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Unlucky Star: Princess Ka'iulani

PRINCESS KA'IULANI has long been an enigma. The familiar stories of her short life offer little to go on. Published picture books describe the happy child or dutiful teenager or attractive woman, and the oft-told tales become a bit more romanticized with each retelling. It is difficult to see a real Princess Ka'iulani moving through her adolescence in Europe: first, aware of herself as a princess, focused on her education, trying to please others; then her struggle through sadness and disillusionment; and finally the reluctant and sometimes bitter acceptance of her fate—a princess with no kingdom to rule.

When we peel away the myth, we see Ka'iulani as a young woman forced to face dramatic changes in her short life because of repeated disappointments and thwarted expectations. Through her letters and the observations of others, Ka'iulani becomes a multifaceted woman—a flesh-and-blood person, not a wispy, gauze-like replication.

Princess Victoria Kawekiu Ka'iulani Lunalilo Kalaninuiāhīlāpalapa Cleghorn, only direct heir by birth to the Hawaiian throne, was born October 16, 1875, to the resounding peal of bells from every church in Honolulu.¹ Daughter of Princess Likelike and businessman Archibald Scott Cleghorn, she was reared to be royalty. Her mother died when Ka'iulani was only eleven, and the future princess was doted upon by her father, her Uncle David Kalākaua, and numerous relatives. She grew up surrounded with the certainty that she could some

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day be queen of Hawai'i. In 1889, at the age of thirteen, she and half-sister Annie Cleghorn were sent for a year to England, where British-born Theophilus Harris Davies, a respected Honolulu businessman, would be her guardian. Because of political events in Hawai'i, the one year grew to eight before Ka'iulani returned to the Islands in November 1897.

I will focus on four key periods of Ka'iulani's stay abroad, from age fourteen until twenty-two, when she prepared for her return to Hawai'i. During this time, we see a young woman coming of age amid the most demanding circumstances and watch her develop from an obedient but sometimes rascally child, to an independent, strong-minded woman. The first of these periods begins in May 1889 with a happy one-year journey and concludes with three abrupt changes in Ka'iulani's life. Annie returned to Hawai'i in October 1890, but the princess had to remain in England. Soon afterward, Caroline Sharp, her school mistress at Great Harrowden Hall, announced she would



FIG. 1. Princess Victoria Kawekiu Ka'iulani Lunalilo Kalaninuihiamaha Cleghorn, 1875-1899. (Hawaiian Historical Society)

be closing her school. January 1891 brought the most shocking news. Her uncle, King Kalākaua, had died and her aunt was now on the Hawaiian throne. Lili'uokalani immediately named Ka'iulani heir apparent. Now Ka'iulani was the next to be queen.

The second period starts in February 1892. Ka'iulani studied conscientiously with tutors at Phebe Rooke's home near Brighton to prepare for her now-imminent role. She had almost completed this additional year of education when she received news in January 1893 that Lili'uokalani had been deposed and the Islands and her people were now in political turmoil.

February 1893 opens the third period with Davies's request that Ka'iulani accompany him to Washington, D.C., to plead by her presence the case for the monarchy. This, in a sense, was her first official role. Instead of continuing on to Hawai'i after her Washington visit, however, Ka'iulani was immediately sent back to England.

Finally, the fourth period encompasses her interminable wait from late 1893 to her final return to Hawai'i in 1897. During this period, Ka'iulani began to distance herself from Island politics, experienced health problems, considered remaining in Europe, and mourned the situation at home, fearing what the future held in store for her country and for herself.

THE EARLY YEARS AT GREAT HARROWDEN HALL

In 1889, the thirteen-year-old Ka'iulani and her half-sister Annie left Hawai'i to enroll in Great Harrowden Hall, a small school in Northamptonshire, England. Archibald Cleghorn, King Kalākaua, and, according to Davies, Lorrin Andrews Thurston made the plans.² Primarily they wanted the future queen to be educated properly. Her widowed father was happy that she would be cared for by a responsible schoolmistress. Another consideration was the political atmosphere in Hawai'i. Enemies of Kalākaua were causing unrest by criticizing his policies and his alleged reckless expenditures. It would be better for Ka'iulani to be away from the Islands.

Shortly after the girls arrived at Great Harrowden Hall, Ka'iulani celebrated her fourteenth birthday. Under the supervision of schoolmistress Caroline Sharp, she and Annie attended classes, where Ka'iulani did unusually well in her subjects and enjoyed wandering about

the beautiful gardens. All indications suggest that their stay at the school was a happy one. Letters from the girls, from Mrs. Sharp, and Honolulu visitors to the school reveal a contented Ka'iulani sending home paintings she had done herself as well as seeds from the grounds of Great Harrowden Hall to be planted at 'Ainahau, the Cleghorn estate in Waikiki. She enjoyed the company of Annie and the other girls and looked forward to vacations with the Davies family. She was learning deportment in this finishing school and wrote chatty, cheerful letters home.

The first disruption of the happy time abroad occurred immediately after Ka'iulani's fifteenth birthday, October 16, 1890, when Cleghorn told Annie to return to Hawai'i while Ka'iulani was to remain in England. Always solicitous of the princess, Mrs. Sharpe wrote caring letters home to Cleghorn and attempted to distract Ka'iulani from Annie's preparation for the journey by taking the princess on a trip to Peterboro.³ Regardless of her feelings, she silently accepted that she must now remain in England without her sister.

At Annie's departure, we observe a princess who had learned her lessons in Victorian rectitude. Mrs. Sharp wrote to Archibald Cleghorn: "Kaiulani bore the parting admirably. She was very brave and restrained her tears. . . . [I]t was the more praiseworthy as poor Annie was quite overcome . . . she [Ka'iulani] is happy and cheerful . . . making good progress in her studies. . . ."⁴

Ka'iulani was an exuberant young woman who openly expressed her feelings and opinions and, at times, enjoyed a good frolic. Her time with the Davies family allowed her to relax and just be herself. We catch a glimpse of the princess at the Davies home from the observations of Alice Davies Warner, T. H. Davies's daughter, who in later years wrote her remembrances of Ka'iulani as a schoolgirl.

[W]e settled in Southport and Lancashire and Kaiulani spent much time with us in her holidays. . . . My own memories . . . are of her being full of fun and mischief, teasing us all, . . . once chasing me with a hair brush around the room we were sharing. One of my brothers . . . remembers her chasing him up and down stairs and all around the house in fun. He being very young could not compete and managed to lock himself into a room. Another brother . . . has in his memory some indistinct pictures of Kaiulani . . . playing tennis at Southport . . .

the lei or wreath of iridescent feathers around her hat . . . playing a Chopin Polinaise [*sic*] on the piano. Another memory . . . her haughty indignation with a little boy staying with us who dared to tease her.⁵

The young woman's independence and *joie de vivre* are further revealed in this anecdote from Warner's memories in which Ka'iulani showed she could sometimes be a worry to her guardian:

During her school years when she came to us for holiday, our own governess was asked to meet Kaiulani in London and escort her to Southport . . . the meeting place was the train (station) and [the governess] waited and waited in great trepidation as time was getting short and no princess appeared. Just at the last moment she darted along the platform with two young men in tow. She introduced them to her chaperone as fellow revellers to the dismay of [the governess]. They all went off together. . . .⁶

From the early days of her time abroad, Princess Ka'iulani's actions hint at a light-hearted independence that would emerge later in her growing strength of character when she was forced to face the difficulties before her.

After Annie's departure, happy associations with Great Harrowden Hall would end as Mrs. Sharp, now more than seventy-four years old, decided to give up her school at the end of that year.⁷ Additional changes and losses occurred. In January of 1891 came most distressing news: King Kalākaua had died. Davies described Ka'iulani's response to her uncle's death: "Oh! I didn't know how much I loved my uncle."⁸

She was far away and helpless to comfort her family. Lili'uokalani was now queen and Ka'iulani the heir apparent. After this, evidence reveals, she was not as happy at Great Harrowden as she had been earlier. The Davies family again provided solace for the young woman during these times of special stress: "Mr. Davies kept me a few days after the beginning of the term. The girls quip so frightfully. I felt rather [illegible] about facing them."⁹ This occurred right after Kalākaua's death and the queen's declaration that Ka'iulani was heir apparent. The girls' "quips" may have been too much for her in the midst of her sorrow and special concerns. Too, Alice Davies Warner

noted that Ka'iulani did not take to teasing well—even without additional pressures in her life.

Then the following August, Ka'iulani received word that John Dominis, Lili'uokalani's husband and chief advisor, had also died. Now her aunt became more dependent on Cleghorn and his daughter. Lili'uokalani wrote in September:

You have heard of course e'er [*sic*] this of the death of your dear Uncle John. . . . It all seemed so sudden to me. . . . [H]e had been sick ten weeks but I had no idea he would pass away so soon for he looked so well that morning. . . . [I]t is only seven months since my dear brother died when my husband was taken away. [A] short time before Uncle John's death the queen Dowager Kapiolani had a stroke of paralysis and is likely to have another. . . . If it is the Father's will in heaven, I must submit, for the bible teaches us 'he doeth all things well.' You and Papa are all that is left to me. . . . [F]inish your studies. . . . [C]ome home and live a life of usefulness to your people. . . .¹⁰

In seven short months, tragedies had forever changed Ka'iulani's life. During the summer, Davies and the visiting Cleghorn made arrangements for Ka'iulani to stay with Phebe Rooke, a relative of Queen Emma's, in Hove, a suburb of Brighton.

I have left Great Harrowden Hall for good. Mr. Davies has kindly found a lady who will look after and be a sort of mother to me while I am in Brighton. I believe Mrs. Rooke is a thorough lady. . . . I shall take lessons in French, German, music and English—especially grammar and composition. I am anxiously waiting for the time to come when I see you again.¹¹

Ka'iulani also acknowledged she did better under tutors as she had in Hawai'i: "I am not at a School. . . . I seem to learn very much more this way than at School."¹² Rooke had arranged for tutors, and the princess applied herself assiduously to her studies. Plans now were for the princess to return to Hawai'i in 1893, and in a letter her aunt happily described the journey her niece would make by way of Europe and perhaps see the Chicago Exposition. Also she would come out in society as royalty. That was heady news for the young woman. Ka'iulani's goal now was to assist her aunt by studying to be

a worthy future queen. More acutely than before, she focused on new responsibilities.

CONCENTRATED STUDY TIME IN BRIGHTON

In February 1892, Ka'iulani was settled at Mrs. Rooke's and sounded happier in the new setting. She wrote Lili'uokalani regularly, describing her courses and her heavy study schedule. What drove Ka'iulani's diligent, positive attitude was the knowledge that she would return to Hawai'i in 1893.

We are having very cold weather at the present moment. . . . [L]ast week it was so warm that we all went out of doors without any jackets at all. I must say that I prefer the intense cold to the intense heat. . . . I have enjoyed my studies very much during the last term, and I feel that I am learning something. I can speak German quite fluently though I make a great many mistakes. I do not feel so very nervous about it as I used to do. . . . I hope that Father will allow me to stay here till Christmas, then let me travel about on the continent for a month or two before I come 'out' in society. I am looking forward to my return next year. I am beginning to feel very homesick.¹³

In spite of her missing Hawai'i, she enjoyed her new surroundings:

Brighton is such a nice place, [and] though I have only been here a month, I can find my way about quite easily. I think that I shall profit by my stay here. . . . The air is very pure and bracing, and already my appetite shows me that it suits me—I am taking lessons in [M]usic, Singing, Literature, History and French and German.¹⁴

She sought out resources to aid her as a future helpmate for her aunt and shared with Lili'uokalani what she was learning from her stamp collection.

[I]t is so very interesting putting in the stamps, and it does teach me a lot of geography. Mr. Bishop was kind enough to send me Prof. Alexander's book. . . . [S]o far as I have gone, I think that it is interesting. I must confess that my knowledge of Hawaiian History is very limited.¹⁵

Without delay, Lili'uokalani answered, eager to support her niece in academic pursuits, especially concerning their ancestors. Many of the queen's enemies had recently challenged her right to the throne: sensitive to their charges, she wanted to clarify her and Ka'iulani's rights and also suggest to her niece other subjects she should study:

History will be of great importance to you in the future as it may guide you in affairs of State. . . . Languages will be of great advantage also—German and French are mostly spoken in Aristocratic circles and are used very frequently in diplomacy. . . . but we have very intelligent men in our Foreign Department who translate foreign languages into English and business transactions are carried on between foreign countries and our own. . . .

I am very glad that you have a copy of Prof Alexander's book—you will find in the latter part of the Genealogical tree of the Kamehameha line, and it contains one of ours also—but there are many interesting facts not mentioned in his book in regard to our family. Our great great Grandfather Keaweaheulu was one of Kamehameha's 1st Counsellors . . . all Kamehameha's successful battles were due to the wise counsels given by these high and noted Chieftains—From that time until the death of the last Kamehamehas there have always existed a friendship and for that reason I think that it is only our due to sit on the throne of the Kamehamehas—but we must be worthy of it. The superior intelligence of Keawe-a-Heulu . . . I'm confident[was] handed down to us and we must use it wisely.

You are studying literature—it will also be of advantage to you. To be able to write a history—to compose a poem—to write anything which will prove a fertile and cultivated mind is an accomplishment which one in your station ought . . . to be master of. . . . You must keep this letter to refer to at future moments.¹⁶

In the same letter, her aunt referred to the short time left until Ka'iulani's return: "Time is approaching when we will have to think of your return some time in the early part of next year—so whatever studies you may have before you, you will have to complete at that time."¹⁷

Eager to learn, the princess, quickly responded to her aunt's letter: "I have just received your kind letter which I shall keep as it contains such a very interesting bit of our own history. I knew nothing

about it. In fact I knew nothing about our family until I read Prof. Alexander's book."¹⁸

Ka'iulani also wrote that her focus on studying kept her from charitable activities, a duty of all upper-class Victorian women: "Thank you very much for your liberal donation. . . . I wish I could do more for good works, but I have my studies to occupy me, but I can help by collecting money."¹⁹

Ka'iulani described a typical day: Not only languages and history, but more lessons in Victorian conduct for young women:

Fraulein Kling comes every morning for an hour's conversation in German or French I also read and translate with her. I shall have singing lessons from Madame Lancia, two painting lessons, two music lessons. Also lessons in Dancing Department and Riding. Of course, I practice for two hours each day and also spend two hours preparing for the different lessons. I wanted to show you that I intend to work hard and not waste my time, tho it is very short.

Do you not think that to learn to walk and move gracefully is so very important[?] I do hope that by the time I come home you will think that I have improved. I should like to please you—In less than three weeks I shall be seventeen and in a year's time I shall be home.²⁰

A month later Ka'iulani shared more of her training in deportment:

Last Saturday I had my first lesson in Dancing and general Deportment which I found highly amusing. My friends tell me that I carry myself so much better when I am walking in the street, than in the Drawingroom, so at the present moment I am doing my very best to walk into a room *quietly* and gracefully.²¹

Even during vacations, Ka'iulani considered future responsibilities. Gone were the carefree gambols around Davies's house. She must grasp every opportunity to improve herself:

Lady Wiseman has asked me to spend part of my Xmas holidays with them. I hope to be able to do so. . . . [T]hey are gentle people and I think that it is my duty to visit people whose manners are refined as it is quite essential for me to be well mannered.²²

Lady Wiseman, who had visited Hawai'i with her husband (Sir William Wiseman, captain of H.M.S. *Impregnable*), was one of Ka'iulani's mentors.

Ka'iulani's own social life, however, was placed on hold, for soon she must return to Hawai'i. When famous people arrived in Brighton, Ka'iulani resisted the temptation to see them because her studies were more important:

The Duke of . . . and his wife are staying down here. . . . I should like to see them. The Duke of Connaught and the Princess Christina are coming down sometime next month to open some place—if I can, I shall try to be present, though my studies interfere with a great many things, still they must come first.²³

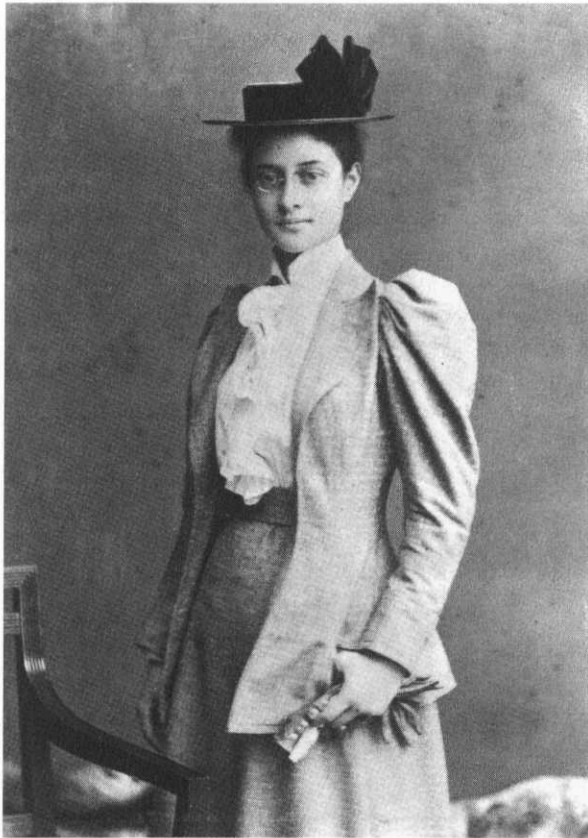


FIG. 2. Princess Ka'iulani photographed in London in 1892.
(Bishop Museum)

An old friend could sense the difference in the Ka'iulani she had known at Great Harrowden Hall and the present assiduous student. Maude Wright, a friend from Honolulu who also attended Great Harrowden Hall with Ka'iulani, mildly chastised the princess when she noticed that Ka'iulani had a new focus since she had become heir-apparent and wondered how that fact would alter their friendship:

You wrote me a long letter this time but you did not answer any of my questions. . . . I hope you will not be offended at what I am going to say but somehow you do not seem the same as you used to be when I knew you at school. . . . [Y]ou write to me not as if you cared to about it but just as if you thought you ought to for noblesse oblige. . . . [N]ow Kaiulani if my letters bore you say so because I would much [*sic*] rather not write and think that it did not matter to the person at the other end whether they got them or not. . . . [I]f you have got over what small affection you had for me[,] say so. . . . [O]f course [*sic*] it is not good saying I shall not mind because I shall but then . . . you will soon forget me if you do not have any thing to keep me in mind and I shall think of you as I knew you at school, a jolly open-hearted school friend.²⁴

Life moved on in Hawai'i and quickened Ka'iulani's desire for home. In March she received a bubbly letter from Annie, who, shortly after her return, had married Hay Wodehouse and now described the joys of motherhood: "Baby is well and lying on the floor beside me as good as gold—I had him photographed at three months old and am sending you one [copy] of each. I hope you will like them."²⁵

Ka'iulani hoped to see her new nephew soon. But in December, sad news arrived from May Atkinson, a childhood friend of Ka'iulani's:

Poor Annie I thought her heart would break and was so sorry for Hay. . . . It seemed so dreadful such a strong healthy child should have died. . . . I feel so sorry when I see her . . . her beautiful eyes are wells of sadness. [S]he kept saying [']To think that Kaiulani will never see my baby['].²⁶

Ka'iulani was still too far away to offer much comfort to Annie and faced more pain yet from conflicting duties.

January carried with it the most devastating news: Lili'uokalani was

deposed on January 17. A friend of the family, Flora Jones, reported the conditions in Hawai'i:

You already know of the great and sad changes that have taken place here in the past few weeks, and during this time . . . our hearts have gone out to you filled with sympathy and regret. . . . I never have known how dearly I have loved my country and my birthplace until now. Rose [Ka'iulani's half-sister] and I have spent hours and days talking these dreadful things all over, and have shed many tears. What the result will be my dear God only knows. . . . If this lovely land is to be always [in this] upset condition. . . . I could never wish to see you subjected to the misery and unhappiness it would surely bring upon you—Would to God it could be what it has been in years gone by, and you its happy Ruler—but . . . we must go forward—and it certainly seems as if the happy old days could never return—Keep up a good heart my dear girl, trusting all will be for the best. . . .²⁷

Ka'iulani must keep centered on her primary duty—seeking an education for her future role. But now a new question emerged: Would she ever be Hawai'i's queen?

WASHINGTON VISIT: THE POLITICAL VISE

While Lorrin A. Thurston and other annexationists were in Washington trying to convince the United States to take over Hawai'i, Davies had one hope. He asked Ka'iulani to travel to Washington to plead the cause of the monarchy "in the conviction that her presence would prove to the American people that all the truth had not been told to them."²⁸ No one had authorized Davies to make the trip. He was not really clear on his purpose, but somehow felt the Princess was needed. We can understand if Ka'iulani hesitated: She had not yet finished her studies. In just two months, she was to return permanently to Hawai'i with her father. But timing was critical. Were not Thurston and his cohorts in Washington this minute? What would they say about her family?

True, E. C. Macfarlane, the queen's advisor and emissary, was in Washington, but Ka'iulani might still make a difference. According to Ralph S. Kuykendall, her father had written: "Listen to Davies' counsel."²⁹ She acquiesced. According to Davies, Ka'iulani told him: "Per-

haps some day the Hawaiians will say 'Kaiulani, you could have saved us, and you did not try.' I will go."³⁰

Ka'iulani's presence in Washington complicated matters for both Thurston's representatives and the queen's. One reason was that some in Hawai'i preferred Ka'iulani be on the throne. Charles Reed Bishop, widower husband of Princess Pauahi Bishop, wrote to Dr. John Mott Smith, Lili'uokalani's minister of finance:

If we must have a monarchy, I would greatly prefer Kaiulani to the 'ex-Queen'. the better class of the British prefer her, and they would help to control her and make as good a government as possible. An agreement made with her after October 16 (her 18th birthday) about Crown Lands and other matters of importance, if done in the right way by those in whom she would trust, would I hope be regarded and kept inwardly by her. This is between us.³¹

This sentiment, professed by others besides Bishop, placed vulnerable Ka'iulani at risk.

But Macfarlane, Davies, and Ka'iulani herself did not see the princess as a replacement for Lili'uokalani. Only if the queen wished to abdicate might they call upon Ka'iulani. Macfarlane, by all accounts a loyal advocate of the queen, wrote to Archibald Cleghorn, Ka'iulani's father, from New York:

your instructions to me were to . . . [support] the Queen's cause first and if I saw . . . there was no show to reinstate her then . . . to urge Kaiulani's claim to the throne . . . I was to fight for a restoration of the monarchy. . . . [I]f the Queen was to be reinstated, Kaiulani's position would be the same as before the revolution [You did not urge me] to make . . . a fight for her against the Queen.³²

When Davies had differences with Macfarlane, the queen's emissary reiterated his own loyalty to Lili'uokalani:

Davies was under the impression the Queen was out of the race. . . . [Davies thought] that I was here in the interests of the Queen and at first was disinclined to talk with me. We are working together now. . . . Go to the Queen . . . read her my other letter to show her that we are not working . . . for Kaiulani against her for that would seriously jeopardize the Princess if the Queen should again come to the throne.³³

Princess Ka‘iulani was in a precarious position. It is likely that she was not privy to all the political intrigue behind the scenes; however, she knew that she must repeat that she was not a candidate for the throne at the present time.

Preparations for the trip to Washington were made by Ka‘iulani and Phebe Rooke, who wrote to her father:

After providing a suitable and somewhat costly outfit with the best care and economy, I took her to Southport and saw her off on board Teutonic with Mr. and Mrs. Davies. . . . I think Ka‘iulani is quite right to make all the stand she can to save her flag and country in its independence but I am sure she feels strongly, as I do, that in private life with you Ka‘iulani would be a far happier woman than with the care and trials of the Hawaiian throne.³⁴

Regardless of her personal feelings, or any desire to remain in England until April and then go home with her father, Ka‘iulani listened to Davies and chose her duty.

By Alice Davies Warner’s account, she and Ka‘iulani enjoyed the attention and the trip:

On February 15, 1893, Princess Kaiulani with her guardian my mother and myself and Miss Whatoff,³⁵ Kaiulani’s lady in waiting, and my mother’s maid sailed in the “Teutonic” for New York, returning to England in March. Despite the seriousness of our mission, she and I enjoyed ourselves. We were standing on deck as we neared the dock and numerous reporters came on board. The next morning the papers were full of the arrival of the princess. One paper, I remember, said the princess and Mrs. Davies’ daughter were on deck wearing pince nez of clumsy British make. We soon exchanged those for rimless glasses and felt more in the mode. After a few days in New York we went to [W]ashington where many parties were arranged for the princess, in which we all shared. Our visit to the White House was a short one. We were received by President and Mrs. Cleveland and we had a short interview where all references to our mission were carefully avoided. I well remember Mrs. Cleveland’s beauty and charm.³⁶

Davies wrote a speech for Ka‘iulani that appeared in local papers. It was addressed to the American people but also sent the Hawaiian

people the message that she was ready to support the present and future Hawai'i:

Four years ago, at the request of Thurston, then Hawaiian Cabinet Minister, I was sent away to England to be educated privately and fitted for the position which by the Constitution of Hawaii I was to inherit.

All these years I have patiently and in exile striven to fit myself for my return this year to my country. I now am told that Thurston is in Washington asking you to take away my flag and my throne. No one tells me even this officially. Have I done anything wrong that this wrong should be done me and my people?

I am coming to Washington to plead for my throne, my nation and my flag. Will not the great American people hear me?³⁷

In the meantime, Thurston wrote home on quite another note:

One of these certainties is that the monarchy is *pau*. The Queen and her immediate partisans may not appreciate this and will probably continue to labor under the delusion that there is a possibility of her restoration. T. Davies is over here now maundering about the restoration of Kaiulani, but there is no [more] possibility of it than there is the restoration of Don Pedro to Brazil.³⁸

Before she left Philadelphia, *The Housekeeper's Weekly* interviewed Ka'īulani, and her picture was on the cover of the magazine April 1, 1893. The writer conveyed positive impressions of her:

The Princess Kaiulani is a dignified young woman, tall slight, straight. She has soft brown eyes and a dark complexion that mark the Hawaiian beauty. Her sight has been affected by over study and she wears glasses. She has [the] sweet musical voice of her race and is pronounced attractive by those who met her.³⁹

It would be difficult to determine if Ka'īulani's visit with President Cleveland and his wife and her attendance at parties influenced those in Washington, but shortly afterward, on March 11, 1893, President Cleveland appointed A. C. Blount from Georgia to travel to Hawai'i and report on the monarchy and whether it should be retained. He arrived in Hawai'i March 29, 1893, ready to work.

All would remain unsettled until after Blount's report was made. Davies was not keen on Ka'iulani returning to Hawai'i just yet. Macfarlane disagreed. As the queen's representative in Washington, he wrote to Cleghorn:

It is Mr. Davies['] intention to take Kaiulani back to England on the 22nd of this month. . . . I think it would be much better for her to go right on to Honolulu now that she is here; the fact of her going back to England only serves to keep alive that uneasiness which is generally felt here, that Kaiulani is being educated up to British ideas and that in the event of her coming to the throne she will as a matter of course be committed to British interests. . . . [It] seems puerile to attach such importance to . . . anti-English sentiment here but all the same it is a very important factor in the case and must be carefully handled. . . . I should have Kaiulani go right through to the islands. . . .⁴⁰

Ka'iulani had more problems to face. Now she was mistrusted by many who sided with the British, including some of her own people. Her father did not listen to Macfarlane but took Davies's advice and wrote to Ka'iulani: "I think for the present you are better not here, much as I would like to have you home. . . . [T]hings must be settled soon and then we will know what to do. . . ."⁴¹

But it was not to be. The very month her father was to take Ka'iulani home, she was told to return to England.⁴²

AFTER WASHINGTON: FRUSTRATION AND DISILLUSIONMENT

Much depended on Blount's report—the one ray of hope within the interminable waiting. After Ka'iulani's return to England, she viewed herself from a new perspective. She realized her country would never be the same and she might never be queen. Disillusioned about her future in Hawai'i, she began to build another life for herself.

Hawai'i politics, however, followed her back to England. Though she and Davies denied she had any designs on the throne, and Macfarlane assured her aunt that she had not, rumors persisted. Lili'uokalani felt compelled to caution her niece once more. We can detect the queen now approaching Ka'iulani as a peer, rather than treating her as a school girl:

I would simply like to add and say that should anyone write or propose or make any proposition to you in any way in regard to taking the throne I hope you will be guarded in your answer. The people all over the islands have petitioned to have me restored and it would make you appear in an awkward light to accept any overtures from any irresponsible party and the P.G.'s [Provisional Government sympathizers] are growing less and less and I understand they will soon 'drop to pieces['] as the saying is for want of friends to carry on the Government . . . so we are waiting patiently till Mr. Blount . . . could tell us we are free.⁴³

After she received the letter, Ka'iulani consulted with Davies, who urged his ward to write her aunt: "I return the Queen's letter . . . some one has been making her suspicious. . . . You had better write her that no such suggestion has been made to you and that in any case you would not think of listening to any proposal that had not her consent."⁴⁴

Soon after Davies requested it, Ka'iulani wrote from Mrs. Sharp's current home, The Yews at Burton Latimer, Kettering, to reassure Lili'uokalani and share her own anxiety about other concerns:

Thank you very much for your two kind letters. . . . I have never received any proposals from anybody to take the throne. I have not received a word of any sort from anyone except my Father. I am glad that I am able to say that I have not written to anyone about politics. I have been perfectly miserable during the past four months. I have looked forward to '93 as being the end of my exile. I have considered the four years I have been in England as years of exile. Now it seems as though things would never settle and I am simply longing to see you all—People little know how hard it is to wait *patiently* for news from home. Mr. Davies is very kind and sends me all the information he can, but I suppose we shall not get any real news as to the settlement of affairs for months, in the Meantime [*sic*] "il faut attendre."

. . . I am staying with my old school mistress Mrs. Sharp. . . . I am as happy as I can possibly be under the circumstances. . . . [M]y health . . . has not been good lately. I do a good deal of *hard reading*, practicing sewing, and gardening.⁴⁵

Shortly before, Lili'uokalani had offered insight into her own sufferings when she wrote Ka'iulani about a visit from an Indian prince:

The Prince sailed on the Gaelic. It is said that he remarked “[W]hy did her people permit her to be deposed” [C]ome to think of it my dear Kaiulani I must say it was treachery on the part of my ministers (and it helped the agitation backed by the U.S. troops) that was why, but don’t mention this. It would not be well if it came from your lips. [W]hen the Prince comes to see you, if he mentions it you might tell him it might help him [in] . . . keeping watch over his ministers in the future. Do not let this letter excite you but keep it [Y]ou may find it useful to you some day. . . .⁴⁶

Each letter from home caused more disillusionment. Ka’iulani was given reason to distrust former friends. Blount had just sailed for Washington with his report when Annie wrote: “Well, Kaiulani, from all accounts it seems as though your aunt will be restored. She has behaved remarkably well through all the insults that have been hurled upon her. She has been blackguarded, right and left. . . .”⁴⁷

A time for rejoicing; yet conflicting reports from home prevented her from celebrating just yet. Ka’iulani conversed with Hugh Playfair, an Englishman who had just returned from Hawai’i and wrote to her aunt:

. . . You may imagine I was . . . delighted to be able to talk about home. I found he [Playfair] had observed a great many things . . . that he was very much impressed with the natural dignity of the Hawaiian women. I am always glad to hear things like that of our people, as it helps to get rid of the idea that they are simply savages and don’t know how to behave themselves. Mr. Playfair told me how shamefully you had been treated—and oh how it made my blood boil. I am glad . . . that I have not been out there, as I know I could not have borne the insults as bravely and patiently as you have, dear Aunt. . . .⁴⁸

Angry about the current behavior toward her aunt, she was becoming an advocate for both her aunt and her people. Was it abroad that she had heard others say Hawaiians were “simply savages” or had those words filtered through from the queen’s enemies at home? Either way, the passive princess was disappearing. No longer docile in politics and her personal life, Ka’iulani was choosing a new role as part of the action.

In her return letter, Lili'uokalani gave more reason for Ka'iulani's "blood to boil" plus a word of advice on how her niece might control that rage:

I would not tell you all when I wrote for fear of exciting you but I find Mr. Playfair has told you all, so you may understand how much your father and I had to go through—but there is nothing like being self possessed and you ought to practice it. Think before you say or act and keep cool at all times. . . .⁴⁹

Ka'iulani had no power to come to her aunt's defense. She could only express her anger in letters and remain steadfastly loyal to Lili'uokalani in conversations.

Blount returned to Washington in August and made his report. Not until later did Ka'iulani hear the results from Davies: Although Blount saw no reason for the United States to annex Hawai'i and he felt the Hawaiian monarchy should be retained, still nothing changed at home. President Cleveland sent Albert S. Willis to Honolulu to arrange for an "orderly transfer of power back to the queen."⁵⁰ But his visit produced a new problem. Davies wrote that "The Queen has committed a real blunder":

A Mr. Willis went to her to prepare an amnesty as a condition of her being restored . . . she appears to have hesitated and Mr. Willis had to report to the president that the Queen would not consent. Now she has consented but it has given the p.g. [Provisional Government] a tremendous handle and they will know how to use it. The future looks gloomy for Hawaii—whether the Queen or the p.g. shall win.⁵¹

Shocked at the cruel treatment accorded her aunt, Ka'iulani wrote: "How you must hate the sight of the Central Union Church, what a shame that a house of worship should be turned into a spy tower . . . if I was in your place I am afraid I should pine away and die. I could not stand it. I am so tired of waiting. . . ." ⁵²

What could she do so far away? Ka'iulani sought refuge in the social life provided by the gracious Davies family. She was invited to their summer retreat in Killiney, near Dublin. Since she did not want Lili'uokalani to worry, her niece described travel experiences.

I have just returned from Ireland where I have been visiting the Davies. They took a house at Killiirey [Killiney], a seaside place some miles south of Dublin, the scenery about there is simply lovely and if one takes a drive four or five miles inland one finds it even more beautiful. . . .

[T]here were so many boys about that we easily got up two teams for Cricket and we used to take our lunch and tea and take them luau fashion on the ground. The tea was made from water boiled in the wood and sometimes it was so smokey one could hardly swallow it, but it was very amusing. I am glad to say that I am very well and am happier. By the time this reaches you it will nearly be my birthday. I hope that you will remember. . . .⁵³

Her group sat “luau fashion” for their English tea. This is the first social reference to her Hawaiian culture within the British surroundings.

As she strived to be more independent, Ka‘iulani was treated as an equal by both Davies and her aunt, especially now that she was coming of age. Previously, Davies shared his plans for speeches after the fact. Now he wrote a special letter asking her response to the speech he wrote for her to deliver on her eighteenth birthday: “I enclose an address which I think it would be nice for you to send out on your birthday. . . . If you wish to send this message, cable . . . ‘approved.’”⁵⁴ Ka‘iulani consented, and the message was delivered on October 16, 1893, in which she spoke of the “[c]ivil blow” that had befallen the Hawaiians, the importance that they be unified, that they imitate the “dignity” of “my dear Aunt—our Queen,” and not “listen to those who would rob us of or tempt us to surrender . . . our national independence.” Finally she confided that “[S]ometimes my heart is very sorrowful, for I want to be back in my own country. Will you pray for me?”⁵⁵

KA‘IULANI CARVES OUT A NEW LIFE FOR HERSELF ABROAD

England and the European community were gradually becoming a comfortable alternative home for the princess. Soon Ka‘iulani had the opportunity to go to Germany, where Davies had arranged for her to spend the winter in Wiesbaden:

A German lady is taking five well born English girls to Wiesbaden to learn the language and I am to be one of the party. Alice Davies is going too so I shall not feel half so lonely. I have made up my mind to learn to speak German fluently and correctly if I do nothing else. When I make up my mind to do a thing, I very seldom let anything conquer me.⁵⁶

Ka'iulani was gathering strength. In Europe, she could be free, avoid constant monitoring by Davies, practice her German, and enjoy the company of Alice Davies and her friends. She had made up her mind to be independent and to enjoy herself. Alice Davies Warner remembered: "When she was 17 . . . she and I and another friend were in Weisbaden together in the charge of a German lady. Alas, I forget just about everything about that journey except that she made many conquests among the susceptible German officers we met."⁵⁷

From her friend Gennie, who had just returned the following year to Germany for a second time, we catch a glimpse of what fun the girls had together during the previous stay. She wrote to Ka'iulani: "I only wish our little trio was here again."⁵⁸

In another letter, Gennie shared an experience in Berlin, an example of what would cause the girls to laugh:

Berlin . . . pelting rain . . . wind and filthy streets so it was enough to depress anyone if it hadn't been for the delight of seeing [what] funny objects people looked [like] with their clothes held up in the air and umbrellas turning inside out. I can still see [a woman] descending from a cab at the Museum and displaying quite unconsciously . . . tights tucked up [around] her little legs[,] a petticoat[,] and a certain pair of white articles above!!! My poor body has been shaken with laughter that I could hardly get along the street and people might have thought I was only 3 parts there.⁵⁹

Uncontrollable giggles! In spite of the fact that Ka'iulani had not been allowed to "come out" in society, when young women were available for courtship and marriage, she could laugh with her friends and pursue European men. She was taking control of her own life. If she must break Victorian rules, so be it. Later Ka'iulani revealed her enjoyment of independence abroad, where she favored a certain

chaperone who left her alone: "I am very fond of Mrs. Luggett. 'If you want me, I am *just here*' her particular phrase."⁶⁰ The perfect chaperone for a self-directed Ka'iulani.

In Menton, France, where she vacationed during those years with the Davies family, her father, and at other times with a woman companion, Ka'iulani enjoyed the social life and her friends. From Lillian Kennedy we learn of the good times they had in Menton as Lillian expressed her hope that Ka'iulani would join them again the next winter:

pillow fights in passages at night, hide and seek in the moonlight and concerts just outside the hotel windows about 12:00 at night; these and other games of the same kind seemed to disturb those good people who retired at 9:30 and expected to be allowed to sleep . . . it will be great fun if you are here this winter.⁶¹

It is no wonder that Ka'iulani fancied Europe, reputed to be socially less restrictive in the nineteenth century than stiff Victorian England.

The frustrated tone of Davies's March letter indicated Ka'iulani had begun to show ambivalence about returning to England. Since Washington, his discouraged ward had also been distancing herself from Hawai'i politics:

Your letter of March 19th and your cablegrams . . . reached me today[.] [W]hen I wrote for you to come home [back to England], it was simply because I thought you would be so eager to know everything I could tell you that it would be cruel of me not to arrange it. So your news about your health and about your desire to remain abroad changes all that and I have today cabled for Alice to come home [back to England] alone.⁶²

In April he repeated the same sentiment. Why didn't she want to return to England? He thought she would be interested in what was happening in Hawai'i.

I received your letter yesterday and I will write as clearly as I can. There are many things that I wished to speak to you about and I fully expected you would have been anxious to see me and learn about your country

in its sad condition. I can not write about such matters so they must go for the present.⁶³

Was this the Ka'iulani who had sought out information about Hawai'i? In her frustration and desire to withdraw from painful news, she sought more independence not only from Hawai'i but also from Davies. After all, she was now eighteen.

A major problem kept her from becoming completely independent: money! Ka'iulani wrestled with finances, and after returning from Washington, her difficulties increased. Both Davies and Mrs. Rooke lamented her inability to budget. Part of her uncertainty and frustration was the question of whether the Provisional Government would provide her with an allowance. If so, how much would it be? She wrote to her aunt:

Now [that] things have gone wrong, my money matters are in a muddle. I am sure I do not know what I shall do if the P.G. don't give me some money. We never were well off. I have to make \$500 a year to buy everything I need except my food and lodging. I have never been in debt till now. I will try and be cheerful. . . .⁶⁴

Ka'iulani was not averse to asking Mrs. Davies for money, which bothered her husband. A few months later, in desperation, Davies wrote to her:

Please do not write to Mrs. Davies for money as I have made no arrangements with her—and it gives her so much extra thought. I see that you had to ask her for 20 pds. whereas I thought all your debts have been paid. . . . Don't ask your father for money because he will "punish" himself to send you what he can.⁶⁵

Davies continued his discussion of money in the same letter. To pressure her more effectively, he appealed to her duty as a future monarch. After months of preaching to Ka'iulani about her finances, Davies, who could not see how she could stay in Germany, pulled out the stops in this letter:

I am disappointed in what you say about money matters because I have always been disagreeably plain about them. . . . You have the chance to

be a heroine but unless you exercise resolution and self control . . . we shall all fail. the only thing I can think of is for you to go to some nice refined family in England (or Ireland . . .) and live there [on] whatever your income is. If you . . . have any other plan that I think practicable . . . I will do what I can to carry it out.

. . . The reason that I lay such immense stress on finance is if you get in [arrears] with your income . . . you will gratify the P.G. who will perhaps offer to pay your debts on condition of your agreeing to support them. [T]here are men who think the Queen and you would be [illegible] enough to 'sell out.' . . . Where would my heroine be then [?] You know that the great blot on Hawaiians is they cannot find out how to live on their income . . . what they might have done for their country if they had known how to deny themselves and keep control of their own affairs. . . . I pity him [her father]. . . . He . . . tries to pay . . . what he can [You should] try to save so that if things went altogether wrong out there, your father would have a little money to bring him [Cleghorn] over here where you and he could be together. Your poor father writes 'I have not sent Kaiulani any money but if she has any debts they must be paid, and if necessary I will mortgage some property [to] pay her account.' Do not let your father know that you saw this, but it shows you how accurate I have been.⁶⁶

No wonder Ka'iulani felt dispirited. Anxiety also manifested itself in health concerns. Ka'iulani suffered eye problems,⁶⁷ headaches,⁶⁸ and fainting spells⁶⁹ and experienced considerable weight loss between the Washington trip and her final return to Hawai'i in 1897. At one point she attributed this to the fact that she had had the grippe seven times while away from Hawai'i.⁷⁰

She sought out places and people that brought her happiness: "I was quite sorry to leave Germany, everyone had been so very kind to me there, and they have sympathized with us so much."⁷¹

After she returned to England, she tried to make plans in spite of problems:

I am glad to say that I am quite well, somewhat too thin to please my friends. . . . This suspense is what is so very trying to ones nerves and health. . . . I am going to work very hard . . . going to take lessons in Dressmaking [*sic*] and cooking. I am a very good needlewoman and I want to be thoroughly independent. . . . I wish things could be settled. I am tired of trying to live cheaply, I wish I had plenty of money.⁷²

Not knowing the true condition of her aunt, whether their country would ever be in the hands of Hawaiians or if she ever would be queen contributed to Ka'iulani's suffering.

In October and November Davies sought a place where Ka'iulani might reside. He wrote to Phebe Rooke because Ka'iulani had expressed a desire "to live with you quietly at Jersey for a time." He asked Mrs. Rooke to visit them for a month as both Ka'iulani and Mrs. Davies would like her company. He would pay all expenses. Then they could discuss Ka'iulani.⁷³ But in November Davies wrote again to Rooke saying that he was sorry she couldn't come. Ka'iulani would be with the Davies family at Christmas but:

Please let me know terms and conditions you can make for Kaiulani to come to you . . . in January. I am very anxious that she should not waste her time as she has done all this year [It was natural that she should feel] at a loose end while Hawaiian matters were so uncertain. It is however pretty clear that the present condition will be maintained and it is useless to count upon restoration. . . .⁷⁴

Davies was aware that her stay in Germany, with its flirtations and socializing, was not the best environment for the princess. He must now deal with a new Ka'iulani, more self-directed, more gregarious in her social life, and less careful with her money. Sympathetically, he noted this behavior might be understandable considering the unsteady situation in Hawai'i. But the reality now was that she must let go of her dreams and face her future with a clear eye.

In June, Ka'iulani wrote to her father and later her aunt regarding that future. The new Ka'iulani emerged from the letters: She was questioning, asserting her desires, thinking practically about her life, taking charge. We see the beginning of Ka'iulani's determination to speak up and pursue goals for herself and her father. This strong resolution continued up until the time she had to return to Hawai'i three years later. She wrote to her father from a Berlin hotel shortly before returning to England:

I received your welcome letter of May 14th this morning and was delighted to hear from you. I am most awfully sorry to hear that you have been so unwell. . . . I was very sorry to hear of poor D. Trousseau's death. [W]e have indeed lost a *good* friend, all Hawaii best friends seem

to be dying. . . . [I]t is *too* dreadfully sad. What a dreadful state our Hawaii nee [*sic*] is in. I simply cry when I think over things. . . . [I]t will never be the same again to any of us. If things come to the worst, you will have to come here and stay here in Europe. . . . [W]e could find out a quiet spot where the climate suits you and there we should live. My dearest you cannot possibly think that we could go home and live there. . . . [I]f there is a republic, just think of the insults we should receive from the people who were once *under us!!* I could not stand it.⁷⁵

While considering these alternatives, Ka'ulani heard from her aunt, who gave her niece hope once more: "But the President has said the wrong must be righted and so it will have to be as according to my protest. . . . So, my dear child, we are only waiting for the 'good news' [.] Then you may come home. . . ." Hand in glove with this promising news, Lili'uokalani described what might await her niece in Hawai'i.

You have asked me a direct question and I must be candid with you in regard to Prince David. . . . It is the wish of the people that you should marry one or the other of the Princes, that we may have more [A]liis. There are no other Aliis who they look to except Prince David or his brother, who would be eligible to the throne . . . they turn to these two Aliis, that there maybe more Aliis to make the throne permanent, according to the Constitution. To you then depends the hope of the Nation and unfortunately we cannot always do as we like. In our position as Ruler, . . . in somethings [*sic*] our course and actions will have to be guided by certain rules[.] I am pleased to see your candor in regard to Prince David—it is good to be candid and truthful.

. . . I have to mention another matter, one which I think you ought to know, and I hope you will write again . . . and inform me what your opinion is in this matter. When your Uncle the late King was living he made arrangements that you should be united to one of the Japanese Princes. . . . I understand now that the Prince is in England being educated, so you may meet him on your return. I do not know his name but should you meet him and think you could like him, I give you full leave to accept him, should he propose to you, and offer his hand and fortune. It would be a good alliance.⁷⁶

In Europe Ka'ulani was relaxing and socializing freely for the first time in many months. She evidently had to think hard how to respond to her aunt's letter and did not answer it for several months.

Ka'iulani had her own suitors in England and abroad. Her choices did not include those her aunt suggested. From Annie Whartoff's undated letter, we hear about Ka'iulani's *nos affaires de Coeur* (affairs of the heart): From all indications Ka'iulani fell in love from time to time, and Annie Whartoff, her chaperone and lady-in-waiting, was her confidant.

[A]fter receiving your letter and the little private information about *nos affaires de coeur* I have thought much of you and really hope you are not seriously feeling your friend's sudden change of manner and conduct. I cannot think he is your equal but love is love[;] we know not how it comes or when the little shaft enters. Anyway I know that you must love and be loved. Do not fear once to be crushed for you have pride as much as strong love in your heart . . . be glad when you have a true natural protection only never be in a hurry. Men are hard to find out and you could hate if love changed. Dear friend[,] do not be offended with me for speaking so plainly—one thing I feel that you possess [is] wonderful instinct in reading character. . . . [I]t is a heaven born gift . . . one can love more than once even if one feels it is not possible. . . .⁷⁷

Ka'iulani was pursuing her own social life, thinking about a future with one of her suitors. Indeed, Whartoff was a good friend, for she reiterated that Ka'iulani had much to offer any young man and that she should wait until the right man comes along—another Victorian sentiment.

After her return to England from Germany and five months after Lili'uokalani described her niece's marriage options, Ka'iulani finally answered the letter. We hear Ka'iulani's new voice. She was honest with her aunt:

It is a very long time since I rec'd your kind letter. I have often tried to answer it, but have failed. I have thought over what you said in it about my marrying some Prince from Japan. . . . [U]nless it is absolutely necessary I would much rather *not* do so.

. . . . I could have married an enormously rich German Count, but I could not care for him. I feel it would be wrong if I married a man I did not love. . . . I should be perfectly unhappy, and we should not agree, and instead of being an example to the married women of today, I should become one like them—merely a woman of fashion and *most*

likely a flirt. I hope I am not expressing myself *too* strongly, but I feel I must speak out to you, and there must be perfect confidence between you and me, dear Aunt. . . .⁷⁸

The queen was imprisoned in January of 1895. Ka'iulani's father visited his daughter in August 1895, and both remained in Europe through March. Sometimes he stayed with Ka'iulani; at other times she was with Miss Whartoff. The queen was released in September. Before her father arrived, the ever-watchful Davies felt compelled to guide Ka'iulani, especially since she had become less manageable. He wanted to be certain she would be above reproach politically. He wrote in May:

Don't get involved in politics. Send letters with questions to me. Don't keep or destroy them . . . they may in some way involve you. Get a chaperone—Miss Whatoff or Mrs. Rooke. . . . You do not tell me who your friends in Norwich or in Scotland are but—I think, dear Kaiulani that for your own sake it would be wise to consult me about it so that there may be no misunderstanding.⁷⁹

Ka'iulani kept hearing disturbing news from Hawai'i, which frustrated her all the more. Half-sister Rose, the most plainspoken of her sisters, wrote openly about the tragic situation of the Hawaiians. In September and November she wrote to Ka'iulani:

I do not for one minute blame our people for feeling the way they do towards the whites for what have they done. . . . [the whites have] defrauded and deceived them [the Hawaiians] in every way. I *hate* these people who have robbed us of our country and make no pretense of liking them. . . . I have not a particle of use for that Atkinson crowd after they turned PG.⁸⁰

Imagine Ka'iulani's response to these letters. May Atkinson was one of her best friends. It is not clear whether May shared the sentiments of her family, and she did not discuss politics in her letters to Ka'iulani, but Rose's words must have stung her sister. No wonder Ka'iulani considered remaining in Europe and leaving Hawai'i. Who were her friends now?

Also she was not feeling at all well. Ka'iulani understood well Lili'u-okalani's difficulty with her eyes and in the same letter revealed more of her own health concerns:

This is the sixth Xmas I have spent away from my house. . . . [I]t seems as if I were fated never to come back. . . . I know well what it is to suffer from the eyes[.] [S]ometimes now if I look very long at anything I get such a headache I don't know what to do, but I am glad to say that as a rule I do not feel them very much. . . . I am going to stay with Mrs. Rooke . . . in Jersey after Xmas. . . . I shall be there over three months. I think it will be deadly dull there, but I am going to try and grow fat there. . . .⁸¹

Her eyes and headaches may have been the early stages of a thyroid problem. Her fatigue and trouble with her weight loss also point to problems with the thyroid. Her social desires changed, too: Jersey would be "deadly dull." When she was formerly studying hard in Brighton, she had looked forward to her times in Jersey. But that was before she had tasted her independent social life in Europe.

Ka'iulani was particularly honest with her friend Nevinson deCourcy, "Toby," and we hear more on these topics. She wrote four months before returning to the Islands:

I am really feeling very much better but have still to be very careful. I was so annoyed a few days back. I managed to get down for breakfast [after I had] stayed up fairly late in the evening, having played croquet during the afternoon. [W]hen on my way to bed I again had one of my fainting fits. It showed me that I must be careful but all the same it is really very hard. . . . I hate posing as an invalid. I have lived on milk for the past two months and [am] not taking very much exercise. Consequently I am growing fairly fat. I think I can stand a little more flesh on my bones[.] [S]till I don't want to grow *fat*. . . . [I]t is so vulgar, you know. Another reason I am growing stout [is that] I have not been able to be up to any of my larks. I've quite got out of the way of flirting! I don't believe I could do it to save my skin. Now don't laugh!⁸²

While her father was visiting the following year, they received word that their beloved Annie had died in March of 1897. Ka'iulani wrote that she and her father were "shocked" to hear about Annie.⁸³ More

sadness in Hawai'i, and she wasn't there to offer support. What struggles for Ka'iulani. So much happening at home but still part of her wanted to remain where she was.

She was not eager to face a future at home that included marriage. In a November letter to Lili'uokalani, Ka'iulani ignored her aunt's statement regarding a marriage to Prince David. Perhaps her mentioning that she had refused the proposal of a "rich German Count" because she "could not care for him" would let Lili'uokalani know that Ka'iulani preferred to choose her own partner. Nevertheless now it appeared that she had reconciled herself to an arranged marriage. We learn this from her letters to "Toby." There was yet a tiny bit of hope that she would not have to marry her cousin. The rebellious Ka'iulani still felt compelled to do her duty. She saw no way out.

One of my young men came out to see me yesterday. I am supposed to be polishing him off. I can't make up my mind to do so fast. . . . [I want to] have a little more fun as my fling is limited. I intend to get as much amusement this winter as I possibly can. There is a possibility of my being married in April to a man I don't care very much for either way—rather a gloomy lookout but "noblesse oblige" I must have been born under an unlucky star as I seem to have my life planned out for me in such a way that I cannot alter it. Do you blame me if I have my fling now—better now than afterwards. My engagement is a *great secret* approved of by Mr. Davies and my Father—It is being kept secret for political reasons.⁸⁴

We do not know for certain that in the above letter she was referring to Prince David, but an arranged marriage of some kind was in her future. Even though she may have wanted to remain abroad, she was called home in November of 1897.

There is some talk of my going over to pay my revered Aunt a visit but as yet things are extremely undecided. They talk of annexation, but whether they will get it is quite another thing—however things are in a very bad way out there and I am now pretty certain that we shall never have back our own again. I am really rather sorry the way the whole thing has finished up—much better have a republic than to lose our nationality altogether. I am very sorry for my people as they will hate being taken over by another nation. If I went over to see my Aunt I would only stay about Three weeks there and return again here. My ex-

guardian is going out to Hawaii the latter part of September. [H]e has a great deal of interest in sugar and seems anxious about it[.] [H]e may think it advisable for me to return home the end of this winter.⁸⁵

Ka'iulani's voice is strong in this letter. Again, she was distancing herself. Perhaps she must be objective because it was all too painful to acknowledge the truth and how it would affect her. She wanted to "return again here." Now she felt Europe was her home. She had made it known to her father that she would choose a future life abroad with him. After eight years she felt more at home in the British Isles and had made friends there who looked forward to her return. What was left for her in Hawai'i? Many of her father's and her friends were either dead or had taken the side of the Provisional Government. She felt an obligation to her Aunt Lili'uokalani, her father, and to her Aunt Kapi'olani. She would be happy to see her half-sisters. But her home now was elsewhere.

Lady Wiseman wrote to Cleghorn in October 1894 after Ka'iulani had been with her a fortnight. First she reassured Cleghorn about Ka'iulani's health, noted that she was "very striking looking carries herself well and appears much fairer than she used to be." That was a special compliment from the viewpoint of a nineteenth-century English woman. Ka'iulani did not look like a native Hawaiian now but more like a Victorian lady. She also wrote that Ka'iulani was "not one to take slights or neglect lightly," so it was best that she had not returned to Hawai'i. She wrote of Ka'iulani's future: "If any compensation claim is put in for the Queen it ought to be put in also for Kaiulani. She has lost position or money and in no way is she to blame for it."⁸⁶

Finally, Ka'iulani did return, reaching the Islands November 9, 1897. Shortly after her arrival, Ka'iulani described to her aunt, who was traveling in the United States, the many changes she had observed: "I am fairly worn out. . . . Hawaiians came [to see me]. . . . [I] was so tired. . . . It made me sad to see so many Hawaiians looking so poor—in the old days I am sure there were not so many people almost destitute."⁸⁷

Ka'iulani, who would never return to Europe, suffered greatly in Hawai'i. She continued supporting her father and her aunt and spent considerable time nursing the ill Kapi'olani, who would die shortly

after the death of Ka'iulani herself. Ka'iulani was busy with "good works" as the second vice-president of the Red Cross. She gave up any hope of being a princess or a queen. She no longer dreamed of living abroad with her father where she might have resumed a life that had become a tolerable substitute for all she had lost. Ka'iulani was barely twenty-two when she returned to Hawai'i.

Soon after, on March 6, 1899, she died of complications from a rheumatic heart and an ophthalmic goiter. Her physician, Dr. Miner, said that if she had one or the other ailment, she might have survived, but that the combination was too much for one whose health was frail.

Simplistic views, both past and present, do not do this woman justice. Ka'iulani must be recognized as a young woman who faced the death of loved ones, the collapse of her country, the loss of her future position, and finally, her life. She had to struggle with tragedies and problems most young women never meet. Ka'iulani lived in a world where others held great expectations for her, where, politically powerless, she sought small areas over which she could practice a little control of her life. Ultimately, she had to succumb to stronger forces, was deprived of her dreams, and subsequently, her life. Tragically, those who guided her believed they were doing what was best for Hawai'i and for the young woman they loved so dearly.

Ka'iulani was not a fairy-tale princess but a real woman with desires, frustrations, anger, hopes, and dreams. She is due a great deal of respect for returning to Hawai'i and supporting her people, who had also suffered, having lost both their monarchs and their country.

NOTES

¹ *HA* Oct. 23, 1875, cited in Ruth Bancroft Powell, "Kaiulani: The Hope of Hawaii," unpublished ms., Pacific Collection, U of Hawai'i Library.

² T. H. Davies, "The Hawaiian Situation," *North American Review*, no. 438 (May 1893): 605-10; Davies letterbook, 1893-1895: 8, BPBM.

³ Ka'iulani to Kapiolani, Oct. 15, 1890, Cleghorn Collection(CC), AH.

⁴ Sharp to Cleghorn, Oct. 17, 1890, CC, AH.

⁵ Alice Davies Warner, Notes: Aug. 13, 1963, Davies papers, Sussex.

⁶ Alice Davies Warner, Notes, Aug. 13, 1963.

⁷ The 1891 census shows Caroline Sharp's age as seventy-four. Ka'iulani is also listed as age fifteen. The census takers must have arrived at Great Harrowden between January and October of 1891, for Ka'iulani was sixteen on Oct. 16, 1891.

- ⁸ Davies to Cleghorn, Jan. 21, 1891, CC, AH.
- ⁹ Ka'iulani to "aunt," Feb. 9, 1891, CC, AH.
- ¹⁰ Lili'uokalani to Ka'iulani, Sept. 18, 1891, CC, AH.
- ¹¹ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Feb. 5, 1892, CC, AH.
- ¹² Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, May 18, 1892.
- ¹³ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Apr. 19, 1892, Mar. 20, 1892, CC, AH.
- ¹⁴ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Mar. 20, 1892, CC, AH.
- ¹⁵ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Mar. 20, 1892.
- ¹⁶ Lili'uokalani to Ka'iulani, Apr. 25, 1892, CC, AH.
- ¹⁷ Lili'uokalani to Ka'iulani, Apr. 25, 1892.
- ¹⁸ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, May 18, 1892, CC, AH.
- ¹⁹ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Sept. 25, 1892, CC, AH.
- ²⁰ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Sept. 25, 1892.
- ²¹ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Oct. 9, 1892, CC, AH.
- ²² Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Oct. 25, 1892, CC, AH.
- ²³ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Oct. 25, 1892.
- ²⁴ Wright to Ka'iulani, Dec. 18, 1892, CC, AH.
- ²⁵ Annie Cleghorn Wodehouse to Ka'iulani, Mar. 1, 1892, CC, AH.
- ²⁶ May Atkinson to Ka'iulani, Dec. 6, 1892, CC, AH.
- ²⁷ Flora Jones to Ka'iulani, Jan. 30, 1893, CC, AH.
- ²⁸ Davies, "The Hawaiian Situation."
- ²⁹ Ralph S. Kukeyndall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893*, p. 619.
- ³⁰ Davies Letterbook, 1893-1895, p. 11, BPBM.
- ³¹ Charles Reed Bishop to Dr. Mott-Smith, Aug. 2, 1893, quoted in Robert M. Gibson and Terry Lawhead, *Dr. John Mott-Smith: Hawaii's First Royal Dentist and Last Royal Ambassador* (Honolulu: Smile Power Institute, 1989) 299.
- ³² E. C. Macfarlane to Cleghorn, Mar. 8, 1893, CC, AH.
- ³³ Macfarlane to Cleghorn, Mar. 8, 1893.
- ³⁴ Rooke to Cleghorn, Feb. 28, 1893, CC, AH.
- ³⁵ In letters three spellings occur: Miss Whatoff, Whartoff, and Whatloff.
- ³⁶ Alice Davies Warner, Davies papers, Sussex.
- ³⁷ *DB* Mar. 2, 1893, Vol. V, no. 664.
- ³⁸ Thurston to Rosa, Mar. 16, 1893, CC, AH.
- ³⁹ *Housekeeper's Weekly* Apr. 1, 1893, AH.
- ⁴⁰ Macfarlane to Cleghorn, Mar. 7, 1893, CC, AH.
- ⁴¹ Cleghorn to Ka'iulani, Apr. 8, 1893, CC, AH.
- ⁴² Lili'uokalani to Ka'iulani, June 7, 1892, CC, AH.
- ⁴³ Lili'uokalani to Ka'iulani, May 24, 1893, CC, AH.
- ⁴⁴ Davies to Ka'iulani, June 1893, Davies Letterbook 1893-1895: 56, BPBM.
- ⁴⁵ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, June 15, 1893, CC, AH.
- ⁴⁶ Lili'uokalani to Ka'iulani, June 1, 1893, CC, AH.
- ⁴⁷ Annie to Ka'iulani, Sept. 12, 1893, CC, AH.
- ⁴⁸ Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Oct. 10, 1893, CC, AH.

- 49 Lili'uokalani to Ka'iulani, Nov. 6, 1893, CC, AH.
- 50 Edwin P. Hoyt, *Davies: The Inside Story of a British-American Family in the Pacific and Its Business Enterprises* (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., 1983) 166.
- 51 Davies to Ka'iulani, Dec. 18, 1893, Letterbook, 1893-1895: 132, BPBM.
- 52 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Sept. 12, 1893, CC, AH.
- 53 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Sept. 12, 1893.
- 54 Davies Letterbook, 1893-1895: Sept. 29, 1893, BPBM.
- 55 Davies Letterbook, 1893-1895: 87.
- 56 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Oct. 10, 1893, CC, AH.
- 57 Alice Davies Warner, Davies papers, Sussex.
- 58 Gennie to Ka'iulani, Oct. 21, 1895, CC, AH.
- 59 Gennie to Ka'iulani, Dec. 9, 1895, CC, AH.
- 60 Ka'iulani to "Toby" Nevison de Courcy, 1895, BPBM.
- 61 Kennedy to Ka'iulani, no date, 1896, CC, AH.
- 62 Davies to Ka'iulani, Mar. 29, 1894, CC, AH.
- 63 Davies to Ka'iulani, Apr. 20, 1894, CC, AH.
- 64 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, June 15, 1893, CC, AH.
- 65 Davies to Ka'iulani, Dec. 18, 1893, Letterbook, 53.
- 66 Davies to Ka'iulani, Apr. 20, 1894, CC, AH.
- 67 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Nov. 28, 1894, AH.
- 68 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, May 9, 1897, CC, AH.
- 69 Ka'iulani to Nevenson William de Courcy ("Toby"), July 4, 1897, BPBM.
- 70 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Mar. 24, 1897, AH.
- 71 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, June 22, 1894, CC, AH.
- 72 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Sept. 14, 1894, CC, AH.
- 73 Davies to Rooke, Oct. 23, 1894, Davies Letterbook, 401, BPBM.
- 74 Davies to Rooke, Nov. 12, 1894, Davies Letterbook, 414, BPBM.
- 75 Ka'iulani to Cleghorn, June 10, 1894, CC, AH.
- 76 Lili'uokalani to Ka'iulani, Jan. 29, 1894, CC, AH.
- 77 Whartoff to Ka'iulani, Mar. 1, 1894, CC, AH.
- 78 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, June 22, 1894, CC, AH.
- 79 Davies to Ka'iulani, May 18, 1895, Letterbook, 1893-1895: 497.
- 80 Rose Robertson to Ka'iulani, Sept. 4, 1895, Nov. 19, 1895, CC, AH.
- 81 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Nov. 28, 1894, CC, AH.
- 82 Ka'iulani to Nevinson de Courcy, July 4, 1897, BPBM.
- 83 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, May 9, 1897, CC, AH.
- 84 Ka'iulani to Nevinson de Courcy, no date, BPBM.
- 85 Ka'iulani to Nevinson de Courcy, July 4, 1897, BPBM.
- 86 Lady Wiseman to Cleghorn, Oct. 21, 1894, CC, AH.
- 87 Ka'iulani to Lili'uokalani, Nov. 17, 1897, CC, AH.