

U.S. Annexation and the Territory of Hawaii

When American businessman Sanford Dole took command of the Hawaiian Provisional Government, and later the Hawaiian Republic, there were two things that surprised him—the ease with which he, his council of businessmen, and the armed militias backing them had toppled the monarchy; and the degree of difficulty in obtaining U.S. annexation. In fact, administrators at government offices, the police, and a standing army of 272 men had not put up a fight, and the Queen herself had been intimidated by the appearance of American troops. But it was not so easy getting the United States government to follow through on annexation because Queen Liliuokalani's eloquent protest had been heard in Washington DC. From the point of view of Dole and his white allies, U.S. annexation was now the only way to protect American property and white businesses in Hawaii. In fact, Queen Liliuokalani, in discussions with a special U.S. emissary after the overthrow, had linked royal amnesty for the Provisionalists to their forced deportation from Hawaii. From the point of view of the American government, however, annexation was actually a tricky legal issue, and the status of Hawaii was in doubt. The U.S. Minister to Hawaii, and the captain of the USS Boston, had both acted without the authority of the United States government, and it was clear that without their participation the overthrow of the monarchy by the Provisionalists would not have happened, at least not without bloodshed. The question now was what to do about it. Dole answered that the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the Provisional Government, and later the Republic of Hawaii, was a *fait accompli*. The U.S. government said it wasn't so sure about that. The administration of President Cleveland was in fact opposed to annexation, while the succeeding administration of President McKinley was in favor of annexation but could not at first get the votes in congress to authorize it. Finally, with the advent of the Spanish-American War and the capture of the Philippines by the U.S. navy, Hawaii's strategic value became abundantly clear. In 1898, Hawaii was annexed by the United States of America, a takeover which some segments of society—in Hawaii and on the mainland—had been anticipating for the last fifty years.

Spanish-American War and the Annexation of Hawaii

Halfway across the world, on the shores of other seas, four centuries earlier, and just a few years before 1492, Spain was two separate countries. The Crown of Aragon, centered in Barcelona, had a Mediterranean empire that once stretched from eastern Spain to Italy and Greece, while the Kingdom of Castile, centered in the middle of the Iberian Peninsula, was linked to the Atlantic at the major southern port cities of Cadiz and Seville. Elsewhere on the peninsula was the Kingdom of Portugal in the west, the Basque redoubts in the far north near the Pyrenees, and the Muslim Kingdom of Granada in the southeast. The Kingdom of Granada was the last of several Islamic political entities on the Iberian Peninsula, a fertile ground where Islamic kingdoms had thrived for over seven hundred years. But when the two increasingly powerful Christian kingdoms of Aragon and Castile were united by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabel, creating the modern nation-state of Spain, the long history of Muslim political entities quickly came to an end. The year 1492, in fact, is famous in Spanish history for three reasons—the expulsion of Spanish Jews from España, the defeat of the last Muslim kingdom on the peninsula, and the discovery of the New World by Columbus. By the 16th century, Catholic Spain had the biggest empire on earth, stretching from the Philippines in the Far East to the expanses of North, Central, and South America to Hapsburg Europe and the Mediterranean.

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

By the 17th century, Spain's great empire began to falter slightly, and by the 18th century it was in definite decline. By the 19th century, it was a vastly weakened empire waiting to disintegrate. Several holdings had been lost to independence movements, or were seriously threatened by them, and more powerful foreign powers were eager to take what they could from the fallen giant. Increasingly, the expansion-minded United States government looked to Cuba and the Philippines as prized targets for takeover.

With the sinking of the USS Maine in Havana harbor, President McKinley, and then the United States congress, declared war on Spain. In Cuba, land and naval battles settled the issue fairly quickly. In the Philippines, the war was practically over at the start, when a far superior American naval fleet led by Commodore George Dewey easily defeated a ramshackle Spanish naval fleet. Ground troops from San Francisco soon followed, as did the surrender of the Spanish garrison in Manila. In Puerto Rico, the land battle had barely begun when peace overtures were made. By the Treaty of Paris in 1898, Spain lost Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. The United States agreed to a semi-independent future for Cuba, but took outright possession of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. Suddenly, the United States was a power to reckon with in the Pacific, and an important player with regard to a possible ocean-connecting canal in Panama.

In July of that same year, the United States officially annexed the Republic of Hawaii. Its central position in the Pacific, especially with regard to America's new possessions and new strategic interests, was too valuable to pass up. At a ceremony in Honolulu, the annexation was announced with celebration or sadness, depending on personal loyalties. Sanford Dole was in attendance, but former Queen Liliuokalani and former Princess Kaiulani were in seclusion, when the American flag was raised over Iolani Palace.

Students of Spanish history might draw a parallel between Hawaii's 1898 fate and that of the Kingdom of Granada in 1492. Like the Hawaiian monarchy, the Spanish Muslims of Granada were fighting insurmountable odds in their quest to maintain their independence in the face of an expansionist Christian superpower. And like the Hawaiian kingdom, the Kingdom of Granada represented an exotic native culture that was several centuries old. After their defeat, when the king and queen of Granada were making their escape through the mountains on their way to North Africa, the king stopped for a last look back at his homeland. In Spanish history, this moment is called the last sigh of the Moor. "It is good that you weep like a woman," said his wife, "for what you could not defend like a man."

Or as Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii intimated four hundred years later, the weeping will continue "until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representatives and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands."

American Territorial Rule and the Last Sigh of the Hawaiian Monarchy

By the Organic Act of 1900, Hawaii became a territory of the United States. Sanford Dole, the leader of the Provisional Government and the President of the Republic of Hawaii, was appointed the territory's first governor. The Organic Act, "An Act to Provide a Government for the Territory of Hawaii," can be seen as the culmination of sixty years of American constitutional rule in Hawaii, constitutional rule that began with the promulgation of the first western-styled charter in 1840. By the articles of the Organic Act, the territory of Hawaii was given a two-house legislature—a senate and a house of representatives—as well as a judicial branch and an executive branch of government. The executive branch, headed by the governor, was replete with a cabinet that included an attorney general, a treasurer, and a commissioner of public lands.

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

Interestingly, the cabinet also included a surveyor to measure the contours of the new territory. Voting districts were outlined in this very detailed document, and rules for elections were issued. Voters now had to be male citizens of the United States who had resided in Hawaii for at least one year, were at least 21 years old, and could “speak, read, and write the English or Hawaiian language.” The charter’s definition of citizenry included all American residents of Hawaii and some Hawaiian natives. “All persons who were citizens of the Republic of Hawaii on August 12, 1898, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States and citizens of the Territory of Hawaii. And all citizens of the United States resident in the Hawaiian Islands who were resident there on or since August 12, 1898, and all citizens of the United States who shall hereafter reside in the Territory of Hawaii for one year, shall be citizens of the Territory of Hawaii.” The voting pool as stipulated in the charter was heavily weighted in favor of the white minority, and the definition of citizenry was an open invitation for further white immigration. As if to underscore that bias, the charter stated that “all legislative proceedings shall be conducted in the English language.”

By way of explanation regarding the dates mentioned in the Organic Act, it should be noted that Hawaii was annexed by the United States in July of 1898, but the official transfer of sovereignty occurred a month later. And with regard to the voting pool, it is important to question the extent to which the language requirement was an obstacle to citizen participation. The Hawaiian language was only spoken before missionaries put it in writing in the early 19th century, so some natives, even among those granted citizenship, probably could not read and write their own language by the turn of the century.

The Organic Act also gives us a picture of the growth and development of Honolulu by the turn of the century. Six of the eighteen territory-wide voting districts authorized for the house of representatives were located in Honolulu and Waikiki, where wetlands were now giving way to drainage projects and land reclamation. The district maps themselves are endearing for anyone who has ever lived there. District 13, for example, ran “from the junction of Honolulu Harbor Channel and the reef running westerly along the outer edge of the reef to Mokauea Street extension extended, northeasterly along Mokauea Street extension extended to Sand Island Road, northeasterly along Mokauea Street extension to Auiki Street, easterly along Auiki Street to Kalihi Street, northeasterly along Kalihi Street to King Street, southeasterly along King Street to the center line of the Main Kapalama drainage canal, northerly along said canal to the center line of the Kapalama drainage canal (Waikiki Branch), northeasterly along said canal to School Street, southeasterly along School Street to Nuuanu Avenue, southwesterly along Nuuanu Avenue to the sea, and southwesterly along the middle of Honolulu Harbor and Honolulu Harbor Channel to the point of beginning.” District 14 is even more endearing because its borders coincided with some notable addresses. In part, it ran “easterly along Wilder Avenue to Punahou Street, southerly along Punahou Street to King Street, westerly along King Street to Kalakaua Avenue, southerly along Kalakaua Avenue to the center line of the Ala Wai Canal, westerly along said canal and along the line of said canal extended to the outer edge of the reef.”

Honolulu saw a burst in population growth at the turn of the century. Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese immigrant plantation workers of the late 19th century had been bound to three to five year contracts, but annexation ended the bound labor contracts and permitted immigrants to move to towns and cities. Statistics show that in 1884 and 1890 there were about 20,000 people living in Honolulu, but by 1900 that number had doubled to about 40,000. Ten years later there were over 50,000 people living in Honolulu, and by 1920 the city had 80,000 residents. The ethnic populations were growing too. There were about 18,000 Chinese people living throughout Hawaii in 1884, but by 1900 that number had grown to over 25,000. Similar growth is seen in the statistics for Japanese and Portuguese residents. In 1884, there were virtually no Japanese people

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

in Hawaii, but by 1900 they numbered over 60,000. In 1884, there were about 10,000 Portuguese people in Hawaii, but by 1900 that number had risen to 18,000.

Honolulu's growth at the turn of the century, like Hawaii's expanding ethnicity generally, coincided with a huge influx of immigrant plantation labor and a huge boom in the sugar industry. Now that Hawaii was part of the United States, plantation owners no longer had to negotiate favorable trade agreements with America or worry about American import tariffs, and as a result sugar industry profits skyrocketed. To facilitate growth, a whole new wave of immigrant plantation workers was recruited, most notably from Japan and the Philippines. Industry and government recruitment of the Filipino labor force was particularly notable because it followed quickly on the heels of victory by the United States in the Spanish-American War. According to experts, the new immigrants doubled the overall population of Hawaii from about 110,000 in 1896 to over 230,000 in 1915. Statistics by ethnicity are particularly revealing. The Japanese population alone numbered about 140,000 by 1930, and the entirely new population of Filipinos grew to 63,000 by 1930. At the same time, the sugar industry was able to triple its production during the first three decades of the 20th century. Pineapple plantations also came into being and thrived, with production increasing six-times-over during the same three decades.

By 1930, the major ethnic groups in Hawaii—Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipino—had become firmly established with large populations. The white minority population was also growing, numbering less than 10,000 when Hawaii first became a territory, but counting over 40,000 by 1930. Meanwhile, the native race was still in serious decline. The population of full-blooded Hawaiians had plummeted from about 40,000 people in 1884 to less than 30,000 in 1900. By 1930, there were only about 22,000 full-blooded Hawaiians in Hawaii. Interestingly, however, the part-Hawaiian population was now on the move. From a population of about 4,000 in 1884, their numbers had grown to almost 10,000 by annexation. In 1930, part-Hawaiians actually outnumbered full-Hawaiians, 28,000 to 22,000.

The early 20th century was the era of the travelogue, when rich Americans sailed the seas to explore the world and record their impressions. It was also the era of the inviting foreign primer, when teachers-in-resident went out of their way to introduce distant lands to eager reading audiences. Of particular interest to these wealthy and educated vagabonds were America's newest and far-flung possessions—Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii. In a very real sense, these white visitors to Hawaii had accepted the invitation of the Organic Act to explore and even stay. The volcanic activity on the Big Island of Hawaii was the foremost attraction of these eyewitnesses to change, but the sugar and pineapple plantations got full treatment too. Photos from the published accounts of Charles Baldwin, for example, in his *Geography of the Hawaiian Islands* (1908) show Chinese field workers cutting sugar cane and loading it onto carts. Other photos in his book show the interior of sugar mills, with men and machines processing the cane into sugar and bagging it for shipment to the mainland. We also see pineapple fields worked by hand, and a pineapple cannery with a mixed ethnic labor force. Rice fields are also shown, along with a charming photo of a horse-drawn carriage being driven across the narrow Pali road by whites.

In his groundbreaking sociological study, *Hawaii's People* (1955), Andrew Lind points out that Hawaii's plantation immigrant groups did not fare well by the Organic Act of 1900. In fact, he says, the charter specifically excluded most Asian immigrants from citizenship even though they constituted 75% of Hawaii's adult population in 1900. By law, children born in Hawaii to these plantation immigrant groups automatically became citizens, but that wasn't much help at the beginning. In fact, the early political history of the Territory of Hawaii was decidedly undemocratic because during the first two decades of the 20th century there were very few Asians

born in Hawaii who were old enough to vote. Lind also documents declining citizen participation on the part of native Hawaiians during the early decades of the Territory of Hawaii. In 1910, almost half of Hawaii's native people were citizens, but by 1930 only about 25% claimed citizenship. Coupled with the fact that the full-blooded population was in serious decline due to poverty, this was not a happy period of time for native Hawaiians.

In the State of Hawaii Archives there is a photo of landless Hawaiian commoners selling leis and other flower arrangements near Honolulu Harbor in the early 1900s. If a picture is worth a thousand words, this photo speaks volumes. There are about twelve poorly dressed native lei sellers in the photo, seated side-by-side on the sidewalk pavement, with a well-dressed white man in the background wearing a suit, tie, and straw hat. The natives are not smiling, and in fact look quite dejected, even hopeless, and it is pretty obvious to any viewer that these people by that time had become a curiosity in their own homeland.

In 1910, former Queen Liliuokalani made one last ditch effort to change all that. She sued the United States government in the American court system for the Crown lands that she claimed had been illegally ceded to the Provisional Government, the Republic of Hawaii, and then the U.S. government, which in 1900 had returned the title to most of that land to the American Territory of Hawaii. As the world would discover later that century, nearly two million acres of Crown, government, and public lands had been ceded to the United States at annexation, "without the consent of or compensation to the native Hawaiian people of Hawaii or their sovereign government." The Crown lands were those lands held in trust by the monarchy during the Kingdom of Hawaii, and it was the Queen's claim that those lands were still hers because she was the last representative of the Hawaiian monarchy. By 1910, however, huge sections of the former Crown lands had already been earmarked for U.S. military bases, and there was no turning back now. Lawyers for the United States even reinforced that point when they admitted in court that Hawaii had been annexed because it was "the strategic outpost controlling the North Pacific." The Queen's lawsuit was dismissed when the U.S. government successfully argued that the lands were rightfully passed on to the United States by "a change in sovereignty."

Some recent conservative chroniclers have suggested that Liliuokalani's loss in court actually invalidated her case. But as history shows, whenever the conquered play by the rules of the conqueror, the outcome is assured. She died a defeated leader in 1917.

Ten years after Liliuokalani's failed lawsuit, a United States congress with a guilty conscience passed the "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act," which was a frank admission that the western economy did not work for most Hawaiian commoners and never did. The act purportedly addressed the problem of commoners made poor and landless by white colonization, and its stated purpose was to "rehabilitate native Hawaiians" on 200,000 acres of public lands made available for homesteading by the federal government. But critics say it was too little, too late, and mainly lip service because most Hawaiian commoners did not benefit by the homestead program. The act, and the issues it raised, would be revisited after Statehood and throughout the late 20th century, but by then full-blooded native Hawaiians would be nearly extinct.

The Easternization of Island Society and the Pressure to Intermarry

The early 20th century was a period of labor strife on the American mainland, and the situation was the same in the Territory of Hawaii, with the notable exception that most of the workers affected were of Asian descent. Experts say that Asian plantation workers were unable to escape low wages or advance within the plantation hierarchy, so many of them left the countryside for jobs in the towns, a migration that contributed to the overall growth and easternization of

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

Honolulu. The Great Depression of the 1930s then increased Asian migration to the city when about 25% of the plantation work force lost their jobs. At the same time, white-owned businesses were consolidating their hold on Hawaii. Five corporations actually came to monopolize every industry in the territory, including the plantations in the countryside and banking and shipping in the city. For the most part, whites were the haves, and people of color were the have-nots.

It was during this time, according to experts, that resident people of color, first on the plantations, and then in the towns—speaking Pidgin to communicate with each other—began to band together as a group and form a collective self-consciousness as “locals.” This new macro identity for people of color, formed in opposition to white ownership, was superimposed over separate identities such as Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Portuguese, hereafter called “Portagee” (pronounced Pordaghee) in everyday life. The term “local” quickly came into common usage and even supplanted the word “native” over time because locals were many and full-blooded natives were few. By statehood, “Island people” to most minds were “locals,” not Hawaiians, and the word “native” was seldom used except with regard to a disappearing race of aborigines. By then, too, some locals—especially Asian mixes—had taken on the appearance of Hawaiians and were actually beginning to replace them in the white consciousness.

During the 1930s, the Japanese population in Hawaii increased by 20,000, from about 140,000 to about 160,000, while the Chinese population stayed the same at about 28,000 and the Filipino population decreased from about 63,000 to about 53,000. Interestingly, the Japanese population would keep growing before and after World War II, maintaining its position since the early 20th century as the biggest single population group in Hawaii. The Japanese in Hawaii, even after statehood, were known not to intermarry, so this may partly explain their dominant population numbers in the 1930s. Filipinos, on the other hand, were known to intermarry, and this may partly explain their declining numbers during the 1930s, but experts say they also suffered from a high mortality rate.

By the 1930s, there was a huge new Asian electorate in Hawaii due to the fact that Island-born children of immigrant plantation workers had reached voting age and could exercise their citizenry. At the forefront of this new electorate were the Japanese, and the prospect of a heavy Japanese voter turnout was very disturbing to the white power structure, especially after Japan became militarily aggressive in Asia, invading China in 1937.

Hawaiian society was already a kaleidoscope of races by the 1930s. The second wave of immigrant plantation workers, which was critical to the growth of the sugar industry, had also included Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and scattered groups of Caucasians. But it was the advent of Asian mixes that made Hawaii a melting pot. In fact, the advent of Asian mixes is probably the most interesting and complicated development in Hawaii's two hundred year social history. Asian mixes are inextricably linked to the rise in population of part-Hawaiians, because some Asians intermarried with full-blooded Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians, and they are inextricably linked to the rise in population of Hawaiian look-alikes, because some Asians intermarried with whites or other Asians and produced Asian mixes that looked very Polynesian. The whole scenario makes for a very complicated jigsaw puzzle, and something of a nightmare for statisticians.

Romanzo Adams, pioneer sociologist in Hawaii who was working and researching at the time, said that the number of interracial marriages increased dramatically during the early 20th century. In 1912-1913, only some 13% of all marriages in Hawaii were interracial, but by the early 1930s the number of interracial marriages had climbed to about 33%. He was even able to document the interracial marriages by ethnic group, which was a huge help for historians. During the 1930s, for example, over half (55%) of the full-blooded Hawaiian men who got married were married to a

woman of another race, and almost two-thirds (63%) of the full-blooded Hawaiian women who got married were married to a man of another race. Part-Hawaiians were only a little less prone to interracial marriage during the 1930s. Less than half (41%) of the part-Hawaiian men who got married were married to a woman of another race, while over half (58%) of the part-Hawaiian women who got married were married to a man of another race. Among Asian interracial marriages of the 1930s, Filipinos led the way, with the Chinese a close second, and the Japanese far behind. Over one-third (37%) of all Filipino men who got married were married to a woman of another race, while only a tiny population (4%) of all Filipinas who got married were married to a man of another race. The ratio of interracial marriages among Chinese men and women were identical. Over one-quarter (28%) of all Chinese men who got married were married to a woman of another race, and over one-quarter (28%) of all Chinese women who got married were married to a man of another race. The Japanese in Hawaii were not inclined to intermarry. Only a tiny population (4%) of all Japanese men who got married were married to a woman of another race, while only 6% of all Japanese women who got married were married to a man of another race. Even the Caucasians got on board during the 1930s. Almost a quarter (22%) of all Caucasian men, including Portagee, who got married were married to a woman of another race, while 10% of all Caucasian women, including Portagee, who got married were married to a man of another race.

Meanwhile, the full-blooded Hawaiian population continued to fall. In 1930, their population was estimated to be about 22,000, but some estimates were even lower. Romanzo Adams, for example, estimated that their 1930 population was actually only about 13,000 due to the fact that some part-Hawaiians chose to identify themselves as full-blooded Hawaiians. By 1940, even the high estimate was down to about 14,000. According to the statistics provided by Adams, losses in the full-blooded population ran parallel to a big push by natives toward interracial marriage. Moreover, those statistics show a dramatic jump in interracial marriages from the 1920s to the 1930s for both full-blooded Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians.

Andrew Lind provides equally revealing statistics on interracial marriages. During the 30s and 40s, he says, 63% of all babies born in Hawaii were children of mixed marriages. Of approximately 12,000 children born to full-blooded Hawaiian women, about 4,300 had full-blooded Hawaiian fathers, and about 3,100 had part-Hawaiian fathers. Nearly 2,000 of the children born to full-blooded Hawaiian women had Filipino fathers, and over 1,600 of those children had Caucasian (including Portagee) fathers. At the same time, over 300 had Chinese fathers, and less than 300 had Japanese fathers. The Japanese held the record for most children born overall, with over 72,000 children born to Japanese mothers, and over 66,000 of that total to Japanese fathers. The next highest producers of children overall—by mother's race—were Caucasians (including Portagee) with about 38,000, part-Hawaiians with about 32,000, and Filipinos with about 19,000. Clearly, in their push to intermarry, full-blooded Hawaiian women preferred part-Hawaiian husbands first, Filipino husbands second, and Caucasian husbands (including Portagee) third. Interestingly, Filipinos more than any other Asian group tended not to speak English in the 1930s, yet to some natives they looked less foreign than the Chinese or Japanese.

In 1931, there was an event in Honolulu that may have pushed full-blooded Hawaiians even more to interracial marriage. A native Hawaiian falsely accused of raping the wife a U.S. Navy officer was hunted down and killed by friends of his accuser. In the trial that followed, Thalia Massie, her husband, mother, and two sailors were found guilty of manslaughter in the murder of James Kahahawai Jr, but the Territorial Governor, feeling pressure from white business leaders, mainland newspapers, and even the U.S. Congress, commuted their sentences to one hour in his office. According to some experts, the notorious Massey Case, and the enormous amount of

racism that it generated against native Hawaiians, reinforced the growing collective identity of "locals," or Island people of color. But for the Hawaiian people themselves, it was a devastating blow to an already devastated race. From this point forward there was probably a belief within the native community that survival was more likely as part-Hawaiians and less likely as full-blooded Hawaiians.

The Great Depression made the good things not so good, and the bad things worse, and that held for racial relations too. Experts have compared the plight of native commoners in Hawaii during the 1930s to the plight of working class blacks in the American south during the same time period. But a more apt comparison may be that of working class Mexican-Americans in Depression era Los Angeles, where people were picked up by police for looking Mexican, and military thugs roamed the streets looking for Mexican-American gangs. Nobody wants to say it, but one of the biggest problems for full-blooded Hawaiians during the 1930s was that they looked too Mexican, at least in the conservative white perception. And that perception was fairly widespread. In the Academy Award winning 1935 movie, "Mutiny On The Bounty," which was filmed at Catalina Island, just off the Los Angeles coast, Mexican-American actors were hired to play the roles of Polynesians. Some great background footage was filmed in Tahiti with the help of native villagers, but most of the extras who climbed on board ship with Clark Gable and even some of the character actors in the village were Mexican-Americans. In keeping with the times, however, none of them were credited. The chief's daughter "Tehani," for example, was listed in the film credits as "Movita," but her real name was Maria Castaneda.

In the years immediately before World War II, then, there were several notable features of Island society. The Japanese were the single largest population group, and they tended not to intermarry, even with other Asians. The concept of "local" had come into being, which included part-Hawaiians, Caucasians such as Portagee, and long-time resident Asians and predominantly non-Japanese Asian mixes. Moreover, the conscious or unconscious purpose of "locals" was to replace the dying race of full-blooded Hawaiians. The native race was in fact in physical decline, and there was a big push on the part of natives to intermarry, mostly with part-Hawaiians, Filipinos, and Caucasians, but also with others. For social reasons it was better to look Hawaiian-like rather than Hawaiian. Hawaiian-like was much more acceptable, and would become the standard image of "native" by the time statehood came along.

The Introduction of American Military Bases and the Advent of Tourism

The most profound physical change to the Hawaiian landscape after the development of plantations was the construction and activation of several American military bases. The outer islands were largely spared, but the island of Oahu was turned into a fortress. Soon after annexation, the United States set about the business of defending its new territory by force, and this was a dramatic change in itself for island residents, since only a few years earlier the Hawaiian Monarchy had been hospitable to just about everyone, including the French, German, and Japanese navies. Hawaii was not involved in World War I, given that the main theater of events was at the opposite end of the earth, but that did not stop the inevitable military buildup. Fort Shafter, located on former Crown lands, was built in 1905 and activated in 1907. The army's Schofield Barracks was also established. At the same time, Pearl Harbor was dredged and a giant naval base was operational there by 1911. Meanwhile, several gunnery installations had been built around the perimeter of the island. Over the next two decades more bases were constructed. By the 1920s, Kaneohe Naval Air Station, Bellows Field, and Wheeler Field were all established, and in the mid-1930s Hickam Field was built on lands adjacent to Pearl Harbor. By the late 1930s, largely in response to the Japanese invasion of China, there were nearly 50,000 American soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen stationed in Hawaii, which significantly impacted Island

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

society, in terms of expanding the Caucasian population group, and in terms of reinforcing the white power structure. If nothing else, the Massie Case had already proved the political power of whites in military and government circles, and the relative ineffectiveness of locals, especially natives, to challenge or even affect that authority.

The second and equally profound and invasive change to the Hawaiian landscape in the early 20th century was the advent of tourism and the eventual conversion of Waikiki on Oahu into a jungle of hotels and tourist shops. The Moana Hotel, built by the owner of the Matson shipping line, opened for business in 1901 and heralded in a relatively new phenomenon—huge waves of tourists from the American mainland. By 1927, when the Royal Hawaiian Hotel opened for business, William Matson had firmly established what would later become Hawaii's biggest industry. According to experts, 18,000 tourists visited Hawaii in 1930, and by the end of the decade the number of visitors annually had risen to 25,000. By early statehood, however, with the construction of countless other hotels and tourist facilities, that number would jump tenfold to about 300,000 annual visitors, and it would then grow by leaps and bounds ever after. By the end of the century, there would be a whopping seven million visitors to Hawaii each year. The growing invasion of tourists, which began early in the century, forever changed the texture of island society, by aggravating the conflict between whites and locals, and by creating an “us and them” mentality on the part of all residents. During the 60s, even resident military personnel would denigrate the hordes of visitors by calling them “tourii” instead of tourists.

During the decade of the Depression, Honolulu, like most every other American city, had an unbalanced mix of rich and poor. But Honolulu residents had the distinct advantage of the tourist industry, which produced money for some and offered hope of better times for all. This was the era of happy faces for native performers at the Moana Hotel and Royal Hawaiian Hotel, when live radio shows piped Hawaiian-styled music to eager national and international audiences. The music itself was interesting because it reflected the rush to intermarry on the part of full-blooded Hawaiians during the 1930s. Hawaiians more often than not married Asians rather than haoles, but their music was clearly married to white America. The instrumentation and melodies were in the Hawaiian musical tradition, but the themes were haole and the words were often sung in English. “Hapa haole” or “part white” songs such as “My Little Grass Shack” became very popular on the mainland and throughout the world. Behind the façade of sweet music and racial harmony, however, was the real world of Depression-era Honolulu, where the poor and unemployed lived in truly awful slums and life for many wasn't worth a plug nickel.

About this time you can bet that most native people were yearning for the good old days of the Hawaiian Monarchy, because in pre-colonial times they would have been spared the collapse of the western economy. Nothing was going to change history, but at least they were able to find a hero to rally around and raise their spirits. In 1912, a full-blooded Hawaiian boy named Duke Kahanamoku won a gold medal in swimming at the Olympics in Stockholm. In 1920, he won two more gold medals in swimming at the Olympics in Antwerp. And in 1924, he won a silver medal at the Paris Olympics. Interestingly, Johnny Weismuller won the gold medal in the 100 yard freestyle that year, and the Duke's brother won the bronze. The Duke's reputation as a record-breaking swimmer had preceded him to the Olympics, so when Johnny Weismuller went to Hollywood to become “Tarzan” in the movies, the Duke went home to become Hawaii's most famous personality. But even the Duke struggled in the 1930s until he was elected sheriff of Honolulu County. He was like a fish out of water, said his friends, and if he hadn't been elected sheriff, he probably wouldn't have survived. He later was appointed Honolulu's official greeter. As ambassador to the world, he introduced the traditional Hawaiian sport of surfing to America, and he received foreign dignitaries for the tourist industry, where he cut a prominent figure on Waikiki Beach. The Duke was admired by whites and locals alike, but he was revered in the

A Traveler's History of Hawaii

native community, where he was larger than life. Over time, he would in effect become royalty, replacing the fallen Hawaiian Monarchy as native figurehead. And his stature would even attain mythological proportions when his Olympic exploits were recounted and tales were told and retold of his amazing abilities in youth. Duke Paoa Kahinu Mokoe Hulikohola Kahanamoku was born in 1890 and would prevail into the late 1960s, when he was still a living legend.