaries wrote of the difficulties they encountered in their attempts to educate the royal children. They found the children of Hawai'i to be “like goats on the hills and had as little idea of subjugation” (Judd, 1966: 105) and the *ali'i* children to be “under no control but his own will ... [Enjoying] already the privileges of his birth, in choosing his own path, and doing whatever he pleased” (Stewart 1828, 146). Pledges of temperance were extracted from the children only to be roundly ignored. Discipline at the school was enforced through corporal punishment and the deprivation of meals. The children chafed under the strict regime and in the fall of 1845, Moses, Alexander, and Lot:

“...began stealing out of the school at night to procure brandy and cigars and watch public dances nearby. Then they hatched a fantastic plot to run away and live in the South Pacific and make Amos Cooke repent of how he had treated them. The plan was discovered and squelched, after Cooke literally beat the truth out of them” (Menton 1992, 234-235).

In pre-European contact Hawai'i, “adventurous” as well as “incestuous” sexual relations were not uncommon. In 1847 one of the girls, Abigail became pregnant. A few weeks later, it was discovered that sixteen-year-old Moses

had been sneaking out at night to have sex with the Queen at her palace (Menton 1992, 235).

The instruction at the Chief's School was geared not at educating the royal children in politics and economics, but instead towards educating Christians "who would one day be in the position to perpetuate the work of cultural transformation that the mission had begun in 1820" (Menton 1992, 230).

"They were taught almost nothing about Western government and even less about Western economic and legal systems. They were not trained in diplomacy, in engineering, or in agriculture, although the effects of rapid westernization were becoming increasingly apparent in the Hawai'i of the 1840's" (Menton 1992, 229).

Singing was incorporated into their daily instruction alongside their English and Bible studies. As stated in Amos S. Cooke's newspaper article in the November, 1896 issue of *The Friend*, "All have good voices, and will make singers."

The epidemics, in conjunction with infertility led to a rapid decrease in the Native Hawaiian population. The mass deaths took their toll upon the royal families as well as the *kama'ainas*. The measles and whooping cough epidemics of 1848 took the life of the then seventeen-year-old Moses as well as the only two remaining royal children left who were scheduled to enter the

school. In 1849, the decision was made to send the remaining students to a nearby school and in 1850, the Chief's School closed after the wedding of Bernice Pauahi, Lili'u's *hanai* (adopted) sister to Charles Bishop.

According to Menton (1992, 242), the young *ali'i* who grew to rule the islands were "ill-prepared to deal with the limiting effects of constitutional restraints, the complexities of capitalism, the critical issue of land tenure, or the economic and political demands of the outside world." In years to come, they would be set against others better versed in these subjects than they were, "all too often missionary sons, who could turn them to their own advantage, particularly their own economic advantage."

This school, which at the time was reputed to be the finest school in the islands, was in fact an institution created because of demands from the ruling class engaged in coping with a mass infusion of foreigners into their land. The elder *ali'i's* attempted to manage the accompanying scourge of disease and mass death through religion but their hopes of restoring *pono* and averting the mass deaths by converting to Christianity were never realized. Furthermore, they had selected missionaries instead of educators to teach their children. Although the Cookes had succeeded in "civilizing" the children by inculcating Christianity into the minds of the young *ali'i*, it is

unlikely that *any* school, whether run by missionaries or professional educators, would have been able to produce leaders capable of managing a society in the midst of tumultuous upheaval. In many ways, the *ali'i* had been right. The mass deaths from contagion had indeed been brought about by an imbalance in *pono*, and that imbalance had come as a result of contact with the West.

Lili'u

It was during this time of enormous upheaval that Lili'u Loloku Walania Kamaka'eha, the girl who would become Queen Lili'uokalani, the last monarch of Hawai'i, was born. Her birth, on September 2, 1838, was in a grass hut at the foot of Punchbowl crater, about one mile inland from Honolulu Harbor. Her mother, Keohokalole, labored to the strains of the *oli* (a genre of ancient chant, unmetered, not accompanied by dance) intoned by men and women outside the house tracing the child's lineage and linking her to the high chiefs of ancient Hawai'i (Siler 2012, 6). Soon after her birth, Lili'u, who was the third child of Keohokalole, was given in an act of *hanai* to the

ali'i couple, Abner Paki and Laura Konio of Lahaina, Maui.⁴ In Hawaiian society, *hanai* was practiced to further strengthen ties between families of the nobility by fostering mutual familial interests between them.

At the age of three, Lili'u was sent to the Chief's Children's School in Honolulu where she demonstrated an early aptitude for instrumental sight-reading as well as sight-singing. It is unclear as to exactly when Lili'u began to compose music, but the activity came naturally to her. She writes:

To compose was as natural to me as to breathe... [T]his gift of nature, never having been suffered to fall into disuse, remains a source of the greatest consolation to this day....Hours of which it is not yet in place to speak which I might have found long and lonely, passes quickly and cheerfully by, occupied and soothed by the expression of my thoughts in music; and even when I was denied the aid of any instrument I could transcribe to paper the tones of my voice. (Liliuokalani 1964, 31)

By the mid nineteenth century, indigenous composers and performers had integrated traits of the Euro-American settlers' music into their modes of performance. Upon its arrival in Hawai'i, the music of the missionaries incorporated itself into the musical culture of the islands producing two of the major song forms of the nineteenth century – *himeni* (hymns) and *mele Hawai'i* (Hawaiian songs and/or poetry).

⁴ Abner Paki and Laura Konio had one biological child, Bernice Pauahi. She was born on December 19, 1831.

Himani are sacred songs that combine the musical structures of Protestant hymnody with Hawaiian texts. *Mele Hawai'i* songs are largely secular in nature. Their melodic, harmonic, rhythmic and form structures are based upon European and American parlor songs as well as Protestant hymnody (Stillman 2005, 82). In the nineteenth century, *Mele Hawai'i* songs were generally composed by the nobility and their associates. Their modest, straightforward melodies and harmonies set within the Western musical structure are easily adaptable to the ukulele or the guitar. They are often fitted with sentimental lyrics and are performed in an easy, languorous manner. *Mele Hawai'i* are sung in Hawaiian as well as in English (Smith 1959, 52). A third song genre, *hula ku'i*, combined aspects of ancient pre-Christian contact hula songs with melodies accompanied by stringed instruments such as the ukulele and the guitar. These were strophic songs, used to accompany the hula dance.

Lili'u composed the bulk of her music in both *mele Hawai'i* and *himani* styles. At the Chief's Children's School, the daily singing of hymns afforded the missionaries an opportunity to instill the basic elements of Western musical patterns (melody, rhythm and harmony) into the ears of Lili'u and her siblings.

According to Dorothy Gillette and Barbara Smith (1999, 3-4), although “Lili’u received formal musical instruction at the school,” the true extent of that education is unknown. There is speculation as to where Lili’u might have acquired training in Hawaiian poetics, as her musical studies at the Chief’s Children’s School were conducted in English. Gillette and Smith (1999, 4-5) state that it is possible that she acquired exposure and experience with Hawaiian poetics at the Kawaiaha’o Church, which the royal children attended. There, the Hawaiian language was utilized for song and church services. It is also likely that Lili’u acquired her talent for poetics during her teen years in daily interactions while living at home with her *hanai* parents.

Lili’u worked briefly as an organist and choir director at the Kawaiaha’o Church after the death of her foster sister Crown Princess Victoria Kamamalu, sister of Kamehameha V (1830-1872) in 1866.⁵ In the performance of her own songs, Lili’u was known to have played the piano, the guitar and the autoharp. An article by Mary Durham in the Honolulu based newspaper, *The Independent* dated July 23, 1897, reports that Lili’uokalani accompanied herself on the autoharp while performing “The

⁵ Kamehameha V was born Lot Kapuaiwa.

Queen's Prayer" and "Aloha Oe" for the journalist. She is said to have had "a rich low-pitched contralto voice, the style of a voice fitted for love songs."

Western musical establishments were among the institutions adopted by the monarchy as a part of the charade to fend off colonialism. One of these institutions was the concept of anthems and their potential as a unifying force in a rapidly fragmenting society. In 1864 Kamehameha V proclaimed a new constitution, one that expanded executive power and guaranteed the rights of the Native Hawaiians. Lili'u celebrated the new constitution by composing a song for school children. This song, "Onipa'a" (Stand Firm) urges the children of the islands to "stand firm for our constitution" (Siler 2012, 46).

Two years later, Kamehameha V noted that, "Each nation ...but ours had its expression of patriotism and love of country in its own music" (Liliuokalani 1964, 31) and requested that Lili'u compose a national anthem to replace "God Save the Queen." Within a week's time, Lili'u had composed "He Mele Lahui Hawaii" (The Hawaiian National Anthem), a song that reflects her Christian beliefs and values. See Appendix 2.1 for the full text of the song.

Ka Makua mana loa
Maliu mai iâ mâkou
E hâliu aku nei
Me ka na`au ha`aha`a

Almighty Father bend thine ear
And listen to a nation's prayer
That lowly bows before thy throne
And seeks thy fostering care

E mau ka maluhia
O nei pae `âina
Mai Hawai`i a Ni`ihau
Ma lalo o kou malu

Grant your peace throughout the land
Over these sunny sea girt isles
Keep the nation's life, oh Lord,
And on our sovereign smile

This song implores a loving, almighty God to bless the sovereign of the islands, to bring peace to the land, and to grant the sovereign wisdom so he may care for his people who in turn, will worship this God. The Hawaiian Kingdom used “He Mele Lahui Hawaii” as its national anthem until Lili’u’s brother King David Kalakaua (1836-1891)⁶ replaced the religiously infused song ten years later with his own composition, “Hawaii Pono”, an anthem that urges the “true sons” of Hawai’i to pledge their allegiance to the monarchy.

This secular anthem reflects Kalakaua’s concerns over the American settler colonials’ desire for the annexation of the islands to the United States.

See Appendix 2.2 for the full text of the song.

Hawai`i pono`i
Nânâ i kou mô`i
Ka lani ali`i,
Ke ali`i

Hawai`i`s own true sons
Be loyal to your chief
Your country's liege and lord
The chief

Hui:
Makua lani ê,

Chorus:
Royal father

⁶ Kalakaua was born David Laamea Kamanakapuu Mahinulani Naloiaehuokalani Lumialani Kalakaua.

Kamehameha ê,
Na kaua e pale,
Me ka ihe.

Kamehameha
Shall defend in war
With spears

The dissimilarities between the two anthems are indicative of the distinct perspectives of the two composers. As one of the younger *ali'i* to have attended the Chief's Children's School, Lili'u seems to have more fully internalized the teachings of the missionaries than her older siblings and cousins. In her anthem she appeals to the Christian God to bless the islands, its sovereign, and its people. "He Mele Lahui Hawaii" is not an anthem in the classic sense in that it is not, at least on its surface, a song that seeks to shape society or compel the allegiance of the citizenry to their leaders. It is a hymn of praise.

By contrast, Kalakaua's "Hawaii Pono" is more overtly political in nature. It voices Kalakaua's concerns over the allegiance of the "sons of Hawaii," the increasingly disparate population of the islands. The song evokes the name of Kamehameha the Great and compels the audience to remain loyal to their *ali'i*. Of course, "He Mele Lahui Hawaii" was composed 10 years previous to "Hawaii Pono" at a time when neither Lili'u nor Kalakaua were burdened with the pressures of ruling the islands. Nevertheless the two songs provide us with thought-provoking insights as to

the sources of inspiration and trepidations of their composers, separated by only a decade.

According to Dorothy Gillette and Barbara Smith (1999, 9), by the late 1860's, Lili'u's compositional style had settled into one that was strophic in nature, utilizing melodies found in "the hymns, folk songs, and popular music Lili'u encountered in church, school, and the social life of her times." The bulk of her compositions during this decade were love songs - mainly light-hearted songs rife with metaphors and innuendos.

Musically, the 1870's proved to be Lili'u's most prolific decade. Many of her songs from this decade were inspired by island politics and the passing of the crown to her lineage.⁷ The decade also marked the arrival of the Prussian Captain, Henry Berger. Berger came to the islands to direct the Royal Hawaiian Band at the behest of Kamehameha V in 1872 and would be the director of the band for the next forty-three years. Upon his arrival in the islands, Berger remarked on the "hauntingly beautiful music of the Hawaiians" (Kanahele 1979, 37). He suggested that this music was developed by combining the rhythms of the Hawaiian chants with the "melodies of the

⁷ Lili'u's brother David Kalakaua was elected king upon the death of King Lunalilo in 1874.

Moody and Sankey-type⁸ [hymns] introduced by the missionaries” (Kanahele 1979, 37). Berger contributed to the culture of the islands mainly through his work with the Royal Hawaiian Band. His close association with the monarchs facilitated the dissemination of Western European-style music and musicianship throughout the islands. In all, he was one of the most influential musicians in the islands, contributing to the transformation of Hawaiian music from its *himeni* roots to the more secular form of *mele Hawai’i* (Kanahele 1979, 36).

Princess Lili’uokalani

In April of 1877, after the death of their younger brother Leleiohoku whom Kalakaua had named as heir apparent, Lili’u was named as successor to Kalakaua and given the name “Lili’uokalani.” Princess Lili’uokalani immediately embarked on a tour of the islands to acquaint herself with the *‘aina* (the land) and meet the *kama’ainanas* (commoners). It was during this tour, while on a horseback riding excursion at Maunawili, that Lili’uokalani spied a member of her party bidding a fond farewell to a lover. The scene

⁸ Dwight Moody (lyrics) and Ira Sankey (music) were prominent American Nineteenth century gospel hymn songwriters. They were renowned in both England and the United States. *Sacred Songs and Solos* is their most popular songbook.

inspired her to compose her most famous song, “Aloha Oe.” Some versions of the story report that the scene was of a young man, a member of Lili’uokalani’s party, embracing and bidding farewell to his *kama’ainana* lover. Others maintain that the couple was Lili’uokalani’s sister Likelike⁹ and a nineteen-year-old *hapa haole* (half Caucasian, half Hawaiian) colonel in the royal party named James Boyd, with whom she was said to have been involved in an extramarital relationship (Allen 1982, 148).¹⁰ Lili’uokalani set the song to paper in early 1878. “Aloha Oe” had its American debut in 1883 when it was performed by the Royal Hawaiian Band at a competition in San Francisco. Berger, a personal friend of Lili’uokalani, had arranged “Aloha Oe” for the Royal Hawaiian Band and voice. The performance was conducted by Berger and the band was awarded first prize in the competition.

Performance Practices

“Aloha Oe” is an excellent example of *mele Hawai’i*. Berger’s arrangement of this tune contains the chant-like three eighth notes pick up to the chorus over the word “A-lo-ha” that is indicated in the original

⁹ Miriam Likilike Cleghorn, (1851-1887).

¹⁰ After Likelike’s death in 1887, Archibald Cleghorn married Elizabeth Pauahi Lapeka with whom he had three daughters. Boyd later married Helen Cleghorn, second daughter from Cleghorn’s marriage to Lapeka.

composition but rarely performed (see holographic manuscript, Appendix 1.1). Berger's arrangement can be construed as an example of the literalism commonly exhibited in European musical practices. This pedantry largely stems from the veneration conferred upon the Western composer by way of the textualization of melodies and harmonies. The dissemination of this type of music is not through oral tradition, but as "literate music." This decree to play each note as dictated by a "composer supreme" exemplifies the symbiotic relationship between the composer and their royal patrons.

Lili'uokalani and her siblings were not only accomplished composers and musicians, but also members of the Hawaiian royal family. This presents us with a fascinating perspective in our examination of musical interpretation and performance of Hawai'i. Because these royal composers were free from the obligations of creating entertainment for an aristocracy, they created music for their own pleasure.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the royal court had adopted and instituted Western-European classical music along with the attendant dances, soirees, and balls into the royal cultural calendar. These new modes of socializing and entertainment resulted in the musical culture of the West supplanting the *hula*, the ancient chants, and the traditional musics of the

islands as the preferred musics of the royals. The *hula*, deemed obscene by the missionaries, was banned in 1830 until King Kalakaua revived the dance for his coronation in 1883.

Several municipal bands were founded in the islands during the nineteenth century: the Royal Hawaiian Band (1836), the Hilo Band (founded in 1883, later to become the Hawai'i County Band), and the Honoka'a Band (founded in 1884). These brass bands brought military style marches, waltzes, and polkas to the islands. These genres implanted their lock-step rhythms into Hawaiian music and assumed their place beside the gentle, swaying rhythms of pre-European contact Hawaiian *mele* and chants. The musics and the affairs that these bands accompanied were at first, a part of the charade enacted by the royals to fend off colonialism. However, by the time of the reign of Kamehameha IV, Kamehameha V, Kalakaua, and Lili'uokalani, the royalty of Hawai'i had fully internalized the cultural and religious touchstones of the West.

In the nineteenth century, classically trained Western European musicians visited the islands on a regular basis. The Hawaiian nobility attended these concerts and opera performances regularly and were well versed in Western European classical music. Thus, not only was Lili'uokalani

well versed in music theory and compositional techniques, but she was also familiar with Western European classical music.

Lili'uokalani was not averse to composing in the comedic vein. She had a partially completed comic opera titled "Mohailani" (Offering to Heaven) that was composed in the style of Gilbert and Sullivan. She penned the work under the assumed name of Madame Aorena (Green 2009). The Queen's work with "Mohailani" shows her ability to compose in the Western European classical manner for comedic effect.

The Queen's versatility as a composer provides musicians with a wide range of options in the performance practice of her music. The melody that the Queen composed for "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole: Kalakalaihi Kahi Hapa Haiole" (A Name Song for Kalaniana'ole: Oppressive Indeed is the Unspoken Portion) plays contrary to the solemnity of the words in the text of the piece. This melody creeps forward in a stepwise motion as eighth and sixteenth notes, and then leaps up an interval of a sixth over two quarter notes. It bestows a satirical feel to the song and plays out as a caustic ridiculing of the Queen's adversaries. While my arrangement of "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole: Umia ke Aloha i Paa Iloko" (A Name Song for Kalaniana'ole: Let the Love Inside be Held Back) in the attached music files

for this thesis is done in the style of *hula ku'i*, my arrangement of “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Kalakalaihi Kahi Hapa Haiole” showcases the Western European comic opera style of vocal performance.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, *mele Hawai'i* were arranged for and performed by a cappella ensembles and glee clubs, some of which were directed by Lili'uokalani and her siblings. These clubs provided settings for the performance of the royals' new songs and they often engaged in friendly contests.

Religious choirs were another important venue for the dissemination of this music. Unlike western church choirs, Hawaiian choirs performed both *himeni* and *mele Hawai'i* musics. In these church choirs, the secular and sacred intersect in performance practice as both musical forms rely on choirs to perpetuate their musics. The instrumental accompaniment styles are also often interchangeable between the two genres. Consequently, not only is there an interchange of hymn melodies and Hawaiian chant in the music of the islands, but we also find vocal and instrumental arrangements freely exchanged between secular and sacred styles.¹¹

¹¹ For more on performance practice of the *himeni* music of the royals, see Amy Ku'uleialoha Stillman's *Beyond Bibliography: Interpreting Hawaiian-Language Protestant Hymn Imprints*.

The royal composers did not orchestrate most of their pieces. The bulk of their works were written out with only melodic notations and it was expected that each performer would provide their unique interpretation of each piece. Accordingly, when we look at Lili'uokalani's music in modern day Hawai'i, we see a wide range of performance practices of her songs. "The Queen's Prayer" is performed in a wide range of styles from the traditional, exhibited by the 2009 Kamehameha School Choir recording of the song, (Kamehameha School Children's Chorus 2009) to the revisionist, as in the Henry Kaponu recording of the song from his "Wild Hawaiian" CD (Kaponu 2006).

American Hegemony in the Islands

As the decades passed and the threat of American hegemony became overt, the royal composers began to compose their music to influence and communicate with the masses. Through their oeuvre, first Kalakaua, then his sister, Lili'uokalani, took on the task of exerting their authority over the increasingly complex society under their rule by writing patriotic songs in which the singer(s) enunciated their loyalties, swearing allegiance to the monarchs of the islands.

Lili'uokalani's brother, Kalakaua, ruled from 1874 until his death in 1891. His regency saw the signing of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 that ceded the estuary of the Pearl River on O'ahu (later famed as Pearl Harbor) to the United States in exchange for duty free trade between the two countries. The treaty benefitted the United States military and the sugar plantation owners of the islands but brought virtually no accommodation to Native Hawaiians. Kalakaua's reign saw the construction of 'Iolani Palace which, in tandem with the King's extravagant tastes, brought about the escalating indebtedness of the kingdom to the *haole* business interests in the islands.

In 1887, American resident aliens, in their continued hope for annexation of the islands to the United States, forced Kalakaua to sign what has since become known as the Bayonet Constitution. This constitution curtailed executive power, placing the bulk of political authority in the islands squarely in the hands of the King's cabinet. The King's cabinet was to be formed and approved by the legislature which was under the influence of the Missionary Party. The Bayonet Constitution imposed an extremely high property requirement for voter eligibility. The constitution guaranteed voting privileges only to "men of Hawaiian or European descent who could read Hawaiian, English, or any European language" (Osorio 2002, 243). Voters

were also required to possess property worth at least three thousand dollars and to have an annual income of at least six hundred dollars. These requirements prevented the majority of *kama'ainas* from voting.

In October of 1890, President Benjamin Harrison signed the McKinley tariff bill, which eliminated the financial advantages provided for the Hawaiian sugar plantations by the Reciprocity Treaty. At the behest of the *haole* planters, Kalakaua agreed to travel to the United States to plead for the reinstatement of favored nation status for the islands. The ailing Kalakaua appointed Lili'uokalani as his regent and set sail for San Francisco in late November, 1890. Kalakaua died in San Francisco on January 20, 1891 of Bright's disease and cirrhosis of the liver. Lili'uokalani and the people of Hawai'i were unaware of the King's death until the steamer bearing his body rounded Diamond Head on January 29, draped in black crepe with its flags at half-staff. That afternoon, in shock and in mourning over the death of her brother, Lili'uokalani is sworn in as Queen.

I was so overcome by the death of my dear brother, so dazed with the suddenness of the news which had come upon us in a moment, that I hardly realized what was going on about me, nor did I at all appreciate for the moment my situation. Before I had time to collect myself, before my brother's remains were buried, a trap was sprung upon me by those who stood waiting as a wild beast watches for his prey.
(Liliuokalani 1964, 209)

Lili'uokalani was "compelled to take the oath to the [Bayonet] constitution, the adoption of which had led to my brother's death" (Liliuokalani 1964, 210). After administering the oath of office to the Queen, Chief Justice Albert Francis Judd congratulated her and left her with the words, "Should any of the members of your cabinet propose anything to you, say yes" (Liliuokalani 1964, 210).

Queen Lili'uokalani

In 1892, *kama'ainanas* submitted formal petitions to Lili'uokalani requesting that she promulgate a new constitution. As an *ali'i*, in her case the Queen of Hawai'i, it would have been an admittance of weakness or a deficiency in *mana* if she had denied the *kama'ainana's* petition for a new constitution. In accordance with traditional Hawaiian custom, Lili'uokalani responded to the wishes of her people and agreed to put forth a new constitution. This constitution would restore the powers of the monarchy and the voting rights of Native Hawaiians to approximately that of Kamehameha V's 1864 constitution. She wrote later, "To have ignored or disregarded so general a request I must have been deaf to the voice of my people, which tradition tells us is the voice of God" (Liliuokalani 1964, 231).

Lili'uokalani failed to convince the legislature to pass a bill demanding the new constitution. In December of 1892, she decided to attempt to circumvent the legislature by presenting the new constitution to her cabinet and having it passed through royal fiat.

On Saturday, January 14, 1893, Lili'uokalani called a meeting with her cabinet and presented the new constitution to them for their approval. These cabinet members refused to approve the Queen's constitution. Unbeknownst to her, most of the members of her handpicked cabinet were allied with the Missionary Party, the party of settler colonials intent on actualizing the annexation of the islands to the United States. With the refusal of the cabinet ministers to approve the new constitution, the best and last opportunity to restore the rights of Native Hawaiians was forever lost.

Considered a threat to American business interests because of her willingness to restore the voting rights of Native Hawaiians, Lili'uokalani was deposed in a coup d'état by the thirteen member "Committee of Safety" (a coalition of annexationist American and European businessmen), Native Hawaiian opportunists, and the United States Navy. These businessmen and opportunists hastily formed a provisional government and Judge Sanford B. Dole was appointed as president. This government's intention was to engage

in political maneuvering to bring about annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States. On the evening of January 17, 1893, in a carefully worded letter to Sanford Dole, hoping to avoid bloodshed, Lili'uokalani yielded authority not to the Provisional Government, but to the "superior force of the United States of America." She stated her hopes that the government of the United States would, "upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional monarch of the Hawaiian Islands" (Lili'uokalani 1893).

Over the next two years, the Queen and her supporters filed appeals requesting that the U.S. government not recognize the Provisional Government and that it instead help to reinstate the monarchy with Lili'uokalani as Queen. In hopes of closer relations with the United States, the Provisional Government declared itself as the Republic of Hawai'i on July 4, 1894, thus sharing its Independence Day with the United States. With this proclamation and the subsequent decision of the Grover Cleveland administration to no longer pursue the issue of the restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the monarchists' hopes for the reinstatement of the Queen to the throne collapse. Plans for an armed uprising were initiated in the late summer and fall of 1894.

In January 1895, the Hawaiians staged a revolt on O'ahu, attempting to restore Lili'uokalani to the throne. With three-hundred-fifty-five Hawaiians and royalists arrested, and 190 tried for treason, the insurgency was quashed within a weeks' time. Most of the convicted royalists were imprisoned at O'ahu prison. On the morning of January 16, 1895, Lili'uokalani was placed under arrest and interned in a second floor apartment in 'Iolani Palace. "That first night of my imprisonment was the longest night I have ever passed in my life; it seemed as though the dawn of day would never come" (Liliuokalani 1964, 273).

In an attempt to keep a private diary she opened her Bible to the Book of Psalms and with a pencil, wrote:

"'Iolani Palace. Jan 16th 1895. Am imprisoned in this room (the South east corner) by the Government of the Hawaiian Republic. For the attempt of the Hawaiian people to regain what had been wrested from them by the children of the missionaries who first brought the Word of God to my people" (Siler 2012, 259-260).

On her fourth day in captivity, Lili'uokalani was visited by attorney Paul Neumann who was to represent her in her upcoming trial. Neumann asked the Queen whether she was prepared to die "in the event that it should be decided that all the principal parties to the revolt must pay for it with their lives" (Liliu'okalani 1964, 273). Lili'uokalani replied, "Yes." Neumann relayed

to her that she and six other revolutionaries “had been selected to be shot for treason” (Liliu’okalani 1964, 273) and that he would keep her informed of her fate.

On January 24, 1895, in prison and under considerable duress, Lili’uokalani signed a letter abdicating the throne with the understanding that all of her jailed supporters would be immediately released. The Provisional Government reneged on the agreement, releasing her jailed supporters incrementally over the next two years. The threat of death was rescinded by the Provisional Government when “Word came from the United States that the execution of captive rebels would militate against annexation” (Liliu’okalani 1964, 278).

Lili’uokalani was tried for treason on February 5, 1895. The trial lasted for three days. She was found guilty and returned to court three weeks later on February 27, 1895, whereupon she was levied a \$5000.00 fine and sentenced to five years imprisonment at hard labor. Lili’uokalani served her sentence in the ‘Iolani Palace apartment that she had been incarcerated in since her arrest on January 16th. Approximately two weeks later, President of the Republic, Sanford Dole commuted her sentence to simply imprisonment.

Chapter Two: Aloha Oe and the Seven Prison Songs

The Queen passed her time in prison by decorating the apartment and arranging flowers sent in to her by friends and supporters. She crocheted, attended to her plants and canaries, and read what was allowed. Letters and a few books were permitted into the apartment. The letters she received were opened and read by her jailers before delivery. One of the books permitted her was her *Book of Common Prayer* which was in her handbag at the time of her arrest. Newspapers were banned and, with the exception of her jailers and attendants, no visitors were allowed.

One attendant, Evelyn Wilson,¹² a friend of the Queen, spent six days a week with her, rotating on the seventh day with another attendant, Milaina Ahia. The intent of the Provisional Government was to isolate the Queen and to deny her access to the news of the day. Although she was allowed to receive packages and gifts, all parcels destined for the apartment were searched for contraband and everything that exited the apartment was similarly searched and/or censored.

¹² Evelyn “Kitty” Melita Kilioulani Kaopaokalani Townsend Wilson, the Queen’s attendant and childhood friend.

The songs that Lili'uokalani wrote during her imprisonment were written with pencils on blank sheets of paper, some of which were embossed with the Queen's royal seal. She used pencils and a straight edge to meticulously draw her manuscript lines across the pages. The Queen had no musical instruments during the first part of the imprisonment and several of the songs covered in this thesis were composed without available instruments. As time passed, she was permitted access to her autoharp and her guitar upon which she practiced, whiling away the hours. Although she was imprisoned at the palace, her meals were prepared at her home, Washington Place, and brought to her. She asked for, and was provided, a writing desk with blank sheets of paper and pencils.

Of the songs covered in this chapter, only "Aloha Oe" (Farewell to Thee), "Ke Aloha o ka Haku" (The Lord's Mercy) (a.k.a. "Liliuokalani's Prayer," a.k.a. "The Queen's Prayer"), and "Kuu Pua i Paoakalani" (My Flowers at Paoakalani) were published in sheet music form for commercial purposes. Portions of "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole" were printed in the pro-monarchist Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Makaainana* in April of 1895. The hymns, "Ke Aloha o ka Haku," *Leha 'Ku Kou Mau Maka, E Kuu Hoola*, and the unfinished *Himani Hoole a Davida* were composed in June of

1895. The hymns were written for four voices; soprano, alto, tenor, and bass. The *mele*, “Aloha Oe,” “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani,” *Kilioulani*, and “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole,” have notations that indicate melody only. As usual, interpretation and chord progressions for *mele* are left to the discretion of the performer.

For images of holographic manuscripts, newspaper pages, and pages from *He Buke Mele Hawaii*, see Appendix 1. For complete song texts and translations, see Appendix 2.

“Aloha Oe” (Farewell to Thee)

I found notwithstanding disadvantages, great consolation in composing, and transcribed a number of songs. Three found their way from my prison to the city of Chicago, where they were printed, among them the “Aloha Oe,” or “Farewell to Thee,” which became a very popular song. (Liliuokalani 1964, 290)

The first song to emerge from the Queen’s imprisonment was a handwritten manuscript of “Aloha Oe.” This song was originally composed in 1877 near Maunawili, on the windward slopes of the Koʻolau Mountains, on the island of Oʻahu (*supra*, 27-28). “Aloha Oe” was not composed during the Queen’s internment at ʻIolani Palace, but the emergence of a transcription from the Queen’s prison apartment is likely the reason for the misconception

held by many that the song was composed while she was in prison. The earliest publications of “Aloha Oe” occurred in 1884, twenty-one years before Lili’uokalani’s imprisonment. The song was published in that year by the Matthias Gray Publishing House, in San Francisco, CA, the John Wortley Company of Boston, MA, and J. H. Soper in Honolulu, Hawaii.

In her book, *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen*, the Queen states that “Aloha Oe” was transcribed in prison for the purpose of sending the manuscript to Chicago for publication. However, a search through musical score repositories such as “The Catalogue of Printed Music in the British Library to 1980,” the IMSLP,¹³ and WorldCat produced no records of it having been published in Chicago until after the turn of the twentieth century. The first post-imprisonment publication of “Aloha Oe” is in *Mele Hawaii*, a collection of twenty-three Hawaiian songs assembled by Henry Berger. The collection was published by Broder and Schlam, (New York and San Francisco) and the Hawaiian News Company (Honolulu). The State Library of New South Wales lists the publication date of the *Mele Hawai’i* collection as 1896. The next publication of “Aloha Oe” is from 1899, by the Nicholas Wall Company in Honolulu. There exists an 1895 publication of

¹³ The International Music Score Library Project.

“Liliuokalani’s Prayer” by Sanders and Stayman of Washington, D.C. “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani” was published by John H. Wilson (the young man to whom the “Paoakalani” song was dedicated) in 1895, at Honolulu, Hawaii.

Although the city of Chicago was a major publishing center for Tin Pan Alley, the Queen’s statement as to the transportation of these three manuscripts to Chicago for the purpose of printing or publishing is a point in need of verification.

“Kuu Pua i Paoakalani ” (My Flowers at Paoakalani)

My friends were allowed to send me tokens of sympathy, so bouquets of flowers and baskets of fruit of all varieties came in almost every day. I had also, at pleasure, the flowers of my own gardens at Uluhaimalama. (Liliuokalani 1964, 290)

The holographic manuscript for “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani”¹⁴ is dated March 22, 1895. The song is written partly in English and is dedicated to a young man named John Wilson.¹⁵ Wilson was the son of the Queen’s friend, Evelyn Wilson and her husband Charles Wilson, who served as Marshal for the Provisional Government. During the Queen’s imprisonment, John Wilson delivered cut flowers from her gardens to the guard gate at ‘Iolani Palace on a

¹⁴ Today this song is commonly referred to as “Paoakalani.”

¹⁵ John H. Wilson (1871-1956) was part Caucasian and was in his early 20’s at the time of Lili’uokalani’s imprisonment. He later became mayor of Honolulu.

regular basis. The flower boxes would be searched for contraband before delivery to the Queen's apartment, where she and Evelyn Wilson would spend the day arranging the flowers.

As the days and weeks passed, the Provisional Government began to suspect that the Queen was receiving information on current events from outside her prison apartment. She seemed to have knowledge of the political climate not only in Hawai'i, but in the United States as well. The Government instigated efforts to trace the source of the leak, but to no avail. Upon its emergence from the Queen's prison apartment, "Kuu Pua i Paoakalani" had to gain the approval of the Provisional Government's censors. It was examined for potential subversive messages before its release into the public hemisphere.

What the members of the Provisional Government did not know was that the flowers that John Wilson delivered to the palace were wrapped in pages of newspaper selected by the Queen's supporters so that she would be kept up to date with the political events of the day. Hidden in and amongst the newspapers were clippings and notes expressing love and encouragement from her supporters. In this manner, Lili'uokalani was able to read news prohibited her by her jailers during her imprisonment.

Flowers from home I unwrapped myself, so as to be sure to save these bits of news which I sought opportunity at intervals to read. There were times when I saw something of such interest that I could not resist the temptation to mention it to my companion, Mrs. Wilson. Then it seems she would faithfully report all that I said to her husband At such times he would withdraw with his wife to the boudoir, where she would repeat to him what had been said by me, telling him also what had been received in the prison through her. By some things she occasionally mentioned he thought that newspapers had been secretly sent in; but when finally he discovered that they had come as wrapping-paper, it made him very angry.... (Lili'uokalani 1964, 291)

The opening lines of "Kuu Pua i Paoakalani" place the composer in a fixed setting. For the Queen, that setting was a locked apartment in 'Iolani Palace. The Queen is unable to visit her favorite flower gardens and must wait for the breeze to turn to enjoy the scent of her favorite flower.

The line in the chorus, "I've often seen those beauteous flowers that grew at Uluhaimalama" is significant. At the time the song was written, the garden at Uluhaimalama, a venue that was just short of two miles north of where she was imprisoned, was a gathering place for those sympathetic to the Queen. The word "*uka*" which is employed towards the end of the verses normally translates to "field" or "pasture." In the context of this song it translates to "garden." However, as we see in the Hui Hanai translation of the song, the word can also be translated to mean "inland." Because

Uluhaimalama is inland from Paoakalani, the line could be interpreted as a reference to that garden instead of to the flowers of Paoakalani.

The second and third verses pose a challenge to the listener. Riddles are common compositional devices in traditional Hawaiian music. This riddle challenges the listener to name the person or the flower that the Queen describes. The use of the term of endearment, *ku'u aloha*, at the beginning of the third verse suggests that the Queen is referring to a person whom the Queen describes as she would a flower. The endearment *ku'u aloha* is insufficiently specific for us to know whether the Queen is definitely referring to a person or to a flower (Nogelmeier Feb., 2013). The answer to this riddle is an enigma that continues to elude the scholars of Hawaiian cultural studies to this day.

The presence of the name of the garden at Uluhaimalama, in the chorus of this song allows for several fascinating points of discussion. To fully appreciate the significance of the garden at Uluhaimalama, it is essential to understand the circumstances under which they were created. The months of July and August of 1894 proved to be devastating to the Queen and her supporters. First, there was the self-proclamation of the Republic of Hawai'i on July 4, 1894. Then, in August, came the news of the decision by the

Cleveland administration to no longer pursue the matter of restoration of the Hawaiian monarchy. From the Queen's diary, August 13, 1894:

Heard today that Willie Allen had said that Minister Willis had said the U.S. would have nothing more to do with me – that he had called here and told me so. There is no truth to it. It must be a make up [sic] of the P.G. to deceive themselves. Poor Pauahoa died Sat night of La Grippe. (Lili'uokalani August 13, 1894 diary entry, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives)

In September of 1894, recognizing the need to quell rising anxiety in the Native Hawaiian population, the Queen announced that she would set aside some of her lands in the Pauoa Valley, along the northern slope of Punchbowl crater, for the cultivation of *pua* or flowers. It was announced that the garden's "planting would be according to the formal ceremonials of ancient days" (Mellen 1958, 299).

It was the Queen who named the garden Uluhaimalama. The name Uluhaimalama is noteworthy because there is *kaona* (hidden meaning) to the name. That hidden meaning is, "as the plants grow out of the dark earth into the light, so shall light come to the nation." Thus, the name Uluhaimalama can be viewed a metaphor that suggests that it is a place for the cultivation of a resistance movement.

In her book *An Island Kingdom Passes*, Kathleen Mellen (1958) documents the opening festivities for the garden. On October 10, 1894, the

evening before the official opening of the royal gardens, the Queen along with members of her household attended a private ceremony at the gardens. There, they planted shrubs spelling out the name of the garden, “Uluhaimalama” in a bed near the entrance. Mellen’s account continues with a description of the opening day’s ceremonies during which various flowers, shrubs and trees were planted throughout the garden, each symbolizing love and allegiance to the Queen.

After the *lehua* tree had been blessed, other trees and flowers were planted in a circle around it, symbolizing the encircling love of the people for their queen. As each was placed in the earth the old chanter intoned its purpose: “The *Hala Polapola*, your favorite *lei*, O Heavenly One, sweet to inhale...” The *kukui*, “A Light for your Government,” The *pilimai*, “The love of your people clings fast to you, O Heavenly One. Cling fast to your land, your people, your throne, O our Queen!” (Mellen 1958, 299-300)

A ceremony followed in which a stone was placed on the ground as the words, “the land is the mother that never dies” was chanted. This ceremony was then followed by the attendees softly singing the song, “Kaulana na Pua,” a bitter song of protest objecting to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. Composed in 1893 by Ellen Keho‘ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast, “Kaulana na Pua” professes allegiance to Lili‘uokalani and states that the Native Hawaiians would rather eat stones than see their

homeland annexed to the United States. The ceremony and festivities lasted all day and into the evening, concluding just before midnight.

The Hawaiian word for “flower” is *pua*. The word by itself means “flower” or “child” or “scion” or “something that emerges.” Depending on its context, it can also mean “people.” As it is employed in “Kaulana na Pua,” the word is used to describe “a child of the island.” The title “Kaulana na Pua” is usually translated as “Famous Are the *Flowers*” but because of its context, the “Kaulana na pua” in the first line of the song translates to “Famous are the *children*” (of Hawai’i).

<i>Kaulana na pua a`o Hawai`i</i>	Famous are the children of Hawai`i
<i>Kupa`a ma hope o ka `aina</i>	Ever loyal to the land
<i>Hiki mai ka `elele o ka loko `ino</i>	When the evil-hearted messenger comes
<i>Palapala `anunu me ka pakaha</i>	With his greedy document of extortion

In “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani,” the Queen’s allusion to the *pua* from the garden at Uluhaimalama is significant. The word for “flowers,” *pua*, can be seen as a code word for the people at Uluhaimalama who were working to reinstate the Hawaiian monarchy. Considering the political climate of the times, and when viewed in the context of the garden at Paoakalani, when the Queen writes of the beauty of the flowers at Uluhaimalama, she could be making a reference to the beauty of the people who gathered at that garden.

In this manner, the use of the word *pua* could be an indirect reference to those who gathered at Uluhaimalama as patriots (Nogelmeier, 2012). It is not out of the realm of possibility that the reference to cultivating *pua* might mean to convey or encourage the nurturing of a budding nationalism; a flowering resistance movement born of affection for the land, the Hawaiian Nation, and its deposed Queen.

At a time when it was illegal for Hawaiians to gather in public, the Queen's gift of the garden at Uluhaimalama to her supporters provided a place for them to meet outside of the earshot and eyesight of the Provisional Government. The garden at Uluhaimalama signified the hopes and dreams for the blossoming of a resistance movement and the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Nation. It was the product of Native Hawaiian resistance to the overthrow of the monarchy and it served as a meeting place for those opposed to the proposed annexation of the islands to the United States. A re-examination of "Kuu Pua i Paoakalani" that takes into account the circumstances under which this song was composed, as well as the history of the garden at Uluhaimalama, endows us with a deeper, richer appreciation of the song. "Kuu Pua i Paoakalani" is not merely a song about the Queen's favorite flower garden. It is a song of subversion. It is the Queen's

acknowledgement of the receipt of forbidden newspapers and a thank you to the patriots at Uluhaimalama for their help and unwavering support.

Kilioulani

Kilioulani (a.k.a. Sprite of the mist a.k.a. Fine rain of the heavenly pinnacle) was written at or about the same time as “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani” and “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole.” The Queen’s holographic score for *Kilioulani* is dated March 22, 1895. She does not include a translation for the second verse of the song.

The Queen composed *Kilioulani* with her friend Evelyn “Kitty” Wilson in mind. Evelyn Wilson’s full name is Evelyn Melita Kilioulani Kaopaokalani Townsend Wilson (Imada 2012, 102). The song begins with a curious reference to the *wiliau* flower (the swirling-eddy blossom) in the first verse. According to translator Puakea Nogelmeier (2012), there is no plant or flower named *wiliau*. The use of this word might imply “two lives entwined in the tangled currents of difficulty” resulting from a “rushed outcome” having fallen deeply into the swirling currents of aloha or *mahalo* (gratitude, respect, or admiration) for that person. The reference could also be an allusion to a *hapa haole* or a multi-heritaged person or child; a child of “entwined currents.”

If so, there is a reasonable possibility that this allusion is a reference to a mixed race person such as Evelyn Wilson's son, John Wilson.

In the second verse, the Queen proclaims her "solemn affection...for my multitudes there in the highland (*uka*) forest." This is followed by a reference to "flocks of birds at Pokahi." Pokahi is a place referred to in Hawaiian chants where birds are snared with fine nets (Nogelmeier, 2012). It is within reason to suggest that this could be a reference to the Queen's supporters in the highlands (*uka*) at Uluhaimalama as well as those at O'ahu prison, already snared in the nets of the Provisional Government.

In the third verse, the Queen writes of "*ka Wahine hele la*." The Queen translates the phrase as "wanderer o'er the lea" but Puakea Nogelmeier (2012) translates the same phrase to "the Day-Wending Woman," a woman who travels by the day and runs like the light, like the fading sun. This is a reference to Kaiona, the Hawaiian Goddess of the Lost. Kaiona would take care of those who had lost their way and who asked her for guidance. This Goddess is also known as *Wahine o ka li'ula* - "the Woman of the Twilight."

This song suggests that in the midst of the tension and confusion of the times (which, according to Puakea Nogelmeier, is denoted by "the mist" in the second verse), there seems to be someone who draws people to them ("a

solemn affection comes over me"). While it is possible that "*Wahine hele la*" or the goddess Kaiona is a reference to the Queen trying to guide her nation to safety, it is more likely that "*Wahine hele la*" is a reference to Evelyn Kilioulani Wilson, and that it is Evelyn Wilson who guides the Queen (who would then be the lonely traveler) through the turmoil of her overthrow and imprisonment.

"He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole" (A Name Song for Kalaniana'ole)

"He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole" is a *mele inoa* (name song) for Lili'uokalani's nephew, Jonah Kalaniana'ole (1871-1922).¹⁶ At the time of its publication, Kalaniana'ole was incarcerated at O'ahu prison along with other Hawaiian counter-revolutionaries. There are six known installments of "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole." Four of the installments were published anonymously in the pro-monarchist newspaper, *Ka Makaainana* in April of 1895. There are an additional two installments in the Queen's 1897 songbook, *He Buke Mele Hawaii*. This songbook also contains revisions of the two *mele*

¹⁶ Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole Pi'ikoi. In 1915, Kalaniana'ole filed suit against Lili'uokalani, in an attempt to wrest control of her estate from her. In August 1916, the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawai'i handed down their decision in favor of the ex-Queen. The dispute proved to be devastating to the relationship between the Queen and her nephew.

published in *Ka Makaainana* on April 15th and April 22nd, 1895. The first two installments that were published in *Ka Makaainana* were not set to music.

It is not known exactly how the *mele* were transported to the newspaper. It is possible that they may have been written on pieces of paper then passed to a supporter. It has also been said that the Queen whispered the installments through the door of the palace apartment to a supporter in the hall. This scenario is unlikely, as there was a guard stationed outside the Queen's apartment during her incarceration.

Regardless of the method of conveyance, the *mele* were brought to the editor of *Ka Makaainana*, F. J. Testa, who had been released from prison only two weeks prior to the publication of the first installment of this *mele inoa*. It was not unusual for *mele* to appear in Hawaiian language newspapers as they were used frequently in traditional Hawaiian epic storytelling and were published as serials by the papers. There is no notated music for the *mele* published on April 1 and April 8, 1895.

**“He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Mai Waikinekona a Iolani Hale”
(From Washington Place to ‘Iolani Palace)**

The Queen writes this *mele*, subtitled “Mai Waikinekona a Iolani Hale” (From Washington Place to ‘Iolani Palace), in both the first person and the

third person. This installment documents the January 16, 1895 arrest of the Queen by officers of the Provisional Government. The Queen describes Evelyn Wilson's announcement of the approach of the government's forces to the Queen's home, Washington Place, their knocks on the door, and the Queen's transportation to her prison quarters at 'Iolani Palace. This segment was published in the Honolulu newspaper, *Ka Makaainana* on April 1, 1895.

<i>I'au e nanea ana ma Wakinekona</i>	As I relax at Washington Place
<i>Pa e ana ka leo nahenahe</i>	A gentle voice came to me
<i>Auhea waie aua oe Kalani</i>	Pay heed, O royal one
<i>E ae ua hauna o ke Aupuni</i>	Here come the strikes of the government
<i>Nana e hanu mai pau i ka ike</i>	Which has breathed up everything in all that was seen
<i>Na Mea nue, na mea liilii</i>	The large things and the small
<i>O ka hana ia a Waipa</i>	Such is the work of Waipa
<i>Kapena makai o ka Pi Gi</i>	Police captain of the P.G.
<i>Eia ko hewa la e Kalani</i>	Here is your crime O Heavenly One
<i>No kou aloha i ka lahui</i>	It is your love for the people
<i>Na ke kaa pio Hope Ilamuku</i>	It was the prisoner carriage of the deputy sheriff
<i>I hii ia Kalani i Halealii</i>	That carried Your Highness to the palace. ¹⁷

In the fourth and fifth lines, a reference is made to Robert Waipa Parker,¹⁸ the Captain of the Provisional Government's forces. Parker arrested Lili'uokalani and later testified against her during her trial. Here, the Queen

¹⁷ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

¹⁸ Robert Waipa Parker spent the rest of his days justifying his role in the arrest of the Queen to his fellow Hawaiians.

addresses him by his Hawaiian name, “Waipa,” as if she is reminding him of his Hawaiian heritage.

The following line reads, “*Kapena makai o ka Pi Gi*” or, “Police captain of the P.G.” The Queen’s spelling of “Pi Gi” is significant. Throughout her diaries and correspondances, the Provisional Government is referred to either as the “Provisional Government” or abbreviated as “P.G.” Here, her precise notation indicates that the pronunciation of those initials would be “Pee-Ghee” (with a hard G). The word would sound as “piggy” (Nogelmeier, Feb., 2013).

The Queen’s stark view of her adversaries is corroborated in later writings. In recounting her 1897 train trip from Los Angeles to New Orleans, she writes of the vast territories, the thousands of uncultivated acres of the American Southwest belonging to the United States, and the potential there for successful colonies as well as sugar, rice, and coffee plantations.

And yet this great and powerful nation must go across two thousand miles of sea, and take from the poor Hawaiians their little spots in the broad Pacific, must covet our islands of Hawaii Nei, and extinguish the nationality of my poor people, many of whom have now not a foot of land which can be called their own. (Lili’uokalani 1964, 310)

The second part of the *mele* affords us another clue as to the Queen’s identity as its anonymous composer. Here, the Queen speaks of Diamond

Head to the east of her. Her apartment at 'Iolani Palace faced eastward and would have had a view over the trees of Diamond Head. The lines, "the place where the natives of my land, sought the righteousness of victory" refers to the recently failed attempt at restoring the Queen to the throne during which the Queen's supporters stashed arms from the ship Waimanalo at Black Point, a strip of land near Diamond Head: the starting point for the failed counter-revolution.

<i>Kaumaha wale kuu ike'na</i>	It's sad for me to see
<i>Na paia hanohano o Iolani Hale</i>	The proud walls of Iolani Palace
<i>Ea mai Laeahi ma ka hikina,</i>	Diamond Head rises to the east
<i>Kela kuahiwi alo i ke kai</i>	That mount that faces the sea
<i>Kahi a na oiwi okuu aina</i>	The place where the natives of my land
<i>I imi ai i ka pono o ka lauakila</i>	Sought the righteousness of victory ¹⁹

"He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole: Lokahi ka Manao me ka Lahui"
(Thoughts are in Unity with my People)

This installment was published in *Ka Makaainana* on April 8, 1895. In this installment, the Queen expresses her anger at the men who tried her for misprision of treason.

<i>Ka aku ke aho ia Waitina</i>	My breath is taken away by Whiting
<i>Ka peresidena nui o ka Aha Koa</i>	The High President of the military tribunal
<i>Nana e kaana mai i ka pono,</i>	It being the one to distribute justice

¹⁹ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

*No kuu lahui i alohaia
Hana e launa ole o Wili Kini*

For my beloved people
Inappropriate are the acts of Willy
Kinney

*Haole lelepi o Waialae
Kana hana o ka pelo i ke kanaka
E hai pau mai i ola oe
Mai puni aku oe i kana mali*

The hot tempered haole of Wai'alaie
His act has been to fool the people
"Tell all so that you may live"
But don't believe his persuasion²⁰

William Austen Whiting, the Queen's former Attorney General, presided over the Queen's trial. We see more of the Queen's disdain for Whiting in her book, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, where she refers to Whiting as "this so-called judge who had been called to pass sentence upon me" (Lili'uokalani 1964, 291).

William Ansel Kinney acted as Judge Advocate during the trial. The lines, "His act has been to fool the people, Tell all so that you may live," pertain to the broken agreement of January 24, 1895 when the Queen signed a letter abdicating her throne under the belief that her supporters would be released from prison immediately.

*E i aku e ke ola ia Kalani
I molia kona ola no ka lahui
I ola nou e ke aloha aina*

Do say, that life is in the hands of the
Royal One
Who has given her life for the people
That you may live O patriots²¹

²⁰ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

²¹ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

The last few lines of this *mele*, refer to the Provisional Government's January 20th 1895 threat to the Queen of execution by firing squad and her decision to accept death rather than to divulge the names of the leaders of the Hawaiian resistance movement.

**"He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole: Umia ke Aloha i Paa Iloko"
(Let the Love Inside be Held Back)**

This installment was published in *Ka Makaainana* on April 15, 1895. In this installment Lili'uokalani offers moral support to her nephew Kalaniana'ole who is jailed at O'ahu prison. In the first line, *Kawa* refers to a fish pond near O'ahu prison. A casual reader of the newspaper glancing over the front page might take this to be a poem about someone's younger brother at the fishpond. A politically astute reader would have known that the Queen's reference to *Kawa* is to the jail and that *pokii* is an allusion to her nephew or to the resistance's brothers in arms.

*Hiki mai e ka lono i o'u nei,
Aia ou pokii la i Kawa.*

*I ke kakela nui o ke Aupuni,
Kahi i noho ai me ka maluhia.
Umia ke aloha i paa iloko*

Noe ke one oiwi ou e Hawaii

The news has come to me,
That your younger siblings are there at
Kawa.

In the great castle of the government,
Where they reside in peace.
Hold fast to the *Aloha* that is solid in
your heart

For you the native land, O Hawaii

<i>Eha ai ka ili ou kupuna</i>	Your ancestors suffered the wounds
<i>O Keawe, O Kalani-I-a-Mamao</i>	<i>Keawe, Kalaniiamamao</i> ²²

In line eight, the Queen invokes the names of Keawe and Kalaniiamamao, two of Lili'uokalani's and Kalaniana'ole's ancestors, reminding her nephew of their sacrifices. Keawe and Kalaniiamamao were chiefs that helped Kamehameha I in his quest for hegemony over the islands.

In the second half of the *mele*, the Queen attempts to bolster Kalaniana'ole's spirits by beseeching him to "adorn himself" in a lei of love for his homeland.

<i>Kahua i ka umauma mailaniia</i>	The expression in the heart let it be praised
<i>Papahiia ke Aloha Aina,</i>	Let <i>Aloha 'Aina</i> ²³ be honored and adorned,
<i>Hiipoiia ko lei hanohano,</i>	Let your noble lei be cherished,
<i>I kahiko mau nou e ka lehua,</i>	As an eternal adornment for you, O <i>lehua</i> , ²⁴
<i>A oi ali a i ka ike ana,</i>	Until clearer, and until seen,
<i>Ia paia kaulana hoihoi ole,</i>	Are those famed and unwanted walls,
<i>Hookahi ike pu ana ka inea,</i>	Experiencing the same deprivation,
<i>Me ou pokii makaainana,</i>	With that of your citizen siblings,
<i>Hookahi puana kou puuwai</i>	Only one message of your heart
<i>No ka poe i aloha ika lahui</i>	For those who love the people. ²⁵

²² Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

²³ Patriotism, love for your homeland.

²⁴ A warrior on the front line of battle.

²⁵ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

In the line, “*I kahiko mau nou e ka lehua,*” or “As an eternal adornment for you, O *lehua*,” we see the word *lehua*, which normally refers to the *lehua* flower blossom. The context that the word is used in this line changes its meaning to warrior; specifically, the person who is leading the troops’ charge into battle. The line, “*Ia paia kaulana hoihoi ole,*” or “Are those famed and unwanted walls,” refers to the walls of O’ahu prison where Kalaniana’ole is “Experiencing the same deprivation,” as his fellow patriots.

This piece is one of four installments that can be found in the songbook *He Buke Mele Hawaii*.²⁶ The four pieces that constitute the version of “He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana’ole” in *He Buke Mele Hawaii* are referred to as *hula ku’i* songs (*supra*, 21). This songbook contains editorial changes and corrections to the pieces as compared to the versions published in the newspaper. From *He Buke Mele Hawaii*:

Hiki mai e ka lono i o’u nei
Aia o’u pokii la i Kawa

I ke kakela nui o ke Aupuni
Kahi i noho ai me ka maluhia

The news has come to me
That my younger siblings are there at
Kawa

In the great castle of the government
Where they reside in peace²⁷

²⁶ The four installments are: *Umia ke Aloha i Paa Iloko*, *Ike Hou Ana i ka Nani*, and two additional mele from the Queen’s songbook *He Buke Mele Hawaii* which I identify by their opening lines, “*Kalakalaihī Kahi Hapa Hai’ole*” (Oppressive Indeed is the Unspoken Portion), and “*Anoano ka Wehena o Kai Ao*” (Silent and Calm is the Opening of Dawn).

²⁷ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

The second line of this song in *He Buke Mele Hawaii* changes “your younger siblings are at *Kawa*” to “my younger siblings are at *Kawa*.” This is an indication that the Queen is speaking of her nephew, Kalaniana’ole.

<i>A oi alina i ka ike ana,</i>	A continual scar to see
<i>Ia paia kaulana hoihoi ole,</i>	Are those famed and unwanted walls
<i>Hookahi ike pu ana ka inea,</i>	Experiencing the same deprivation
<i>Me o’u pokii makaainana,</i>	With that of my citizen siblings
<i>Hookahi puana kou puuwai</i>	Only one message of your heart
<i>No ka poe i aloha ika aina</i>	For those who love the land ²⁸

The line, “*A oi ali a i ka ike ana,*” or “Until clearer, and until seen,” appears in the Queen’s typescript as “*A oi alina i ka ike ana,*” or “A continual scar to see.” The discrepancy in the lines is likely from a mistake in the typesetting of the newspaper. The final line published in *Ka Makaainana*, “*No ka poe i aloha i ka lahui,*” or “For those who love the people,” differs from the text in the *He Buke Mele Hawaii*. The text in the songbook reads, “*No ka poe i aloha i ka aina,*” or “For those who love the land.”

**“He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana’ole: Ike Hou Ana i ka Nani”
(Seeing the Beauty Again)**

This installment was published in *Ka Makaainana* on April 22, 1895. The first four lines of this installment once again, place the Queen within the walls

²⁸ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

of 'Iolani Palace, with a companion. The reference to “relaxing” and “a lifestyle like the rich” reinforce her placement within the palace.

<i>Ike hou ana i ka nani hanohano</i>	Seeing again the majestic beauty
<i>O Iolani Halealii</i>	Of Iolani Palace
<i>Elua maua e lualai nei</i>	We too were relaxing
<i>Me kuu hoa noho i ka ihikapu</i>	I and my companion who exists in sanctity
<i>Ka noho'na kohu a ka mea waiwai</i>	A lifestyle like the rich
<i>Hookulana imua a i hope</i>	Achieving status, both forward and back ²⁹

According to University of Hawai'i at Manoa professor Noenoe Silva (2004, 190), the second part of this *mele* recounts the Queen's relief upon hearing (or reading) that her jailed supporters had escaped death sentences.

<i>O ka hana no ia e ike nei</i>	That's what is done as seen now
<i>Ke aloha hoohakukoi waimaka</i>	Concern that causes tears to flow
<i>Mai na puka alohi ka ike'na iho</i>	From those glittering portals upon seeing
<i>Ka maalo ana o ke aloha aina</i>	The passing by of the patriot
<i>I ukaliia ma na aoao</i>	Escorted on all sides
<i>E na poe menehune aiwaiwa</i>	By those mystical <i>menehune</i> ³⁰
<i>Ua ko ae nei kuu makemake</i>	My desire has been fulfilled
<i>Ua hookuuia kuu lahui</i>	My people have been released. ³¹

The following is a translation of the first part of the version of the *mele* that appears in Lili'uokalani's *He Buke Mele Hawaii*.

²⁹ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

³⁰ Mystical dwarfs said to live in the forests. *Menehune* can be any of a multitude of forces that build things or gets things done, for better or for worse; they are a mystical force.

³¹ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

*Ike hou ana i ka nani hanohano
O Iolani Hale Alii
Elua maua me Kilioulani
E laula'i nei i ka ihi kapu*

Seeing again the majestic beauty
Of Iolani Palace
I and Kilioulani were relaxing
In the sanctity (rarified setting)³²

The version of this song that is in *He Buke Mele Hawaii* contains several changes to the text. The most prominent change is in the third line. Here, the Queen specifies that it was Kilioulani (Evelyn Wilson) who was the companion with whom the Queen was relaxing at the time of her arrest. Lines six and seven contain changes in the possessive pronouns.

**“He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Kalakalaihi Kahi Hapa Haiole”
(Oppressive Indeed is the Unspoken Portion)**

This is the first of the last two installments of this *mele inoa* that were printed solely in *He Buke Mele Hawaii* and not published in *Ka Makaainana*. It is unknown as to why they were not published in the newspaper.

In the first part of this installment, the Queen seemingly speaks in the voice of the annexationists as they compel her to acknowledge that “you were wrong” and that the Provisional Government has “more power” than “your people.” The voice of the annexationists proclaims their power of life and death over Lili’uokalani and her supporters.

³² Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

Kalakalaihi kahi hapa Haiole

*Kahiko ia e ke kapa mana,
E Kalani e, e ae oe ua hewa,*

*I pono ou lahui kanaka.
A eia mai ia'u kou ola,
A he mana ko'u imua o lakou 'la,
E hele oe imua i Waikini,
Ilaila kou pono e hiki ai,
Ka nohona mai a na Komisina,
O na aupuni nui o ke ao,
E hoolohe i ka pono o Liliulani,
E kaupona i ka make me ke ola,*

Oppressive indeed is the unspoken
portion
Adorned by a mantle of power
O Royal One, acknowledge you were
wrong
For the good of your people
Your life is here in my hands
And I have more power than they do
You shall go before Waikini ³³
There you shall find your justice
The convening of the commissioners
Of the great nations of the world
To listen to the justice of Liliulani
To weigh out life and death³⁴

In the last part of the *mele* the Queen reverts back to her own voice.

Here, she revels in the victory of life for her and her people in the wake of the
United States' intervention on their behalf, annulling their sentence to death
by firing squad.

*O ka hua o ke ola kai haina mai,
E ola o Liliu me ka lahui,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
O ke ola ia la a ke Akua,
Maha 'e nei loko me ka olioli,
Hoonani ke Akua mana kiekie,*

The word of life is what was uttered
Liliu and the people shall live.
To reach advanced old age
And that is life granted by God
The heart is relieved and joyous
Glorify God, the highest of powers³⁵

³³ W. A. Whiting

³⁴ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

³⁵ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

**“He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Anoano ka Wehena o Kai Ao”
(Silent and Calm is the Opening of Dawn)**

In this, the final segment of the *inoa* for Kalanianaʻole, the Queen is clearly annoyed at someone or something. She begins the song by describing the sounding of the cannons, named Opakahelu and Loholoa, at dawn.

<i>Heaha keia e halulu nei,</i>	What is this that is thundering?
<i>E naueue nei o ka papahale,</i>	Is causing the floor to sway?
<i>O ka pu keleawe pu kuniahi,</i>	The brass guns, the cannons,
<i>O Opakahelu me Loholoa,</i>	<i>Opakahelu and Loholoa,</i> ³⁶
<i>Ka holo ke mau ia iwaho a iloko,</i>	Continually sounding, outside and in,
<i>Lohe ia nei o ke kakahiaka,</i>	Heard in the morning,
<i>A ka welona a ka la i Lehua,</i>	To the setting of the sun at Lehua,
<i>Huli a'e mauka auwe-he-hene,</i>	Turn to the uplands, <i>auwe-he-hene</i> ,
<i>Hana mau ke keena o</i>	The offices of Keone Hoana are always
<i>Keono Hoana</i> ³⁷	working ³⁸

The line, “Turn to the uplands, *auwe-he-hene*” indicates that the Queen is mocking someone. The following line, “The offices of Keone Hoana are always working,” point to some sort of an office as the source of her annoyance. According to Puakea Nogelmeier (May, 2013), it is possible that the Queen is referring to sounds from a neighboring office in the palace. The Queen indicates that whoever or whatever the source of her annoyance is,

³⁶ Opakahelu and Loholoa are names of cannons, most likely the two brass field guns on the lawn at ʻIolani Palace.

³⁷ This is probably a typographical error. Keono should read Keone, which is Hawaiian for John.

³⁸ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

they are situated in the office just *mauka* (inland) from where she is. The name “Keone Hoana” could be the equivalent of the Queen referring to the someone as a “Johnny Threatener” or Johnny “Brandishing” but there is no way to validate specifically who this might be with the data in hand.

An examination of some of the Queen’s correspondences provides us with a clue as to the source of her annoyance. Emma Nawahi’s³⁹ letter to Lili’uokalani dated March 9, 1897, gives us insight as to how the Queen and her associates regarded the work of the pro-annexation newspapers.

“Their muttering and noisy newspapers and the *Ku’oko’a*⁴⁰ persist [sic] in curses, prying open everything on Her Majesty’s side but they don’t look.” (Nawahi to Lili’uokalani, 1897)

The Queen provides us with a clue as to the source of her annoyance in the next section of the song. The onomatopoeia of the lines “*u teke u, teketeke u, teketeke u, teke u, teke u*” could be the Queen imitating the constant sounding of the typewriters of the pro-republic press.

<i>I ka u teke u, teketeke u,</i>	<i>At the u teke u, teketeke u,</i>
<i>Teketeke u, teke u, teke u,</i>	<i>Teketeke u, teke u, teke u,</i>
<i>Iloko a i waho, i waho a iloko,</i>	<i>Inside and out, outside and in,</i>
<i>Uluhwa i kahi mikina hana mau</i>	<i>Annoyed by some relentless machine,</i>
<i>Ka holo ke, ka uteke, holo ke u.</i>	<i>The running, the tapping, running u⁴¹</i>

³⁹ Emma ‘Aima Nawahi (1854-1934), wife of Hawaiian patriot Joseph Nawahi.

⁴⁰ *Ka Nupepa Ku’oko’a* was one of the pro-annexation Hawaiian language newspapers.

⁴¹ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

While the Queen could be referencing anything from the sound of guns going off in the distance to the footsteps of the guard outside her door, the insight provided us by Emma Nawahi's letter, suggests that the source of the Queen's aggravation was likely the pro-annexation press.

The typescript of this final installment of "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole" is dated March 3, 1895. The date implies that the whole of the *mele inoa* for Kalaniana'ole was composed in and around that date. The accuracy of this date is difficult to substantiate as there exists no holographic manuscript of these *mele inoa*. Since the first four of these *mele inoa* were published during the month of April, 1895, it is conceivable that the Queen wrote the songs at that time, then kept the texts in her prison apartment for over a month, waiting for F. J. Testa's release from O'ahu prison.

As noted by University of Hawai'i at Manoa historian Noenoe Silva, these *mele inoa* reassured the Native Hawaiian population that their Queen had not abandoned the struggle for the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Nation. In answer to the Queen's *mele*, several of her jailed supporters reciprocated the Queen's communications by responding with their own *mele*, published in *Ka Makaainana* over the ensuing weeks (Silva 2004, 190-191).

There exist a common musical motif in the songs from April and May of 1895. The melodies for *Kilioulani* and the last two *mele inoa* for Kalaniana'ole in *He Buke Mele Hawaii* share melodies that commence on the third of the diatonic scale. These melodies ascend diatonically, eventually leaping up the interval of a perfect fifth (or sixth). The earliest melodic notations of the last two *mele inoa* for Kalaniana'ole are from 1897. Since the holographic manuscript for *Kilioulani* is dated March 22, 1895, and the song was never published, it is possible that the Queen borrowed the melodic motif from that song and utilized it for the two *mele inoa*. The significance of these shared melodic motifs is otherwise unknown.

The Songs of June, 1895

On her first night in prison, the Queen opened her *Book of Common Prayer* and read from Psalm XXXI. The lines in and around the following verses are highlighted and annotated in the Queen's hand. Her notes are dated January 16, 1895, the date of her arrest.

5. Draw me out of the net, that they have laid privily for me: for thou art my strength.
6. Into thy hands I commend my spirit: for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth.
7. I have hated them that hold of superstitious vanities: and my trust hath been in the Lord.

8. I will be glad, and rejoice in thy mercy: for thou hast considered my trouble, and hast known my soul in adversities.

9. Thou hast not shut me up into the hand of the enemy: but hast set my feet in a large room.

The Queen relied heavily upon the verses found in her *Book of Common Prayer* for inspiration as well as textual content for the last four songs composed during her imprisonment. The songs were written in an a capella church choir genre – hymns - and arranged for four voices.

“Ke Aloha o ka Haku” (The Lord’s Mercy)

While the Queen was imprisoned she was not allowed the use of pen and ink, but was supplied with pencil and paper. She occupied her time in composing music. At our request she kindly took up her instrument, the autoharp, and sang for us a couple of songs. One of them was composed while she was a prisoner, and is entitled, Liliuokalani’s Prayer. (Durham, 1897)

The Queen’s holographic score for “Ke Aloha o ka Haku” (The Lord’s Mercy)⁴² is dated June 4, 1895. This is the only one out of the four religious songs composed during June of 1895 to be released from her prison apartment for sheet music publication. See Appendix 2.8c for the full text of the following version of “Ke Aloha o ka Haku.”

*Ko`u noho mihi `ana
A pa`ahao `ia*

I live in sorrow
Imprisoned

⁴² “Ke Aloha o ka Haku” was also titled “Lili’oukalani’s Prayer.” Today it is commonly known as “The Queen’s Prayer.”

`O `oe ku`u lama
Kou nani ko`u ko`o

You are my light
Your glory, my support

Mai nana `ino`ino
Na hewa o kanaka
Aka e huikala
A ma`ema`e no

Behold not with malevolence
The sins of man
But forgive
And cleanse

“Ke Aloha o ka Haku” is dedicated to the Queen’s niece, Princess Ka’iulani,⁴³ who was the heir apparent to the throne. Here, with the words, “I live in sorrow, Imprisoned,” we see the only explicit reference to the Queen’s imprisonment in her published works from this period.

As noted by University of California at Santa Cruz Music Professor, Linda Burman-Hall, the first six notes of this piece bear a striking resemblance to melodic motifs employed in George Frederic Handel’s duet, “He Shall Feed His Flock” from *The Messiah, Part I*. As the organist at the Kawaiaha’o Church in the 1860’s, the Queen would have been familiar with the works of Handel, particularly his *Messiah*. Furthermore, a search through nineteenth century newspapers produced several concert announcements and reviews of this piece and of “Come Unto Him,” the second part of the duet. It is within reason to suggest that the Queen employed the motif from

⁴³ Victoria Ka’iulani Kalaninuiāhiālapalapa Kāwekiūi Lunalilo (1875-1899).

Handel's piece for the opening of "Ke Aloha o ka Haku," then expanded on it to create this work.

Throughout "Ke Aloha o ka Haku," Lili'uokalani expresses the hope that both she and Ka'iulani will have the strength to forgive their adversaries for having denied them their royal birthright. The song espouses the religious ideals and tenets of Euro-American settler colonials; ideals and tenets that the Queen had, in the course of her life, wholeheartedly internalized. Ironically, it was the agents of this culture that overthrew her rule, brought about the imprisonment and suffering delineated in this song, and effectuated the appropriation of the islands into the dominant sphere of the United States.

"The Queen's Prayer" is one of the Lili'uokalani's most popular pieces. It has been performed and recorded by church choirs as well as a multitude of popular artists around the world. In Hawai'i, it is often used in the benediction portion of church services. The song is roundly recognized as one of religious devotion and forgiveness. Yet, in the years after it was written, it was condemned by the Queen's enemies as profane.

Surely no one could read double meanings of sensuality, heresy, lasciviousness or lewdness in to [into] this song. Yet in the years that followed it was so construed. (Allen 1982, 349)

After her release from prison, Lili'uokalani inscribed a curious note along the bottom of one of her typewritten manuscripts of "Liliuokalani's Prayer." That note read: "Composed during my imprisonment at 'Iolani Palace, March 22nd, 1895 by the Missionary Party who overthrew my government" (See Figure 1).⁴⁴ I propose that this note, written on the manuscript of a song of piety, virtue, and compassion, is a calling out of the Queen's enemies.

In this inscription, Lili'uokalani refers to her jailers as members of the "Missionary Party;" not the "Downtown Party" or the "Reform Party" (other names under which the Missionary Party existed). Neither does the Queen simply address them as members of the Provisional Government. The Queen also specifies that this party (of "missionaries") overthrew her government; a flagrant act of colonial hegemony that disregarded internationally recognized principles of sovereignty as well as the nationhood that the Hawaiian Kingdom acquired earlier in that century.

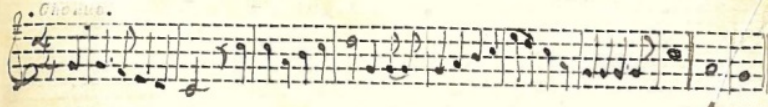
⁴⁴ The date (March 22nd, 1895) is likely incorrect. The date on the Queen's holographic score reads June 5, 1895. A close inspection of the document reveals that "Iolani Palace" and the date (March 22nd, 1895) may have been penned in at a different time than the rest of the annotation.

Figure 1. "Liliuokalani's Prayer" with the Queen's annotation.
From *He Buke Mele Hawaii* (The Hawai'i State Archives)

-LILIUOKALANI'S PRAYER-
Ke aloha o ka Eke.
The Lord's Mercy.

By Liliuokalani.
Lovingly dedicated to
niece Victoria Kaiulani

Chorus.



A. Owen.

<p>1. O keu aloha no, Ata i ka lani, A o kou oiato, He hemolele hoi.</p> <p>2. Ko'u noho mihi ana, A paakao ia, O oe hu'u lama, Kou nani ko'u hoo.</p> <p>3. Kai nana inoio, Na hewa o kanaka, Aha e huikala, A maemae no.</p> <p>4. Nolaila e ka Eke, Nalalo o kou eheu, Ko mahou maluhia, A mau loa aku no. Amene.</p>	<p>1. Oh! Lord thy loving mercy, Is high as the heavens, It tells us thy truth, And 'tis filled with holiness.</p> <p>2. Whilst humbly meditating, Within these walls imprisoned, Thou art my light my haven, Thy glory my support.</p> <p>3. Oh! look not on their failings, Nor on the sins of men, Forgive with loving kindness, That we might be made pure.</p> <p>4. For thy grace I beseech thee, Bring us neath thy protection, And peace will be our portion, Now and forever more. Amen.</p>
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*Composed during my imprisonment at Iolani Palace
by the Missionary party who overthrew
my government. March 22^d 1895*

The Queen's notation raises the issue of how she viewed her former captors. I propose that with this inscription, the Queen vilifies her adversaries

for their un-Christian and therefore uncivilized actions in regard to the overthrow of her government and her imprisonment. Throughout her writings, it is not uncommon to see the Queen disparage her Christian adversaries. In her diary entry dated Sunday, February 5, 1893, Lili'oukalani writes of her disappointment with the political content of the missionaries' sermons.

Do not feel like going to church – perhaps never more. I never saw a more unchristian like set as these Missionaries and so uncharitable as to abuse me in the manner they do from the pulpit. Is it godly – No – It makes me feel as if I would not like to do any thing [sic] more for Churches. (Siler 2012, 230)

In an excerpt from *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, Lili'uokalani defends her signing of a bill authorizing lotteries by placing the responsibility for the inception of the bill onto “so-called” Christians.

I am not defending lotteries. They are not native productions of my country, but introduced into our “heathen” land by so-called Christians, from a Christian nation, who have [sic] erected monuments, universities, and legislative halls by that method... The missionary party represented me as a grand vender of lottery tickets, by which I was to become rich and powerful; whereas the scheme, be it good or bad, would not have been to my individual profit, but to that of my native people. (Lili'uokalani 1964, 240)

In her diary entry from Wednesday, February 8, 1893 the Queen writes:

Went to Paoakalani, came home at two. Drove by the Palace and would not look at the American flag over the Government building. Time may wear off the feeling of injury by and by – but my dear flag – the Hawaiian flag – that a strange flag should wave over it. May heaven look down on these Missionaries and punish them for their deeds. (Lili'uokalani February 8, 1893 diary entry, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives)

And in another excerpt from *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, the Queen takes her fellow Presbyterians to task over their dearth of support for her during her imprisonment.

[A]lthough I had been a regular attendant on the Presbyterian worship since my childhood, a constant contributor to all the missionary societies, and had helped to build their churches and ornament the walls, giving my time and my musical ability freely to make their meetings attractive to my people, yet none of these pious church members or clergymen remembered me in my prison. (Lili'uokalani 1964, 269)

At first glance, “The Queen’s Prayer” is a religious hymn; a song of piety in which the Queen appeals to God for mercy and the strength to act with compassion even towards her most reviled enemies. When viewed in the context of the Queen’s writings and the circumstances surrounding its composition, this inscription, “Composed during my imprisonment at ‘Iolani Palace, March 22nd, 1895 by the Missionary Party who overthrew my

government.” transforms the song from a hymn of praise and worship, to a spiritual song of protest.

Today, “Liliuokalani’s Prayer” is known throughout the islands as “The Queen’s Prayer.” To refer to this song as “The Queen’s Prayer” instead of “Liliuokalani’s Prayer” serves to remind the listening public that Lili’uokalani was once the ruler of a sovereign Hawaiian Nation. Therefore, the title “The Queen’s Prayer,” in itself, reflects resistance to the American takeover of the islands.

E Kuu Hoola (My Savior)

As with “The Queen’s Prayer,” *E Kuu Hoola* was composed in the beginning of June, 1895. It was around that time that the Queen began to hear rumors of her impending release to house arrest at her home, Washington Place. The songs composed during this period reflect the Queen’s joy and relief at hearing these rumors in addition to learning of the piecemeal release of her counter-revolutionary brethren from O’ahu prison.

*E kuu Hoola,
E ku mai i luna
Pale aku Oe,
Me kou mana nui*

My saviour,
Rise up,
Fend off,
With your great power,

*Ika poe hana ino,
Hoopilikia mai,
A hoopaahao wale
I ka mea hala o – le*

The evildoers,
Who trouble me,
And imprison,
The faultless one⁴⁵

In this song, the Queen identifies herself as a righteous soul, “The faultless one,” and designates her adversaries, those who call themselves the “Missionary Party,” as “evil-doers.” An examination of her *Book of Common Prayer* reveals markings alongside verses and prayers that reflect the Queen’s assessment of herself as a “righteous soul.” Notes can be found next to passages that reinforce her appraisal of her enemies as “evil-doers.” There are no annotations alongside passages that would indicate that she viewed herself as a sinner in need of redemption. The song concludes with the Queen giving thanks to God for her salvation, and with an inherent promise that she will, in exchange, see to it that His “desires will come to pass, so your will be done.”

Leha ‘Ku Kou Mau Maka (I Lift My Eyes)

The final two songs from the Queen’s imprisonment utilize the text from her *Book of Common Prayer*. The holographic manuscript for *Leha ‘Ku Kou Mau Maka (I Lift My Eyes)* is dated June 5, 1895.

⁴⁵ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

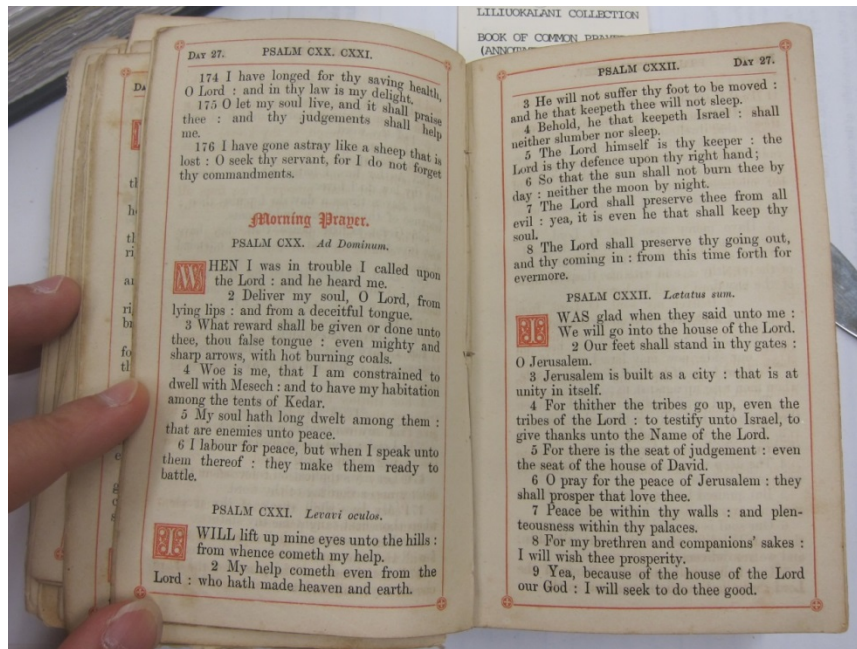


Figure 2. Lili'uokalani's *Book of Common Prayer*, Psalm 121. (Hawai'i State Archives, Lili'uokalani Collection)

The Queen sought support and inspiration from her *Book of Common Prayer*, which she had in her possession for the duration of the imprisonment. In this song, she gives thanks to God for his protection during her time of need. The text for *Leha 'Ku Kou Mau Maka* is from Psalm 121.

Himeni Hoole a Davida (David's Hymn of Praise)

The *Himeni Hoole a Davida* is an unfinished work. The holographic manuscript is undated. In her manuscript, the Queen has outlined her basic chord progressions with whole notes, half notes, and a few passing quarter notes. The text is from Psalm 124.

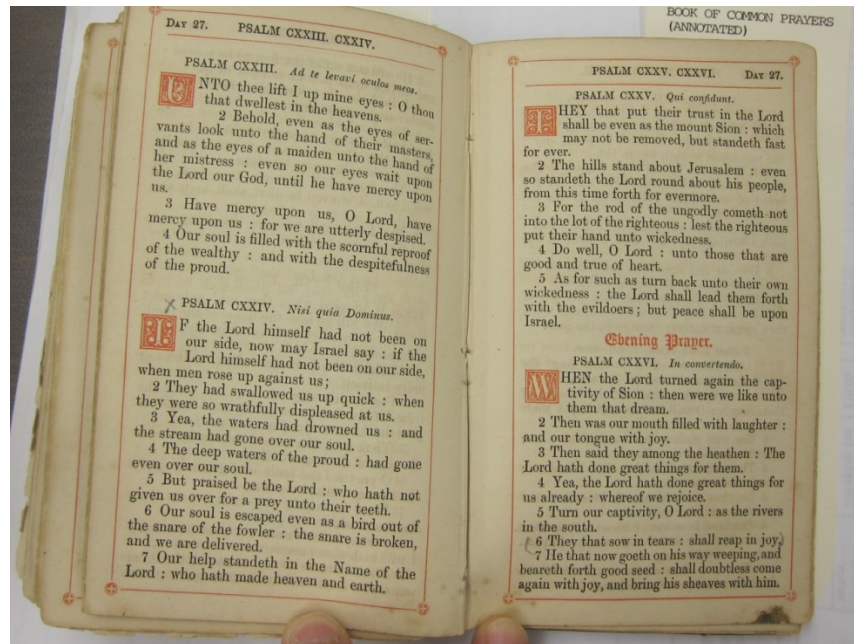


Figure 3. Lili'uokalani's *Book of Common Prayer*, Psalm 124. (Hawai'i State Archives, Lili'uokalani Collection)

*E hoomaikai ia o Jehova
Ka mea haawi ole ia kakou*

i waiwai pio i ko lakou niho

*Ua hoopakele ia no ko kakou
u hane*

*Me he manu la mai ka hei
ana 'ku ika poe lawaia manu*

*Ua moku ka upena
A ua hoopakele ia kakou*

But praised be the Lord
Who hath not given us over for a
prey
unto their teeth

Our soul is escaped even as a bird
Out of the snare of the fowler

So the snare is broken
And we are delivered⁴⁶

In this hymn the Queen rejoices in the righteousness of her cause. The line, "Our soul is escaped even as a bird," implies that she has heard the

⁴⁶ Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier.

rumors of her impending release from 'Iolani Palace. The reference to snared birds is similar to the one she employs in *Kilioulani*.

Chapter Three: Trans Temporal Perspectives

Lili'uokalani was held captive at 'Iolani Palace for a period just short of eight months. She was released from her confinement at the palace apartment on September 6, 1895 and spent the remainder of her sentence under house arrest at her private residence, Washington Place. She was pardoned by Republic of Hawai'i President Sanford Dole on October 23, 1896. The Hawaiian Islands were annexed to the United States in 1898, against the wishes of an overwhelming majority of the Native Hawaiian population.⁴⁷

In the years following her release from prison, Lili'uokalani was characterized as a "crushed and bitterly disappointed woman" (Anaconda Standard, January 20, 1896). After the annexation of the islands to the United States, the pro-annexationist periodical, *The Mid Pacific*, claimed that the Queen's political stance was, "that her people should freely accept the changes that followed the revolution, and be good American citizens" (Mid Pacific, 1911).

⁴⁷ During the 1890's, two anti-annexation petitions were circulated among the Native Hawaiians. Over 38,000 signatures were affixed to the petitions. University of Hawai'i Professor Noenoe Silva (2004, 151) writes that, "Even considering the likelihood that some people signed both petitions, the total number of signatures is impressive given that the population of Kanaka Maoli [Native Hawaiians] at the time was around 40,000."

The Queen acknowledged that the time of kings, and queens and nobility had passed, but continued to work tirelessly for an independent Hawaiian Nation. She continued to write music. Her post-imprisonment music is more overtly political than that which was composed before her reign. After the American annexation of the islands, the Queen was often seen clad in black, perhaps in mourning for the passing of her nation. She passed away in November of 1917 due to complications from a stroke at the age of seventy-nine.

After the Queen's death in 1917, the Uluhaimalama garden was destroyed by the Hawaiian Territorial government to prevent its use as a rallying point for those fighting the annexation of the islands to the United States. The plants and flowers that once signified the hopes and dreams for the blossoming of a resistance movement and the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Nation were replaced by corpses as the gardens were transformed into a cemetery. Today some Hawaiians believe that because the plants were replaced by *kupuna* (ancestors), the site of the former garden is holier than it was previous to its destruction (KFVE, 2011).

The garden at Paoakalani remained a part of the Queen's estate until her death. Upon her death, the garden was conveyed into the Liliuokalani

Trust. According to records at the Hawai'i State Bureau of Conveyances, in 1966, the Trust leased the land upon which the garden grew to a hospitality corporation. The garden was then uprooted to make way for a Holiday Inn. That Holiday Inn is now the Marriott Resort and Spa in Waikiki.

The story to Paoakalani is emblematic of the conflict between cultures, i.e., between the *kama'ainas* and *haoles* that still exist in the islands today. The ancient Hawaiians viewed themselves as caretakers of the land. They tended to their *pono*, which signified the balance or state of well-being between the human spirit and the environment. To the ancient Hawaiians, this balance between human beings and the environment was of paramount importance. The concept of commodification of natural resources was utterly foreign to them.

One of the Queen's foremost concerns during her lifetime was the potential demise of traditional Hawaiian culture. Throughout her life, she fought against western commercial interests and sought to ensure the viability of the values of traditional Hawaiian society. Yet in the twentieth century, the focus of the Hawaiian economy has been the commodification of Native Hawaiian culture and its employment as a device in beckoning

tourists to the islands to further fill the coffers of multinational hotel and resort corporations.

Affective Devotion and the Queen

I was born and raised in Hilo, the quintessentially “locals” town of the Hawaiian Islands and my ancestral roots in Hawai’i stretch back to the late nineteenth century. Despite my deep roots in the islands, it would be inappropriate for me to refer to myself as “Hawaiian.” Because I have lived in California for several decades, my positioning in the islander community is one where I am regarded as not a local anymore, but as a returning *kama’aina*.⁴⁸ On the mainland, I am a Japanese American but in Hawai’i, I am Japanese. Although I would be an insider to the East Asian plantation immigrant culture of Hawai’i, I am not an insider to the Native Hawaiian culture. Nevertheless, my positioning as a returning *kama’aina* provides me with the insight into local culture and the ability to relate to other *kama’ainas* as a quasi-insider.

Perhaps the most difficult challenge of this thesis was to find a translator willing to deconstruct and delve into the myriad of potential

⁴⁸ The term *kama’aina* in modern day Hawai’i denotes a person who is a “local,” someone who has lived in the islands for a substantial amount of time.

messages within the Queen's songs. This project was delayed when the person who agreed to do the translations backed out of the project several months after agreeing to do the work. During our final conversation, the translator burst into tears while discussing one of the Queen's songs. When I inquired as to the source of her distress, she replied that we should not question the Queen's translations of her pieces. She said that the Queen's words should be left undisturbed.⁴⁹ This would not have sufficed for my thesis research as the Queen's translations were likely done for lyrical concerns and those translations did not encompass the underlying meanings to her lyrics.

I made two trips to Hawai'i in the course of my research. During these visits, I encountered several other *kama'ainas* who exhibited strong emotions ranging from anger to tears of upset upon learning of the nature of this project. Fortunately, I was able to enlist the help of Professor Puakea Nogelmeier of the Hawaiian Language Department at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa to translate the Queen's lyrics for this project.

The issue of affective devotion to the Queen is central to how the Queen and her music is perceived in Hawai'i today. Affective devotion for

⁴⁹ The Queen provided translations for "Ke Aloha o ka Haku," "Kuu Pua i Paoakalani," the *Himene Hoole a Davida* and "Aloha Oe."

Lili'uokalani can be traced to her as a maternal figure in Hawaiian politics. Lili'uokalani's nurturing relationship with her people was embodied in her willingness to sacrifice her life for the rights of her people. The Queen's concern for the viability of her people was reflected in her insistence that Hawaiians not shed a single drop of blood over the restoration of her rule. This dictate came from a Queen who, during her lifetime, witnessed the precipitous decline in the population of her people due to infertility and deaths from mass contagion. Today, the Queen, by way of her Lili'uokalani Trust, funds the Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center which provides for the poor and orphaned children of the islands.

In his article, "A Child Born of the Land," Gregory Clark (2012) links Benedict Anderson's principles on nationhood to affective devotion for the Queen in the music of modern day Hawai'i. He argues that music is an essential component in the healing of the wounds inflicted by the seizure of the Hawaiian Islands by American settler colonials. Clark writes of the importance of traditional Hawaiian narratives. These narratives are imbued with references to mythical sites in the islands and these sites are linked to Native Hawaiian identity. In the decades since the arrival of the Europeans and Americans in the islands, the land upon which many of these places were

situated were acquired by foreigners. This resulted in a state of disjuncture between the Hawaiians and their storied places (Clark 2012, 257).

Clark incorporates Kenneth's Burke's works on persuasion and identity into his piece. He also incorporates Burke's writings on the influence of rhetoric and aesthetic into his argument on alienation and communal identity. In "Art and the First Rough Draft of Living," Burke states:

For our sense of reality is shaped largely not by our own immediate sensory experience, but by what others tell us, in theologies, philosophies, textbooks, stories, poems, dramas, news gossip, and the like. (Burke 1964, 158)

Clark's (2012, 254, 255) assessment is that "we recount our experience to others and others recount theirs to us to make sense of the world we share" Thus, if alienation is a crisis of identity, and if identity is perceived as primarily communal, then the trauma of alienation can be caused by the destruction of the communal aspect of identity.

Benedict Anderson wrote that nationhood "is imagined because, the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the images of their communion" (Anderson 2006, 6). Clark (2012, 255) states that there are few "immediate experiences that the diverse people who populate such a nation *can* share. That is why nations provide places where individuals

can each have the same experience of their nation – in national museums, monuments and parks.” For the Hawaiians, the inability to travel to their mythical settings produced a traumatic disconnect with their cultural identity. According to Clark, (2012, 259) the ability to sing of these mythical places, especially in a communal setting, can engender a shared sense of identity. This communal singing can be of help in reclaiming a lost Hawaiian identity.

During the 1890’s, limitations were placed upon the Native Hawaiian community, restricting their ability to gather in public places. Because of the nature of the Hawaiian language with its varied levels of meanings extracted from the subtlety of context, *mele* was the perfect medium for the transmission of coded messages. For the Queen’s supporters, the experience of sharing these messages embedded within the Queen’s songs would have been significant in sustaining a communal identity; a shared way of life. Once the Queen’s songs were disseminated into the Native Hawaiians population, the shared understandings of the coded messages could have served as a healing agent for the alienation endured by their community during the months of her imprisonment.

Throughout the course of the twentieth century, “Aloha Oe” has been transformed into both a song of mourning over the loss of the Hawaiian Nation and a kitschy song of longing. Although “Aloha Oe” has always been, and is still a love song, there have been unavoidable temptations over the years, most likely because of its sentimental nature, to tint the song with the hue of politics. Lydia Aholo, Lili’oukalani’s *hanai* daughter ascribes a political slant to her mother’s in-prison notation of the song by proposing that the reference to the *lehua* blossom in the song suggests a desire for the “unity of the people and the land” (Allen 1982, 346). This statement infers that the appropriation of the islands by the United States produced a disjunctive state between the Native Hawaiian people and their homeland. Aholo also states that the Provisional Government’s interpretation of the emergence of the manuscript from her mother’s cell was that it was a concession from the Queen; a heartfelt acknowledgement as to the demise of the monarchy and the Hawai’i of old. In his article, “Being Blue in Hawai’i” Bruce Harvey (2011, 12) writes of the Queen’s in-prison notation of “Aloha Oe,” arguing that since the song was conceived during happier times, that “Liliuokalani herself linked the song to the loss of her nation.”

In *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, Lili'uokalani writes of her first tour of O'ahu as heir to the throne and the happier times during which, the song was written:

I have been thus careful in reviewing this my first trip as heir to the throne, both because it is a pleasure to recall the memory of that epoch in my life, and further that I may speak with pride of the continued affection, of the unshaken love, of these my people. . . . [T]hey have shown that their love and loyalty to our family in general, and to myself in particular, have known no change nor diminution, even under the circumstances, now so different from those of twenty years ago. (Lili'uokalani 1964, 59-60)

As a song of wistful separation, "Aloha Oe" is in itself a song of affective longing. If we accept that the song was written as Lili'uokalani's longing to the farewell between Likelike and Colonel Boyd in the midst of their "illicit" affair, and if we accept that the notation of the song in prison was a transference of the Queen's longing for happier times that are represented by pre-European contact Hawaiian mores and values, we can associate the open sexual practices of pre European contact Hawai'i as a metaphor for the societal values of traditional Hawaiian culture. Bruce Harvey argues that in this manner, the Queen's notation of "Aloha Oe" while imprisoned can be interpreted as her observation on the waning of the Hawai'i of old and a yearning for the resurrection of that culture.

According to Helen Allen's (1982, 399) biography of the Queen, Lili'uokalani had said of "Aloha Oe" that, "It is a love song" and, "Not a funeral dirge." Yet, the song was performed several times during the Queen's funeral services in 1917. The funeral performances of the song took place in spite of the Queen's request that "it never be sung at any funeral service but one," the funeral service of Henry Berger. Ironically, there is no record of the song having been performed at Berger's funeral.

In modern day Hawai'i, "Aloha Oe" is often performed in the islands to close concerts and ceremonies. It is regarded almost as an anthem and it is not unusual for audiences to rise to their feet as the song begins. Curiously, many performances and recordings of the song are marked by extremely slow, dirge-like tempos, as if the artists' interpretation of the song is in agreement with the Provisional Government's 1895 assessment of it as a farewell to the Hawaiian Nation.

During the course of my study, the question was raised as to why Lili'uokalani's seven prison songs have not been researched until now. University of Hawai'i American History Professor Noelani Arista notes that there are usually political reasons as to why certain research is not performed. The politics of the Territory of Hawai'i in the years after the imprisonment

and the Queen's death did not provide much incentive for anyone to delve into the Queen's activities in prison. Certainly, the Queen's imprisonment would have been an untidy detail of the past that many would have preferred to let slip into oblivion.

Another reason might stem, at least in part, from "Ke Aloha o ka Haku" or "The Queen's Prayer" itself. As the only published song composed by the Queen that directly addressed her internment, the lines, "I live in sorrow, Imprisoned," (see Appendix 2.8c) were the only clues as to what the Queen endured during her incarceration. The general public's interpretation of those lines has been that the Queen's imprisonment was a time of humiliation, regret, and immense sadness. The topic of the Queen's in-prison works became one associated with pain, disgrace, shame, and angst. As a result, a *kapu* (forbidden) sign was placed upon research regarding the Queen's time in prison by the island community.

Lisa Mitchell writes of the power of affect in her book, *Language, Emotion and Politics in South India*. She writes of the mother tongue, the language imparted upon a child in the hearth and home, and its definitive role in affective motivation. According to Mitchell (2009, 19), language is a foundation for national identity and of the "romantic investment in the

natural, unprocessed, and unrefined speech of the common people” She states:

This representation of embattlement against a rival language, or victimization and loss at the hands of its representatives, can also mobilize a mother tongue as an alibi for a powerful group to claim the right to represent those who are less powerful. (Mitchell 2009, 24)

In the Hawai’i of the twenty-first century, the late Queen is regarded by the Native Hawaiian population as a mother figure. This image harkens back to the mutually nurturing symbiotic relationship between the *ali’i* and the *kama’ainana* of pre-European contact Hawai’i. Lili’uokalani was also a *Lehua*, a warrior who maneuvered her people through a landscape of mass death and capitalist opportunists. She was a solitary heroine imprisoned for the attempt at restoring the voting rights of the “common people.” She was an advocate for traditional Hawaiian culture and fought against the commercialization and commodification of the islands. Although Lili’uokalani was incarcerated at ‘Iolani Palace and not with the rebels at O’ahu prison, she nevertheless endured her punishment along with them. Because of this simultaneous imprisonment, the Queen is regarded as a comrade in arms with the *kama’ainana* patriots. The perception of the Queen as a maternal figure willing to sacrifice her life for her people, a comrade in

arms, and an advocate for the commoner, substantiates the deep feelings of affective devotion for her present in much of the Hawaiian community today.

In his article, “Da Kine Sounds: The Function of Music as Social Protest in the New Hawaiian Renaissance,” George Lewis (1984, 40) writes, “The fact that music is not often taken seriously as a political activity often gives musicians and singers more license to reach a broad range of audiences than would be possible for other types of political activists.” The Provisional Government’s censors would not have imagined that a song about the Queen’s favorite flower garden could contain subversive messages. And surely their censors must have interpreted “Ke Aloha o ka Haku” as a concession by the Queen, humbled and broken by her imprisonment. These interpretations have likewise been the perception of these songs by the general public.

I propose that there are three reasons behind the mistaken perception of these pieces by the Hawaiian community. First, there are multiple levels of masking in the Queen’s prison oeuvre, especially in “Ku’u Pua i Paoakalani” and “Ke Aloha o ka Haku,” the two pieces that were passed from the prison apartment. Because they were to be scrutinized by the Provisional Government’s censors before their release to the public, the Queen had to be

certain that any and all traces of rebellion or resentment were eradicated from the song texts. Therefore, instead of writing of her anger, the Queen wrote of the Christian values of humility and forgiveness.

Second, because of the linguistic hegemony perpetuated upon the islands over the last century, the overwhelming majority of the population in Hawai'i does not speak or understand the Hawaiian language. To further complicate matters, the use of *kaona* (hidden meanings) has cloaked the meanings to these musical texts.

Third, the Hawaiian musical aesthetic is that the quality of a piece of music is judged by its allure and its ability to be transmitted with ease through oral tradition. It is the exceptional beauty of a piece of music, not whether or not it has been written down, that deems it worthy of perpetuation. This aesthetic places an obligation upon musicians to perform Hawaiian songs in a pleasing manner. These performance practices serve to further obscure deeply imbedded communications of politics, angst and anger that might be present within the texts of Hawaiian music.

The Hawaiian Renaissance

The 1970's saw a revival in Hawaiian culture which has come to be known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. Hawaiian music in particular, has played a profound role in the renaissance. George Lewis notes the significance of contemporary Hawaiian protest songs in linking social concerns to traditional musical forms. He writes that the contemporary Hawaiian musical artists have successfully linked social concerns "to the central values and symbols of the Hawaiian people, giving them at the same time, cultural legitimacy and emotional urgency" (Lewis 1984, 49-50).

In August, 2012, I interviewed contemporary Hawaiian musical artist, Henry Kapono. In the interview, Kapono stated that a key factor in his decision to render an uptempo, folk rock performance of "The Queen's Prayer" on his 2006 album *The Wild Hawaiian* is a desire to see reconciliation between the opposing sides of the sovereignty movement and modern day American Hawai'i (Kapono 2012). In March of 2013, I interviewed Cyril Pahinui, son of slack key guitar master, Gabby Pahinui. Like Kapono, Pahinui expressed similar desires to accept what has already transpired in the past. Pahinui's view is that, "In the end, these things were meant to be" (Pahinui, 2013).

Conversely, other artists such as Palani Vaughan argue for “the return and restoration of the Kingdom of Hawai’i” (Palani Vaughan, August 30, 2012, email message to the author). Deceased musical artists George Helm and Israel Kamakawiwo’ole (a.k.a. ‘Bruddah Iz’) were activists who also advocated for the return of lands to the Hawaiians as well as for Hawaiian sovereignty.

One of the touchstones of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement was the apology issued by President Bill Clinton in 1993 to the Hawaiian people for the involvement of the United States Navy in the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. Currently, there are discussions within the Hawaiian community planning for the formation of a government of a sovereign Hawaiian Nation in the event the islands are granted independence from the United States.

Chapter Four: Conclusion

Contrary to the way she was characterized by her political adversaries, Lili'uokalani was a steadfast advocate for the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands. While the Queen's public writings were largely directed toward the general population, much of it was aimed toward directing American public opinion. Her *mele* however, were composed for the hearts and minds of the *kama'ainana*; the Native Hawaiians who looked to her for reassurance and guidance through those tumultuous times. The Queen's music has been misconstrued over the decades, perhaps because of the highly emotional political events that led to the overthrow of her rule, her subsequent imprisonment, and the controversial annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States.

Although the Queen conceived of "Aloha Oe" as love song, its sentimentality in conjunction with the release of the Queen's handwritten manuscript from her prison apartment has inspired some to assume a context of political insinuations. Consequently, over the years the song has been transformed into one of mourning over the loss of the Hawaiian Nation. Though originally conceived as a song of yearning for a lover's return,

“Aloha Oe” has since been perverted beyond the assumed political context into a song of touristic yearning for a return to a kitschy vacation destination. It perpetuates an illusion of the islands put forth by the hospitality industry as a luxuriant tropical paradise. This illusion is of an Hawai’i as a commercialized paradise. It is a vacation destination that commodifies traditional Hawaiian culture, the very culture whose preservation the Queen advocated for during her lifetime.

Similarly, over the decades, the Queen’s music evolved to reflect her changing political perspective. When we examine “He Mele Lahui Hawaii” we see a young princess who composes a hymn of praise to God when asked to compose a national anthem. When we look at “He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana’ole,” we see that same princess, now matured into an embattled queen, deposed and incarcerated by her adversaries. With the *mele inoa* for Kalaniana’ole, she reaches out from her prison apartment and extends structural tendrils into the Hawaiian community. Through these *mele inoa*, she attempts to rally the community around her by communicating directly with her people and vilifying her captors. The *mele inoa* reach back through the decades of Hawaiian cultural history and in the manner of traditional Hawaiian chants, historicize the events of the day.

As songs that were passed from the prison apartment to the outside world, “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani” and “Ke Aloha o ka Haku” had to be fashioned in a manner so that the Provisional Government’s censors would believe the songs were harmless popular tunes. These songs could not contain any trace of anger or resentment and had to seem to be devoid of political communications. Nevertheless, a close inspection of the chorus of “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani” reveals a gesture of acknowledgement to the Queen’s allies who gathered at her garden, Uluhaimalama. These supporters sent her newspaper clippings along with notes expressing their love and support hidden in boxes of flowers. These items, which were forbidden to her by her jailers, reinforced the Queen’s spirits and kept her informed of the political events of the day.

The significance of “Ke Aloha o ka Haku” derives not so much from what is contained in the text of the song, but what has been left out. The Queen’s post-imprisonment inscription on the typescript of this song, “Composed during my imprisonment at Iolani Palace March 22, 1895 by the Missionary Party who overthrew my government,” is an indication of her disdain for those who identified themselves with the “Missionary” political party. An examination of the Queen’s letters and journals reveals that the Queen frequently employs the word “missionary” as a derogatory term. Her

use of that term upon the manuscript of a song of humility, forgiveness, and praise for the Christian God implies that the Queen regards herself as a truer Christian than those who call themselves the “Missionary” Party. When placed in perspective with the Queen’s letters and entries in her journals, I conclude that the song “Ke Aloha o ka Haku” should be regarded as a religious song of protest; a spiritual instead of a hymn of praise.

The question remains as to how we, as cross-cultural musicologists, should regard the remaining three “hymns” covered in this thesis (*E Kuu Hoola, Leha ‘Ku Kou Mau Maka* and the *Himani Hoole a Davida*) in regards to taxonomy. Hawaiian resistance to nineteenth century Western hegemony employed the adoption of Western culture and institutions as a mechanism to ward off colonization. Although there are few *himani* that we would consider outright songs of resistance, these three *himani* resulted from pressures due to the politics of the times. They were not composed with the sole purpose of praising the God of the Christian faith. They were composed by a dethroned Queen during her imprisonment and they reflect her perspectives on the news and politics of the day. These three hymns express the Queen’s joy upon hearing the news of the gradual release of her supporters from prison. In *Leha ‘Ku Kou Mau Maka* the Queen writes of Jehova as her guardian. In *E*

Kuu Hoola she addresses the subject of her incarceration, imploring God to come to her aid (*supra*, 79-80).

If we examine these final three “hymns” through the eyes of historians, anthropologists, and musicologists, it is evident that these pieces do not function simply as hymns. While they do praise the Christian God, they also express the views of a political prisoner. Like “Ke Aloha o ka Haku,” they are not hymns, they are spirituals.

My research establishes that these prison songs reveal the various individuals and entities that Lili’uokalani relied upon during the tumultuous times of her overthrow and imprisonment. First, there was her lifelong friend Evelyn Kilioulani Wilson, whom the Queen referenced as the “gentle voice [that] came to me” in the *mele inoa* for Kalaniana’ole, “Mai Waikinekona a ‘Iolani Hale” (*supra*, 57). We now know that it was Evelyn Wilson whom the Queen wrote of in *Kilioulani*. Through this song, we learn of the prominent role played Wilson (who spent six days a week with the Queen in her prison apartment) in the Queen’s life. In this song, the Queen characterizes herself as a wanderer lost in the confusion of tumultuous times. She associates Evelyn Wilson with Kaiona, the Goddess of the Lost, who guides the lost wanderer (the Queen) through the trying times of her life. (*supra*, 54-55).

Second, there were Lili'uokalani's loyal friends and political supporters. Their smuggled newspapers and notes of encouragement provided the Queen with much needed information and moral support during her incarceration.

And finally, there was her religion. An examination of the Queen's heavily annotated *Book of Common Prayer* reveals the extent to which she relied on her Christian faith to sustain her spirits.

These prison songs are among the scant few documents extant that relate the Queen's perspectives during her incarceration. These songs reflect the maturity and wisdom of a composer who persevered through the *wiliau*; the mist shrouded "swirling eddies" of her life. In the course of her lifetime, she saw the gradual domination of her homeland by first, the American Missionaries, then their business-minded children and grandchildren, and finally the American government.

We see in these works a jailed composer-Queen intent on solidifying support for her fallen government by way of song. Music in this circumstance, acts as a force of conveyance in a time of political crisis. It was *the* conduit which enabled Lili'uokalani to communicate with her people, and in the case of the reciprocating *mele inoa* in the newspapers of April, 1895, for

them to communicate with her (*supra*, 70). These songs demonstrate the importance of context when divining musical intent. And with the prison songs of Lili'uokalani, that musical intent is clearly one of resistance and protest.

Appendix One

1.1 "Aloha Oe" page 1 of 2
(Lili'uokalani 1895)

Aloha Oe.

Maopopo kuu ike ika nani
Ma iua rose o Maunawili
Haila hiaai na manu
Inikiale ika nani e ka like

2-

Oka hahia 'ohai hiki onai
Ke hōne ae oia kuu manawa
Oe me kuu ipo aloha
Aloha hia oia

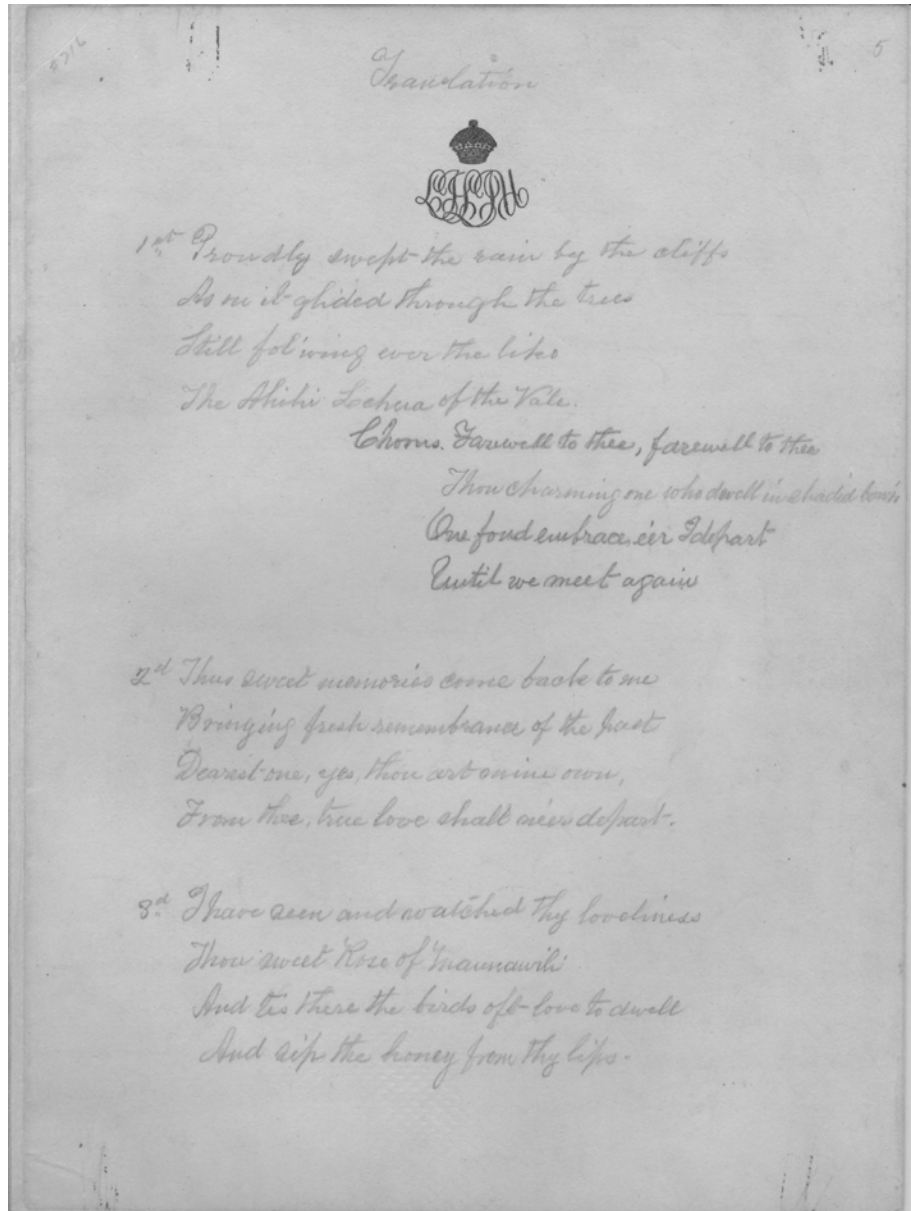
Chorus

3

Maopopo kuu ike ika nani
Ma iua rose o Maunawili
Haila hiaai na manu
Inikiale ika nani e ka like

Composed at Maunawili 1878. Played by the Royal Hawaiian Band in
San Francisco August 1883 and became very popular.

1.2 - "Aloha Oe" page 2 of 2
(Lili'uokalani 1895)



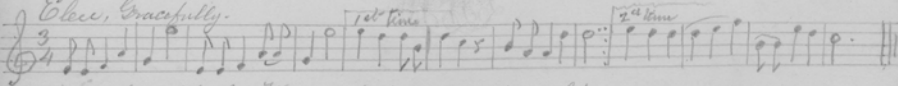
(Lili'uokalani 1895)

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1.4 - Kilioulani
(Lili'uokalani 1895)

Kilioulani.
(*Spirit of the Forest.*)

Slow, Gracefully.



1 *Kilioulani, ika Iua Wiliu, Kikiki hea ika wa liha,*
Hunehuneha wa, huna ka manu, — — — — — Haeue eia hi kanaka o manu.

2 *Mahi nua la iai, kuan aloha,*
Tou kimi kauka ika naha
Pulu ia eke ala o Mailehakei
Oua kimi manu ala i Pihahi.

3 *Kilioulani ika Iua Wiliu*
Kilioulani ka Mahine hula la
Puni ai ke kanaka aluahu hula
Ka olua nua hua o Mauna Hea.

Lolani Hale Alii
Mar 22^d 1895.

1 *Kilioulani tripping on the Wiliu bright crested blossom*
See! gliding down drops pulsing through spray
Dancing like the wind as a bird of the wood.

3 *Kilioulani gliding from each grove*
Kilioulani waddles over the sea
Lowering the voice through the lonely place
To her snow clad home — Mauna Hea.

1.5 - "Ke Aloha o ka Haku," a.k.a "Liliuokalani's Prayer,"
a.k.a. "The Queen's Prayer"
(Lili'uokalani 1895)

Liliuokalani's Prayer.
Ke Aloha o ka Haku.
(The Lord's Mercy) Words & music by Liliuokalani

Solo

1. *Okou aloha, A ia i ka lani, A o ka oia - i - o He hemolele hoi.*
Oh! our love, so high as the heavens, it is Thou, my God. Thou art filled with goodness

2. *He'u auha ana, A paahao ia, O oe kuu loma Kuuani kei kuu*
Thine hand is upon me, Thou art my strength, Thou art my light my power. Thy glory my support

3. *Mai mana i na iwi*
Ma hewa o ka naha
Aka e huikeala
A mai mai no.

4. *Kolaila e ka Haku.*
Malalo kuu ehon
Ho makeu maluhia
A mai loa aku no.
Amen.

Lolani Palace
June 14, 1895.

3. *Oh! look not on our failings*
Nor on the sins of men
Forgive with loving kindness
That we might be made pure

4. *For Thy grace I reach thee*
Bring us under Thy protection
And peace will be our portion
Now and forever more.
Amen

1.6 - E kuu hoola
(Lili'uokalani 1895)

E kuu Hoola 7-6

Lili'uokalani

1 *E kuu Hoola, E ku māi i luna, Pale aku Oe, Māku mana oūi, Ika hō hana*

2 *Ololi ku'uhane, Eia o me ai, Mai kakahika, A ka ākahi, Mai haale*

ino, Hōpilikia mai, Hōpāhāwale, Ika oia hāle -- le.

mai, Imanu kuu hāle, Hōpāhāwale ku'uhane Ika māu oia Oe,

3. *Mahalo ia Oe,*
E kuu Hoola.
Mai hōmamao aku
Comau kuu ahonui.
Ika Kōu anake make
Hanaia Kōu kaohā
Ma ka hōua oūi
Māia mā ka lani.

Handwritten: Lili'uokalani 1895

1.7 - Leha 'Ku Kou Mau Maka
(Lili'uokalani 1895)

Leha'ku kou mau maka. 8-6

Lili'uokalani

Leha'ku kou mau maka, Hana i na onuma, Ma'aula ma'aula, E hiki mai ai hoi.

2. Mai Leha ma'aula, Hana i na onuma, Ma'aula ma'aula, E hiki mai ai hoi.

3. Leha ma'aula, Hana i na onuma, Ma'aula ma'aula, E hiki mai ai hoi.

4. Hana i na onuma, Ma'aula ma'aula, E hiki mai ai hoi.

Lili'uokalani

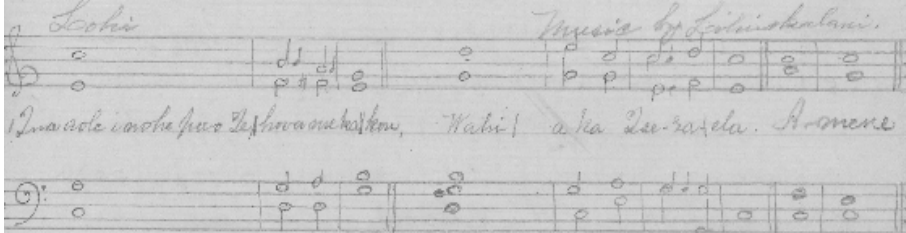
Lili'uokalani

June 5, 1895

1.8 - Himeni Hoole a Davida page 1 of 2
(Lili'uokalani 1895)

Himeni hoole a Davida. H. H. H. C. XXIV

Lohi *Musica by Lili'uokalani.*



1. *Qua aole i noho pu o Ie I hova me ka I kou*
I ka wa i ala kuu onai ai na I ka I maka ia ka I kou

2. *Qua wa onni koke la I kou ia ka I kou*
I ka wela ana o ke lakou i hui ia ka I kou

3. *Qua wa pui pu hoi na wai ma I lina o ka I kou*
A wa hiki onai ka wai kahe maluna o I ke kakou u I hane

4. *Qua wa kahe no hoi ka I wai holo I moku*
Maluna o I ke kakou u I hane

5. *E hoomai ka I ia o Ie I hova*
I ka mea haawi o I ka kakou i waiwai I pio i ke lakou I moku

6. *Qua hoo pakele ia o I ke I kakou u I hane*
Ma he onani la, onai ka hoi ana i ka I pio I lina I manai

7. *Qua onni I ka u I pena*
A wa hoo pakele ia ka I kou

8. *I ka o I ke kakou koke la, onni I ka I mea o Ie I hova*
I ka mea onni i hane ka I lina o I ka ho I ma, A-mene.

1.9 - Himeni Hoole a Davida page 2 of 2
(Lili'uokalani 1895)

The Psalm of David. CXXXIV

- 1 If the Lord himself had not been on our side,
How may Israel say:
- 2 If the Lord himself had not been on our side,
When our enemies rose up against us;
- 3 They had swallowed us up quick:
When they were so wrathfully displeased at us.
- 4 Yea, the waters had drowned us:
And the stream had gone over our soul.
- 5 The deep waters of the proud:
Had gone even over our souls.
- 6 But I praised to the Lord;
Who hath not given us over for a prey unto their teeth.
- 7 Our soul is escaped even as a bird
Out of the snare of the fowler.
- 8 So the snare is broken
And we are delivered.
- 9 Our help standeth in the Name of the Lord
Who hath made heaven and earth. Amen.

Lia Makainana.

HELU 6

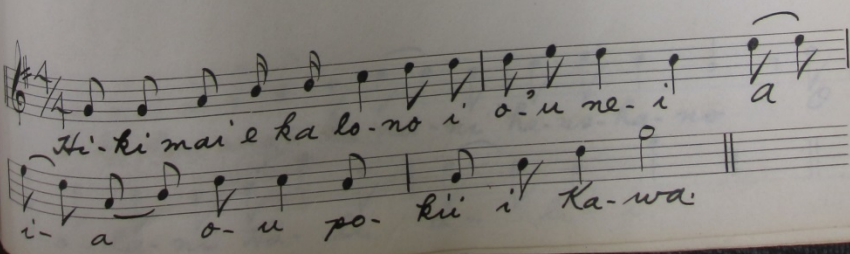
I kukabiana Pocono nei,
na kilihuni us, i paika ke a
makat ma ke alo iho o ka pa
ma ka koe makat, misile o
alakai ana a Kapena Poe P
Poakahi i hals i ku mai a
moken misijouri Hokapa ma
pamoku msi o ka Hema
Ruka ka mokupuni hepe a
hasale aku ai a hee, ma i
hokahi wale no wahi oha
luka iku ana alo Hing o
shukinimoken no ka hoama
ana i kona twikwele i pa
pioce.

1.12b - "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole: Umia ke Aloha i Paa Iloko"
(Lili'uokalani 1897)

HE INOA WEHI NO KALANIANA'OLE.

Hiki mai e ka lono i o'u nei,
Aia o'u pokii la i Kawa,
I ke kakela nui o ke Aupuni,
Kahi i noho ai me ka maluhia.
Umi ia ke aloha i paa iloko,
No ke one oiwi ou e Hawaii,
Eha 'i ka ili ou kupuna,
O Keawe o Kalani I-a-Mamao.
Ka hua i ka umauma mailani ia,
Papahi i ke aloha aina.
Hiipoi ia ko lei hanohano,
I kahiko mau no ka lahui,
A oi alina i ka ike ana,
Ia paia kaulana hoihoi ole,
Hookahi ike pu ana i ka inea,
Me o'u pokii makasinana,
Hookahi puaha ko'u puuwai,
No ka poe i aloha i ka aina.

Liliu,
Hula ku'i.



Hi-ki mai e ka lo-no i o-u ne-i a
i-a o-u po-ku'i i Ka-wa.

1.13b - "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole: Ike Hou Ana i ka Nani"
(Lili'uokalani 1897)

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HE INOA WEHI NO KALANIANA'OLE.

Ike hou ana i ka nani hanohano,
O Iolani Hale Alii,
Elua maua me Kilioulani,
E laula'i nei i ka ihi kapu,
Ka nohona kohu a ka mea waiwai,
No'u o luna, no'u o lalo,
No'u o na wahi a pau.
O ka hana ana ia e ike nei,
Ke aloha hoohakuko'i waimaka,
Mai na puka alohi ka ikena iho,
Ka maalo ana 'e ike ku'u maka,
I ka poe i aloha i ka aina,
I ukali ia ma na aoao,
E ka poe menehune aiwaiwa,
Ua ko aenei ku'u makemake,
Ua hooku'u ia ku'u lahui,
Hookahi puana ku'u puuwai,
O ka poe i aloha i ka aina.

Liliu,
Hula ku'i.

I-ke hou ana i ka na-ni ha-no-ha-no
I-o-la-ni Ha-le a-li-i.

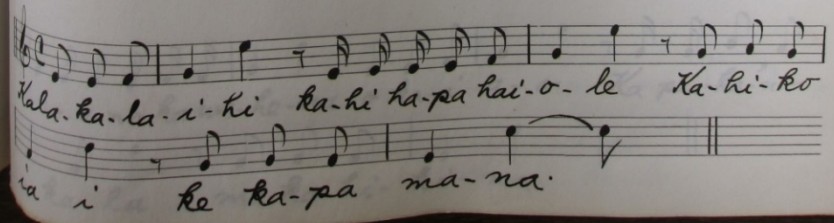
1.14 - "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole: Kalakalaihi Kahi Hapa Haiole"
(Lili'uokalani 1897)

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HE INOA WEHI NO KALANIANA'OLE.

Kalakalaihi kahi hapa Haiole,
 Kahiko ia e ke kapa mana,
 E Kalani e, e ae oe ua hewa,
 I pono ou lahui kanaka.
 A eia mai ia'u kou ola,
 A he mana ko'u imua o lakou 'la,
 E hele oe imua i Waikini,
 Ilaila kou pono e hiki ai,
 Ka nohona mai a na Komisina,
 O na aupuni nui o ke ao,
 E hoolohe i ka pono o Liliulani,
 E kaupona i ka make me ke ola,
 O ka hua o ke ola kai haina mai,
 E ola o Liliu me ka lahui,
 A kau i ka pua aneane,
 O ke ola ia la a ke Akua,
 Maha 'e nei loko me ka olioli,
 Hoonani ke Akua mana kiekie,
 Hookahi puana ku'u puuwai,
 No ka Lani i aloha i ka aina.

Liliu,
Hula ku'i.



Ka-la-la-i-hi ka-hi-ha-pa hai-o-le Ka-hi-ko
 ia i ke ka-pa ma-na.

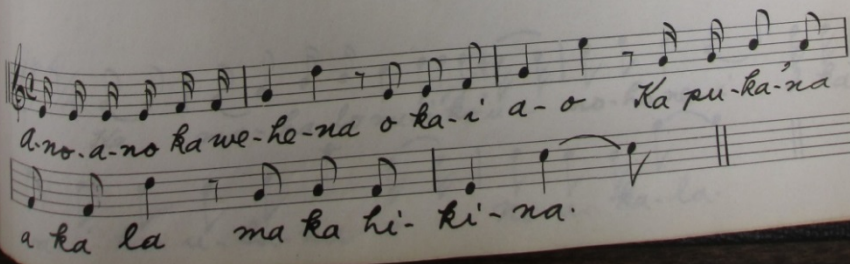
1.15 - "He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana'ole: Anoano ka wehena o kai ao"
(Lili'uokalani 1897)

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HE INOA WEHI NO KALANIANA'OLE.

Anoano ka wehena o kai ao,
 Ka puka 'na a ka la ma ka Hkina,
 Nakolokolo ana ka paia hale,
 Me he nakeke 'la na ke ola'i,
 Heaha keia e halulu nei,
 E naueue nei o ka papahale,
 O ka pu keleawe pu kuniahi,
 O Opakahelu me Loholoa,
 Ka holo ke mau ia iwaho a iloko,
 Lohē ia nei o ke kakahiaka,
 A ka welona a ka la i Lehua,
 Huli a'e mauka auwe-he-hene,
 Hana mau ke keena o Keono Hoana,
 I ka u teke u, teketeke u,
 Teketeke u, teke u, teke u,
 Iloko a i waho, i waho a iloko,
 Uluhūa i kahi mikina hana mau,
 Ka holo ke, ka uteke, holo ke u.

Liliuokalani,
 Iolani Hale,
 Mar. 3, 1895.
Hula ku'i.



a-no-a-no ka we-he-na o ka-i a-o Ka pu-ka-na
 a ka la ma ka hi-ki-na.

Appendix Two

2.1 – “He Mele Lahui Hawaii” (Hawaiian National Song) (Huapala.org)

Ka Makua mana loa	Almighty Father bend thine ear
Maliu mai iâ mâkou	And listen to a nation's prayer
E hâliu aku nei	That lowly bows before thy throne
Me ka na`au ha`aha`a	And seeks thy fostering care
E mau ka maluhia	Grant your peace throughout the land
O nei pae `âina	Over these sunny sea girt isles
Mai Hawai`i a Ni`ihau	Keep the nation's life, oh Lord,
Ma lalo o kou malu	And on our sovereign smile

Hui:	Chorus:
E mau ke ea o ka `âina	Grant your peace throughout the land
Ma kou pono mau	Over these sunny sea girt isles
A ma kou mana nui	Keep the nation's life, oh Lord,
E ola e ola ka mô`i	And on our sovereign smile

E ka haku mâlama mai	Guard him with your tender care
I ko mâkou nei mô`i	Give him length of years to reign
E mau kona noho `ana	On the throne his fathers won
Maluna o ka noho ali`i	Bless the nation once again
Hâ`awi mai i ke aloha	Give the king your loving grace
Maloko a kona na`au	And with wisdom from on high
A ma kou ahonui	Prosperous lead his people on
E ola e ola ka mô`i	As beneath your watchful eye
Ho`oho e mau ke	Grant your peace throughout the land

Ma lalo o kou aloha nui	Bless O Lord our country's chiefs
Na Li`i o ke Aupuni	Grant them wisdom so to live
Me nâ maka`âinana	That our people may be saved
Ka lehulehu nô a pau	And to You the glory give
Kia`i mai iâ lâkou	Watch over us day by day
Me ke aloha ahonui	King and people with your love
E ola nô mâkou	For our hope is all in You
I kou mana mau	Bless us, You who reign above
E mau ke ea	Grant your peace throughout the land

2.2 – “Hawaii Ponoï” (Hawaii’s True Sons)
Kalakaua and Berger
(Huapala.org)

Hawai`i pono`i
Nânâ i kou mô`i
Ka lani ali`i,
Ke ali`i

Hawaii`s own true sons
Be loyal to your chief
Your country's liege and lord
The chief

Hui:
Makua lani ê,
Kamehameha ê,
Na kaua e pale,
Me ka ihe

Chorus:
Royal father
Kamehameha
Shall defend in war
With spears

Hawai`i pono`i
Nânâ i nâ ali`i
Nâ pua muli kou
Nâ pôki`i

Hawaii`s own true sons
Look to your chief
Those chiefs of younger birth
Younger descent

Hawai`i pono`i
E ka lâhui e
`O kâu hana nui
E u`iê

Hawaii`s own true sons
People of loyal heart
The only duty lies
List and abide

2.3 – “Aloha Oe” (Farewell to Thee)

Lili'uokalani, 1877

Ha`aheo ka ua i nâ pali
Ke nihi a`ela i ka nahele
E uhai ana paha i ka liko
Pua `âhihi lehua o uka

Proudly swept the rain by the cliffs
As it glided through the trees
Still following ever the bud
The `ahihi lehua of the vale

Hui:
Aloha `oe, aloha `oe
E ke onaona noho i ka lipo

Farewell to you, farewell to you
The charming one who dwells in the shaded
bowers

One fond embrace,
A ho`i a`e au
Until we meet again

One fond embrace,
'Ere I depart
Until we meet again

`O ka hali`a aloha i hiki mai
Ke hone a`e nei i
Ku`u manawa
`O `oe nô ka`u ipo aloha
A loko e hana nei

Sweet memories come back to me
Bringing fresh remembrances
Of the past
Dearest one, yes, you are mine own
From you, true love shall never depart

Maopopo ku`u `ike i ka nani
Nâ pua rose o Maunawili
I laila hia`ia nâ manu
Miki`ala i ka nani o ka lipo

I have seen and watched your loveliness
The sweet rose of *Maunawili*
And 'tis there the birds of love dwell
And sip the honey from your lips

2.4.1 - “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani” (My Flowers at Paoakalani)
Translation by Lili’uokalani

*E ka gentle breeze e ka mai nei
Ho ‘ohāli ‘ali ‘a mai ana ia ‘u
E ku‘u sweet never fading flower
I bloom ika uka o Paoakalani*

*Hui:
Ike mau ika nani o nā pua
O ka uka o Uluhaimalama
‘A ‘ole na ‘e ho ‘i e like
Me ku ‘u pua i ka la ‘i o Paoakalani*

*Lahilahi kona ma hi’ona
With softest eyes as black as jet
Pink cheeks so delicate of hue
I ulu I ka uka o Paoakalani*

*Nane ‘ia mai ana ku ‘u aloha
E ka gentle breeze e waft my nei
O come to me ka ‘u mea elia ‘a nei
I ulu I ka uka o Paoakalani*

*O gentle breeze that waft to me
Sweet, cherished memories of you
Of my sweet never fading flower
That blooms in the fields of Paoakalani*

*Chorus:
I’ve often seen those beautiful flowers
That grew at Uluhaimalama
But none of those could be compared,
To my flower that blooms in the fields of
Paoakalani*

*Her face is fair to behold
With softest eyes as black as jet
Pink cheeks so delicate of hue
That grew in the fields of Paoakalani*

*Now name to me the one I love
Gentle breezes passing by
And bring to me that blossom fair
That blooms in the fields of Paoakalani*

2.4.2 - “Kuu Pua i Paoakalani” (My Flowers at Paoakalani)
(Gillette and Smith 1999, 63)

*E ka gentle breeze e ka mai nei
Ho ‘ohāli ‘ali ‘a mai ana ia ‘u
E ku‘u sweet never fading flower
I bloom ika uka o Paoakalani*

*Hui:
Ike mau ika nani o nā pua
O ka uka o Uluhaimalama
‘A ‘ole na ‘e ho ‘i e like
Me ku ‘u pua i ka la ‘i o Paoakalani*

*Lahilahi kona ma hi‘ona
With softest eyes as black as jet
Pink cheeks so delicate of hue
I ulu I ka uka o Paoakalani*

*Nane ‘ia mai ana ku ‘u aloha
E ka gentle breeze e waft my nei
O come to me ka‘u mea elia‘a nei
I ulu I ka uka o Paoakalani*

O gentle breeze that blows softly here
Bringing fond memories to me
O my sweet never fading flower
That blooms inland of Paoakalani

Chorus:
I always see the beauty of the flowers
From the upland of Uluhaimalama
But these cannot compare
With my flowers in the serenity of Paoakalani

Delicate are her features
With softest eyes as black as jet
Pink cheeks so delicate of hue
That grow inland of Paoakalani

Ask me now of my love in the form of a riddle
O gentle breeze that blows softly, softly here
O come to me that which I now desire
That grows inland of Paoakalani

2.5 - "Kaulana Na Pua" (Famous are the Flowers)
a.k.a. "Mele Aloha Aina"
Ellen Keho`ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast
(Huapala.org)

*Kaulana na pua a`o Hawai`i
Kupa`a ma hope o ka `aina
Hiki mai ka `elele o ka loko `ino
Palapala `anunu me ka pakaha*

Famous are the children of Hawai`i
Ever loyal to the land
When the evil-hearted messenger comes
With his greedy document of extortion

*Pane mai Hawai`i moku o Keawe
Kokua na Hono a`o Pi`ilani
Kako`o mai Kaua`i o Mano
Pa`apu me ke one Kakuhihewa*

Hawai`i, land of Keawe answers
Pi`ilani's bays help
Mano's Kaua`i lends support
And so do the sands of Kakuhihewa

*`A`ole a`e kau i ka pulima
Ma luna o ka pepa o ka `enemi
Ho`ohui `aina ku`ai hewa
I ka pono sivila a`o ke kanaka*

No one will fix a signature
To the paper of the enemy
With its sin of annexation
And sale of native civil rights

*`A`ole makou a`e minamina
I ka pu`u kala o ke aupuni
Ua lawa makou i ka pohaku
I ka `ai kamaha`o o ka `aina*

We do not value
The government's sums of money
We are satisfied with the stones
Astonishing food of the land

*Ma hope makou o Lili`ulani
A loa`a e ka pono o ka `aina
*(A kau hou `ia e ke kalaunu)
Ha`ina `ia mai ana ka puana
Ka po`e i aloha i ka `aina*

We back Lili`ulani
Who has won the rights of the land
*(She will be crowned again)
Tell the story
Of the people who love their land

*Alternate Stanza

2.6.1 - *Kilioulani* (a.k.a. Sprite of the Mist)
Translation by Lili'uokalani

<i>Kilioulani i ka pua Wiliau</i>	Kilioulani tripping over the Wiliau
<i>Kilikilihea i ka ua līhau</i>	Bright crested blossom on the mountain moor
<i>Hunehune o ka wai, hune a ka manu</i>	O'er glistening dewdrops peeping thro' each spray
<i>Noenoe uahi kanali 'o manu</i>	Dancing thro' the blue mist as a bird of the wood
<i>Me he noe lā ia'u, kea no aloha</i>	(No translation was provided by the
<i>I o'u kini ka uka I ka nahele</i>	Queen for the second verse)
<i>Pulu 'ia e ke 'ala o Mailehahei</i>	
<i>'O ua kini manu ala i Pōkahi</i>	
<i>Kili'oulani i ka pua Wiliau</i>	Kilioulani gliding from each flower
<i>Kili'oulani ka "Wahine hele la"</i>	Kilioulani wanderer o'er the lea
<i>Puni ai ke kanaka alualu hele</i>	Luring the lone traveler through the lonely [peaks—] ⁵⁰
<i>Ka 'ōlino noe hau o Maunakea</i>	To her snow-clad mountain home, Mauna Kea

⁵⁰ Illegible - this word might be "peaks." (Nogelmeier, 2012)

2.6.2 - *Kilioulani* (Sprite of the Mist)
Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

*Kilioulani i ka pua Wiliau
Kilikilihea i ka ua līhau
Hunehune o ka wai, hune a ka manu
Noenoe uahi kanali 'o manu*

Kilioulani in the swirling-eddy blossom
Finely-bedewed with the freshening rain
Misty water droplets, mists of the birds
Hazy mists that cause the birds to reel and stagger

*Me he noe lā ia'u, kea no aloha
I o'u kini ka uka I ka nahele
Pulu 'ia e ke 'ala o Mailehahei*

Like a mist, a solemn affection comes upon me
For my multitudes there in the highland forest
Soaked with the scent of the thick draping
Maile

'O ua kini manu ala i Pōkahi

Those flocks of birds at Pōkahi

*Kili'oulani i ka pua Wiliau
Kili'oulani ka "Wahine hele la"
Puni ai ke kanaka alualu hele
Ka 'ōlino noe hau o Maunakea*

Kilioulani in the swirling-eddy blossom
Kilioulani, the "Day-wending Woman"
That lures the traveler in mid-quest
With the glistening snowy cloak of Mauna Kea

2.7.1 - “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Mai Waikinekona a Iolani Hale”
(From Washington Place to Iolani Palace)

Published in Ka Makaaʻinana, April 1, 1895

Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

*Iʻau e nanea ana ma Wakinekona
Pa e ana ka leo nahenahe
Auhea waie aua oe Kalani
E ae ua hauna o ke Aupuni
Nana e hanu mai pau i ka ikeā*

*Na Mea nua, na mea liilii
O ka hana ia a Waipa
Kapena makai o ka Pi Gi
Eia ko hewa la e Kalani
No kou aloha i ka lahui
Na ke kaa pio Hope Ilamuku*

I hii ia Kalani i Halealii

*Hookahi puana kou puuwai
No ka poe I aloha I ka aina*

*Kaumaha wale kuu ikeʻna
Na paia hanohano o Iolani Hale
Ea mai Laeahi ma ka hikina,
Kela kuahiwi alo i ke kai
Kahi a na oiwi okuu aina
I imi ai i ka pono o ka lauakila
Anoano ke aloha ka hikiʻna mai
No kuu lahui i ke ehuehu
E na Mana Lani e aloha mai,
Hookuu mai i ka poe pilikia*

*Hookahi puana kou puuwai
No ka poe I aloha I ka aina*

As I relax at Washington Place
A gentle voice came to me
Pay heed, O Royal One
Here come the strikes of the government
Which has breathed up everything in all that
was seen

The large things and the small
Such is the work of Waipa
Police captain of the P.G.
Here is your crime O Heavenly One
It is your love for the people
It was the prisoner carriage of the deputy
sheriff

That carried Your Highness to the palace

Only one message of your heart
It is about (for) the people who love the land

It's sad for me to see
The proud walls of Iolani Palace
Diamond Head rises to the east
That mount that faces the sea
The place where the natives of my land
Sought the righteousness of victory
Solemn indeed is the concern at the arrival
Of my people into turmoil
O heavenly powers, bestow your love
Release those in distress

Only one message of your heart
For the people who love the land

2.7.2 - “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Lokahi ka Manao me ka Lahui”
(Thoughts are in Unity with my People)

Published in Ka Makaa'inana, April 8, 1895

Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

<i>Mea e ka manao e hana nei</i>	Thoughts are deeply disturbed
<i>I ka lohe ana mai na hana</i>	Upon hearing about the actions
<i>Ka aku ke aho ia Waitina</i>	My breath is taken away by Whiting
<i>Ka peresidena nui o ka Aha Koa</i>	The High President of the military tribunal
<i>Nana e kaana mai i ka pono,</i>	It being the one to distribute justice
<i>No kuu lahui i alohaia</i>	For my beloved people
<i>Hana e launa ole o Wili Kini</i>	Inappropriate are the acts of Willy Kinney
<i>Haole lelepi o Waialae</i>	The hot tempered haole of Wai'ala'e
<i>Kana hana o ka pelo i ke kanaka</i>	His act has been to fool the people
<i>E hai pau mai i ola oe</i>	“Tell all so that you may live”
<i>Mai puni aku oe i kana mali</i>	But don't believe his persuasion
<i>E i aku e ke ola ia Kalani</i>	Do say, that life is in the hands of the Royal One
<i>I molia kona ola no ka lahui</i>	Who has given her life for the people
<i>I ola nou e ke aloha aina</i>	That you may live O patriots
<i>Hookahi puana kuu puuwai</i>	Only one message from my heart
<i>No na poe ia aloha i ka aina</i>	For the people who love the land

2.7.3a - “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Umia ke Aloha i Paa Iloko”
(Let the Love Inside be Held Back)

Published in Ka Makaainana, April 15, 1895

Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

*Hiki mai e ka lono i oʻu nei
Aia ou pokii la i Kawa
I ke kakela nui o ke Aupuni
Kahi i noho ai me ka maluhia
Umia ke aloha i paa iloko*

*Noe ke one oiwi ou e Hawaii
Eha ai ka ili ou kupuna
O Keawe, O Kalani-I-a-Mamao⁵¹
Kahua i ka umauma mailaniia
Papahiia ke Aloha Aina,
Hiipoiia ko lei hanohano,
I kahiko mau nou e ka lehua,
A oi ali a i ka ike ana,
Ia paia kaulana hoihoi ole,
Hookahi ike pu ana ka inea,
Me ou pokii makaainana,*

*Hookahi puana kou puuwai
No ka poe i aloha ika lahui*

The news has come to me
That your younger siblings are there at *Kawa*
In the great castle of the government
Where they reside in peace
Hold fast to the *Aloha* that is solid in your
heart
For you the native land, O Hawaii
Your ancestors suffered the wounds
Keawe, Kalaniamamao
The expression in the heart let it be praised
Let *Aloha ʻAina*⁵² be honored and adorned
Let your noble lei be cherished
As an eternal adornment for you, O *lehua*⁵³
Until clearer, and until seen
Are those famed and unwanted walls
Experiencing the same deprivation
With that of your citizen siblings

Only one message of your heart
For those who love the people

⁵¹ Two ancestors of Liliʻuokalani and Kalanianaʻole

⁵² Patriotism, love for your homeland.

⁵³ A warrior on the front line of battle.

2.7.3b - "He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Umia ke Aloha i Paa Iloko"
(Let the Love Inside be Held Back)
From *He Buke Mele Hawaii*
Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

*Hiki mai e ka lono i oʻu nei
Aia oʻu pokii la i Kawa
I ke kakela nui o ke Aupuni
Kahi i noho ai me ka maluhia
Umia ke aloha i paa iloko*

*Noe ke one oiwi ou e Hawaii
Eha ai ka `ili ou kupuna
O keawe, O Kalani-I-a-Mamao
Kahua i ka umauma mailani ia
Papahi i ke Aloha Aina,
Hiipoi ia ko lei hanohano,
I kahiko mau no ka lehua ,
A oi alina i ka ike ana,
Ia paia kaulana hoihoi ole,
Hookahi ike pu ana ka inea,
Me oʻu pokii makaainana,*

*Hookahi puana kou puuwai
No ka poe i aloha ika aina*

The news has come to me
That my younger siblings are there at *Kawa*
In the great castle of the government
Where they reside in peace
Hold fast to the *Aloha* that is solid in your
heart
For you the native land, O Hawaii
Your ancestors suffered the wounds
Keawe, Kalaniiāmamao
The expression in the heart let it be praised
Don the *lei* of patriotism (*Aloha ʻAina*)
Let your noble *lei* be cherished
As an eternal adornment for the *lehua*
A continual scar to see
Are those famed and unwanted walls
Experiencing the same deprivation
With that of my citizen siblings

Only one message of your heart
For those who love the land

2.7.4a - “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Ike Hou Ana i ka Nani”

(Seeing the Beauty Again)

Published in Ka Makaainana, April 22, 1895

Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

<i>Ike hou ana i ka nani hanohano</i>	Seeing again the majestic beauty
<i>O Iolani Halealii</i>	Of Iolani Palace
<i>Elua maua e lualai nei</i>	We too were relaxing
<i>Me kuu hoa noho i ka ihikapu</i>	I and my companion who exists in sanctity
<i>Ka noho'na kohu a ka mea waiwai</i>	A lifestyle like the rich
<i>Hookulana imua a i hope</i>	Achieving status, both forward and back
<i>Nou o luna, nou o lalo</i>	All above is yours, all below is yours
<i>Nou na wahi a pau</i>	All things everywhere are yours
<i>O ka hana no ia e ike nei</i>	That's what is done as seen now
<i>Ke aloha hoohakukoi waimaka</i>	Concern that causes tears to flow
<i>Mai na puka alohi ka ike'na iho</i>	From those glittering portals upon seeing
<i>Ka maalo ana o ke aloha aina</i>	The passing by of the patriot
<i>I ukaliia ma na aoao</i>	Escorted on all sides
<i>E na poe menehune aiwaiwa</i>	By those mystical <i>menehune</i> ⁵⁴
<i>Ua ko ae nei kuu makemake</i>	My desire has been fulfilled
<i>Ua hookuua kuu lahui</i>	My people have been released.
 <i>Hookahi puana kuu puuwai</i>	 There is only one message of my heart
<i>O ka poe i aloha i ka aina</i>	The people who love the land

⁵⁴ Mystical dwarfs said to live in the forests. *Menehune* can be any of a multitude of forces that build things or gets things done, for better or for worse; they are a mystical force.

2.9.4b - “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Ike Hou Ana i ka Nani”

(Seeing the Beauty Again)

From *He Buke Mele Hawaii*

Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

*Ike hou ana i ka nani hanohano
O Iolani Hale Alii
Elua maua me Kilioulani
E laula'i nei i ka ihi kapu
Ka nohona kohu a ka mea waiwai
No'u o luna, no'u o lalo
No'u o na wahi a pau
O ka hana ana ia e ike nei
Ke aloha hoohakuko'i waimaka
Mai na puka alohi ka ikena iho
Ka maalo ana 'e ike ku'u maka
I ka poe i aloha i ka aina
I ukali ia ma na aoao
E ka poe menehune aiwaiwa *
Ua ko aenei ku'u makemake
Ua hooku'u ia ku'u lahui*

*Hookahi puana ku'u puuwai
O ka poe i aloha i ka aina*

Seeing again the majestic beauty
Of Iolani Palace
I and Kilioulani were relaxing
In the sanctity (rarified setting)
A lifestyle like the rich
All above is mine, all below is mine
All things everywhere are mine
That's what is done as seen now
Concern that causes tears to flow
From those glittering portals upon seeing
The passing by for me to witness
Those who love the land
Escorted on all sides
By those mystical *menehune*
My desire has been fulfilled
My people have been released.

There is only one message of my heart
The people who love the land

2.9.5 - “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Kalakalaihi Kahi Hapa Haiole”
(Oppressive Indeed is the Unspoken Portion)

From *He Buke Mele Hawaii*

Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

*Kalakalaihi kahi hapa Haiole
Kahiko ia e ke kapa mana,
E Kalani e, e ae oe ua hewa,
I pono ou lahui kanaka.
A eia mai ia'u kou ola,
A he mana ko'u imua o lakou 'la,
E hele oe imua i Waikini,
Ilaila kou pono e hiki ai,
Ka nohona mai a na Komisina,
O na aupuni nui o ke ao,
E hoolohe i ka pono o Liliulani,
E kaupona i ka make me ke ola,
O ka hua o ke ola kai haina mai,
E ola o Liliu me ka lahui,
A kau i ka pua aneane,
O ke ola ia la a ke Akua,
Maha 'e nei loko me ka olioli,
Hoonani ke Akua mana kiekie,
Hookahi puana ku'u puuwai,
No ka Lani i aloha i ka aina.*

Oppressive indeed is the unspoken portion
Adorned by a mantle of power
O Royal One, acknowledge you were wrong
For the good of your people
Your life is here in my hands
And I have more power than they do
You shall go before Waikini ⁵⁵
There you shall find your justice
The convening of the commissioners
Of the great nations of the world
To listen to the justice of Liliulani
To weigh out life and death
The word of life is what was uttered
Liliu and the people shall live.
To reach advanced old age
And that is life granted by God
The heart is relieved and joyous
Glorify God, the highest of powers
There is only one message of my heart,
For the Royal One who loves the land.

⁵⁵ Waikini is W. A. Whiting

2.9.6 - “He Inoa Wehi no Kalanianaʻole: Anoano ka Wehena o Kai Ao”
(Silent and Calm is Opening of Dawn)

From *He Buke Mele Hawaii*

Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

*Anoano ka wehena o kai ao,
Ka puka ‘na a ka la ma ka H[i]kina,
Nakolokolo ana ka paia hale,
Me he nakeke ‘la na ke ola‘i,
Heaha keia e halulu nei,
E naueue nei o ka papahale,
O ka pu keleawe pu kuniahi,
O Opakahelu me Loholoa,
Ka holo ke mau ia iwaho a iloko,
Lohe ia nei o ke kakahiaka,
A ka welona a ka la i Lehua,
Huli a’e mauka auwe-he-hene,
Hana mau ke keena o Keono⁵⁹ Hoana,*

*I ka u teke u, teketeke u,
Teketeke u, teke u, teke u,
Iloko a i waho, i waho a iloko,
Uluhuna i kahi mikina hana mau
Ka holo ke, ka uteke, holo ke u.*

Silent and calm is opening of dawn,
The rise of the sun in the east
The walls of the house are rumbling,
Like the knocking of an earthquake,
What is this that is thundering?
Is causing the floor to sway?
The brass guns, the cannons,
Opakahelu and *Loholoa*,⁵⁶
Continually sounding, outside and in,
Heard in the morning,
To the setting of the sun at Lehua,⁵⁷
Turn to the uplands, *auwe-he-hene*,⁵⁸
The offices of Keone Hoana are always
working,⁶⁰
At the *u teke u, teketeke u*,
Teketeke u, teke u, teke u,
Inside and out, outside and in,
Annoyed by some relentless machine,
The running, the tapping, running *u*

⁵⁶ *Opakahelu* and *Loholoa* are names of cannons, most likely the two brass field guns on the lawn at Iolani Palace.

⁵⁷ This refers to the glittering of the sun at Lehua Island, an island northwest of Niihau. It is a reference to sunset.

⁵⁸ A teasing lament, the Queen is teasing someone.

⁵⁹ Keono is a misprint. The name should be Keone (John)

⁶⁰ It is unclear as to whether this is John “Threatener” or Johnny “Brandish.”

2.10a - "Ke Aloha O Ka Haku" (The Lord's Mercy)
a.k.a. "Liliuokalani's Prayer," a.k.a. "The Queen's Prayer"
Translation by Lili'uokalani
(Lili'uokalani 1897)

*`O kou aloha no,
Aia i ka lani,
A `o Kou `oia `i`o,
He hemolelo ho`i.*

*Ko`u noho mihi `ana,
A pa`ahao `ia,
`O `oe ku`u lama,
Kou nani ko`u ko`o.*

*Mai nana `ino`ino,
Na hewa o kanaka,
Aka e huikala,
A ma`ema`e no.*

*No laila e ka Haku,
Ma lalo o kou `ehou,
Ko makou maluhia,
A mau loa aku no.*

`Amene.

Oh Lord, thy loving mercy
Is high as the heavens,
It tells us of thy truth,
And 'tis filled with holiness.

Whilst humbly meditating,
Within these walls imprisoned,
Thou art my light, my haven,
thy glory my support.

Oh! look not on their failings,
Nor on the sins of men,
Forgive with loving kindness,
That we might be made pure.

For thy grace I beseech thee,
Bring us 'neath thy protection,
And peace will be our portion,
Now and forevermore.

Amen.

2.10b - "Ke Aloha O Ka Haku" (The Lord's Mercy)
a.k.a. "Liliuokalani's Prayer," a.k.a. "The Queen's Prayer"
(Gillette and Smith 1999, 59)

*`O kou aloha no
Aia i ka lani
A `o Kou `oia `i`o
He hemolelo ho`i*

Your love
Is there in heaven,
And your truth
Is filled with sanctity.

*Ko`u noho mihi `ana
A pa`ahao `ia
`O `oe ku`u lama
Kou nani ko`u ko`o*

As I reflect on wrongs
In my imprisonment
You are my light,
Your glory my support.

*Mai nana `ino`ino
Na hewa o kanaka
Aka e huikala
A ma`ema`e no*

Look not negatively
Upon the sins of men,
But forgive,
That we shall be pure.

*No laila e ka Haku
Ma lalo o kou `eheu
Ko makou maluhia
A mau loa aku no.*

Therefore, O Lord ,
Beneath your wings
Shall be our peace,
Now and forever.

Amene

Amen

2.10c - "Ke Aloha O Ka Haku" (The Lord's Mercy)
a.k.a. "Liliuokalani's Prayer," a.k.a. "The Queen's Prayer"
(Huapala.org)

*`O kou aloha no
Aia i ka lani
A `o Kou `oia `i`o
He hemolelo ho`i*

Your loving mercy
Is as high as heaven,
And your truth
So perfect

*Ko`u noho mihi `ana
A pa`ahao `ia
`O `oe ku`u lama
Kou nani ko`u ko`o*

I live in sorrow
Imprisoned
You are my light,
Your glory, my support.

*Mai nana `ino`ino
Na hewa o kanaka
Aka e huikala
A ma`ema`e no*

Behold not with malevolence
The sins of man,
But forgive,
And cleanse

*No laila e ka Haku
Ma lalo o kou `eheu
Ko makou maluhia
A mau loa aku no.*

And so, O Lord ,
Protect us beneath your wings
And let peace be our portion
Now and forever more.

Amene

Amen

2.11 - *E Kuu Hoola* (My savior)
Translation by Puakea Nogelmeier

*E kuu Hoola,
E ku mai i luna
Pale aku Oe,
Me kou mana nui
Ika poe hana ino,
Hoopilikia mai,
A hoopaahao wale
I ka mea hala o – le*

My saviour,
Rise up,
Fend off,
With your great power,
The evildoers,
Who trouble me,
And imprison,
The faultless one

*Olioli ku' uhane,
Eia oe me a 'u
Mai kakahiaka,
A ke ahiahi,
Mai haalele mai
I mau kuu hauoli,
Hoopakele ku' uhane
I ola mau me Oe*

My spirit rejoices,
Here you are with me,
From morning,
Until evening,
Do not depart,
So my joy can be ongoing,
My spirit may find release,
To live forever with you

*Mahalo ia Oe
E kuu Hoola
Mai hoomamao aku
E mau kou ahonui
I ko Kou makemake
Hanaia Kou kauoha
Ma ka honua nei
Meia ma ka lani*

Thanks be to you,
Oh, my Savior,
Do not distance yourself,
May your patience be ongoing,
So your desires can come to pass,
So your will be done,
Here on the earth,
As it is in heaven

2.12 *Leha 'Ku Kou Mau Maka* (I Lift My Eyes)

From Psalms 121

Translated by Puakea Nogelmeier⁶¹

*Leha 'ku kou mau maka
I luna ina mauna,
Mailaila mai kou kokua,
E hiki mai ai hoi*

I lift my eyes
To the mountains
From there my assistance
Shall come to me

*Mai Jehova kou kokua,
Nana uo hoi i hana
Ka lani meka honua,
A me na mea a pau*

From Jehova comes my assistance
It was He who made
The heavens and the earth
And all things.

*Jehova no kou kiai
Jehova no kou malu
Aia Oia ma kou lima akau
Ina wa a pau loa*

Jehova is my guardian
Jehova is my shelter
He is at my right hand
At all times

*Kiai no Jehova
Kou puka ana iwaho
Kou komo ana iloko
Mai keia wa a mau loa*

Jehova watches over
Your exit to go out
Your entrance to come in
From now and for all time.

⁶¹ Translation note: The Queen wrote the text without marks making them appear to be second person possessive pronouns. The pronouns in this text have been translated as first person possessive pronouns.

2.13 - *Himeni Hoole a Davida* (David's Hymn of Praise)

From Psalms 124 -(Unfinished)

Translated by Puakea Nogelmeier

<i>Ina aole i noho pu o Jehova mekakou</i> <i>Wahi a ka Iseraela,</i>	If the Lord himself had not been on our side, Now may Israel say:
<i>Ina aole i noho pu o Jehova me kakou</i> <i>I ka wa i ala kue mai ai na kanaka ia kakou</i>	If the Lord himself had not been on our side, When men rose up against us
<i>Ina ua moni koke lakou ia kakou</i> <i>I ka wela ana o ko lakou huhu ia kakou</i>	They had swallowed us up quick, When they were so wrathfully displeased at us
<i>Ina ua poipu hoi na wai ma luna o kakou</i> <i>A ua hiki mai ka wai kahe maluna</i> <i>ko kakou u hane</i>	Yea, the waters had drown-ed us And the stream had gone over our soul
<i>Ina ua kahe no hoi ka wai holomoku</i> <i>Maluna o ko kakou u hane</i>	The deep waters of the proud Had gone even over our souls
<i>E hoomaikai ia o Jehova</i> <i>Ka mea haawi ole ia kakou i waiwai pio</i> <i>i ko lakou niho</i>	But praised be the Lord Who hath not given us over for a prey unto their teeth
<i>Ua hoopakele ia no ko kakou u hane</i> <i>Me he manu la mai ka hei ana 'ku ika</i> <i>poe lawaia manu</i>	Our soul is escaped even as a bird Out of the snare of the fowler
<i>Ua moku ka upena</i> <i>A ua hoopakele ia kakou</i>	So the snare is broken And we are delivered
<i>Aia no ko kakou kokua, maloko oka inoa</i> <i>o Jehova</i> <i>Ka mea nana i hana ka lani me ka honua.</i>	Our help standeth in the Name of the Lord Who hath made heaven and earth.
<i>Amene.</i>	Amen.

Supplemental Files

A. Audio Recordings. “The Prison Songs of Lili’uokalani” Recorded May 10, 2013. These files consist of studio recordings of the following songs:

1. He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana’ole - Umia ke Aloha i Paa Iloko *
Sopranos - Rebecca Scott, Gracie Navaille.
2. He Inoa Wehi no Kalaniana’ole - Kalakalaihi Kahi Hapa Haiole *
Soprano - Gracie Navaille, guitar solo: Jay Arms, ukulele solo: Cynthia Morris.
3. *Kilioulani**
Soprano – Emily Walters, guitar solo: Sean Hayward.
4. Kuu Pua i Paoakalani
Baritone – Elliott Nguyen, guitar solo: Sean Hayward.
5. *E Kuu Hoola* *
Baritone – Elliott Nguyen.
6. *Leha ‘Ku Kou Mau Maka**
Soprano – Emily Walters, guitar solo: Jay Arms.
7. Ke Aloha o ka Haku a.k.a. The Queen’s Prayer
Soprano - Rebecca Scott, guitar solo: Sean Hayward.
8. Aloha Oe
Soprano - Gracie Navaille, guitar solo: Sean Hayward.

* World premiere recording.

Accompanists:

Jay Arms, steel string guitar;
Sean Hayward, nylon string guitar,
Cynthia Morris, ukulele.

All songs arranged and produced by Cynthia Morris.

Recorded and mixed by Bill Coulter at the UC Santa Cruz Music Center.

B. Digital Video Recording. “The Prison Songs of Lili’uokalani.” The author’s lecture recital recorded on May 4, 2013 at the University of California at Santa Cruz Music Center.

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