
“THE WHITES HAVE CREATED
MODERN HONOLULU”

*Ethnicity, Racial Stratification,
and the Discourse of Aloha*

L O R I P I E R C E

On September 25, 1915, Lili‘uokalani returned to Iolani Palace for the first time in twenty-two years. Deposed in a bloodless coup d'état fomented by a small group of Haole¹ businessmen and politicians, the former ruling sovereign of the nation of Hawai‘i had become resigned to her status as “ex-queen,” as the local press referred to her. The Hawaiian nation had been supplanted, first by the hastily constituted Republic of Hawai‘i and then by the United States, which annexed and transformed the islands into the territory of Hawai‘i. Despite President Grover Cleveland’s admission of the complicity of the United States in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy,² the election of William McKinley in 1896 left Lili‘uokalani without political allies powerful enough to reverse the course of events. Although she was dearly loved by the Hawaiian community, her presence at such a public occasion was merely nostalgic.

The occasion on which Lili‘uokalani returned to the palace was Balboa Day, a celebration contrived by Alexander Hume Ford, founder

and secretary of the Pan Pacific Union. Ford had conceived of the event as a way to celebrate the discovery of the Pacific by Europeans but also as a way to promote Hawai‘i as the crossroads of the Pacific. Ford, also editor of *Mid-Pacific Magazine* and founder of the Outrigger Canoe Club, had come to Hawai‘i less than a decade earlier. He quickly found a niche as a civic booster and one of the earliest promoters of tourism to the islands. But he also had an idealistic vision. He was captivated by Hawai‘i and fascinated by the seemingly harmonious nature of the relationships among ethnic groups. Fancying himself a social scientist, Ford declared that in all his years of travel, he had never come across a place where the many races of humankind lived together in such harmony. He settled in Hawai‘i to study the phenomenon. “Here in Hawai‘i,” he said, “. . . the oldest and newest civilizations meet [and] can be studied side by side. In Hawai‘i, the several races seemed as one. Here there was no noticeable racial prejudice.”³ Hawai‘i was, for Ford, something of a paradise. The languid climate certainly qualified the islands for this status, but he also believed the lack of overt bigotry made them unique and worthy of celebration. The diversity of the ethnic groups and their ability to get along with one another qualified Hawai‘i as a racial paradise.

To that end, Ford found ways to promote and celebrate Hawai‘i’s ethnic diversity. He organized a series of civic organizations, devoted to promoting scholarly civic dialogue in order to address the problems of Pacific nations.⁴ Balboa Day was Ford’s idea, and it was Ford who invited Lili‘uokalani and Sanford Dole, former president of the Republic of Hawai‘i and the first governor of the territory of Hawai‘i, to be present at its inaugural celebration. The symbolism of the ceremony was all the more poignant because of the reconciliation of these enemies. Hawai‘i was a place where petty differences, particularly those based on racial distinctions, could be overcome.

Lili‘uokalani was featured in the celebration. Hundreds of schoolchildren, dressed in the costumes of their parents’ native lands, carried flags, banners, and other symbols of their nationality. They sang, danced, and performed oratorical recitations. As each group paraded onto the grounds of Iolani Palace, the Royal Hawaiian Band played the national anthem of their country, and a single member of the delegation mounted the stairs to present a flag to Lili‘uokalani. Included were organizations from China, Australia, Japan, the Philippines, Korea, and Canada. The definition of “Pacific nation” was stretched

to include Oregon and California, and the concept was tortured further by including Portugal by virtue of the fact that it was the colonial ruler of Macao. John Bains, who reported on the event for *Paradise of the Pacific*, recalled that the Hawaiian delegation was the most impressive and was composed of "a bevy of young Hawaiian women, all garbed in white and followed by a detachment of Kamehameha cadets."⁵

Jean West Maury, writing for *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, reflected on the deeper significance of the celebration: "In Honolulu . . . race meets race on equal ground, and . . . the color of a man's skin and the slant of his eye has nothing at all to do with the color of his heart or the slant of his brain." Balboa Day "represents a democracy of interest hitherto unrealized, a depth of understanding that the entire civilized world sooner or later will have to accept, and a feeling of brotherly love that has been dreamed of since the birth of dreams." The display of ethnic harmony and racial tolerance exhibited at Balboa Day would "unite the interests of all the great nations of the world. And when the great powers are united in their interests, and recognize their union, the little scraps among the little fellows won't amount to much."⁶

Balboa Day was one of many civic celebrations in the early twentieth century that featured the ethnic diversity of Hawai'i. That heterogeneity, however, was not an accident. It was the deliberate policy on the part of Haole plantation owners to import a cheap, exploitable labor force, largely from Asia. Working on short-term contracts in nearly unbearable conditions, laborers from Korea, China, Japan, the Philippines, Portugal, and Puerto Rico supplemented native Hawaiians and helped to create one of the most profitable sugar industries in the world.⁷ The result was that by 1900, 87,000 of the 154,000 residents of Hawai'i were of Asian ancestry.

That this non-White labor force constituted the majority of the population of Hawai'i represented a significant challenge to the Haole ruling class. When they organized and created unions, they repeatedly challenged the plantation owners by striking for higher wages and better working conditions.⁸ And although Chinese and Japanese immigrants were not eligible for citizenship, their children who were born in the United States were rapidly coming of age. The Haole-dominated Republican Party secured the loyalty of native Hawaiians by doling out political patronage jobs. But the second-generation

Japanese, the Nisei, were rapidly becoming a factor in the political life of the territory. In 1920 they represented only 2.5 percent of registered voters; by 1926 they were 7.6 percent of potential voters; and by 1936, they represented 25 percent of voters.⁹ The threat of Japanese voting as a bloc, and thereby displacing Whites, was a constant source of worry for Haole politicians and businessmen.¹⁰

Racial tensions lay just beneath the surface of daily life in Hawai'i, but race as a source of conflict or distress was rarely if ever discussed publicly. Instead, the Haole ruling class constantly depicted Hawai'i as a racial paradise, a place where the Hawaiians, Haole, Japanese, and Chinese lived cooperatively. Civic celebrations such as Balboa Day that featured all of the ethnic groups of Hawai'i were typical. These parades, pageants, and public celebrations were a way of depicting life in Hawai'i to tourists, residents, and mainland audiences, who read about them in *Paradise of the Pacific* and *Mid-Pacific Magazine*. The message being communicated was that ethnic diversity was not a threat to the Haole ruling class. In fact, Euro-Americans were firmly in control and turning Hawai'i into a thoroughly American territory.

I argue here that the ruling White minority attempted to present an image of Hawai'i that conformed to American expectations about ethnicity and race. During the early twentieth century, in other areas of the country, White European immigrants were being urged to assimilate and Americanize, to replace the language, values, and customs of their native lands with American substitutes. The process of Americanization was not uniformly executed, but it was clear that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century native-born Americans responded to the intrusion of millions of immigrants from Europe by devising an image of American values and ideals that was articulated through schools, workplaces, and settlement houses.¹¹

In Hawai'i Americanization campaigns raised the question of race and the ability of America to absorb non-White, non-European immigrants. It was unclear whether the White minority in Hawai'i was influential enough to assure the complete assimilation of Asian immigrants and native Hawaiians to American customs and values. Would so small a population of Euro-Americans be capable of building and maintaining American institutions? Could Asians be successfully Americanized? The passage of anti-Asian immigration laws in 1882, 1907, and 1924 suggested that the vast majority of Euro-Americans did not believe that Asians belonged or could belong in

America.¹² More problematic were Hawaiians, whose presence served as a constant reminder that the land that was now a territory had formerly been a sovereign kingdom. Hawaiians had actively resisted the annexation by petitioning the U.S. Congress and, sometimes, inciting rebellion.¹³

The history of Hawai'i as a sovereign kingdom, the presence of an Asian laboring class, and the influence of Euro-Americans in the political and social structure resulted in a complex set of cultural interactions. The White supremacy of the plantation structure was mediated by the perception of Hawai'i as a racial paradise. I contend that in Hawai'i contradictory attitudes about race and ethnicity were resolved by resorting to a discursive strategy that I call the "discourse of aloha," a way of speaking and writing about Hawai'i that celebrated ethnic diversity in such a way that it did not threaten Haole hegemony. The discourse of aloha was used on a daily basis to disavow racial tensions and to distract attention from the prevalence of institutional racism. It appropriated the Hawaiian values of love, generosity, and open-heartedness and promoted them as the central value of Hawaiian culture and island life. According to the discourse of aloha, because this central value was so essential to the local culture and because it promoted harmony, equanimity, and friendship, racial tensions, when they arose, were considered a violation of the aloha spirit. The discourse of aloha reinforced the image of Hawai'i as a racial paradise, an image that was especially important because of the potential for ethnic relationships to become unruly. Labor strikes, segregated housing on plantations and in urban Honolulu, and Hawaiian cultural resistance to assimilation all had the potential to reveal the degree to which political and social relationships in Hawai'i were structured by a racial hierarchy. In civic celebrations such as Balboa Day and the Mid-Pacific Carnival, I argue, we can see the discourse of aloha in action. Ethnic groups were invited to participate on an equal footing, representing themselves and their communities as one of the many cultures that made Hawai'i a unique territorial acquisition.

In these same venues, the presentation of Hawaiian ethnicity had to be divorced from any lingering sense of nationalism or political sovereignty associated with movements to resist annexation by native Hawaiians. Hawaiian culture was understood as central to the social and cultural life of Hawai'i but not in ways that were threatening to

Haole political control. White Americans in Hawai'i had a stake in helping to perpetuate an image of Hawaiian culture that did not challenge their right to rule. Hawaiian culture was represented as a unique feature of life in the islands *and* the same as the culture of other ethnic groups in the territory. At public civic celebrations where ethnicity was featured, Hawaiians—like Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans—were an ethnic group on the way to becoming American. These public demonstrations of ethnicity in Hawai'i reflected Euro-American culture and values.

HAWAI'I'S RACE PROBLEM: ASSIMILATION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The White community had long enjoyed social and political dominance in Hawai'i. The descendants of the earliest missionaries, who arrived in Hawai'i in 1820—prominent families such as the Castles, Judds, Thurstons, and Campbells—mingled with the descendants of those who made their fortunes in the maritime, agricultural, and financial industries. This elite Haole class formed their own segregated schools (Punahou), clubs (the Pacific Club, the Outrigger Canoe Club), and social fraternities (Masons, Elks, Oddfellows). These men ran businesses large and small, and their wives followed in the tradition of ladies of leisure by calling on one another for tea and evening socials. They were also engaged in public philanthropy and donated their time and money to social reform movements such as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Free Kindergarten Association, and the Outdoor Circle.¹⁴

The racial stratification of the political economy of Hawai'i is a well-established fact.¹⁵ The plantation economy was built by a small number of European and American men, some of whom were the descendants of missionaries and traders who arrived in Hawai'i in the early nineteenth century. Many others came from abroad to make their homes and fortunes in Hawai'i. Once control of the land was secured by the institution of Western land tenure by the Mahele, or mass land distribution, of 1848,¹⁶ White Europeans and Americans were able to build empires on land speculation and the cash crops of sugar and pineapple. Plantations were labor intensive and relied on contract workers obtained in Asia. Although attempts were made

to encourage European and American immigration, it was generally concluded that White men could not stand the stoop labor and abhorrent conditions of field labor, especially at the wages plantation owners were willing to pay. As Gavan Daws writes, "Portuguese, Norwegians, Swedes, and Germans were welcome, but . . . they had Western views on matters such as wages, and this made them unacceptable to the planters."¹⁷ Once a formula was settled on—White *luna* (foremen) supervising a predominantly Asian workforce—the only distinctions to be made were the wage differentials between the various Asian plantation laborers. On most plantations, foremen and skilled workers earned the highest wages. And on most plantations, foremen and skilled workers were White or Hawaiians. However, it was also the custom if not the policy of many plantations to base the wages of workers on their ethnicity.¹⁸

Although Hawaiians represented the majority of the electorate during the first two decades of the territorial period, Haole politicians rapidly gained control over the political life of Hawai'i. The first election in the territory in 1900, for example, sent the Hawaiian nationalist Robert Wilcox to Congress. In 1902 Wilcox was soundly defeated by Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, a Hawaiian candidate backed by the Haole-dominated Republican Party. After Wilcox's defeat and death, his Home Rule party disintegrated, giving White Republicans a virtual monopoly in the politics of Hawai'i. The amount of control Whites enjoyed over the majority population in Hawai'i is difficult to overestimate. The Haole elite owned the largest banks and other financial agencies, as well as the plantations and businesses that supported them, which were the foundation of Hawai'i's economy. According to Gary Okihiro, the legendary Big Five—American Factors, C. Brewer, Alexander and Baldwin, Castle and Cook, and Theo Davies—"controlled businesses associated with the sugar plantations, including banking, insurance, transportation, utilities, and wholesale and retail merchandising. Through interlocking directorate, intermarriages and social association, the haole elite managed to keep the wealth within a small circle of families."¹⁹

The Haole elite exercised a measure of social control that matched their political and economic dominance in the islands. As one notable citizen, William Castle, expressed it in *Hawai'i Past and Present*, "Hawaii is a land of law and order. Different as it may be in its outward aspects, one feels it to be essentially an outpost and a distant center

of American civilization. [T]he missionaries saw to that."²⁰ From the viewpoint of the Haole ruling class, even before the overthrow of the monarchy and annexation, "Hawaii was already American in language and institutions."²¹ American values and customs, Castle contended, had "an assimilative and uplifting power" in Hawai'i and would continue to do so.²² The schools, Castle reminded his readers, were conducted in English and were compulsory. The teachers were largely American (meaning White), and the population enjoyed a high degree of literacy. The territorial government had also made improvements in public works designed to guarantee the health of the community. During the first two decades of the twentieth century, the territory of Hawai'i established a sewage system, weekly garbage pickups (twice weekly for the businesses and merchants of downtown), built a home for the insane, instituted a system of juvenile justice within the judiciary, and created homes for delinquent boys and wayward girls.²³

Euro-Americans were socially, politically, and economically dominant but still a distinct minority in Hawai'i. Outnumbered by Asians and Hawaiians, they dealt with their minority status in the context of maintaining a measure of domination and control over the Americanization of the islands. The Haole ruling class approached the non-White majority with an attitude of liberal paternalism. Only rarely did they resort to bigotry or terrorism, but any threat to economic domination could and did bring to the surface overt expressions of racism. For example, in a speech before the Social Science Association on November 13, 1922, Walter F. Dillingham, a prominent member of the Haole elite, discussed the repercussions of the unsuccessful 1920 strike by Japanese workers. Dillingham expressed his misgivings about the presence of "certain elements" in the Japanese community: "Perhaps the most lasting impression left by the strike has been the feeling that our Japanese residents are not being Americanized, but are rather continuing as members of a distinct and separate community that can and does move as a unit among us, Japanese in thought, characteristics and actions." Dillingham's concerns were clear; the Japanese community must "Americanize"—speak English, convert to Christianity, and support American business interests—or the result would be strikes and other social unrest. If the Japanese community did not assimilate, did not "mingle freely with Americans in our clubs [and] Churches," the result would be a "Bronze America."

For Dillingham, a bronze America was a clear threat to the future of Hawai'i and the United States: "No matter how much we may admire the thrift, industry and ambition of the Japanese . . . is it safe for us to sit idly by and permit the situation to drift, by sheer force of numbers, to the point where these aliens in our midst threaten to assume control?"²⁴

Whites' advocacy of assimilation was rarely consistent, however, and generally combined one of the three dominant models of assimilation common during the early twentieth century: Anglo-conformity, melting pot assimilation, and cultural pluralism. According to Milton Gordon, Anglo-conformity assumed "the desirability of maintaining English institutions[,] . . . the English language, and English-oriented cultural patterns as dominant and standard in American life."²⁵ In Hawai'i the assertion of Anglo-conformity was most often an issue in the political battles over the public schools and language. Proficiency in the English language was usually cited as the reason non-White locals did not (or could not) advance from working-class to middle-class status. Not only did the territory face the problem of Asian immigrants who wished to retain the use of their language and pass it along to their children, but children, especially those raised on the plantations, spoke pidgin, or Hawai'i Creole English. Whites dismissed Creole as gibberish and used the inability of non-Whites to speak pure or unaccented English as a way to maintain exclusive, White-only schools.²⁶ Facility in English was treated as an implicit racial characteristic that could be read by all as a way of securing White privilege and access to desirable jobs. For example, in an edition of the Honolulu City Directory, an advertisement for an employment agency, illustrated with a picture of a White woman, asked: "Do you need a stenographer with English ability?" The none-too-subtle suggestion was, of course, that securing the services of a White female secretary was the only way to guarantee "English ability."²⁷

The melting pot ideal assumed that America would absorb all of its immigrants, in the process creating a new (and presumably better) nation. This idealism did not demand conformity to Anglo norms and values but assumed that in America the best of the world's cultures would somehow blend and mesh, making one American indistinguishable from the next. The melting pot ideal took on added significance in Hawai'i given its unusually high rate of interethnic marriage.²⁸ The acceptance of interethnic relationships and marriages in

Hawai'i has been ascribed to the warm and generous Hawaiians, who accepted the children of the liaisons between Hawaiians and White sailors because they had no inborn prejudices. This legend was passed down through scholarly and popular discourses about the supposed lack of racial antagonisms in Hawai'i. The image of Hawai'i as a place where the races mingled freely was cited as proof that the territory would eventually reflect the American melting pot.²⁹ The presence of American institutions and values, combined with the erasure of strong ethnocentrism and nationalism among the various immigrant groups, would lead to the emergence of a new American, a Hawaiian American. Sidney Gulick's *Mixing the Races in Hawai'i* is perhaps the best example of advocacy of the melting pot ethic as the solution to Hawai'i's race problem. In Hawai'i, Gulick argued, "a Hawaiian-Caucasian-Chinese-Japanese-Portuguese-Puerto-Rican-Korean-Filipino race of enthusiastic American is in the process of becoming. Hawai'i is in truth a gentle melting pot that is actually fusing into one of the most diverse of human bloods. A homogeneous people speaking a single language is coming into being under the most favorable conditions."³⁰ For Gulick, this mixing was not only metaphorical but also biological. The new Hawaiian American would be biologically distinct, combining the best characteristics of all the races into one new human type.³¹ Gulick argued that the mixing of the races in Hawai'i would not lead to a degraded human being, as was the belief among some eugenicists at the time. Rather, he suggested that it was entirely possible that this mixing would improve the races involved and, possibly, the whole of humanity: "When it is noted that the civilization of a people is the work of a small group of superior individuals, it becomes at once apparent that in a highly mixed population like that of Hawaii, the possibility of geniuses is large, and the prospect for a rapidly developing civilization and culture is relatively high."³² Gulick, however, betrayed the influence of eugenics on his thinking by suggesting that while race mixing might produce superior civilization, it must be done in combination with a program of discouraging breeding among those at the lower end of the scale—congenital imbeciles and the insane. He was optimistic about the chances of Hawai'i producing a superior civilization, not only because of the prevalence of race mixing, but also because the social conditions were especially beneficial. Its climate, educational and economic opportunities, and sound moral and religious life were

all factors that worked in favor of Hawai'i becoming the literal melting pot of twentieth-century America.

The literary critic Randolph Bourne argued for cultural pluralism on the grounds that rampant Anglo-conformity would turn America into a "tasteless, colorless fluid of uniformity."³³ Mindless conformity, in Bourne's estimation, would lead to a citizenry of "men and women without a spiritual country, cultural outlaws, without taste, without standards but those of the mob. We sentence them to live on the most rudimentary planes of American life."³⁴ Immigrant communities made valuable contributions to American life and, in fact, were the basis of a common American culture. In Hawai'i the most persistent advocates of this pluralist vision of the future were members of the Department of Sociology at the University of Hawai'i. Led by Romanzo Adams, the department produced reams of scholarship that demonstrated that Asian immigrants were successfully making the transition to American life and making positive contributions to Hawai'i. Like their counterparts on the mainland, immigrants to Hawai'i made concessions to America but retained customs and habits of their home culture. Given enough time, they would eventually be fully assimilated into American life. Adams described immigrants to Hawai'i as compared to the immigrants to other parts of the United States:

In Hawai'i the Chinese immigrants are sufficiently alert to adopt modern mechanical devices and business methods, but when a man dies his bones are sent back to his old home village. . . . The daughter of a Japanese man wears American style clothing on the street, but at her wedding she is dressed in a costume of old Japanese style. . . . The Hawaiian Portuguese in relation to business affairs are much like the Americans of New England ancestry, but when they worship, they go mainly to the church of the old Portuguese tradition.³⁵

The persistence of these traditions and customs was not a threat to America but constituted a stage on the way to full assimilation.

The peaceful coexistence of ethnic groups was most often viewed as a unique feature of Hawai'i and became a selling point as tourism to the islands grew in the early twentieth century. Hawaiian and Hawaiian culture provided a colorful backdrop to the new American

territory. Visitors disembarking from passenger liners were immediately enthralled by the sight of dozens of Hawaiian women and children selling *leis*. The literature that sold Hawai'i, both as a tourist destination and as an American territory, regularly featured the image of Hawaiians eating or pounding poi, throw-net fishing, or dancing the hula. Hawai'i was a modern, vibrant place that still retained features of its ancient past. Further, it was a place that welcomed foreign immigrants and readily assimilated them. William Atherton Du Puy described his encounter with the ethnic diversity of modern Honolulu:

[O]ne in ten is conventional Anglo-Saxon pink, one in ten is of a darkness beyond that of the American Indian and with no yellow glow back of it. These are Hawaiians. There is a sprinkling of Latins—swarthy Portuguese from the Azores. But the mass of the population shows the yellow of the Orientals—Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino—each with distinctive traits but each also postmarked, as it were, on that other fringe of the Pacific. All of these wear American clothes (there is not a pigtail in Honolulu) and disport themselves much as do natives of Vermont or Virginia, but their skins are yellow. And the young people are blends of these, emerging blithely from the melting pot and setting forth impudently to find what life under a western flag has to offer.³⁶

The ethnic diversity of Hawai'i was always contextualized within an American assimilationist framework. Hawaiians, Chinese, and Japanese were regularly depicted as groups on their way to becoming fully American. Given their dominance, the Haole elite rarely felt the need to assert their control through bigotry or racial terrorism. Cultural diversity was rarely seen as a threat, so long as that diversity could be contained with a model of ethnicity that ensured the continuity of White supremacy through control of Hawai'i's political, economic, and social institutions. The White supremacy implicit in descriptions of ethnic diversity in Hawai'i was also represented in the way this diversity was displayed in public venues and celebrations.

In addition to the exertion of political and economic control over immigrant and native groups, Euro-Americans promoted Americanization through the careful celebration of ethnic diversity. Ethnic assimilation in Hawai'i primarily took on a positive or celebratory tone. Unable to ignore or hide large numbers of non-Whites in Honolulu,

tour promoters and other Haole businesspeople took advantage of their presence and began to market Hawai'i as an exotic, almost foreign destination that was nevertheless safely under American control.

SYMBOLIZING ETHNICITY

Parades, pageants, and other civic celebrations provide insights into a society's social structures and cultural values.³⁷ Mary Ryan has described the institutionalization of the American parade as a civic celebration that gradually became an ethnic festival. Unlike Europeans, who marched to a specific point in order to enact a specific ritual, Americans seemed to parade for the sake of parading. In her study of the evolution of the American parade in the early nineteenth century, she contends that parades gradually became ritualized collective movement through the streets that served to unify a community around a common civic celebration. They acted as a kind of cultural performance that told a story about social identity. The American parade was invented during an era of rapid industrialization and expansion. Parades were urban spectacles that "allowed the many contending constituencies of the city to line up and move through the streets without ever encountering one another. [T]he parade was much like the social world in which it germinated—mobile, voluntaristic, laissez-faire, and open. Like a civic omnibus, the parade offered admission to almost any group with sufficient energy, determination, organizational ability, and internal coherence to board it."³⁸ Parades were originally organized into units made up of skilled artisans, trade guilds, and other labor groups, but Ryan argues, especially in New York City, Irish immigrants increasingly used civic parades as a way to assert their political rights and ethnic identity: "The parade evolved as a civic ceremony at a time when many groups resorted to processions in order to assert their civic rights. . . . Groups of immigrants, especially the Catholic Irish, marched through the streets to demand the full rights of citizenship in defiance of rampant nativism."³⁹ Parades, then, were a way for ethnic groups to assert their political presence in a safe public venue.

Public celebrations of ethnicity are complicated by the degree to which ethnic groups have control over their representation. Whereas public celebrations are obviously situated within larger institutions of

social control, they also provide ethnic groups with the opportunity to define and control the consumption of their image. John Coggelshall has argued that ethnic groups use festival celebrations not just to display their cultural practices but also to hide certain aspects of their communal life from public consumption. In his study of Greek and German festivals, Coggelshall suggests that these festivals are a means by which ethnic groups both enhance and protect their cultural identity. By hiding some aspects of their community and over-emphasizing others, Coggelshall contends, ethnic groups maintain a measure of control over their community life.

[G]roups offer a facade of cultural elements which they consciously choose to present to others as an expression of their own identity, and which others interpret contextually in a variety of ways. Equally important, however, are those symbols of identity which emically are considered definitive . . . but which are nevertheless kept hidden from the prying view of outsiders. The screen of ethnicity . . . represents a "safe" or "correct" view of a group's identity. The fact that the group considers some symbols too valuable to present in public also helps to define the group.⁴⁰

Coggelshall also suggests that audiences bring different levels of sophistication and understanding to an ethnic festival that affect what is or is not being communicated: "[S]ymbols unveiled during these performances speak on several levels: some will be obvious to members and non-members; some will be apparent to insiders but not to outsiders; some will be understood by visitors but overlooked by locals."⁴¹ For example, to the unsophisticated visitor, poi is a gelatinous mass of purplish material that sticks to the fingers and is of questionable palatability. Visitors to Hawai'i can participate in Hawaiian culture by sampling poi, or by watching native practitioners pound taro into poi, but they will never fully understand the significance of poi and taro to the native Hawaiian. To the Hawaiian, because poi is made from taro and because Hawaiians trace their genealogy to taro, poi symbolizes the organic relationship among Hawaiians, the land, and the gods.⁴²

Coggelshall concludes that the emphasis on a certain aspect of ethnic identity rather than others in these public venues owes much to the creation of an acceptable presentation of American ethnicity:

“Why ethnic expressions such as food and dance are overtly presented (even emphasized), and others such as language or values are ignored or downplayed, perhaps demonstrates a general definition of hyphenated Euro-Americans in American culture. Thus, it may be possible to read ritualized Euro-American ethnic festivals as macro-symbols of ‘ethnicity’ in general American culture.”⁴³ In other words, ethnic displays define as well as symbolize the common understanding not only of what it means to be a member of a specific ethnic group but also what it means to be an ethnic American.

It is this process of delimiting ethnicity that we see in the early territorial period in Hawai‘i. Added to this is the process of racialization, or fitting these ethnic identities into the hierarchical structure of race that was operative in Hawai‘i at the time. The interplay among internal ethnic identity, its public presentation, and how that representation was fitted into an overall racial hierarchy helped to define how ethnicity was conceived in the territory of Hawai‘i.

PACIFIC PAGEANTS: BALBOA DAY AND THE MID-PACIFIC CARNIVAL

Balboa Day was not an entirely original celebration, nor was it the first that showcased the ethnic diversity of Hawai‘i. In an article examining the origins of similar celebrations in early-twentieth-century Hawai‘i, Steven Friesen argues that Lei Day⁴⁴ “functioned as an arena for the display and discussion of some of Hawaii’s most severe tensions: large immigrations of diverse people, building identity in multi-ethnic communities, the public role of disenfranchised native culture, and the appeal of native customs to settlers and tourists.”⁴⁵ Lei Day, which was first celebrated in 1928, had several precedents—other floral parades and public pageants that involved large segments of the community. Friesen describes the participation of public and private school children in May Day pageants, which were instituted in Hawai‘i because of White New Englanders’ nostalgia for the traditional spring festival (see fig. 1). Eventually these celebrations evolved into elaborate productions, staged to celebrate “European heritage, rooted in Greek culture and mediated by America.”⁴⁶ Parades at these May Day festivities often were object lessons, orchestrated to show children the march of civilization:



Figure 1. May Day pageant, 1912. Courtesy of the Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

[T]he 1912 pageant represented all of world history as the progression of civilization through the following stages: tree and cave dwellers[;] . . . North American Indians; Classical Greece; Rome; the Middle Ages; the English May Day; Columbus’s voyage to the America; colonial and revolutionary America; and finally a mythic scene in which Miss Columbia and Uncle Sam host a party where all the states and territories including Hawai‘i were represented by students.⁴⁷

Native Hawaiian customs were not a feature of these early May Day celebrations, but Friesen notes that on at least two occasions, the governor of the territory hosted large children’s festivals on May Day, in which children and adults were invited to dress up in English garb, as queens, monks, or common villagers. The emphasis on English royalty led naturally to an invitation to the still-living Hawaiian queen to participate. Although Lili‘uokalani did not attend the celebration, Friesen argues that “by drawing the image of Hawaiian royalty into proximity with the traditions of May Day, the Hawaiian monarchy was revalued as a medieval custom that was, like May Day itself, transitional to the modern period.”⁴⁸

These May Day celebrations, which featured flowers, a nod to Hawaiian culture, and an educational imperative, coincided with

celebration of the Mid-Pacific Carnival. First organized in 1904, it was conceived of as a parade to celebrate George Washington's birthday. In the next decade, it expanded from one day to one week in late February and included banquets, dances, parades, and pageants, that is, plays or dramatic reinterpretations of historical or mythological events. The organizers were keenly aware of their purpose. In the 1915 program guide Albert Taylor, one of the event promoters, stated the reason for the festival: "The primal ideal for the Washington's Birthday celebration was to institute in the minds of youth of the islands a visual lesson in patriotism."⁴⁹ Thus the parade featured a float depicting George Washington being confronted by his father after having chopped down the cherry tree. Carnival organizers soon realized that a celebration of this type could be sold to tourists as an attractive reason to come to or extend their stay in Hawai'i during the slow winter months. A 1917 account in *Paradise of the Pacific* described the carnival as world famous, "drawing tourists in large numbers from the mainland and attracting visitors from all over the earth." The best advertising for the carnival and for Hawai'i was "the satisfied tourists who come, and see, and go away and relate what they have enjoyed. . . . In the pageant are beheld the colorful variety of the garbs of nationalities, the specialties of wide-apart races on parade, the best that each people can exhibit in studied effort to present an excellent exhibition, and the fascinating cosmopolitanism of it all brought together in a great Mid-Pacific fiesta."⁵⁰

The photographs of the Mid-Pacific Carnival reveal the nature of this cosmopolitanism and the degree to which these tropes of ethnicity were safely ensconced in an American celebration. The parade consisted of flower-bedecked automobiles and horse-drawn carts representing civic, commercial, and fraternal organizations, as well as regiments of marchers representing the various ethnic groups in the local community (fig. 2). Men, women, and children came attired in native costumes (fig. 3). Chinese shopkeepers promoted their businesses by sponsoring a traditional lion dance with firecrackers. In the 1909 parade the members of the Improved Order of Redmen (Hawaiian Tribe No. 1) were dressed in leather-fringed pants and shirts and wearing feathered headdresses and moccasins. A tepee tottered at the edge of the float. Some of the men grasp what appear to be spears, possibly guns. The group was pulled by a horse-drawn cart decked out in red, white, and blue bunting and an enormous American flag.⁵¹

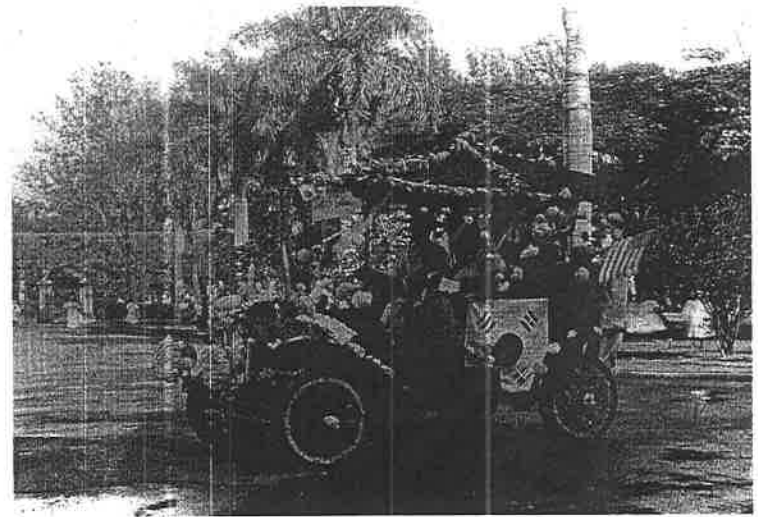


Figure 2. Mid-Pacific Carnival, early 1900s. Courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

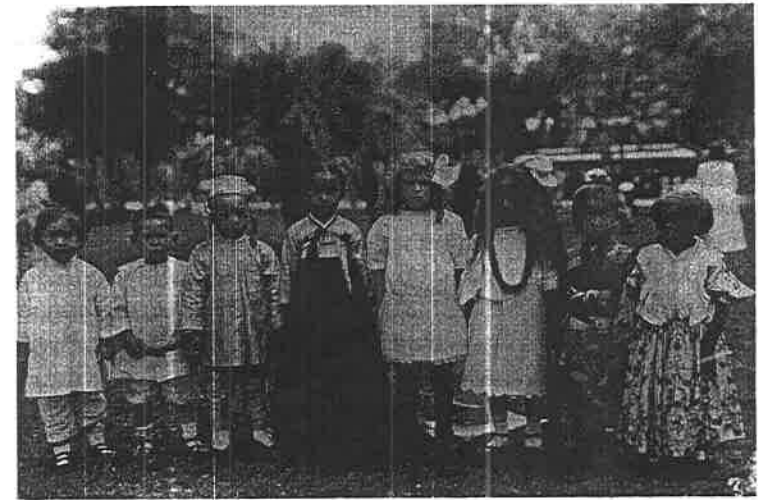


Figure 3. Mid-Pacific Carnival, early 1900s. Courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.



Figure 4. Mid-Pacific Carnival, early 1900s. Courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

Nearly every float, especially those sponsored by an ethnic community, used a series of symbols to represent their community. The German float carried maidens in dirndls and men dressed as knights, suggesting a link to Germany's medieval past. The Japanese floats and marching groups featured geishas dressed in binding kimonos and wearing elaborate headpieces and wigs, men dressed as samurai, and children wearing traditional Japanese clothing and shoes, miniature versions of the adults—nothing at all like what they would have worn in their everyday lives working in the hot sugarcane and pineapple fields. One float in the 1914 parade featured a display of Japanese lanterns painted with American flags. Sometimes it seemed not to matter who was doing the representing. In one parade, an unidentified young man donned a kimono and wig and, accessorized with a parasol, rode his decorated bicycle along the parade route (fig. 4). In a photo captioned “Japanese Tea House Garden Fete,” two clearly non-Japanese women wear kimonos and are surrounded by Japanese lanterns and parasols.

In many parades, significant events from the history of Hawai'i were represented, not just by Hawaiians, but by any and all segments of the community. Hawaiian culture was to be shared by all locals.

For example, the Punahou Alumni showed “ancient dances.” The Ad Club showcased a taro patch. The Boy Scouts showed how fire was first brought to Hawai'i. The Trail and Mountain Club showed ancient burden bearers. One large group representing the Kindergarten Association, the Civic Federation, and the Country Club sponsored floats demonstrating a luau and the preparation of tapa cloth.⁵² In these public celebrations the audience is reminded that everyone from the Boy Scouts to the Ad Club had a stake in (and, perhaps, a right to) Hawaiian culture.

The muddle of ethnic images reinforced the ideal of American national life as the blending and melting of distinct ethnic groups. So a Euro-American dressed as a geisha or a Native American provided the opportunity for Americans to assert the literal melting pot, blending and mixing internal ethnic consciousness with external ethnic symbols. Ethnicity was represented by a free-floating set of signifiers not permanently attached to anything or anyone.

The pageants, a featured part of the Mid-Pacific Carnival, “told the story of Hawaii's olden customs and conditions, of her rapid development and her present circumstances.”⁵³ Sometimes the pageants were specifically identified and heavily produced. The 1917 carnival pageant, which told the story of the romance of Iwakauikana, involved a cast of seventy Hawaiians.⁵⁴ Often, however, the story was more familiar; for example, the 1913 pageant depicted the landing of Kamehameha in Waikiki. A sequence of photographs in the 1913 commemorative album depicted the presentation of a royal court (one photo is captioned “Wives of the ‘Napoleon of the Pacific,’” and another “Kamehameha's Amazonian Guard”). The court came ashore in an outrigger canoe accompanied by a group of Hawaiian men and women, carrying spears and dancing. The king wore a feathered cape and helmet gourd and others in the court carry *pololu* (wooden spears) and *kahili* (royal standards). The dancers were appropriately attired in *malo* (loincloths) and kukui nut *leis* (fig. 5).

Kamehameha was revered by both Hawaiians and Euro-Americans but for vastly different reasons. Unlike Lili'uokalani, the still-living deposed monarch, Kamehameha existed in a legendary past. As the monarch who united the islands, he was considered by Hawaiians a *mo'i* (leader) with tremendous mana. He was reputed to be absurdly brave in battle and a shrewd politician. For Euro-Americans, Kamehameha was an admirable figure because he used military might

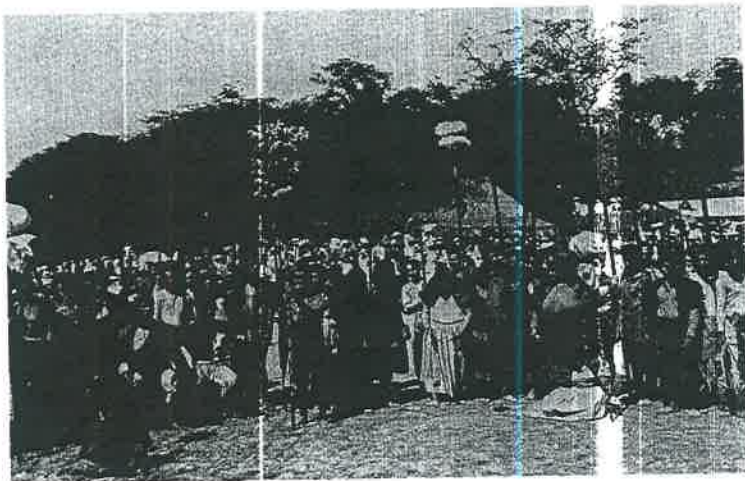


Figure 5. Pageant of the royal court of Kamehameha, 1913. Courtesy of the Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

and political savvy to consolidate his power. What is more, he availed himself of European advisers and armaments to secure his power. For that he earned the moniker "Napoleon of the Pacific."⁵⁵ For Europeans and Americans, his memory was safe and nonthreatening because war and political manipulation were features of Hawaiian culture that they admired and respected. Kamehameha was a safe Hawaiian hero because he operated in a way that Westerners could understand.⁵⁶

The erasure of the Hawaiian nation, legally and symbolically, was a necessary step in the creation of an American pattern of ethnicity and racial formation in Hawai'i. All non-Whites, but especially Hawaiians, were transformed from immigrants and natives into ethnic Americans. No longer loyal to their former homelands, they were being tutored in the knowledge of democratic institutions that would ultimately transform them into Americans.

The discourse of aloha asserted the equality of ethnic groups through assimilation. Every group in Hawai'i was equally welcome and had an equal claim on the right to be in Hawai'i. Hawaiians themselves were incorporated into this system of ethnic equality in order to undermine their prior claim to the right to control the

political and social destiny of Hawai'i. Euro-Americans, newcomers, and *kama'aina* were welcome and perceived in this discourse the same as all other groups. The discourse of aloha distracts attention from the injustice done to Hawaiians and the control exercised by the Haole minority.

The discourse of aloha was apparent in attempts to objectively examine race relations in Hawai'i. Romanzo Adams's perceptions and theoretical outlook dominated studies of race and ethnicity well into the late twentieth century. Adams's presumption was that assimilation was the natural process of all immigrant groups. He did not question the propriety of Euro-American control over Hawai'i and therefore did not question the legitimacy of asking native Hawaiians to assimilate into a system that was foreign to them. The assimilationist model does not allow us to question this.⁵⁷

The discourse of aloha as an explanation for the presumed racial harmony is problematic on a number of levels. The ideology of racial harmony loudly trumpeted and celebrated in a society that was so plainly racially stratified created a series of ironic juxtapositions and contradictory behavior on the part of all participants. The discourse of aloha was a public virtue that was appealed to on civic occasions and in community fora. But the appeal to aloha as a public virtue also had the effect of relegating ethnic and racial antagonism to the private sphere. And if ethnic antagonism existed only in the private sphere, talking about it in public violated the egalitarian code of conduct. If the mention of racial segregation and discrimination was a violation of an unspoken code of conduct, if it violated the symbolic representation of equality, then the issue simply disappeared from civic discourse. Hawai'i effectively became a racial paradise, not because the problems that accompanied a racialized political economy did not exist, but because it became taboo to acknowledge them.

The encounter between Native Hawaiians, Asian immigrants, and Euro-Americans in the early territorial period was fraught with tension but structured by an understanding of race and ethnicity that simultaneously promoted ethnic identity and encouraged assimilation. This understanding of ethnicity subsumed into White culture and supported by the discourse of aloha effectively maintained the rigidly racially stratified political economy of Hawai'i by appealing to the public value of egalitarian social customs and calm interethnic relations.

The dominance of the discourse of aloha predisposed residents and visitors to emphasize those elements of culture in Hawai'i that highlighted a sense of universal brotherhood. The image of Hawai'i that was disseminated throughout the world was of a place where congenial fellowship, based on the equality of all humans, was not only possible, but on the verge of being achieved.

In 1932, shortly after the infamous Massie-Kahahawai case,⁵⁸ Du Puy was dispatched to Hawai'i by Ray Lyman Wilbur, secretary of the interior. The Massie-Kahahawai case, involving the charge of the rape of a White woman at the hands of non-White men, received intense media coverage. Her accusation was not substantiated in court, and her husband took it upon himself to avenge her honor by arranging the murder of one of the defendants, Joseph Kahahawai. The case was fraught with racial tension and raised the question of whether Hawai'i was safe for White women and whether the territory was being properly administered by the Haole ruling class. Du Puy, a well-known newspaper reporter, was sent to Hawai'i "to observe the facts and report his findings" to the Department of the Interior. The department published the report, entitled *Hawai'i and Its Race Problem*.

Du Puy's report is a curious document and a faithful representation of the discourse of aloha. The case itself is not mentioned; instead, in introducing the report to the general public, Secretary Wilbur spoke indirectly of "events" in fall 1931 that suggested that "a delicate race situation existed in Hawaii."⁵⁹ Wilbur contended that given the unprecedented nature of the social relationships in Hawai'i, the situation required investigation into "how they get along, one with the other, and how they are fitting into that scheme of self government born to the blue-eyed peoples of the other side of the world."⁶⁰ The conclusion seems foregone, and Du Puy's report reiterated what was already known. Rather than discuss any race problem that Hawai'i might have had, Du Puy described the lack of a race problem. True to the discourse of aloha, he elided the issue of institutional racism implicit in the outcome of the Massie case in favor of reassuring his White audience that Hawai'i was being carefully managed by responsible citizens. Further, he reported, the non-White population of Hawai'i was under control. Du Puy said nothing that might explain why the local population of Hawai'i was outraged by the Massie case. Instead, he ignored the racial implica-

tions of this miscarriage of justice in favor of reinforcing the image of Hawai'i as a racial paradise.

The captions that describe the copiously illustrated report (seventy-nine photographs in 130 pages) convey the relevant message. Hawai'i is a place of uncommon and dramatic beauty: "a lava fountain on Mauna Loa"; "the glory of the night blooming Cereus." Hawai'i retains some elements of the ancient ways such as "riding the surf board," "lei making," and "throw net fishing." But Hawaiians are modern and participate in urban life, for example, "native girls working in the cannery." Even "the Hawaiian cowboy is quite thoroughly Americanized," and "the policeman is a Polynesian." The plantation laborers "are all descendants of coolies from somewhere," but "children born of Japanese coolie laborers are making their first step toward becoming Americans." In fact, because "institutions are built on the American model," "the White man's manner of life prevails." Even though "a bit of the old life survives," "the Whites have created modern Honolulu."⁶¹

Indeed.

NOTES

1. "Haole" is a Hawaiian term meaning "foreigner" but has come to be used to refer to White Euro-Americans. Therefore, I use these terms interchangeably.

2. In his December 18, 1893, message to Congress, Cleveland conceded that the report of his investigator, James Blount, made it impossible to conclude anything other than the fact that "Hawai'i was taken possession of by the United States forces without the consent or wish of the Government of the islands. . . . Therefore the military occupation of Hawai'i by the United States on the day mentioned was wholly without justification." See Grover Cleveland, "A Friendly State Being Robbed of Its Independence and Sovereignty," in *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood*, ed. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman (Copenhagen: International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs, 1994), 129.

The 103d Congress, in 1993, acknowledged the facts of the overthrow in Joint Resolution 190, which "apologizes to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the people of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii on January 17, 1893 with the participation of agents and citizens of the United States, and the deprivation of the rights of Native Hawaiians to self-determination" (U.S. Public Law 103-150, 103d Congress, Joint Resolution 190, November 23, 1993).

3. Alexander Hume Ford, "The Genesis of the Pan-Pacific Union," *Mid-Pacific Magazine* (October 1925): 377.
4. The Pan Pacific Union was the most well known of Ford's groups. The union itself grew as an umbrella organization that contained many of Ford's enterprises. He began by organizing Hands-around-the-Pacific clubs in many Pacific nations. These clubs were akin to civic chambers of commerce dedicated to the promotion of international goodwill through tourism and related businesses. In Hawai'i the clubs organized luncheons and yearly banquets, most notably the 12-12-12 luncheons, which gathered 12 Euro-American, 12 Chinese, and 12 Japanese "prominent men" to have frank discussions about interracial problems in the community. These luncheons eventually became known as the Good Relations Clubs. The Pan Pacific Union developed to contain all these efforts and to promote and organize international conferences on science and education. The only biographical treatment of Alexander Hume Ford is Valerie Noble, *Hawaiian Prophet: Alexander Hume Ford, a Biography* (Smithtown, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1980). Ford himself reminisced about his life and the development of the Pan Pacific Union in the pages of *Mid-Pacific Magazine*. He wrote a fifteen-part history of the union under the title "The Genesis of the Pan Pacific Union" which ran monthly from September 1925 to November 1926. See also Paul Hooper's history of internationalism in Hawai'i, *Elusive Destiny: The Internationalist Movement in Modern Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1988). Ford is also remembered in the history of the Outrigger Canoe Club: Harold Yost, *The Outrigger Canoe Club of Honolulu, Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Outrigger Canoe Club, 1971).
5. John W. Bains, "Pacific Peoples Flag Pageant," *Paradise of the Pacific* (December 1915): 65.
6. Jean West Maury, "Balboa Day in Hawai'i," *Mid-Pacific Magazine* (September 1919): 228.
7. Of the racialized nature of Hawai'i's labor force, Ed Beechert wrote: "The concept of racial superiority underlay the often brutal seizure of power over labor supplies and land. Important in this rationalization was the notion that the white race could not perform labor under the difficult conditions of tropical and subtropical plantations. Accompanying the forcible conversion of domestic labor was the racist conviction that the objects of this attention were thereby improved and brought to a higher degree of civilization through the acquisition of western values and work discipline." Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawai'i: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985), 40. On this point, see also Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawai'i, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1984); Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawai'i, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

8. Plantation owners frequently took advantage of and instigated antagonisms between the various ethnic groups. Laborers lived and worked largely segregated from one another, and the foremen of work crews would pit ethnic groups against one another by requiring that they compete for bonuses. For many years, this prevented effective labor organizing. See Beechert, *Working in Hawai'i*, esp. chaps. 10, 11.
9. Dorothy Ochiai Hazama and Jane Okamoto Komeiji, *Okage Sama De: The Japanese in Hawai'i, 1885-1985* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1986), 111.
10. Eileen Tamura does a thorough job of documenting the Haole response to Japanese demographic dominance in Hawai'i. See Eileen Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawai'i* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991). See also Okihiro, *Cane Fires*.
11. The standard reference on Americanization is John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism* (New York: Atheneum, 1963). However, more recent scholarship expands on Higham's basic historical insights. See, for example, James R. Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930," *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (December 1992): 996-1020. Barrett extends Higham's discussion by describing how immigrant communities appropriated, adopted, and advocated Americanization in their own communities.
12. The Chinese Exclusion Act, passed in 1882, was the culmination of decades of agitation in California against so-called coolie labor in mines and in the railroad industry. See Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Durham, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). In 1907 the Gentleman's Agreement between Japan and the United States headed off an international incident precipitated by the San Francisco School Board's move to educate Japanese children in segregated schools. As a result, the Japanese government agreed to stop issuing passports to laborers headed for the United States. The era of anti-Asian immigration legislation ended with the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, which prohibited admission of aliens ineligible for citizenship, that is Asian immigrants. See Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (New York: Atheneum, 1973).
13. See Noenoe Silva, "Ku'e! Hawaiian Women's Resistance to the Annexation," *Women in Hawai'i Sites, Identities, and Voices: Social Process in Hawai'i* 38 (1997): 2-15; Thomas Osbourne, *Annexation Hawai'i* (Waimanalo: Island Style Press, 1998).
14. There has not yet been a satisfactory study of the ruling elite Haole class in Hawai'i during these years. It could be argued that most of the social and political histories of Hawai'i focus unduly on this small caste. However,

in focusing on the political intrigue and the pattern of ethnic group mobility (as is the case with Daws's *Shoal of Time*) there is very little scholarship that explores the social dynamics that took place between the various segments of the Haole community or the intellectual and cultural influences that would provide the basis of comparison to a similar caste in the plantation culture of the Deep South or the upper strata of the elites in larger American cities. See Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: History of the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: Macmillan, 1968). On patterns of residential segregation in Hawai'i, see Youngmin Lee, *Ethnicity toward Multiculturalism: Socio-Spatial Relations of the Korean Community in Honolulu, 1903-1940* (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1995).

15. Very little of the scholarship on Hawai'i fails to note the unique set of historical circumstances that resulted in the complex mix of ethnic groups in the islands. Race is a central feature of the two major social histories of Hawai'i: Lawrence Fuchs, *Hawai'i Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961); and Daws, *Shoal of Time*. Asian American Studies in Hawai'i also presume the centrality of racism and discrimination in the social formation of local identity. Labor historians have certainly not neglected the racist paternalism of plantation owners. And, of course, a new generation of Hawaiian scholarship is revealing the depth of racial thinking and its influence on social and political interactions between Hawaiian and Haole. See Beechert, *Working in Hawai'i*; Takaki, *Pau Hana*; Okihiro, *Cane Fires*; Noel Kent, *Hawai'i: Islands under the Influence* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983); Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pahaia la e pono ai* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

16. Euro-Americans who served in the cabinets of Hawaiian *ali'i* (royalty) pushed for a system of land tenure whereby property could be bought and sold. Some historians argue that Haole ministers had the best interests of Hawaiians at heart and created these legal structures to protect Hawaiians from unscrupulous land speculators and squatters. However, the ownership of land was a concept entirely anathema to Hawaiian sensibilities, which were grounded in the belief in reciprocal relations among the land, the people, the *ali'i* and the gods. The result was the near-complete disenfranchisement of Hawaiians from their land. See Jon Chinen, *The Great Mahele: Hawai'i's Land Division of 1848* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1958). For a reinterpretation of the Mahele from the viewpoint of native Hawaiians, see Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land*.

17. Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 211.

18. See Beechert, *Working in Hawai'i*; Takaki, *Pau Hana*.

19. Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 14. See also Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 312-14.

20. William R. Castle, *Hawai'i Past and Present* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1917), 16.

21. *Ibid.*, 55.

22. *Ibid.*, 17.

23. See *Annual Report of the Governor of the Territory of Hawai'i to the Secretary of the Interior, 1900-1906, 1907-28* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office).

24. Walter F. Dillingham, "Hawai'i's Labor and Racial Problems," November 13, 1922, minutes of the Social Science Association of Honolulu, Hawai'i State Archives.

25. Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 88.

26. See Judith R. Hughes, "The Demise of the English Standard School System in Hawai'i," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 27 (1993): 65-89.

27. Honolulu City Directory, 1928, 201. Margaret Dietz's Commercial School advertised heavily in the City Directory, using various slogans, including, "Will Send You a Stenographer with English Ability" and "High Standard English."

28. See Romanzo Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawai'i: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Process of Acculturation and Amalgamation* (New York: Macmillan, 1937). Perhaps the most comprehensive source on interethnic marriage is Paul R. Spickard, *Mixed Blood: Intermarriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989).

29. Hawai'i was possibly the only place in the United States at the time where interracial sex was perceived of as a desirable form of assimilation. However, it should be noted that interethnic marriages were not advocated for all groups. Japanese and Haole had relatively low rates of intermarriage before World War II. Interracial mixing is better ascribed to the fact that many Asian immigrants came to Hawai'i as groups of single men and that disease had nearly devastated the native Hawaiian community. Interracial liaisons may have been much more practical than is generally supposed.

30. Sidney Gulick, *Mixing the Races in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Board Book Rooms, 1937), 1-2.

31. Gulick literally depicted this new race by including several pages of pictures of racial types. He borrowed photographs from the Kamehameha Schools and the University of Hawai'i, and instead of listing a name beneath each photograph, the subjects are identified by the mathematical formula of their racial type. One girl is $\frac{4}{8}$ Hawaiian, $\frac{1}{8}$ Chinese, and $\frac{3}{8}$ Caucasian. One boy is $\frac{1}{4}$ Hawaiian and $\frac{1}{4}$ Caucasian (no mention is made of the other half of his racial identity). Illustrating racial mixtures by this kind of literal depiction and tortured mathematical computation was not unusual and frequently featured young children or women. Interestingly, however, Adams's seminal work on

interracial marriage in Hawai'i also uses photographs of Hawaiian types, but he is careful to point out that he uses them to illustrate social rather than racial types (*Interracial Marriage in Hawai'i*, xvii).

32. Gulick, *Mixing the Races in Hawai'i*, 47.
33. Randolph Bourne, "Trans-National America," in *History of a Literary Radical and Other Essays*, ed. Van Wyck Brooks (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1920), 278.
34. *Ibid.*, 280.
35. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawai'i*, 311-12.
36. William Atherton Du Puy, *Hawai'i and Its Race Problem* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1932), 19-20.
37. On parades and American ethnicity, see Simon Peter Newman, *Parades and the Politics of the Street: Festive Culture in the Early American Republic* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997); Susan Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); April Schultz, *Ethnicity on Parade: Inventing the Norwegian-American through Celebration* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994). David Glassberg's *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990) also provides an interesting context for understanding civic celebrations of this type. Glassberg argues that historical pageantry during the Progressive era promoted civic unity and the assimilation of immigrant communities. The ethnic pageants discussed here certainly can be interpreted in this light, but my analysis suggests that in Hawai'i these celebrations have a longer history and a genesis more organic to Hawai'i than the Progressive era celebrations he examines.

The other body of literature that is important here pertains to ethnographic display and the performance of ethnicity in these venues. The display of indigenous peoples has a long history, dating to Columbus, who returned to Spain with an Arawak man who died after two years of being exhibited. Hawaiians were among the many indigenous peoples who were displayed at world's fairs and international expositions beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Robert Rydell's work is definitive: *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

But the display of Hawaiians seemed to have less to do with their status as natives than with the romanticized, exoticized, and sexualized images that circulated in the media and American popular culture in order to sell Hawai'i as a tourist destination. There have been several institutions in which the performance of Hawaiian cultural practices has been used as a tourist attraction. Lalani Village, Ulumau Village, and the Polynesian Cultural Center might be interpreted in the light of the history of ethnographic display. On the Polyne-

sian Cultural Center, see Verniece Wineera, "Selves and Others: A Reflexive Study of Negotiation, Compromise, and the Representation of Culture in Touristic Display at the Polynesian Cultural Center" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Hawai'i, 2000).

38. Mary Ryan, "The American Parade: Representations of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 137.

39. *Ibid.*

40. John Coggelshall, "Sauerkraut and Souvlaki: Ethnic Festivals as Performances of Identity," in *Celebrations of Identity: Multiple Voices in American Ritual Performance*, ed. Pamela R. Frese (Westport, Conn.: Bergin and Garvey, 1993), 37.

41. *Ibid.*

42. See Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, "Ua Mau Ke Ea O Ka Aina i Ka Pono: The Concepts of Sovereignty and Religious Sanction of Correct Political Behavior," in Hasager and Friedman, eds., *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood*, 34-43.

43. Coggelshall, "Sauerkraut," 44.

44. In Hawai'i, May Day is Lei Day, a semi-official holiday during which schoolchildren stage pageants, usually including a Lei Day king and queen, hula, and other festivities. Lei Day is also an adult celebration and features a royal court, parade, and charity dances.

45. See Steven J. Friesen, "The Origins of Lei Day: Festivity and the Construction of Ethnicity in the Territory of Hawai'i," *History and Anthropology* 10, no. 1 (1996): 2.

46. *Ibid.*, 8.

47. *Ibid.*, 7.

48. *Ibid.*, 10.

49. Albert Taylor, "Carnival Yesterday and Today," 1915 Mid-Pacific Carnival Program Guide, Hawaiian Collection, University of Hawai'i Library.

50. "Mid-Pacific Carnival," *Paradise of the Pacific*, March 1917, 1-3.

51. Philip Deloria argues that organizations such as the Improved Order of Redmen that appropriated Native American traditions afforded Euro-Americans the opportunity to identify with natives in both positive and negative ways. The literal co-opting of native identity as a weekend leisure activity in early twentieth-century-America when actual natives were being coerced out of their nativeness creates an ironic twist on ethnic American identity. See Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

52. "Mid-Pacific Carnival," 2.

53. *Ibid.*, 3.

54. "A 1917 Carnival Feature," *Paradise of the Pacific*, February 1917, 8.

55. The respect given to Kamehameha by Europeans and Americans is symbolized by the famous statue of him, located in downtown Honolulu across

from Iolani Palace and duplicated in Statuary Hall on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. Kamehameha is represented in much the same way that Julius Caesar is, with one arm outstretched. I am indebted to Stephen Morrillo, in the Department of History at Wabash College, for pointing this out to me.

56. The accumulation of *mana* was roughly equivalent to having wealth based on land, gold, jewels, or other European equivalents. Kamehamehá was not the first to attempt to rule all the islands, but according to Lilikala Kame‘eleihiwa, the way was paved by Kahekili, whose love of war brought all the islands except Hawai‘i under his influence. The influence of Western military technology was important but irrelevant if both sides in battle had access to it. So, according to Kame‘eleihiwa, the unification of the islands under Kamehameha had more to do with the powerful mana of Kahekili than it did with the implements of war and the advice given to Kamehameha by John Young and Isaac Davis, as is usually supposed. Lilikala Kame‘eleihiwa, e-mail correspondence with the author, November 16, 1999. See also Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Lands, Foreign Desires*.

57. For an interesting critique of Romanzo Adams and early sociology in Hawai‘i, see John Mei Liu, “Cultivating Cane: Asian Labor and the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation System within the Capitalist World Economy” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1985).

58. On the Massie case, see Theon Wright, *Rape in Paradise* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1966); Eric Takayama, “Error in ‘Paradise’: Race, Sex and the Massie-Kahahawai Affair of 1930’s Hawai‘i” (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai‘i, 1997).

59. Du Puy, *Hawai‘i and Its Race Problem*, ix.

60. *Ibid.*, x.

61. *Ibid.*, vii–viii.

PART 3

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