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“Aloha Aina”: New Perspectives on “Kaulana Nā Pua”

IN SEPTEMBER 1997, I had the pleasure of spending a day sifting through the collection of Hawaiian sheet music in the Performing Arts Division at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. While it was not my first visit, it turned out to be a particularly fortuitous one. Initially, I was there to check some things I had found on earlier visits. One particularly major resource I requested could not be located by the library staff member retrieving paging requests that morning. I requested that they search again, but again, the item was not found. After a lunch break, when another librarian had come to the desk, I asked that the item be searched yet again. When again the request came back unfilled, I began to plead desperation to the librarian at the desk about why it was so important (to me) to see this particular item, and surely it must be merely misshelved. This librarian was more accommodating than the person on the morning desk shift; she picked up the telephone and phoned the pager downstairs in the stacks. After several minutes of conversation, she told the pager “why don't you just bring up the entire box and we'll have a look up here.”

I tell this story at some length, because this experience sensitized me to the vicissitudes of historical research when researchers are separated from resources by restricted systems of access such as closed shelving. Having worked up to that time only with the division's old card catalog, I had learned that imagination was required to hunt for

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widely scattered entries filed by composer's name. What I did not know was that all of the loose pieces of Hawaiian sheet music (as opposed to published songbooks) were stored in multiple file folders in one box. When patrons request a song by title, the pager locates the specific piece of sheet music inside the box and brings only that piece up to the reading room. Without knowing that there was a box to hunt through, my previous forays into the library's holdings were limited by what I could locate, virtually at random, in the card catalog. Moments later, the box arrived in the reading room. When the librarian saw the expression of curiosity written all over my face, she kindly suggested I take the entire box to a seat at one of the front tables reserved for users of rare materials (where staff can keep a close watch on users).

Within minutes, two things became apparent. First of all, the item that I requested three times was in the box, but misfiled at the very bottom rather than where the pager expected to find it, second from the top. Second, I learned that the sheet music in the box was filed alphabetically by composer's last name, so someone searching for songs had to know the composer under whose name the song was cataloged.¹

I happily turned over leaves of sheet music like a child in a candy store. Because this collection resulted from submissions for copyright registration, there was an unusually large amount of very early Hawaiian sheet music published in the late 1800s and early 1900s. And halfway through the box, in the fifth file folder, I came upon the focus of this article: an unassuming sheet titled simply "Aloha Aina (song)," published by Armstrong and Bacon, and sold at Model Music Store, at 735 Market St. in San Francisco. I turned the page and read the opening lines: "Kaulana na pua o Hawaii, kupaa mahope o ka aina. . . ." The notice at the bottom of the page read "Copyrighted 1895, by J. S. LIBORNIO." What I had happened upon was original published sheet music for the nationalist *mele lāhui* song known in the present as "Kaulana Nā Pua." For historical interest as well as illustration purposes, the sheet music is reproduced with this article (Fig. 1).

There are many things to be learned from this particular piece of sheet music. Some insights relate to the history of the song itself.

Other insights entail revisions in what we can know about Hawaiian music in the late 1800s. Still other insights lead to caveats for those who would undertake historical research.

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON THE HISTORY OF THE SONG

The song “Kaulana Nā Pua” is highly revered in the Hawaiian community in the 1990s. It is understood to be a song protesting the 1893 overthrow of the monarchy. Its composition is credited to Ellen Kekoaohiwaikalani Wright Prendergast, a close friend of Queen Lili‘uokalani, and the song was sung by members of the royal band then known as the “Royal Hawaiian Military Band.”² A history of the song was chronicled in detail in the 1993 article “Kaulana Nā Pua: A Voice for Sovereignty” by Eleanor C. Nordyke and Martha H. Noyes, who canvassed published literature for references to the song and interviewed several musicians as well as a granddaughter of Ellen Prendergast.³ The history they presented was one based on recollection in the absence of resources from the 1890s. The emergence of the sheet music published in 1895 casts new light on the song’s lyrics and its tune. The sheet music also problematizes matters of authorship.

Regarding the song’s lyrics, Nordyke and Noyes point to an 1895 printing of the lyrics of the song under the title “Mele Aloha Aina (Ai-Pohaku)” in a collection of nationalist *mele lāhui* songs titled *Buke Mele Lahui*. While an earlier article had brought about awareness of that collection,⁴ subsequent research has established that many of the songs in that book were collected from earlier printings in at least six different pro-royalist Hawaiian-language newspapers—*Hawaii Holomua*, *Ka Lei Momi*, *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui*, *Ka Makaainana*, *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, and *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*.⁵

The “Mele Aloha Aina” song first appeared in *Hawaii Holomua* on March 25, 1893, under the title “He Inoa No Na Keiki O Ka Bana Lahui” (A Namesong for the Children of the National Band). The lyrics were reprinted by popular demand in the newspaper *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* on May 10, 1893, under the title “He Lei No Ka Poe Aloha Aina” (A Wreath for the Aloha Aina People), with a different order of lines in the third and fourth stanzas, and followed two days later by a corrected version, along with the following explanation:

Mamuli o ka nui o na noi ia makou e hoopuka hou ia aku ke mele o ka poe Aloha Aina, ke hooko ia aku nei ko oukou makemake; a o keia ana ke kope pololei loa o keia Mele i loa mai ka Lede nana i haku keia mele.

(In view of the large amount of requests to us to republish the song of the Aloha Aina people, your desires are now fulfilled; this is the correct copy of this song, obtained from the lady by whom this song was composed.)

The published sheet music provides new insights into the melody of this song.

In the 1895 sheet music, the text that is set under the music follows the order of text printed on March 25, 1893, in *Hawaii Holomua*. The corrected May 12 version is the one that is edited and translated in the most authoritative and widely consulted source in the present, *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs* by Samuel H. Elbert and Noelani Mahoe.⁶

Regarding the song's tune, the 1895 sheet music contains the exact melody known and sung in the present. This puts to rest earlier musings that demonstrate the perils of relying solely on oral history. This is *not* to say that oral history is unreliable; rather, it demonstrates vividly that oral history reflects beliefs and conceptualizations at the time of telling that serve to explain and make sense of things. Such explanations are put together with whatever resources are available, and the explanations are narratives that connect those available resources in comprehensible ways.

Through a series of interviews, Nordyke and Noyes documented an oral history of the song's melody as recalled in 1993:

The melody that Mrs. Prendergast composed in 1893 was never written for publication, and several versions may have been sung. . . . According to Lorna Prendergast-Dunne, granddaughter of Mrs. Prendergast, the original notation for the music was lost.

After World War II . . . Eleanor Prendergast carried her mother's lyrics to the Honolulu music studio of Hawaiian musicians Mrs. Maddy K. N. Lam and Mrs. Milla Leal Peterson Yap. "Maddy accepted the lyrics of 'Kaulana Na Pua,' recited the words, sat down at her piano, and composed a gentle, rhythmic, cheerful *mele*," said Mrs. Yap in January 1993,

recalling the visit of Ellen Prendergast's daughter to their studio in the early 1950s [Milla Yap, personal communication].

. . . Maddy Lam completed the piece and filled out the necessary copyright forms in the name of Ellen Prendergast. Eleanor Prendergast was surprised that Maddy Lam's name was not listed as the composer, but Maddy was the type of person who did not seek credit," explained Mrs. Yap.⁷

This story is corroborated by a handwritten copy of the song "Kaulana Na Pua (Chant of the Islands)," also in the collection of Hawaiian sheet music at Library of Congress. This handwritten copy is located in the seventh folder of sheet music by composers whose names fall between M and Z. It is credited as follows: "Words & Music by Ellen Prendergast." The copyright notice at the bottom of the page announces "Copyright 1955 by Eleanor Prendergast," and a second line "Copyright 1961 by Aloha State Music, P. O. Box 5331, Honolulu 14, Hawaii (ASCAP)." The sheet contains only a melody and letter chord symbols representing the harmonization; the first stanza of lyrics are set beneath the melody, while the second through fourth stanzas are typed in blocks below. This particular setting was included in a songbook titled *Authentic Tunes from the Tropics and Tahiti, Book 8*, published by Criterion Music Corporation of New York. Criterion registered a copyright in 1967 on that printing and renewed the copyright in 1983.⁸ Even though authorship of words and music was credited to her mother, Ellen Wright Prendergast, the copyright was evidently registered in Eleanor Prendergast's name. The document was then filed under "Prendergast" in the box of Hawaiian sheet music at the Library of Congress.

It is apparent that no one in the 1950s knew of the 1895 sheet music publication or its survival in the Library of Congress. Little wonder: the 1895 sheet music was registered and filed under a different name, using a different song title. Without seeing or knowing about the sheet music, who was to know in 1950 or 1993 that an 1895 melody for the song still existed? In its absence, the oral history provided a narrative that filled in the blanks for narrator and listener alike. In this case, there was no available or known notation of the melody of "Kaulana Nā Pua" and a recollection instead that a highly respected musician provided a musical setting for the song decades later. Thus

it appears instead that Maddy Lam was recalling a melody heard or learned earlier, rather than composing a melody anew, and what she provided to Eleanor Prendergast was a transcription of the melody, which was then registered with the Copyright Office and subsequently published by Criterion Music Corporation.

What of the matter of authorship? Ellen Wright Prendergast's composition of the song is undisputed. While the first appearance of the lyrics in *Hawaii Holomua* on March 25, 1893, does not contain an attribution of authorship, both printings in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* on May 10 and May 12, 1893, credit the lyrics to “Miss Kekoahiwaiakalani, Puahaulani Hale.” This is the pen name under which Ellen Prendergast published at least six other pro-royalist poetic compositions in newspapers in February and March, 1893.⁹ The location of “Puahaulani Hale” further substantiates the identification of “Miss Kekoahiwaiakalani” as Prendergast; “Puahaulani Hale” is reported as a “family song Ellen wrote for her home, which was named by King Kalākaua, at a house warming party in 1884.”¹⁰

The credit line in the May 12, 1893, printing of the lyrics for “Kaulana Na Pua” also contains a date: February 10, 1893, barely one month after the overthrow of the monarchy. The story of the song's genesis, related by Prendergast's daughter Eleanor, is widely known and retold in many sources. Prendergast received a call from a group of “all but two members of the Royal Hawaiian Band on strike,” having refused to sign oaths of allegiance to the new government; they declared “We will be loyal to Liliu. We will not sign the *haole's* paper, but will be satisfied with all that is left to us, the stones, the mystic food of our native land.”¹¹ The band members asked Prendergast to compose a “song of rebellion,” and she worked their sentiments into the third and fourth stanzas of the song.

On the 1895 sheet music, the song is attributed to “J. S. Libornio.” Given the undisputed attribution of the song to Ellen Prendergast, why does the Libornio attribution merit discussion?

Jose Libornio was a musician in the Royal Hawaiian Military Band. When the monarchy was overthrown in 1893, members of the band—who were considered members of the military—were required to sign oaths of allegiance to the new government. A group of band members quit in protest on February 1, 1893, rather than swear their alle-

giance. These musicians formed a second band that was named the Hawaiian National Band; Jose Libornio, respectfully referred to in newspaper reports as “Prof. Libornio,” was its director. This royalist band existed for several years alongside the government band, which continued to be led by renowned bandmaster Henry Berger.¹²

In May and June, 1895, the Hawaiian National Band undertook a trip to California to raise money in support of efforts to restore the monarchy. Libornio went ahead in mid-April to make preparations; the band members, dubbed “the stone-eating children of the National Band” (*na keiki ai pohaku o ka Bana Lahui*) left Honolulu on May 8 aboard the steamer *Australia*.¹³ A series of reports on the band’s activities and their reception in California were published throughout May and June in two pro-royalist newspapers, *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* and *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*; interestingly, the English-language (and pro-American) newspaper *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* was silent on this subject. The relevance of this trip for the topic at hand is this: the presence of Libornio and the Hawaiian National Band in California in 1895 provides a rationale for publication of the sheet music “Aloha Aina” (“Kaulana Nā Pua”) in San Francisco in that year.

What makes it even possible to consider whether or not Libornio may have had a hand in the musical composition of the song? Two circumstances: (1) Libornio was part of the group of band members who broke away from the government band in 1893 and was likely present at Prendergast’s house on the 1893 afternoon when Prendergast wrote the lyrics, and (2) Libornio, a skilled musician, was known as a composer. Libornio was close to members of the royal family; pencilled in the top corner of another piece of sheet music, “Mai Poina Oe Ia’u,” is the following note: “Composed by Prof. J. S. Libornio, Director—Royal Court Orchestra for Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii.”¹⁴ The back cover over the sheet music of “Aloha Aina” lists ten other song titles as “Compositions of J. S. Libornio.” One of them, “Queen Liliuokalani March,” is identified as Libornio’s composition in a report of the 1895 tour in California:

Ua mele mai la lakou i keia mele ma ka himeni maoli ana Liliuokalani March i hakuia e Prof. Libornio, a ua nui ka hauoli o ke anaina no keia leo mele, a ua pakolu a pa-ha ka wa i kahea ia ai lakou e mele mai i ua mele 'la.¹⁵

(They sang at this concert the native song "Liliuokalani March" composed by Prof. Libornio; the audience was greatly entertained, and they called three or four times for encores of this song.)

Further consideration of the question of authorship requires a detour through copyright practice. That detour illuminates a very important distinction between poetic and melodic composition in nineteenth-century Hawaiian music practices that, in turn, offers greater nuance in approaching then-prevailing practices of authorship.

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON HAWAIIAN MUSIC AND DANCE IN THE LATE 1800S

From the start of commercial sheet music publication in Hawai'i, Hawaiian composers and publishers registered works for protection under United States copyright law. Registration required submission of a copy of the work to the U.S. Copyright Office, located in the Library of Congress. After the Copyright Office processed a music registration, it then passed the work to the Music Division for addition to its collections.

Two provisions in the copyright law are relevant for illuminating Hawaiian practices in the late nineteenth century. First, for musical works, the composer of the music score is privileged over the lyricist; lyrics are subordinated in importance as merely an accompanying accoutrement.¹⁶ While lyrics are original works of authorship and thus copyrightable in their own right, a musical work that is the joint effort of a musical composer and a lyricist will be registered with the name of the musical composer appearing first. This weighting of music composer over lyricist extended to the Library of Congress's cataloging system, in which musical works are filed under the name of the musical composer(s), and lyricists could easily have gone unrecognized.

The second provision in the copyright law that helps to illuminate Hawaiian practices is that which allows for independent registration of "derivative works" for musical works. This means that someone who creates a unique arrangement of a preexisting work is entitled to register a copyright for the arrangement.¹⁷ In this way, many

arrangers registered copyrights for songs known to have been authored by other people. In the 1890s, the name of the arranger frequently appeared in the top right corner of the first page of music, in the same location as—but quite often instead of—the name of the composer. This has led to widespread perceptions of “theft”—of someone taking songs by others and putting their own name on as arranger; in fact, arrangers were simply exercising their right to claim credit *for the arrangement* as provided by copyright law. One particularly bald example: in the Library of Congress collection, Johnny Noble, a prominent dance-band conductor, composer, and publisher, copyrighted a handwritten copy of an arrangement of a song titled “Na Pua O Hawai’i.” The words and music were attributed to a Kalei-*opu*, with the credit “Arranged by Johnny Noble” directly underneath; the copyright notice at the bottom of the page reads “Copyright 1934 by Johnny Noble.” The melody and lyrics are none other than “Kaulana Nā Pua”! Other examples abound. Among the earliest published songbooks, the compilers also served as arrangers of much of the material included therein, and they then attached their names to the songs, as they were entitled to do under copyright practice. When names of separate composers were not given, the arranger’s name was used to file the copyrighted score in the Copyright Office and in the Library of Congress.

In the case of the 1895 sheet music of “Kaulana Nā Pua,” these two provisions allow for at least two possibilities. The first is that J. S. Libornio may have been the composer of the tune, limiting Ellen Prendergast’s role to composer of the poetic text. The second possibility is that Ellen Prendergast is the composer of both the poetic text and the tune and that J. S. Libornio had registered a copyright for the arrangement that was published in San Francisco in 1895. If we interpret the sheet music literally, the composer’s attribution at the beginning of the score is clear: “By J. S. Libornio” and not “arranged by J. S. Libornio.” This compositional claim is reinforced on the back cover of the sheet, which lists ten song titles, “Aloho [*sic*] Aina-Hula” among them, as “Compositions of J. S. Libornio.” The entry in the Copyright Office catalog reads under Title “Aloha Aina. By J. S. Libornio” and under Proprietor “J. S. Libornio.”¹⁸ These indications appear to make clear Libornio’s intention to claim authorship of the song and not simply claim authorship of a derivative arrangement.

That Libornio may be the composer of the melody is rendered possible by understanding a widespread practice of the late 1800s. With poetic repertoire intended for performance as hula, the work of poets was separated from the work of musicians and choreographers. Poets, many of whom were members or close associates of court circles in Honolulu, were responsible for poetic composition and also maintaining collections of poetic texts. Available evidence has it that once a poetic text was completed, it was then given to a choreographer or a musician for its musical setting. Among the numerous sources that contain poetic texts, especially for performance as hula, almost none include musical notation, because the matter of melodic settings was undertaken instead by performers. For example, individual members of a set of seven or eight poetic texts composed in honor of Queen Kapi'olani have been associated with three different melodies, performed by three different singers recorded in the 1920s and 1930s.¹⁹ None of the nineteenth-century sources of the song texts includes any indication of associated melodies; musical transcriptions are included only in twentieth-century collections of repertoire collected in fieldwork from people who were primarily performers.²⁰ This argues that melodic setting was the prerogative of a composer of music who was often—though not necessarily always—the choreographer and usually distinct from the poet. Among poets who were members of the nobility, while many composed music for secular parlor songs known as mele Hawai'i, Lili'uokalani appears to have been an exception in having composed—and notated—melodies for her hula repertoire.

As a musician, J. S. Libornio possessed the skills to compose such a melody as in "Aloha Aina." He was a leader among the defectors who left the Royal Hawaiian Military Band. The group approached Ellen Wright Prendergast to set their sentiments of loyalty and allegiance to Queen Lili'uokalani into poetic expression, because Prendergast was known as a poet. If Prendergast was primarily a poet, it is entirely possible that she gave out the poetry to be set to a melody by someone else—in this case, J. S. Libornio.

The possibility of having separate composers of the poetic text and the melody does cast light on a significant difference between United States practice, which privileges composer of the music, and Hawaiian practice, where emphasis is placed on the composer of the poetic text. In Hawai'i in the late nineteenth century, recognition of the poet

exceeded recognition of a composer of melody. Indeed, in much hula practice, the same text could be set simultaneously to multiple tunes by different composers. Yet under United States copyright practice, a poet's authorship was subordinated to authorship of the music, and frequently arrangers who registered copyright for their arrangements did not even credit a lyricist. Examples of this situation are not difficult to locate in published Hawaiian songbooks and sheet music.

It is equally possible that J. S. Libornio simply arranged the music published in the sheet music. Among the ten songs listed on the back cover of "Aloha Aina" is "Maui Girl Waltz," which was published as sheet music in 1897 by Wall, Nichols in Honolulu, with the credit "Arr. by I. Libornio."²¹

It is tantalizing to see included in the list of Libornio's compositions the song "Ipo Lei Manu—Hula." This is the song that begins "He mana'o he aloha, no ka ipo lei manu." It is widely known that the poetic text was composed by Queen Kapi'olani for her husband King David Kalākaua (r. 1874–1891) but that he died in San Francisco before hearing it. While that song text was published in the newspaper *Ka Leo O Ka Lahui* on February 2, 1891, and reprinted in the *Buke Mele Lahui* of 1895, and sheet music was published in 1892 (copyrighted by the publisher, W. F. Reynolds of Honolulu), no composer's name was ever associated with this song other than Kapi'olani's. It is suggestive to think that Libornio, as a musician close to members of the court, might have composed the melodies to both "Ipo Lei Manu" and "Aloha Aina" (as well as other songs, including those listed for sale as his compositions), but because Hawaiian practice of the time recognized poets, it was only outside Hawai'i that continental practice, reflecting copyright practice, brought forth claims of the composer of the music.

Of the other titles listed as compositions of J. S. Libornio, three—"Aloha Alii Polka," "Sweet Memories Waltz," and "Hortense Polka"—are not extant in published songbooks or sheet music. The "Queen Liliuokalani March" discussed above was arranged by Heinrich Berger and published in his "Mele Hawaii" sheet music series; Berger's claim is clearly as arranger, thus not contesting the attribution of composition to Libornio. Two of the other songs do potentially raise questions of attributed authorship. "A Song to Hawaii" is credited to J. D. Redding in at least two different songbooks, Charles E. King's *Book of*

Hawaiian Melodies of 1923 and Jack Ailau’s collection *Buke Mele Hawaii* (n.d.); it is possible that Libornio’s claim is actually as arranger. Likewise, the song “Pua Melekule” is attributed in the *Buke Mele Lahui* of 1895 to “K. H.,” which is identified in Charles E. King’s *Book of Hawaiian Melodies* of 1916 as “Katy Harvey”; again, the possibility exists that Libornio’s claim is as arranger.

It is ironic that despite the reemergence of the published sheet music for “Kaulana Nā Pua” (as it is known in the present), the question of authorship cannot be answered definitely. In following Hawaiian practice, Ellen Prendergast’s authorship of the poetic text remains undisputed because it is substantiated in multiple sources; and indeed, from a Hawaiian perspective, the poetic text is by far the most important component of a song. Less definitive is whether or not Jose Libornio might have had a hand in the composing the tune. Yet regardless of whether or not that question can ever be resolved, this case offers an opportunity to reflect on the clashing of two different systems of privileging authorship. This in turn highlights the necessity to approach the interpretation of potentially ambiguous claims of authorship—original vs. derivative—with greater nuance.

One other aspect of the song “Kaulana Nā Pua” illustrates again the fact that understandings about this song reflect present rather than past times. Nordyke and Noyes quote a passage from an interview that took place with imprisoned counterrevolutionaries in 1895, conducted by Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson. According to one of the prisoners, the singing of the song on the first anniversary of the resignation of band members, on February 1, 1894, had an incendiary effect on those in attendance:

One who heard the band boys sing it on the anniversary of their defiance said it had on the Hawaiians the effect of the “Marseillaise” on the French—“exciting and exasperating.” The hula ku’i business (stamping, heel-twisting, thigh-slapping, dipping of knees, doubling of fists) almost drowned out the words, but the fierce loyalty was written in every shining face. Over and over they beat out the rhythm, thumping their drums and miming their scorn of the “paper of the enemy,” of the “heap of government money.”²²

This account makes it clear that hula was being performed as the song was being sung; moreover, it was the Westernized *hula ku’i* with

lower-body motifs such as heel twisting and stamping introduced in the 1870s and 1880s that was performed to this song.²³ In subsequent decades, the song has come to have sad associations of lost sovereignty for Hawaiians. As a result, Hawaiians had come to believe that it was inappropriate for the hula to be performed to the song, for doing so would detract from the aura of solemnity the song carried. By 1970, that conception carried the force of an edict. In *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs*, a highly respected collection of song lyrics with translations, the compilers wrote "The song was considered sacred and not for dancing."²⁴

In 1983, key participants in the production of a community-based video docu-drama titled "The 'Āina Remains"²⁵ intensified this conception of sacredness surrounding "Kaulana Nā Pua." The central segment of the video is a costumed reenactment of an 1894 ceremonial gathering in Uluhaimalama, one of Queen Lili'uokalani's gardens in Pauoa Valley near downtown Honolulu. While the 1894 ceremony focused on the planting of a kukui tree, during which participants sang the song, the 1983 video omitted the song, in deference to strongly held views of one of the participants, respected hula master Ma'iki Aiu Lake, that the song's meaning would be lost on audiences who did not understand its significance.²⁶

CAVEATS FOR UNDERTAKING HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The case of the 1895 sheet music of "Aloha Aina" ("Kaulana Nā Pua"), attributed to Jose Libornio and lying for a century in obscurity in the Library of Congress, brings to the fore a classic paradox: How are researchers supposed to find out about resources they don't know about? In the case of historical resources on Hawaiian music and dance, the case of "Kaulana Nā Pua" demonstrates that a researcher has to bring together disparate pieces from many different places. It is not sufficient to rely on published sources: while the song text was published in a collection in 1895, its initial publication was in two different newspapers in 1893; while it is attributed to J. S. Libornio, interrogating the attribution requires understanding how Hawaiians privileged poets over music composers in a way that United States copyright practice reversed.

Of greater concern is the fact that many sources located outside Hawai'i have yet to be fully mined, and the insights they might offer have yet to be integrated into what we know already about resources in Hawai'i. Sheet music collections in libraries across the continental United States, long considered ephemera and relegated uncataloged to cardboard cartons in dark basement corners, are finally being cataloged and made available for consultation. It is possible that more missing pieces relevant to Hawaiian music and dance will surface, forcing us to revise cherished notions of stories related to us in their absence.

Of even greater consequence is the need for persistence as well as imagination when carrying out research in impersonal institutions. It comes as a shock to realize that libraries and archives have many treasures locked away; and until we figure out the questions to ask that will unlock those treasures, we will continue to face barriers—without even knowing that barriers stand between us and unknown treasures. The price of not fully knowing our history is too great to be satisfied and complacent with only what we know now.

NOTES

- ¹ I was fortunate to have an opportunity in March 1998 to visit the Library of Congress again, at which time I compiled an inventory of the contents of the box of Hawaiian sheet music. Copies of the completed inventory are available at the Hawaiian Collection at University of Hawai'i Library and also at Bishop Museum Library in Honolulu.
- ² The band had a succession of specific titles between 1836 and 1905, when it was finally named the Royal Hawaiian Band. These names are traced in David W. Bandy, "Bandmaster Henry Berger and the Royal Hawaiian Band," *HJH* 24 (1990): 69–70.
- ³ Eleanor C. Nordyke and Martha H. Noyes, "Kaulana Nā Pua: A Voice for Sovereignty," *HJH* 27 (1993): 27–42.
- ⁴ Amy K. Stillman, "History Reinterpreted in Song: The Case of the Hawaiian Counterrevolution," *HJH* 23 (1989): 1–30.
- ⁵ For financial support of a project undertaken in 1993–1994 to collect song texts in Hawaiian-language newspapers published between 1885 and 1895, I am grateful to the University of Hawai'i Committee for the Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art and Culture. I am also grateful to Leilani Bashum, U'ilani Bobbitt, and Leinani Makekai, through whose efforts more than four hundred song texts were collected. Texts in the couplet poetic for-

- mat of *hula ku'i* were gathered into a draft compilation, "Poetic Texts of Hula Ku'i in Hawaiian-Language Newspapers, 1883–1895," a copy of which is on deposit at the Hawaiian Collection in Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i.
- ⁶ Samuel H. Elbert and Noelani Mahoe, *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei: 101 Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1970,) 62–64.
- ⁷ Nordyke and Noyes, "Kaulana Nā Pua" 37–38.
- ⁸ Nordyke and Noyes, "Kaulana Nā Pua" 42n33.
- ⁹ "He Inoa No Liliuokalani," *Hawaii Holomua* Feb. 4, 1893; "He Wehi No Liliuololoku I Ke Kapu," *Hawaii Holomua* Feb. 4, 1893; "He Wehi No Ka Lahui," *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* Feb. 16, 1893; "He Inoa No Kalaninuiāhilapalapa," *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* March 14, 1893; "He Hooheno No Paulo Numana," *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* March 16, 1893; "He Inoa No Kalaninuiāhilapalapa," March 21, 1893.
- ¹⁰ Tony Todaro, *The Golden Years of Hawaiian Entertainment 1874–1974* (Honolulu: Tony Todaro Publishing Co., 1974) 301.
- ¹¹ Ethel M. Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1947) 317, cited in Nordyke and Noyes, "Kaulana Nā Pua" 40.
- ¹² Bandy, "Bandmaster Henry Berger" 70.
- ¹³ *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* May 6, 1895, 3A: "I keia Poakolu ae . . . e haalele mai ana na keiki ai pohaku o ka Bana Lahui i ko lakou aina hanau, a niau aku no ka ipuka Gula o Kaleponi" (This coming Wednesday . . . the stone-eating children of the National Band will depart their birthland, and sail to the Golden Gate of California").
- ¹⁴ It is possible that the queen's "Royal Court Orchestra" referred in fact to the Hawaiian National Band, made up of royalist sympathizers who defected from the government band.
- ¹⁵ *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* May 28, 1895, 2.
- ¹⁶ United States Copyright Act, Title 17, sec. 102.
- ¹⁷ United States Copyright Act, Title 17, sec. 103.
- ¹⁸ I am grateful to Carrie Croucher, intern at the Smithsonian Institution, and to J. Kehaulani Kauanui, Smithsonian doctoral fellow, for checking the Copyright Office on this matter.
- ¹⁹ Kaahaaina Naihe performed four texts to one melody that was transcribed by Helen Roberts in 1923–24 but remains unpublished among Roberts's notes (Roberts Collection of Meles, Bishop Museum Library, Honolulu, Ms. SC 2.1, pp. 14, 17, 22, 26); Nahaleuli Nahialua performed one text to one melody that was transcribed by Helen Roberts and published in *Ancient Hawaiian Music* (Bishop Museum Bulletin No. 29, Honolulu, 1926), 249–50; James Kapihenui Palea Kuluwaimaka performed four texts to one melody recorded in 1933 (Bishop Museum Audio Collections, 2.8.2, 2.8.15 and 2.10.4, 2.10.6 and 2.10.12, 2.10.13).
- ²⁰ For documentation on sources for this set of poetic texts, see Amy K. Stillman, "Queen Kapi'olani's Lei Chants," *HJH* 30 (1996): 123.
- ²¹ "Maui Girl Waltz" did not appear in the first edition of Charles Hopkins's

- Aloha Collection of Hawaiian Songs* (Honolulu: Wall, Nichols, 1899), but it is included in an expanded edition published in Boston by Oliver Ditson in 1906, p. 88.
- ²² Albertine Loomis, *For Whom Are The Stars?* (Honolulu: U P of Hawaii, 1976) 86.
- ²³ A movement description of *hula ku'i* that includes heel-twisting and stamping is given in Nathaniel Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 38 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909) 250.
- ²⁴ Elbert and Mahoe, *Nā Mele o Hawai'i Nei* 63.
- ²⁵ Produced by Clarence F. T. Ching (Honolulu: Aina Remains Inc., 1983), 28 min.
- ²⁶ Reshela DuPuis, "Hawaiian Documentary Videos as Political Tools." In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, vol. 9 Australia and the Pacific Islands*, ed. Adrienne L. Kaepler and J. W. Love (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998) 222. For an extended discussion of this production, see DuPuis's doctoral dissertation "Documenting Community: Activist Videography in Hawai'i" (U of Michigan, 1997) 217-97.

