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"Aloha 'Oe": Settler-Colonial Nostalgia and the Genealogy of a Love Song

Adria L. Imada

> *Queen Liliuokalani, last royal ruler of the Hawaiian Islands, had some superior qualities, but could not maintain herself on the throne, and a provisional government was formed. A republican form of government then was set up, with an advanced constitution. Annexation to the United States was accomplished in 1898. This Hawaiian queen composed the song, "Aloha Oe," sung to travelers arriving and departing from the islands.*
>
> —*Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 21, 1941

"Aloha 'Oe" is Hawai'i's most renowned song. Composed by Lili'uokalani, the last queen of Hawai'i, who was deposed by missionary-settlers in 1893, it is now a taken-for-granted, quotidian expression of global popular culture. It is also a palimpsest of settler colonial and anticolonial meanings. "Aloha 'Oe" was quite possibly the first popular Hawaiian song to circulate widely in the United States, with its first public performance on the US continent in 1883. During the sixty-year period between 1884 and 1944, at least forty-six editions of the song were published in the United States, making it the most published Hawaiian song of the early twentieth century.[1] It remains a musical standard, beloved by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike, that has been resurrected, remixed, rearranged, and performed by the likes of Elvis Presley in 1961 and Johnny Cash in 2003.[2] My purpose, however, is not to rehearse the enduring

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popularity of "Aloha ʻOe," but to account for its relationship to settler colonial power, specifically to the historical production of what I call settler colonial nostalgia and its material and ideological outcomes in Hawaiʻi. Nostalgia has been a vital component of the gendered colonization of Hawaiʻi, as I explore in this article.

By the turn of the century and continuing at least through the 1960s, "Aloha ʻOe" was the customary greeting and farewell at island harbors and docks, with Hawaiian bands playing for each tourist and military steamship. As rehearsed by numerous American memoirs and accounts during the last century, the opening chords of the song were enough to provoke tears from its listeners. A Honolulu farewell with a melancholic serenade of "Aloha ʻOe" became "as much of an experience as a stay in the islands." Gazing tearfully at the retreating mountains as their ships took sail, tourists cast their flower lei in the water to "insure a return to the islands."[3] Whether in 1900 or 1960, the emotions invoked to describe the song are strikingly similar: melancholy, pathos, and tender nostalgia.

"Aloha ʻOe" was written by Liliʻuokalani as a mele hoʻoipoipo (love song) in 1877 or 1878, when she was still heir apparent to the throne. She was inspired by the scene of a young woman giving her male lover a flower lei at their parting.[4] Using a Western melodic scale and basing it on the melody of a popular American lullaby, Liliʻuokalani wrote this mele (song) mostly in ʻōlelo Hawaiʻi (Hawaiian) with a few English phrases, hewing to the conventions and themes of Hawaiian poetry.[5] A lover bids farewell to his/her beloved sweetheart ("kaʻu ipo aloha"), offering a "fond embrace" until their next meeting.

However, the oft-repeated, apocryphal origin story of the song reproduces the myth that Queen Liliʻuokalani penned "Aloha ʻOe" as a song of mourning while imprisoned in the royal palace after the American-backed overthrow of the kingdom in 1893.[6] The song thus has become associated with the loss of the kingdom and memory of the deposed queen, as well as a leitmotif for tourists mourning their separation from the islands.[7] What can we make of this persistent misapprehension and the erasure the song performs in its turn from love to melancholy? What kinds of identifications do listeners and performers produce if sorrow, not love, is the song's emotional register?

In this article, I investigate the production of settler colonial nostalgia through the song's performances and circulation in the cultural imaginary over the last century. Colonial nostalgia, or nostalgia for the colonial past, is a dominant mode of organizing temporality and space in Hawaiʻi, an ongoing settler colonial site. Settler colonialism—the displacement of Indigenous peoples through the expropriation of land and institutions by foreign settlers—relies on and produces an investment in uncomplicated, ahistorical fantasies. Specifically, the settler colonial experience in Hawaiʻi produced the gendered, nostalgic fantasy of nonviolent, romanticized stewardship over Native cultural practices.

If settler colonialism "destroys to replace," as Patrick Wolfe cogently argues, then the transformation of "Aloha ʻOe" into melancholic nostalgia amply manifests this material and symbolic process of Native expropriation and displacement.[8] The genealogy of "Aloha ʻOe" reveals how settler society—its descendants, allies, and beneficiaries—actively recuperated and exported Indigenous practices, symbols, and cultural

productions as their own patrimony, while enabling the containment of Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians).[9] As a key performance of settler colonial nostalgia, "Aloha ʻOe" valorized Hawaiʻi and Hawaiians as tragically and inevitably lost to settlers. Its conversion from a love song into a song of mourning underwrites the persistent pathos of the settler colonial experience in Hawaiʻi: We, the settlers, have witnessed the destruction, but we mourn our loss. Nostalgia for those people, values, and things they eradicated gave settlers and their American counterparts an alibi as mere witnesses, while they aided and benefited from Native dispossession.

Yet, as settler colonial discourse about the song proved dominant, it did not eclipse all other meanings. The song has unsettled, as well as sedimented, settler hegemonies in and beyond Hawaiʻi. The song is a domain of contestation, producing competing interpretations and outcomes depending on the positions and investments of its constituents. Even the same interpretation of the mele—as farewell, sorrow, or nostalgia—could be put to different ends for settlers and Natives. Both settlers and Kanaka Maoli mourned through "Aloha ʻOe," but to varied effect. For settlers, mourning provided an alibi for their participation in a long process of deracination. Native Hawaiians, too, could sing the mele as a dirge, but their mourning expressed anguish for that same dispossession—the deep loss of nation, as well as veneration of their aliʻi (chiefs). Thus, nostalgia and the politics of melancholy also sustained Native counter-hegemonies in muted and explicit forms.

Farewell to the Queen

"Aloha ʻOe" was likely first performed in the United States in 1883, as the queen herself handwrote on an early manuscript of the song.[10] Demand for the sheet music was also high when the queen (then princess) visited Boston in 1887.[11] But the popularity of "Aloha ʻOe" soared after the US-backed overthrow of the kingdom in 1893 and the annexation of Hawaiʻi in 1898. It circulated in the United States as a song of imperial longing and attachment during this period.

Americans could not get enough of the song and wrote to Liliʻuokalani, clamoring for her music.[12] In the late 1890s, Liliʻuokalani was living in Washington, DC to work against the passage of the second US congressional treaty of annexation of Hawaiʻi and to recover crown lands that had been seized by the annexationist Republic of Hawaiʻi.[13] The deposed queen was assailed by requests for her music. She wrote in her memoir, "I have had more calls for my music than I could possibly supply. An edition of 'Aloha Oe,' published by me in Washington this winter, simply for gifts to my friends, is nearly exhausted."[14] American newspapers also printed profiles of the deposed queen and her song following the overthrow. Minimizing the role of Euro-American settlers and the United States in her ouster, these reports referred to her as a former queen, an "ex-Queen," a "musician," and "composer."[15] An 1897 article in the *Washington Post*, for example, describes the "former queen" singing "Aloha Oe" beautifully for her guests during her residence in Washington, DC.[16] This insistent reception of the queen as a talented songwriter continues throughout the twentieth century in American print media, obscuring Liliʻuokalani as a political sovereign.

Previously portrayed as a politically inept savage requiring US intervention, Liliʻuokalani became a feminized romantic object of sympathy. According to twentieth-century accounts, she devoted her life to the performing arts following her abdication. No longer queen, "[s]he composed the touching Hawaiian song, 'Aloha Oe,' heard by everyone who knows the name of Hawaii."[17] Another posthumous profile emphasizes the queen's peaceful retirement as a composer: "She had been deposed, and she was no longer queen, but she still lived pleasantly in her islands, among her own people, where she had written her beautiful song [Aloha ʻOe]."[18] These interpretations recast Liliʻuokalani as a tragic and sympathetic figure—a genteel composer—rather than a political threat. These highly gendered representations of the queen helped to amplify feminized views of Hawaiʻi as pacific and acquiescent. While the queen had been gendered and racialized as a masculine savage previously in the overthrow period, she became recuperable as a Victorian lady artist.

Not only was the queen reduced to a composer, but Hawaiians at large were treated as gentle performers. The song, as interpreted by Americans as melancholic and languid, confirmed Hawaiians as soulful, tender musicians who lacked a martial spirit. Reviewing "Aloha ʻOe" in 1917, the *Washington Post* assessed, "The natives who are gradually and surely dispossessed of their native soil, sing out their heart and feelings on the subject in their national songs. Lacking the energy to repulse the invader, their music never contains inspiring martial airs, such as that of conquering nations."[19]

Hawaiians were gendered as effete wards that could sing beautiful melodies, but were incompetent political leaders and combatants. Thus, the American takeover of the islands appeared naturalized as benign and consensual—a matter of destiny. As welcoming lovers, Hawaiians seemed to invite both defeat and outsiders. In a settler colonial context, the song was taken as an expression of aloha, or love and affection, to outsiders.[20] As I have argued elsewhere, colonial encounters in Hawaiʻi were imagined through metaphors of aloha, rather than violence, such that interactions between Americans and Hawaiians were experienced through affective metaphors of integration, assimilation, and submission.[21] Like imperial stagings of hula during the same period, performances of "Aloha ʻOe" were received as gifts of aloha and acquiescence by settlers.[22]

Possessions and Patrimony

The farewells between two lovers that echo in "Aloha ʻOe" have been persistently conflated with the queen's farewell to her kingdom. Frommer's tourist guides to Hawaiʻi published between the 1990s and 2000s, for example, associate the downfall of the kingdom with the composition of "Aloha ʻOe": "On January 17, 1893, a group of American sugar planters and missionary descendants, with the support of U.S. Marines, imprisoned Queen Liliuokalani in her own palace, where she later penned the sorrowful lyric 'Aloha Oe,' Hawaii's song of farewell. The monarchy was dead."[23] This coupling of two historically unrelated events—the 1878 love song and the 1893 overthrow—has enabled the kingdom's political demise to be staged as a melodrama.

Settler elites enjoyed starring roles as bereft lovers in these melodramatic scenarios. However, these are performances of possession as much as loss. Bidding goodbye to an

old Hawaiʻi, they welcomed a new Hawaiʻi under their leadership. They recuperated "Aloha ʻOe" as their swan song to the monarchy and their own patrimony. Kamaʻāina haole (Hawaiʻi-born Whites) were well-versed in many aspects of Hawaiian cultural practices because their forebears had studied them in order to regulate and eradicate them. In the late nineteenth century, this settler colonial class enjoyed going native and playing Hawaiian; they wrote and spoke fluent Hawaiian, ate Hawaiian food, and sang Hawaiian music.[24] Meanwhile, many conspired to undermine the crown, disenfranchise Kanaka Maoli and immigrant Asians, and establish themselves as new patrons and chiefs of Hawaiʻi.

Sanford Ballard Dole, born in Hawaiʻi as the son of American missionaries from Maine, epitomizes this settler colonial class.[25] He and other collaborators diminished the power of the Hawaiian crown via a highly restrictive and coercive 1887 constitution that became known as the Bayonet Constitution. After leading the successful overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani in collaboration with an American minister and marines in 1893, Dole assumed the presidency of the provisional government and, later, that of the Republic of Hawaiʻi between 1894 and 1898. During this period, Dole and other haole missionary-businessmen worked to secure a treaty of annexation by the United States against the express will of the vast majority of Kanaka Maoli.

On Dole's birthday in 1895, seventy-five prominent missionary descendants presented the president a "hookupu," an offering made to a chief. Performing oli (chants) in Hawaiian and carrying gifts of pigs and fruit, the missionaries proved so adept at Hawaiian protocol that "[t]he true spirit of the Hawaiian seemed to enter into the very beings of the descendants of the missionaries."[26] The celebration formally closed with the group singing "Aloha ʻOe." Yet these men also demonstrated their fluency in the masculine grammar of empire, reciting a poem in English that hailed Dole as their "chief," "ruler," "uncrowned prince without a state," and "chosen man of men" who had risen to the presidency of the Republic and rallied for its annexation to the United States.

Three years later, when US annexation remained a goal of this group, President Dole left Hawaiʻi to lobby for a treaty in Washington, DC. Dole and his wife were given a grand send-off by a crowd at the dock, and "Aloha ʻOe" was among the concluding repertoire of Hawaiian songs.[27] These two scenarios invite an ironic reading; haole settlers appropriated the queen's song to advance the cause of annexation and channel aloha to the kingdom's usurpers.

As an elaboration of Renalto Rosaldo's "imperialist nostalgia," the mourning of colonizers for what they have transformed,[28] the phenomenon I name as settler colonial nostalgia plays an essential, performative role in the reordering of Hawaiian life. Put another way, nostalgia is a structuring condition of settler colonialism in Hawaiʻi.[29] In these narratives and performances of settler colonial nostalgia, White settler subjects are centered as melancholic witnesses to the tragic loss of the Hawaiian kingdom. As bystanders, they celebrate the Hawaiian monarchy selectively while disavowing their role in its systematic dismantling. These romantic stagings as lovers allow settlers to position themselves as witnesses to the violence of colonial change, not as its agents.

Albert Pierce Taylor, an American who served as a secretary for the Hawaii Annexation Commission in the late 1890s, became an influential journalist, amateur ethnologist, and chief archivist in the territory. In his ethnographic account of Hawai'i published in 1922, *Under Hawaiian Skies*, Taylor associates "Aloha 'Oe" with the passing of the romantic kingdom. He witnesses the song at the funerals of two ali'i, the former Queen Lili'uokalani and her nephew Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole. These "semi-barbaric" funerals are occasions to mourn the loss of old, "picturesque" Hawai'i: "Never have Hawaiian voices blended more sweetly, with sobs in every note, as they have over their alii, for they realize that impersonated in him [Kūhiō], their nation is pau [dead]."[30] While Hawaiians mourn, Taylor suggests the Hawaiian "aboriginal race" may come to an end, "submerged" by the "white man's civilization."[31]

Yet who was responsible for the end of the monarchy? As Taylor reflects nostalgically on the colorful customs of Hawaiian people and mourns the passing of this "aboriginal race," its downfall seems inevitable. Fundamentally weak, the colorful monarchy met its regrettable, but inexorable demise by a "bloodless revolution." Hawai'i was destined to become "America's Gibraltar of the Pacific" and a "khaki-clad outpost for the great American republic."[32] A fundamental disavowal is at work here: Settlers and White elites are eyewitnesses to, rather than participants in, colonization and extermination and thus are unwitting beneficiaries of the profligacy of Hawaiians. Nostalgic performances of "Aloha 'Oe" shift into a dirge for the kingdom, one radically different from that intended by Hawaiian mourners for their ali'i. For White witnesses, "Aloha 'Oe" is a eulogy for what I call "old Hawai'i"—a romantic, soon-to-be-extinct Hawai'i that they had labored to destroy.[33] Settler colonial nostalgia permits settlers to salvage old Hawai'i and recuperate through selective patronage. These performances of patronage erase their culpability, for settlers may exterminate and possess at the same time.

Settler Invitations

As they performed roles as mourning lovers, White settlers in the territorial period also invited Americans to step into these roles and experience Hawai'i as they did. William Richards Castle Jr., the great-grandson of missionaries and powerful land-holding politicians, was another homegrown son. In his 1914 guidebook and memoir, *Hawaii: Past and Present*, Castle wrote with an insider's perspective, inviting newcomers to partake of the delights of the islands. Castle's tourist has enjoyed many pleasures during his stay, and is melancholy at his leave-taking. He imagines the ship pulling away as the band plays "Aloha 'Oe," prompting a flood of memories and associations. This farewell is not only a bittersweet reflection, but occasion to welcome the work of American colonization: "[A]s the ship takes the waves of the open Pacific one knows that Hawaii, with all its loveliness, its stupendous mountains, its thrilling volcanoes, is only a happy memory—a place to love, and a place to be proud of since America has made it a land of prosperity and happiness, and liberty."[34]

Settlers appropriated Hawaiian music as their own nostalgic patrimony and were eager to commodify it. At the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific (A-Y-P) Exposition held in Seattle

in 1909 and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco in 1915, the haole settler oligarchy instrumentalized "Aloha ʻOe" to market Hawaiʻi as a settler paradise with unlimited potential for capitalist development and enjoyment. The oligarchy wished to expand tourism and commercial trade, as well as sell commodities like sugar and pineapple.[35] An orchestra of six Hawaiian musicians imported from the islands—described as "native singing boys"—played daily in the Hawaiʻi building in Seattle, attracting curious visitors to exhibits of agribusiness products. The building "became one of the most popular attractions on the grounds." Key to this successful draw was "one song especially, Aloha Oe, the Hawaiian dirge, [that] was demanded over and over every day."[36] The affective quality of Hawaiian singing produced a romance between listener and the islands that no brochure could convey.

Settlers encouraged Americans to partake of the islands as tourists and consumers and to enjoy Hawaiian hospitality as they had. Stagings of the song—via narrative accounts, popular print culture, live commercial performances, radio broadcasts, and sheet music—contributed to a wider, generalized set of gendered and racialized ideologies about the Hawaiian colony and its people: the islands as a site of feminized hospitality. In the fantasy of "Aloha ʻOe" presented in commercial venues, settlers and tourists get to imagine that they are being mourned and missed by the Hawaiian lovers they are leaving behind.

In these scenes, lovers bid goodbye: A White man must leave the islands and part from his Hawaiian lover, while she waits for the return of her suitor. An "imagined intimacy" of empire was summoned through this song—an imagined relationship in which Hawaiʻi and the United States, figured as heterosexual lovers, were inseparable.[37] Even when they must physically part, the woman longs eternally for her lover. The staging of "Aloha ʻOe" (as "Farewell to Thee" instead of "Love to Thee") in this touristic context enacted an imperial fantasy, a fantasy of intimacy that endures geographic and temporal separation. Here, the colonized Natives adore the White tourist/settler and mourn his absence. Those who leave are missed, rather than reviled. The romance comes to an end as the male lover returns to civilization, but remains a cherished memory that could be reanimated through song.[38]

In the wake of these expositions, "Aloha ʻOe" became even more popular and taken up by American publics avidly. Scholar George S. Kanahele claims that after 1916, more Hawaiian records sold on the continent than any other type of popular music. Chief among them was "Aloha ʻOe." American publishers announced it as a bestselling recording in 1916 and 1918.[39] In the 1920s, the song was played by non-Hawaiian musicians and broadcast regularly on weekly radio programs.[40] The cover art on published sheet music of "Aloha ʻOe" also encouraged listeners to interpret the song through gendered and racialized tropes of imperial hospitality. Whereas editions prior to 1900 often featured images of Queen Liliʻuokalani or no images at all, they shift to images of Hawaiian women gazing out toward a departing ship or to tropical landscapes (see fig. 1). As the settler oligarchy developed and marketed a mass tourist industry, it relied on these images and soundscapes to produce hospitality throughout the twentieth century.

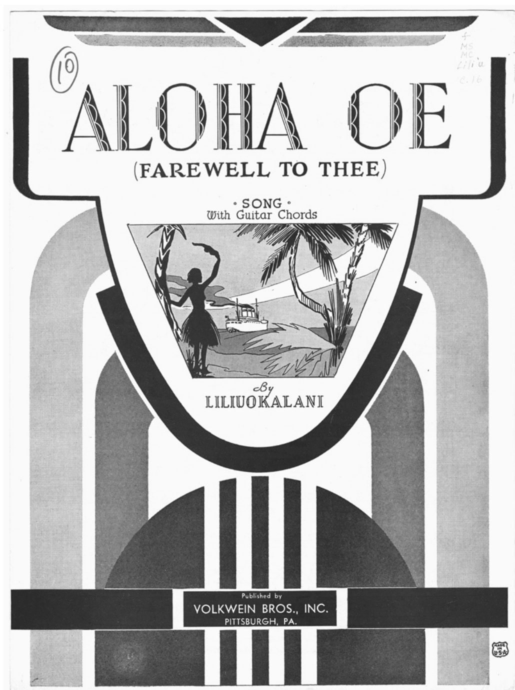

Figure 1. *Sheet music cover of "Aloha Oe (Farewell to Thee)," published by Volkwein Bros., Pittsburgh, PA, ca. 1943. Courtesy of Bishop Museum.*

Counter-Colonial Interruptions and Insurgencies

"Aloha 'Oe" remained a selling virtue of Hawaiian hospitality. The boat-day ritual of greeting malihini (strangers) from the "mainland" continued at least through the 1960s.[41] Hula dancers and musicians still occasionally perform for departing cruise ships in Honolulu harbor, and they sing "Aloha 'Oe" in Waikīkī as part of nostalgic revues of "old Hawai'i."[42] Against this backdrop of colonial nostalgia, however, islander performances of "Aloha 'Oe" suggest how the song could mobilize melodrama and nostalgia in ways that enabled subversive political interruptions of imperial fantasies. Stagings of "Aloha 'Oe" were polysemic performances, producing colonial desires for settlers and Americans while sustaining anticolonial and counter-colonial desires for Hawaiians at home and on tour. By counter-colonial, I mean to signal that latent desires and critiques of colonization are not necessarily explicitly anticolonial, nor are they simply reducible to oppositional practices.[43] These tactics comprise what might be called the "infrapolitics" or "hidden transcripts" of Native survival during settler colonization, to draw from James C. Scott's analysis of subaltern actions.[44]

Following the overthrow and annexation, Hawaiian entertainers toured the United States. They performed as the anticolonial Hawaiian National Band between 1895 and 1896. Later, some of these musicians joined Hawaiian villages at US expositions in Omaha, Nebraska in 1899 and Buffalo, New York in 1901. Known as the Bana Lahui or Puali Puhiohe Lahui, the National Band spoke and sang directly to Americans about the unjust political takeover and publicized the Hawaiian people's hope for the

restoration of their queen.[45] The musicians appealed to American crowds with familiar hits like "When You Were Sweet Sixteen," but also performed mele by their queen, including three compositions by Liliʻuokalani: "Aloha ʻOe," "Kuʻu Pua i Paoakalani," and "Lei Poni Moi." These mele were polysemic performances; their catchy melodies drew tourists in who did not understand Hawaiian language, but for the performers, the queen's compositions were indelibly associated with the struggles of their deposed aliʻi.

The Hawaiian patriot and entrepreneur managing the band was a man named John Henry Nalanieha Tuaorai Tamarii Wilson. Known as Johnny Wilson, he had grown up with the royal family; his mother Eveline "Kitty" Melita Kilioulani Kaopaokalani Wilson was a lady-in-waiting to the queen.[46] Wilson published a version of "Aloha ʻOe" in 1895. This version was entitled "Liliuokalani's Prayer and Serenade," but it contained two of the queen's compositions, "Aloha ʻOe" and the hymn "Ke Aloha o Ka Haku." Wilson sold copies of this music during the band's tours of the United States between 1895 and 1896, and later at the Omaha and Buffalo fairs. The sheet music features a large photograph of Queen Liliʻuokalani, and proclaims that the songs were written by "Her Majesty during her imprisonment by the Republican Gov't of Hawaiʻi" (fig. 2).

The queen did not compose "Aloha ʻOe" during her house arrest, but only transcribed it; she did compose the latter selection "Ke Aloha o Ka Haku" in 1895 while confined by annexationists in the palace.[47] Wilson most certainly knew these details, as

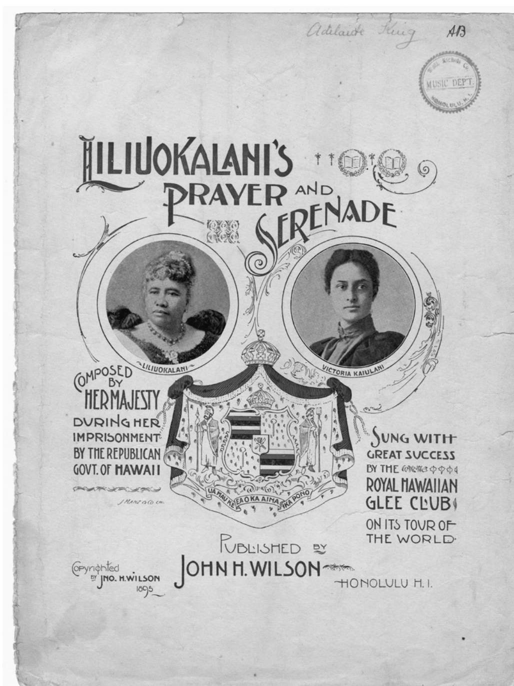

Figure 2. *Sheet music cover of "Liliuokalani's Prayer and Serenade," published by John H. Wilson, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, 1895. Courtesy of Bishop Museum.*

his mother chose to remain with the queen as a companion during this imprisonment. However, Wilson's explicit reference to the queen's captivity on the published music purposefully blurred the distinction between the two mele. This act of misrepresentation served to indict the oligarchy's participation in the overthrow and colonization.[48] "Aloha 'Oe" thus offered a trenchant political critique while providing a modest income stream for the touring band.

Furthermore, the performers always chose "Aloha 'Oe" as their last song at the Buffalo fair in 1901 and subsequent appearances throughout the southern states and Washington, DC. They sang this "national anthem" as a tribute to the queen. An article in the *Washington Post* inaccurately identifies the song as one that the queen had composed during her imprisonment as "a farewell to her flag, her land, and her beloved people."[49] However, the Hawaiian musicians' treatment of it as a "national anthem" suggests something contrary at work: that for the performers, it was more than a simple mournful "farewell," but a celebration of the queen and an assertion of their independence from the republican government and the United States.

Indeed, during their tours, members of the band talked to their American audiences about the unjust overthrow and their opposition to US annexation. In a letter sent from California and published in a Hawaiian-language newspaper in 1895, the bandleader R. William Aylett claimed that haole in America saw that the missionary sons had committed an immoral act and supported the restoration of the queen to her throne.[50] In the guise of soothing, commodified entertainment, "Aloha 'Oe" and the queen's songs were more than pleasurable fantasies for tourists or elegiac farewells to the kingdom. They enabled Hawaiians to keep the ongoing political struggle of the kingdom alive and sustain ties between the performers and their ali'i.[51]

Canonical Remembrances

While not as ubiquitous as it once was in Hawai'i, "Aloha 'Oe" has not been forgotten or dismissed in island communities today. The mele is taught in many schools, and the Royal Hawaiian Band customarily ends its free Friday concerts at 'Iolani Palace with the song. Island groups also may clasp hands and sing "Aloha 'Oe" to celebrate the close of a communal experience. Its association with loss is almost inescapable, as it continues to be heard at funerals.[52] Among these varied valences, it has been selectively deployed for casually counter-colonial and more explicitly nationalist purposes by island performers. Twentieth-century and contemporary Kanaka Maoli and non-Hawaiian islander musicians have resignified "Aloha 'Oe" and its attendant symbols of colonial nostalgia into evocative mele. I suggest here several overlapping ways in which the song is being canonized in contemporary Hawai'i.

The first recasts the mele as a love song instead of a dirge. Amy Hānaiali'i is considered a foremost Hawaiian singer skilled in the art of Hawaiian falsetto, rather than a tourist entertainer.[53] However, for her second album, *Nostalgia*, she and her producer-collaborator Willie K. (Willie Kahaiali'i) chose to record nineteenth- and twentieth-century tourist standards, including "Aloha 'Oe" and "Lovely Hula Hands."[54] These selections were the mainstay of territorial Hawai'i, especially hapa-haole songs

Figure 3. *Still from Amy Hānaiali'i's music video for "Aloha 'Oe" (2000). Here, Hānaiali'i is superimposed onto a film image of a tourist steamship.*

(English-language songs with Hawaiian themes) that are not usually considered authentically Indigenous.

The music video for "Aloha 'Oe," as well as the album cover for *Nostalgia*, resuscitates nostalgic settler colonial images and tropes from the early territorial period. Hānaiali'i poses in a long holokū gown with a thick carnation lei, an image of Hawaiian female elegance in the 1920s to the 1940s. In the sepia-toned video, Hānaiali'i's image is overlaid with other classic tourist views of the female hula dancer, the pier, and the departing steamship (see fig. 3). Hānaiali'i performs "Aloha 'Oe" as a slow-tempo elegy and love song, and its affective register is of muted sadness.

However, while the flickering stock images may initially signal generic nostalgia for old Hawai'i, the point of view of the film is *not* that of the departing tourist. It is that of the Native Hawaiian left on shore, as implied by the image of the ship pulling farther away from shore, rather than of the receding mountains and shore. Thus, the nostalgia invoked is not the bittersweet memories of the White settler or tourist. Whose desire and longing is ambivalent; it appears to shift to that of the Hawaiian woman, embodied by Hānaiali'i who sings languidly for someone unidentified. The woman's object of desire could perhaps be an archetypal White male lover who is not shown; she herself could also be the object of desire. The video, however, suggests that the woman is longing for a dark-skinned Hawaiian man, who is seen in profile holding up a flower lei. Ultimately, it is the Hawaiian woman who vocalizes herself as the desiring agent.

That this album continued to cement Hānaiali'i's popularity among Hawaiians and islanders suggests how eroticized nostalgia can be reclaimed by Hawaiians as their patrimony. Hānaiali'i won a Nā Hōkū Hanohano, a prestigious award from the Hawai'i recording industry, for best female vocalist in 2000 for this album. This version of "Aloha 'Oe" asserts tourist mele as Hawaiian patrimony; it is a potent example of how Hawaiians recuperate colonial nostalgia for their own discrepant purposes. Hānaiali'i performs "Aloha 'Oe" as a love song, as it was once intended by its composer.

In a similar vein, contemporary hula performances of "Aloha 'Oe" have resuscitated the song as an expression of love and desire. Such assertions critique settler colonial

memories that privilege sorrow. Although "Aloha ʻOe" is not usually performed as a hula, it has been danced a few times at hula competitions such as the Merrie Monarch and the World Invitational Hula (E Hoʻi Mai i Ka Piko) festivals in Hawaiʻi. Kumu hula (hula master) Manu Boyd choreographed the mele as an ʻauana (modern) performance for his female soloist, Punihei Anthony, at the 2005 Merrie Monarch Festival. Anthony subsequently performed it as a love song, placing third in the prestigious Miss Aloha Hula category.[55] Another hālau hula (hula troupe), Hālau o Nā Pua Kukui, from Oʻahu, has danced "Aloha ʻOe" as a mele hoʻoipoipo (love song) at celebrations of the queen's birthday, although the group does not perform it regularly in competition or professional repertoire.

Other performances of "Aloha ʻOe" reveal that Kanaka Maoli and islanders do not treat the song simply as a colonial or tourist imposition. Rather, the opposition they present to colonialism perhaps lies in the simple refusal to interpret the song strictly as a dirge or a love song. Hawaiian lūʻau celebrations in the 1940s ended with the guests and hosts singing "Aloha ʻOe" as a customary way to conclude a communal celebration. More recently, around the overthrow centennial in 1993, popular Hawaiian musicians Roland Cazimero, Cyril Pahinui, and Israel Kamakawiwoʻole performed the song at an informal backyard jam on a Hawaiian homestead.

The backyard remembrance, or what one might call the "pāʻina" (informal party) iteration of "Aloha ʻOe," is perhaps most strongly represented by guitarist Gabby "Pops" Pahinui in two recordings of the song from his 1961 album *Pure Gabby* and his 1972 *Brown Album*.[56] During the cultural renaissance when Hawaiians were rallying for land reparations, social justice, and the restoration of Hawaiian language and arts, Pahinui recorded some of his favorite music. He performed "Aloha ʻOe" as instrumental numbers with slack key guitar in 1961 and with steel guitar in 1972. In these two recordings, "Aloha ʻOe" does not stand alone as an elegy or nostalgic farewell, but is ancillary to two vibrant folk songs with which the song is paired in medleys: the love song "Isa Lei," which is the Fijian analogue to "Aloha ʻOe," and "Hiilawe." In the latter 1972 version, the early-twentieth-century love song "Hiilawe" takes center stage. "Aloha ʻOe" is the outro, nearly an afterthought that leads the listener out from the robust, central melody and vocals of "Hiilawe," which became Pahinui's signature recording.

If Gabby Pahinui's music represents a relaxed, unceremonial homage to the queen, her mele also have been more reverentially incorporated into a contemporary canon of music honoring aliʻi as cultural producers, royal forebears, and political leaders. These performances insert "Aloha ʻOe" within the canon of "Nā Lani ʻEhā" (The Four Heavens). "Nā Lani ʻEhā" refers to four royal siblings—Liliʻuokalani, Kalākaua, Leleiohoku, and Miriam Likelike—two women and two men who were gifted musicians and composers. Island musicians have recorded and performed the extensive repertoire of these four aliʻi composers at the queen's birthday celebrations and for two albums of late.[57] More recently in spring 2012, Hawaiian musicians performed the music of Nā Lani ʻEhā at the royal palace; the performances were staged and filmed for an hour-long musical special aired on public television.[58] Collectively, these performances are meant to canonize and exalt the royal siblings as chiefs and musicians. They are not explicitly pro-sovereignty or anticolonial, making muted references to the cultural and political

legacy of the chiefly Kalākaua line that asserted Hawaiian autonomy. Rather, they are positioned as songs of resistance to Western imperial force and colonization.

Although settler histories of "Aloha ʻOe" celebrated the queen as a composer at the expense of her political work, these contemporary performances memorialize her as both talented musician and beloved queen. Thus, "Aloha ʻOe" is performed not only as a love song, but a love song specifically *for* the queen and her relations. The slack-key guitarist Ozzie Kotani's 2001 album, *To Honor a Queen: Hoʻohiwahiwa i Ka Moʻi Wahine—The Music of Liliʻuokalani*, is one such effort to reposition the queen as a national hero. Kotani, a Hawaiʻi-born islander of Japanese descent, recorded a diverse repertoire of Liliʻuokalani's music, of which "Aloha ʻOe" is but one example among waltzes and biblical hymns. While highlighting her skill as a composer of both Western and Hawaiian musical repertoire, this tribute is also meant to pay homage to the queen as a leader and contextualize her music within a larger historical framework of her political struggles. Kotani's "Aloha ʻOe" is a slack key instrumental. Absent the quaking vocals that have become associated with its interpretation as a dirge, "Aloha ʻOe" is presented as a simple love song.[59] Affirming the queen and the restoration of the Hawaiian nation, these performances attempt to transform Indigenous and settler colonial legacies in the present.

After Nostalgia

An eight-foot-tall bronze statue of Queen Liliʻuokalani stands between the royal palace and the Hawaiʻi state capitol in Honolulu (see fig. 4). In her left hand, she holds three significant documents that represent her accomplishments to multiple constituents: the sheet music for "Aloha ʻOe"; a page of the 1893 Hawaiʻi constitution; and the Kumulipo, the ancient creation chant that she translated into English during her imprisonment in 1895. The queen had planned to unveil this new constitution to restore the rights of her Native Hawaiian subjects, but she was overthrown before it could be implemented.[60] Called "The Spirit of Liliuokalani," the statue presents the queen simultaneously as a sovereign, staunch nationalist, and composer. However, like her song "Aloha ʻOe," it offers an uneasy, incomplete reconciliation of competing interpretations of the queen. Tourists snap photographs of the statue, some without knowing whom it represents or why it stands in the shadow of the capitol building. Others are curious because guidebooks mention the queen as the composer of the famous "Aloha ʻOe."

Yet, at the same time, Hawaiians visit her likeness to pay tribute to her courage and to mourn the loss of their kingdom. The queen and her image remain a touchstone for Hawaiians involved in self-determination, decolonization, and sovereignty struggles. On the centennial of the overthrow in January 1993, thousands of Kanaka Maoli and their allies gathered to honor the memory of the queen and assert their nationhood. They draped the statue with hoʻokupu (tributes) of flowers and leis. "Aloha ʻOe" was performed by Hawaiian entertainers during the opening ceremony, but it was only one demonstration of love and grief during the five-day commemoration. Participants marched, chanted, danced hula, performed historical reenactments of the overthrow,

Figure 4. *"Spirit of Liliuokalani" statue of Queen Lili'uokalani, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Ho'okupu (tributes) of flowers have been placed in the queen's right hand and on the pedestal. Photograph by author.*

and carried torches.[61] This collective sorrow at a century of colonial dispossession did not emerge as nostalgia for old Hawai'i, but a demand for justice and recognition.

There has not been as large and organized of an assembly since, but Hawaiians still gather at the statue on the anniversary of the overthrow and on the queen's birthday. Protest marches and solemn vigils begin or end at her statue, and even press conferences by sovereignty activists rely on the queen as their backdrop. One Hawaiian participant expressed his aloha and sorrow while celebrating the queen's birthday: "I cry when I come over here and I see the statue of her. My people are still surviving, but it's sad."[62] Unlike settler colonial nostalgia that diminishes Native agency and treats Natives as those who must be mourned, scenarios like these suggest that sadness need not become an end in itself, but produces the incentive to survive.

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Notes

I do not italicize Hawaiian words, in order to avoid marking an Indigenous language foreign. Following modern Hawaiian orthography, I utilize diacritical marks for all Hawaiian-language terms, except when quoting names and words from nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century sources that did not employ diacritical marks.

1. This number is estimated from sheet music covers in online archives and at the Bishop Museum archives in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi.

2. Elvis Presley recorded the song for his 1961 album *Blue Hawaii*, which was the soundtrack for the film. Johnny Cash recorded the song in 2003 and it was released posthumously on his album *American VI: Ain't No Grave* in 2010.

3. June Provines, "Front Views and Profiles," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 2, 1937. The song was also used to greet President Franklin D. Roosevelt during his visit to Hawaiʻi in 1934. "Hawaii Plans Big Welcome to President," *Washington Post*, June 25, 1934.

4. *The Queen's Songbook, Her Majesty Queen Liliʻuokalani*, ed. Dorothy K. Gillett and Barbara Barnard Smith (Honolulu: Hui Hānai, 1999), 38–39, offers an excellent summary of overlapping origin stories of the mele.

5. Liliʻuokalani appears to have borrowed four measures of Charles C. Converse's 1857 song "The Rock Beside the Sea" for her mele. *The Queen's Songbook*, 38.

6. A posthumous tribute to Liliʻuokalani describes the song as having been composed by the "captive queen." Henry H. Hart writes, "Her palace became her prison—and from that prison came Hawaii's sweetest song, 'Aloha Oe.'" Henry H. Hart, "Aloha Oe, Liliuokalani," *Overland Monthly* LXXI (January 1918): 14.

7. Later in life, the queen was shocked to see the song she intended as a love song performed at the funeral of a missionary. Samuel H. Elbert and Noelani Mahoe, *Nā Mele o Hawaiʻi Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1970), 35. It was culturally inappropriate for Hawaiians to mix performance genres of mourning with that of love, as Native Hawaiian mourning practices required a specific genre of chant (kanikau). Stephen H. Sumida analyzes these Hawaiian literary and performative genres in *And the View from the Shore*: *Literary Traditions of Hawaiʻi* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991).

8. Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (2006): 388.

9. This productive idea of recuperative indigeneity is drawn from Patrick Wolfe's reading of Australian settler society's borrowing of Aboriginal motifs and symbols to establish its independence from the mother country. Ibid., 389.

10. M-93 Liliuokalani Collection, Music, Folder 43, Hawaiʻi State Archives; Patrick Hennessey, "Launching a Classic: 'Aloha 'Oe' and the Royal Hawaiian Band Tour of 1883," *Journal of Band Research* 37 (2001): 29–44.

11. During Queen Kapiʻolani's and Princess Liliʻuokalani's visit to Boston in May 1887, a man named J. Thomas Baldwin composed, arranged and published a version that incorporated part of the queen's melody, renaming it "Aloha Oe (My Love to You) March." *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean*, October 2, 1887, 13; "Aloha Oe (My Love to You) March," ff M 1844 H3H3s, Liliuokalani, Box 6, folder 13, Bishop Museum. Fifteen thousand copies of this march were sold in the first week of its publication. *St. Louis Globe–Democrat*, May 29, 1887, 26.

12. George S. Kanahele, ed., *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History* (Honolulu: The University of Hawaii Press, 1979), 230.

13. After forming a provisional government in 1893, annexationists declared a "Republic of Hawaii" in 1894. Leaders of the republic aligned themselves with the United States and sought annexation. An 1897 treaty of annexation was eventually defeated by a massive petition campaign by Kanaka Maoli. However, the United States illegally annexed the islands by a joint resolution in 1898; the crown lands seized by the republic were not recovered. For an astute analysis of Kanaka petition organizing that defeated the treaty of annexation in 1897, see Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*: *Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 131–63.

14. Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1898), 351.

15. For example, song lyrics were printed in the *Los Angeles Times*, April 2, 1895. See also Ethel Marie Armes, "The Hawaiian Women," *Washington Post*, March 28, 1897.

16. Armes, "The Hawaiian Women."

17. "Hawaii Capitol as Throne Room," *Washington Post*, May 26, 1935.

18. "The Post Impressionist: Sandwich Song," *Washington Post*, September 30, 1942.

19. "It's Hymns the Ukuleles Play," *Washington Post*, January 7, 1917.

20. Although it is commonly used as a greeting, *aloha* is also highly contextual and encompasses multiple meanings of love, sympathy, pity, compassion, and mercy. Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 8; Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Revised and Enlarged Edition* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 21.

21. Imada, *Aloha America*, 11.

22. In *Aloha America*, I analyze the relationship between live and mediated performance circuits of hula and the U.S. imperial incorporation of Hawai'i from the late nineteenth century to the present.

23. For example, see Jeanette Foster, *Frommer's Hawaii 2011* (Hoboken: John Wiley and Sons Publishing, 2010), 39.

24. "Playing Hawaiian" draws from the productive concept of "playing Indian," the phenomenon of non-Indians staging their fantasies about Indians. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) and Rayna Green, "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," *Folklore* 99, no. 1 (1998): 30–55.

25. This settler-colonial class consisted of Euro-American missionary descendants, businessmen, and their allies.

26. "Missionaries and Hookupu," *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 26, 1895.

27. "Mr. Dole Leaves," *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 11, 1898.

28. Renalto Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth* (Boston: Beacon, 1989), 69. As Rosaldo analyzes, this nostalgia discursively erased the complicity of those who contributed to that change.

29. For as Patrick Wolfe cautions, settler colonialism is a structure, not an event. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 390.

30. Albert Pierce Taylor, *Under Hawaiian Skies* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., 1922), 300–01.

31. Ibid., 298.

32. Ibid., 300.

33. What is considered "old Hawai'i" is always positioned in relationship to the immediate moment, so that from the perspective of 1920s territorial Hawai'i, "old" is the memory of a prior, idealized monarchical period.

34. William R. Castle, *Hawaii, Past and Present* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1914), 247.

35. The US federal government funded buildings for each of its new major Pacific territories at the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in 1909: the Philippines, Alaska, and Hawai'i. This imperial fair boasted the ascendancy of American power in the Pacific. The exhibit of Hawai'i was a major production, the first exhibit funded by the federal government and the territorial legislature. The US Department of the Interior, which maintained administrative control over the islands, aimed to advertise the Hawaiian territory's history and resources, but most importantly, its progress under US rule. Costing an estimated $100,000, the displays at the Hawai'i building were produced through an alliance between territorial officials, federal interior officials, and big business in Hawai'i. The federal government and the Hawai'i territorial legislature contributed $50,000 and $25,000 respectively, while the pineapple and sugar industries contributed approximately $10,000 each. Will J. Cooper, "Hawaii at the Seattle Exposition," *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1910* (Honolulu: Thos. G.

Thrum, 1909). The A-Y-P Exposition's island commission appears to have been composed entirely of haole settler businessmen.

36. *Participation in the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1911), 89.

37. Imada, *Aloha America*, 11, 154.

38. Occasionally the subject is a White woman who departs from a Hawaiian male lover, as in Jack London's short story "Aloha Oe," published in *The House of Pride and Other Tales of Hawaii* (New York: MacMillan, 1912). But most often the point of view is that of a Euro-American male tourist or settler.

39. "Three Best Sellers in Music," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 12, 1916; "Three Best Sellers in Music," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 21, 1918. See also the display advertisement for a talking machine and records, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, January 25, 1918. In 1916, Victor listed 146 Hawaiian records in its catalog, cites Kanahele in *Hawaiian Music*, 290. By my estimate, at least thirty sheet-music versions of "Aloha ʻOe" were published between 1890 to 1920, with numerous others throughout the twentieth century.

40. As one example, the "Hawaiian Melody Boys," who were not Hawaiian and did not come from the islands, played thirty minutes of "Hawaiian" music that was broadcast on the radio. Their selections included "Where's My Sweetie Hiding?" "Kawaihau Waltz," "Doo Wacka Doo," "My Own Iona," and "Aloha Oe." "Hawaiian Boys on Tonight," *Washington Post*, March 2, 1925. See also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, March 5, 1922; and *Washington Post*, July 12, 1922. *The Washington Post* wrote in 1921 that "because of its wonderful sweetness, this air [Aloha ʻOe] is familiar pretty much the world over." "Hawaii and its Music," *Washington Post*, April 24, 1921.

41. Jerry Hulse, "Hawaii: A Dream Comes True for Millions," *Los Angeles Times*, September 24, 1967.

42. For instance, Alan Akaka and the Islanders perform songs of "Territorial Hawaiʻi" at Waikiki Beach Walk, the tourist district's newest shopping and dining promenade.

43. I rely on Vicente M. Diaz's use of "counter-colonial" in his analysis of Chamorro converts to Christianity. *Repositioning the Missionary: Rewriting the Histories of Colonialism, Native Catholicism, and Indigeneity in Guam* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2010), 23. For a sustained discussion of counter-colonial theory and praxis in a Hawaiian context, see Imada, *Aloha America*, 17–18, 63–64.

44. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

45. The Bana Lahui or Puali Puhiohe Lahui was comprised of multinational and multiethnic musicians (e.g., Kanaka Maoli, Filipinos, Portuguese), formerly employed in the kingdom's band, who had refused to sign an oath of loyalty to the pro-American provisional government after the overthrow.

46. Also known as Keoni Wilisona, Johnny Wilson was Tahitian, Hawaiian, and haole. Wilson's father Charles B. Wilson served as the queen's marshal. Johnny Wilson, a favorite of Liliʻuokalani since childhood, attended Stanford University with the financial support of the queen until the overthrow forced him to withdraw.

47. In a chapter on her imprisonment published in her memoir, Liliʻuokalani wrote: "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, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, 289–90.

48. In January 1895, an armed attempt to reinstate the monarchy by royalist supporters failed. The Republic of Hawaiʻi placed Queen Liliʻuokalani on trial and convicted her of conspiracy and

treason for her alleged knowledge of the revolt. She was forced to abdicate her throne and was imprisoned in the royal palace.

49. "Long for Island Home: Sweet Singers from Hawaii Meet with Misfortune," *Washington Post*, December 8, 1902.

50. *Ka Makaainana*, July 22, 1895. William Aylett wrote, "Nui ka olelo o na haole maanei i ka lapuwale o na mikanele. Wahi a lakou, he pono loa e hoihoi hou i ka Moi ma Kona wahi." [There is a lot being said here by the foreigners about the iniquity of the missionary sons. According to them, the sovereign should be restored to her throne.]

51. John H. Wilson recorded sales of this sheet music in his tour diary for the 1901 Buffalo fair. Wilson, *Diary, 1901 Buffalo Fair*, Bob Krauss Workbook 6 (June 1899–September 1902), U-163, John H. Wilson Research Papers of Bob Krauss, Hawai'i State Archives. The other songs the band performed were "Aloha 'Oe," "Moanalua," "[Ku'u Pua o] Paoakalani," "Liko no a Hiki," "Ahi Wela," "Sweet Lei Lehua," "[Ua] Like no a Like," and "Lei Poni Moi."

52. As one notable example, "Aloha 'Oe" was performed at the Hawai'i State Capitol while US Senator's Daniel K. Inouye's body lay in state on December 22, 2012.

53. Amy Hānaiali'i originally recorded under the names "Amy Gilliom" and "Amy Hānaiali'i Gilliom."

54. *Nostalgia* was released by Mountain Apple Records in 2000.

55. Manu Boyd was inspired to choreograph "Aloha 'Oe" as a hula because he is a lineal descendent of Captain Edwin Boyd, the man whom Lili'uokalani witnessed parting from his female lover in 1878, and a possible subject of the mele. Since the Merrie Monarch Festival does not allow mele with English language words, Boyd's choice of "Aloha 'Oe" was declined at first. However, after the appeal of kumu hula Alicia Smith, whose daughter Pi'ilani Smith had danced the mele as her outgoing Miss Aloha Hula solo in 1990, the festival relented and permitted Boyd use of the mele. Wanda Adams, "Manu Boyd Brings 'Aloha 'Oe' to Fest," *Honolulu Advertiser*, March 27, 2005.

56. *Pure Gabby* was recorded in 1961 and issued in 1978 by Hula Records. The album entitled *Gabby*, known more popularly as the *Brown Album*, was issued in 1972 by Panini Productions. These two albums became soundtracks of the Hawaiian renaissance and are still treated reverentially by Kanaka Maoli and non-Kanaka as authentic expressions of Hawaiian life.

57. The album *Nā Lani 'Ehā* was recorded by Ku'uipo Kumukahi and released in 2007. A 2010 album, *A Tribute to Nā Lani 'Ehā: Music of the Hawaiian Monarchy*, features performances by well-known Hawaiian musicians Louis "Moon" Kauakahi, Cyril Pahinui, Manu Boyd, and Teresa Bright.

58. "Na Lani Eha from 'Iolani Palace" aired on Kamehameha Day, June 11 2012, on Hawai'i Public Television.

59. In the album's liner notes, Kotani explains his intended interpretation of the song as a mele ho'oipoipo (love song). Ozzie Kotani, *To Honor a Queen (Ho'ohiwahiwa i Ka Mo'i Wahine): The Music of Lili'uokalani*, Dancing Cat Records, 2001.

60. The 1893 constitution was intended to replace the 1887 Bayonet Constitution that had abrogated the rights of Hawaiians and the monarchy. Among the major changes of this proposed constitution were the abolition of race and language restrictions for voting, the reduction or elimination of property requirements for enfranchisement, and the restoration of the queen's executive powers. Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 167, and Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume III, 1874–1893*, 586.

61. *'Onipa'a: Five Days in the History of the Hawaiian Nation* (Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1994).

62. Andrew Gomes, "Hawaii's Queen Liliuokalani Honored," *Honolulu Advertiser*, September 3, 2007.