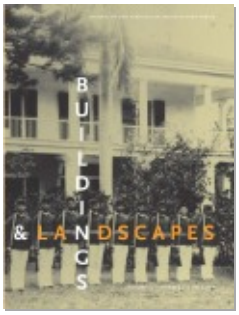
# Washington Place: Harboring American Claims, Housing Hawaiian Culture

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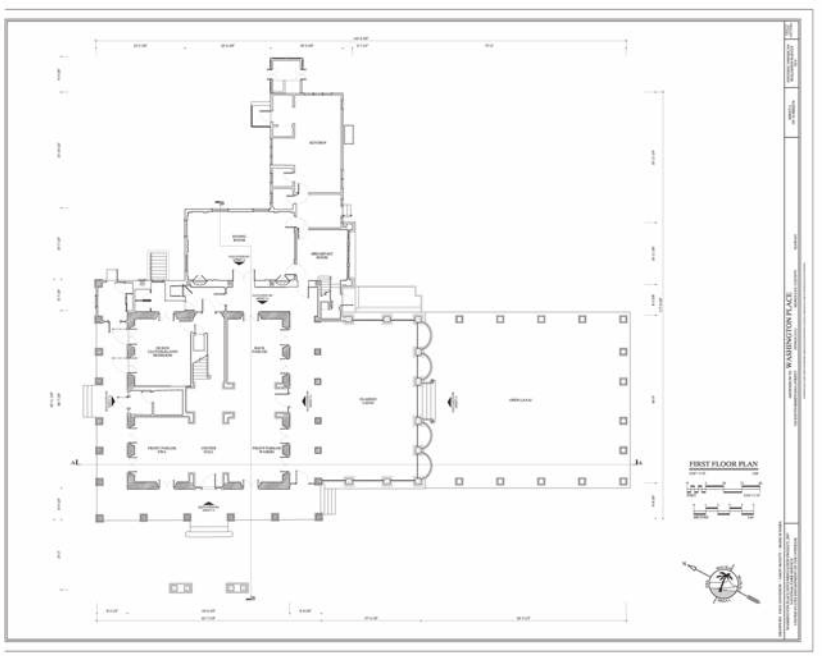
# Washington Place

## *Harboring American Claims, Housing Hawaiian Culture*

The house known as Washington Place was built in Honolulu between 1841 and 1847, and the dwelling is an eclectic mix of Greek Revival and indigenous tropical architectural components.[1] It received its name, Washington Place, with ceremonial fanfare in February 1848.[2] Since its construction, Washington Place has held a prominent position in Hawai'i even as its occupants changed. First it was the home of an enterprising merchant trader, Captain John Dominis, and his family,[3] then to Queen Lili'uokalani,[4] and finally to the territorial and state governors. It remained foremost a residence but was adapted for diplomatic functions (Figure 1). Its advantageous location in the midst of what became Honolulu's civic center, and Lili'uokalani's presence in the 1890s and early 1900s, made this dwelling unlike any other.[5] The self-conscious naming of the house in honor of the first President of the United States cloaked subversive plans and, ironically, this protective coloration extended to Lili'uokalani after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 (Figure 2). The symbolic "piece of American soil"[6] claimed through the naming of Washington Place was reshaped into a bastion of Hawaiian culture behind the building's walls of coral stone and within its Anglo-American floor plan.

Figure 1. First-floor plan of Washington Place. Mark Schara, Paul Davidson, and Jason McNatt, 2007, Historic American Buildings Survey.




In January 1893, a *haole* (foreign)-led contingent of men with commercial interests in the Hawaiian Islands seized control of the government. They were bolstered by their positions of power within the judiciary and legislature as well as by the presence of the USS *Boston* in the Honolulu harbor. The coup marked a rupture with the past for the *kanaka maoli* (Native Hawaiians),[7] despite their accommodation of *haole* cultural constructs over the course of the nineteenth century. The political subjugation of the islands was made complete when annexation to the United States occurred in 1898. The loss of sovereignty exacerbated the ongoing erosion of Hawaiian customs in the wake of sustained contact with the West.

The assault on Hawaiian beliefs and traditional practices accelerated with the acceptance of Christianity by increasing numbers of the Hawaiian *ali'i nui* (ruling chiefs) and by their increasing adherence to its teachers as well as its teachings.[8] One powerful convert was a chiefess, Ka'ahumanu, who also ended the custom of gender-segregated dining.[9] Ka'ahumanu's actions

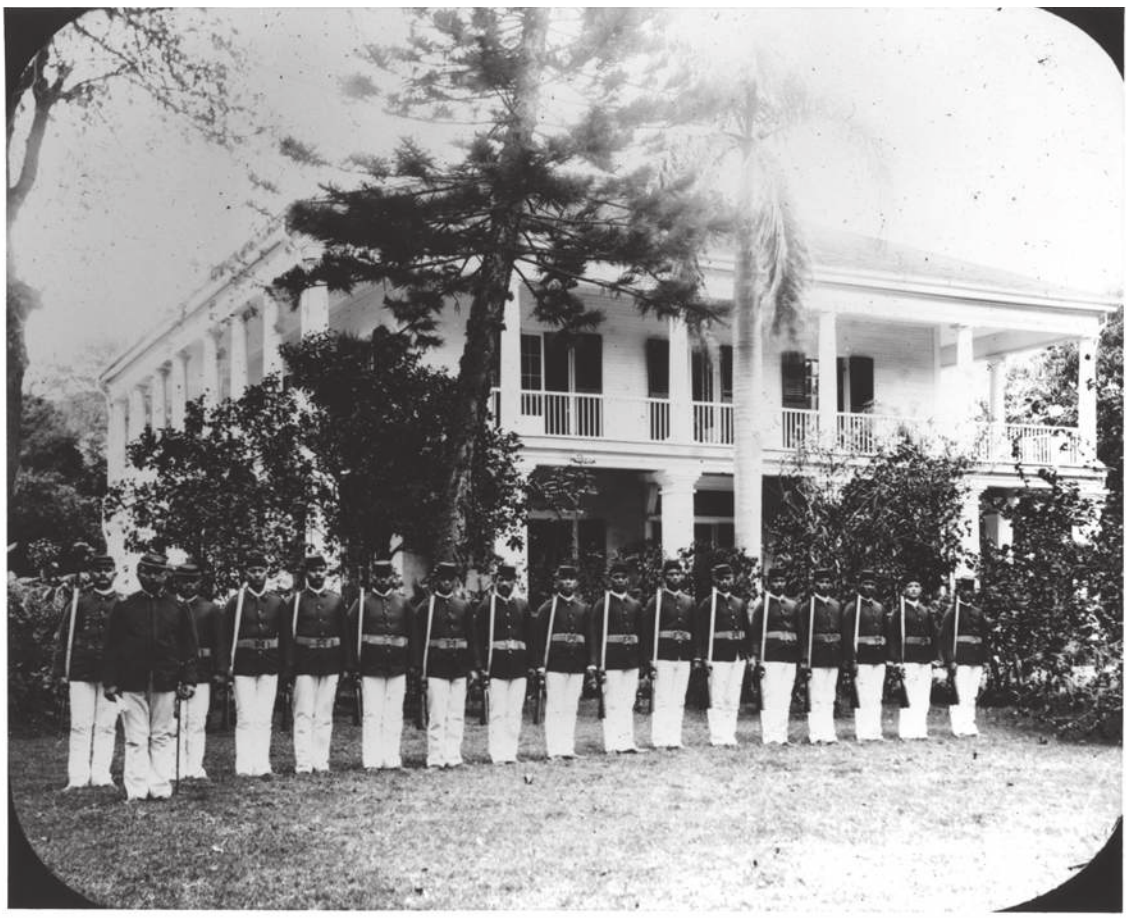


Figure 2. In February 1893, John L. Stevens wrote in his despatch to the U.S. State department that "there was no military force in the islands but the royal guard of about 75 natives, not in effective force equal to 20 American soldiers. These were promptly discharged by the Provisional Government, except 16 left as the guard of the fallen Queen at her house." John L. Stevens, United States Legation, Honolulu, February 1, 1893, Despatch 84, copy in Blount Report, 403–4. Pictured here are the "fallen Queen's house," Washington Place, and the guard of sixteen, plus their captain. Photograph by Hedemann, 1891–93. Courtesy of the Bishop Museum.

in the 1820s changed societal rules and blurred time-held distinctions between the *ali'i* and the *maka'āinana* (people of the land).[10] A generation later, the protestant missionaries preaching Calvinism—or those associated with the envoys from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—solidified their spiritual and cultural hold on the *ali'i* by transforming the legal code.

In 1848 the Great *Māhele* changed *'ainia* (land) into private property. The *Māhele* shattered the reciprocal relationship between the *ali'i* and their people as it replaced the *ahupua'a,* or traditional Hawaiian division of land based on communal tenure.[11] The *ahupua'a* engendered access to the land by all people, was administered by the chiefs, and cultivated by the commoners. In contrast, the *Māhele* established a system based on English Common Law that required all parties to claim and hold private title to the land, a foreign concept in Polynesia.[12]

This predicament, wherein Native Hawaiians lost their traditional rights of occupancy, was foretold by David Malo in 1837. Malo wrote,

> The ships of the whitemen have come, . . . they know our people are few in number and living in a small country; they will eat us up, such has always been the case with large countries, the small ones have been gobbled up.[13]

As Malo predicted, in 1839 the French Admiral Laplace arrived in port and extorted trade agreements and money from the government.[14] Malo's worst fears were realized when Lord George Paulet (and his warship) intimidated King Kamehameha III into ceding the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands to Britain in 1843. Paulet's coup proved temporary, and the monarchy was restored by Admiral Sir Richard Thomas several months later.[15] The incident nonetheless revealed Hawaiian dependence on Western

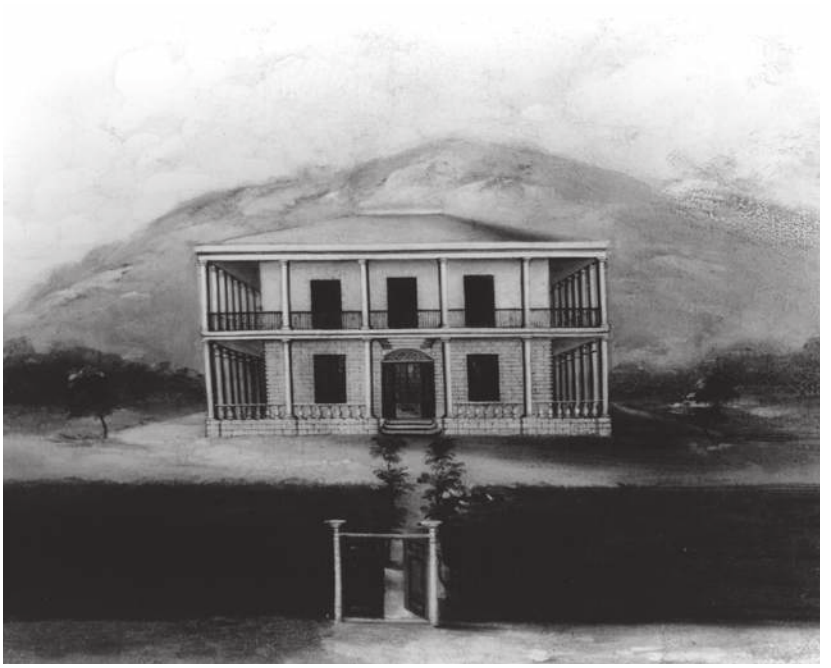


Figure 3. The earliest known view of Washington Place, an oil painting done circa 1850. Artist not known. Courtesy of the Bishop Museum.

conscience and an inability to fight off naval firepower should it lapse.[16]

Jealousies like those that brought Laplace and Paulet to Honolulu also colored interactions between the *haole* missionaries and merchants living in the city as the former seemingly monopolized the evolving bureaucracy.[17] While many agreed that the missionary cause was worthy and that many were pious, the extension of activities and judgments beyond the Sabbath and the churchyard caused friction.[18] The Reverend William Richards influenced the writing of the Constitution[19] and the reorganization of the government brought missionaries like Gerrit Judd into positions of power.[20] *Haole* men ran three of the four new ministries established under the Organic Acts; two of these were from the missionary camp.

Nonetheless, hopeful of emulating the missionaries' success, men like Captain Dominis elected to become neighbors with those whose influence on the native government was overt. Those seeking political power and economic affluence gravitated toward the government center emerging around the British Consul's residence. As Dominis did, they built houses to exhibit their presence in what "constituted a delightful neighborhood."[21] In 1845 King Kamehameha III joined them; he moved the capital to Honolulu from Lahaina, and established the 'Iolani Palace nearby.[22]

By the mid-1840s, when Dominis was building Washington Place, Honolulu had become "very conspicuous from the sea, and [had] more the appearance of a civilized land, with its churches and spires, than any other island in Polynesia." Nine vessels in the harbor lent the city "an air of importance" and its architecture indicated the wealth such mercantile ventures brought into the islands.[23] An American visitor to the islands estimated the population of Honolulu at around ten thousand; of those, approximately six hundred were foreign nationals. Of the town's infrastructure it was noted

> the town is laid out regularly in wide streets with adobie [sic] walls running parallel to them. All enclosures here are made of this material, which when plastered with lime and white-washed, as is often the case, have a glaring effect contrasting with the somber walls and dwellings of the natives.[24]

Of housing, the visitor observed:

> The houses of foreign residents are built in cottage style, with green verandahs or piazzas around them, while the adjacent grounds are tastefully laid out and planted trees and shrubbery. Belonging to each, are several small outhouses in which the various operations of domestic economy are conducted.[25]

Most of these were fashioned of adobe and plastered with lime, although "there [were] also several large and handsome dwelling houses and stores, built of coral stone cut from the reefs."[26] Washington Place would become one of these large, well-apportioned dwellings made with coral stone. Captain Dominis chose an auspicious site adjacent to the British Consul's residence and across from what became the palace grounds for his house. The roadway in front of his property was soon called Beretania Street in honor of the consulate.[27] Dominis hired Isaac Hart as his builder. Hart's dossier included the dwelling that became the 'Iolani Palace.[28]

The building campaign stretched over several years as a result of the captain's prolonged

absences at sea, and from an ebb and flow of resources as his cargoes were collected and sold. Dominis was a leading participant in the ever-growing China trade and was engaged in shipping ventures to the California and Oregon coasts. His wife Mary, along with the captain's business representatives in Honolulu and her relatives in Boston, attended to the details in his stead.[29] Mary Dominis saw the house to completion after the ship on which the captain was traveling was lost at sea (Figure 3).[30]

In January 1847 a visitor to Honolulu observed "a splendid two story house with piazza all round . . . [and commented that] the [Dominis] house is to cost some 10,000 dollars & will be the finest in town."[31] The *Polynesian* published a report on building projects in Honolulu that same month. The newspaper concurred with the assessment. The Dominis house was one of four residences then under construction made of coral stone and sporting such a price tag. Seven other, less expensive dwellings made of coral stone were also underway.[32] The complete architectural survey of Honolulu housing counted 875 of grass, 345 of adobe, 49 of coral stone, 49 of wood, and 29 (like the Dominis house) with stone or adobe on the first floor and wood above.[33] It was said that the "fine private residences will [together with the "new court-house, custom-house, market, and printing office, all of coral stone"] . . . "give quite a new aspect to the city."[34] That the Dominis dwelling was one of the very best examples of housing erected in a classical–Creole vein found throughout the tropics is demonstrated through the 1853 lithographs by Paul Emmert as well as commentary from travelers about the houses they saw.

Through such travelers the Dominis family remained in contact with relatives, friends, and business associates in New England despite their move to Hawai'i; the similarities in buildings belonging to their peers in Boston, Salem, and New Bedford, for example, speak to the ongoing dialogue throughout the Anglo-American world about aesthetics and taste (Figure 4). They recreated their understanding of a polite way of life regardless of location. Symbols of affluence, education, and status—as embodied in houses in the first half of the nineteenth century—sailed with the captain and with Hart to Honolulu.[35]

Thus the house Dominis built is in keeping with the aesthetic sensibilities of Anglo-American consumers caught up in the revival of classical architectural forms as they moved to establish streetscapes in cities and landscapes out of fields and woods. Inside, imported hardware and furnishings and well-appointed finishes like the wallpaper and gilding gave the house an Anglo-American flavor. It followed a central passage floor plan, with rooms arranged two deep. Tight symmetry of three bays by five ordered its fenestration. Local preferences dictated the hipped roof form and wraparound verandah or *lānai*. The wood in the Dominis house was a mix of native *koa* and of imported woods such as Douglas fir and


Figure 4. Detail view of the front entrance of the Cook-Oliver House in Salem, Massachusetts. Note similarities to that at Washington Place. Photograph by Arthur C. Haskell, 1938. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS No. MA-333-9).

Figure 5. View looking through the front door of Washington Place. Photograph by James Rosenthal, 2007. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS No. HI-6-59).

redwood from the northwest coast of the United States, cedar from California, and longleaf pine from the Boston area.[36]

The combination of native and imported materials for house construction in Hawai'i was no different than that of the Caribbean. Builders in both places imported materials and components for assembly on-site.[37] Features that tie the Dominis house into the larger, Creole architectural oeuvre seen throughout the tropics and increasingly found in Honolulu by the mid-nineteenth century include multiple points of entry from the *lānais,* double doors, an exterior stair leading from the rear *lānai,* and the gradual enclosure of the *lānais* to meet increasing spatial needs on the interior. Neither purely Greek Revival nor French (or Spanish) Creole in architectural precedent, the Dominis dwelling erected on the east side of Honolulu was a cultural synthesis.

By June 1847 Mary Dominis and her son John Owen Dominis[38] realized the captain was dead. Mary Dominis' reputation as a hostess within Honolulu society, coupled with the advantageous location of the new house, served her well in the years after the captain's disappearance. She cultivated important social connections, as she had done for her husband, and young John Dominis belonged to an elite peer group that included the children of the *ali'i.* Childhood friendships forged in school often led to advisory roles and offices within the government. For John Owen Dominis those friendships also introduced him to the *ali'i* woman who would become his wife in 1862. She was Lydia Kamaka'eha.

Mary Dominis capitalized on her renowned hospitality. She opened her house to well-connected, long-term guests to Honolulu and welcomed many more through her dinner parties (Figure 5). That her guests paid for such privileges was known in Honolulu. Likely the architecture and setting of Washington Place, and the remoteness of Honolulu, overrode the social stigma typically associated with boardinghouses on the American mainland. Evidence of her success is shown through both the King's Minister for Foreign Affairs Robert Wyllie's and U.S. Commissioner Anthony Ten Eyck's desire to live at Washington Place.[39] Ten Eyck's wife died in November, just as Washington Place was finished, and likely this coincidence brought Mary Dominis her first diplomatic patron.[40] Some years later, Wyllie himself would take refuge at Washington Place for several months while he recovered from an illness.[41] Thus Mary Dominis nurtured her place in Honolulu's *haole* society through hospitality offered to persons of importance and to family friends. She kept Washington Place alive with social activities.[42] Its social status (and hers) was aided by a physical proximity to the seat of government. This connection was strengthened once David Kalākaua became the sovereign in 1874 and named his sister Lydia as his heir in 1877. At that time she became known as Lili'uokalani (Figure 6).[43]

When Princess Lili'uokalani succeeded King Kalākaua to the throne in 1891, the city of Honolulu was home to 23,000 people. Approaching the town, it was mostly "lost among the trees," but on closer inspection, the "view was dominated by a number of public buildings and four or five church steeples." The most impressive aspect of the city's appearance, however, was its "verdant splendor, fresh throughout the year, beneath the blue sky and the constant summer

sun." A contemporary visitor observed that the island of Oʻahu was surrounded by a "series of coral reefs, [ . . . ] one of [these] at Honolulu [was] cut through and dredged so as to afford an artificial channel leading to the harbor and port facilities . . . the government, commerce, and social life of Hawaii are all concentrated in Honolulu, while the rest of the country is entirely given over to sugar and rice plantations, cattle pastures, forests, and wasteland. "The visitor went on to say of Honolulu that *the general effect is that of a new and modern city, hiding its special Polynesian character under an American disguise*"[italics mine].[44]

The same could be said of Washington Place once Liliʻuokalani married John Dominis. Its exterior, which was derived from Greek Revival architectural patterns in America, masked the social dynamics of family, friends, boarders, and servants, and the competing influences of Anglo and Hawaiian traditions, of merchants and missionaries, and of governments. The material manifestation of this plurality was in the native woods, like *koa*, used for the interior along with imported American pine and California redwood, and in the mixing of Hawaiian symbols, like the feather standards called *kāhili,* amongst the western settees, upholstered armchairs, and tables, and with the Chinese-export cabinetry. Some of the furnishings were fashioned of indigenous woods by local craftsmen; others, like the piano, spoke to a universal appreciation for music as a cultural expression (Figure 7). Liliʻuokalani used the dwelling as she did her other properties, relocating as occasions warranted or mood dictated.

Liliʻuokalani moved between Washington Place and the estates of her family in Waikākā and on Maui with some freedom,[45] as Native Hawaiian *aliʻi* women could do before their status was circumscribed by Anglo-American understandings of gender power relations. She maintained a measure of her forebears' independence, and she negotiated social space for herself within the confines of her marriage. Her diary entries record when she was obligated to go to Washington Place to look after her mother-in-law, or at times John Dominis himself.[46] Moreover, in 1883, Mary Dominis' nurse noted, "Governor Dominis brought me to this pleasant house, which is alike the home of his mother and of Princess Liliʻuokalani, his wife. The latter occupies her own suite of apartments."[47]

Figure 6. (Copy) Portrait of Queen Liliʻuokalani in the State Dining Room at Washington Place. Detail from photograph by James Rosenthal, 2007. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS No. HI-6-75).

In Hawaiʻi a "suite of apartments" could be an interior arrangement in the Anglo-American tradition or a separate dwelling altogether following the Native Hawaiian cultural pattern. As early as 1819, Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet describes his time in Hawaiʻi. He noted the king's one-room grass dwelling that was surprisingly cool inside and how they proceeded to the "adjoining house" for dining. Freycinet wrote that the lodging for the affluent consisted of three adjacent huts serving as gender-segregated dining rooms and a bedroom. He observed that the three-part living quarters were enclosed

Figure 7. Detail view of the piano made of koa wood and given to the Queen on her birthday showing the royal coat of arms. Photograph by James Rosenthal, 2007. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS No. HI-6-65).

with hedges or a palisade on occasion.[48] Some ten years later another visitor, Captain Jacobus Boelen, commented on the many outbuildings in the governor's domestic complex (for servants more so than service) and the king's compound. The palace was really "a few separate buildings of different styles and sizes, set closely together."[49] In the 1820s, therefore, many outbuildings characterized the domestic complex of the *ali'i*.

In the 1840s, this assemblage of small buildings characterized the palace yard, with cottages to either side of 'Iolani Palace for Kamehameha III and his Queen to use as apartments.[50] His successor, Kamehameha IV, and Queen Emma continued to use the buildings that way, which meant the palace was utilized only on state occasions. It was expected that Lili'uokalani and John Dominis would perpetuate the practice. In an 1861 letter, for instance, the author congratulated Dominis on his engagement, saying that he wanted to be there for the wedding and wondered if the couple would "reside with [Mary Dominis] or in the palace yard."[51] When Lili'uokalani became the monarch, John had the option of staying in the bungalow built by Kalākaua on the palace grounds. This solution was a reversal to that she crafted for herself earlier at Washington Place; there, Lili'uokalani had a one-story cottage called Hānano Bower located to the side of the main house.[52] Despite access to 'Iolani Palace, Lili'uokalani kept Washington Place. She did so for much the same purposes as those that motivated Captain Dominis to build it: to announce a presence in the best neighborhood, amidst the American missionary families, government center, and diplomatic corps, and away from the hustle and bustle of the harbor and the impolite watering holes of the sailors.

In the 1840s when the house was built, however, neither the Captain nor Lili'uokalani was assured more than a tangential place in Hawaiian politics. Lili'uokalani was just a little girl. She was born to *ali'i* parents, Caesar Kapa'akea and Ane Keohokalole and adopted by another royal couple, Abner Pākā and Laura Kānia, in the Hawaiian *hānai* tradition. Overshadowed in childhood by her gregarious sibling, Bernice Pauahi, and her male cousins, young Lydia took comfort in music. She became a celebrated composer. She also had an avid interest in education and a deep appreciation for flowers.[53] As a young adult, her position within the *ali'i* class and her closeness to the monarchs kept her within the larger political sphere. Ironically, by the time her brother David was named king, thus elevating her rank further, gender had become a liability. Women increasingly were viewed through the lens of a Puritan New England bias rather than through the traditional Hawaiian acknowledgment of feminine authority figures. One such figure, the High Chiefess Kapi'olani, was an early Christian convert. She lived on the island of Hawai'i, and visitors there described her appearance, living quarters, and religiosity. Another example was Ka'ahumanu, who served as regent for Kamehameha III and secured Protestantism as the national religion.[54]

Under Ka'ahumanu's protection the missionaries translated the Hawaiian language into a written form and established schools (Figure 8). But they opined about Hawaiian traditions, and other religious tenets, with the conviction of the righteous. Such narrowness made for a lack of appreciation for native cultural expressions in music, dance, and song, or art forms such as feather work.[55] Kalākaua's and Lili'uokalani's predecessors suppressed cultural differences, with tragic consequences at times, to appease the missionaries. Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani, however, grew up under the missionaries' guidance. For them and their peers, Christianity coexisted with their traditional belief system from childhood. This enabled Kalākaua to embrace the cultural duality, and Lili'uokalani to perpetuate it, despite criticisms of their efforts to nurture the Native Hawaiian aspects of their creolized, Protestant-Polynesian heritage.[56]

Under the missionaries' tutelage, the *ali'i* grew up and into positions of power. Relationships and rivalries emerged. The missionaries exploited these residual childhood rivalries within the *ali'i* that sought to marginalize Lili'uokalani in favor of Queen Emma in the 1870s and 1880s.[57] Lili'uokalani's position, therefore, shifted within the *ali'i*. Her sensitivity to this is demonstrated through a careful genealogy of her and Kalākaua's lineage, which she documented in her autobiography, *Hawai'i's Story*.[58] It also shifted within her marriage, with Lili'uokalani exerting more independence and assuming more responsibility for Washington Place, and its occupants, over time. She grew more comfortable asserting her Polynesian character, all the while married to an American and living in the house his father envisioned. She adopted three children in Hawaiian *hānai* custom after being named the heir-apparent to the throne.

As Lili'uokalani assumed greater responsibility for the Hawaiian people and their shared culture, American interests in the islands continued unabated. Negotiations over business and political alliances depended on individual personalities in Honolulu. Many of these figures used Washington Place, beginning with Ten Eyck who kept the U.S. Legation office there in the late 1840s. His official claims cloaked the local nature of the disgruntlements. Economic wishes regarding personal property and profitability were thinly disguised in rhetoric of citizen rights. Such duplicity colored his address to Kamehameha III, wherein he stated that the United States would be "the very last nation to seek for an occasion to encroach upon, or harshly or unnecessarily to interfere with the rights and privileges pertaining to the independent sovereignty of [the] kingdom." The King responded in kind, describing U.S. interests in his Kingdom as philanthropic.[59]

It was within a context of political acrimony within the local community and of international ambition for empire-by-treaty that Ten Eyck named the Dominis house Washington Place. While it played on the cult of George Washington, which Ten Eyck was familiar with in the States, the name was deliberately calculated for its effect in Honolulu. It was a provocative claim

Figure 8. View of the Mission Schoolhouse. Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1966. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS No. HI-19-1).

Figure 9. The party of Queen Kapi'olani and Princess Lili'uokalani standing on the lawn of Mount Vernon. Photograph by Luke Dillon, May 1887. Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.

to Hawaiian territory just as the scale, materials, and finish of the building itself announced its builder's ambitions within the power structure of Honolulu. Thus Washington Place was a reminder in perpetuity of the U.S. government as well as of the man who led that country to independence from England. The announcement proclaimed the appellation "Washington Place" to be

> in honor of the day which gave birth to him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"—the great, the good, the illustrious *Washington*—the United States Commissioner, with the assent of its much esteemed and hospitable proprietress, has this day christened the beautiful, substantial and universally admired mansion of Mrs. Dominis, *Washington Place*. Thus let it hereafter be designated in Hawaiian annals, and long may it remain, in this distant isle of the Pacific a memento of the eminent virtues of the "Father of his country."[60]

Nonetheless, the inspiration for the name "Washington" Place held special meaning for Lili'uokalani, especially after she was tapped to succeed her brother on the throne. For example when traveling to London with her sister-in-law Queen Kapi'olani in 1887, they visited several cities on the East Coast of the United States. While in Washington, D.C., Lili'uokalani went to George Washington's Mount Vernon (Figure 9). In the house, she stopped in the hall, banqueting-room, and bedroom of Martha Washington.[61] The Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, Lily L. Macalester Laughton, reported that

> it was gratifying to me to learn that the Queen of Hawai'i in her recent visit to Mount Vernon was so deeply impressed by the solemn and touching associations of the place . . . and desired to be quiet and undisturbed when going into the room in which the Father of his Country died. This is a feeling that Mount Vernon should inspire.[62]

Lili'uokalani undoubtedly could appreciate the struggles of Washington to hold his country together and, with Queen Kapi'olani, took time to reflect on the magnitude of that achievement and the parallels to her position at home.[63]

Figure 10. View of the ʻIolani Palace. Photograph by Jack E. Boucher, 1966. Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS No. HI-1-2).

At home, this piece of American soil symbolically entrenched in the heart of Honolulu's civic center became a touchstone for Hawaiian hopes embraced within its classical veneer. Its significance today derives from Queen Liliʻuokalani's presence, less so than for the name, Washington Place. That moniker cloaked within the language of commemoration America's imperial ambitions. It allowed the Commissioner to assert an American presence with the king's symbolic support, despite a political stalemate that tabled treaty negotiations and left international relations unsettled.

Up until the last decades of the nineteenth century the Hawaiian government sought protection from the United States, England, or France, using diplomatic language and flattering subservience to circumvent hostilities and territorial concessions. Hawaiian officials counted on the ambitions of each to keep the others at bay. That they were successful in catering to the countries' desired international image is demonstrated through the English reversal of Lord Paulet's seizure of the Kingdom in 1843 and James Blount's report to the U.S. Congress in 1894 that favored a restoration of the monarchy.[64]

The Hawaiian government also adopted the language of the Western powers, both in legal code and in material representations of authority. Under Kamehameha III laws had been codified, and the *Māhele* enacted. The ʻIolani Palace became a building of state, rather than the personal property of the monarch. Kalākaua commissioned a new palace building, one that through its scale, architectural detail, and cost would compete with those he had seen in other countries (Figure 10). He also sought to reiterate his status as monarch through the coronation rites of 1883. The crown and clothing came from Europe and it was to that audience the ceremony and symbols were aimed. The ritual of the day, however, featured traditional song and dance and so also sought to reaffirm Native Hawaiian heritage.[65] The success of this combination of Western symbols of royalty and Hawaiian cultural expression is debatable, but it speaks to an urgency pervading the era that was driven by competing influences for power and by varying perceptions of authority.

Liliʻuokalani also used fashion to communicate. She dressed in Western-style clothing,


Figure 11. Reception at Washington Place upon Queen Lili'uokalani's return from Washington, D.C., in August 1898. Photograph by Frank Davey, August 2, 1898. Courtesy of the Bishop Museum.

sometimes in gowns ordered from Paris.[66] She lived in Washington Place, one of the most expensive houses constructed in Honolulu and far from the thatched hut associated with Native Hawaiian domestic settings in the early part of the century.[67] The pantry inventoried after her death in 1917 reveals copious glassware, flatware, and tableware. The Queen's awareness of the importance of a shared, civilized taste to her American audience is illustrated through her use of Washington Place as a symbol of her refinement, comportment, and way of living once the monarchy was overthrown in 1893.[68] The well-finished house was furnished and staffed. Pictures of her attendance at Queen Victoria's Jubilee were displayed. These were to demonstrate that Hawai'i's royalty were recognized, and accepted, as the rightful rulers of their country.

The photographs of Washington Place in the 1880s, 1890s, and in 1910 documented her education and quiet lifestyle. The pictures taken in 1898 record her homecoming (Figure 11).[69] A photograph of the Queen sitting at her desk speaks to the seizure of her personal papers from that piece of furniture in 1895, as well as of her literacy and ability to communicate. The desk and the Jubilee photographs were highlighted in an 1895 *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* essay that took the newspaper's readers on a tour through the house at the queen's invitation.[70] The solicitation further substantiates the queen's cognizance of the power of material culture to persuade. The impression created by the newspaper resembled that conveyed in her book *Hawai'i's Story.*[71] Together they challenged the portrayals of her as pagan, somewhat barbaric, and brutal. The image of the queen and her supporters somberly gathered on annexation day also personalize the over twenty-one thousand signatures on the antiannexation petitions submitted to the U.S. Congress.[72]

Lili'uokalani and her supporters hoped, of course, to dissuade the United States from annexing Hawai'i in the wake of the monarchy's

overthrow.[73] The flashpoint for the revolution against the queen had been her proposal for a new constitution, one that would restore a measure of authority to the monarchy and, thus, circumscribe some of the powers of the legislature and life-tenured justices awarded by the 1887 Bayonet Constitution.[74] Despite appeals from *kanaka maoli* for such a change, the ministry failed to support her initiative. American diplomat John L. Stevens backed the *haole*-led opposition. He encouraged the troops on the *USS Boston* to land in Honolulu, providing a suggestion of force that Ten Eyck hoped for but could not obtain years earlier.

Those men who orchestrated the overthrow of the queen's government were aligned with the missionary party and were members of the Hawaiian League; they chose Sanford B. Dole as the Provisional Government's president. Nonetheless, the Provisional Government remained unsure of its position in the international community and almost immediately sought annexation by the United States. The initial measure failed.[75] However once expansionism reached a fevered pitch during the Spanish-American War, imperialist interests trumped any regard for native sovereignty or the wishes of the *kanaka maoli*.[76]

President Cleveland nonetheless sent James Blount to assess affairs in Hawai'i in 1893.[77] Blount took into account the Native Hawaiian government's perspective. Also in the aftermath of the overthrow, three *kanaka maoli* groups coalesced in order to give the Native Hawaiians a voice, to tell of their *aloha'aina* (a love of the land, but one that was a deeper connection than mere patriotism, as the land was the source of life and livelihood in the islands). They hoped for their queen's restoration to the throne. The queen temporarily acquiesced to prevent the bloodshed so ominously threatened by the presence of U.S. troops from the *Boston*. She undoubtedly trusted in the Americans' diplomatic language that honored her "weak and feeble" sovereign nation, despite Stevens's collusion with the revolutionaries.

As with Paulet in 1843, his government's investigation, and the restoration of the monarchy, Lili'uokalani was confident the United States would act in kind. She believed if the Americans hesitated, other countries would come to her assistance as they had done through various treaties and strategic ports-of-call of warships for Kamehameha III. Congress accepted Blount's report in 1894 but ignored its recommendations. When asked by President Cleveland, Dole refused to dissolve his government. Kamehameha III's liberator came in a warship. Lili'uokalani, once released from prison, paroled, and allowed to leave Washington Place and the islands, had to go to Washington, D.C.

Once in the United States, the queen refused to be drawn into public debate or spectacle.[78] Her focus was on preventing the annexation requested by the Provisional Government and on her status as monarch. She sought restoration of the throne and the property belonging to her personally as well as to the Hawaiian government.[79] The queen's supporters in Washington lobbied for some compensation for her loss of income from the crown lands.[80] The Provisional Government had assumed all the public land, plus the crown lands. By denying her rights or incumbency to the property, they gave physical and financial expression to the political coup staged in 1893. By writing into the Republic's constitution that title to the crown lands was free and clear, the framers of the overthrow symbolically erased Lili'uokalani and the monarchy altogether.[81] Dole and his colleagues stripped Lili'uokalani of her ancestral rights to the throne and to her income.[82] They swept away the dynastic system, much as the New England missionaries sought to exorcise and replace a traditional heritage with their own.

Less threatening to the Americans than a Native Hawaiian government and traditional religious mores were the flowers of the islands. They assumed a shared appreciation for nature's beauty. Nonetheless, flowers held symbolic meaning to the *kanaka maoli*. Through flowers they communicated with the queen, and expressed to each other their feelings in the wake of the overthrow. For example, the gardens at Washington Place were a significant part of what made the dwelling a home to both Mary Dominis and later to her daughter-in-law, Lili'uokalani. But the two women differed on how the flower gardens should be enjoyed, as the oft-recounted story of

Figure 12. Early view of Washington Place and its gardens, circa 1880. Photographer not known. Courtesy of the Bishop Museum.

Figure 13. View of Queen Lili'uokalani standing under the Tamarind tree, to the southwest of Washington Place, circa 1893. Photograph by Severen. Courtesy of the Bishop Museum.

Mary Dominis chastising a young Lydia for cutting roses too soon evidences.[83] The flowers and trees also rendered the grounds more attractive. Visitors to Honolulu repeatedly commented on the lush gardens and buildings nestled in park-like settings they encountered.

Honolulu was not always so bucolic. In an 1883 vignette, Mary Dominis reportedly remembered there were "only seven trees in the whole valley, and how she herself began to make the very first garden . . . by preparing a tiny plot before the window of her own bare wooden house, and there attempting to strike some geranium cuttings."[84] Mary Dominis was not only credited with Honolulu's first European-style garden, but also with bringing the tradition of decorating Christmas trees during the holidays to the islands.[85]

Shortly after the Dominis family moved into Washington Place, Mary Dominis must have started gardening anew. In 1849 a boarder glowingly described the house as "situated in a beautiful grove adorned with every procurable variety of tropical trees."[86] Lili'uokalani's care for the gardens at Washington Place is evident in her diary entries from the 1880s and 1890s and her annoyance with the schoolboys who filched her oranges and fruit (Figure 12).[87] One boy caught searching for an errant baseball was Lawrence Judd, later Hawai'i's governor. He recalled sneaking past the iron gates, the driveway, and the shrubbery near the *lānai* to reach the "park-like glade near the boundary fence." Banana, mango, and papaya trees edged the glade and the queen herself was sitting there, in a rattan chair.[88]

In 1894, while living in confinement at Washington Place, Lili'uokalani wrote about sitting on the *lānai* and in her garden. Despite the circumstances in which she found herself, the queen stated her health was due to being "surrounded by everything that is beautiful, the lovely foliage, the flowers in my flower garden and the birds that sing so sweetly all tend to make my life one of contentment." That year she tended to her garden, nurturing the beautiful. She wrote in her diary that she planted mulang trees in January, "laid out" violets in February, and planted oranges in August.[89] The gardens at Washington Place offered her solace. And she chose to be photographed out in the garden with its native species and abundance of introduced (*haole*) plant material (Figure 13).[90] She distinguished between the native plants and those introduced into the landscape. This shaped her catalogue of the varieties of flora at Washington Place. She enumerated the foreign trees and flowers, but set out to record in more detail the "Hawaiian plants, trees, ferns, and shrubs that have properties in them that would act as purgative or can be used as poultices or as drugs."[91] Only her notes on the tamarind tree survive.[92]

Attesting to Lili'uokalani's fondness for flowers, and the comfort she found in them, the garden was made for her by the *kanaka maoli*. Late in 1894, supporters of Queen Lili'uokalani gathered

to plant a "royal flower garden" in honor of her. Through it they were able to show their affection as well as to show their loyalty in a way the Provisional Government would not find threatening. The Provisional Government would not understand its significance. The royal flower garden, *Uluhaimalama,* was located on the queen's land in Pauoa near Punchbowl Crater. The flowers and plants selected were laden with meaning and so differed from those cultivated at Washington Place. The blend of native and foreign plantings at Washington Place was countered by the self-conscious expression of traditional Hawaiian beliefs in the honor garden, a juxtaposition that underscores the complexity of the queen's position in Hawai'i *and* to Hawaiians that escalated when the Provisional Government had confined her in her American house.

The Royal Hawaiian band kicked off the ceremonies at the garden with a song called "Lili'uokalani" even though the queen could not attend. The Provisional Government limited where she could go so her nephew Prince David Kawānanakoa represented her. He planted a *lehua* tree in the center of the garden; encircling the *lehua* tree were *'ohā wai* and other Hawaiian plants. Below the circle, another nephew Prince Kāhiā planted a second *lehua* tree, this one for Kapi'olani, the Queen Dowager. Afterward the garden was opened to all who came and the grounds were filled with flowers.

The symbolic qualities of the flowers planted in the queen's honor included those properties associated with the Tahitian *Pandanus,* the *Kou* tree, *Kukui* tree, young *kava* sapling, red sugarcane, white sugarcane, *'uhaloa, popolo, Hawaiian'ape, pilimai* sugarcane, and the Hawaiian banana. If the *Kou* tree flourished in the garden, for example, the indigenous race would survive. The *Kukui* tree represented God's light illuminating the queen's domain. The growth of the *kava* sapling signified the prosperity of the Hawaiian people, the queen's government and throne, growing through the goodness of God. Red sugarcane offered retribution on those who seek to "make mischief" while the *pilimai* sugarcane solidified the love of her people. The *'uhaloa* reassured her that "they may seek to conquer your righteousness . . . but it is without end! . . . Should the *'uhaloa* grow, the magnitude of your virtuous reign will be immeasurable; the throne is for you and your heirs." The bananas corresponded to an ardent desire for the "fruitful[ness] of [her] kingdom, [her] people, and [her] throne."[93] Band-member Soloman Hiram offered a black rock; the rock was the spiritual food of the islands. It also represented the band's refusal to take the oath to the new government. Unemployed, band members vowed to eat rocks if their reduced circumstances rendered it necessary.[94]

Yellow was a color of royalty and so many of the flowers in the garden were yellow in hue. In a more intimate gesture, Bernice Irwin recalled her excitement at the invitation to attend the queen's first public appearance since January 1893. She took a bunch of red carnations as her *ho'okupu* (tribute) for Lili'uokalani and was pleased when the queen elected to hold the simple, but symbolic, bouquet throughout the occasion.[95] The carnations signified coronation. It is possible, too, that the bouquet the queen held in the photograph taken on annexation day included carnations (Figure 14).

After annexation, Lili'uokalani depended on Prince Kāhiā to advocate for her. By naming him one of her heirs, she strategically built in leverage to gain his support.[96] Kāhiā was just one

Figure 14. Lili'uokalani and her supporters in the parlor at Washington Place on Annexation Day, 1898. Note the bouquet the Queen is holding; likely it contains carnations. Photograph by Frank Davey. Courtesy of the Hawaiian Historical Society.

of her beneficiaries, however. In 1909, as her legal case was filed in the U.S. Court of Claims, Lili'uokalani made a will. Monetary bequests were qualified; they were largely dependent on a successful resolution of her lawsuit. The Dominis children were to receive personal property, as were some other friends and family. Predominantly, though, her will established a trust for orphaned children. Washington Place, she thought, perhaps could be a library or an institution for preserving Hawaiian language and music.[97]

Kāhiā was dissatisfied with his allocation, particularly regarding a parcel of land in Waikākā. He questioned whether the queen knew what she was doing.[98] He suggested that she had been broken by defeat in Washington and sued to have her declared incompetent. His lawsuit ensnared the queen's affairs for several years, and was only put to rest after she died when he was awarded the Waikākā tract. During litigation, legal counsel[99] for the prince proposed Washington Place as a reminder of the queen and the Kalākaua dynasty. This gesture also honored his lineage. Ultimately, language in the legal documents delegated the use of Washington Place for public good.

The queen's suggestions for the posthumous use of Washington Place as either a library or institution for preserving the Hawaiian language and music once she was gone coincided with the 1909 renovations and 1910 photographic documentation of the house.[100] Beneath its Greek Revival veneer and amidst its Western parlors, Washington Place had a "special Polynesian character." Lili'uokalani sought to protect and to promote that heritage through a perpetuation of language. Traditional chants and songs enabled her to record her thoughts and emotions through compositions; music also enabled her to communicate with those sympathetic to her despite a virtual prison sentence in Washington Place in 1893 and 1894 and a real confinement in 1895. Once the Hawaiian language was forbidden in the schools, despite the American missionaries' labors to commit it to paper and to teach that same language decades earlier, the Native Hawaiian tongue was in danger of disappearing. Lili'uokalani was cognizant of this.

The suppression of the Hawaiian language in the mid-1890s and annexation in 1898 likely contributed to the queen's requests for the return of items that had particular cultural and emotional value. Examples of things either loaned or impounded by the Provisional government include the calabashes belonging to her father and various *mele* (chants, songs, poetry) books.[101] She also wanted "relics" belonging to John Dominis back; these had been seized in the days leading up to her arrest in 1895.[102] As she gathered up mementoes of her past, the queen herself became a symbol of how to maintain a Hawaiian essence under an American disguise.

The house Washington Place represents her struggle for Hawaiian culture despite an American stranglehold on the islands. Lili'uokalani acknowledged and alternately accommodated and avoided the Americans, as represented by her interactions with Mary Dominis, John Dominis, and those that came after them to Washington Place as well as through her use of Washington Place itself, when she stayed, and why, for example. The captain's prescience in choosing a location for his dwelling meant Washington Place and Lili'uokalani remained at the epicenter of government, at the heart of the civic and cultural landscape of Hawai'i long after the overthrow.[103]

The meaning of the house as an American claim to Hawaiian soil in the social and commercial sense of the Dominis family, in the political and military sense of Ten Eyck, and as a touchstone of Hawaiian hopes as personified by their last queen persisted after Lili'uokalani's death in 1917. Her nephew played on sympathies to her memory. He assumed that few would argue against honoring her at that time. Although his proposal was contingent on receiving title to the land in Waikākā, Kāhiā's suggestion for the use of Washington Place enabled the Territory of Hawai'i to assume control of the property.

Washington Place thus became home to the territorial governors. In 1953 to 1955 renovations of the house were undertaken in response to an untimely flooding of the terrace during a gubernatorial inauguration. These changes extended the *lānai* concept and added formal entertaining spaces under permanent cover. The alterations also included interior embellishments featuring

Greek Revival details such as the coffered ceiling and pilasters in the State Dining Room. The architect for the renovation was Albert Ives. He likely was chosen not for his synthesis of Japanese design into residential buildings throughout the islands but for his classical training in the eastern United States. Ives worked with Theodate Pope and architectural firms like Delano and Aldrich.[104] The Greek-revival motifs employed by Ives were selected as a visual expression of the return to an Anglo-American occupancy, an assertion or formalizing through material culture of the governors' period.[105] In perhaps a final act of maintaining a Hawaiian essence under an American disguise, the building was designated by the U.S. Secretary of the Interior as a National Historical Landmark in 2007 in recognition of the Queen's role in history.

## NOTES

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1. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841–47, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 87).

2. Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, February 22, 1848, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 22, folder 463); Anthony Ten Eyck, Legation USA, Washington Place, to His Excellency Robert C. Wyllie, Minister of Foreign Relations, February 22, 1848, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 22, folder 463); and Robert C. Wyllie to Anthony Ten Eyck, Esquire, U.S. Commissioner, February 21, 1848, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 22, folder 463).

3. The captain was born in Trieste in 1796. He came to Boston in 1819 and became a naturalized American citizen in 1825. Mary Dominis was born in 1803, arrived in Honolulu with her husband and their son John Owen Dominis in 1837. She died in 1889. Captain and Mary Dominis also had two daughters, Mary Elizabeth and Frances Ann. The girls remained in New England, likely in the care of relatives, after Captain, Mary, and John Owen Dominis left for Hawai'i. Both girls died young; Mary Elizabeth in 1838, her sister in 1842. John Dominis wrote to his mother from his trip to London for Queen Victoria's Jubilee that he had met someone whose mother was from New England and who had gone to school with two Dominis girls. He thought they must have been his sisters. John O. Dominis to Mary Dominis, June 14, 1887, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93). Regarding the Captain's birth and naturalization, as well as the death dates of the Dominis girls, Dr. Ante Kovacevic, "On the Descent of John Owen Dominis, Prince Consort of Queen Lili'uokalani," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 10 (1976): 3–24. Kovacevic cites an (untitled) article in the *Schenectady Gazette* from August 27, 1932.

4. Queen Lili'uokalani was born in 1838 and died in 1917. She was the monarch of the Kingdom of Hawai'i from 1891 until the overthrow in January 1893. Formal abdication did not come until 1895.

5. Census of 1896, Hawai'i State Archives (microfilm). According to the census, twenty-three people, men and women aged five to eighty, lived at Washington Place with the queen. Lili'uokalani was listed as a fifty-seven year old Hawaiian female. Under the "occupation" category, and beside the queen's name, the census taker wrote the Hawaiian word *pau*; translated this means "finished." Recorded so soon after the overthrow of the monarchy and the queen's release from prison, the implication of *pau* is quite explicit.

6. Helena G. Allen, *The Betrayal of Lili'uokalani: Last Queen of Hawai'i, 1838–1917* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1981), 74.

7. *Kanaka* is defined as a person, a subject or helper/attendant; it also means a native. In the captain's receipts there are notes to "*kanaka* laborers." *Kanaka* used in that way could mean common, as in unskilled, laborers, although Isaac Hart probably meant Native Hawaiians. In the twentieth century the term *kanaka maoli* has become more popular when describing indigenous Hawaiians. *Haole,* which means "foreign," that is, one not from the islands, comes to refer only to Caucasians. The terms originally signified a person's ethnicity, but in more recent times, have been used derisively.

8. Theodore Adolphe Barrot, *Unless Haste Is Made,: A French Skeptic's Account of the Sandwich Islands in 1836,* translated by Daniel Dole (Kailua: Press Pacifica, 1978), 57. Also in 1828, a traveler observed those living in O'ahu seemed happier than those living under the missionaries' direct tutelage. *A Merchant's Perspective: Captain Jacobus Boelen's Narrative of His Visit to Hawai'i in 1828,* translated by Frank J. A. Broeze (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1988); M. G. Bosseront D'Anglade, *A Tree in Bud: The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1889–1893,* translated by Alfons L. Korn (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), 110–11. D'Anglade wrote: "The Americans have proved in Hawai'i . . . their incomparable aptitude for absorbing and merging with the life of another people . . . They impose upon the other people their own customs, their religion, and a large measure of their American laws and institutions." He concurred with Theophile Gautier's opinions as expressed in *Voyage en Espange* wherein he bewailed the loss of forms and colors from the world and argued it was God's design to populate the world with "special races, dissimilar in constitution, color, and language. To wish to impose the same uniform design upon the population of all climates is to misconstrue the meaning of Creation." D'Anglade continued this conversational thread noting "it will prove difficult to explain on what grounds of superiority one people should absorb another—claiming 'civilization' as the pretext."

9. She was one of the wives of Kamehameha I and served as Regent to his successor, Kamehameha II (Liholiho). She converted to Christianity in the mid–1820s and wielded considerable authority until her death.

10. Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), 10–23.

11. On the *Māhele,* Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* 44–73; Jon J. Chinen, *The Great Māhele: Hawai'i's Land Division of 1848* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1958); Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawai'i: A History from Polynesian Kingdom to American State,* rev. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961); and Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 3 vols. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938–67).

12. *Polynesian* (December 13, 1845); this Saturday edition reprinted Article IV of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, essentially outlining the process for obtaining title to land in the kingdom. The king and his heirs retained "crown lands" for their use. A Board of Commissioners (1846–55) determined the validity of land claims presented to them and, if warranted, issued royal patents for a fee. The *ali'i* applied for titles to lands they held at the time, as did the naturalized citizens who likewise sought to secure title to property they already occupied. Native Hawaiians outside of the *ali'i* did not participate in the program at the same rate as foreign nationals, possibly because the significance of a patent and the rights it represented was not fully explained or understood. It is probable, too, that procuring the monies needed for the survey and fees was a difficult-to-insurmountable hurdle. By one count, 80,000 Native Hawaiians obtained only 28,000 acres. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 69–70; Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* 44; Mason Architects and Kenneth Hays, "Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan," report prepared for the Department of Accounting and General Services, September 2006, Sec. 2–20. On the evolving legal system, of which the Māhele was only one part, see Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), 3–9, 35–114.

13. Cited in Glen Grant, "Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen: A Voice for Hawaiian Sovereignty," introduction to Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen* (paperback ed., Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1990), vii.

14. The poor treatment of the French Catholic missionaries (by Ka'ahumanu around 1830) was one reason cited for Admiral Laplace's mission. On the French dalliance with gunboat diplomacy in 1839 and again in 1850, see Mary Ellen Birkett, "The French Perspective on the Laplace Affair," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998): 67–100; *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg: An American Diplomat in Hawai'i 1853–1855,* ed. by Pauline King (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1982), 14–15; Jean Charlot, "An 1849 Hawaiian Broadside," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 4 (1970): 100–103; Gorham D. Gilman, "1848—Honolulu As It Is—Notes for Amplification," eds. Jean S. Sharpless and Richard A. Greer, *Hawaiian Journal of History* 4 (1970): 113–17, 133–36; W. J. Robertson, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, September 3, 1849, and A. H. Fayerweather, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, San Francisco, August 27, 1849, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, folder 11, folder 105). Also Chester S. Lyman, *Around the Horn to the Sandwich Islands and California, 1845–1850,* ed. Frederick J. Teggart (New Haven, Conn.: Yale

University Press, 1924), 74; House, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1894, Affairs in Hawai'i,* 53rd Cong., 3rd sess., (Washington, DC: GPO, 1895), 12 [this is the "Blount Report"]; Francis Allyn Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage . . .* (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Publishers, 1969), 263; Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawai'i: The Pioneers, 1789–1843* (Gloucester: P. Smith, 1968), 271–333; and Paul T. Burlin, *Imperial Maine and Hawaii: Interpretative Essays in the History of Nineteenth-Century American Expansion* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006), 95–134. Olmsted's characterization of French diplomacy (on page 263) is colorfully judgmental. He wrote "With regard to the shameful aggressions of the French frigate "Il'Artemise" at these islands, about a year since, and the insolent and bullying conduct of the French Consul, . . . all the proceedings of that disgraceful affair—the most outrageous that has violated national sovereignty for many years—have been published to the world."

15. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* vol. 1: *1778–1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1938–53), 208–23.

16. See, for example, David Zmijewski, "The Conspiracy That Never Existed: How Hawai'i Evaded Annexation in 1868," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 37 (2003): 119–37, regarding another push for taking the islands in the 1860s amidst the sugar reciprocity treaty furor.

17. Bradley, 181; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands . . .*, 3rd edition (reprint, Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1981), 301–4; M. B. T. Paske-Smith, *Early British Consuls in Hawai'i* (reprint, 1936; *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* 1936), 8–9.

18. Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage,* 243. Hiram Bingham, the missionaries' leading figure for most of the 1820s and 1830s, observed that there were forty permanent houses, eighteen mission stations, two printing offices, four presses, a bindery, and schools for boarding students by 1845. Bingham, *Residence of Twenty-one Years,* 615–16.

19. "The 1840 Constitution," *Kaho'oilina (The Legacy) Journal of Hawaiian Language Sources* (n.d.): 35–59. This established the constitutional monarchy, which remained in effect until the overthrow of the queen in 1893. Successive constitutions restricted the monarch's role and changed voter eligibility. The "Bayonet Constitution" of 1887 essentially stripped the king (Kalākaua) of his executive authority and empowered a few foreign residents. Those residents who forced the king to sign the document were the core of those who deposed the queen, particularly Lorrin A. Thurston, a lawyer, and Sanford B. Dole, a justice on the Supreme Court. For more information on the 1840–1887 period, see Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* and Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* vol. 3: *1874–93, The Kalākaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1967).

20. Judd left missionary work in 1842 and became the King's Minister of Finance. His wife, Laura Fish Judd, kept a journal recording their time in Hawai'i.

21. Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage,* 243.

22. The governor, Kekāanāo'a, was having the dwelling erected for his daughter, Princess Victoria Kamāmalu, granddaughter of King Kamehameha I and sister to Alexander Liholiho and Lot Kapuāiwa who would become King Kamehameha IV and King Kamehameha V respectively. The King appropriated it. *Polynesian* (October 26, 1844); Isaac Hart to Governor Kekāanāo'a, May 15, 1844, Hawai'i State Archives; Charles E. Peterson, "The Iolani Palaces and the Barracks," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22, no. 2 (1963): 91–92.

23. Gary L. Fitzpatrick, *The Early Mapping of Hawai'i* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1987), 68–69, who cites Charles Wilkes, 3: 393–413. Wilkes's journals from 1840–41 were published in five volumes by C. Sherman in Philadelphia.

24. Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage,* 199. The survey conducted by the *Polynesian* bears Olmsted's numbers out. There were 617 foreigners in January and 627 by June 1847. Richard A. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 4 (1970): 63. Around 1844 Laura Fish Judd mentioned a census that counted nine thousand Honolulu residents, with one thousand of those classified as foreigners. She also noted that eleven warships came to port in the last year, five American, five English, and one French. Laura Fish Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of the Life Social, Political, and Religious, in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861* (reprint, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1928), 102. On abode walls, see Gilman, "1848—Honolulu As It Is—Notes for Amplification," 106; Bob Dye, *Merchant Prince of the Sandalwood Mountains: Afong and the Chinese in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 10–15, who mentioned the walls kept the stray dogs out, or were supposed to. By 1847, these adobe

walls had their advocates who commented on their brightness when describing the town and their detractors. They were often plastered with advertisements of services and wares and were unsuccessful at keeping the "skulking mongrels" out. The weather also took its toll; wind and rain caused the walls to decay and leave ankle-deep grime in the streets. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 60.

25. Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage,* 199–200.

26. Ibid., 200.

27. Beretania Street draws its name in part from "Little Britain" the country estate of British Consul William Miller. The Consul later moved a hospital for British sailors and subjects, known as Little Greenwich, in the Pauoa Valley to this compound. This cluster of buildings is shown in a ca. 1851 painting of the plains (an area of central Honolulu extending from Alapai Street to Waikākā today) looking to Diamond Head. Miller's property was at Pawa'a and fronted along present-day King Street and one boundary wall ran along what is now Sheridan Street. It also has been written that Beretania Street took its name from Miller's office, which he called Beretania Cottage and which was located on the tract next door to Washington Place. Miller's predecessor, Richard Charlton, also referred to his house as "Beretania." Likely Beretania Street referred to the pathway connecting these two sites. David W. Forbes, *Encounters with Paradise: Views of Hawai'i and its People, 1778–1941* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 1992), 136–37; Paske-Smith, *Early British Consuls in Hawai'i,* 17, 23. Modern street names were assigned in 1850. Also representative of the close connection the *ali'i* felt to Great Britain is the design of the Hawaiian flag. First commissioned in 1816, the flag has a Union Jack in the upper left corner. Changed slightly in 1845, the flag today has eight bars in addition to the Union Jack. Its appearance has been interpreted as a synthesis of the English and American flags, and so another example of those countries' influence in the islands.

28. Gerrit P. Judd's wife Laura describes the "new palace. The building is of coral, and contains a double drawing-room and two other rooms divided by a hall." Judd, *Honolulu,* 102. Chester Lyman attended a church service at the palace one Sunday evening. He described it as such: "The services were held in the South room of the palace. It is a large double room with folding doors, very high, plainly finished, with Chinese matting on the floor, 4 or 5 plain haircloth settees, chairs, mahogany center table &c &c. English prints in frames, & two portraits (one of the king) adorn the plain white walls." Lyman, *Around the Horn,* 165. Lyman's description of the south room sounds like the parlors at Washington Place.

29. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841–47, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 102).

30. Charles Brewer, Jamaica Plains, to Mary Dominis, June 13, 1847, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives; Judd, *Honolulu,* 131; *Friend,* September 14, 1861: 52–55 that prints an excerpt from *Friend,* May 15, 1847: 78. Also, *Friend,* August 12, 1846: *Friend,* August 15, 1846, and Anthony Ten Eyck, Office of the U.S. Commission, Honolulu, to James Buchanan, Secretary of State, Despatch No. 3, July 10, 1846, and Despatch No. 4, August 4, 1846, RG 59 Records of the Department of State, Despatches from U.S. Ministers in Hawai'i, 1843–1900, NARA (microfilm); George Brown to Secretary of State, Despatch No. 63, March 11, 1846, NARA. Henry Wilson wrote to John O. Dominis in December 1848, saying "I find that almost all the old merchants of Canton were well acquainted with your dear father—and they all spoke of him in the highest terms, and made many inquiries about his family, . . . I can more fully appreciate, now, than when at Honolulu, the great and irreparable loss your mother and yourself sustained in the death of Captain Dominis. He died in the midst of usefulness, and at the zenith of his fame." Henry Wilson, U.S. Ship *Preble,* Hong Kong, China, to John O. Dominis, December 6, 1848, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 104).

31. Lyman, *Around the Horn,* 162.

32. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 83; Gilman, "1848," 145. Besides the Captain's, the most expensive houses belonged to Abner Pākā, Lili'uokalani's adopted father; Dr. Robert Wood; and Theodore Shillaber. Wood's dwelling was demolished in 1900 for the Alexander Young Hotel; Wood assumed Ten Eyck's duties when the Commissioner was absent from the islands. Shillaber's house was a bungalow. It was illustrated in Emmert's fifth plate, cut 14, as described in "Honolulu in 1853," *Hawaiian Annual* (1914–17): 100. Laura Judd mentions these four houses specifically.

33. Greer, "Honolulu in 1847," 59–63.

34. Judd, *Honolulu,* 133.

35. That the captain was an Italian immigrant to the greater Boston area likely made him more acutely aware of the signifiers of social and economic success in New England, and again, when establishing himself in Hawai'i Dominis consciously evoked those material testimonials in his dwelling.

36. Captain Dominis Accounts, 1841–47, Lili' uokalani Collection.

37. Prefab house construction, meaning housing erected on-site by trained artisans and by native workers or those of African descent if talking about the Caribbean, was described by J. Daniel Pezzoni in a presentation to VAF in Charleston, S.C., in 1994. The title of his paper was "The New England Prefab House Trade with the Caribbean Islands and Littoral, 1650–1860." See William Chapman, "Irreconcilable Differences: Urban Residences in the Danish West Indies, 1700–1900," *Winterthur Portfolio* 30, nos. 2–3 (Summer 1995): 155–57, 159, and note 36. Not long after the completion of Washington Place, A. H. Fayerweather mentioned to John Dominis in a letter that "Every thing goes on as usual. There are a great many of the little Houses from Sydney being put up here, and lumber is quite cheap." From this description it can be inferred that some of the prefab dwellings came from points west as well as from the United States. A. H. Fayerweather, Honolulu, to John O. Dominis, San Francisco, June 3, 1850, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 106). Other examples were recorded in journals of people visiting or living in the islands. Boelen wrote in 1828 of Governor John Adams's dwelling—at least where Adams received him—that it was "built of wood in the North American fashion; the whole frame had been transported from the continent to Kairooa." Similarly Laura Fish Judd talks of her house in 1847 as the culmination of two years of materials gathering, when supplies were available and when they had the money. Judd wrote: "The doors, floors, and gates were made in Copenhagen and sent out for sale, and . . . purchased them at auction for much less than we could get them made. The windows, glazed, and blinds already painted were sent out from Boston." *A Merchant's Perspective,* 35; Judd, *Honolulu,* 129.

38. John O. Dominis was born in March 1832. He became the Governor of O'ahu in 1864, after Lot became King (Kamehameha V). Dominis died in 1891 shortly after his wife Lili'uokalani ascended to the throne.

39. Robert C. Wyllie, Foreign Office, to Anthony Ten Eyck, Private, November 16, 1847, Hawai'i State Archives (FO & Ex, Box 21, folder 450). Copy on file at Washington Place. Also, Lyman, *Around the Horn,* 165.

40. Judd, *Honolulu,* 131; [Obituary and Funeral Notice], *Polynesian* (November 7, 1847), 101.

41. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* vol. 2: *1854–1874, Twenty Critical Years* (1953; 4th printing, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1982), 85.

42. In addition to Ten Eyck, American diplomats Luther Severence, David Gregg, and Elisha Allen either stayed or entertained there. William Little Lee and his wife Catherine boarded there for a number of years. Lee served on the Land Commission and crafted much of the government's legislative code. Officers on the *Saratoga* stopped in Honolulu en route from Japan to Washington, D.C., with the treaty in hand (in 1854) and were entertained at Washington Place, just to cite a few of Mary Dominis's guests.

43. Kamehameha V (Prince Lot) succeeded his brother Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) in 1863. Lot died in 1872 without having named a successor. His cousin William Lunalilo was selected and ruled for two years. He neglected to appoint a successor and so after his death another election was held. David Kalākaua won. His heir was his younger brother, William, but this child died in 1877. At that time he selected Lydia as his heir, who then became known as Princess Lili'uokalani.

44. D'Anglade, *A Tree in Bud,* 47–63. Emphasis mine. He later wrote: "In less than a century Honolulu has become truly a new town of the United States" (110).

45. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story,* 226; Estate Taxes, Land Books, &c., Lili'uokalani Trust Records, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, box 3). She inherited the property from her mother in 1859. Lili'uokalani augmented it with additional tracts during her lifetime. Her cottage by the sea was called *Kealohilani*; the other was *Paoakalani*. The *Kealohilani* parcel was what her nephew Kāhiā sought as his inheritance.

46. Lili'uokalani, Diary, January 7, 18, November 14, 16, 20, 22, December 11, 1887; and Lili'uokalani, Diary, January 23, 30, February 12, May 15, June 4, July 31, September 10, 27, November 21, 1888. In June 1888, for example, Lili'uokalani observed twice that she had to go to Washington Place and had to stay in the cottage on the grounds. By that time, it held less

appeal than when, as a bride, she had no options for social space to call her own. Dominis was stricken with rheumatism and so often quite ill. By the 1880s the illness of both John and his mother made her responsible for their care.

47. "Perseverance Rewarded," *Friend,* August 1, 1883: 68.

48. *Hawai'i in 1819: A Narrative Account by Louis Claude de Saulses de Freycinet,* translated by Ella L. Wiswell, Pacific Anthropological Records No. 26 (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1978).

49. *A Merchant's Perspective,* 36, 56–55.

50. Peterson, "The Iolani Palaces," 92, who cites Lyman's comments from May 15, 1846; Gilman, "1848," 43; *Polynesian,* September 25, 1847; Dye, *Merchant Prince of the Sandalwood Mountains,* 15; Barrot, *Unless Haste Is Made,* 66. Barrot discussed the king's house in 1836. He said it was "situated at the extremity of an extensive court, surrounded as are all the houses of this country, by a wall of bricks dried in the sun. In this enclosure are nearly fifty huts, which serve for kitchens, store-houses, lodgings for the king's servants, and barracks for the soldiers." This 1836 description also places the arrangement of 'Iolani Palace grounds within that tradition of many small, purpose-built structures making a whole. Barrot did not, however, elaborate on the gender segregation within the complex.

51. M. H. Lawton, San Francisco, to John O. Dominis, August 19, 1861, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 11, folder 107).

52. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story,* 226–27.

53. Lyman, *Around the Horn,* 71–72; Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story,* 1–11; *The Diaries of David Lawrence Gregg,* 85. Also, Lili'uokalani organized Hui Ho'ona 'auao, a benevolent association established to promote the education of children, especially that of girls. It was set up in 1886 and continued until 1892, although not officially dissolved until 1916.

54. James Jackson Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian Islands . . .,* 4th edition (Honolulu: Henry M. Whitney, Publisher, 1872), 157.

55. Terence Barrow, Introduction to *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands,* 1–5.

56. D'Anglade described Lili'uokalani as aged fifty-two, married to an American, with no children. Physically she was a "stoutish, pleasant-featured, dignified, and forceful looking woman. Well-educated and widely read, Lili'uokalani speaks elegant English. Like her late brother she is exceedingly Hawaiian in character and feeling. Yet she too is liberal-minded and possessed of strong sense of duty. By no means unaware of the traditions of her people, she fully realizes the need for progress and its beneficial powers" (*A Tree in Bud,* 88–89).

57. Emma married Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) in 1856, and they remained on the throne until the king's death in 1863. Although rivals, Lili'uokalani and Queen Emma shared similar views on the lease of Pearl Harbor (opposed). Lili'uokalani undoubtedly would have concurred with Emma in 1873 in this "feeling of bitterness against these rude people who dwell on our land and have high-handed ideas of giving away somebody else's property as if it was theirs." Russell E. Benton, *Emma Nea Rooke: Beloved Queen of Hawai'i,* Mellon Studies in History, vol. 5 (Lewiston/Queenston: Edwin Mellon Press, 1988).

58. This is illustrated in her book. The genealogy countered charges from rivals, and from supporters of Queen Emma, that her right to the throne was illegitimate. After Kamehameha V died, the fact that Emma was a direct descendent of Kamehameha I was perceived as particularly important, especially to those who advocated for her. Queen Emma and David Kalākaua were the candidates to succeed Lunalilo; they faced off in an election, a contest that Kalākaua won. The effects of the election, wherein the Native Hawaiians were not in unison on the candidate, are discussed by Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* 151–62. Osorio argues that while Kalākaua won the election, he ruled thereafter from a position of weakness. This was exploited by the Hawaiian League (men who were associated with the missionary party) in 1887 when they forced Kalākaua to sign a new constitution, thereafter dubbed the "Bayonet Constitution." Lorrin Thurston, Sanford B. Dole, William R. Castle, William Kinney, and Sereno Bishop—all of whom later conspired to depose the queen—were instrumental in the 1887 Constitution. The change coincided with lobbying for a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Lili'uokalani was perceived as less friendly than her brother to American business interests or to those of the *haole* sugar plantations.

59. Kamehameha III to Anthony Ten Eyck, Enclosure C to Ten Eyck, Despatch No. 1, June 22, 1846, NARA.

60. Ten Eyck to Wyllie, February 22, 1848.

61. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story,* 124–27. It appears that she returned to Mount Vernon, commenting that rooms they were allowed in earlier now had bars across the openings (126). This would collaborate the superintendent's recollection that Lili'uokalani visited in 1893 with Mr. Carter, the American Minister to Hawai'i. Colonel Harrison Howell Dodge, *Mount Vernon: Its Owner and Its Story* (1932), 103. Jennifer Kittlaus to Virginia B. Price, July 24, 2007. See also, "Ex-Queen Is Patriotic," *The Washington,* August 5, 1899: 2.

62. Minutes of the Council of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union, 1887, 5.

63. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story,* 124–27. In 1897, the queen observed the re-interment of the earthly remains of General Grant and of her visit to the tomb she commented that "it seemed grand in its loneliness" and that she "could not help thinking of the Father of his Country lying in his humble tomb at Mount Vernon." Lili'uokalani to J. O. Carter, May 1, 1897, Hui Hānai Collection, Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center.

64. The Blount report made a case for the restoration of the monarchy. Cleveland's minister Albert S. Willis then went to Hawai'i to try to negotiate. Apparently the queen's hesitancy in granting a full pardon to those who deposed her as well as Dole's refusal to yield power sidelined the talks. Cleveland turned the dilemma over to Congress. The Congressional investigation, called the Morgan report, absolved the United States for its representative's role in the overthrow of a government against the will of a majority of that government's people. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* 3: 628.

65. On the perpetuation of Native Hawaiian culture, see Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004); Mehmed Ali, "Ho'ohui'aina Pala Ka Mai'a: Remembering Annexation One Hundred Years Ago," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998): 141–53; "Many Thousands of Native Hawaiians Sign a Protest to the United States Government against Annexation," *San Francisco Call,* September 30, 1897 [transcript on file at Washington Place]; Public Law 103–150, 103rd Cong., 1st sess. (November 23, 1993), 1510–14; Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, . . . *Offer of Apology to Native Hawaiians on Behalf of the United States for the Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i,* report submitted by Mr. Inouye, 103d Cong., 1st sess., 1–35.

66. Lili'uokalani mentioned her clothing during her trip to the Jubilee ceremonies in London in 1887 and her brother's coronation in 1883. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story,* 100; Lili'uokalani, Diary, May 6, 1887; Lili'uokalani, Diary, May 17, 1887; Lili'uokalani, Diary, June 6, 1887.

67. On her property in Waikākā, however, she had a grass house. This was her private property (specifically the lot at Paoakalani) and so not part of her Western-directed public persona. She was furious when young vandals destroyed the grass as the materials were precious and so difficult to replace. She recommended sending the culprits to a reform school. Lili'uokalani to J. O. Carter, November 1, 1905, Hui Hānai Collection.

68. A retrospective essay on the queen in 1912 noted she was once a favorite subject of cartoonists, but now on occasion she would "drive out in an open carriage" and so the author could see that she was "a really impressive figure, large, dark, and with an air of distinction not unqueenly." In earlier years she was a "woman of force and pride" but now retired, she lived "serenely in her beautiful old home shaded with tropical foliage." *Christian Science Monitor,* October 5, 1912: 35.

69. On this occasion, Washington Place was described as having spacious grounds, enough to host the many retainers. There were "servants in livery at the great gates" and "torch-bearers at the main entrance to the house." "Lost Royalty . . . Sad Home-Coming of Hawai'i's Throne-less Queen," *Los Angeles Times,* August 23, 1898: 5.

70. "A Historical Residence," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* March 9, 1895: 1.

71. Announcements of her book appeared in various mainland presses. See, for example, "An Epic of Polynesia," *Washington Post,* November 21, 1897: 23; "Writes of Her Life . . . ," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* January 23, 1898: 43.

72. "Hawaiians Against a Change," *New York Times,* November 7, 1897: 24; "Hawaiians Oppose Annexation," *New York Times,* September 22, 1898: 5; "Lost Royalty . . . Sad Home-Coming of Hawai'i's Throne-less Queen," *Los Angeles Times,* August 23, 1898: 5; "Queen Lil's Sad Hours," *Washington Post,* September 18, 1898: 9; "Commissioners View the Islands," *Atlanta Constitution,* September 9, 1898: 3. The petitions themselves are on file in the National Archives (RG 46).

73. "Files a Protest," *Los Angeles Times,* June 18, 1897: 3. She went up against Lorrin Thurston (again).

He was a founder of the Hawaiian League that forced the "Bayonet Constitution" on Kalākaua in 1887. He also was a founder of the Annexation Club in 1892, and was one of the revolutionaries who deposed the queen in 1893. His grandparents were among the first missionaries to arrive in Hawai'i. A leading proponent for annexation in 1892–94, he traveled to Washington to press the Provisional Government's case to Congress. Various newspapers reported on the overthrow and the Provisional Government's appeals for annexation by the United States in 1893. "Revolution," *Boston Daily Globe,* January 29, 1893: 1; "Revolt in Hawai'i," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* January 29, 1893: 1; "Safety Only in Annexation," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* January 29, 1893: 2; "How the News Was Received in Washington," *Los Angeles Times,* January 29, 1893: 1; "The Revolution in Hawai'i," *New York Times,* January 29, 1893: 4; "Begging for Annexation . . .," *New York Times,* January 29, 1893: 2; "Hawai'i Breaks Away," *Washington Post,* January 29, 1893: 1; "The Annexation of Hawai'i," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* January 30, 1893: 4; "Some Interesting Questions. . .," *New York Times,* January 30, 1893: 2; "Hawai'i's Wish," *Boston Daily Globe,* February 2, 1893: 1.

74. Other issues were the opium trade and lottery. Lili'uokalani, *Hawai'i's Story,* 239–42.

75. "Files a Protest," *Los Angeles Times,* June 18, 1897: 3 (also, on the same date, *Chicago Daily,* 9; *Boston Daily Globe,* 5; *New York Times,* 1; and *The Washington,* 1, all reference this protest); "Hawai'i's Ex-Queen in Town," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* July 19, 1898: 5; on annexation, *Chicago Daily Tribune,* July 8, 1898: 1; "Hawai'i Is Now American," *New York Times,* July 8, 1898: 7; "Queen Lili'uokalani to Go Home," *New York Times,* July 8, 1898: 7; "Queen to Claim Crown Lands," *New York Times,* July 24, 1898: 3; "Will Claim Crown Lands," *Washington Post,* July 24, 1898: 3; "The Hawaiian Commission," *New York Times,* September 21, 1898: 5; "Pursued by Queen Lili'uokalani," *Washington Post,* October 7, 1898: 4; "Queen Lili'uokalani Wants Congress to Pay for Her Throne," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* October 8, 1898: 1; "Ex-Queen Back Again," *Washington Post,* November 22, 1898: 9; "Hawai'i's Ex-Queen Arrives," *New York Times,* November 22, 1898: 7; "Queen Lili'uokalani Files a Protest," *Washington Post,* December 21, 1898: 9, *New York Times,* December 21, 1898: 5, and *Atlanta Constitution,* December 21, 1898: 3; and "Lili'uokalani Appeals to House," *New York Times,* January 12, 1899: 7.

76. "Expect to Restore the Queen," *New York Times,* July 10, 1900: 2. More recent articles touching on the same subject include, "Native Hawaiians Seek Redress for U.S. Role in Ousting Queen," *New York Times,* December 11, 1999: A20; "Apology for 1893 Rebellion," *New York Times,* November 17, 1993: A16; "Apology Made to Hawaiians," *Christian Science Monitor,* October 29, 1993: 20; "Late Bow to Hawaiian Queen Overthrown 100 Years Ago," *New York Times,* January 15, 1993: A18.

77. *Affairs in Hawai'i,* entire; "Dole's Government Defiant," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (January 6, 1894), 1; "The President Abandons Lili'uokalani," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* February 15, 1894: 6; "Hawai'i for Hawaiians," *New York Times,* November 21, 1893: 1; "The Overthrow of a Queen," *New York Times,* November 21, 1893: 9; "Results of Blount's Inquiry," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* November 21, 1893: 2; "Aid from Blount," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* November 20, 1893: 1; "Cleveland's Letter to Dole," *Washington Post,* November 19, 1893: 4; "A Period of Intrigue . . .," *Washington Post,* November 16, 1893: 7; "Cleveland Recognizes Hawai'i," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* August 10, 1894: 6; and "Provisionals Sure to Resist," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* November 13, 1893: 5; "Safety Only in Annexation," *Chicago Daily Tribune,* January 29, 1893: 2. Also various articles published on the 11 and 12 November called for the restoration of the monarchy—righting a wrong and "put[ting] her back." These appeared in the Boston, Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles papers.

78. She says as much in her book: *Hawai'i's Story,* 323.

79. The Republic transferred its public property to the United States in the wake of annexation. See S. doc 151 (55–53) 3735. At that time, the inventory accounted for 145 acres of valuable building lots, 25,626 acres of cane lands, 977 acres of rice, 76,270 in coffee, 20,000 acres encumbered by a government interest in the homestead, 451,200 acres of grazing lands, 681,282 acres of high forest land, 227,000 acres of rugged, inaccessible lands, and 300,000 acres of barren land. The inventory noted the Crown Lands were included in the acreage totals. Under the 1895 land act they were controlled by the Commissioners of Public Lands. Since then some 9,960 acres were patented.

80. This she decided to do once annexation was confirmed by the Senate in July 1898 and it prompted her return visit to Washington that fall. Also, "Claims of Queen Lil," *Washington Post,* October 26, 1902: 13;

[Cash for Lili'uokalani], *Chicago Daily Tribune,* February 26, 1903: 4.

81. The Provisional Government was succeeded by the Republic of Hawai'i on July 4, 1894. Sanford Dole remained its President. This change came after the Provisional Government's appeal for annexation failed. Sovereignty of the Republic was ceded to the United States in 1897 and ratified by the Senate in July 1898. Dole had set his sights on the Crown Lands in the early 1870s; see Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui,* 182–87.

82. On Dole and the constitution's land law, see Burlin, *Imperial Maine and Hawaii,* 219–27.

83 Allen, *Betrayal of Lili'uokalani,* 105–6.

84. "Perseverance Rewarded," *Friend,* August 1883: 68.

85. Jean Ariyoshi, *Washington Place: A First Lady's Story* (Honolulu: Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai'i, 2004), 7, who cites the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* January 1, 1862; Letter to Mary Dominis, March 16, 1864, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 90). References to Mary's beautiful garden, to shade proffered by the fig trees, see Letter to Mary Dominis, September 5, 1864, Lili'uokalani Collection, and L. S. Spencer to Mary Dominis, November 3, 1864, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 9, folder 91).

86. Catherine N. Lee, Honolulu, to Caroline Scott, September 28, 1849, reprinted in Barbara E. Dunn, "William Little Lee and Catherine Lee, Letters from Hawai'i, 1848–1855," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 38 (2004): 74.

87. Lili'uokalani, Diary 1887; Lili'uokalani, Diary 1893; Lili'uokalani, 1418 15th Street, NW, DC, to J. O. Carter, August 3, 1899, Hui Hānai Collection.

88. *Lawrence M. Judd and Hawai'i,* an autobiography told by Hugh W. Lytle (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971), 54–57.

89. Lili'uokalani, Diary 1894; quotation from June 7, 1894.

90. Copies of the photographs are on file at Washington Place. She was photographed under a tamarind tree as well as sitting on the *lānai*.

91. Names of Trees at Washington Place, Lili'uokalani Collection, Hawai'i State Archives (M-93, box 3, folder 22).

92. Lili'uokalani describes its appearance, strength of wood, blossoms, taste (sour), and making of a drink.

93. "No Ka Mahi'ai'ana, Māhele 6 (Agricultural Lore, part 6)," *Ka Ho'oilina: Journal of Hawaiian Language Sources* (2006): 8–17.

94. "No Ka Mahi'ai'ana, Māhele 6 (Agricultural Lore, part 6)," 17.

95. Bernice Piilani Irwin, I *Knew Queen Lili'uokalani* (1960; reprint, Honolulu: First People's Productions, 1998), 68–69.

96. On Kāhiā and his efforts in presenting her claim to Congress, Lili'uokalani, Diary, February 13, 1906, March 3, 1906, March 12, 1906, April 17, 1906, and April 24, 1906.

97. W. O. Smith's Memoranda re: Lili'uokalani Trust Deed, February 23, 1910, Lili'uokalani Trust, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, folder 2). Also, "Ex-Queen to Endow Orphans," *New York Times,* December 4, 1909: 4.

98. Lori Kamae, *The Empty Throne: A Biography of Hawai'i's Prince Cupid* (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing, 1980), 173–75. Kāhiā filed suit in 1915 with the intention of invalidating or breaking the trust deed the Queen established in 1909 and confirmed in 1910. His primary concern appeared to be title to the queen's Waikākā property and to be the property bequeathed to the *hānai* boys, Joseph Aea (whose death precipitated an update to the deed which alerted Kāhiā to the state of affairs) and John Aimoku Dominis. Dominis died before inheriting anything as well; he, however, had married and had three children. The queen originally wanted Aimoku to have Washington Place and Aea the Waikākā parcel. Kāhiāā's litigation, although initially stymied, prevailed after the queen's death and he received title to Kealohilani in Waikākā and Washington Place devolved to the Territorial government (for a fee, intended to benefit the Trust, after satisfying the "interest" of the Dominis minors, and relieving it of perpetual maintenance costs). "Suit to Break Hawaiian Trust," *Christian Science Monitor,* April 14, 1916: 12; and "Hold Lili'uokalani Sane," *New York Times,* March 9, 1916: 9. After the queen's death, the Prince's lawsuit remained outstanding. The queen's representatives capitulated in order to settle her estate. Kāhiā had requested eighteen feet of additional beach frontage, which was granted, but then continued to refuse to accept the terms of the deed in which, after Aea's death, left Kāhiā use of the Waikākā land and fish hatchery of Hamohamo for his lifetime (and his wife's). He wanted it in perpetuity. Kāhiā's initial proposal to end the litigation he began included setting

aside Washington Place as a perpetual memorial to the queen and the Kalākaua dynasty (though that required legislation); granting him the Waikākā and hatchery property; requiring that the litigation expenses be paid by the trust; and confirming the establishment of the trust for orphaned children with the suggestion that a majority of the trustees be of Hawaiian blood. He also wanted the eighteen feet already granted to him to be guaranteed in a separate title. Washington Place being set aside as a memorial was "an essential part of the compromise," and the Prince's lawyers suggested it as the Executive Mansion for the Territory. The queen's attorneys stipulated that Washington Place would revert to the queen's heirs-at-law if it was not used properly. Washington Place was "to be occupied and used only for a public or charitable purpose, and not for business or ordinary residential purposes." With this provision, her attorneys felt that a sale to the Territory for Washington Place's use as an executive mansion could be made. Lili'uokalani Trust, Hawai'i State Archives (M-397, folder 1: Kāhiā Claims). The house's pivotal role in the negotiations suggests Kāhiā played on sympathies to the queen's memory in order to get the Waikākā property on the terms he wanted as well as to avoid paying the costs of his lawsuit. And yet, given his efforts on behalf of Native Hawaiians particularly with the homesteading acts, he also probably wanted to recognize the Queen with a permanent memorial however complicated this desire was by the legalities he generated.

99. The attorneys for the prince in 1918—who negotiated the settlement—were Castle & Withington, Thompson & [John W] Cathcart, and Lightfoot & Lightfoot. The queen's estate was represented by Smith, Warren & Whitney.

100. Photographic documentation of Washington Place was done in 1910; these images were compiled into a booklet titled "The History of Washington Place," by Robert C. Lydecker, who was the Librarian of Public Archives, Territory of Hawai'i, from 1905 to 1924. The Honolulu Star Bulletin, Ltd., published the piece in 1931. Copies of the photographs are now in the collections of the Hawai'i State Archives.

101. Lili'uokalani to J. O. Carter, November 10, 1899, Hui Hānai Collection. By 1916, it was evident that society still centered on the queen, and so by extension, on Washington Place. Lili'uokalani filled the house with "relics of the monarchy" and the Native Hawaiians continued to pay her "sincere homage." "Lili'uokalani Deposed, Is Still Queen to Many," *Christian Science Monitor,* September 28, 1916: 8.

102. Lili'uokalani to Carter, November 10, 1899.

103. That Washington Place signified Hawai'i's past—and was recognized as a place to tell part of that story—is shown in the late twentieth-century restorations of the house and grounds that focused less on modern convenience and more on the importance of Lili'uokalani's life there. See, for example, "Hawai'i's Governor's Mansion, Rich with State's Colorful Past," *Los Angeles Times,* December 14, 1986; "A Mansion Symbolizes Hawai'i," *New York Times,* December 5, 1971: 88.

104. Theodate Pope added her own Mount Vernon–inspired porch to her house, Hill-Stead. See Julia A. Sienkewicz, "Hill-Stead," Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress (HABS No. CT-472).

105. Albert Ives, Membership file, American Institute of Architects Library and Archives; Albert Ives, Baldwin Memorial Archive, AIA.