

SANDRA BONURA AND SALLY WITMER

Lydia K. Aholo—Her Story Recovering the Lost Voice

SOMETIMES WE DON'T CHOOSE the story; the story chooses us. The discovery of the taped oral history of Lydia Ka'ōnohiponiponiokalani Aholo (1878–1979), only hānai daughter and namesake of the last queen of Hawai'i, is a story of twists and turns. It's a story Dr. Sandra Bonura didn't envision when she agreed to read a stack of love letters found in a steamer trunk, tucked away in an attic, forgotten for over a century.

That attic belonged to a famous man of science, Charles Kofoid (1865–1947), whose notable marine biology collection was bequeathed to Scripps Institution of Oceanography. The Scripps archive shelves are packed tightly, with thousands upon thousands of rare ocean and earth science artifacts. Never would one expect to find commingled with oceanographic collections Lydia Aholo's 1892 essay, "My Life as a School-girl in Honolulu." The anomaly is traced to Kofoid's

*Sandra Bonura, a southern California professor, is also a researcher and writer of late 19th to early 20th century Hawaiian history. Her current focus is the history of the turn-of-the-century Hawaiian girls' education. She is the co-author of *An American Girl in the Hawaiian Islands: Letters of Carrie Prudence Winter 1890–1893*, published in 2012 by the University of Hawai'i Press.*

Sally Witmer has written for many agencies including Tokyo's Japanese Association for Refugees (JAR) and the Santa Clara County Council on Aging. She has recorded the oral histories of American war veterans and is currently recording the stories of ordinary citizens forced to do extraordinary things.

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fiancée, Carrie Winter, who handwrote love letters to him during an 1890 to 1893 teaching stint at Kawaiahaʻo Seminary. Recognizing that she was witness to turbulent Hawaiian history-in-the-making, Winter corresponded for *The Hartford Courant* and collected photographs, teaching artifacts, and other historical memorabilia. Her chronicles of life in revolution-era Hawaiʻi have emerged as an important collection in itself. Samples like Lydia Aholo's essay, reminiscing on her adoption by Queen Liliʻuokalani and her years at Kawaiahaʻo Seminary, add touching and colorful period glimpses.

Primary source materials documenting revolution-era women's political views are rare. Equally rare are candid, eyewitness accounts of behind-the-scenes events in a missionary-run school. While originally collected as mere personal keepsakes, Winter's century-old pieces are relevant and meaningful to Hawaiʻi today. Discovered several years ago and systematically transcribed, researched, and edited, the trunk artifacts materialized into a recently published book. The work, *An American Girl in Hawaii: The Letters of Carrie Prudence Winter (1890–1893)*¹, highlights how native girls like Lydia Aholo were caught between allegiance to their queen and the foreign teachers offering a strange new world.

Orphaned as a baby, adopted by a royal princess, ensconced in a strict boarding school, her composition, "My Life as a School-girl in Honolulu" unfolds like a Cinderella story replete with a fairy god-mother. Reading this essay led to research into the real life behind the fairy tale. That research, in turn, led to the reading of *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani: Last Queen of Hawaii 1838–1917 (1982)*, by the late Helena G. Allen.²

In the late 1960's, adjunct college instructor and English textbook author, Helena Allen was visiting Hawaiʻi from Redlands, California. She accompanied a former colleague to visit his mother at the Maunalani Convalescent Hospital. At Maunalani, the colleague introduced Helena to "Miss Lydia," the hospital's "royal resident." Allen disclosed that she had recently adopted a five-year-old Hawaiian child, Willie Kauhimakakaukalani Napeahi.³ Lydia Aholo had declined other interview requests, but she found common ground with Allen in the hānai experience. Helena Allen succeeded where others failed in gaining Lydia Aholo's trust and permission to write her life experiences with Queen Liliʻuokalani.

Over a week-long period in September 1969, Allen recorded Lydia Aholo's oral history on one reel-to-reel magnetic tape. She later transferred this three-hour tape onto individual cassettes. Allen also returned to Maunalani in January and June of 1970 to record "Miss Lydia's" dictation by hand. Back home, Allen began compiling notes for a book on Lydia Aholo's life, with the working title *A Queen's Daughter*. A few years later the title changed to *Through the Eyes of Love*. In the late 1970's, the title and direction changed to *The Spirit of Liliuokalani: Queen Born out of Time*. Once a publishing contract with the Arthur H. Clark Company was secured, it was changed to its final title, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani*. Lydia would never read the book as she had hoped because she died three years prior to its 1982 release.

Without Lydia Aholo to corroborate facts and fill research gaps, Helena sought out the assistance of Aholo family friend Clorinda Lucas and others. While Allen's biography was focused on Queen Lili'uokalani, the author used the taped stories as a foundation to describe vividly the queen's life through the eyes of Lydia Aholo. *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani*, often quoted in biographies of the queen, has been widely regarded as a detailed information source and is still promoted today as a historical reference.

It seemed logical to hunt for the reel-to-reel tape, a primary source, as the next step in learning more about Lydia Aholo and her place in history. These taped accounts had been sought for decades because some Hawaiian historians had raised questions about the accuracy and presentation of facts in Allen's book. Long presumed destroyed, the master tape, in excellent condition, was eventually found in the possession of the executor of Allen's estate. The story of Sandra Bonura's hunt for the tape and retrieval are recounted in the December 2011 article, "Lydia's Voice" by Mike Gordon of the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*.⁴

The tape recording revealed that ninety-two-year-old Lydia Aholo had a remarkable memory and easily conversed with the amiable interviewer, Helena Allen, about recollections of life with the queen.⁵ Comparing the book to the transcript of the tape recording revealed that Lydia Aholo's simple, unpretentious, style of communication differed greatly from the forceful, dramatic delivery presented in *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani*. What emerges on tape is that the "real" Lydia Aholo is much more compelling than the one in the book. Allen's



FIGURE 1. Lydia Ka'ōnohiponiponiokalani Aholo, age 92, 1969. Courtesy Kamehameha Schools.

taped oral history still serves as a unique gift, however, as there exists no other recording of a person this close to Hawai'i's last monarch in any known archive. Her life narrative humanizes Queen Lili'uokalani, while alternately correcting and confirming the historical record.

Lydia Aholo portrays her hānai mother as an ordinary person placed in extraordinary events, caught in a tug-of-war between two warring factions, missionaries and royalty. While in retrospect, she would have made different choices, in the end, she overcame near-impossible life-circumstances on her own. Lydia Aholo's stories of both her nation's and her personal struggle for identity and independence are closely tied. In an age when historians are working to regain Hawai'i's lost property, her lost and recovered story is a timely symbol of Hawai'i's strength and resilience.

A CHILD OF HĀNAI

Surprisingly little is on record about Lydia Aholo's birth on Maui to Luther and Keahi Aholo on February 6, 1878, or her mother's death, following the birth. The lack of coverage is surprising, since her father

was a very important public government dignitary, as was the Princess Dominis, who would subsequently hānai the baby.

Princess Lydia, the future Queen Lili‘uokalani, had been married to John Owen Dominis for sixteen years, with no biological children of her own, when she heard Keahi Aholo had died. It is likely that King Kalākaua, close friend to Luther Aholo, made the arrangements for his sister to hānai the motherless child. The baby was soon given the princess’s own English birth name, Lydia.

At the outset of the taped interview, Lydia Aholo slowly spelled her twenty-one letter Hawaiian middle name K-a-o-n-o-h-i-p-o-n-i-p-o-n-i-o-k-a-a-n-i and stated: “the queen gave me that name and it has reference to, I imagine, to eyes.”⁶

She also carefully spelled h-a-n-a-i on the tape, explaining that “it means to feed or to bring up.”⁷ In old Hawaiian tradition, “to feed” is a metaphor for all forms of caretaking, including emotional and spiritual nourishment. In the hānai system, it was customary for firstborn children to be given to grandparents, not as a severing but an extension of family ties.⁸ In its simplest form, hānai is essentially a paperless, non-legally binding adoption, a widespread practice throughout the history of Hawai‘i, with no corresponding American word to describe this kind of arrangement.

Since Luther had already placed the infant with her maternal grandparents, Lo‘e and Kawehenao Kekuahaakina, they were relocated to Washington Place as caretakers for the child. The three became an official part of the royal household. The childhood fate of Lydia’s full brother, James Luther Aholo (1870–1910), only eight years at the time, is not known.

She took me—it’s the funniest thing. Everybody asks me, ‘Are you related to the queen?’ I’ll tell them, ‘I don’t know!’ I have no way of knowing and I— I was never, uh, inquisitive. I never asked her why she reared me, or anything. All I know is, before I was a year—My mother died when I was eight days old, and, uh, before I was a year old, she sent me and they brought me to Washington Place, and I was—I was there with her until I was six years old. Then, she put me in school, a boarding school, Kawaiha‘o.⁹

Being orphaned at an early age clearly affected Lydia Aholo emotionally, as she repeatedly relayed to Allen that she was motherless

almost from birth: “when I was eight days old. Just imagine. And my father I saw very few times.”¹⁰ That Lydia saw very little of her father is an understatement. Luther Aholo was a hardworking advisor during the reigns of both King Lunalilo and King Kalākaua. He was known as a man of “brains and ability,” a “Hawaiian of true mental capacity and acquirements,” and one who had a “non-communicative disposition, but was always dignified and gentlemanly” (a description that fits his daughter Lydia Aholo, known for her quiet, mannerly, and poised demeanor).¹¹ Lydia’s father also served as a teacher at Lahainaluna, later as a lawyer, then a judge and postmaster general. In his later years he was representative of the district of Lahaina to the Hawai‘i legislature and was vice president of the Assembly for several terms. When Lydia Aholo was six, in 1884, her father was chosen as one of two Hawaiian representatives or “commissioners” invited by Congress to Washington, D.C.

While records are plentiful for Luther Aholo’s career, death, and the administration of his estate, there is little on public record about his family. What is known through family members is that Luther’s first wife, Kahelepu, had three children, Samuel, Petuela, and Ioane Aholo. His second wife, Keahi, Lydia Aholo’s mother, had an older child, James Luther. After Keahi died, Luther married Lilia, who had a son, Willie. Lydia Aholo’s full sibling, James, married Mary Robello. Their first born, Mary Keahi, married Alfred Ah Fat (Apaka). Their offspring, Alfred Jr., Frances, Lydia, Elizabeth, Idamae, and Marylois became the nuclear family surrounding Lydia throughout her life. These six children and their children’s children were all loved and profoundly influenced by the childless Lydia Aholo, “Auntie Tūtū” to all.¹² On tape, Lydia mentions “sister” and “brother” interchangeably with “stepbrother” and “stepsister” as well as “half-brother”; thus connections are vague.

And I had a brother. And you know, the funniest thing, my brother, I’m sorry to say, drank a lot, and he just wasted his life. Very intelligent. Had a good job, but he wouldn’t go to work. Just lived on liquor.¹³ And then, my sister [Charlotte Aholo], she was really my, uh, half-sister. Not—not half-sister, but her—her mother was my step-mother [Lilia Aholo].¹⁴

Lydia’s father held high-profile positions in the Hawaiian government. Sadly, years of deteriorating health, a new marriage, and

geographical location prevented any type of father/daughter relationship. (Her brother James followed in his father's footsteps and worked in government offices.) Luther Aholo died from heart disease in 1888, when Lydia was ten years old. He died at Washington Place and was buried at the Kawaiaha'o Cemetery. Lydia was undoubtedly at his "well-attended funeral"¹⁵ right across from her boarding school, Kawaiaha'o Seminary. This would be the first of many funerals Lydia Aholo would attend in her youth. After her father's death, the courts formally transferred guardianship of Lydia Aholo to her maternal grandfather, K. W. Kawehenao Kekuahaakina.¹⁶ The following year, in 1891, the bulk of Lydia Aholo's inheritance, acres of land throughout the islands, was auctioned off.¹⁷ During this era, the Hawai'i Supreme Court ruled that keiki hānai were not to be considered legal children and this probably necessitated a legal guardian for financial affairs.

HĀNAI MOTHER

Lili'uokalani followed the hānai tradition in which she had been reared, given at birth to chieftains Abner Pākī and wife Laura Konia, biological parents of Bernice Pauahi. Many of the royal family were adopted in accordance with this custom. After adopting Lydia Aholo, Lili'uokalani brought two more hānai children into her family: Joseph Aea ("Kaipo"), the son of a retainer, and John Aimoku ("Aimoku"), her husband's illegitimate son. Queen Lili'uokalani referred to her hānai children as princes and princess.¹⁸

The queen would have been spread thin between her royal and domestic responsibilities, but Lydia Aholo portrays her hānai mother as an ordinary person who just happened to do extraordinary things. She describes Hānai ("our pet name for the queen") as one who could juggle the intense pressures of statesmanship with the pleasures of family life. Through clear word pictures, Lydia Aholo humanizes the queen. She paints the picture of a doting mother who nurtured everyone around her and included them in life's simple pleasures, from flowers to music and all things in between.

... she had a beautiful garden ... and, uh, when the roses went to seed, we'd see her come out with her scissors. That meant she was going out

cutting. Then we'd run and get ours and go out with her and cut off the seeds of the flowers.¹⁹

And when they [the boys] came back to live in Washington Place—you know the Emma Square? Well, the Hawaiian band used to play there every Monday night. And after dinner, the queen always went out—she had a little back porch. You know, you come out from her bedroom and onto this little porch in the back. And then we'd come out and sit with her, and then the band would play. And then we'd say, 'Hānai, may we go to the band concert, to hear the band concert?' And she'd laugh. She'd say, 'Can't you hear it from here?' 'Oh Hānai, we want to see the—the people when they come.' And she'd say, 'All right, you may go.' Then one would go, 'Hānai, may we have some money? We want to go and have ice cream after the band concert' . . . So, she'd give us twenty-five cents apiece. Then we'd go to the band concert and sit. And when . . . the concert is over, we walk right straight down . . . and go and have ice cream. Then we go home happy as can be [laughter]. Oh, she was kind.²⁰

We used to play hide and seek at night and the Hawaiians don't like that, you know, but this Myra, Joseph and Aimoku and I would sit around. Then one would say, 'Oh, let's play hide and seek,' and we'd play hide and one would be the ghost and I would run. She had these long holokūs and I'd slip in between the holokū and . . . her slip and they'd look all over and never find me and they'd come out and . . . say, 'Where are you? Where are you?' And they'd go in her room and look everywhere and when they're not around, I'd come out. 'Where were you?' They never knew until today [laughter].²¹

There's one thing I learned from her. That's talking out loud. We never—you never heard her yell at anybody. If she had to—if she wanted to reprimand us for something we had done that she didn't like, it was always in the same low voice . . . very soft voice.²²

When Allen asked her if she could talk to the queen about her "problems as a young girl" Lydia was quick to respond, "I tell her everything. She'd listen and she'd tell us, 'Oh, now, that wasn't right. That wasn't right.'" Then, she'd tell us how it should have been."²³

And, uh, very, very often I wish . . . that I had been old enough to know what she really would have liked to have had me to do, you know, because she never asked. She never said, 'Lydia, I want you to do this. I want you to do this.' Never. It's a—now, most—most mothers would say, 'Now, if you do this and you do that' She never did. Not to any of

us. The only time she would sit down and tell her things and we'd laugh and talk. But she never asked us to do a single thing for her.²⁴

People never gave her the . . . credit for what she has done. She was a good, good Christian woman. Loved children. Any child who came with her mother or father, she'd grab that child and just squeeze 'em. That's how much she loved children.²⁵

Little snapshots of life, as told by Lydia Aholo on tape, are much simpler than the flowery descriptions attributed to her in Allen's book. But the feeling prevails of a well-cared-for child who feels close to her *hānai* mother. Even at the height of the post-revolution stress, despite crushing demands, Queen Lili'uokalani graciously received Lydia Aholo's friends and took an interest in them. Throughout Lydia's school years, the warmth of their relationship continued on:

I introduced her [Lydia Aholo's friend] to the queen . . . Then, uh, sometime after that, she said to me one day, 'You know, since you introduced me to *Hānai*—that's our pet name for the queen . . . *Hānai* means, uh, 'to feed or to bring up', you know. And, uh, she said, 'Since you introduced me to her—to *Hānai*, she thinks more of me than she does you.' I told her that . . . I was glad that the queen liked her, but I didn't think the queen would forget me because that was the only, uh, mother I had.²⁶

She had, uh, what we used to call a buggy and a horse, and, uh, there was enough room for herself and me. And she taught me how to drive. And sometimes she'd wake me up in the morning and then we'd go for a drive in the morning and go to this. . . belonged to a family by the name of Ward, W-a-r-d. And we'd drive in to this beautiful place. Instead of stopping in the front, we'd drive in the back. And then Mrs. Ward and her daughters would come out and we'd talk. They'd ask us in but no, we didn't. And then they'd bring the pitcher of, uh, coconut milk, which was very nice and cold. And we'd sit and she talked and we'd drink our—our coconut, uh, milk. Then when we'd—when she'd finish, we'd go home and have breakfast.²⁷

. . . whenever she had parties at home, I was there . . . After many years, she got over that feeling of being dethroned, you know. And she made up with everybody . . . She was very, very nice. On her birthdays after she was dethroned, she would have a reception . . . Then after that . . . a luau, you know, and invited guests would come. Oh, she was very gracious. Every time I would take the teachers down there from

Kamehameha, some of them who never, oh, wanted to meet her in person, she was always so ready to receive them. Very, very nice.²⁸

Lydia describes a fun-loving woman who celebrated her Hawaiian culture and encouraged the once missionary-forbidden hula dancing.

And you know, she used to play the guitar. And on her birthday [*laughter*] she was smart enough to place hats . . . under the big banyan tree and, uh, put hats, you know, four hats—five . . . She struck up this guitar, you know and . . . we saw those hats . . . ran under this tree . . . Then we danced the hula. And people were throwing money, money . . . I remember running to my grandmother's house . . . So, I ran and gave this money to them . . . I had lots of fun. She—when she wants us to dance, she gets her guitar out, 'Come.'²⁹

. . . then I used to drive her to the Queen's Hospital . . . we used to go there and plant carnations, which were very rare at that time. And we used to go in the morning and in the evening again, you know, just to sprinkle it. And, uh, then we saw the buds come . . . And when we thought we could pick some to take home, they were all picked already, some. And I'll never forget when she said, 'What ruthless hands came and picked our carnations?' [*laughter*]. . . she always used 'ruthless' . . .³⁰

Lydia Aholo emphasizes the word "ruthless" when she speaks of Queen Lili'uokalani's scorn for the "ruthless hands" that picked her carnations, as if these favorite royal flowers were a metaphor for those who cut down the monarchy. Ironically, it was the New England missionaries who introduced carnations to the islands. Lydia Aholo also speaks of Queen Lili'uokalani's determination to live in harmony, pre- and post-overthrow, describing her focus on preserving Hawaiian culture, championing music, dance, and literature. She cultivated flowers and birds on the islands just as she cultivated her capacity to forgive. "They ['ō'ō birds] are true Hawaiians; flowers are necessary for their very life."³¹

STAR-STRUCK LYDIA

The lavish parties, extravagant lū'au, and royal balls at Washington Place and 'Iolani Palace were legendary. Lydia Aholo spoke with a

bittersweet longing for the excitement surrounding those events. She describes being awed by the beauty of Princess Ka'iulani and the royal pageantry influenced by Queen Victoria's English court. She recounts being a star-struck young girl, watching a crowd of luminaries at one of the balls:

Prince Kalaniana'ole, Kawānanakoa, and their beautiful cousins . . . and everybody that . . . the queen knew, young people, came to this dance at the Palace. And we went upstairs and looked down the balcony. I was just too young to . . . join. And, oh, the music and the dancing . . . It was very beautiful.³²

Lydia speaks glowingly about Queen Victoria's Jubilee, and when she uses the word "wonderful" it gets a strong emphasis.

She said it was such a wonderful affair. The—on one side were all princesses. And on the other side were all these boys, the princes. Then, all these different , uh, royal families from all over the world, somebody would call them—that was their turn. And they'd walk in between this aisle you know, and went up, make their obeisance . . . And when they called the queen and princess from Hawai'i they walked up. And when they got up to her she asked to have them brought up where she sat. One sat on the right and the other sat on her left. So she came back and composed that song, "Queen's Jubilee." That was an honor!³³

She gave Kawaiaha'o Seminary, uh, music teacher a copy and we studied this song. Then, we gave a concert at Kawaiaha'o Church and she came. And when we sang that song, oh, we had to sing the, uh, second alto, you know, when it comes in that—there's that part in that song—oh, it was just beautiful. And she was so pleased that the following Saturday, we went up to her place at Waikiki at Paoakalani, and we had a Hawaiian feast up there. Teachers, pupils, everybody. And we went in buses up there, and, uh, spent all day. The girls went out sea bathing. They had to walk down to the beach and then they came back dressed up. We had a luau, sat around some more, and then we went back to school. We had a wonderful day.³⁴

Evidence that Lydia Aholo's recall was good seventy-seven years later was confirmed by a concert program that was found in Carrie Winter's trunk; it corroborated Lydia Aholo's description on tape:

Third Annual Concert

OF

KAWAIAHAO SEMINARY

Assisted by the "Royal Hawaiian Orchestra."

AT

Kawaiahao Church, Saturday, March 26, '92

7:30 O'CLOCK P. M.

PROGRAMME—PART I.

1. Overture....."Enchantment".....*Herman*
2. Chorus....."A Welcome, We Sing".....*Wiener*
KAWAIAHAO SEMINARY.
3. Gavotte....."Queen's Jubilee".....
Her Majesty Queen Liliuokalani
4. Solo....."My Queen".....*Blumenthal*
HON. PAUL ISENBERG.
5. "The Dearest Spot on Earth to me".....*Benedict*
PUPILS OF THE FIRST CHORAL CLASS.
6. Solo and Quartette....."Kanani o ka Pakipika"
KAWAIAHAO SEMINARY.
(Words composed by Mrs. A. A. Haalelea ; music by Naone.)

PART II.

7. Chorus....."Full and Harmonious"
(Arranged from Gibby La Cornemuse.)
KAWAIAHAO SEMINARY.
8. Duet....."Onward, Bonny Boat".....*Kucken*
PUPILS OF FIRST CHORAL CLASS.
9. "Egyptian Midnight Parade".....*Isenenman*
ROYAL HAWAIIAN ORCHESTRA.
10. Chorus....."Song of the Hop-pickers"
KAWAIAHAO SEMINARY.
11. Duet and Chorus.."Puahi a ka Lani"..*Queen Liliuokalani*
KAWAIAHAO SEMINARY.
12. Solo....."Burst, ye Apple Blossoms"..*Stephen Emory*
MISS MAY C. ATHERTON.
13. Waltz Trio.."O'er Blooming Meadows".....*Wekerlin*
KAWAIAHAO SEMINARY.
HAWAII PONO.

The Audience is respectfully requested to remain until the conclusion of the Concert.

E oluolu ke anaina e noho a hiki i ka pau pono ana o na bana.

The Fine Kimball Piano is kindly loaned for the occasion by H. H. Williams & Co.

FIGURE 2. School program, "The Queen's Jubilee," Third Annual Concert of Kawaiahao Seminary, March 26, 1892. Courtesy UC San Diego Library.

“The Queen’s Jubilee” was presented at the Third Annual Concert of Kawaiaha’o Seminary, assisted by the Royal Hawaiian Orchestra at Kawaiaha’o Church, March 26, 1892.

On tape, Lydia Aholo retells a story famous in Hawaiian history, the queen’s harboring homesick Baronessa Gina Sobrero:

And the first Congressman to, uh, Washington from here was, uh, Robert Wilcox. And before that, he had gone to Europe . . . to Italy I think. And he met a princess there and he made believe he was a prince of Hawai’i, so this girl fell in love and . . . her people disowned her. But anyway, he brought her back and came and lived with us up Mu’olaulani, that’s Kapālama. And my room was right next to her room. Oh, you know, I used to feel so badly, for every night I used to hear her cry, cry. And this man would go and come back, wee hours of the morning, you know. So anyway, she was expecting a child, and she wanted to go home. She asked the queen if it would be all right. The queen said, ‘Surely, you go home. If you feel that you’ll be better off, you go home.’ And she said, ‘If the child should happen to be a girl, name her Mu’olaulani’ . . . And she went back to her place and it was a girl and she wrote to the queen and told the queen that she had a daughter and that she had named her Mu’olaulani. Beautiful woman. Oh, I used to feel so sad for her . . . Never came back. And we never thought much of Robert Wilcox.³⁵

MUSIC IN THE AIR

Queen Lili’uokalani’s legendary gifting in music was instilled in Lydia Aholo from an early age. Lydia proudly describes the queen as an avid musician and prolific composer, but also as a strict mother who required the children attached to her household to learn music.

And when she sang she had a contralto voice. Very beautiful. She played the piano, played the guitar, played the ukulele. She was very musical, you know. She composed, oh, I don’t know how many songs.³⁶

[The queen had] plenty [of humor]. And, you know, she used to teach us some of these . . . operas . . . We had to, uh, practice the parts, these two boys [Aimoku and Joseph] and the other girl [Myra] and then the retainer’s children. We had to act it out. And then when, when . . . she thought it was perfect, she had an audience . . . Schumann-Heink came and visited her and, and sang for her, and Madame Nordica. Oh,

she was beautiful. And we were always there to hear all that beautiful music. That's why I am very fond of music.³⁷

And she composed a song while she was in prison called "Paoa-kalani" and my nephew sings it very well. That's the one who died. I've heard it sung many times lately but they don't do it right. And even the "Queen's Prayer" that, uh, the Kawaiaha'o Choir sings, it's perfect except . . . there's a last part when you say, 'Amen.' There's a beautiful ending there but they don't use it. They just use the 'Amen'.³⁸

"Aloha Oe" . . . long before [prison] . . . They went out riding and on their way back there was, uh, James Boyd, oh, very good-looking fellow. And . . . her sister, Likelike, turned back, you know. And they kept—and uh, the queen and other people . . . kept on riding. When they turned back, she wasn't there, so she composed the song, "Aloha Oe" [*laughter*], "Until We Meet Again". I guess she was making fun of her sister, I don't know [*laughter*]."³⁹

And then when I was eight years old . . . she paid for piano lessons . . . And, uh, when I could play something real nice, we had a recital and we invited the queen, and she came. And every so often she used to look at me and she used to laugh, because I was so small and my feet never touched the floor, you know. And my music teacher's head would go that way, and my head would go that way while we were playing. But anyway, she was pleased to know that I had learned as much as I did for that short time . . . When I was home, I had to practice like I practiced at school: one whole hour, half-hour, now, and then later on another half-hour. And when she was in Washington, I thought, well I didn't have to go practice. I was going out one day, one morning and the housekeeper came out of her room, clapped [*claps hands*] her hands. And I looked up, she says, 'Come back and practice, come back and practice.' So I had to go back and practice.⁴⁰

Lydia spoke proudly of the times her hānai mother would attend school musical events. There was a well-beaten path between Lydia Aholo's school, Kawaiaha'o Seminary, and 'Iolani Palace when it came time to prepare for a music recital. Queen Lili'uokalani's frequent participation in Kawaiaha'o fund-raising concerts is well-documented in personal correspondence, newspaper articles, and school musical programs. The queen herself would offer her own compositions and work closely with the music teachers. Lydia Aholo told Helena Allen that the queen gave her music teacher, Miss Patch, a ring with "aloha" on it and sadly recollected that Miss Patch "was the first one to go against the queen."⁴¹

EDUCATION THE BEST LEGACY

Music is undoubtedly an important part of the queen's public legacy, but the foremost element in Lydia Aholo's eyes was education. Lydia recounts, "Now, my nephew's wife is a French, uh, Canadian, but she has a lot of money . . . and she said to me, uh, 'What did the queen leave you?' And I said, 'The best legacy: Education.'" ⁴² Queen Lili'uokalani's own memoirs declare her "passion" for the "acquisition of knowledge."⁴³ The queen bestowed on Lydia Aholo a life-long love for learning; she, in turn, devoted most of her life to education.

The queen had also been educated in a Congregational missionary boarding school, from the age of four. She discussed the strict and sometimes harsh environment in her memoirs. Interestingly, she chose the same environment for five-year old Lydia Aholo. At age fourteen, Lydia poignantly penned, "My Life as a School-girl in Honolulu." In this 1892 essay, she made light references to the difficulties she endured at school.

I am Lydia Aholo. I was brought in school when I was five years old. Her Majesty was not on the throne at that time. She was only a princess. One morning I was out in our yard playing, the princess who is now her Majesty called me and I went up to her and she told me that she was going to put me in school. In the evening she told my grand-parents to bring me back to school. They brought me back to school that very evening . . . And the first night that I slept in school I cried. When I was sleeping that night I fell on the floor. And just as I was going turn on the other side I felt the floor it was so hard. When I woke up I couldn't do it because I was under my bed, then I began to cry. And when one of my teachers heard me crying she came out from and asked the girls who was crying. But of course as you may all know I did not understand English at that time. Then my teacher came with a lantern in her hand and she found me under my bed. She took hold of me and put me on my bed again.⁴⁴

Lydia Aholo's essay underplays what it must have felt like to be a young child, abruptly and traumatically taken from a carefree Hawaiian way of life and thrust into a school, unable to even communicate her fears and anxiety in her native language.

When little Lydia arrived at Kawaiaha'o Female Seminary, it was just beginning to flourish as a boarding school, structured around

strict nineteenth-century Congregational principles. To keep students in line, severe corporal punishment was administered. Lydia's teacher Carrie Winter wrote explicitly about the corporal punishments she, herself, administered. Teachers were allowed to whip students, and Miss Winter documented doing so on several occasions for minor infractions. Students identified as disobedient were locked in closets and denied food, regardless of whether their tuition was paid by the monarchy or not. Many students fought back by trying to run away or set fire to the school, as was published in local newspapers of the time. But Lydia Aholo seems strangely naive about this, as her 1892 essay continues:

Right out of that dormitory we had a porch. One day our house was set on fire because one of our girls had a box of matches in the pocket of her dress and I think the rat ate her pocket and it set our house on fire. We were ready to go and have our dinner. It was one Saturday night all of us children were in bed. But most of us were not asleep. And just as I was going to sleep the older girls that usually go to study began to scream and that frightened us very much. We children did not know where to go to. So we just got out from our beds and ran in the other dormitory what we call Pauahi Hall. Some children when they got up from their beds they got hurt because they were very excited. We had our night gowns on and mind you we were all standing in the hall. One of the older girls was so frightened that she cut her hand.⁴⁵

There weren't many nurturing hugs or quiet, soft spaces in Kawai-aha'o Seminary, which is why weekends and holidays spent at Washington Place with her hānai mother were so important. Speaking Hawaiian and dancing the hula were forbidden at school but welcomed and encouraged by the queen. One comment on the tape reveals Lydia Aholo's feeling caught between the nurturing Washington Place on weekends and the stern weekday school:

Tell her anything. Tell her everything. We had no secrets. And sometimes now, for instance, uh, tomorrow we have to go back to boarding school. And we'd gather around her, tell her all kinds of hard luck stories so she wouldn't put us back to school. Nine o'clock [*clap*] back to school. That's . . . how she used to do.⁴⁶

For the duration of Lydia Aholo's years at Kawai-aha'o Seminary, there was a charged atmosphere of ever-changing politics, both inside

and outside the school. Throughout the history of Kawaiaha‘o Seminary, trustees fought with the staff. Exhausted teachers came and went, giving it an “established reputation as a woman-killer.”⁴⁷ Big changes occurred in January 1891, when King Kalākaua died unexpectedly. Principal Ida May Pope relayed to her relatives the fact that the Kawaiaha‘o girls sang like “seraphs” at the funeral, and that people were so impressed that “the natives stopped their wailing and listened with rapt attention.” However, Miss Pope pragmatically stated that although the girls sang like angels, of “what practical benefits are there for fine entertainment and how much poi and fish will it bring the singers?”⁴⁸

Her question was answered soon afterward, as Queen Lili‘uokalani’s ascension to the throne brought more attention and much needed resources to the school. Having the participation of the queen in school events delighted both teachers and Lydia, whose social rank was elevated as the hānai daughter of Hawai‘i’s reigning monarch. Between 1891 and 1893, the queen was particularly involved at Kawaiaha‘o. Despite her political troubles and the death of her husband, the queen took a keen interest in school activities, probably as a much-needed diversion from unpleasant politics. Celebrity-struck teachers wrote home about her visits to the school.

The queen visited us one morning this week. It was an entirely unexpected visit but we understand she was pleased with all she saw. She was present at devotions in the chapel and spoke to the girls and afterward spent some time in the school-rooms.⁴⁹

December 21, 1891: Something like a 100 people came in the evening to hear the girls sing and see them in their new uniforms (dark blue calico trimmed with white braid). They sang as nicely as ever and every one seemed pleased. The queen was there with quite a large party of followers.⁵⁰

The improvement in circumstances between 1891 and 1892 may explain why Lydia Aholo, still perfecting her English at age 14, offers a fairly nonchalant description of school conditions in her essay, “My Life as a School-girl. . . .”

. . . And on Saturday morning each girl have to scrub the part of the house where she is . Our girls cook our own food. We have tea bread and cracker in the morning and we have poi and meat in the after-noon



FIGURE 3. Kawaiaha'o Seminary pupils in their blue calico student-made uniforms, c. 1891. Photo by teacher Lilla E. Appleton. Courtesy UC San Diego Library.

and sometimes we have poi and salmon. And sometimes in the evening we have bread and sometimes potatoes and sugar and sometimes poi and meat sometimes we have rice and sugar. We wear uniform when we go to school. And any kind of dress after school. When we go to prayer meeting on Wednesday night we have to wear our uniform. Sunday morning we have white dresses to go to church with and when it rains we have our uniforms. We go to bed at half past eight. We gave concerts many times. Every morning each girl have to do her work. Sometimes we play base-ball and sometimes we play other games. Kamehameha boys usually invite us up there to spend the evening. Sometimes we all go up Waikiki & have sea bath . . . Now I am 14 years old. I am one of the girls that take music lessons. The queen is supporting for my tuition.

Not only did the queen expect Lydia to have the same formal education she herself had had, but she sponsored many other girls in the community through the Lili'uokalani Education Society. This society was created in 1886 "to interest the Hawaiian ladies in the proper

training of young girls of their own race whose parents would be unable to give them advantages by which they would be prepared for the duties of life.”⁵¹ Queen Lili‘uokalani was not just a benefactor, but active in school leadership. The queen and Miss Pope worked collaboratively on many issues, including discipline. Particularly when the Lili‘uokalani Education Society was paying the tuition, the queen took an active interest in the girls’ progress. Carrie Winter’s letters reveal that girls were expelled by the queen, herself, due to bad behavior.

When Queen Lili‘uokalani and Ida Pope, two formidable women by anyone’s definition, were allies, Lydia was extremely fortunate. But there is at least one documented time when politics forced them on opposite sides, due to annexationist slander. In September 1893, Serrano Bishop, editor of *The Friend*, wrote that Kawaiaha‘o Seminary would be improved due to the “removal of the corrupting influences of the Monarchy.” Miss Pope wrote in personal correspondence that the article was written with malice, and that “her late Majesty” was “incensed.”⁵² The attack from the queen’s opponents did not relent. Miss Pope found herself publicly confronting the *Hawaiian Star* on a September, 1893 “leak.” She was falsely quoted by the paper, announcing that the queen had blithely told her that her throne would soon be restored.⁵³ The political forces trying to divide the queen and Miss Pope were forces to be reckoned with in Lydia Aholo’s life.

Both Miss Pope and Queen Lili‘uokalani protected Lydia. (During the overthrow, Miss Pope went to great lengths to keep her girls from knowing what was happening outside school walls, including turning back the clocks during the noise of the overthrow, to keep girls sewing.)⁵⁴ When the queen’s political troubles escalated, school became a refuge for Lydia. While she leaves no question that she loved the queen, as “the only mother I had,” she often chose the structure, order, and rhythm of the missionary school. This caused tension, which can be seen when Lili‘uokalani complains in a letter to J. O. Carter that Miss Pope customarily “keeps my girls during vacation time” when they need “change” from a “long confinement in school.”⁵⁵ When Miss Pope decided to leave Kawaiaha‘o Seminary, sixteen-year old Lydia was in a predicament. With the queen deposed, and her education uncertain, Lydia was in despair. One mother figure was in political turmoil, about to be imprisoned, and the other was transferring to a new educational institution.

I wasn't very sure whether, uh, she was going to send me to Kamehameha or not. So the principal, Miss Ida Pope, sent for me, and I went to Kamehameha and worked, thinking I would work for my tuition. But when I went to say goodbye to the queen, before I went to school, she said, 'Now remember, all your bills. You ask Miss Pope to send all your bills to Mr. J. O. Carter.' That's where all of our bills were paid. J.O. Carter is the queen's agent.⁵⁶

As it turns out, the queen stepped up and provided the finances to allow Miss Pope to take Lydia with her to the newly formed school. Funded by part of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop's will, Ida May Pope began the Kamehameha School for Girls in 1894. (The school for boys had been established in 1887.) Lydia Aholo would spend the next fifty years at Kamehameha Schools as student, secretary, then as the first Hawaiian language teacher.

AN OUTSIDER WITH AN INSIDER'S VIEW

As far as life with royalty went, Lydia Aholo conveys the impression that she was always on the outside looking in. Neither one of her schools pointed to the Hawaiian culture as a source of pride or self-esteem. The systematic and institutionalized method of Western indoctrination caused many of her classmates to rebel. But, Lydia's timid nature caused her to comply easily and embrace the missionary ideals, thus making her teachers proud of her Western assimilation. Her long years under foreign teachers might have influenced her to regard herself as a separate class from the Hawaiians attached to the royal court. In school, she would have been caught more than in any other place between the culture of the West and her Hawaiian culture. Kamehameha girls were groomed to be strong and independent, but to know their place. Submissiveness was drilled into pupils by the teachers. Lydia's many negative references to "life with royals" and the queen's constant visitors might speak to a social unease and timidity that was partly inborn and partly conditioned:

And, you know, she had company so often that we liked to escape and get away from it [*laughter*]. Because, you know, they, they talk about things that—sometimes they have their own little jokes, maybe. And I never sit around when she has company.⁵⁷

Lydia disliked the “company” and rumor mongers who persistently sought out the queen, competing for her hānai mother’s time and attention.

And I tell you, living with royalty is not an easy kind of life. People are always saying this, saying that.⁵⁸ . . . I tell you . . . there’s so many things that I . . . have done, but I don’t like to have it go in print because there’s so much jealousy and then when they read the book, if they ever do, and they’re going to say, ‘How can she make up all these lies?’ you know;⁵⁹ . . . and that’s another reason why I don’t want to talk about my life with the queen. It’s a very sensitive. . . I know some people . . . who would say, ‘Oh did you, did you live with the queen?’ I have to tell them, ‘that’s the only home I have.’⁶⁰

Lydia Aholo doesn’t blatantly verbalize not fitting in as a royal, as alleged in *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani*,⁶¹ but she does describe a discomfort about her place within the royal family. That she lost her own inheritance, didn’t inherit much from the queen, wasn’t mentioned in the queen’s memoirs, or in memoirs about the queen’s fight to protect her heirs in the suit against her estate, helps validate Lydia’s outsider’s feelings. But on tape, she never mentions any kind of insecurity in her relationship with Queen Lili‘uokalani. Instead it is insecurity about her role in the royal family, caused by those vying for a place in the queen’s attention.

And, uh, every time I came out from school, I went there [the queen’s household] because wherever she goes I had to go. So I used to go there. And then, um, I didn’t stay very long, because there’s so many people around.⁶²

I had a, a very interesting life and yet, um, I don’t know what to say. Not, not the smooth, uh—Always something in, coming in between to distract, or you know. And I tell you, living with royalty is not an easy kind of life.⁶³

USURPED BY A RIVAL

On tape, Lydia wants it on record that she had strong rivals in the form of Myra Kailipanio Heleluhe, her classmate at both Kawaiaha‘o and Kamehameha, and Myra’s mother, Wakeke Heleluhe, the queen’s retainer. The tape reveals “this Myra” caused a tremendous amount of

jealously and pain in relation to Queen Lili'uokalani. On tape, the conversation with the author often reverts to Myra and her mother: "Myra . . . I tell you, someday . . . I'll write it down."⁶⁴ Myra surfaces in Lydia's recollections throughout the tape:

And uh, this Myra who's of—her mother is—has royal blood too. She married the queen's agent [Joseph Heleluhe]. So they lived right there, Washington Place, only in a different cottage. And then they had this daughter [one year younger.] And this daughter always went with the queen because she was not, uh, working and she wasn't in school. She was through.⁶⁵

I had a room . . . at Myra's. I always went to the other house to stay with this girl . . . With this Myra . . . in her own—in her mother's cottage.⁶⁶ . . . in Washington Place . . . and on this side was a big building . . . And that's where Myra's mother and father lived. And that's where I spent most of the time. Because this woman never wanted me to go and stay in my room . . . And one time the queen was so put out. She said, 'You go back and get your clothes and bring it—take them upstairs.'⁶⁷

I don't remember ever lifting up a broom to sweep, or anything. Nothing. . . but there was a woman there, the wife of this agent [Joseph Heleluhe] who was, oh, very jealous, you know. And every time school was out, her daughter and I would go home. And she'd come right to me. She'd say, 'Bring your clothes over so you and Myra can stay together, and you won't be so lonesome up in that big house.' And me, like a fool, of course, would go. And we'd eat over there in their house instead of coming over to the queen's.⁶⁸

As a child playing in the gardens of Washington Place, to young adulthood when the queen took young "protégés" abroad, to later life as a socialite, Myra consistently shows up in the "Ex-Queen's" company in newspaper accounts. This was surely a thorn in Lydia Aholo's side. Nobody really knows whether Queen Lili'uokalani noticed the rivalry between Myra and Lydia. If she did, she may have felt conflicted, as Myra's parents were her trusted advisors. Both were frequently highlighted in the newspapers as companions and aides to Queen Lili'uokalani. The queen might have felt she owed the Heleluhes something, particularly after the revolution, when they suffered greatly for standing by her.⁶⁹ The element of feeling tricked

and manipulated by Myra's mother is what one hears in both tone and content in the tape:

I said, 'Myra, wait for me' . . . She said, 'No, I've got to go now!' . . . So she went home first, and then I went . . . as soon as I got in to . . . Washington Place, went in to pay my respects to the queen, her mother came in, sat down. She asked the queen, 'Who of these two girls are going with you?' You know what the queen said to her? She turned around and she said, 'Why do you ask me? You have your daughter's trunk all packed and this girl doesn't know a thing about it.' That's true . . . that's why her daughter went home first, because she knew she was going to Washington and she left school to go with the queen to Washington, D.C. You see? All my life was not, uh, one of, uh, smooth sailing. There was always jealousy.⁷⁰

The timing of this event would put it at the height of the overthrow, after two years of intense attacks against the queen, and a huge divide between Native Hawaiians and the missionary-affiliated Westerners. Lydia Aholo was left in school, while Myra was encouraged to drop out of Kamehameha, to accompany the "ex-queen" on lobbying trips. Her 1899 trip abroad with the former queen was celebrated by the newspapers as a wonderful opportunity.⁷¹

The power of Myra's personality is evident through the sheer number of newspaper references to her social and political activities throughout the decades. She went on to serve Prince Kūhiō, was at his bedside when he died, and is said to have dramatically inserted herself in the middle of his insanity suit against the queen's estate. According to one book, she was responsible for being "persistent" and successful in brokering peace between Prince Kūhiō and the queen's estate, against which he had laid claim.⁷²

Helena Allen's taped interview includes her own commentaries at the end, where she includes statements made by Lydia Aholo off tape. In one, she conveys Lydia's account of a time when the queen finally disowned Myra's mother, after she tried to discredit Lydia before the queen. Allen records that Mrs. Heleluhe falsely told Lydia Aholo that the queen never wished to see her again, resulting in Ida Pope's marching a devastated Lydia to the queen.⁷³ While Lydia did not make this statement herself on tape, support for this claim can be found

in a 1906 letter from Queen Lili'uokalani to her agent, J.O. Carter. In it, she states a wish to expel and disinherit Wakeke Heleluhe for disloyalty.

For Mrs. Heleluhe's disloyalty to me and dishonesty it is my purpose to discharge her and to send her away from my places here, and from Waikiki. I wish you would make out papers authorizing Mrs. Kainaua Puahi to eject Wakeke from lot No. 9 at Waikiki and also from the house that she occupies here at Washington Place.⁷⁴

While much was written in *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani* about Lydia Aholo feeling less royal and less deserving than her hānai brothers and mad at Myra, and that she later “didn’t forgive” herself for the emotional distance she created,⁷⁵ Lydia does not say these words. She does say that life with “these royals” is never easy, but her bad feelings are most often reserved for those by whom she feels mistreated. Feeling cheated financially is a recurring theme on the tape. “But when the queen died . . . we got nothing. That’s a fact.”⁷⁶ She casually mentions Prince Kūhiō’s acrimonious “insanity” lawsuit against the queen’s estate:

Yes, she had a piece of property that she left me. And it all went back to the estate through the—I don’t know, the carelessness of the one who was in charge. He knew those places were ours, but he just turned it in. You see, we had no papers. And I think the queen, if she had been in her right mind, would have put, you know, that in writing.⁷⁷

She names “crooked” agents of the queen’s whom she blames for appropriating her inheritance and goes so far as to name the queen’s trusted advisor, Curtis P. Iaukea. (In *The Queen and I*, Sydney Iaukea describes Myra’s involvement in brokering a settlement of the queen’s estate in 1918.)⁷⁸ Lydia talks bitterly about “crooked people” taking advantage of her, throughout the taped interview.

RACISM

Queen Lili'uokalani took great care to cultivate her image, but Western racism assaulted that image, intensifying after the revolution. Her

wards painfully witnessed legalized segregation between blacks and whites when they travelled with her on the mainland. This intolerance and bigotry took young Lydia Aholo by surprise because in Hawai'i, many different races in her school worked harmoniously, side by side. Blake Clark, in 1947, posits that "Sociologists, who have made Hawaii their workshop for twenty years will tell you that is the scene of the world's most successful racial experiment and here men of all races address one another as 'Mister'."⁷⁹ Clark goes on to say, "Sadly, after annexation, race relations changed and white-collar jobs were reserved 'for people with necks to match.'"⁸⁰

Lydia Aholo vividly recounts her encounters with racial discrimination several times to Allen. She tells the story of being "racially profiled" in Washington, D. C.:

And the minute I saw them, I started talking English, and those boys never talked Hawaiian before, you know. So they said to me, uh, 'Don't talk English. Talk Hawaiian. They might take us for Negroes.' That's what they said. So, we uh, all the way home, we'd talk in Hawaiian.⁸¹

So, the second week, we went to Mount Vernon. And, uh, Aimoku is very fair, just like you. And Joseph and Myra and I are just like this. And, you know, Aimoku didn't want to go with us. We knew why. So anyway, we went three: Joseph, Myra, and myself. And when we got on this train, a conductor came. We sat where the white folks sit. That's what Kalaniana'ole [Prince Kūhiō] told us to do. Just don't sit in the back. You just go and take the front seat. And if they come and ask, send you in the back, you tell them you're not Negroes. So that's what we did. And this conductor came and looked, sized us up. And, uh, Myra, you know, she's quicker. And he came back again, 'Oh, is the queen here?' And she said, 'Yes.' You see, they had been there before and he remembered Myra, so we passed. We didn't have to be afraid of our seats and we got off at Mount Vernon. Went all around; never had any trouble . . . And when we had seen everything we wanted to see, we went back to, to the depot to go home . . . So when the train stopped to get in, we went and sat, you know, where the white folks sit. And Joseph sat near the aisle, but in front of us. And Myra, back of him, and I was near the window. And when these girls got on after the train had stopped, and the conductor came and tapped him on the back. And this—and Joseph didn't know, didn't even feel it. And this Myra looked up and said, 'We're not colored.' 'What are you?' 'We're

Hawaiians.' So, his, his face just turned red, red, red. So he had to go and tell those girls that we were not colored people. And they had to go back and sit where the colored people sat. Isn't that awful? It's so embarrassing, you know.⁸²

Lydia recounts a discriminatory act against her in Honolulu the time her brother was taken to a mortuary for burial. The undertaker ignored the burial preparation of her brother's body for some time until all funeral expenses were paid in advance. Lydia's distraught niece sought her out for financial support. Probably due to Miss Pope's outrage, two prominent community and mortuary members, Charles Atherton and Theodore Richards, immediately withdrew their membership. When the man who "was running" the mortuary, realized too late what this discrimination cost him, he sought an audience with Lydia at the school. Miss Pope, as in most cases, protected Lydia: "No, you can't see her. Not after what you did to her." Lydia proudly stated the mortuary then went out of business but that pride dissipates into grief at both the inhumanity of discrimination, and at her brother's untimely death from alcohol poisoning.⁸³ Sadly, one can vividly hear the lifelong scars inflicted upon her by racism in the taped recording.

UNCOMPLICATED POLITICAL PERSPECTIVE

Despite Hawai'i's turbulent nineteenth- and twentieth-century history, Lydia Aholo talks somewhat naively on tape about political events. Some of the speeches in *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani* attributed to Lydia Aholo are still in circulation today and have led to Lydia Aholo being called a "Native Hawaiian activist."⁸⁴ Living family members question this label.

Examples of questionable quotations in the book, attributed to Lili'uokalani, "as purportedly stated to Lydia Aholo," include the following:

The overthrow of the government was a small thing; it was a symptom of the disease abroad in the land and thus became inevitable. Not just, not fair, not right, but inevitable . . . Liliuokalani spoke enigmatically that 'as the morning shadow lies behind one as he faces the sun it is

the shadow [the darkness] of the future that comes to rest full upon the person at noon day; then it relentlessly moves on to the shadow of the past—even if it is before one—and is the future. . . .’ Despite this “inevitability” her cry, ‘What have I done that was so wrong that I should lose my country for my people?’ showed the paradox of human reason that even when one knows of the slow inevitable move of destruction and even when one still stands firm in right, why does destruction come anyway?⁸⁵

In the book’s epilogue, the following speeches are credited to a one-hundred-year-old Lydia Aholo. Friends and family members who attended her one-hundredth birthday party question the style of these speeches, compared to her simple style of speech.⁸⁶

Hānai could not turn back the clock, but time has sped backward on its own. There is greater provocative nakedness on the beaches than ever before. The foreign songs have only eroticism, no spiritual meaning. The dances are lascivious; there is no sacred interpretation. The land is ravaged by concrete monsters; neither the sea nor the sky is safe from destruction. There is racism—which our ancestors never knew. And neither the young nor the old can lie down by the wayside in safety as Kamehameha I decreed. There is nothing Hawaiian left; it is all haole now. It is not known that aloha spoken with indifference is blasphemy, and mahalo in an ungracious mouth is profane. Until we free our people from misconceptions of Hawaiian heritage, we will continue to be victims of an ignoble past.⁸⁷

This widely circulated speech also emanates from Allen’s epilogue. It was credited to the queen in 1917, ostensibly through the taped memories of Lydia Aholo:

I could not turn back the time for political change, but there is still time to save our heritage. You must remember never to cease to act because you fear you may fail. The way to lose any earthly kingdom is to be inflexible, intolerant, and prejudicial. Another way is to be too flexible, tolerant of too many wrongs, and without judgement at all. It is a razor’s edge. It is the width of a blade of pili grass. To gain the kingdom of heaven is to hear what is not said, to see what cannot be seen, and to know the unknowable—that is Aloha. All things in this world are two: in heaven there is but One.⁸⁸

Lydia Aholo's actual words on tape reveal a simpler, almost apolitical view of the revolution that doesn't delve deeply into politics or rhetoric. Instead, she focuses on the feelings of her wronged queen.

All of those people, she never thought much about. She never—just to mention of the name. We have to be very careful what we say, you know, about that dethronement . . . [At] Washington Place we used to go out and play croquet and she'd go with us. And one day the, uh, prisoners were coming home. And me, like an old fool, said, 'Look at the rebels.' She never forgot that. Oh, I could just chew myself up. I was so ashamed of myself because those men fought for her, you know . . . Even Prince Kūhiō, when she was dethroned, they imprisoned him too, because they went . . . out trying to fight. But they gave up . . . And he was in prison. Oh . . . when I think of it, I—makes me sick.⁸⁹ Because it hurt her, you know. So we never talked about those things in her presence. Never . . . I was old enough to know, you know. Oh, it was sad.⁹⁰

She felt very badly [about Dole] . . . She felt unhappy because they took it away from her, you know . . . She didn't realize what . . . evil she had done to pass that bill. She couldn't understand why they dethroned her. That's what made her sad, you know. She never—she can't believe that she did anything wrong and she always said if Mr. Dominis had been living, they would never have dethroned her.⁹¹

. . . they just came and took over—Judge Dole, because she was trying to . . . make a bill, a lottery. To allow a lottery. And these people didn't want it, so they just put her out. I don't know how they did it, but they did. So, she was sent home and then taken to the Palace . . . and they, uh, imprisoned her in there . . . the woman who did her washing . . . she would have to have a pass. And, uh, they always examined that package, that bundle of clothes to see if she was carrying anything that, that she shouldn't, you know . . . we always wrote to her . . . We couldn't go [to see her] . . . they would read our letters before she got them. And, uh, she was there for quite a while before she came home.⁹²

And she tried to get back the uh, well, the Crown lands. She went to Washington many times, but never, never got it. And anyway, she lived very well. She had enough money to live and uh, had friends coming in every day to see her. They were very loyal to her, you know.⁹³

I remember the day they were going to raise that American flag . . . I forget how many there were of us. Stupid enough, we were going to see the Hawaiian flag lowered and American flag going up. And the um, police at the gate asked us where we were going. Said, 'You don't go at all. You stay right here.' So we . . . foolish, you know. Not thinking

anything, whether it was right or wrong . . . [didn't] realize the fact that there wasn't a thing to do, but, I don't know. Just curiosity.⁹⁴

No. That's not true [that so many were against the queen]. Maybe the haoles, the white people. Maybe. But not the Hawaiians. Because she had visitors constantly coming to sympathize with her. That's a fact. But . . . I don't know about the opium [legalization or taxation] but lottery I know [was opposed].⁹⁵

EMERGING ADULTHOOD

Lydia spent her entire childhood and adolescence shuttling back and forth between mission-run schools and the queen's royal residences. Because of this transient lifestyle, torn between two cultures, she may not have been eager or even equipped to embrace her dual identity.

When Lydia graduated from Kamehameha in 1897, the queen was still in Washington, seeking to restore her crown. Despite her passionate role as Lydia's educational patron, she was unable to attend graduation ceremonies. Lydia's life choices following graduation indicate that she preferred Ida Pope's steadying influence. She took a job as her secretary in the secure school environment, instead of finding employment in the community. She even rejected the queen's offer to match the wages she would earn from Kamehameha to be her companion at Washington Place. As Lydia Aholo individuated from the queen, she took her responsibilities seriously. She managed



FIGURE 4. Lydia K. Aholo, 19 years, detail of first graduating class of Kamehameha School for Girls, 1897. Courtesy Kamehameha Schools.

her money wisely and considerately, as evidenced by Helena Allen's journal notes: "During the time Miss Lydia worked at Kamehameha, she received \$20.00 a month; \$10.00 she saved for her grandparents, \$5.00 she banked, \$3.00 she saved for her washing and \$2.00 she kept for herself for her own expenses."⁹⁶

While living an increasingly separate life from the queen, Lili'uokalani remained an important figure in Lydia Aholo's life, and the emotional bond remained close:

Oh, she was kind. Every time I'd go out, she'd ask me if I had any money . . . I was working, you know, at Kamehameha School for Girls. And you'd be surprised . . . We got twenty dollars a month. And she was in Washington . . . D.C. and I sent her an invitation to my graduation. And at the same time I wrote and told her that I had been offered a job at the school in the office, uh, twenty dollars a month and board and lodging. So she wrote back, congratulated me, and . . . said, 'Come home, and I'll give you twenty dollars a month' [*laughing*]. Oh, but I didn't go home . . . And when she came home, I went down to see her, uh, I told her I was going to stay on, and I wanted to earn my own living, you know, see how it would be to work.⁹⁷

Unlike Lydia Aholo, her classmates could not wait to break free from Kamehameha to explore a variety of possible life directions in love, work, and worldviews. Many of them had been together since early childhood at Kawaiaha'o Seminary. The alumni, encouraged by Miss Pope, with Lydia Aholo as president of the association, formed deep bonds of friendship.

Miss Pope, who considered Lydia Aholo as a daughter by this time, was certainly pleased with Lydia's school-related civic involvement. The influence of the principal was evident in Lydia's many activities that reflected Miss Pope's own interests. For instance, she joined Kamehameha teachers in outreach to Honolulu's children. A 1902 issue of *The Friend* reported that Lydia Aholo, accompanied by the principal and others, was among those teachers giving up their Sundays to reach the unchurched: "children spend Sunday on the streets, exposed to the worst influences of the city." Lydia Aholo, Miss Pope, and others dedicated their free days to going around to various Sunday Schools while "children gather shyly around the door to hear them sing, admiring their neat uniforms and spotless gowns, and are



FIGURE 5. Summer vacation, Hāna, Maui, 1902. Lydia K. Aholo is fourth from the left, Ida Pope sitting on chair, and Ida's sister, Katherine Pope, holding the guitar. H. C. Ovenden, British bookkeeper for Heeia Sugar Plantation, on grass in front. Photographer unknown. Courtesy Bishop Museum.

easily prevailed upon to enter and join a class, where they are taught the same songs, and told stories from the gospel.”⁹⁸

Queen Lili‘uokalani’s influence was always present as Lydia continued to develop her musical talent, singing publicly and branching out occasionally as a soloist. But Ida Pope’s influence reached into every area of Lydia Aholo’s life, even Queen Lili‘uokalani’s musical domain. When Lydia decided to take vocal lessons, she chose Miss Pope’s alma mater, Oberlin, for its Conservatory of Music. While in Ohio, Lydia became a frequent and favored guest of Miss Pope’s extended family. She amused them with songs and stories of life with royalty as recorded by Ruth Prosser in the Pope family memoirs.

In 1918 I had seen a great deal of Lydia Aholo. She was the sensitive child whom Queen Liliuokalani had entrusted to Aunt Ida’s care . . . She had been close to the Pope family from then on. When going to Oberlin she had found a welcoming home at Grandmother’s. I remember her visiting us in Kankakee during the summer of 1903 . . . Lydia

had her ukulele and taught us funny Hawaiian songs before she left for Oberlin.⁹⁹

It is well known that the queen felt alone in her last years and wrote about this isolation in her diaries. Later in life, Lydia Aholo would sadly regret some of the decisions made in her young adulthood about not choosing to be with the queen more, as the tape reveals.¹⁰⁰

LYDIA'S WORLD COLLAPSES

As Lydia Aholo entered into mid-life, the two dominant maternal forces in her life died within three years of each other. In 1914, when Lydia was thirty-six, Ida May Pope died suddenly at age fifty-two, from heart complications. Lydia Aholo was forced to draw upon the independence Miss Pope had trained her to develop for the last twenty-four years. Thankfully for Lydia, however, the ever-practical Ida May Pope also remembered her generously in her will. (In April of 1914,



FIGURE 6. Principal Ida May Pope at the Kamehameha School for Girls, Lydia K. Aholo behind her, c. 1906. Author's collection.

before leaving for Chicago to have surgery, she had had the foresight to prepare a will, which helped facilitate Lydia's independence.) As a testament to her close feelings, despite having two single sisters who would have benefited, the bulk of her financial estate was bestowed upon Lydia: "FIRST: I give and bequeath to MISS LYDIA K. AHOLO, of Honolulu, the sum of Five Hundred Dollars (\$500.00)."¹⁰¹

Lydia had sat behind Miss Pope's desk and watched her run the Kamehameha School for Girls for more than seventeen years. She had shared in Miss Pope's success and acclaim within the missionary and Hawaiian communities. In her absence, she had to step into her place over and over again throughout the years to explain the principal's policies and procedures for parents, staff, and pupils. At age thirty-six, she would also need to rely on her own judgment for the first time in her life.

The fact that Ida Pope, twenty years younger than Lili'uokalani, died first, might have been a blessing in disguise, since Lydia Aholo increased her visits to Washington Place. She was able to share with Helena Allen rich anecdotes from the queen's last years. The journal notes from the taped interview reveal some of her detailed memories:

The queen loved candy and she had huge, huge boxes of candy standing around everywhere and, uh, everyone who came to her brought candy . . . When the queen was eighty- years-old [*sic*], she was advised to smoke one cigar a day, however, she didn't. Only smoked a small part of it. She was told to take a little wine, or to smoke, but she preferred a small cigar. She would smoke a small part of it and then put it out and the next day start on a new one.¹⁰²

. . . foods did not tempt her and even though many friends brought the choicest of their fruits from their gardens, flowers, and leis, she did not seem to be interested in them, although she loved the company. And company came at any time, day or night. The haoles made appointments usually, but her Hawaiian friends and other friends and some of the haoles, too, came whenever they wanted. When friends came, Miss Lydia would sit with her and them because she would call Miss Lydia to come. Uh, these were times when she was growing a bit tired and Miss Lydia served to, um, take her place as a listener. She would signal to Miss Lydia when she . . . wanted her to leave and at this time, she would leave and go on . . . out. She was always glad to get away, but very often she would be called in when diplomats, or statesmen were talking. And the queen would say to her, 'I want you to hear this. I want you to learn

something from it. Now, listen carefully.' And Miss Lydia would have to sit there and listen even though she squirmed a bit.¹⁰³

And, you know, the queen can't . . . sit up the way we did so they had a special mat for her, mattress and a pillow, and that she lies down, you know, and eats. She cannot sit up. She has, uh, I don't know whether she fell from her bed and, and something happened to her leg so that one shoe has no heel and the other one, the heel is about that high. And yet, if she walked, you wouldn't know she was lame.¹⁰⁴

These stories provided Lydia Aholo with comfort in her last years. But it appears that Lydia might not always have felt completely at home with the queen; when depression and sickness descended upon her, she left her job and sought solace with Miss Pope's sisters, Annie and Katherine in Chicago, not Washington Place. As Lydia Aholo was still recuperating in Chicago, she would miss the deaths of both Aimoku and Queen Lili'uokalani, compounding her feelings of guilt and loss. Her grief at not being present with the queen when she died in 1917 is evident in her words and tone on tape.

. . . oh, I took sick. I had to go to the mainland for rest. That was in 1917. I went to say goodbye to the queen, and she was so feeble, you know. And . . . before I left, she said . . . 'In my room there's a lei with lehua . . . You go in my room and get that lei and put it on and wear it down to the boat. Remember me,' you know. So I kissed her goodbye . . .¹⁰⁵

She poignantly recalls the queen's sending her to say goodbye to her sick hānai brother:

When he saw me, he grabbed me and cried, cried. Didn't want . . . me to leave. But I had to go, you know.¹⁰⁶ "And I tell you, it was hard [weeping]. Oh, and . . . the first letter I got . . . from home, announced his death."¹⁰⁷

While her account is nowhere near the melodramatic accounts attributed to her in *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani*,¹⁰⁸ Lydia' Aholo's sorrow is deeply, though simply expressed. She describes another moving story of saying goodbye to her dying thirty-two-year-old hānai brother, Joseph, a few years before.

... and there he was, facing the queen's picture, crying, just crying, all by himself... 'Stay with me,' he said. 'Stay with me.' I couldn't stay. I... was on duty that night at school. . . I thought I'd go the next day. Next day he passed on. Oh, I tell you, all the things that I have gone through. I wonder how I ever lived. Oh, sad things, you know.¹⁰⁹

When speaking of her sadness at the memory of the queen's death, Lydia Aholo says, "I didn't know what to do. Wished I could come home, but I couldn't, so I just stayed."¹¹⁰

INDEPENDENT AT LAST

After the deaths of the two women she loved most, the vulnerable Lydia Aholo may have experienced a short-term loss of identity. But these two deaths forced her to make sense of who she was, where she was headed, and what acquired skills would take her there. At thirty-nine, and single, she was finally forced to fully enter into the world of adult choices. Her first choice was to return to Kamehameha Schools, to the familiar environment of structure and routine. The bookkeeping skills learned sitting beside Miss Pope's desk kept her securely employed for many years. According to the July 1909 *Oberlin Review*, her stenography services were often sought during legislative sessions. The music skills learned with the queen provided comfort and ministry opportunities throughout her life. As time went by, the resilient Lydia emerged from her shell. She continued to perform as a vocalist/musician as opportunities arose.

Miss Lydia Aholo, a member of the first class that was graduated from the Kamehameha Girls' School will be the lone woman performer. Her rich *contralto* voice has pleased many an audience at Washington Place when the late Queen Lili'uokalani lived there for Miss Aholo was one of the queen's girls. She will sing one of the late Queen's compositions.¹¹¹

She took on increased leadership roles due to her sense of organization. When the school's benefactor, C.R. Bishop, husband of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, died, it was Lydia Aholo who helped plan the memorial service and recruited alumnae to participate in his memorial.¹¹² In 1923, Kamehameha Schools' president, Frank E. Midkiff, made Hawaiian language study compulsory. "Miss Aholo" was hired

as Kamehameha's first formal Hawaiian language teacher. This role would have made the queen very proud, as she loved languages and spoke French, Italian, German, and English. Unfortunately, Lydia forlornly told Helena Allen that she had "differences" with Midkiff and "left the school". School records indicate she "retired" in 1928 after three decades of association with the school. Her contribution to her cherished school wouldn't be publically recognized until 1962, when she was honored for her lifetime contributions to Kamehameha Schools and the Hawaiian community with the distinguished Ke Ali'i Pauahi award.

LIFE AFTER KAMEHAMEHA

After Kamehameha, Lydia Aholo used her vast connections and skills to gain employment as a stenographer in the School of Education at the University of Hawai'i and earned enough to live independently in an apartment. However, when her niece, Mary Keahi Apaka and her family moved to Ho'olehua, Moloka'i in 1929, Lydia jumped at the chance to move with them and their children. The Apakas worked hard and lived close to the earth and the ocean, operating a trucking business, growing and hauling pineapples to the docks. Relatives today still reminisce about the carefree "camping" days on Moloka'i, playing under the watchful eye of Auntie Tūtū, when she wasn't working at the Hawaiian Homes Commission or playing piano for the Latter-day Saints Ho'olehua Branch.¹¹³

A college-trained vocalist, and the queen's own protégé, she eagerly assisted her niece's husband, singer Alfred Apaka Sr., in the proper phrasing, interpretation, and enunciation of the Hawaiian songs her hānai mother had taught her. Apaka is remembered today as a stand-out tenor for the Latter-day Saints Liahona Glee Club, Men's Chorus, a group that Lydia Aholo spent some time directing. Her next protégé was her grandnephew, Alfred Aholo Apaka Jr., whose singing voice foretold of the great fame that would come his way. "I taught Alfred the way the queen taught me about her music."¹¹⁴ By all accounts, she loved this child as if he were her own. She told a reporter at age ninety-four that she gave Alfred "some original manuscripts of Lili'uokalani's compositions (bearing her royal motto) which the queen had given to

her. She had a stamp with the word ‘Onipa‘a’ which means ‘Steadfast’ that was used on all her music.”¹¹⁵

Back in Honolulu, she worked until she reached the legal age limit of seventy-five and she lived with different members of the Apaka family until she was eighty-eight years old. She stayed active socially and enjoyed dancing and going to the nightclub where her great-nephew, Alfred Apaka Jr. performed. Ida Pope’s great-niece, Mary Lois Ivey, remembers a trip to visit Lydia in 1959 where she “insisted on being our hostess, taking us to the Waikiki hotel where Al Apaka Jr. performed. She enchanted us: gracious, assured and almost cute, perhaps because of her petite size. She was short, slender, straight as an arrow and a good dancer, according to my husband.”¹¹⁶

Lydia endured many premature losses throughout the decades among her family members, but none affected her as deeply as the death of Alfred Jr. Her protégé, her pride and joy, died suddenly in 1960 at age forty. She had watched “her boy” become a recording and television star as “Hawaii’s Golden Baritone.” Alfred Jr.’s son, Jeffrey Apaka, still sings the romantic songs that made his father famous. Lydia spends considerable time on tape recounting the fourteen-year-old’s grief at learning his father had died unexpectedly. Alfred’s death, on top of many others, had a profound impact on her.¹¹⁷ Lydia Aholo’s grandniece, Frances Mahelona, tells stories of Lydia, possibly suffering from depression, sitting alone for hours in the house. Frances remembers Lydia allowing her niece’s sons to play marbles in the yard with the queen’s pearls.¹¹⁸

Family members cared for Lydia Aholo until 1966, when an injury necessitated more attention and care than could be provided at home. Family friend Clorinda Lucas, chairwoman of the Queen Lili‘uokalani Trust, helped the family obtain funding from that trust to pay for most of the care at the Maunalani Convalescent Hospital for the next thirteen years. Thus, it could be said that the queen financially supported her hānai daughter at the beginning and at the end of her earthly life.

Mary Lois Ivey saw Lydia Aholo again in 1970: “I visited her at the Maunalani Hospital, a beautiful retirement home up the mountain across from Diamond Head. Her room looked out over the new high-rise hotels and on to the ocean. She was very busy doing thought-

ful things for other patients: moving a footstool, changing a position, comforting a depressed old woman, the same self-forgetful little Lydia of yore." Once she adjusted, the hospital became a place of security for Lydia Aholo. She entertained many visitors throughout the years with her tales of royalty but was a Kamehameha girl to the end . . . "very proper and well mannered."¹¹⁹

Grandniece Mrs. Frances Mahelona stated that "Until she was ninety-seven, Tūtū was quite a swinger. She used to go out nightclubbing and stay out so late they locked the door on her. Then she would have to ring the bell so they would let her in."¹²⁰

Her broken hip at ninety-seven put a cramp in her style as she was confined to a wheelchair, but she remained engaged and alert. Frances and others continually received gifts from "hands that were never idle," remembering ornate finery and rugs crocheted with used Maunalani laundry bag strings.

When she turned one hundred, the party for the "frail little figure in the wheelchair buried under a sea of flowers" on the third floor of the hospital was well attended by family and press. Some of those blossoms came from the governor's wife, Jean Ariyoshi, with the inscription: "These lavender crown flowers, Queen Lili'uokalani's favorite, were picked from the gardens at Washington Place, which was once your home."¹²¹

A LEGACY OF RESILIENCE

Lydia Ka'ōnohiponiponiokalani Aholo, the "woman with such a long life, long name, and important connections," passed away quietly on July 7, 1979, at one hundred and one years, five months, and one day.¹²² She was buried at Nu'uanu Memorial Park, alongside Alfred and Mary Apaka. The *Star-Bulletin* wrote: "Aholo represents a piece of Hawai'i which is gone, and with her passing, knowledge of it will come only from books and legends."¹²³ Fortunately, the *Star-Bulletin's* pronouncement was wrong. Lydia's testimony now comes not only from books and legends, but from "Auntie Tūtū" herself. Her audio interview on magnetic tape, housed in the Kamehameha School Archives, is now available to researchers and family members, captured for all time. Author Helena Allen's laments in her notes that even her recording couldn't capture, "Miss Lydia's nuances, ges-

tures, tears, smiles—the twisting of a handkerchief, the gripping of the arms of the chair, a quick laugh, a twinkle in the eye.” We agree with Allen that “these things that tell so much beyond the spoken word” are unavailable to us.¹²⁴ But in Lydia’s voice, we can still hear lilting melodies of drama, sorrow, laughter and love as she tells her unique story.

This is where the winding journey that began in a steamer trunk stops for the present. Admittedly, finding the tape raises more questions than it answers, but nonetheless, the tape emerges as a significant historical treasure. Lydia Aholo was not just a bystander of the most turbulent time in Hawaiian history, notable as that would have been, given the fact that she lived for over a century. She was an active eyewitness to Queen Lili‘uokalani’s graceful transition from pre-revolution to post-revolution Hawai‘i. She watched her hānai mother rise to power, be dethroned and then imprisoned. She witnessed her homeland seized by foreigners and her culture crushed. She saw her native country thrust into two world wars. She saw the Hawaiian flag raised for many years, then saw it lowered and replaced by the American flag in 1898, and finally lived to see the American flag raised again, this time with a fiftieth star when Hawai‘i became a state in 1959.

While retrospective evidence, like a taped interview, should never be accepted unquestioningly by researchers, there is no doubt that, as the hānai daughter and namesake of the last queen of Hawai‘i, Lydia Aholo was a significant living witness to key historical events. Her oral history articulates a shared reality for her generation. Despite the tremendous forces between which Lydia Aholo was caught, she emerges as a far more understated hero than portrayed on record. Unlike the ambitions of her mentors, Lili‘uokalani and Ida May Pope, Lydia Aholo’s ambitions were far more down-to-earth. She was happy to play a supporting role in life, motivated by what goes on behind the scenes, giving and doing for those around her. She loved the queen with the simple love of a daughter. She nurtured and cared for friends and family throughout her life. Her loyal descendants still remember Lydia Aholo for her remarkable empathy. Her dignity and compassion, despite deep loss, is what resonates from her stories. What further stands out in Lydia’s accounts is her remarkable strength. As the hānai daughter of the last ruler of Hawai‘i, her resilience and that of her emerging story can be viewed as highly symbolic.

Oh, I—my life has been one of joy, disappointment, you know. There are things like that. But God has been good to me. I think He knows that I want to do the right thing. Otherwise I wouldn't be living. All the other children who lived with her and all her retainers are dead. And here I live.¹²⁵

NOTES

- ¹ Sandra Bonura and Deborah Day, *An American Girl in the Hawaiian Islands: Letters of Carrie Prudence Winter, 1890–1893* (University of Hawai'i Press, 2012).
- ² Helena G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani: Last Queen of Hawaii 1838–1917* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1982).
- ³ Randall Allen, phone interview with Sandra Bonura, January 13, 2013. Born Willie Kauhimakaukalani Nepeahi, he was adopted at five-years old by Helena Allen, and renamed Randall Lawrence Allen.
- ⁴ Mike Gordon, "Lydia's Voice" (*Honolulu Star-Advertiser*, December 18, 2011).
- ⁵ Lydia K. Aholo, Taped Oral Interview with Helena G. Allen. Maunalani Hospital, Honolulu, Hawai'i, September 29, 1969. Original reel-to-reel tape reformatting into CD recording, courtesy of Kamehameha Schools. To facilitate access for the reader, Sandra Bonura and Sally Witmer transcribed the CD in January 2013 to include all word fillers and the time placement of Lydia Aholo's verbatim words.
- ⁶ Aholo 62 (CD 3/Track 30/1:56" to 2:38").
- ⁷ Aholo 5 (CD 1/Track 2/ 3:20" to 3:33").
- ⁸ John F. McDermott, Jr, Wen-Shing Tseng, Thomas W. Maretzki, eds. *People and Cultures of Hawai'i: A Psychocultural Profile*, (Honolulu: John A. Burns School of Medicine, University Press of Hawai'i, c.1980), 13; Katharine K. Luomala, "Reality and Fantasy: The Foster Child in Hawaiian Myths and Customs," *Pacific Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, March 1987, 17.
- ⁹ Aholo 3 (CD 1/Track 1/3:03" to 4:01").
- ¹⁰ Aholo 61 (CD 3/Track 30/0:24" to 0:38").
- ¹¹ "Death of L. Aholo," *DB*, March 16, 1888, p. 3; "Aholo Dead," *HG*, March 20, 1888. chroniclingamerica.loc.gov
- ¹² Family Interviews, Frances Mahelona, phone interview with Sandra Bonura, October 26, 2011; Jeffrey Apaka, phone interview with Sandra Bonura, January 12, 2013; Mary Lois Ivey, phone interviews with Sandra Bonura, January 2013.
- ¹³ Aholo 61 (CD 3/Track 30/0:39" to 1:05").
- ¹⁴ Aholo 20 (CD 1/Track 9/4:34" to 4:50").
- ¹⁵ *HG*, March 20, 1888, p. 5.
- ¹⁶ *HG*, November 20, 1890; *HG*, November 25, 1890.
- ¹⁷ *HG*, October 06, 1891.
- ¹⁸ Sam King, Walter Heen and Randall Roth, "The Queen's Estate," *HSB*, May 17, 2009. archivesstarbulletin.com/content/20090518_The_queens_estate.
- ¹⁹ Aholo 7 (CD 1/Track 3/3:34" to 4:41").

- ²⁰ Aholo18 (CD 1/Track 8/4:29" to Track 9/0:44").
- ²¹ Aholo 66 (CD 3/Track 33/0:01" to 0:50").
- ²² Aholo 57 (CD 2/Track 27/3:09" to 4:18").
- ²³ Aholo 64 (CD 3/Track 31/2:52" to 3:18").
- ²⁴ Aholo 64 (CD 3/Track 31/ 4:11" to Track 32/ 0:04").
- ²⁵ Aholo 11 (CD 1/Track 5/ 2:57" to 3:25").
- ²⁶ Aholo 5 (CD 1/Track 2/3:01" to 4:02").
- ²⁷ Aholo 45–46 (CD 2/Track 21/ 3:02" to 4:33").
- ²⁸ Aholo 56–57 (CD 2/Track 27/1:55" to 3:07").
- ²⁹ Aholo 33 (CD 2/Track 16/ 2:04" to 3:51").
- ³⁰ Aholo 47 (CD 2/Track 16/ 2:30" to 2:53").
- ³¹ Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen, Liliuokalani* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898), p. 66. <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women>. Accessed August 7, 2012.
- ³² Aholo 40 (CD 2/Track 19/2:03" to 3:10").
- ³³ Aholo 68–69 (CD 3/Track 34/ 0:43" to 1:43").
- ³⁴ Aholo 67–68 (CD 3/Track 33/ 4:06" to Track 34/ 0:25").
- ³⁵ Aholo 33–34 (CD 2/Track 16/3:55" to 6:02").
- ³⁶ Aholo 57 (CD 2/Track 27/3:38" to 4:00).
- ³⁷ Aholo 31–32 (CD 2/Track 15/ 2:36" to 4:09").
- ³⁸ Aholo 46 (CD 2/Track 22/ 0:40" to 1:30").
- ³⁹ Aholo 30–31 (CD 2/Track 15/1:13" to 2:22").
- ⁴⁰ Aholo 60–61 (CD 3/Track 29/ 2:07 to 3:44").
- ⁴¹ Aholo 32 (CD 2/Track 15/4:12" to 4:46").
- ⁴² Aholo 65 (CD 3/Track 32/0:50" to 1:18").
- ⁴³ Liliuokalani, 8.
- ⁴⁴ Lydia Aholo, "My Life as a School-girl in Honolulu," 1892, in Sandra Bonura and Deborah Day, *An American Girl in the Hawaiian Islands: Letters of Carrie Prudence Winter, 1890–1893* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012) 41–44.
- ⁴⁵ Aholo, essay.
- ⁴⁶ Aholo 64–65 (CD 3/Track 32/0:06" to 0:50").
- ⁴⁷ H.G. Pratt, *The Story of Mid-Pacific Institute* (Honolulu: Tongg Publishing Co. Ltd., 1957) 27.
- ⁴⁸ Ida May Pope, letter to the Pope family, February 2, 1891, courtesy of Mary Lois Ivey.
- ⁴⁹ Pope, letter.
- ⁵⁰ Pope, letter.
- ⁵¹ Liliuokalani, 42.
- ⁵² Bonura and Day, pp. xxxiii, and 286.
- ⁵³ *HS*, September 4, 1893, 5.
- ⁵⁴ L. E. Appleton, 1886–1937, Alumni File, Record Group 28, Oberlin College Archives.
- ⁵⁵ Lili'uokalani, to J. O. Carter regarding Lydia Aholo and Myra Heleluhe, Washington D.C., June 18, 1897. David Forbes Collection, AH.
- ⁵⁶ Aholo 4 (CD 1/Track 1/5:00" to Track 2/1:06").

- ⁵⁷ Aholo 45 (CD 2/Track 21/2:00" to 2:30").
- ⁵⁸ Aholo 56 (CD 2/Track 27/1:03" to 1:28").
- ⁵⁹ Aholo 61 (CD 3/Track 29/ 3:44" to 4:13").
- ⁶⁰ Aholo 61 (CD 3/Track 29/ 4:56" to Track 30/0:20").
- ⁶¹ Helena Allen, *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani* 196, 222, 360, 373.
- ⁶² Aholo 40 (CD 2/Track 19/ 1:15" to 2:00").
- ⁶³ Aholo 55–60 (CD 2/Track 27/0:45" to 1:28").
- ⁶⁴ Aholo 32–33 (CD 2/Track 16/0:01" to 0:51").
- ⁶⁵ Aholo 10–11 (CD 1/Track 5/ 1:24" to 2:12").
- ⁶⁶ Aholo 42–43 (CD 2/Track 20/ 3:05" to 4:30").
- ⁶⁷ Aholo 43–44 (CD 2/Track 20/3:33" to 5:04").
- ⁶⁸ Aholo 14–15 (CD 1/Track 7/ 1:50" to 2:46").
- ⁶⁹ Liliuokalani, 89–90.
- ⁷⁰ Aholo 15 (CD 1/Track 7/ 3:00" to 4:25").
- ⁷¹ *Handicraft*, vol IX, November 1898, no. 2.
- ⁷² Sydney Iaukea, *The Queen and I: A Story of Disposessions and Reconnections in Hawai'i* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012) 115–116.
- ⁷³ Aholo 70–71 (CD 3/Track 35/2:22" to 3:43").
- ⁷⁴ Lili'uokalani letter to the Hon. J.O. Carter, Signed "Liliuokalani," April 16, 1906, Bonhams Fine Books and Manuscripts, Los Angeles, CA. www.bonhams.com/auctions/17520/lot/398
- ⁷⁵ Allen, 222, 360, 373, 391.
- ⁷⁶ Aholo 28 (CD 1/Track 14/ 1:27" to 2:33").
- ⁷⁷ Aholo 65 (CD 3/Track 32/0:60" to 1:53").
- ⁷⁸ Iaukea, 114–116.
- ⁷⁹ Thomas Blake Clark, *Hawaii, the 49th State*, (Garden City: Doubleday, 1947) 96.
- ⁸⁰ Clark, 96.
- ⁸¹ Aholo 10 (CD 1/Track 4/4:47" to Track 5/0:10").
- ⁸² Aholo 52–53 (CD 2/Track 25/0:30" to 4:06").
- ⁸³ Aholo 19–20 (CD 1/Track 9/ 2:35" to 4:24").
- ⁸⁴ *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia*, eds. Brij V. Lal and Kate Fortune (University of Hawai'i Press, 2000) 556. Sandra Bonura, family interviews with Onaona Maly, October 2012, and Jeffery Apaka, January 2013.
- ⁸⁵ Allen, 391.
- ⁸⁶ Sandra Bonura, family interviews with Jeffrey Apaka, Marie McDonald, Mary Lois Ivey.
- ⁸⁷ Allen, 402.
- ⁸⁸ Allen, 401.
- ⁸⁹ Aholo 27 (CD 1/Track 13/3:33" to 4:49").
- ⁹⁰ Aholo 27–28 (CD 1/Track 13/ 5:00" to 5:33").
- ⁹¹ Aholo 16 (CD 1/Track 7/5:51" to Track 8/1:07").
- ⁹² Aholo 12–13 (CD 1/Track 6/ 1:08" to 2:47").
- ⁹³ Aholo 13 (CD 1/Track 6/2:48" to 3:18").
- ⁹⁴ Aholo 13 (CD 1/Track 6/3:20" to 4:15").
- ⁹⁵ Aholo 13–14 (CD 1/ Track 6/4:15" to Track 7/0:04").

- ⁹⁶ Aholo 37 (CD 2/Track 18/2:03" to 2:19).
- ⁹⁷ Aholo 18–19 (CD 1/Track 9/0:40" to 2:02").
- ⁹⁸ *F*, 1902.
- ⁹⁹ Mary Lois Ivey, written correspondence 2012, phone interviews with Sandra Bonura, August 1, 2012, January 2013.
- ¹⁰⁰ Aholo 69 (CD 3/Track 34/3:00" to 3:45").
- ¹⁰¹ Ida May Pope Last Will and Testament, April 18, 1914. Photocopy courtesy of Mary Lois Ivey, 2011.
- ¹⁰² Aholo 38 (CD 2/Track 18/2:47" to 3:27").
- ¹⁰³ Aholo 71 (CD 3/Track 36/0:06" to 1:49").
- ¹⁰⁴ Aholo 26–27 (CD 1/Track 13/ 2:24" to 3:03").
- ¹⁰⁵ Aholo 21–22 (CD 1/Track 10/ 3:37" to 4:29").
- ¹⁰⁶ Aholo 22 (CD 1/Track 11/0:15" to 0:25").
- ¹⁰⁷ Aholo 54 (CD 2/Track 26/ 3:00" to 3:20").
- ¹⁰⁸ Allen, 385.
- ¹⁰⁹ Aholo 22 (CD 1/Track 11/ 0:25" to 1:37").
- ¹¹⁰ Aholo 55 (CD 2/Track 26/ 4:00" to 4:18").
- ¹¹¹ "Best Musicians from Kamehameha Schools to be Heard Tomorrow," *The Maui News*, August 05, 1921. www.chroniclingamerica.loc.gov
- ¹¹² "In C.R. Bishop Queen Feels Keenly News of Loss of Lifelong Friend: Memorial Services Tomorrow," *HSB*, June 08, 1915.
- ¹¹³ Marie McDonald, phone interview with Sandra Bonura, January 2013.
- ¹¹⁴ Mary Cooke, "Lydia Aholo at Home with Hawaii's Queen," *HA*, Sept 03, 1972.
- ¹¹⁵ Mary Cooke, *HA*, Sept 03, 1972.
- ¹¹⁶ Mary Lois Ivey, correspondence with Sandra Bonura, October 03, 2011.
- ¹¹⁷ Aholo 24–25 (CD 1/Track 12/1:00" to 4:43").
- ¹¹⁸ Frances Mahelona, phone interview with Sandra Bonura, October 26, 2011.
- ¹¹⁹ Mary Lois Ivey, correspondence with Sandra Bonura, February 2011.
- ¹²⁰ Bob Krauss, "Queen's Hanai Daughter: Leis for a Century of Life," *HA*, Feb 6, 1978.
- ¹²¹ *HA*, Feb 6, 1978.
- ¹²² *HSB*, July 13, 1979.
- ¹²³ *HSB*, July 13, 1979.
- ¹²⁴ Helena G. Allen, research materials, rough draft of book proposal for *The Betrayal of Liliuokalani: Last Queen of Hawaii 1838–1917*. Courtesy of Randall Allen.
- ¹²⁵ Aholo, Side One, 32 (CD 2/ Track 15/4:53" to Track 16/ 0:21").