

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of Arts and Architecture

**KINGDOM, TERRITORY, STATE:
AN ARCHITECTURAL NARRATIVE OF HONOLULU, HAWAI'I (1882-1994)**

A Dissertation in

Art History

by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the architecture of Honolulu, Hawai‘i from 1882 to 1994. Hawai‘i’s historical trajectory from indigenous sovereign kingdom to U.S. state within this period situates it within U.S. colonial discourses and allows for the study of Honolulu as a colonized city. I focus on a small, select group of architectural structures in downtown Honolulu, Waikīkī, Ala Moana, and Pearl Harbor in order to assess the tension between native and foreign identities as well as the ways in which these identities influenced the built environment. The architectural narrative of regionalism, U.S. nationalism, and internationalism in Honolulu captures the complicated negotiations between governmental actors, architects and city planners, businesses, and public and private institutions both in the city and abroad. This study uncovers an architectural history that is both a curiosity because of its Pacific island setting and, yet, strangely familiar in form, function and style. It aims to disrupt hierarchies of knowledge that relegate Pacific island cities to the periphery and, instead, position Honolulu’s architectural heritage within global conversations about identity, politics, and culture.

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NOTE ON LANGUAGE

In keeping with the practice of many contemporary scholars of Hawai‘i, I use the ‘*okina* (glottal stop, i.e. Hawai‘i) and the *kahakō* (macron, i.e. *mō* ‘*ī*) for Hawaiian words. I do not include the glottal stop or macron when they are omitted by an author or organization. In addition, I italicize Hawaiian words except for instances in which an author does not incorporate italics in the text.

Finally, the Hawaiian Islands are comprised of eight major islands: Hawai‘i, O‘ahu, Maui, Kaua‘i, Moloka‘i, Lana‘i, Ni‘ihau, and Kaho‘olawe. This dissertation focuses on Honolulu as both the capital city of the Hawaiian Islands and the county seat for O‘ahu.

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Introduction

This dissertation examines the interplay between regionalism, U.S. nationalism, and internationalism in the architecture of late nineteenth and twentieth-century Honolulu, Hawai‘i. To date, scholarship on Honolulu’s architectural past has focused on particular periods in history, individual architects and their projects, and thematic subjects about residential, commercial, and leisure space. In contrast, this project seeks to tell a story over time about the tensions between native and foreign identities in Honolulu and the ways in which these identities influenced the built environment. What results is an architectural narrative about conflicts, alliances, and ambiguities that challenge the bifurcated dichotomies of center/periphery and conqueror/conquered that define Western historical and colonial discourses. This study discusses select architectural structures in Honolulu to demonstrate the ways in which the city’s architectural environment captures the complicated negotiations between governmental actors, architects and city planners, businesses, and public and private institutions both in the islands and abroad.

State of the Field

Scholarship about nineteenth and twentieth century architecture of Hawai‘i is limited. Three surveys exist: Geoffrey Fairfax’s *The Architecture of Honolulu* (1970), Rob Sandler’s *Architecture in Hawai‘i: A Chronological Survey* (1993), and Don J. Hibbard’s *Buildings of Hawaii* (2011). Fairfax provides concise descriptions of what he deems to be “the worthwhile architectural accomplishments” of Honolulu.¹ He categorizes structures according to their geographic location on O‘ahu and makes the claim that the 1920s and 1930s comprised the grand era for “good architecture,” because they provided a “much needed architectural vernacular – a design language that was whispered during the preceding one hundred years but never quite

¹ Geoffrey W. Fairfax, *The Architecture of Honolulu* (Norfolk Island, Australia: Island Heritage Limited, 1970), 9.

expressed clearly until this time.”² Sandler follows suit with discussion about stylistic analysis, climatic considerations, and the utilization of architects brought to Honolulu from the U.S. mainland. Finally, the Society of Architectural Historians published, as a volume in its Buildings of the United States (BUS) series, what Hibbard describes as his “architectural guidebook” to Hawai‘i. *Buildings of Hawai‘i* (2011) offers brief yet informative historical and formal descriptions about modern and contemporary structures.

The breadth of Hibbard’s work extends beyond the survey. He has published several thematic studies about Hawai‘i’s architectural past. His collaboration with David Franzen in *The View from Diamond Head: Royal Residence to Urban Resort* (1986) utilizes photography to trace and document Waikīkī’s transition from a chiefly Hawaiian enclave to a tourist hub for sun, surfing, and shopping. *Designing Paradise: The Allure of the Hawaiian Resort* (2006) takes the position that the development of resorts and hotels sought to commodify a Pacific island glamour for tourists in search of rest and relaxation. His larger claim suggests that these types of buildings not only aided in crafting Hawai‘i as a tourist destination but participated in the globalization of the tourist industry.³ Hibbard’s *Houses of Hawaii: 1850-1900* (2009) is another focused project in both theme and scope. In it, he analyzes residential structures as a means of departing from the singular narrative that positions Hawai‘i as a tropical paradise and, instead, attaches the everyday lived experience of Hawai‘i’s inhabitants to the landscape.

There are several specialized monographs about Hawaiian architectural regionalism, a style that gained prominence in the islands during the 1920s. The Hawaiian regional aesthetic provides context and connectedness to place. Hawai‘i’s built environment called for an architecture that responded to the tropical environs of the islands. Lanais, overhanging eaves,

² Ibid.

³ Don Hibbard, *Designing Paradise: The Allure of the Hawaiian Resort* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006), 2.

exotic flora, and local materials are just a few elements that define Hawaiian regionalism.

Charles W. Dickey is credited with establishing the Hawaiian regionalist aesthetic. Robert Jay's *The Architecture of Charles W. Dickey: Hawaii and California* (1992) chronicles the architect's biography in an effort to discuss the ways in which Dickey's personal and professional experiences as a California-born, Maui-raised, MIT-trained architect informed his design aesthetic. The distinctive "Dickey roof," characterized by its hipped sides, shallow eaves, and steeply pitched upper roof, epitomizes the architect's legacy and characterizes popular features of Honolulu's pre-World War II buildings.⁴ Similarly, *Hart Wood: Architectural Regionalism in Hawai'i* (2010) by Hibbard, Glenn E. Mason, and Karen J. Weitze reinforces the proliferation of the Hawaiian regional style of architecture in the designs of Philadelphia-born Hart Wood. Their study of Wood – a one-time partner of Dickey's – maintains that the architect's creativity, along with his desire to capture "the spirit of a society," communicates the biography of an individual who endeavored to put "the essence of Hawaii: simplicity, comfort, friendliness and hospitality" into built form.⁵ Finally, a dissertation by Daina Penkiunas, "American Regional Architecture in Hawai'i: Honolulu, 1915-1935" (1990), is a study about the ways in which Hawai'i's architecture reflected influences derived specifically from California. She works from the premise that "architecture became the vehicle with which Honolulu expressed its aspirations and defined its image."⁶ Penkiunas takes the position that the application of regional Californian styles to the architecture of Honolulu allowed its citizens to play an active role in promoting the image of Honolulu as a modern enclave to U.S. audiences.

One edited volume, *Hawaiian Modern: The Architecture of Vladimir Ossipoff* (2007),

⁴ Robert Jay, *The Architecture of Charles W. Dickey: Hawaii and California* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1992), 5.

⁵ Don J. Hibbard, Glenn Mason, and Karen Weitze, *Hart Wood: Architectural Regionalism in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), xv-xvi.

⁶ Daina Julia Penkiunas, "American Regional Architecture in Hawaii: Honolulu, 1915-1935" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1990), 14-15.

addresses the mid-twentieth century architecture of Russian-born Ossipoff. Kenneth Frampton describes Ossipoff's style as a "sophisticated eclecticism" that rejected the European avant-garde in favor of an architecture that embraced its locality and historical circumstance.⁷ Frampton concludes: "Ossipoff decided, however unconsciously, that the role of the architect was to facilitate and refine the natural, unpretentious requirements of a colonial society as directly as possible, in a climate that...was benevolent the year round."⁸ Dean Sakamoto supports Frampton's claim that Ossipoff intended to create buildings that were "culturally sensitive and environmentally sound."⁹ Sakamoto points to Ossipoff's IBM Building (1962), for instance, as evidence of his commercial designs from 1949 to the mid-1960s that balanced technological innovation with a vernacular emphasis to produce an appropriate style for the islands.¹⁰

Western architects and their designs define Hawai'i's nineteenth and twentieth century architectural trends. However, Fran Dieudonne's *Always Remember You are Hawaiian: A Biography of Theodore A. Vierra (1902-1987)* crafts a narrative about the preeminent Hawaiian architect of the twentieth century. Theodore A. Vierra, born in Hilo, Hawai'i, attended the Kamehameha Schools, earned a certificate from the Harvard School of Architecture in 1929, and then worked in Boston, Massachusetts for six years in the firm of Coolidge, Shepley, Bulfinch & Abbott. He returned to Hawai'i, where he received numerous architectural commissions, including the Honolulu International Airport (1962). Vierra's historical significance is underscored by the fact that he was the first Hawaiian architect admitted to the American Institute of Architects (AIA).

⁷ Kenneth Frampton, "Foreword," in *Hawaiian Modern: The Architecture of Vladimir Ossipoff*, Dean Sakamoto and Karla Britton, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), ix.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Dean Sakamoto and Karla Britton, eds., "Introduction," in *Hawaiian Modern: The Architecture of Vladimir Ossipoff* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 2.

¹⁰ Ibid, 3.

Hawai‘i has a rich and illustrious architectural past. Existing scholarship has thoroughly documented historical and stylistic components of Honolulu’s built environment. My research, however, seeks to place Honolulu’s architectural heritage within broader discourses of colonialism, the nation, and identity. This framework allows for a critical reading of Honolulu’s structures that recognizes form, style, and technical methods of architectural construction within the context of theoretical and practical forces that affect design processes.

Historical Context

Hawai‘i conjures the image of a tropical island paradise for many Americans. Swaying palm trees, endless beaches, and welcoming natives complete the vision. However, the history of Western contact with the Hawaiian Islands tells a different story. Christian missionaries, merchants, plantation owners, and political actors succeeded in dismantling class and social structures that had long organized and defined Native Hawaiian society. Gavan Daws’ *The Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (1989) gives a lengthy account of Hawai‘i’s past from antiquity to the present. I will underscore key moments that have defined Hawai‘i’s relationship with the West and, specifically, the United States. Historical events including the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778, the appearance of Protestant missionaries in 1820, and the U.S. annexation of Hawai‘i in 1898 have directly impacted the historical trajectory of Hawai‘i and its capital city of Honolulu.

Western historiographies of Hawai‘i generally begin with the arrival of Captain James Cook (1728-1779), the Scottish-born British naval commander, at Waimea, Kauai on January 18, 1778. The Cook narrative persists despite Noenoe Silva’s scholarship on the writings of Samuel Kamakau (1815-1876), a Native Hawaiian author and student of Hawai‘i’s past. Kamakau’s various *mo‘olelo* (history, legend, story) that appeared in nineteenth-century Hawaiian language newspapers, and that have more recently been translated, edited, and published, reveal that white

foreign explorers may have arrived in the Hawaiian Islands as early as 900 AD.¹¹ However, Cook's appearance in the islands does mark a crucial turning point in Hawai'i's history, signaling the beginning of the constant, rapid influx of Westerners, and, as Silva notes, the introduction of "disease, prostitution, epidemics, and the weakening of the bodies of the native people."¹²

During this period of increased European contact, interisland wars between Hawaiian *ali'i* (the class of rulers determined by genealogy) contributed to an unstable environment throughout the Hawaiian Islands. The *ali'i* had spiritual connections to the divine that, in turn, afforded them opportunities to provide physical support and sustenance to *maka'āinana* (commoners). Their desire to maintain sacred and secular control over the land and its people led to the struggle for dominance between *ali'i* of various islands. Not until Kamehameha I (1758-1819), an *ali'i* from Kohala, Hawai'i, conquered Maui, O'ahu, Molokai, Lanai, and Kauai were the islands unified, and, in 1810, the Kingdom of Hawai'i was established.¹³

By 1820, only a decade after unification, the first American missionaries arrived on the shores of Hawai'i. Four families and several individuals affiliated with the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) sought to "civilize" and convert the Hawaiian "heathens" to Christianity. The missionaries appealed to Hawaiian chiefs in their efforts to expose Hawaiians to God's gospel and kingdom as understood through Calvinist doctrine. Hawaiian chiefs agreed to "suppress vice, intoxication, and theft" and require

¹¹ Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 20.

¹² Ibid, 24.

¹³ Elizabeth Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai'i* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1993), 64, 110. This is not to suggest that Hawaiian society advocated for a transition from a chiefly society to "centralized hereditary rule." As Paul D'Arcy suggests, family and kin groups were more concerned with their own survival than with Hawaiian society as a whole. See Paul D'Arcy, "Warfare and State Formation in Hawaii: The Limits of Violence as a Means of Political Consolidation," *The Journal of Pacific History* 38, no. 1 (2003), 32.

Hawaiians to “attend school and church...and desist from gambling and adultery.”¹⁴ The missionaries contributed to these goals by establishing schools (Punahou School, 1841), erecting churches (Kawaiaha‘o Church, 1838), and formalizing a written Hawaiian language (1820-1831). At the same time, these missionary actions often came into conflict with the secular lifestyles of American merchants who specialized in the whaling industry and the trading of sandalwood, teas, and silks with Asia and who, beginning in the early 1800s, began to dock in Hawai‘i’s ports and reside in the port cities of Honolulu and Lahaina, Maui.¹⁵ Taken together, nineteenth-century Christianization and trade in Hawai‘i signaled the growth of an American presence in the islands. With this growth came consequences: the Native Hawaiian population rapidly declined due to disease and death caused by Western contact, and Christian dogma required the suppression of Hawaiian rituals and customs. Nevertheless, Hawaiian chiefs elected to “take the tools of the colonizers and use them to secure their own national sovereignty and well-being.”¹⁶ They adopted Western fashions, communicated through print media, and became knowledgeable about constitutional systems of government in their quest to assert their agency and maintain indigenous sovereignty.¹⁷

The United States government began to express concern about the influence of Britain and France in the Pacific during the mid-nineteenth century. The Pacific Islands represented some of the last “available” terrain within the Western “age of Empire.” Thus, the establishment of French Polynesia in 1842 and the British acquisition of New Zealand in 1840 spurred the United States to act on behalf of American settlers as well as their commercial and political

¹⁴ Sandra E. Wagner, “Mission and Motivation: The Theology of the Early American Mission in Hawai‘i,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 19 (1985): 69.

¹⁵ Roger Bell, *Last Among Equals: Hawaiian Statehood and American Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1984), 8.

¹⁶ Silva, 16.

¹⁷ Ibid.

interests in Hawai‘i. After thwarting a secession of the Hawaiian Islands to Great Britain in 1836 and annulling unfavorable treaties with France in 1839 and 1842, authorities in Washington, D.C. advocated for Hawai‘i’s international recognition as an independent nation protected under the auspices of the United States government. Even though officials in London and Paris viewed the actions taken by the U.S. government as an aggressive proclamation and extension of the Monroe Doctrine, they reluctantly retreated from Hawai‘i.¹⁸

After decades of Protestant missionary work, merchant trading, and U.S. government involvement in Hawai‘i, the first indirect step toward American control of the islands took place during the *māhele* (division) in 1848. For centuries prior, Hawaiian society had developed complex political and social systems rooted in the landscape. Hawaiians resided in *ahupua‘a*, self-sustaining land units encompassing broad plains near the sea running up valley ridges to the mountains. The wedge-shaped division of the *ahupua‘a* allowed for equal distribution of resources necessary to sustain life. Food, shelter, clothing, tools, transportation, and medicine derived from the *ahupua‘a* system that supported an estimated 400,000 to 800,000 Hawaiians.¹⁹

Thus, land that was once collective and administered under the general auspices of the *ali‘i* and *mō‘ī* (island ruler, monarch, the highest-ranking *ali‘i* in all the islands) became private property owned by outside interests who purchased the land at premium prices. Supporters of the *māhele* argued that land division functioned as a catalyst for economic stability and development in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. This new system of ownership opened the door for those with money to buy, sell, and lease land. The implications of the *māhele* were twofold: first, Hawaiian culture and its traditional hierarchical relationships between *maka‘āinana*, *ali‘i*, and *mō‘ī* were

¹⁸Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers, 1961), 17-19.

¹⁹Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, “Ever Loyal to the Land: The Story of the Native Hawaiian People,” *Human Rights* 33, no. 2 (Spring 2006): 15.

destabilized; secondly, the indigenous population became vulnerable to displacement from their ancestral lands. In the end, Western business interests prevailed as valuable land became available for exploitation and cultivation.²⁰

Descendants of American Protestant missionaries recognized the economic potential of Hawai‘i’s tropical climate and rich volcanic soil for sugar production during the 1850s and 1860s. The Baldwins, Cookes, and Alexanders, among others, cultivated the land into vast domains of sugar production. They established corporations, including Castle & Cooke and Alexander & Baldwin, which regulated large sugar plantations throughout the islands.²¹ Their success in the sugar business and their ability to trade with the United States mainland was, in large part, a consequence of the *māhele*. They even procured agreements with the United States government to allow for duty-free trade between Hawai‘i and the U.S. mainland in return for the U.S. acquisition for lands at *Pu‘u Loa* (Pearl Harbor, O‘ahu).²²

Hawai‘i’s plantations required a strong labor contingent. On O‘ahu alone, numerous plantations were established: Apokaa Sugar Co., Ewa Plantation Company, Honolulu Sugar Company, Kahuku Plantation Company, Oahu Sugar Company, Waialua Plantation Company, Waianae Company, and Waimanalo Sugar Company. Plantation owners turned first to Hawaiians as a possible labor source. However, the majority of the Hawaiian population refused to provide cheap labor and, as such, the plantation elite turned to foreign contract labor from China, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines, which led to the first large-scale migration of

²⁰ Van Dyke, 5. See also Riley M. Moffat and Gary L. Fitzpatrick, *Surveying the Māhele: Mapping the Hawaiian Land Revolution*, vol. 2 (Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1995).

²¹ See Ronald T. Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1983), 20. See also Jared G. Smith, “The Big Five: A Brief History of Hawaii’s Largest Firms” (Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1942).

²² Otis W. Freeman, *The Economic Geography of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i, 1927), 31.

immigrants to Hawai‘i from the Chinese cities of Canton, Macao, and Hong Kong in 1852.²³ By 1882, the Chinese constituted 50 percent of plantation labor. Plantation life proved financially limiting and physically demanding for the Chinese. Many Chinese laborers moved to Honolulu when their five-year contracts expired. This resulted in a surge of Chinese inhabitants in the city by the mid-1880s. The Chinese actively pursued work and gravitated toward service and trade professions. They established businesses and acquired professional employment as laundry workers, tailors, dressmakers, shoemakers, restaurant proprietors, cooks, waiters, bakers, house servants, gardeners, and stable hands.²⁴ By 1902, the Chinese represented only 10 percent of the plantation work force.²⁵

The Japanese filled in the gap created by the shortage of Chinese plantation labor.²⁶ However, the financial and physical conditions that hindered the Chinese also plagued the Japanese. As such, Japanese plantation labor steadily decreased from 31,000 to 17,000 between 1902 and 1922. When their contracts expired and they left O‘ahu’s plantations, the Japanese, in large measure, became fisherman, sailors, carpenters, barbers, and hairdressers in Honolulu.²⁷

The final large migration waves from Asia to Hawai‘i departed from Korea and the Philippines in 1906-1907. Koreans and Filipinos arrived in Hawai‘i for the same purpose as their Chinese and Japanese predecessors, and they faced many of the same challenges. Upward

²³ Adam McKeown, *Chinese Migrant Networks and Cultural Change: Peru, Chicago, Hawaii, 1900-1936* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 62-63.

²⁴ Ibid, 83.

²⁵ While Hawai‘i’s sugar plantations benefited from Chinese labor, the United States government expressed concern about the increase of the Chinese population on the U.S. mainland. Many historians have theorized that anti-Chinese sentiment in the labor force, racist bigotry, and political maneuvers that sought to use the Chinese as a smokescreen against Gilded Age economics led to the U.S. Chinese Exclusion Act (1882-1943). This policy restricted Chinese immigration to the United States and made Chinese residents ineligible for U.S. naturalization. Thus, the Chinese Exclusion Act applied to the Hawaiian Islands when it became a U.S. territory in 1900. See Andrew Gyory, *Closing the Gate: Race, Politics, and the Chinese Exclusion Act* (Raleigh: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 15 and Fuchs, 90.

²⁶ Franklin Odo and Kazuko Sinoto, *A Pictorial History of The Japanese of Hawai‘i, 1885-1924* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1985), 14-21.

²⁷ Fuchs, 120.

mobility occurred when Koreans and Filipinos departed from the plantations and joined the military, opened their own businesses, and formed labor organizations. However, whereas Chinese and Japanese immigrants elected to migrate to Honolulu, Filipinos and Koreans tended to settle in ethnic enclaves away from the city center.²⁸

The influx of Asian labor to Hawai‘i did not disrupt the ability of Americans to become the dominant political power in Hawai‘i. An armed militia backed by a group of majority white males of American heritage, known as the Hawaiian League, forced the *mō‘ī*, Kalākaua (r. 1874-1891), to sign the Bayonet Constitution in 1887. This document “surrendered his [Kalākaua] executive function”²⁹ to a legislature controlled by men such as Lorrin Thurston who was born into an American missionary family in Honolulu and, throughout his career, supported Hawai‘i’s sugar industry. By 1891, Kalākaua’s successor, Lili‘uokalani (r. 1891-1893), drafted a petition to pass a new constitution that would restore power to the monarchy. A group of American sugar planters led by Sanford Ballard Dole were upset with Lili‘uokalani’s plans, as well as tariff policies between the United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom enacted during her reign. The group staged a *coup d’état* and enlisted U.S. Marines to “render things secure” as they took control of government buildings in Honolulu on January 17, 1893.³⁰ The dissidents established the Republic of Hawai‘i (1894-1898) with a provisional government that would exist until they could negotiate and agree upon terms of union (annexation) with the United States. Lili‘uokalani abdicated the throne, not to the rebels, but to the “superior force of the United States of America”

²⁸ See Roberta Chang, *The Koreans in Hawai‘i: A Pictorial History, 1903-2003* (Honolulu: The University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003). See also Luis V. Teodoro, ed. *Out of this Struggle: The Filipinos in Hawaii* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawai‘i, 1981).

²⁹ Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 1.

³⁰ Jon van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai‘i?* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 160.

on January 24, 1895.³¹

The subject of annexation became a highly contentious debate in the Republic of Hawai‘i. Part of U.S. ambivalence toward annexation, and later statehood, arose from Hawai‘i’s dependence on overseas contract labor. U.S. officials and mainland citizens expressed a fear that immigrant populations would upset the racial balance of the United States, or even damage Caucasian supremacy.³² However, the opposite occurred. Asian settlers contributed to the trajectory of American influence in the Pacific. *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i* (2008), edited by Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okumura, takes the position that Asian settlers supported the U.S. settler state by contributing to the blurring of boundaries between indigenouness and foreignness.³³ One specific manifestation of Asian settler colonialism can be seen in the use by Americans and Asians of the term “local” (or “local Asians”) to identify those from Asia who have made Hawai‘i their home. This designation establishes a problematic claim to Hawai‘i in that it allows foreign settlers to invent the tradition of Hawai‘i as a harmonious, multicultural state in which “cultural pluralism is itself celebrated by an assimilationist discourse that seeks to lose Indigenous specificity amongst the ethnic heterogeneity of immigrant populations.”³⁴

White Americans in twentieth-century Hawai‘i amplified the complexity of the islands diverse Asian demographic and complicated the political relationship between the islands and the

³¹ Lili‘uokalani did, in fact, abdicate the throne of the Hawaiian Kingdom; however, she also intended for this action to be temporary. She stated in her abdication speech: “Now, to avoid any collision of armed forces and perhaps loss of life, I do, under this protest, and impelled by said forces, yield my authority until such time as the Government of the United States shall, upon the facts being presented to it, undo the action of its representative and reinstate me in the authority which I claim as the constitutional sovereign of the Hawaiian Islands.” Lili‘uokalani, *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co., 1898), 273-274, 387.

³² William Adam Russ, Jr., *The Hawaiian Revolution (1893-94)* (London and Toronto: Associated University Press, 1992), 35.

³³ Candace Fujikane, “Introduction: Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. Colony of Hawai‘i,” in *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai‘i*, Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okumura, eds. (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 6.

³⁴ Ibid, 11. See also Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999), 168.

United States. Elvi Whittaker's anthropological study, *The Mainland Haole: The White Experience in Hawaii* (1986), parses out the population categories of whites in the islands. She identifies various groups, including U.S. military servicemen and their families, tourists, retirees, small business owners, professionals, and artists. However, Whittaker points out one category of white foreigners that is distinct from the others: Caucasian *kamaaina* ("child of the land"). She states, "One recognizable category of Caucasian is the *kamaaina* who exercises political and economic power, is culturally a mixture of old New England and missionary values, has close association by marriage with Hawaiian nobility, and has become self-perpetuating as an endogamous clan."³⁵ Thus, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Hawai'i's white *kamaaina* viewed itself as distinct from white mainlanders and the Hawaiian nobility with which it claimed kinship. Judy Rohrer offers a critical commentary about the language used to describe these long-term residents in *Haoles in Hawaii* (2010). She makes the point that the adoption of the native term *kamaaina* by white individuals in Hawai'i serves to purposefully blur their ethnic, racial, and national origins.³⁶ Nevertheless, these long-term white residents had a significant impact in Hawai'i.

Protecting political and commercial interests were not the only motivators for U.S. expansion in the Pacific. Indeed, Hawai'i became a critical outpost for U.S. military forces during the Spanish-American War in 1898. When the United States found itself entangled in conflict with the Spanish Empire in the Caribbean, the United States military disrupted Spain's access to reinforcements and supplies from its Pacific island territories. Thus, the Spanish-American War commenced in the Pacific, with the Philippines bearing the brunt of physical

³⁵ Luis V. Teodoro, *Out of this Struggle: The Filipinos in Hawaii* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1986), 80.

³⁶ Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press), 43.

battle and Hawai‘i serving as the refueling station for U.S. ships.³⁷ This ten-week war signaled Hawai‘i’s strategic position for the United States armed forces and foreshadowed its impact on future military aggressions in the Asia Pacific region.

If religion, commerce, and defense were the direct and focused component of U.S. involvement in Hawai‘i during the late nineteenth century, American notions of Manifest Destiny shape the broader narrative. Popular belief among Americans in the nineteenth century stressed the idea that they were destined, as a chosen people of God, to settle the North American continent. California and the Oregon territory, as the westernmost point on what would become the continental U.S., had been ceded to the United States from Mexico and Great Britain, respectively, and made into U.S. territories in 1848. The Pacific offered a new frontier for the United States to impart “the magic charm of its political institutions.”³⁸ American settlers and merchants who were already enmeshed in Hawai‘i’s political, social, and economic institutions provided the conduit for official U.S. annexation of Hawai‘i in 1898. This action informed Aaron Steven Wilson’s argument for his dissertation, “ ‘West of the West?’: The Territory of Hawai‘i, the American West, and American Colonialism in the Twentieth Century” (2008). Wilson maintains that discussions of American annexation of Hawai‘i and the establishment of a U.S. territorial government in 1900 necessitates a conversation about the ways in which Hawai‘i functioned as a “transitional zone” for the American Empire. Hawai‘i was the physical sphere in which U.S. imperial visions on the mainland translated into a colonial enterprise in the Pacific.³⁹

Annexation signaled a shift in Hawai‘i’s relationship with the United States. Many nations around the world viewed Hawai‘i’s land and its people as an integral part of the United

³⁷ Vincent C. Cirillo, *Bullets and Bacilli: The Spanish-American War and Military Medicine* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 10, 18-19.

³⁸ Dan E. Clark, “Manifest Destiny and the Pacific,” *Pacific Historical Review* 1 (1932): 1-2.

³⁹ Aaron Steven Wilson, “ ‘West of the West’: The Territory of Hawai‘i, the American West, and American Colonialism in the Twentieth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Department of History, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2008).

States. When the country went to war in 1917 (World War I), so too did Hawai‘i. Honolulu’s ports proved valuable to the war effort and thousands of Hawai‘i’s men and women contributed overseas in some capacity. However, the watershed moment for the islands was when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, O‘ahu on December 7, 1941. It thrust Hawai‘i into American patriotic consciousness and into World War II. Although Hawai‘i operated under martial law for three years (1941-1944) and many of its citizens were drafted into the U.S. military, fervor for U.S. statehood grew in the islands. Supporters pointed the territory’s financial and corporal sacrifices to this war effort, to those in Korea and Vietnam, and the ideological battle against Communism during the Cold War.

The march toward statehood was long and arduous. Voices opposing statehood such as Alice Kamokila Campbell, with an eye toward Hawai‘i’s sovereign past, expressed dissent among the island community and in front of the United States Congress. However, statehood advocates maintained that Hawai‘i had transitioned past the “period of pupilage.”⁴⁰ Its citizens had contributed substantially to U.S. federal taxes, businesses participated in international commerce, the tourist industry boomed, and Hawai‘i’s local administration proved skillful in its ability to govern. *LIFE* magazine published numerous photographs attesting to Hawai‘i’s modernity. Foodland grocery stores, football games, and sleek automobiles created a vision of Honolulu an American city. *LIFE* photographers were also present when Honolulu citizens signed the Honor Roll for Statehood petition in 1954. Hawai‘i’s citizens desired access to federal funds, the ability to vote for the U.S. president, and elect officials to Congress. President Dwight D. Eisenhower (term: 1953-1961) and the U.S. Congress signed the Hawaii Admission Act in March 1959, and Hawai‘i officially became a state on August 21, 1959.

⁴⁰ Ingram M. Stainback, “Statehood for Hawaii,” reprinted from *State Government* (Honolulu: Hawaii Citizens’ Statehood Committee (October 1946): 4.

Taken together, Hawai‘i’s history and the diverse populations that have occupied the city of Honolulu from 1882 to 1994 present a complex amalgamation of factors that set the stage for the architectural interplay of regionalism, U.S. nationalism, and internationalism. Protestant missionaries made their religious mark on the city, businessmen established trading enterprises, communal land became private property, immigrant labor supported a plantation economy, and, finally, the Hawaiian Kingdom (1810-1894) transitioned into a U.S. territory (1898-1959) and, later, a U.S. state (1959-present).

Theoretical Framework

This study theoretical underscores the ways in which U.S. colonialism manifested in Honolulu’s built environment through the acquisition of geographic space and the visual control of the urban landscape through architectural development. I work within the assumption that the indigenous “other” is classified as such because of racial and economic hierarchies established by European colonial empires including Great Britain and France. I analyze Honolulu’s built environment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as that of a colonized city whose inclusion in Hawai‘i’s historical trajectory from indigenous sovereign kingdom to U.S. state situates it within colonial discourses.

If we define a region as a broad geographic area distinguished by similar features,⁴¹ then regionalism, as an action or practice, is born out of Western desires to categorize space and place. It is a mode of constructing boundaries and territories for the purpose of organization. Regionalism’s focus on physical space can be utilized by the nation for political ends, but it can also function as a conduit for the creation of culture. Paul Carter declares as much in *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscapes and History* (1987). His study of the Australian landscape advances Yi-Fu Tuan’s study about place. Whereas Yi-Fu reveals in *Space and Place*:

⁴¹ “Region,” *Merriam-Webster* Online, n.d., Web, September 26, 2015.

The Perspective of Experience (1977) that places are imbued with meaning once they are affected by human experience, Carter maintains that in the context of Western imperial frameworks, a place is merely “a stage that pays attention to events,”⁴² a revelation that leads Carter to assert that in order for places to have historical relevance a “cause and effect” paradigm must exist such that order can emerge from chaos.⁴³ In this way, Western arrivals made sense of Pacific island landscapes only after they deciphered the space through the linguistic assignment of names to places.

Similarly, nineteenth and twentieth-century Western narratives of Hawai‘i’s colonial space are largely the result of U.S. imperial history. Non-indigenous settlers in Hawai‘i have ordered and titled the island landscape: *Lē‘ahi* (brow of the ahi) is now Diamond Head, and *Pūowaina* (Hill of Sacrifice) is now Punchbowl Crater. This nomenclatural approach largely ignores indigenous worldviews, or what Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa has termed “genealogical history,” and what Margaret Jolly has summarized as the connection between “places and people through the spatiotemporal language of kinship.”⁴⁴ Thus, regionalism, as I define it, is a consequence of what Tongan scholar Epeli Hau‘ofa has described in “Our Sea of Islands” (1993) as “imaginary lines across the sea, making the colonial boundaries that, for the first time, confined ocean peoples to tiny spaces.”⁴⁵ Hau‘ofa refers not only to literal confinement but to the confinement of Pacific Islanders in the Western imagination. Pacific Islanders, their environs, and their cultures become “co-opted,” to use Haunani-Kay Trask’s language, within colonial

⁴² Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), xvi.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Margaret Jolly, “Imagining Oceania: Indigenous and Foreign Representations of a Sea of Islands,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 19, no. 2 (2007): 514. See also Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992): 23-24.

⁴⁵ Epeli Hau‘ofa, “Our Sea of Islands,” in *A New Oceania: Rediscovering Our Sea of Islands*, Eric Waddell, Vijay Naidu, and Epeli Hau‘ofa, eds. (School of Social and Economic Development, The University of the South Pacific in association with Beake House, 1993), 7.

regimes.⁴⁶

American settlers in Hawai‘i were part-and-parcel of U.S. expansion in the Pacific. Therefore, Honolulu’s built environment cannot be understood without considering U.S. nationalism. Societal values that stress individual freedom, democracy, global influence, and success were pervasive in American society. In *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983), Benedict Anderson identifies nationalism as a “cultural artefact.” He maintains that nationalism is “capable of being transplanted, with varying degrees of self-consciousness, to a great variety of social terrains, to merge and be merged with a correspondingly wide variety of political and ideological constellations.”⁴⁷ Nationalism, as Anderson contends, can be easily translated and transferred across physical and cultural boundaries because it is imagined. The nation, or nationalism, exists because of perceptions about its characteristics. The “limited” physical boundaries, “sovereignty” of the state, and commitment to a “community” of individuals facilitates the idea of nationalism within a societal ethos.⁴⁸ Nationalism is also a part of the “invented tradition” that Eric Hobsbawm discusses in *The Invention of Tradition* (1992), where he defines it as a process, that through repetition, inculcates the belief within society that accepted “norms and values,” such as nationalism, are sustained because they are believed to be rooted in the past.⁴⁹

However, Partha Chatterjee directly challenges Anderson’s notion that nationalism derives from an imagined community. In *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (1993), Chatterjee maintains that imagined communities derive from

⁴⁶ Haunani Kay-Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1993), 103.

⁴⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983), 4.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

⁴⁹ Eric Hobsbawm, *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1.

Western notions of national culture that are largely rooted within a political scheme. Chatterjee proposes that Western forms of knowledge can be upended through anti-colonial nationalisms that acknowledge the social organization of non-Western societies. He establishes the distinction between two modes of knowledge: the material and the spiritual, surmising: “The material is the domain of the “outside,” of the economy and of statecraft, of science and technology, a domain where the West had proved its superiority...The spiritual, on the other hand, is an “inner” domain bearing the “essential” marks of cultural identity.”⁵⁰ It is, therefore, more difficult for the West to penetrate the inner, spiritual realm of national culture.⁵¹

Adria L. Imada, in *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* (2012), borrows from Vincente Diaz’s theory of “counter-colonialism” as a foil to Chatterjee’s theory of anti-colonialism. In her discussion about the public showcase of Hawaiian hula by female performers for American audiences, Imada makes the claim that counter-colonialism, unlike anti-colonialism, is not “clearly oppositional nor accommodating” to U.S. colonialism and imperialism. Counter-colonialism is both a cultural and political act that critiques the status and motives of Western society.⁵² The female hula body touring on the American circuit at the turn of the twentieth century, as Imada argues, did not simply reflect the “alluring Hawaiian” woman that American audiences had viewed in print culture. The very presence of these women working in cities throughout the U.S. Empire challenged American perceptions of hula as a performative “gift of aloha” from “grateful Hawaiians to their colonial rulers.”⁵³ It “unsettled preconceptions of Hawaiians as pre-modern, indolent “Kanakas” sitting on a faraway rock” by showcasing

⁵⁰ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012), 18.

⁵³ Ibid, 11.

Hawaiian women whose search for employment and self-fulfillment on the U.S. mainland resulted in a Native modernity predicated on a “Hawaiian cosmopolitanism.”⁵⁴ In this way, hula became a viable avenue in which native women, in particular, preserved Hawaiian culture and became well-traveled, self-aware agents of their craft while simultaneously “disorganizing empire” by showcasing bodies of color to American audiences outside of the Hawaiian Islands.⁵⁵

While dancers on the hula circuit confronted U.S. Empire on mainland soil, white Americans in the Hawaiian Islands had to confront what it means to be American, or to reside in an American territory outside of the U.S. mainland. This tension is part of what Paul Lyons terms “American Pacificism.” The theory asserts that representations of Oceania within American consciousness “play a range of functions that respond to the needs of the national narrative during given historic periods.”⁵⁶ The American imagination finds Hawai‘i’s people and its lands mutable. Cultural, social, political, and economic investments that Americans made in the Pacific region are a direct reflection of the dialogue and exchanges between natives and foreigners who were involved in decision-making processes. In this way, white Americans on the U.S. mainland and American settlers in the Pacific conceptualized their perceived benevolent and tolerant national identity as a consequence of imagined, mutually beneficial “bound-togetherness” with Oceanic societies.⁵⁷

Indeed, it is not enough to contend that American presence alone accounted for U.S. colonialism in Hawai‘i; rather, various systems of power contributed to the colonial process. Edward Said’s *Orientalism* (1978) identifies power as an “uneven exchange” between political,

⁵⁴ Ibid, 19.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 17.

⁵⁶ Paul Lyons, *American Pacificism: Oceania in the U.S. Imagination* (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 16.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 2.

intellectual, cultural, and moral forces.⁵⁸ This “uneven exchange” is further dissected in *Culture and Imperialism*. Said links imperialism – as a “process or policy of establishing or maintaining an empire”⁵⁹ – to U.S. nationalist ideologies of American exceptionalism. “American greatness,” in the words of Said, led to population expansion, and colonialism within “distant lands to be designated vital to American interests.”⁶⁰ Rohrer, meanwhile, specifically speaks to colonialism and imperialism’s complexity in Hawai‘i by disavowing the notion that colonization can only be “conceived of as one thing (takeover of territory for resource extraction and empire building), accomplished through one mode (the use of force), and occurring uni-directionally (from colonizer onto colonized).”⁶¹ In her assertion that there are “cracks” and “resistances” among all parties involved in the colonial environment, she underscores colonialism’s complicated discourses. My point is that the “cracks” and “resistances” of which Rohrer writes reflect the complex negotiations between the local, the national, and the international as they materialize in the built environment of Honolulu.

My emphasis on the American imagination in Honolulu does not seek to focus on what Nicholas Thomas identifies in *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific* (1999) as scholarship that only considers “one side of the colonial encounter.”⁶² In the previously mentioned book, as well as in *Colonialism’s Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (1994), Thomas encourages approaching indigenous and foreign exchanges as a type of appropriate incoherence that blurs the boundaries and hierarchies within colonial

⁵⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

⁵⁹ Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 9.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 8.

⁶¹ Rohrer, 13.

⁶² Nicholas Thomas, *Double Vision: Art Histories and Colonial Histories in the Pacific* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3.

society.⁶³ It is a method that seeks a redress to Frantz Fanon's astute claim in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963) that "...the colonist makes history. And because he refers constantly to the history of his metropolis, he plainly indicates that here he is the extension of his metropolis."⁶⁴ Thus, in this study about Honolulu's built environment, I frame Americans as actors *and* receivers in the production of the architectural culture that includes Hawaiian, European, and Asian participants.

I am guided in this study by the practical uses and visual messages of Honolulu's buildings and spaces. In this way, I am not concerned with the representation of architecture in painting and photography, but rather in what buildings mean for the people who view and engage with them. The city is comprised of a complex network of actors and interests who contribute to the dynamism of the urban environment. Mohammad Garipour and Nilay Ozlu in *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers* (2015) utilize the scholarship of Georg Simmel, Henri Lefebvre, and Spiro Kostof in order to make the claim that "the city is not a stable entity with a solid form but, on the contrary, a constantly evolving paradigm, an ongoing construction of mobile individuals living, experiencing or visiting the city..."⁶⁵ Kevin Lynch presents an auxiliary argument in *The Image of the City* (1960). He acknowledges that the perception of cities can be "partial" and "fragmented" based upon the goals of architects and city planners, as well as individual memories and meanings.⁶⁶ However, Lynch asserts that it is

⁶³ Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 2.

⁶⁴ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, Richard Philcox, trans. (New York: Grove Press, 2004), 15.

⁶⁵ Mohammad Garipour and Nilay Ozlu, *The City in the Muslim World: Depictions by Western Travel Writers* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 1. See also Georg Simmel, "The Metropolis and Mental Life" and "The Sociology of Space," in *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*, David Frisby and Mike Featherstone, eds. (London: Sage Publications, 1997); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meaning Throughout History* (Boston: Bulfinch, 1991) and *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History*, 1st North American edition (Boston: Little, Brown, 1992).

⁶⁶ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (The Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1960), 1.

crucial for cities to be legible. His theory of “legibility” posits that the city must have certain visual cues, sensory experiences, and organizational patterns to make it both beautiful and decipherable to its inhabitants.⁶⁷ Lynch purports that individuals and societies have an inherent need for the environment to be identifiable and structured. Here, in relation to this research, I evaluate Honolulu during a period of significant turmoil. The shift in patronage, usage, and stylistic inspiration within a relatively short period of time speaks to the ways in which individuals and institutions with a stake in the city’s architectural development negotiated the multiple identity positions within the city.

Honolulu is, in fact, a colonial city. Colonial urbanism places my research within theoretical discourses about architecture, urban form, representation, and the imperial imagination. While most examples of colonial urbanism concern the British and French experiences, their usefulness as points of comparison to the American example must not be ignored. Scholars of this genre, including Anthony King, Gwendolyn Wright, and Nezar AlSayyad explore the creation of colonial thought as manifested in literature, politics, the city, and the nation-state. The idea that colonialism was not simply a material act prompted by economics, but a cultural act that involved issues of race, conquest, and dominance contributes to these authors’ arguments.

Scholarly critiques about British and French colonial urbanism provide a useful framework for thinking broadly about the ways in which American values emanating from the U.S. mainland influenced the unique beliefs, institutions, and social organizations that developed among American settlers in Honolulu. In his study of New Delhi in *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (1976), King claims that the

⁶⁷ Ibid, 1-3.

“understanding of any city presupposes an understanding of the society to which it belongs. In the case of the colonial city, this is the colonial society...”⁶⁸ Wright’s *Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (1991) explores France’s relationship to Morocco, Madagascar, and Indochina to underscore a claim about the interconnectivity between politics, culture, and colonial policies directed toward the built environment. King and Wright’s scholarship allows for a discussion about colonialism as a triangulated affair between indigenous populations, administrative officials in the metropole, and settlers in the colony.

Political power, paired with the execution of architectural and urban projects in the city, suggests to Nezar AlSayyad in “Urbanism and the Dominance Equation” (1992) that colonial cities “serve as expressions of dominance.”⁶⁹ He critiques and reassesses various forms of dominance – “one people over another, one society over another, one political system over another” – as they manifest in the built environment. AlSayyad suggests that the study of architecture in colonial cities can be abstruse. Architecture does not necessarily facilitate a revelation about the intentions, or dominance, of a patron, society, or culture. He confronts this idea by contemplating the shifting meaning of identity within colonial societies. If individual, state, and national identity is unstable, or even imagined, then architecture can only represent identity for “a single individual or groups of individuals at a specific point in time.”⁷⁰

AlSayyad maintains a similar argument in *Hybrid Urbanism* (2001). Because the coalescing of multiple identity positions layered within built environments may produce hybrid spaces, “colonial and postcolonial discourse must be done in tandem with analysis of specific

⁶⁸ Anthony King, *Colonial Urban Development: Culture, Social Power and Environment* (Boston: Routledge & Paul, 1976), 13.

⁶⁹ Nezar AlSayyad, ed., “Urbanism and the Dominance Equation: Reflections on Colonialism and National Identity,” in *Forms of Dominance: On the Architecture and Urbanism of the Colonial Enterprise* (Aldershot, Brookfield, Hong Kong, Singapore, Sydney: Avebury, 1992), 4-5.

⁷⁰ Ibid, 21.

geographic, historic, and economic situations.”⁷¹ This does not mean that hybrid spaces remain static. AlSayyad maintains that study of hybrid spaces necessitate a contextual approach because they are the result of diverse human interactions; therefore, they must be considered as sites of comprise, lest they become simply “reactionary spaces.”⁷² When AlSayyad’s claim is considered alongside Lynch’s argument about the legibility of cities, it is clear that all colonial inhabitants and participants have a stake in the territory and must therefore navigate various claims about influence and ownership of the landscape.

Finally, I employ the scholarship of contemporary scholars of Hawaiian history and ethnic studies who engage with the legacy of American colonialism in Hawai‘i. Their works are crucial to this study because they consider the push-and-pull of various indigenous and foreign actors in Honolulu. Haunani-Kay Trask frames Hawai‘i-U.S. relations in terms of a ceaseless power struggle in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (1993). *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (2004), by Noenoe K. Silva, explores Native Hawaiian resistance to American annexation efforts. Stacy L. Kamehiro examines the implications of Hawaiian cultural and artistic programs to conceptions of national identity in *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (2009). Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio considers the effects of Western law on the modernizing efforts of Hawai‘i in *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (2002). J. Kēhaulani Kauanui’s *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (2008) addresses the racialization of Hawaiians as a means of integrating American notions of identity politics into indigenous frameworks of knowledge.

Theoretical and concrete knowledge about Honolulu’s built environment come together

⁷¹ Nezar AlSayyad, ed., “Hybrid Culture/Hybrid Urbanism: Pandora’s Box of the “Third Place,” in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment* (Westport, CT and London: Praeger, 2001), 8.

⁷² Ibid.

in this study. Existing scholarship about Hawai‘i’s architecture within the context of global discourses about colonialism and colonial urbanism serve to evaluate Honolulu as a lived space with a historical past that has been shaped, for better or worse, by American settlement.

Organization

The research in this study pulls from a multitude of academic disciplines and fields to make the argument that Honolulu’s built environment is an amalgamation of identities and moments that resulted from the interplay between regionalism, U.S. nationalism, and internationalism. I organize the chapters chronologically and utilize specific architectural structures that are thematically linked in order to advance my claim. This dissertation, informed by AlSayyad’s call for specificity within colonial histories, crafts a narrative about Honolulu’s architectural heritage. While comparative examples from other cities in U.S. territories that would speak to the larger American imperial and colonial enterprise are interesting, they are largely omitted from this study because they are the result of very distinct occurrences that led to their creation. I frame Honolulu’s architecture of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as a visual manifestation of the distinct relationship and set of circumstances that were established between governments and individuals in the United States and Hawai‘i.

Chapter 1, “Architecture and the Critique of American Presence in Nineteenth-Century Honolulu,” discusses the tension between the Hawaiian monarchy and the arrival of early foreign settlers in the islands. Kalākaua, determined to address the foreign occupation of Hawai‘i on his own terms, erected ‘Iolani Palace, a monumental structure in which he employed methods of self-fashioning to reconcile a sacred indigenous past with a changing present. In effect, Hawai‘i’s native population, through its leader, visually exhibited an effort to retain sovereignty within an increasingly Americanized world.

Chapter 2, “Architectural Revivalism and the Hawaiian Regional Aesthetic in a Pan-Pacific Era,” considers the period between 1900 and 1930, which marks the American annexation of Hawai‘i and the passage of the Organic Act (August 1900) establishing a governmental framework for the Territory of Hawai‘i. The construction of Western-inspired edifices during the early territorial years reflected U.S. political control of the city. However, by the late 1920s, Hawai‘i’s territorial status had settled in the mind of its inhabitants. As such, patrons, architects, and city planners, secure in Hawai‘i’s political allegiance to the United States, could relax and experiment with various architectural forms. The Hawaiian Regional Style resulted from the Pan-Pacific emphasis of the era and dominated Honolulu’s landscape. The international character of Hawai‘i suited the Pan-Pacific ethos of the twentieth century. The Hawaiian regionalism captured the cultural juncture between Hawai‘i, the United States mainland, and Asia.

The Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 triggered U.S. entry into World War II. Hawai‘i, no longer simply a strategic territorial outpost for the U.S. military, became the target of foreign aggression. Chapter 3, “The Local and the Global: Three Government Buildings in Post-World War II Honolulu” claims that while many residents of Honolulu advocated for statehood following the war, the 1950s became the moment when architects in the city embraced an internationalist aesthetic for government buildings. The people of Hawai‘i were absorbing global conversations about technology and industry while simultaneously becoming acutely aware of their significance to American military and diplomatic strategy in a post-World War II environment characterized by the Cold War, Korean War, and Vietnam War. Honolulu’s architecture during a time of increased international angst

naturally aligned with the adoption of an international style characterized by the open box and skeletal construction.

Chapter 4, “A U.S. State Capitol in the Pacific” examines the architectural choices and urban planning techniques utilized by John Carl Warnecke and Belt, Lemmon & Lo in the design of the Hawai‘i State Capitol. I argue that the state capitol operates as a complexly layered spatial statement. I propose that the merger of indigenous tropes and Western architectural forms at the Hawai‘i State Capitol resulted from a local sense of nationalism that influenced the architects and their advisers to erect the first monumental sign of U.S. democracy in the Pacific.

Chapter 5, “Island Retailing, Island Commerce,” addresses two monumental structures that defined Honolulu’s business economy and approaches to urban planning during the 1960s: The Ala Moana Center and the Financial Plaza of the Pacific. The Ala Moana Center, a regional shopping complex, functioned as a literal and figural “consumer paradise” for tourists and residents. Built upon dredged land wedged between downtown Honolulu and Waikīkī, the Ala Moana Center attracted diverse audiences. As such, Hawai‘i’s physical location as the crossroads between East and West was important as a visual focus in the design. This same international vision proved important at the Financial Plaza of the Pacific, a commercial condominium in Honolulu’s Central Business District (CBD). Urban blight and suburban flight plagued the CBD in the years leading up to, and following, statehood. The merger of three corporate enterprises (Castle & Cooke, Bank of Hawaii, and American Savings and Loan) at the Financial Plaza of the Pacific functioned as means to display corporate reinvestment in the district. Additionally, as the architects of the project, Leo S. Wou & Associates and Victor Gruen Associates desired to create a spatially unified

environment that emphasized its outdoor public space as a locus for human interaction. I propose that the Financial Plaza of the Pacific and the Ala Moana Center, not unlike many businesses and urban districts on the U.S. mainland, set the stage for further commercial development geared toward attracting international business to the city.

Finally, Chapter 6, “Building for Tourism,” claims that architectural structures intended for tourist audiences are the easiest locations in which references to Hawaiianness, as defined by Western perceptions of Hawaiian identity and culture, could be made. While the first half of the twentieth century is marked by an elite demographic of travelers to Hawai‘i aboard Matson ships, the 1960s marked a turning point when white, middle-class Americans began to arrive by aircraft, desiring to simultaneously experience “exotic” Hawai‘i and the Honolulu of American popular culture in music, television, and film. The expansion of tourism in Hawai‘i during the next three decades encouraged the creation of the Aloha Tower Marketplace as the solidification of Hawai‘i’s identity within the American imagination as the “Aloha State.”

The buildings discussed in these chapters have become symbols of Hawai‘i’s past and present. **[Map 1]** As individuals encounter these domains and move through them, they experience erstwhile native and colonial histories that engage them in the formation of Hawai‘i’s identity as a U.S. state. The importance of this dissertation rests in the uncovering of Honolulu’s architectural history that is both a curiosity because of its distant Pacific island setting and, yet, strangely familiar in form, function and style for many scholars, tourists, and residents in Honolulu. This project aims to challenge hierarchies of knowledge that relegate the Pacific to the periphery and, instead, position Hawai‘i’s architectural history within global conversations about identity, politics, and culture.



CHINATOWN	CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT	CAPITOL DISTRICT
<ul style="list-style-type: none">1. Alii'imoku Hale2. Ali'iolani Hale3. Alexander & Baldwin Building4. Aloha Tower Marketplace5. Board of Water Supply Administration Building6. C. Brewer & Company Building7. Federal Building8. Financial Plaza of the Pacific9. Hawaii Theatre		<ul style="list-style-type: none">10. Honolulu Hale11. 'Iolani Palace12. Kawaiaha'o Church13. Mission Houses14. Stangenwald Building15. State Capitol16. State Library17. Washington Place



Chapter 1

Architecture and the Critique of American Presence in Nineteenth-Century Honolulu

The island of O‘ahu rapidly shifted from an indigenous enclave into a commodified landscape with the arrival of the first New England missionaries and Western merchants in the early nineteenth century. In accordance with the familial relationship (*mālama ‘āina*) that exists between Native Hawaiians and the land (‘*āina*), what was once a community architecturally defined by pili grass structures (*hale*) and stone temples (*heiau*) had transformed by the nineteenth century into a landscape of Colonial, Federalist, and Revival-style designs for Christian churches, civic buildings, and private dwellings. Adobe, local stone, and lumber were employed in Honolulu to construct prefabricated mission houses, schoolhouses, and churches. The oldest frame house – pre-measured and pre-cut with shingles and clapboards of oak, cedar, pine, and chestnut – arrived in Honolulu from Boston in 1821. [Fig. 1.1] These materials, along with the small, square window openings and clipped eaves of the structure were not only costly to import and difficult to repair, but they were also unsuitable for the tropical climate. Architecture in Honolulu called for designs that were conducive to the cool patterns of trade winds rather than restrictive elements that would block air flow. As such, modifications to a second mission house (1831), as well as to other structures including Kawaiaha‘o Church (1842), took the environmental conditions of Honolulu into account and employed regional materials such as coral rocks and locally manufactured mortar.¹ [Fig. 1.2]

With Americans reconfiguring the topography of the Hawaiian Islands and generating momentum for annexation, the Kingdom of Hawai‘i actively sought to forge a connection between its own architectural genealogy and national sovereignty. Within a compact radius that

¹Portions of this chapter first appeared in the *Chicago Art Journal*. Sandler, 11–17.

stretched from the Honolulu Harbor waterfront to Nu'uanu Avenue and Beretania and Punchbowl streets, sites of royal patronage by Hawaiian monarchs advanced the agenda of Hawaiian nationhood and sovereignty. The Royal Mausoleum (1865), constructed of coral blocks in a Gothic Revival style, served as a reminder of the legacies formed by the Kamehameha dynasty. The 'Iolani Barracks (1870), built from 4,000 coral blocks quarried from the reefs of Honolulu, housed members of the Royal Household Guard and was an investment in the security of the monarch. The administrative center, Ali 'iolani Hale (1871-1874), with wide verandas and Tuscan columns recall the Renaissance Revival. And the Kamehameha V Post Office (1871), Honolulu's first all-precast concrete building with iron reinforcement, kept pace with the rise of communication systems that linked the Pacific Islands with the rest of the world.

This chapter demonstrates how Native Hawaiians, determined to address the foreign occupation of Hawai'i on its own terms, erected 'Iolani Palace as a monumental structure to serve as a site of negotiation between indigenous and foreign interests. By employing methods of self-fashioning through architecture to reconcile a sacred indigenous past with a changing present, Hawai'i's native population exhibited an effort to retain sovereignty within an increasingly Americanized world. Thus, under the tutelage of native support, architectural patronage in Honolulu became a transference of action whereby Native Hawaiians challenged U.S. interests in the region while simultaneously leveraging their own needs.

Preserving the Nation

Whether supported directly by the United States government through treaty negotiations, committed expatriates, or missionary business interests in Honolulu, the Kingdom of Hawai'i slowly, albeit contentiously, acquiesced vast tracts of land and political control to its American counterparts. The oligarchic power structure, comprised of a small group of non-native people,

instituted the constitutional monarchy in 1840, supported the *māhele* in 1848, and adjudicated the 1875 Reciprocity Treaty which left colonizing imprints on a once sovereign kingdom. Though the United States government never had an official colonial agenda regarding the Hawaiian Islands, it expressed consistent interest in keeping the island kingdom out of European hands. As early as 1851, U.S. Secretary of State Daniel Webster (term: 1850-1852) proclaimed, “The Hawaiian Islands are ten times nearer to the United States than to any of the powers of Europe. Five-sixths of all their commercial intercourse is with the United States...[the United States] can never consent to see those Islands taken possession of by...Europe.”² Reinforcing this earlier claim in an 1868 message to Congress, President Andrew Johnson (term: 1865-1869) stated, “It is known and felt...that their government and institutions are feeble and precarious...the United States, being so near a neighbor, would be unwilling to see the Islands pass under foreign control.”³

Although U.S. officials made evident their plans for continued involvement in Honolulu, native prerogatives remained paramount amongst the majority of Hawaiians. In an effort to prevent subjugation in their homeland and to preserve the nation, Hawaiian resistance confronted foreign ambitions. Negotiation between divergent foreign and native interests is particularly evident in the patronage of ‘Iolani Palace (1879–1882). **[Fig. 1.3]**

‘Iolani Palace served as the royal residence for eleven years between 1882 and 1893.⁴ Located on King Street in the heart of downtown Honolulu, ‘Iolani Palace is a rectangular mass spanning 140 by 54 feet. Formerly enclosed by a coral block wall and wooden gates, the palace

² Edmund Janes Carpenter, *America in Hawaii: A History of the United States Influence in the Hawaiian Islands* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1899), 103.

³ Ibid, 45.

⁴ ‘Iolani Palace served as the royal residence until the monarchy was overthrown in 1893. From then on, the structure served as the government building and capital building for the Republic, Territory, and State of Hawai‘i until 1969.

is three stories high with an additional attic level. A grand staircase and entry pavilion accent the main body of the building, and bands of Corinthian columns run along the exterior. Concave mansard towers anchor the four corners of the structure and crown the front and back entrances. Constructed of brick, cement, and local black sand applied to the exterior surface as stucco, the palace accorded with a period vernacular of the West. The facade's Neoclassical elements of linear simplicity and minimal detailing were combined with Victorian picturesque massing of the iron railings, arched entryways, corner towers, and verandas.⁵ Together, the architectural elements of 'Iolani Palace formed a visual language that was decipherable by Americans who were, according to architectural historian Rob Sandler, "anxious to replace the islands' monarchy with a capitalistic democracy."⁶

In plan, 'Iolani Palace consisted of public reception areas on the first floor and private suites on the second floor.⁷ [Fig. 1.4] The main level included a formal dining room, a throne room for official audiences and receptions, and a blue room for informal entertainment. The upper level suites housed the king's bedroom, the queen's bedroom, the library, music room, and additional guest rooms. As reported by the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in September 1881, "There is a promise that our sovereign will be provided with...a residence suitable to his position and dignity."⁸ The Grand Hall of high quality local Hawaiian woods, crimson and gold decorations, and luxuriant mahogany furniture contributed to the sumptuousness of a structure intended for royalty.⁹

⁵ Sandler, 23.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Jay, 24.

⁸ Walter F. Judd, *Palaces and Forts of the Hawaiian Kingdom* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1975), 120.

⁹ The estimated cost to construct 'Iolani Palace was initially projected at \$65,000. By the conclusion of the project, over \$350,000 had been spent. Practically, it may be supposed that the initial costs were severely underestimated; however, it has been suggested, accurately or not, that the astronomical costs were a result of Kalākaua's desire for "regal splendor." Ibid, 119.

Commissioned by Kalākaua, the seventh *mō‘ī* of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, a number of architects and designers assisted with the design and construction process of ‘Iolani Palace. Given that Native Hawaiians were not yet trained in the architectural practices of the West, foreign architects who were familiar with local climatic conditions were assigned the commission for the palace. The first of these was Thomas J. Baker, a builder who made a short appearance in San Francisco after the Civil War and who was listed in Honolulu city directories as a builder and bricklayer.¹⁰ In 1879, Baker was appointed to devise the plans for ‘Iolani Palace. However, after much consternation over the design and its escalating costs, Baker was relieved of his duties on January 17, 1880 and was swiftly replaced by C.J. Wall, an Irishman from Dublin. Wall made significant progress on the building’s construction, applying interior and exterior plaster, attaching decorative features such as cornices, architraves, and moldings, and installing plumbing work and electricity. But with the palace still incomplete, Wall’s tenure was terminated in 1881. To conclude the project, Isaac Moore, a woodworker, was hired to make corrective revisions and to apply and procure the final decorative touches of gold leaf, luxurious fabrics, and fine china that were purchased from local companies and imported from San Francisco and Boston.¹¹

The opulence of ‘Iolani Palace stood in stark contrast to the original palace of 1845, a modest wood-framed structure that covered only one-third the area of the new brick palace. Built by native labor, this earlier palace consisted of an all-purpose main hall and a demi-upper story which housed a throne room, reception room, dining room, and accommodations for guards and household servants. In many ways, the first palace can be seen as an initial attempt by the

¹⁰ Charles E. Peterson, “The Iolani Palaces and The Barracks,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 22 (May 1963): 97–98.

¹¹ For example, Empire Foundry of San Francisco was commissioned for cast iron, E.O. Hall & Son of Honolulu supplied hardware, and A.H. Davenport Company of Boston provided interior furnishings. For more, see *Ibid*, 96–99.

Hawaiian ruling class to visually consolidate its governmental authority within a local context. Designating ‘Iolani Palace as the seat of government indicated the desire of this ruling class to monitor the shipping and trading activities of Honolulu, while also demonstrating a unified front to the *haole* (foreigner) elite who were increasing in numbers throughout the city. However, as the Kingdom of Hawai‘i became more entangled within the web of U.S. fiscal and political policy, the first palace proved insufficient in both scale and function. Its relatively small size and residential design did not reflect a nation on the cusp of modernity, nor was it sufficient to receive heads of state, ambassadors, or foreign dignitaries. Hence, the new visual statement of the 1882 palace was necessary to convey the status of the kingdom as an independent state.

Kamehiro convincingly argues in *The Arts of Kingship* that the new palace exhibited mastery by the *mō‘ī* of the visual and rhetorical strategies of the West. The *mō‘ī* understood that popular thought and perception could be controlled through the construction of monumental civic buildings. Just as mission houses, schoolhouses, and churches aided in the conversion of many Hawaiians to Christianity and to the establishment of a new constitutional government, the structures erected by the *mō‘ī* signaled to Westerners that Hawaiians had become “civilized,” and therefore their cultural and national sovereignty deserved to remain intact. By serving not only as a symbolic claim to legitimacy and authority but also as a functional space in which Hawaiian culture was officiated, ‘Iolani Palace exemplified the governmental and social strategies of Kalākaua. Through the construction of the palace, Kalākaua presented himself as a political leader – one who was modern, legitimate, and influential within a global community heavily dominated by the United States.¹² In these ways, the *mō‘ī* was not merely responding to

¹² Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship*, 66–68. Perhaps the best example of this global association is evidenced by the exchange of royal portraits between Hawai‘i, France, Prussia, and Russia in the nineteenth century. The figures of Frederick William III, Frederick William IV, Louis Philippe, Alexander II, and Napoleon III decorated the halls of ‘Iolani Palace. As indicated by Rhoda E. A. Hackler, “the fact that European monarchs sent their portraits to the

American imperatives but expressing indigenous identity through evocation. As Kamehiro expresses, Kalākaua sought to construct a chiefly Hawaiian residence in order to “formalize a national culture.”¹³ To this end, customary gestures emblematic of Hawai‘i and its people were embedded in the design of the building. The sheer size of the palace, its location, the inclusion of historically relevant materials, and the appropriation of the name ‘Iolani all attested to the status of Kalākaua and to the legacy of the Hawaiian Islands.

The name ‘Iolani, derived from a hawk native to Hawai‘i, connoted the prominent position of chiefs in Hawaiian society. As the birth name of Kamehameha IV (Alexander ‘Iolani Liholiho Keawenui) and the name given by Kamehameha V (Lota Kapuāiwa) to the first palace of 1845, use of the name ‘Iolani strategically aligned Kalākaua with the founding familial line of the kingdom.¹⁴ However, amidst consternation regarding Kalākaua’s lawful right to rule, the *mō‘ī* infused the structure with constant reminders of his ancestral authority.¹⁵ Claims for Kalākaua’s legitimacy were made publicly visible on the palace facade with the use of stones from Kūki‘i Heiau. Stones from this temple on the Big Island of Hawai‘i referred to Kalākaua’s ancestors who were said to hold divine positions and therefore granted him the necessary lineage to claim the Hawaiian throne. Constructing ‘Iolani Palace of these stones symbolized the confidence of the *mō‘ī* to lead the nation and imbued “his rule and his palace with the *mana* (authority, divine power) of glowing precedent.”¹⁶

Kings of the Sandwich Islands indicates the consideration which the Foreign Offices of Europe gave to Hawai‘i in the distant Pacific Ocean.” This historical association with a European monarchical past advanced the notion, albeit shrouded with ethnic and racial concerns, that the Hawaiian Kingdom was a formidable nation within the international community that was capable of forging relationships with the Western nations of the world. See Rhoda E.A. Hackler, “Palace Portraits,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 5 (1971): 39-49.

¹³ Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship*, 8.

¹⁴ Ibid, 61.

¹⁵ As Jonathan Osorio points out, the genealogical identity of the *mō‘ī* was important to Hawaiians. That Kalākaua descended from the Keawe-a-Heulu familial line, rather than the Kamehameha dynasty, generated trepidation over his authenticity and ability to represent the nation. Osorio, 147.

¹⁶ Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship*, 73–75.

In addition to its name and architectural ornamentation, the spatial composition of ‘Iolani Palace also recalled ancient Hawaiian traditions. Scholars have likened ‘Iolani Palace to a *heiau*, or temple, located within a *kauhale*. A *kauhale*, simply defined as a residential complex, attested to the various roles that people and places occupied in pre-contact Hawaiian society. Originally serving several functions, including the site for temples and meeting, eating, storage, and work houses, the *kauhale* of ‘Iolani Palace was modernized in terms of design and materials.¹⁷ Moreover, within this modernizing enterprise, the palace’s setting was linked to Kalākaua’s desire to preserve the nation and its culture. The structure was intentionally oriented to face southwest toward Sāmoa – the suspected ancestral homeland of Hawaiians – and was also positioned on an axis with the great temple sites of the island. By aligning ‘Iolani Palace with the sacred spaces of Hawai‘i and utilizing the vocabulary of Western architecture, the building served as an ideological statement that declared the willingness of the *mō‘ī* to share the nation with foreigners while simultaneously asserting Hawaiians as the “true people of the land.”¹⁸

Although ‘Iolani Palace was largely financed by the *mō‘ī* through profits garnered by U.S. imports of sugar, the monumental edifice can be read as a critique of American presence through a highly expressive effort at self-fashioning. As a structure equipped with the conveniences of modern daily life and adorned with an iconography of opulence and grandeur, ‘Iolani Palace displayed an image of Western modernity and civilization to a general public. Of the 1883 coronation ceremony of Kalākaua, Mrs. M. Forsyth Grant later recalled in her memoirs the “brilliant rooms of the palace,” as well as its “grand entrance” and “brilliant lighting.”¹⁹ However, what this reading ignores is the underlying strategy the *mō‘ī* used to incorporate Hawaiian traditions. During the two-week ceremony, Kalākaua opened ‘Iolani Palace to natives,

¹⁷ For a more detailed discussion on native symbolism in the palace, see Ibid, 55–76.

¹⁸ Osorio, 257.

¹⁹ Judd, 124–132.

allowed ancient hula to be practiced, and approved Hawaiian language chants to be voiced in public. These symbolic gestures of piety, loyalty, and nationhood inscribed the palace with symbols of Hawaiian custom and ritual and signified Kalākaua's desire to preserve "Hawai'i for Hawaiians."²⁰ In ways that combined emblematic gestures with tangible actions, Kalākaua's 'Iolani Palace visually confronted the imperial ambitions of the United States. An indigenous modernity was thereby created, validating the experiences and agency of Native Hawaiians while at the same time challenging the West on its own terms.²¹

As both an expensive and expressive visual artifact, 'Iolani Palace made nationalist claims that were entwined within Western notions of civility. The design and construction of the palace operated in tandem to signify continuity between past and present. Since the 'discovery' of the Hawaiian Islands by Captain Cook in 1778, the West perceived Hawai'i to lack "civilization" because from the European perspective it was a place devoid of society and culture.²² Western beliefs that Polynesians were perpetual transients curbed their capacity for development and progress. As was the case in most colonial incursions, it was supposed that only with the arrival of the West could Hawaiians enter into an era of modernity. Not until they were able to place themselves within the physical and metaphorical boundaries of modern time would Hawaiians be considered civil.²³ It seems then that by appropriating Western building vocabulary, 'Iolani Palace reorganized architectural narratives. The Hawaiian monarchy provided a discernible program whereby Native Hawaiians expressed a contemporary ideology

²⁰ This phrase, as championed by Native Hawaiians throughout the nineteenth century, exemplified commitment to the nation, conservation of the Hawaiian monarchy, and Native Hawaiian primacy in the islands.

²¹ Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash, "Between Materiality and Representation: Framing an Architectural Critique of Colonial South Asia," in *Colonial Modernities: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon*, ed. Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 3–25.

²² Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 12–42.

²³ For more on the concept of "discovery" as a mechanism of early Western exploration and colonial mapping, see *ibid.*, 1–12.

of civilization against American forces residing in the ‘āina. The purposeful and strategic incorporation of Western architectural elements at the palace made apparent the ways in which Hawaiians could adjust amidst the pressures of the West, while at the same time reasserting their own historical underpinnings.

Hawaiian Self-Fashioning

Nineteenth-century Honolulu marked a community in transition. To borrow from theories of hybrid urbanism as espoused by AlSayyad’s through an analysis of Homi Bhabha’s *The Location of Culture* (1994), the city can be understood as a “third space,” or “in-between space,” that emerged from the interaction of various political, economic, and social circumstances.²⁴ Politically, an elected legislative body dominated by Americans overran a once independent monarchy; economically, the Kingdom was financially strained as a result of an expanded bureaucracy;²⁵ and socially, solving disputes between a diverse collection of Americans, Europeans, East Asians, and Native Hawaiians often became a source of conflict.²⁶ In essence, two irreconcilable objectives – American occupation of Hawai‘i on the one hand, and the sovereignty of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i on the other – rendered Honolulu a site wherein discourses of resistance were articulated. In the example of ‘Iolani Palace, the indigenous elite accepted Western innovations in building style and technology in order to reinforce, support, and maintain Hawaiian interests. The opposing elements of acceptance and resistance visually transformed Honolulu into a city that looked different from pre-settlement Hawai‘i but was far from distinctively American.

²⁴ AlSayyad, “Hybrid Culture/Hybrid Urbanism,” 3–8. See also Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

²⁵ As Osorio reports, statistics of government revenues and expenditures of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i are known since at least 1846. In that year, the Kingdom took in \$76,000 and spent \$78,000. From 1886 to 1888, the government took in \$4,813,000 and spent \$4,712,000. Osorio, 146.

²⁶ Twice, in the 1830s and 1840s, the United States was compelled to intervene with British and French attempts to acquire the Hawaiian Islands. See Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 17–19. For more on immigration and social interactions, see Fujikane and Okamura, *Asian Settler Colonialism*.

In response to the ambiguity of governance, economic instability, and architectural forms that permeated Honolulu, popular sentiment amongst Hawaiians was overwhelmingly nationalist in character. Hawaiian-language newspapers such as *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (*The Star of the Pacific*) undertook the task of anti-colonial opposition. Established in 1861, the paper aimed to encourage pride in native traditions and to mount opposition against forces seeking to disempower Hawaiians, alienate them from their lands, and turn them into impoverished plantation laborers.²⁷ The editors of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* believed “to be literate and educated in business, law, and/or politics...did not mean that traditional arts and customs should be condemned to a dark, soulless past.”²⁸ As documented by Silva, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* demonstrated the capacity and willingness of Hawaiians to embrace modernity through traditionalism. Silva shows that Hawaiians were aware of the fact that if they did not fashion themselves as “civilized,” they would be overrun by the “Great Powers” of the world. By embracing foreign technologies such as the printing press, Hawaiians used the print media to align past with present. While it is true that the Hawaiian language was codified by American missionaries from its original oral tradition, and thereby serves as a colonial byproduct in itself, the veiled meanings that often appeared in the newspaper as *mele* (song, poetry) and *mo‘olelo* (literature, narrative) were decipherable only by Hawaiians and allowed them to “use metaphorical language...to communicate while escaping the surveillance of the missionaries.”²⁹ With high literacy rates amongst Native Hawaiians, the publishing of daily news accounts alongside *mele* and *mo‘olelo* was a means by which opposition was articulated and served as an indictment against deleterious influences on the kingdom.

²⁷ Silva, 55, 72.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid, 66.

By omitting an indigenous point-of-view and ignoring counter-colonial sentiment as expressed in ‘Iolani Palace and the Hawaiian-language press, American representations of nineteenth-century Hawai‘i revealed a rupture between actuality and imagination. Although foreign residents outnumbered the indigenous population by less than three percent, John L. Stevens, U.S. Minister to Hawai‘i in 1893, conceived of Honolulu as a particularly Western city.³⁰ In his accounts, Stevens describes a visitor’s experience:

...it is impossible for him [a stranger] to be ashore five minutes without realizing that...this wonderful land is not tropical but Anglo-Saxon...He [the stranger] is in the church, the school, the counting-room; on the railroad and the steamer; at the dry-dock and the foundry; in the lumberyard, at the mill, on the towboat. He is at the wharf...on the street...at the hotel...Nothing goes on successfully without him. He fills your teeth, and cuts your hair, and mends your shoes, and builds your house...and sells you furniture and medicines...and you rub against him everywhere, at least where anything is going on.³¹

Of monumental architecture within the city, Stevens briefly characterizes ‘Iolani Palace as “creditable,” “handsome,” “constructed of cement concrete,” and having “ample and ornamental grounds.”³² The attention and detail Stevens gives to the Western composition of the city overshadows any recognition of ‘Iolani Palace as a nativist configuration. Perhaps this was part of his attempt to justify U.S. imperial efforts as a useful modernizing enterprise, or perhaps Stevens’s pithy remarks simply paid lip service to claims of legitimacy that Hawaiians sought to express through architecture. Nevertheless, this simplification of the city’s cultural and architectural identity was symptomatic of many Americans’ refusal or inability to acknowledge the complex negotiations undertaken by Native Hawaiians to navigate between their own cultural past and U.S. expansionism.

³⁰ The 1890 census recorded 40,622 “Aboriginals” (pure/part) [this number omits natural born Hawaiian citizens] and 41,873 foreign nationals.

³¹ John L. Stevens and W.B. Oleson, *Picturesque Hawaii: A Charming Description of Her Unique History, Strange People, Exquisite Climate, Wondrous Volcanoes, Luxurious Productions, Beautiful Cities, Corrupt Monarchy, Recent Revolution and Provisional Government* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Publishing Co., 1894), 49.

³² *Ibid.*, 51.

This dynamic is further complicated in the example of Washington Place (1847). Native association with Washington Place, a Greek-Revival home on Beretania Street, began in 1862 when Lili‘uokalani, Kalākaua’s heir to the Hawaiian throne, married John Owen Dominis. [Fig. 1.5] Dominis’ American parents financed the property. Isaac Hart, a craftsman in Hawai‘i, designed the Dominis House as two story, coral stone dwelling with a wraparound lanai.³³ In the 1840s, Anthony Ten Eyck, U.S. commissioner and manager of the U.S. Legation office in Honolulu, renamed it Washington Place. The new moniker referred to the first president of the United States, George Washington; and, the incorporation of a broad lanai (loggia) aesthetically recalls his iconic home, Mount Vernon in Virginia (1735-1789). As Virginia Price argues, “...the name [Washington Place] was deliberately calculated for its effect in Honolulu. It was a provocative claim...Washington Place was a reminder in perpetuity of the U.S. government as well as of the man who led that country to independence from England.”³⁴ Price continues, “[Washington Place] was a symbolic piece of American soil” in the Pacific.³⁵

Lili‘uokalani acquired ownership of Washington Place following the death of her husband in 1891. She choose to keep the name of the home intact. Several reasons may account for this action, or inaction. First, Lili‘uokalani connected to Washington’s struggle to rally his country together against the forces of Great Britain. She was entangled in a similar crisis in her attempts to thwart an American-led coup backed by the USS *Boston* that eventually dethroned

³³ The present-day structure has undergone significant alterations. While the structure retains a significant amount of its original features including the cellar, lower coral walls and columns, granite steps, and sidelights and fanlight, the remainder of the home including the siding, flooring, posts, staircase, and roof framing has been modified to include the porte-cochere, glassed lanai, and rear living spaces. See Mason Architects, Inc. and Kenneth Hays, “Washington Place: Architectural Conservation Plan,” prepared for the State of Hawai‘i Department of Accounting and General Services (October 2007): 1-7.

³⁴ Virginia Price, “Washington Place: Harboring American Claims, Housing Hawaiian Culture,” *Buildings & Landscapes* 16 (Fall 2009): 56.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 48.

her.³⁶ Second, in a twist of fate, a political faction led by Sanford B. Dole, who later became the first governor of the Territory of Hawai‘i, placed Lili‘uokalani under house arrest at Washington Place in 1895. Lili‘uokalani was released as a private citizen after five months of house arrest and lived at Washington Place until her death in 1917.

Conclusion

In conclusion, forced to confront growing American presence in Honolulu, the indigenous elite found that architectural could be used to shape the future of Hawai‘i. In an environment in which Americans were reconfiguring the topological landscape, the Hawaiian ruling class actively forged an architectural connection between Hawai‘i and its sacred past. By asserting modernity through traditionalism, Native Hawaiians proclaimed their status to the world as a sovereign nation of the Pacific. ‘Iolani Palace in particular was a uniquely inventive building that recalled native associations while also employing Western visual cues. Ultimately, it became a composite of the material and the representational in ways that acknowledged the settler society while simultaneously sustaining indigenous prerogatives.

³⁶ In fact, Lili‘uokalani and her sister-in-law Queen Kapi‘olani (wife of Kalākaua) visited the U.S. in 1887 and made a stop at George Washington’s Mount Vernon Estate. See Ibid.



(1821)



(1831)

Fig. 1.1. Frame Houses, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1821 and 1831

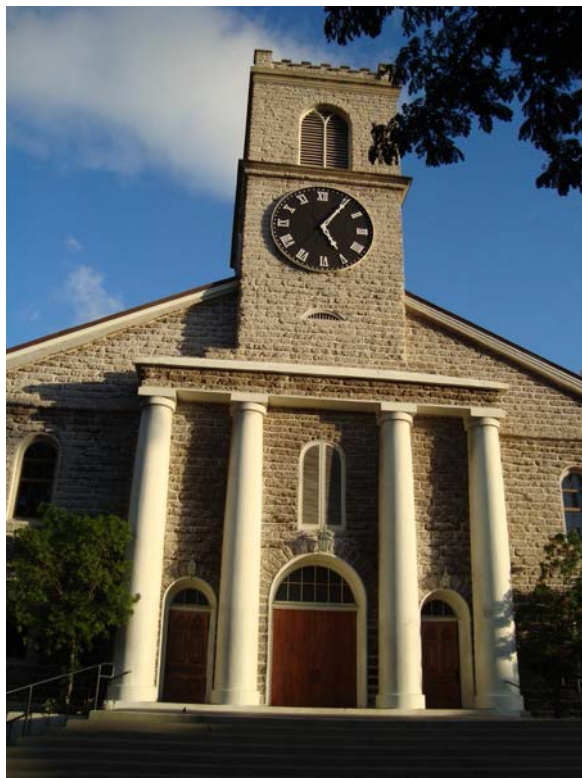


Fig. 1.2. Hiram Bingham, Kawaiahaʻo Church, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, 1836-1842



Fig. 1.3. Thomas Baker, C.J. Wall, Isaac Moore, 'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1879-1882

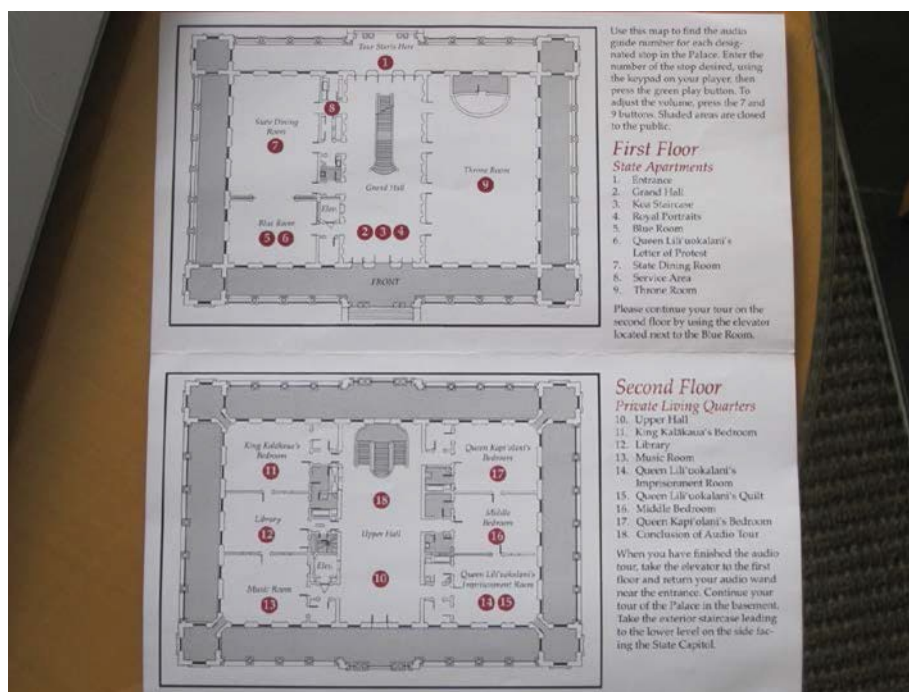


Fig. 1.4. 'Iolani Palace Floor Plan, Honolulu, Hawai'i



Fig. 1.5. Isaac Hart, Washington Place, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1846

Chapter 2

Architectural Revivalism and the Hawaiian Regional Aesthetic in a Pan-Pacific Era

Lili‘uokalani’s forced abdication in 1895 marks the key event that signaled the end of the Hawaiian Kingdom. After many unsuccessful attempts by members of the Republic’s provisional government to align with the United States, President William McKinley (term: 1897-1901) – anxious about the survival of U.S. naval bases in Hawai‘i following the Spanish-American War – signed the Newlands Resolution in 1898, thereby agreeing to annex the Hawaiian Islands. Lili‘uokalani’s displeasure with this action became clear when she, and most other Hawaiians, were visibly absent from the annexation ceremony when the Hawaiian flag was removed from ‘Iolani Palace and the American flag raised in its stead. [Fig. 2.1]

Two years later, the Organic Act of 1900 established a formal territorial government for the islands. First among the new governing bodies was the Office of the Territorial Governor. Within this executive-branch office, both the territorial governor and secretary were appointed by the U.S. president, reported directly to him, and could be replaced at any time. In contrast, the new territorial legislature featured a bicameral system of fifteen senators and thirty representatives elected by popular vote. The act also afforded the territory a single, nonvoting delegate to the U.S. Congress. Thus, as Halualani maintains in *In the Name of Hawaiians*, the “indigenous Hawaiian structure based on social stratification... disintegrated through the vehicles of law and governance as wielded by colonial power and an emerging U.S. nation-state.”¹ American residency in Hawai‘i became normalized as a marker of allegiance to the United States through an assertion of the presumed natural right to Hawai‘i’s land that came with the formation of these administrative structures.

¹ Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians*, 59.

This chapter considers architectural projects created in the first three decades after annexation. Patrons and architects embraced a diversity of forms during this period. Some revivalist edifices, such as the Alexander and Young Hotel (1901-1903) and Hawaii Theatre (1921-1922), demonstrated an architectural pull toward Atlantic seaboard traditions that harkened back to the earliest histories of the United States. Other revival structures, such as the Federal Building (1922) and Honolulu Hale (1929), referred to California's architectural aesthetic. Meanwhile, structures such as the Alexander & Baldwin Building (1929) and C. Brewer & Company Building (1930), exhibited experimentation in regionalism that attempted to capture, in visual form, Hawai'i's reputation as a "crossroads of the Pacific." Thus, while architects and patrons crafted territorial Honolulu's image as one that seamlessly and effortlessly merged American standards of modernity with perceived modes of indigeneity during the territorial era, foreign bodies consistently (re)scripted the landscape.

Leisure, Pleasure, and Revivalism

In "The Sources of Architectural Nationalism" (2012), Mitchell Schwarzer affirms that a building has the potential to "represent or advance the ideas of a nation" by reflecting its historic roots through revival styles that communicate associative meanings with order, modernity, and democracy.² In an era of constant change marked by population shifts from the rural countryside to the urban metropolis, dependence on mass production, and rapid technological innovation, the built environment operated as one means by which a sense of national belonging manifested in the lives of Americans living and touring in the territorial city. As such, many territorial business leaders sought to produce comfortable and recognizable American environments for residents and tourists in the city. The Alexander Young Hotel and the Hawaii

² Mitchell Schwarzer, "The Sources of Architectural Nationalism," in *Nationalism and Architecture* (Surrey, England and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 19, 36.

Theatre, for instance, offered its patrons a sense of American cultural and national rootedness in businesses that could be found in “Anywhere, U.S.A” during the early twentieth century. [Figs. 2.2-2.3]

The Alexander Young Hotel was located in downtown Honolulu. It faced Bishop Street and spanned the entire city block from Hotel to King Streets. This prime location provided visitors with upscale accommodations within walking distance of Honolulu’s attractions. The Renaissance Revival motif adopted by George Washington Percy for the design of the hotel projected a regal façade. Percy, an architect from Maine with prior experience in Chicago, Boston, and northern California, designed the Alexander Young as a large, gray granite structure with six stories on each of its two wings and a four-story block connecting them. Arched entryways punctuated the base of the structure, while engaged Corinthian columns accented the central portion of the hotel. The symmetrical block of windows at the top of the building offered a visual base for the elaborate roof garden that Hibbard notes is “evocative of, though more climatically appropriate than, the famed gardens of New York’s Waldorf Astoria and Chicago’s Palmer House.”³ [Fig. 2.4] Meanwhile, the interior of the hotel exuded modern opulence. Marble walls, mosaic floors, and granite columns created a classical ambiance while the twenty-two elevators, telephones, and private bath suites provided hotel visitors with the comforts of a modern U.S. city.⁴

The reputation of the Alexander Young preceded the experiences that many travelers to territorial Honolulu had with the hotel. The Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu and The Hawaiian Promotion Committee published the *The Aloha Guide: The Standard Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands* (1915). The publication coincided with the opening of the

³ Hibbard, *Designing Paradise*, 33.

⁴ Ibid.

1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. *The Aloha Guide* was sold at the exposition and also made available in libraries and universities throughout the mainland.⁵ Page sixty-nine contained an Alexander Young advertisement that dubbed it “the foremost hotel in town.” The advertisement also gives a full description of the luxuries and conveniences of the hotel:

The Alexander Young Hotel is situated in the heart of the city on Bishop Street. It is four stories in height, six at the two ends, is built of grey granite and cost \$1,000,000. It has a roof garden one-third of an acre in extent where refreshments are served and concerts given at intervals, and from which a fine view of the city may be had. At either end of this roof garden is a dance pavilion. The hotel, built in 1900, is fireproof and thoroughly modern, modelled after mainland city hotels. It accommodates 300 guests, and is conducted on the European plan: \$2 per day upward.⁶

Over the years, local Honolulu newspapers continued to recognize the financial and visual significance of the hotel to the city. The headline for the February 1948 *Hawaiiana Travel Supplement* in *Paradise of the Pacific* reads, “Alexander Young Hotel is Favored Rendezvous in Downtown Honolulu.” The article proceeds to discuss the all-inclusive nature of the hotel: “It’s a complete community within itself: dining room, coffee shop, candy factory, bakery, cocktail lounge, barber shop, garage and laundry; also has shops including offices for doctors, dentists, beauticians, photographers.”⁷

Young donated the building to the city of Honolulu shortly after the hotel’s completion. The proprietors of the Alexander Young used the building to demonstrate an allegiance to the United States. Large American flags on poles a top of the hotel announced the arrival of ships carrying mail, two parlors on the second floor were fashioned after parlors in the United States

⁵ Ferdinand Schnack, *The Aloha Guide: The Standard Handbook of Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu and The Hawaiian Promotion Committee 1915), 4.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 69-70.

⁷ *Paradise of the Pacific*, *Hawaiiana Travel Supplement* (February 1948): 25.

White House, and the building was outfitted with the Stars and Stripes for the Fourth of July.⁸

[Fig. 2.5]

Significantly, the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, previously called the Hawaii Promotion Committee, formed shortly after annexation (1902) and housed its offices in the Alexander Young. Honolulu's business leaders needed an outlet to advertise the territory to mainland audiences. To do so, they employed numerous strategies including print advertisements, direct mailings, radio broadcasts, and motion pictures. By 1920, George T. Armitage, the executive secretary of the Hawaii Tourist Bureau, noted in *Paradise of the Pacific* that "It has been found that the silver screen offers an effective medium for the promotion of inter-island travel, in addition to its effect in increasing the flow of Hawaii-bound traffic."⁹ Armitage did not mention any specifics in his text with regard to Hawai'i's role in film. His words proved prescient, however, when Hawai'i's landscape went on to serve as the backdrop for numerous films. As Philip Furia and Lauri Patterson put it in *The Songs of Hollywood* (2010), the films *Waikiki Wedding* (1937), *Hawaii Calls* (1938), and *Honolulu* (1939) succeeded in making the Hawaiian Islands a place that was "familiar to Americans" yet exotic enough to support the "singing and dancing of its actors."¹⁰

⁸ Keith Steiner, *Hawai'i's Early Territorial Days, 1900-1915: Viewed from Vintage Postcards by Island Curio* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2001), 42. In addition, the territorial government assisted in crafting the hotel's national and local reputation. The importance of the business to Honolulu is reflected in actions taken by the municipality following the Second World War. First, the government invested nearly \$400,000 in updates to the interior of the structure. Improvements at the hotel allowed the business to charge premier prices at \$4-15 per room. Second, the territorial government enlisted the accounting firm of Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company to recommend ways in which Honolulu hotels could compete with the likes of hotels in Atlantic City, New Jersey and Miami, Florida. The report concluded that financial investment by the territorial government in this sector of the economy was critical. It stated, "The program for development and expansion of tourist and visitor business as an important part of the general economy of the Territory, requires the active participation and encouragement of the Territorial government." See *Paradise of the Pacific* (1948): 25 and Harris, Kerr, Forster & Company, "Report on Survey of Hawaiian Hotel Situation, Facilities, Needs and Recommendations," (Chicago, Washington, New York, Atlanta, Houston, Los Angeles, San Francisco), 1953.

⁹ George T. Armitage, "Hawaii Tourist Bureau," *Paradise of the Pacific* 52, no.12 (December 1940): 41.

¹⁰ Philip Furia and Laurie Patterson, *The Songs of Hollywood* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 118.

Entertainment and pleasure at the theater during the first quarter of the twentieth century aligned with American moviegoing expectations. Therefore, it is no surprise that theatres were prominent in territorial Honolulu. *Theatres of Hawai‘i* (2011) by Lowell Angell chronicles the various theatre locations that showcased vaudeville acts, silent films, and motion pictures in the islands. Though numerous downtown theatres including the Empire (1909), Bijou (1910), and Savoy (1910) have come and gone over the years, the Beaux-Arts Hawaii Theatre on Bethel, Pauahi, and Hotel Streets maintains its reputation as the “Pride of the Pacific.”

Three large arched windows define the main façade of the Hawaii Theatre. An ornate decorative panel intercepts each of the archways, and four pair of fluted Corinthian pilasters frame the three windows. The theater’s name is incised in all capital letters on the architrave, and decorative molding divides the main body from the uppermost level caps the structure. The interior of the building adds to the grandeur of the site. A dome surrounded by rosettes punctuates the center of the 75-foot tall ceiling of the main auditorium; large, decorative fluted Corinthian pilasters frame the main stage; and the proscenium arch contains a large classically inspired mural titled, “The Procession of the Drama (The Spirit of Drama).”¹¹

The architectural firm of Emory and Webb designed the Hawaii Theatre. Marshall H. Webb and Walter L. Emory arrived in Hawai‘i from the U.S. mainland at the turn of the century.¹² In fact, Emory had worked as the Assistant Superintendent of Construction for the Alexander Young Hotel. The firm’s expertise in engineering and business inspired them to construct a modern \$500,000 theatre that impressed audiences with its air conditioning, intricate

¹¹ National Register of Historic Places, The Hawaii Theatre, Honolulu, Honolulu County, Hawaii, National Register #78001021

¹² George F. Nellist, ed. “The Story of Hawaii and Its Builders,” Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* (1925). See <http://files.usgwarchives.net/hi/statewide/bios/webb631bs.txt> and <http://files.usgwarchives.net/hi/statewide/bios/emory326bs.txt>

lighting effects, and emergency fire alarm system.¹³ The Hawaii Theatre was in accordance with mainland movie theatre trends of the 1920s and 1930s. While the exterior of mainland theatres varied from art deco styling to the incorporation of ancient Egyptian motifs as “architectural kitsch,” American theatre audiences expected safety, comfort, and luxury in the interior spaces.¹⁴ Ushers, doorman, and elaborate interior decorations were the norm for patron’s at Los Angeles’ Million Dollar Theatre (1918), Chicago’s Uptown Theatre (1925), and New York’s Roxy Theatre (1927).

One particular audience drawn to the Hawaii Theatre included U.S. military service members. Ray Jerome Baker, a Hawai‘i resident from Eureka, California, took a snapshot outside of the Hawaii Theatre in 1945. In this wartime photograph, a diverse crowd of individuals, including U.S. sailors, stand under the animated neon marquee waiting to see the film, *The Daltons Ride Again*. [Fig. 2.6] Though several unidentified civilians occupy the entryway, the U.S. Navy sailors congregated in the front of the theatre seize the viewer’s attention. Their presence in this Honolulu setting disclose the significant presence of the U.S. military in the islands. In the December 1938 edition of *Paradise of the Pacific*, writer Bailey S. Marshall noted, “Hawaii radiates national security for the United States in the Pacific. Hawaii is the fortified Pacific home of American strategy – the brain as well as the brawn of National Defense. It is the keystone of the curved line of resistance extending from the Aleutians through Hawaii to Samoa and Panama. No enemy, in war, will pass east of that line.”¹⁵ Marshall continues, “Millions of American dollars are spent in Hawaii for material and via pay-rolls by the National Defense forces every month. This steady stream of gold, pouring into the economic

¹³ National Register, #78001021.

¹⁴ Charlotte Herzog, “The Movie Palace and the Theatrical Sources of its Architectural Style,” *Cinema Journal* 20, no. 2 (1981): 18.

¹⁵ Bailey S. Marshall, *Paradise of the Pacific* 50, 35.

lifestream of Hawaii, makes for a high standard of living.”¹⁶ In Marshall’s estimation, the federal presence is “a source of uplifting power, adding dignity, security and social values to Hawaii...Hawaii should do every possible thing to create a civic Hawaiian environment that will help to form a happier, a stronger, and a more satisfied National Defense in this western and insular part of the United States.”¹⁷

Hotel Street not only accommodated the Hawaii Theatre but also the social exploits of military men in Honolulu. In the early 1920s, about 17,000 U.S. servicemen were stationed in Hawai‘i. By September 1940, the population had grown to nearly 48,000.¹⁸ During this period, Hotel Street was deemed “the Service Man’s Domain” where military men engaged in “wholesome” fun. They played their favorite pinball machines and could determine their shooting ranges, baseball batting ability, weights, and strength. Due to its proximity to military enclaves such as Pearl Harbor, life on Hotel Street was directly aligned with the energy of the Chinatown district. Asian restaurants and cafes, Hawaiian lei-making stands, penny peep shows, souvenir shops, fortune tellers, bars, hula shows, and grocery markets crowded the locale. Hotel Street became the setting for which the diverse population and economies of the city came together. In this way, many residents and visitors to mid-century Honolulu often compared Hotel Street with New York’s Coney Island and Chicago’s Maxwell Street.¹⁹

¹⁶ Ibid, 38.

¹⁷ Marshall, *Paradise of the Pacific* 50, 35.

¹⁸ Richard Borreca, “Tourism inches into Paradise,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin: The Millennium, Fourth of Eight Parts* (August 9, 1999).

¹⁹ Helen Berkey, “Life Ewa of Fort Street,” *Paradise of the Pacific* 58 (Christmas 1946): 81-83. The construction of the Army and Navy YMCA (1928) on Hotel Street contributed to the military presence in downtown Honolulu. Lincoln Rogers designed a Spanish-Mediterranean building with classical columns, two large lanais, and pillars adorning the five-story façade. There were 372 rooms that could accommodate up to 426 military men. The design also incorporated an open-air swimming pool, gymnasium, restaurant, barber and tailor shops, a curio store, billiard room, and game room to entertain the servicemen.

In conclusion, architectural revivalism influenced many designs during Honolulu's early territorial days. Revival styles from the Atlantic seaboard that had defined the architecture of America's original thirteen colonies were now used for structures in America's territorial colony. Revivalism solidified Hawai'i's visual tie to early U.S. history and thereby opened the door for architects to experiment in fashioning an architectural style unique to the Hawaiian Islands.

Hawaiian Regionalism in a Pan-Pacific World

During the late 1920s, Hawai'i's residents settled into their role as territorial citizens. The stable sugar and tourist industries, along with U.S. military revenue, supported a diversified economy in the islands. Architecture became the visual medium through which signs of "progress" were measured in the city. During this time, Honolulu's architecture came to resemble regional styles prevalent throughout the warmest regions of the U.S. mainland. While the application and reconfiguration of Spanish Colonial, Mission Revival, and Mediterranean types to Honolulu's buildings made no contextual *historical* sense since Hawai'i did not have a Spanish colonial past like California and Florida, features that made them "sympathetic to the environment," "comprehensible in scale," "open to nature," "formed indoor-outdoor relationships," and used a "mindful choice of materials"²⁰ made *physical* sense in the temperate climate of Hawai'i. This architectural experimentation materialized as Hawaiian regionalism because architects and patrons felt confident in Hawai'i's position as a geographic, financial, and strategic enclave of the United States. Thus, the Hawaiian regional aesthetic comprised a unique punchbowl of diverse influences from Hawai'i, California, and Asia.

A Pan-Pacific ideology predicated on the belief that the Americas, Pacific Islands, and Asian nations had a significant role to play in global relations facilitated the emergence of a

²⁰ Fairfax, 9 and Sandler, 36.

Hawaiian regional architecture. For the United States, specifically, economic concerns guided early Pan-Pacific discussions. Finding a pathway to connect the nation's commercial interests in the Atlantic and Pacific became a driving force for the United States government. The opening of the Panama Canal in 1914, perhaps the most significant engineering feat of the era, helped to resolve this issue. A 1915 publication, *History of the Panama Canal: Its Construction and Builders*, noted that the Panama Canal benefitted Hawai'i in two specific ways: it allowed for the direct trade of sugar between Hawai'i and Europe at reduced rates, and it made the islands a "great world resort" by providing a shortcut for tourist steamships from New York, London, and Paris.²¹ But, as Julie Greene points out in *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal* (2009), the Panama Canal was more than an economic tool – it was a modern symbol of American power in the Western hemisphere. Greene attests: "In its triumph, the Panama Canal articulated American expansionism as a positive, humane, and beneficial activity, one equally valuable to world civilization and to American national identity."²²

The 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) held in San Francisco showcased American excitement about the opening of the canal. Government records dating back to 1909 disclose interest on the part of Hawai'i's government to participate in celebrating the opening of the Panama Canal. Correspondences between Homer S. King, President of The Exposition Company, and the governor's office of Walter F. Frear (term: 1907-1913) reveal King's intent to host the fair in San Francisco, despite the fact that the canal was years from completion. King released a statement to Honolulu officials on December 24, 1909 proclaiming, "It was fitting that St. Louis should celebrate the Louisiana Purchase, and it is no less fitting that

²¹ Ira Elbert Bennett, *History of the Panama Canal: Its Construction and Builders* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Publishing Company, 1915), 279, 285.

²² Julie Greene, *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 10.

San Francisco, the largest sea-port on the Pacific, should celebrate the joining of the two greatest oceans in the world.”²³ Hawai‘i’s local government officials expressed their enthusiasm to participate in the world’s fair since the early planning phase. H.P. Wood, Secretary of the Hawaii Promotion Committee and Chairman of the Board of Commissioners for Hawaii (PPIE), explicitly stated the reasons for Hawai‘i’s participation in the fair in a letter dated May 29, 1911 and addressed to the “Members of the Board of Commissioners for Hawaii.” Wood stated, “Owing to the very close business relations existing between San Francisco and Honolulu and the importance of the Panama Canal to the development of trade and travel on the Pacific, it is eminently fitting that Hawai‘i’s representation at San Francisco in 1915 should be on a large and attractive scale...”²⁴ Hawai‘i’s commission for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition began organizing in the same year.

The Hawaii Building (1915) reflected the fruits of their labor. **[Fig. 2.7]** Designed by Charles Dickey, the French-Renaissance pavilion’s interior decoration revealed “to the visitor what Hawai‘i looked like.”²⁵ An aquarium, concert stand for Hawaiian singers and ‘ukulele players, ornamental windows, and moving pictures with island scenes attempted to capture Hawai‘i as “the ideal Tourist Resort.”²⁶ **[Fig. 2.8]** Moreover, the commission selected a neoclassical exterior for the Hawaii Building early in the design process. They decided that the building needed to correspond with other Exhibition buildings. They also asserted that the Renaissance-style exterior of grand round arches, pilasters, equally sized and shaped windows, decorative panel friezes, and steep pitched roof “lent itself so readily to the use of rich colorings

²³ “Statement of The Exposition Committee, Panama-Pacific International Exposition, signed by Homer S. King, dated December 24, 1909” (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov. 3-3: Frear, Panama Pacific Exposition Commission).

²⁴ “Correspondence to Members of the Board of Commissioners for Hawaii from H.P. Wood, Chairman, dated May 29, 1911” (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov. 3-3: Frear, Panama Pacific Exposition Commission).

²⁵ “Correspondence from H.P. Wood, Chairman of the PPIE Hawaii, to Governor Pinkham, dated September 13, 1915” (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov. 4-8: Pinkham – Miscellaneous, Panama Pacific Exposition).

²⁶ Ibid.

and forms” and could be “easily adapted to the needs of exposition buildings.”²⁷ A prominent *kamaaina*, Eben Faxon Bishop – nephew of Charles Reed Bishop, husband of Hawaiian Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop (1831-1884) – delivered the remarks at the opening of the Hawaii Building. Bishop proclaimed, “...the Panama Canal, has aroused in us so patriotic an enthusiasm that in a humble way we have endeavored to show our appreciation of America’s triumph, joining our sister states in the celebration of its accomplishment.”²⁸ Bishop vocalized, in so many words, acceptance by Hawai‘i’s citizens of their territorial status and their embrace of U.S. national identity.

In 1917, two years after the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, Alexander Hume Ford – founder of *Mid-Pacific Magazine*, a travel and tourist magazine published in Honolulu – established the Pan-Pacific Union.²⁹ An umbrella organization, it encouraged the creation of clubs dedicated to fostering cooperation between nations and promoting dialogue about issues of concern to the region, including economics, peace, and security. Groups such as the Pan-Pacific Club of Tokyo and Pan-Pacific Women’s Association organized events and international conferences that attracted intellectuals, policy makers, and members of the business community.³⁰ John Thares Davidann chronicles the role of Hawai‘i in this arrangement. Davidann describes Hawai‘i as the “Center of the Pacific Community” in *Hawai‘i at the Crossroads of the U.S. and Japan before the Pacific War* (2008). He points to the plantation economy and diverse population in the islands as the impetus for positioning Hawai‘i as a

²⁷ “General Description of the Exposition Buildings for the Territory of Hawaii, Panama Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, Calif. 1915” (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov. 3-3: Frear, Panama Pacific Exposition Commission).

²⁸ “Correspondence from Bertram G. Rivenburgh of the Hawaii Exposition Commission to Governor Pinkham, dated March 4, 1915” (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov. 4-8: Pinkham – Miscellaneous, Panama Pacific Exposition).

²⁹ Jon Thares Davidann, *Hawai‘i at the Crossroads of the U.S. and Japan before the Pacific War* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008), 19.

³⁰ See Fiona Paisley, *Glamour in the Pacific: Cultural Internationalism and Race Politics in the Women’s Pan-Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009).

crossroads between “East” and “West.” Honolulu, as the capital city, became the hub for Pan-Pacific relations during the 1920s and 1930s.³¹

The Hawaiian regional aesthetic was born out of this Pan-Pacific internationalism. Hawaiian regionalism adopted styles from the U.S. mainland and Asia, as well as motifs local to the islands. In keeping with the economic component that drove much of Honolulu’s success as an international center, I will discuss two buildings in Honolulu’s downtown Central Business District (CBD) that exhibited Hawaiian regionalism at its peak: the Alexander & Baldwin Building and the C. Brewer & Company Building.

The Alexander & Baldwin Company, a Hawai‘i sugar conglomerate, acquired property on Bishop Street in 1926 to develop its corporate headquarters. Dickey aimed to design a building that was a synthesis of East and West. [Fig. 2.9] To these ends, he added allusions to Peking’s Forbidden City onto a concrete and steel structure.³² The columned recessed entryway embellished with mosaic panels, the terracotta exterior, and the black Belgian marble of the vestibule were all capped with a “Dickey-style” roof. The hipped roof, distinguished by a high peak, gablets, and subtle curvature to create wide overhangs was an invention that took its inspiration from Hawaiian vernacular *hale* and Asian prototypes.³³ [Fig. 2.10]

The adoption of Asian iconography for the Hawaiian regional style makes sense, given Hawai‘i’s history of using imported Asian plantation labor. It might then be argued that in order to combat U.S. fears related to large-scale Asian immigration to the islands, and the possible sociopolitical impact that these groups would have upon the racial politics of the United States, Hawaiian regionalism sought to assign innocuous, unassuming characteristics to Asian

³¹ Davidann, 14.

³² Jay, 45-46.

³³ Ibid, 61.

immigrants. Chinese good-luck symbols and Japanese grillworks were juxtaposed with cursory motifs of stylized Hawaiian fish-life, plant-life, and bird-life. Merging Asian and Polynesian motifs and labeling the result “Hawaiian” blurred boundaries between what was foreign (and therefore “frightening”) and what was native (and therefore “less threatening”).

Dickey’s heritage and training inevitably affected his design aesthetic. Although trained in the Beaux-Arts tradition at MIT, Dickey became aware of architectural diversity through his ties to California. The inventiveness of his Spanish Mission style at the Howard H. Hart residence (Berkeley, California; 1910), the classical commercial style of the Capwell Department Store (Oakland, California; 1912), and the Tudor style of the Claremont Hotel (Berkeley, California; 1906-1915) undoubtedly influenced the Alexander & Baldwin Building, his most recognizable commercial project in Honolulu. Added to this, Dickey had strong ties to the firm of Alexander & Baldwin through his mother, who was a member of the Alexander family.³⁴ The architect designed a structure that re-interpreted American architectural traditions of the United States visually and metaphorically linked Hawai‘i to the United States.

Hardie Phillip’s C. Brewer & Company Building is located one block away from the Alexander & Baldwin Building. **[Fig. 2.11]** C. Brewer & Company was the smallest of Hawai‘i’s sugar conglomerates, and its building’s compact design reflects this point. The two-story corporate headquarters of Spanish, Mediterranean, and Hawaiian type is set in a tropical garden that overlooks a courtyard. Its exterior is defined by a doorway of polished koa wood, a façade of Hawaiian blue-stone with a textured stucco finish, and a red-tiled double-pitched hipped roof. Moreover, the building has projecting second floor lanai decorated with motifs of waving sugar cane, a grillwork of abstracted sugar cane, and modern light fixtures in the shape of sugar cubes.

³⁴ Kenneth L. Ames, *On Bishop Street: Avenue of Hawai‘i Pioneers* (Honolulu: First Hawaiian Bank, 1996), 94.

His approach to architectural ornament resembling cash crops was not a new invention. Just as Benjamin Henry Latrobe, in the early 1800s, attempted to establish a “nationalized” classical order predicated upon corn and tobacco motifs at the United States Capitol, so to did Phillip’s create identifiable images associated with the economies of the distant Pacific island territory.

The C. Brewer & Company Building owed much of its design to Bertram Goodhue’s influence. Phillip served as an apprentice to Goodhue and completed the C. Brewer & Company Building as a member of Mayers, Murray and Phillip, a firm working under the banner of Goodhue Associates. Phillip implemented Goodhue’s tradition of stylistic experimentation at the C. Brewer & Company Building. Park Avenue’s stripped Byzantine design for St. Bartholomew’s Church (New York, New York; 1916-1918), the Spanish Baroque style of San Diego’s Balboa Park (San Diego, California; 1915), and the combination of Classical and Gothic traditions of the Nebraska State Capitol (Lincoln, Nebraska; 1922-1933) are evidence of the architect’s varied approaches to architecture. These stylistic variations by Goodhue suggest that the architect and his successors were not fixed on a particular design aesthetic; rather, the patrons of C. Brewer and, for that matter, the Alexander & Baldwin buildings perpetuated Hawaiian regionalism because, as Harry Bent (supervising architect for C. Brewer) articulated in the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* in 1929 and as Penkiunas summarizes, these types of buildings were at once “modern” and “undeniably tied to history.”³⁵

But tied to whose history? Is it enough to contend that a building sympathetic to the environment, comprehensible in scale, open to nature, forming indoor-outdoor relationships, and made of local materials represents Hawaiian regionalism? Or can this be a generalization about twentieth-century tropical architecture? Are the Mediterranean, Spanish, and Mission revival

³⁵ Penkiunas, 180. See also, “Brewer and Co. Building will be of new type,” Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* (December 7, 1929): 11.

exteriors of the sugar headquarters in Hawai‘i that far removed from structures built in California? To answer the question, I maintain that the application (and modification) of mainland regional styles in Honolulu was purposefully developed by architects and embraced by patrons in order to make the Pacific island city legible to the American public as a conceptual extension of California.

Architectural decipherability would have been particularly important during the 1920s for a variety of reasons. Architecture contributed to an overall public strategy enacted by the local government and corporate businesses to demonstrate the claim that Honolulu is a “modern American city” where “the spirit of American progress predominates.”³⁶ Helen Gay Pratt, in *Hawaii Off-Shore Territory* (1944), describes the 1920s as a period in which the territory went through “profound change” as it sought to fulfill these ends. She points to the nearly 22,000 visitors to Hawai‘i that included “diplomats, cabinet officers, admirals, generals, surgeons, educators, scientists, tourists, excursionists, round the world travelers, musicians...businessmen...the Crown Prince and Princess of Sweden” and “movie stars from Hollywood.”³⁷ Pratt mentions developments in aviation that allowed pilots to travel from California’s coast via Hawai‘i to other Pacific island destinations. She even discusses Hawai‘i as the Pan-Pacific epicenter. She comments that organizations such as The Pan-Pacific Research Institute “symbolized the growing influence of research as a basis for improving life” and the Institute of Pacific Relations was “founded in the spirit of altruism and service; in the belief that free discussion led to understanding and tolerance.”³⁸ Additionally, Pratt discusses the city’s architecture as a moment of change. Old buildings were demolished to make room for the

³⁶ “All about Hawaii: What to See and How to See It, History-Legends-Pictures,” Standard Tourist Guide, Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, first edition (November 1928): 33.

³⁷ Helen Gay Pratt, *Hawaii Off-Shore Territory* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1944), 240.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 322-323.

erection of “new,” “beautiful,” and “modern” structures including the Federal Building and Honolulu Hale.³⁹

Reaffirming Coastal Relationships

Structures in Honolulu’s Civic Center (Capitol District), like the C. Brewer and Alexander & Baldwin buildings in the CBD, attest to the intelligibility of the city. As a decade of remarkable growth and development, the 1920s witnessed significant construction along King Street in response to the needs of its governing bodies. However, in opposition to the sugar corporation’s willingness to experiment with architecture, the Federal Building and Honolulu Hale adopted U.S. revival aesthetics as a means of acknowledging and reaffirming U.S.-Hawai‘i political relations.

The United States government was first to establish its presence on King Street with the Federal Building. [Fig. 2.12] York and Sawyer, assisted by Emory and Webb, designed the Federal Building with a Spanish Colonial Revival aesthetic.⁴⁰ Originally a three-story structure to house the offices of all Federal agencies in Honolulu, its design features an open courtyard with spacious porticoes, intricate passageways, hidden louvers, wrought-iron gates, arched windows, and two square towers. Its thick plaster walls and overhanging tile roof contrasted with the Italian marble counters in its customs office and its two central staircases.⁴¹ However, more important than style, the Federal Building operated as a civic tie between the citizens of Hawai‘i and citizens of U.S. states. In 1922, the year that the Federal Building was completed, Governor Wallace Rider Farrington (term: 1921-1929) stated in his annual report, “Hawaii is not a “possession.” In the payment of Federal taxes, in customs collections and other similar Federal

³⁹ Ibid, 309.

⁴⁰ Penkiunas, 184-188.

⁴¹ Jeannette Murray Peek, *Stepping Into Time: A Guide to Honolulu’s Historic Landmarks* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1994), 101-102.

requirements, the Territory carries all the responsibility of a State.”⁴² This monumental edifice served as the physical manifestation of increased U.S. federal bureaucracy in the Hawaiian Islands and was a clear nod to the architectural culture of southern California.⁴³

However, the design process for the Federal Building revealed a discrepancy between local and national expectations. While it was the duty of the U.S. Secretary of the Interior to select an architect for the Federal Building project, territorial officials and Honolulu’s business leaders communicated directly with Washington, D.C., expressing their desire for a building that would be beautiful, cool, and comfortable. As noted by E.D. Tenney, vice-president of Castle & Cooke, and Stanford Dole, the first Territorial Governor of Hawai‘i, the stated objective of the structure was twofold: to suit the tropical climate of Hawai‘i and to integrate Hawai‘i into the architectural practices of the mainland.⁴⁴ American architects including Oliver G. Traphagen of San Francisco, Charles W. Dickey of Oakland, and Herbert Dole of New York were among those recommended by territorial leaders to receive the commission.

In spite of their appeals, the New York firm of York and Sawyer was selected to design the building in January 1917. Edward York and Philip Sawyer specialized in monumental commissions, including the American Security and Trust Company Building (Washington, D.C.; 1905), the New York Historical Society (New York, New York; 1908), and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (New York, New York; 1919-1924). The firm represented the quintessence

⁴² “Report of the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii to the Secretary of the Interior, Governor W.R. Farrington: For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922” (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 2.

⁴³ Penkiunas, 191.

⁴⁴ Determining the location for the new Federal Building was a contentious matter that dated back to 1907. Territorial leaders such as Lorrin A. Thurston (lawyer), A.F. Griffiths (President, Oahu College), J. Kalanianaʻole Kūhiō (Hawai‘i Delegate to Congress), A.S. Cleghorn, and Stanford Dole, among others, debated between the “Irwin Block” and the “Gore Lot” for the new Federal Building. Both sites fronted Palace Square, with the former positioned between Merchant and Queen Streets, and the latter situated between Merchant and King Streets – each with slight modifications to property lines. See Hawai‘i State Archives (Gov. 3-3: Frear-Miscellaneous, Federal Building). It took until 1916 for all the pieces of the property on a four acre lot on King Street to be purchased.

of early-twentieth-century Beaux-Arts Classical architecture on the U.S. mainland.⁴⁵ The partners had trained in the offices of McKim, Mead, and White, which partly accounts for the firm's approach to architecture and its subsequent successes. Karthryn Horste makes the connection between York and Sawyer's time with McKim, Mead, and White and their attitude toward architectural commissions. She states:

...they [York and Sawyer] employed the architectural principles promoted by McKim, Mead, and White...Typically, this style was characterized by an exterior order and severity...Besides the embracing of order and rationality in plan and elevation, other leading concepts that York and Sawyer took from the more famous firm were...their sense of the architectural value of *symbolic and associational references* to the past.⁴⁶ [italics added]

The partners had to design the Federal Building in Honolulu in accordance with architecture policies issued in 1915 by the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. William Newman reported on these new guidelines in the *Architect and Engineer of California*:

The Secretary aims to provide new buildings, not only practical and suitable for the needs of the community in which they are to be placed, but also as beautiful as can be designed with the means available; buildings which will educate and develop the public taste and eventually elevate it to a higher plane...In the design of new buildings consideration is to be given to what is appropriate to the respective communities, both as to the type of building to be erected and the materials to be used.⁴⁷

This statement reveals that the federal government tasked York and Sawyer with negotiating between an appropriate and a didactic architecture for Honolulu. Thus, it is not surprising given York and Sawyer's architectural pedigree and federal mandates that the firm's original design for

⁴⁵ Penkiunas, 184-88. O.G. Traphagen and C.W. Dickey were prominent architects who practiced in Honolulu. Traphagen was famed for the designs of the Kaka'ako Pumping Station (1900), Moana Hotel (1901), and the Hawai'i State Archives Building (1906). Dickey, while raised in Hawai'i, was trained at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and practiced widely in California. His commissions in Hawai'i included the Bishop Estate Building (1896), the Stangenwald Building (1901), and the Alexander and Baldwin Building (1926-1929). For more, see Jay, 1992).

⁴⁶ Kathryn Horste, *The Michigan Law Quadrangle: Architecture and Origins* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 76.

⁴⁷ William Arthur Newman, "The Berkeley Post Office – An Example of the New Public Building Policy," *Architect and Engineer of California* 43 (October 1915): 39.

the Federal Building did not depart in any noticeable way from their East Coast work. [Fig. 2.13]

A formal, urban palazzo in the vein of McKim, Mead, and White's Boston Public Library (Boston, Massachusetts; 1887-1895) undoubtedly informed York and Sawyer's initial design for the Federal Building. Their decision to adopt the Renaissance formality of the urban palazzo for the Federal Building was not as arbitrary as it may seem in the context of Honolulu's civic architecture. In fact, it aligned with the Renaissance-revival style of the Alexander Young Hotel and the neoclassical proportionality of the Hawaii State Library (1913) which is also located on King Street. [Fig. 2.14]

Nevertheless, local consternation about the Federal Building inspired York and Sawyer to send Louis Ayers, a member of their firm, to Honolulu in order to investigate problems associated with the preliminary architectural scheme. His study uncovered the spatial inadequacy of the enclosed courtyard and the ill-conceived heating plant in the original plans for the Federal Building.⁴⁸ To preserve the reputation of York and Sawyer, Ayers attempted to convince local authorities in Honolulu that the architects were not responsible for the ineffective design. York and Sawyer had relied on the standard architectural requirements established by the U.S. Treasury Department. In the end, York and Sawyer, assisted by local Honolulu architects, created a Spanish Colonial aesthetic that acknowledged the tropical environs of Honolulu.

The function and style of the Federal Building and the Hawaiian regional designs for Alexander & Baldwin and C. Brewer & Company aligns with a proposition put forth by Penkiunas in her 1990 dissertation, "American Regional Architecture in Hawai'i: Honolulu, 1915-1935." She investigates the work of Goodhue and York and Sawyer, amongst others, to conclude that Honolulu's elite, Caucasian architectural patrons encouraged the construction of

⁴⁸ "The Federal Building, Honolulu," *Progressive Architecture* 5 (July 1924): 21-24.

buildings that were “noteworthy on a national level.”⁴⁹ They specifically chose to borrow stylistic nomenclature from California because both regions shared a vision for the future.

Penkiunas maintains,

Cities such as San Diego and Honolulu were eager for economic expansion and for an increase in population. The construction of the Panama Canal served as a catalyst which brought these concerns to the forefront. The prospect of increased revenues through expanded shipping, trade, and tourism mobilized the citizens of these various communities.⁵⁰

Penkiunas’ analysis is significant because it situates Honolulu’s built environment within conversations about the architectural strategies and initiatives undertaken in U.S. mainland municipalities.

Honolulu Hale, Honolulu’s city hall, bridges the discussion about architectural regionalism, revivalism, and municipal ambitions. In response to the Federal Building, the municipal government for the City and County of Honolulu sought to assert its autonomy with a new building. It accomplished this through the Spanish-Mission vernacular of Honolulu Hale.⁵¹ [Fig. 2.15] The territorial legislature authorized \$750,000 for the construction of the building designed by Allied Architects, the combined moniker for the architectural firms of C.W. Dickey, Hart Wood, Robert Miller, and Rothwell Kangeter & Lester. Their design featured three arched entryways, loggias, recessed windows, cast-iron grillwork, double-hung windows, an open courtyard, and a fourth-floor mezzanine. These were accented by elegant concrete finishes, a red-tiled roof, a six-story tower, coffered ceiling frescoes inspired by Native American and Moorish

⁴⁹ Ibid, abstract.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 7.

⁵¹ Territorial operations took place at the Territorial Office Building (1926) prior to the completion of Honolulu Hale. Arthur Reynolds, a British-born architect who trained in Chicago and San Francisco, designed the structure as a neoclassical edifice with elements of Beaux-Arts formality and Art Deco abstraction. The unadorned surface of yellow-tinted plaster sheaths a structure defined by its two-story base and four-story central tower. This proto-skyscraper functions as a vertical marker of the building’s significance in the city. It recalls prior U.S. government buildings with towers such as Palmer & Hornbostel’s Oakland City Hall (1914).

motifs, bronze exterior doors, and stylized door pulls of native Hawaiian lei *niho palaoa* (chiefly ornaments composed of a sperm whale's tooth and human hair). In its incorporation of local motifs and foreign influences, Honolulu Hale belonged to a larger tradition of California civic buildings that included the Santa Barbara County Courthouse (1929) and the Pasadena City Hall (1925–1927).⁵² In recognition of this cultural association, during the dedication ceremony, Mayor Charles N. Arnold proclaimed, “Honolulu could hold her head in just pride among American cities.”

Honolulu's municipal government selected a site directly adjacent to the Mission Memorial Building Complex for Honolulu Hale. **[Fig. 2.16]** The Hawaiian Evangelical Association commissioned the Mission Memorial Building (1915) and Mission Memorial Auditorium (1915) to mark the 100 year anniversary of the arrival of American Protestant missionaries in Hawai'i. (The Christian Education Building completed the complex in 1930.) The two Georgian-inspired structures designed by H.L. Kerr serviced the local Board of Missions (the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society). Together, these buildings in the heart of the city defined for decades by 'Iolani Palace harkened back to the New England roots of early missionary settlers and the Georgian and Neoclassical architectural traditions of the East Coast college campuses from which many of them came.

The City and County of Honolulu acquired the Mission Memorial facilities in 1945. When Honolulu Hale proved insufficient to house its various agencies, many department offices moved to the available space at Mission Memorial. The Mission Memorial Complex and Honolulu Hale not only united the same government agency within buildings that recall the Atlantic seaboard and southern California coast, but also evoke the ways in which Hawai'i's

⁵² Ibid, 228.

political regime folded Christianity into its architectural vocabulary. City planners and local officials grafted American Protestant histories – whereby the god of Christianity becomes the de facto foundation for democratic, republican government – onto a Hawaiian landscape.

Laws and Messages to Congress

As the Hawaii Theatre underwent construction in 1921 and architects began to consider an architectural regional aesthetic particular to the islands, Native Hawaiians began to feel the effects of territorial status. Hawaiian identity became politically embedded within U.S. national identity in 1921 when federal law made a distinction between *Hawaiian* and *native Hawaiian*. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) declared that a native Hawaiian is “any descendant of not less than one-half part of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1778.” A Hawaiian, by relation, is “any descendant of the aboriginal peoples inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands which exercised sovereignty and subsisted in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, and which peoples thereafter have continued to reside in Hawaii.”⁵³ In essence, as Kuanaʻiahi describes in *Hawaiian Blood*, the distinction between Hawaiian and native Hawaiian determines who is “Hawaiian enough” by a fifty percent blood quantum.⁵⁴ The importance of this distinction is that the United States government has used blood quantum to categorize Hawaiians as those who were eligible and ineligible based on their racial category to receive homesteading opportunities and other services from the local and federal governments.

In the midst of the federal government enacting racial categories to create division among an indigenous population, the Honorable Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole (Kūhiō) delivered a statement in front of the Sixty-Seventh Congress of the United States in 1921 attesting the ways

⁵³ Morris Young, “Native Claims: Cultural Citizenship, Ethnic Expressions, and the Rhetorics of “Hawaiianess,” *College English* 67 (September 2004): 85.

⁵⁴ Kuanaʻiahi, 41.

in which Hawaiians have suffered as a result of U.S. systems of politics, commerce, and culture. Kūhiō, the nephew and adopted son of Kalākaua and his wife Kapi‘olani, served as Hawai‘i’s Territorial Delegate to Congress (term: 1902-1922) began his congressional speech by stating, “I have sought to make the Territory American.”⁵⁵ In a meeting geared toward addressing Hawai‘i’s “labor problems” (read, “Asian”), Kūhiō made claims about the status of Hawaiians in the territory. When asked by John C. Box, a Texas Democrat, about why Hawaiians were diminishing in number, Kūhiō responded, “Well, I suppose the change of life – civilization. They could not withstand the changed conditions.”⁵⁶ When pressed further, Kūhiō posited that the growth of cities changed the habits of Hawaiians: “They left their country homes and the life that their ancestors had lived for generations and ceased to follow agricultural pursuits. They went into the cities and into the tenements and into surroundings that were not fit or good for a people who had spent their lives in the open.”⁵⁷

Kūhiō’s message to the U.S. Congress negotiates and modifies the triumphal narrative of colonialism as a civilizing force. Kūhiō’s carefully crafted words reflect the great pains that he took in order to highlight the consequences of American presence in Hawai‘i. Kūhiō underscored the source of Hawaiian consternation toward American action when Representative Box asked, “...what particular part of the [Western] civilization killed these people [Hawaiians] off?” He responded:

Rum and disease...Smallpox and measles...Looking back over our history, you will find that one of the greatest struggles we had in Hawaii was to keep civilized countries from bringing liquor into the islands. Our Kings prohibited liquor from being brought in, but the French and other Governments seeking to build up their trade by force overrode our laws and we were not able to keep liquor out.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ *Labor Problems in Hawaii, Hearings before the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization* (Washington Government Printing Office, 1921), 448. [Hawai‘i State Archives: HD8083.H3. U557 1921]

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 449.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Kūhiō's counter-colonial dialogue strategically included "our history" and "our Kings" to remind congressional members of the illustrious Hawaiian monarchy. Moreover, the links Kūhiō made between diseases, alcohol, and involuntary rule with "civilized countries" subtly announced to the U.S. governing body the duplicity in Western claims to the establishment of morality and justice in Hawai'i.

If mainstream territorial architecture embraced visual continuity with the U.S. mainland and a Pan-Pacific philosophy, the cultural signifier of an indigenous architectural challenge to American occupation initiated by Kūhiō manifested at Kamehameha Hall (1938), a residence for the (Royal) Order of Kamehameha. [Fig. 2.17] The history of the Order is long and illustrious. Lota Kapuāiwa (Kamehameha V; r. 1863-1872) established the group in 1865 to honor the legacy of Kamehameha I. The stated goal of the organization is "to cultivate and develop, among our subjects, the feelings of honour and loyalty to our dynasty and its institutions and... to confer honorary distinctions upon such of our subjects and foreigners as have rendered, or may hereafter render to our dynasty and people, important services."⁵⁹ Following the overthrow of Lili'uokalani, the territorial government considered the Order a political threat and deemed it illegitimate; thereafter, the Royal Order of Kamehameha operated underground as a secret society.

In 1902 Kūhiō sought to publicly re-inaugurate the Royal Order of Kamehameha. No doubt, Kūhiō's commitment to promoting Hawaiian interests motivated his actions. However, part of Kūhiō's enthusiasm for the Order may have also stemmed from his expressed interest in the fraternal order of Freemasons. "Mystic Ties of Brotherhood: Freemasonry, Ritual, and Hawaiian Royalty in the Nineteenth Century" by Frank J. Karpel, Jr. thoroughly chronicles the

⁵⁹ "About: Royal Order of Kamehameha I." See <http://www.kamehameha.org/about/>

significance of the Freemasons to Hawai‘i’s monarchical family, including Kūhiō. The Freemasons offered the Hawaiian monarchy a chance to be part of a “sophisticated,” global social organization that welcomed new participants.⁶⁰ Karpel makes the argument that the history of freemasonry in Hawai‘i tells an “untold fragment of Hawaiian history that illuminates the ways in which indigenous leaders drew upon Western cultural forms in their efforts to resist colonization.”⁶¹ Karpel claims that the native regime viewed the Masonic order as a means to strengthen the role of the monarchy during an era of foreign imperialism and expansion in the Pacific. The organization allowed for interaction and cooperation among Hawai‘i’s elite native, foreign, and settler populations. As Karpel maintains, “Lodge membership gave Hawaiian royalty access to a local network of influential men and myriad opportunities to cultivate their support.”⁶² The Freemasons, as opposed to the puritanical missionaries, accepted Hawai‘i’s dignitaries as both traditional leaders and individuals who had to negotiate with “a growing Western-style bureaucracy.”⁶³

The author points to Alexander ‘Iolani Liholiho’s (Kamehameha IV; r. 1855-1863) initiation and active participation as Worshipful Master of the Lodge Le Progrès in addition to his patronage of Queens Hospital (1859), the first public health facility in Hawai‘i.⁶⁴ These two events demonstrate the merger of society and politics afforded by membership to the Freemason Group. As Karpel points out, Kamehameha IV utilized Freemason events to talk to members, gather information, and communicate with American leaders who were part of the organization.

⁶⁰ Frank J. Karpel, Jr., “Mystic Ties of Brotherhood: Freemasonry, Ritual, and Hawaiian Royalty in the Nineteenth Century,” *Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 3 (August 2000): 361.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 358-359.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 365.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 370-371.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 373-374. According to their official website, “Lodge Le Progrès was the first lodge chartered in Hawai‘i and the first lodge west of the Rocky Mountains. Serving as a forum for the best men in Oahu society, the lodge has always been a source of cultural enrichment for the island’s diverse communities and a guardian of Masonic principles and traditions.” See <http://www.lodgeleprogres.net/>

These interactions asserted the *mō‘ī*'s authority in the islands and allowed him to gauge desires for new projects in the city which, in turn, gained public support.⁶⁵ Karpel specifically makes this connection in his discussion about the Hawaiian monarchy, the Freemasons, and the architecture of Queens Hospital. He states,

...the king presided over the Masonic cornerstone-laying and dedication of Queens Hospital, giving many Hawaiians their first introduction to Masonic rituals. Wearing a Masonic apron, the king oversaw the ceremonial measuring and testing of the cornerstone...The energetic participation of the fraternity in fundraising for the hospital, the ceremonial use of the working tools of Masonry, the depositing of mementos of the age in a time capsule, and the festive atmosphere established a new public role of the Masonic order in the islands.⁶⁶

Thus, the prestige, ritual, and symbolism that drew Kamehameha IV and other Native Hawaiians to the Freemasons may have also inspired Kūhiō's drive to reestablish the Royal Order of Kamehameha.

The territorial government finally granted Kūhiō's request but imposed the caveat that the organization drop "Royal" from its title. The newly renamed "Order of Kamehameha" reentered the public realm. The first official chapter of the organization formed in Honolulu with Kūhiō as its *ali'i 'aimoku* (Grand Master). A torchlight ceremony held in front of the Kamehameha I statue in downtown Honolulu on June 11, 1904 marked the occasion. Thereafter, the Order actively promoted their goals and traditions in a public manner. Their major functions included preserving native objects from the past and identifying storied sites throughout the islands.⁶⁷ Numerous chapters of the Order formed throughout the Hawaiian Islands over the years, but the only extant meeting hall of the group is in the city of Hilo on the Big Island of Hawai'i.

Although located outside of the city limits of Honolulu proper, this building offers insights into

⁶⁵ Ibid, 374.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 374-375.

⁶⁷ *Na Kupepa Kuokoa*, June 26, 1903: 1. See <http://nupepa-hawaii.com/2012/10/25/royal-order-of-kamehameha-the-early-days-1903/>

Hawaiian culture during the territorial period.

Kamehameha Hall housed the activities of *Heiau O Māmalahoa*, the second chapter of the Order. Perhaps similar to the ways in which Kalākaua appropriated Western architectural types to showcase his knowledge about the West, Kamehameha Hall adopted the style of early-twentieth century plantation housing, with its corrugated metal-hipped roof, single-wall construction, and tongue-and-groove frames. Three wide areas of fenestration define the front elevation of the structure. A pair of windows delineate the two side bays. A pavilion projects from the center bay and three side-by-side windows pierce this section of the façade. The right side of the projecting center bay contains a three step entry walkup. In all, Kamehameha Hall's location atop an elevated piece of land signals the structure's prominence within Hawaiian culture⁶⁸ in spite of the exterior modesty of a building that "demonstrates the style's adaptability to various building types."⁶⁹

Paul K. Neves thoroughly documents the interior of Kamehameha Hall for the National Register of Historic Places. The document states:

At the back of the hall, closest to the entry, is a space used as a lounge and reading room. This space extends across the entire front of the building. To the immediate left of the entrance is a platform with a koa chair. The back of the hall may be separated from the meeting hall itself with a sliding partition door. Located at the head of the hall is a second platform with a koa chair and a royal crest. On the right hand side of the main hall are six doors. All doors are of five panels. The four central doors are for closets holding spears, paddles, pulo'ulo'u (kapu sticks) and chapter memorabilia. Along the right hand side of the building is the high chief's office...a central bathroom, and a cloak room....The hall contains its original glass lighting fixtures, five in the meeting hall and three in the lounge. On the walls of the hall hang portraits of Prince Kuhio Kalaniana'ole and other prominent members of the Order of Kamehameha. Located under the back half of the building is a basement with kitchen and additional bathroom facilities.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ National Register of Historic Places, Kamehameha Hall, Hilo, Hawai'i County, Hawai'i, National Register #93000426

⁶⁹ "Kamehameha Hall," Historic Hawaii Foundation, Web, January 27, 2014. See <http://historichawaii.org/2014/01/27/kamehameha-hall/>

⁷⁰ Ibid. A comparison between the floorplan of Kamehameha Hall and a masonic temple would present a fascinating study. However, as of today, I do not know of any existing floorplans of Kamehameha Hall.

The interior decoration of Kamehameha Hall reflects the goals of the Order and aligns with Hawaiian efforts to publicly reclaim their history. The Order's preservation of koa chairs and royal crests, in addition to designated spaces for spears, paddles, *pulo'ulo'u* (a symbol of royalty; round balls mounted on poles) and cloaks, participate in Diaz and Imada's arguments for counter-colonial scenarios. This is to say that Hawaiians did not simply work within the realm of public policy but used alternative cultural means, such as the restoration of the Royal Order of Kamehameha and the erection of Kamehameha Hall, as an expression of opposition.

Comings-and-goings

While Honolulu's native, settler, and locally born residents adjusted to and, in some instances, contested the proliferation of revival and regionalist architectural structures in the city, images of Hawai'i increasingly beckoned travelers and tourists to its shores. In doing so, mainland and foreign audiences engaged with the revival and regional architectural designs in the city. Before Waikīkī became the premier tourist destination of O'ahu, there was downtown Honolulu. Steps away from the docking piers at Honolulu Harbor, downtown Honolulu offered visitors all the conveniences and luxuries of any U.S. city with its hotels, theaters, corporate offices, and government buildings. These travelers could then return home and attest to the Americanization of Honolulu. The Matson Navigation Company contributed in large part to this dynamic. The company offered the largest and fastest ocean liners in the Pacific passenger-freight service. As the leading transport agency to the Hawaiian Islands, Matson embarked on an aggressive advertising campaign in the 1930s and 1940s. It employed the likes of famed American photographers Edward Steichen and Toni Frissell, among others, to produce images for major travel and fashion periodicals including *Vogue*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *House and Garden*, and *Good Housekeeping*.

Steichen captured the “essence” of Hawai‘i in a 1941 Matson advertisement for *Good Housekeeping*. [Fig. 2.18] The image reassures its Caucasian (female) readers safe travels to the Pacific Islands.⁷¹ In the foreground, a young non-native woman lounges on a sandy O‘ahu beach. A brown woven basket props up the woman dressed in pink, blue, orange, red, and green beach attire. The blue ocean sparkles behind her as two brown men push an outrigger canoe into the water. In the distance, the profile of Diamond Head stretches nearly the entire length of the advert. The artist aligns the pure, wholesome quality of the woman with that of a seemingly untouched, virginal landscape removed from the urbanity of the city.

Against these pictorial motifs, a block of text on the far left of the image reads:

Today...as for the past half-century...MATSON ships maintain an American highway of trade and travel between HAWAII and the rest of the U.S.A. MATSON ships...the essence of Hawaii's own enchantment...make this crossing to an Island destination that has no equal, *the most pleasant voyage in all the world*. Your Travel Agent...or MATSON LINE offices will gladly give you illustrated literature about HAWAII and the SOUTH SEAS.⁷²

To highlight the message of the poster, the body of the text is capped with “Hawaii” and captioned at the end with “Matson Line” in bright red script. The very bottom of the advertisement provides details about Matson’s fleet and destinations. The S.S. *Lurline*, *Monterey*, *Mariposa*, and *Matsonia* are listed as the ocean liners that carry travelers to “Hawaii, New Zealand, and Australia via Samoa and Fiji.” The pairing of text and image in the Matson advert reassures its Caucasian female readership safe travels aboard the ship and leisurely pleasures in the Pacific Islands.

The marketing of Hawai‘i by Matson extended to the production of hotel advertisements,

⁷¹ Matson Navigation first hired Edward Steichen in 1934 to produce ads for the company. The first set of images released in the 1930s focused on the journey aboard Matson ships. Steichen produced a second set of images in 1940-1941, just prior to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, which utilized Hawai‘i’s environment as the setting for the photographs. See Patricia A. Johnston, *Real Fantasies: Edward Steichen's Advertising Photography* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997), 248-252.

⁷² Edward Steichen, *Good Housekeeping* (advertisement), 1941.

souvenir covers, and keepsake menus. Frank McIntosh, John Kelly, Louis Macouillard, and Eugene Savage were Matson artists who designed colorful and idyllic ephemera that captured the imagination of Hawai‘i’s visitors. In particular, Matson first hired Savage in 1938 to produce large-scale murals to inspire public audiences.⁷³ The artist created highly stylized images that illustrated Hawai‘i’s history in a fanciful and accessible manner. [Fig. 2.19] In many ways, the collage-like quality of Savage’s creations recall the character of 1930s American scene murals created by Thomas Hart Benton. Benton’s Midwestern, American regionalist aesthetic rendered through multiple vignettes of “overlapping passages, randomly cropped forms, fast-paced action, [and] continuity amid fragmentation” showcase a positive retelling of American history.⁷⁴

The appeal of Savage’s work inspired the company to reproduce the murals on a smaller scale as Matson menus. One such menu portrayed Hawai‘i’s annexation by the United States. Savage drew upon photographic evidence and literary documentation of the 1898 event to create the image. Set against the architectural landscape of ‘Iolani Palace, a portrait of President McKinley encircled within a wreath occupies the center of the composition. In addition, Hawaiian flags ripple alongside American flags, U.S. military soldiers enter the scene amidst trumpeters, onlookers are adorned in nineteenth century Victorian fashion, children dot the landscape, and Hawaiian women embellished with leis and hibiscus flowers cheer the occasion. However, the event’s factual history tempers the undeniable fervor that resonates in the smiling faces, waving hands, and flying doves. Unbeknownst to many of Matson’s passengers, most Hawaiians were not enthusiastic about the event. They were not in attendance at the annexation

⁷³ “Eugene Savage: The Matson Murals (Exhibition Review),” Honolulu Museum of Art. See http://honolulumuseum.org/art/exhibitions/14950-eugene_savage_matson_murals/

⁷⁴ Leo Mazow, “Regionalist Radio: Thomas Hart Benton on ‘Art for Your Sake,’” *The Art Bulletin* 90, no. 1 (Mar., 2008): 101.

ceremony; neither was Lili‘uokalani, even though she is depicted seating on a throne under the entrance portico to ‘Iolani Palace. Savage’s work combined historicism and artistic license to create a fantasy, art deco-inspired image whereby Hawaiians jubilantly welcomed U.S. annexation.

This image, and many others like it, solidified preexisting notions of the Hawaiian Islands as a tropical Pacific paradise in the tourist imagination. Pictures of joyful residents in a safe American haven in the Pacific not only benefited companies like Matson, they also promoted Hawai‘i as a strategic territorial outpost of U.S. commerce and tourism in the Pacific. They presented Hawai‘i to the world as a place of cultural exchange. It was a location in which the pre-contact past informed the post-contact, “civilized” present. Architecture of the territorial period functioned in a similar manner. American settlers, business interests, and government institutions embedded themselves within a Hawaiian indigenous past by controlling urban space and architecture. American colonizers advanced the vision of Honolulu as an emerging U.S. nexus of identity, status, and power by expanding the visual and symbolic meaning of the built environment. In so doing, the American elite of Hawai‘i positioned the island territory as an integral part of the nation.

Conclusion

Honolulu’s architecture during the first four decades after U.S. annexation reflected the economy and politics of the era. Architectural styles borrowed from the Atlantic seaboard and the California coast made their way to this Pacific environment. Architects endeavored to reconfigure these styles in a way that would make contextual sense in Hawai‘i. Hawaiian regionalism reflected the struggle of architects and their patrons to generate for Hawai‘i a unique sense of place that could easily translate as a U.S. city in the American popular consciousness.

During these years, residents and tourists alike were drawn to the architectural comforts – both visually and functionally – that these buildings offered. However, this confidence wavered on December 7, 1941, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and President Franklin D. Roosevelt (term: 1933-1945) and Governor Joseph Poindexter (term: 1934-1942) enacted martial law in the islands. For the next three years, monumental architectural production stalled, and Honolulu became a militarized zone. What came after the war was a desire by Honolulu's builders and patrons to extend beyond the scope of its American ties and its Pan-Pacific emphasis and embrace a more complete internationalism that placed Hawai'i in cultural and architectural dialogue with the industrialized world.



Fig. 2.1. Frank Davey, *Lowering the Hawaiian Flag at Annexation Ceremony*, 'Iolani Palace, Honolulu, Hawai'i, August 12, 1898, photograph



Fig. 2.2. George Washington Percy, Alexander Young Hotel, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1901-1903



Fig. 2.3. Walter L. Emory and Marshal H. Webb, Hawaii Theatre, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1921-1922



Fig. 2.4. George Washington Percy, Alexander Young Hotel (roof garden), Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1901- 1903



Fig. 2.5. Alexander Young Hotel, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1901-1903, photograph



Fig. 2.6. Ray Jerome Baker, *Hawaii Theatre*, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1943, photograph



Fig. 2.7. Charles Dickey, Hawaii Building (Panama Pacific International Exhibition), San Francisco, California, 1914



Fig. 2.8. Charles Dickey, Hawaii Building interior (Panama Pacific International Exhibition), San Francisco, California, 1914



Fig. 2.9. Charles W. Dickey (and Hart Wood), Alexander & Baldwin Building, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1929



Fig. 2.10. Charles W. Dickey (and Hart Wood), Alexander & Baldwin Building exterior details, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1929



Fig. 2.11. Hardie Phillip (Goodhue Associates), C. Brewer & Company Building, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1930



Fig. 2.12. Edward York and Philip Sawyer, Federal Building (U.S. Post Office, Custom House and Court House), Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1922

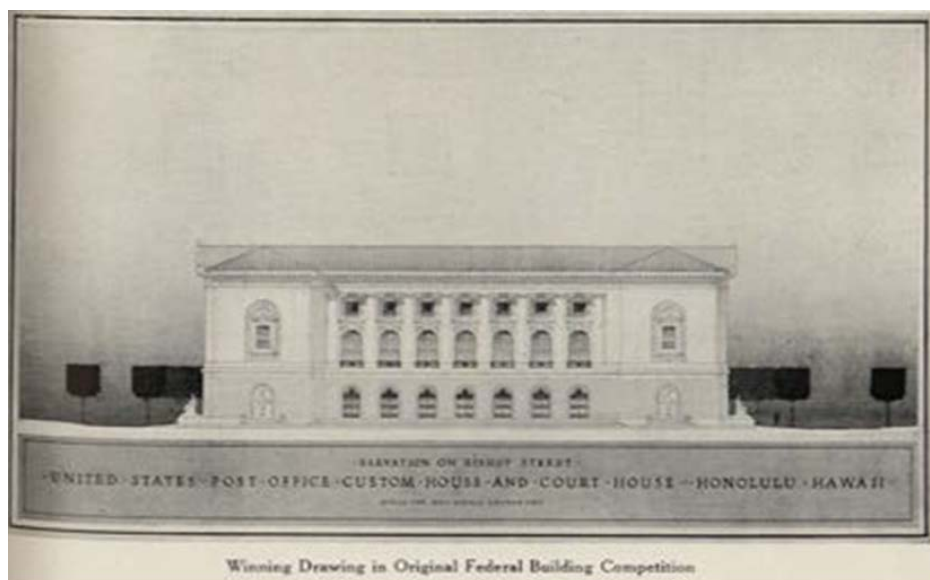


Fig. 2.13. Edward York and Philip Sawyer, Federal Building (U.S. Post Office, Custom House, and Court House), Original Design



Fig. 2.14. Henry D. Whitfield, Hawaii State Library, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1911-1913



Fig. 2.15. Allied Architects, Honolulu Hale, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1929



Fig. 2.16. H.L. Kerr, Mission Memorial Building Complex, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1915, 1930



Fig. 2.17. Kamehameha Hall, Hilo, Hawai‘i, 1938



Fig. 2.18. Edward Steichen, “Matson Advertisement,” print



Fig. 2.19. Eugene Savage, *Hawaii's Decisive Hour*, 1940, reproduction

Chapter 3

The Local and the Global: Three Government Buildings in Post-World War II Honolulu

On December 8, 1941, newspaper headlines from coast to coast announced the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The *Washington Post* proclaimed, “Japan declares war against U.S.”; the *Indianapolis Star* stated, “Jap air raiders bomb Hawaii, kill hundreds”; and, the *Los Angeles Times* pronounced, “WAR! Japs bomb U.S. bases.” The “date which will live in infamy,” as President Franklin D. Roosevelt famously labeled it, altered the way in which territorial officials conceptualized their place within American national identity. Indeed, mainlanders grieved the loss of human life in the territory; they also abhorred the conscious assault on the country’s perceived neutrality in a world war that began in 1939.

Following the attack and proclamation of war, government officials in Washington, D.C. and Hawai‘i enacted martial law in Hawai‘i. The effects of martial law were immediately felt since it subjected Honolulu’s residents to rationed food and gasoline, restricted parking, literary censorship, and mandatory blackout periods.¹ Hawaiian residents lived under martial law restrictions for nearly three years. Thus, the people who suffered great loss on December 7th were the same individuals who lost their rights as American territorial citizens living under martial law.

Martial law impacted Honolulu’s built environment when the islands became a militarized state. Monumental architectural construction came to a halt during the war years although the U.S. military sponsored new roads, storehouses, and industrial facilities. Urban streetscapes and architectural structures that had become part of the everyday fabric of the city now operated as military spaces during World War II. A 1942 photograph shows a U.S. military convoy on Beretania Street with servicemen and civilians looking at the tanks from the sidewalk.

¹ Henry Doughty, “Hawaii—Then and Now,” *Paradise of the Pacific* 54 (February 1942): 5.

Another photograph from 1941 displays three soldiers installing barbed wire on the grounds of ‘Iolani Palace, the headquarters for Hawai‘i’s military governor during the war. Hence, the ancestral site of the Hawaiian monarchy marked the location in which twentieth-century U.S. militarism unfolded.² [Figs. 3.1-3.2]

As the United States experienced economic prosperity and European nations rebuilt after World War II, Hawai‘i found itself on the cusp of statehood. American weekly magazines such as *LIFE* published articles attesting to Hawai‘i’s Americanness and many of Hawai‘i’s citizens signed a petition to the U.S. Congress for statehood. Meanwhile Hawai‘i’s architects, planners, and government officials participated in national and international conversations about architecture, technology, and industry. This chapter discusses three post-World War II government structures in territorial Honolulu built during the 1950s that exemplify this point. The Keelikolani Building (1951; demolished), Board of Water Supply Administration Building (1958), and Aliiimoku Building (1959) housed government services that addressed the health, well-being, and safety of Hawai‘i’s citizens. In form, they emphasized a regional interest in respecting the tropical environs but also looked to Euro-American architectural trends for inspiration.

These Honolulu buildings commissioned by the territorial government merged a Pacific island sense of place with an emphasis on materials, technological innovation, and modularity associated with the International Style of architecture. Moreover, they mark a significant break with pre-war historicism. While structures such as the Federal Building and Honolulu Hale forged a historic and regional link between Honolulu and U.S. mainland cities, post-war architecture in Honolulu (as in many other U.S. cities) reflected international modernism. In

² MacKinnon Simpson, *Hawai‘i Homefront: Life in the Islands During World War II* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 2008), 42, 78.

doing so, the “logical” and “rational” qualities associated with the International Style mirrored the “logical” and “rational” arguments put forward by statehood advocates.

A Common Purpose

In the *Modern Architectures in History* series (2008), Gwendolyn Wright points out that post-war modern architecture and, particularly, its gridded and ordered facades gave “the illusion of a common purpose” to the public.³ As Wright maintains, patrons “shared architects’ beliefs that impeccably coordinated building systems communicated directly to employees and the public.”⁴ Residents and tourists observed and experienced the wealth, power, and prestige of an American enclave thriving in a post-World War II environment that produced the Board of Water Supply, Aliiaimoku Hale, and the Keelikolani buildings. These International Style buildings functioned as a real and very important showcase for American democracy at work in the Pacific. Thus, what many territorial officials and citizens requested from the U.S. government, in return, was consideration for admission into the family of states.

The International Style sought to be universal. Buildings tended to have rectilinear geometries, generously fenestrated walls, and flexible interior planning. Richard Neutra’s Lovell Health House (Los Angeles, California; 1927) is an early iteration of the International Style. [Fig. 3.3] The structure’s steel frame, glass walls, and gridded façade captured the style’s reductive design aesthetic. In 1932, Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson promoted and, to some extent, codified the International Style at the International Exhibition of Modern Architecture at New York’s Museum of Modern Art. They defined three essential characteristics for the International Style: an emphasis on “volume rather than mass,” “regularity instead of

³ Gwendolyn Wright, *USA (modern architectures in history series)* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 158.

⁴ Ibid.

symmetry,” and avoidance of extraneous ornamentation.⁵ An architectural approach that embraced functionalism and modern materials appealed to institutional and commercial buildings because of its modern, efficient, and sleek look. Walter Gropius’ Graduate Center at Harvard University (Boston, Massachusetts; 1950), Ludwig Mies van der Rohe’s Seagram Building (New York, New York; 1958), and Le Corbusier’s Unité d’habitation (Marseille, France; 1958) exemplify the International Style of the 1950s. **[Fig. 3.4]**

The Keelikolani Building was an international modernist construction on Punchbowl Street whose name derives from Hawai‘i’s Princess Ruth (Ruth Luka Keanolani Kauanahoahoa Ke‘elikōlani), a direct descendant of Kamehameha. Princess Ruth (1826-1883). **[Fig. 3.5]** Her landholdings made her one of the richest and most philanthropic women in Hawai‘i. The program for the building’s dedication ceremony states: “Princess Ruth firmly believed in the perpetuation of the customs of her forefathers and was acknowledged to be generous to her followers.”⁶ Princess Ruth’s generosity compelled territorial officials not only to name the building in her honor but also to make it the destination for unemployment compensation, insurance benefits, and employment agencies.

The reinforced concrete and colored stucco façade of the Keelikolani Building incorporated wide lanais. These spacious lanais served several purposes. They eliminated the need for a central corridor, thereby leaving the entire length of the building free for office space. The partitions for the offices had modular prefabricated wood and were easily (re)arranged to meet different needs and requirements of the organization. Additionally, the lanais had sliding glass panels along their full length and were wide enough to serve as visitor

⁵ Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1966 edition), 56, 71, 82.

⁶ “Dedication of the Princess Ruth Keelikolani Building,” Program Brochure, March 1, 1951 (University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa: Hamilton Hawaiian).

waiting rooms.⁷ In many ways, the Keelikolani Building recalled the International Style of the 1920s and 1930s. The glass curtain walls of the lanais and the plan's emphasis on regularity evoked many of the elements found at Walter Gropius' Bauhaus (Dessau, Germany; 1926). Within an immediate American connection, the elevated and separated levels that open up to the outside bring to mind the adoption of southern California residential modernism as defined by Rudolph Schindler's Lovell Beach House (Newport Beach, California; 1926) and Neutra's Lovell Health House. Despite these pre-war elements, the Keelikolani Building exposed a trend whereby post-war architecture utilized steel and glass but also incorporated the basic language of enclosed end walls, ribbon windows, and pilotis. This is largely a result of the shift in architectural education that followed the war. With German expatriates who were rooted in the Bauhaus tradition such as Gropius and Mies van der Rohe teaching at Harvard University and the Illinois Institute of Technology, respectively, architectural patrons and architects on the U.S. mainland and Honolulu were exposed to, and embraced, the International Style.

The International Style appears again at Hart Wood's Board of Water Supply Building on Beretania Street. The architect associated with Hawaiian regionalism during the 1920s and 1930s embraced the International Style's restrained aesthetic for the Board of Water Supply. **[Fig. 3.6]** The building houses the clerical offices charged with regulating the artesian water system of Honolulu. The three-story structure is constructed of reinforced concrete and defined by its green-slatted walls with sunscreens and recessed windows. An elevated walkway at the rear of the structure adds a dynamic curve to a rather straight-forward modernist block. The structure visually recalls Unité d'habitation but also exemplifies regionally adapted modernism for a warm, tropical environment.

⁷ "Keelikolani Building, Territorial Office Building, Honolulu," *Architectural Record* 110 (October 1951): 121-129.

The Board of Water Supply made attempts to recall Hawaiian culture. The phrase, *Uwe ka lani ola ka honua* (When the heavens weep, the earth lives), is etched in the fountain directly in front of the entryway to the building. [Fig. 3.7] For ancient Hawaiians, the gods gifted water to mankind in order to sustain life, which is why water symbolizes abundance and prosperity. The inscription at the Board of Water Supply attempts to capture the significance of this natural resource to Native Hawaiians. Juliette May Fraser made similar cultural associations on the building's interior. Fraser, a Hawai'i-born artist and art history graduate from Wellesley College, created *Pure Water-Man's Greatest Need* as a series of six mural scenes of stylized figures and landscapes.⁸ [Fig. 3.8] Images of Hawaiian gods, European sailors, sugar and rice fields, hotels, and public buildings not only tied the function of the Board of Water Supply to an indigenous Hawaiian landscape but also to the artistic tradition of depicting the "American scene" in 1930s New Deal murals by artists such as Benton and Ben Shahn.

Like the Board of Water Supply, the five-story AliiAIMoku Hale (Territorial Department of Highways, 1959) on Punchbowl Street made use of sunscreens. [Fig. 3.9] The architectural firm of Law & Wilson designed it as the first building in Hawai'i to utilize pre-stressed, pre-cast concrete slabs for sun control.⁹ The longitudinal lines of the façade reflect a Miesian motif and are applied to the building so that it appears opaque at an angle. In this way, the Highways Building evokes contemporary commissions such as the Seagram Building.

⁸ "Uwe Ka Lani Ola Ka Honua," *Paradise of the Pacific* 70 (November 1958): 80-81.

⁹ Notes on the Historical Background of Buildings in the Honolulu Civic Center, Department of Accounting and General Services (1966) [Hawai'i State Archives: NA 4384. H6 H22 1966]. Following statehood, the trend of concrete and sunscreens such as that found at the Board of Water Supply and AliiAIMoku Hale continued with the erection of Hale Kinau (1961) on Beretania Street to house the State Department of Health.

LIFE in Honolulu

Statehood supporters consciously used architecture to make a claim for statehood. The “ordered” and “rational” architecture of Honolulu led statehood advocates in the 1950s to contend that Hawai‘i accommodated a modern American way of life. Territorial campaigns directed toward U.S. officials and American middle-class audiences focused on providing evidence of diminished racial tensions in the islands. Booklets, pamphlets, and other printed materials encouraged readers to witness the ranch houses, baseball fields, and Carnegie-endowed public library of Honolulu. The 1954 publication, *Hawaii U.S.A.*, asserted that the average Honolulu resident led the life of a typical mainland suburbanite: “[He] drives a car or rides up-to-date buses to work. He belongs to a Republican or Democrat precinct club... he takes his family to the movies . . . and on Sundays, between church and the family swim at the beach, the Honolulu can usually be seen spraying his lawn.”¹⁰ Newspaper advertisements for Theodore Vierra’s “All-Hawaii” House depicted this scene. **[Fig. 3.10]** Though first built in Kahului, Maui (1950), these \$5150.00 concrete block rectangular homes with a garage were also built on O‘ahu in Ko‘olau, Kailua, and Kapakahi Valley.¹¹ The “All-Hawaii House” for Hawai‘i residents promised to “make the dream of home ownership a reality.”¹² This emphasis on white American normative values in the Pacific offered the prospect of kinship between Hawai‘i and U.S. mainland states. Thus, statehood advocates presented the people of the islands as American enough, civilized enough, democratic enough, and white enough to warrant support by the United States government.

¹⁰ See Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai‘i* (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 183.

¹¹ Dieudonne, 41-44.

¹² Ibid, 42.

Even though many native Hawaiians actively participated in the political and legal rhetoric of the period, they did not simply accept U.S. political and social control nor did they view themselves in passive terms. As Sydney Iaukea argues in *The Queen and I: A Story of Disposessions and Reconnections in Hawai‘i* (2011), Hawaiians confronted historical narratives and indigenous memories through their involvement with the government apparatus.¹³ Iaukea’s book traces the career of her great-great-grandfather, Curtis P. Iaukea, in his role as the commissioner of Crown Lands for Lili‘uokalani and his territorial service as secretary of Hawai‘i, acting governor, and leader of Hawai‘i’s Democratic Party. From her research, the author deduces that Hawai‘i’s territorial period marked “a historical silencing” when many territorial officials encouraged former subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom to support the mission of becoming U.S. citizens.¹⁴ In so doing, government officials effectively asked Hawaiians to suppress the memory of the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom. Iaukea surmises that her great-great-grandfather, along with countless other Hawaiians, had to negotiate being an active participant in the territorial regime with being a member of an ethnically subjugated class.

In the 1940s, Alice Kamokila Campbell confronted the same issue that plagued Curtis P. Iaukea. Campbell, a territorial senator (term: 1942-1946) and sister of Princess Abigail Kawānanakoa, clearly articulated her position toward statehood in 1946 during a meeting with the Territorial Affairs subcommittee in the U.S. House of Representatives. Campbell asserted, “I do not feel that we should forfeit the rights and privileges of natives of our islands for a mere thimbleful of votes in Congress.”¹⁵ However, far from simply negating the relationship between the U.S. government and Hawai‘i, Campbell offered an alternative: “What we need is an

¹³ Sydney Iaukea, *The Queen and I: A Story of Disposessions and Reconnections in Hawai‘i* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 7.

¹⁴ Ibid, 4.

¹⁵ “Mrs. Campbell hits Hawaiian statehood,” *New York Times* (Jan 18, 1946): 8.

independent form of government with Congress retaining certain controls. We are too far away to be intimately associated with you.” Campbell’s acknowledgment that Hawai‘i’s government needed to remain connected (in some vague capacity) to the United States, yet retain a certain level of independence, reflected the complicated discourse about Hawai‘i’s evolving position within the U.S. system of governance.

Campbell was not the only dissenter to statehood. Nicholas Murray Butler from Southampton, New York, expressed a common critique of statehood leveled by U.S. mainlanders. Butler wrote to the *New York Times* on July 1, 1947, “...statehood would be the beginning of the end of our historic United States of America...It would be grotesque to put territory lying between two and three thousand miles away on the same plane in our Federal Government as Massachusetts, or New York...or California...”¹⁶ Additionally, Benjamin Franklin Dillingham II expressed his concern in a 1956 *New York Times* article. Dillingham came from a prominent missionary family and in 1889 his father had founded Oahu Railway & Land Company (OR&L), Hawai‘i’s leading passenger and freight transportation company. Thus, Dillingham’s protest against statehood seemed predicated on preserving the hierarchical, colonial status quo. He proclaimed: “Hawaii not only has no political maturity...it has no economic maturity, not with the tight little group in control of business we have here. There is no real leader among our business men...Once we get statehood we cannot give it back.”¹⁷

Nevertheless, statehood supporters were on a quest for legitimacy. They viewed it as a demonstration of Hawai‘i’s maturity as a society and sought to appeal to the visual

¹⁶ Nicholas Murray Butler, “Hawaiian Statehood Opposed: The Admission of Distant Territories Believed to Be a Mistake,” *New York Times* (Jul 15, 1947): 22.

¹⁷ “Islanders Assert 'Nation Needs Hawaii'; Say a 'State Would Shine in the Pacific,” *New York Times* (Feb 5, 1956): 76.

sensibilities of their mainland counterparts by constructing a link between the two societies through improvements to the built environment. By creating an “image world” through which meaning derived from “intersecting and mutually informing histories,”¹⁸ territorial Hawai‘i endeavored to become readable within American public consciousness.

LIFE published an editorial about Hawai‘i’s search for statehood in the same year as the release of *Hawaii U.S.A.* The six-page spread is sandwiched between an advertisement for Armstrong Miracle Tires and the editorial section in the February 22nd edition. The article, “Decision Approaches for Hawaii,” addresses claims that the territory’s Democratic and Republican leadership had finally reached political maturity. Joseph Farrington, Hawai‘i’s Congressional Delegate to Congress, hovers over a 49- state flag. Hiram Fong, Hawai‘i’s Speaker of the House and graduate of Harvard Law, poses on his lanai overlooking Nu‘uanu Valley. Sakae Takahashi, an ex-U.S. Army Major and member of Hawai‘i’s Cabinet, sits next to his American wife and their two children. Additional photographic evidence in the *LIFE* article attests to the “Americanization” of Hawai‘i. A new four-lane highway funded by the territory and the U.S. federal government traverses the mountains of O‘ahu; and television commercial stills for washing machines, Tide detergent, and local beer are shown as evidence of the nearly 90% of commodity goods that were imported to Hawai‘i from the U.S. mainland. Of course, when discussing Hawai‘i, the article would not have been complete without hula images and scenic views of Punchbowl Crater and Diamond Head. [Figs. 3.11-3.17]

Amidst this medley of politics and culture, the article opens with a large photograph of people signing the Petition for Statehood (Honor Roll) stretched out along Honolulu’s avenue of commerce, Bishop Street. At the helm of the document, which is currently housed at the

¹⁸ Joshua A. Bell, “Negotiating Space and Place: An Ethnography of the Cultural Politics of Architecture in Honolulu, Hawai‘i” (M.A. thesis: University of Oxford, Hertford College, 1998), 8.

National Archives in Washington, D.C., a multi-colored sign with black letters placed against three vertical stripes of red, white, and blue reads, “We, the citizens of Hawaii, U.S.A., petition for statehood *now!*” [Fig. 3.18] The visual cues of word and image in the statehood petition utilizes iconic and symbolic signs. The purposeful attempt on the part of petitioners to adopt these specific cues of American visual culture directly indicted Hawai‘i’s territorial status within the ethos of U.S. citizenship.

To be a citizen, no doubt, involves a complicated dynamic. On the one hand, to operate within the realm of citizenship insists upon a universality in which all members are part of a coherent whole. It is even more complicated in the American context, which navigates between citizenship as a sign of unity and codified notions of individual liberty. On the other hand, for those not accepted within the established corpus, being part of an integrated citizenry is unattainable and inherently implies some level of exclusion. As Aloys N.M. Fleischmann and Nancy van Styvendale summarize in *Narratives of Citizenship: Indigenous and Diasporic Peoples Unsettle the Nation-State*, “Citizenship both alienates and assimilates, ostracizes and equalizes.”¹⁹ Discourses about multiculturalism and racism in the United States undoubtedly influence the pathways to citizenship, which was the case in territorial Hawai‘i where large segments of the population were either foreign born or non-white. The 1950 census indicates that out of a total population of 499,794, nearly 364,000 were of Asian and Pacific Island descent, 114,793 identified as Caucasian, and Puerto Ricans and blacks totaled 9551 and 2651, respectively.²⁰ As a result of this complex racial and ethnic breakdown of the

¹⁹ Aloys N.M. Fleischmann and Nancy van Styvendale, “Introduction: Narratives of Citizenship,” in *Narratives of Citizenship: Indigenous and Diasporic Peoples Unsettle the Nation-State*, Aloys N.M. Fleischmann, Nancy van Styvendale and Cody McCarroll, eds. (Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 2011), xx.

²⁰ Richard L. Forstall, “Hawaii: Population of Counties by Decennial Census: 1900 to 1990,” US Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. (Internet Release date: November 26, 2002): <http://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/cencounts/files/hi190090.txt>

islands, Americans commonly referred to all residents of Hawai‘i as “Hawaiians.” Even Hawai‘i’s governor, Samuel W. King (term: 1953-1957), commented in the *Honolulu Advertiser* on February 27, 1954 that “[Hawaiians] want to be paying members of the family.” Thus, the Honor Roll purposefully incorporated visual and linguistic rhetoric to assert that *all* citizens of Hawai‘i advocated for statehood. The fifth page of the *LIFE* article repeats this premise. In the bottom right-hand corner, three women identified as “Hawaiian girls” walk the street adorned in tilted patriotic top hats decorated with the stars and stripes. **[Fig. 3.19]** Two of the women carry compelling signs that instruct onlookers to “Sign the Honor Roll for Statehood...” and “Follow the Crowd to Statehood.” The third woman flanked by male clarinet and banjo players of a Hawai‘i jazz group [Dixiecats] holds a sign that reads, “US Dixiecats is for Statehood too.”

In related *LIFE* photographs housed in the Hawai‘i State Archives but not included in the February issue, an anonymous photographer chronicles the signing of the statehood petition. In one photograph, a woman adorned with a mayweed behind her left ear bends down to sign the Honor Roll. Her action is literally and figuratively supported by the mass of bricks used to anchor the sheet and keep it from succumbing to the trade wind gusts. In another photograph, two bronzed men in swimwear approach the storefront of a barber shop and beauty salon. A man, woman, and child look on as witnesses to the action. As if speaking directly to the signers and onlookers, a nearby marker propped up against the building announces, “We are 100% American.” **[Figs. 3.20-3.21]**

Nearly 120,000 men and women had knelt down to sign the 500-foot-long document by the time the statehood petition was rolled onto a wooden spool and delivered to the doorstep of Congress and Vice-President Richard Nixon in Washington, D.C. on February 26,

1954. However, prior to its departure from the islands, a large ceremony was held in Honolulu to commemorate the moment. Hundreds of Hawai‘i’s residents gathered to witness the ceremony in front of ‘Iolani Palace, the capitol building of the territory and former residence of the Hawaiian monarchy. Images of the event reveal how Hawai‘i’s government and its citizens employed Hawaiian culture in order to demonstrate the territory’s commitment and consent to statehood.

One photograph shows a portion of the ceremony where the acting governor, Farrant Turner, turns the document over to Dr. Gregg Sinclair, Chairman of the Citizens Committee for Statehood. **[Fig. 3.22]** The Governor and Chairman, clad in Western-style suits, shake hands behind a group of men. They are flanked by women wearing muumuus and leis while holding guitars and ‘ukuleles. The two younger men in the image each carry a fire torch and are adorned in long, white sheaths embellished with an altered version of a *kīhei* (cloak) that covers one shoulder. The garb of the two older men is more intricate. They are dressed in a proper *kīhei* of feather-like material, in addition to sashes draped around their waists. Tying their look together, all four men hold *kāhili* in their hands. A *kāhili* is a gathering of feathers at the top of a pole in the shape of a cylinder (*hulumanu*). In their native use, *kāhili* symbolize the presence of Hawaiian royalty at important ceremonies and occasions. In recent history, the coronation ceremony of David Kalākaua (1883) and the funerals of Lili‘uokalani (1917) and Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole (1922) prominently displayed *kāhili*. **[Fig. 3.23]**

The use of *kāhili* at the statehood petition ceremony visually signified the complete and final passage of political power from the Hawaiian monarchy to the United States government. Though the indigenous rule of law had been defunct since the establishment of the U.S. territorial government, the statehood petition and its ceremony marked the culmination of a

110-year relationship between the Hawaiian Islands and the United States. As a reflection of this relationship, the event was a telling reflection about the cultural politics of the territory. Through festivity, dress, music, and adaptations of historical artifacts, the territorial government presented statehood to U.S. authorities and American mainland society as a choice supported by all citizens of Hawai‘i, regardless of racial or ethnic heritage. That native traditions were employed at the ceremony as signifiers of indigenous corroboration added a level of authenticity to the affair. However, to assume that all identity positions toward statehood were cohesive invites a rather narrow interpretation of how visual statements are employed to influence a particular end.

Conclusion

The architectural rationality of the Keelikolani, AliiAIMoku, and Board of Water Supply internationalist buildings in downtown Honolulu mirrored the “rational” call for statehood publicized in the *LIFE* editorial. The logic of the architectural facades reflected the “rational” logic of statehood for a territory that had proved strategically, economically, and politically viable for the United States. These government buildings in urban Honolulu aligned with American notions of “progress” such that when Douglas McKay, U.S. Secretary of the Interior (term: 1953-1956), visited Honolulu on behalf of the Eisenhower administration in 1955, he felt confident in declaring: “You have fashioned a living example of the way of life we [Americans] advocate on a global basis.”²¹ Thus, the fundamental values espoused by statehood supporters in Hawai‘i emphasized that “civilization” had taken root in the islands as a result of their ability to

²¹ “McKay hails Hawaii: Terms Statehood a Moral Obligation for U. S.,” *New York Times* (Dec 13, 1955): 47.

make American capitalism, systems of government, and architectural modernity available in a Pacific island environment.²²

²² Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians*, 26.



Fig. 3.1. "U.S. Army M3 Stuart light tanks in maneuvers, Beretania Street," Honolulu, Hawai'i, August 30, 1942



Fig. 3.2. "U.S. Soldiers surround 'Iolani Palace with Barbed Wire," Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1942



Fig. 3.3. Richard Neutra, Lovell Health House, Los Angeles, California, 1928



Fig. 3.4. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Seagram Building, New York, New York, 1958



Fig. 3.5. Keelikolani Building (non-extant), Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1951



(rear)

Fig. 3.6. Hart Wood, Weed and Associates, Board of Water Supply Administration Building, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1958



Fig. 3.7. Board of Water Supply Administration Building entrance, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1958



Fig. 3.8. Juliette May Fraser, *Pure Water-Man's Greatest Need*, Board of Water Supply Administration Building, Honolulu, Hawai'i, ca. 1958, fresco mural (1967)



Fig. 3.9. Law & Wilson, Aliiimoku Hale, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1959

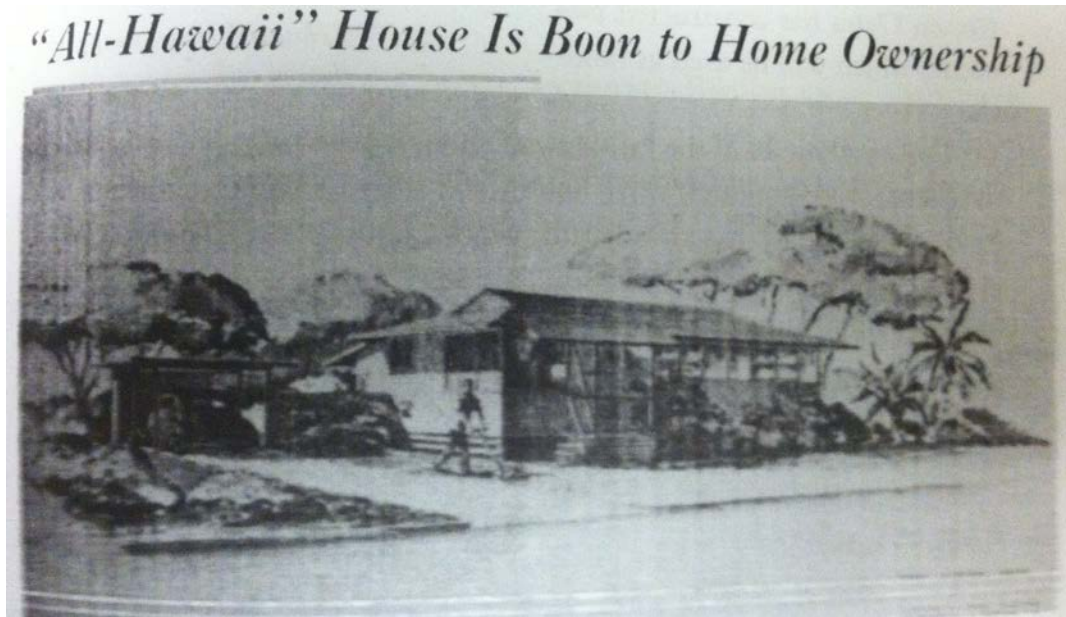


Fig. 3.10. Theodore Vierra, All-Hawaii House, ca. 1950s



Fig. 3.11. George Silk, "Joseph Farrington," *LIFE* photograph, February 22, 1954



Fig. 3.12. George Silk, "Hiram Fong," *LIFE* photograph, February 22, 1954



Fig. 3.13. George Silk, "Sakae Takahashi," *LIFE* photograph, February 22, 1954

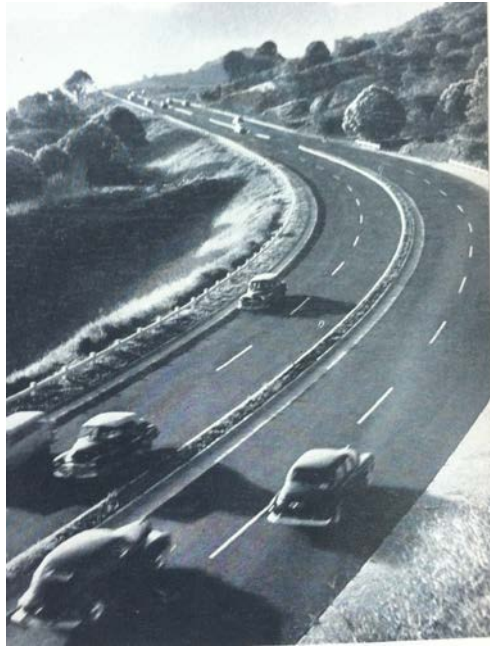


Fig. 3.14. George Silk, "Oahu Highway," *LIFE* photograph, February 22, 1954



Fig. 3.15. George Silk, "Tide Detergent Advertisement," *LIFE* photograph, February 22, 1954



Fig. 3.16. George Silk, "Hula Lessons," *LIFE* photograph, February 22, 1954



Fig. 3.17. George Silk, "Punchbowl Crater (foreground) and Diamond Head (background)," *LIFE* photograph, February 22, 1954



Fig. 3.18. Hawaii Statehood (Honor Roll) Petition, 1954

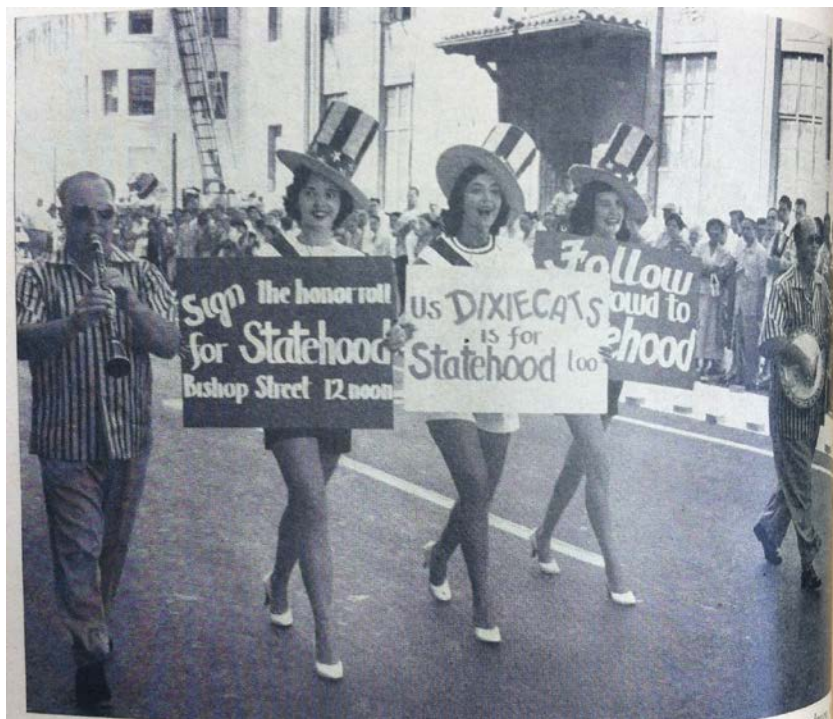


Fig. 3.19. George Silk, "Dixiecats," *LIFE* photograph, February 22, 1954



Fig. 3.20. "Honor Roll Petition," 1954

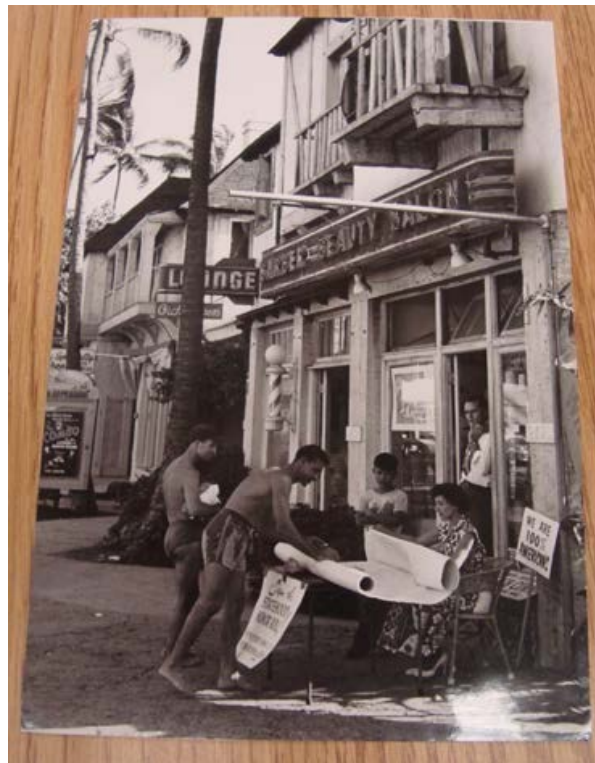


Fig. 3.21. "Honor Roll Petition," 1954



Fig. 3.22. "Honor Roll Petition Ceremony," 1954



Fig. 3.23. "Funeral of Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole," 1922

Chapter 4

A U.S. State Capitol in the Pacific

Celebration

On this historic day I have a profound joy and sober realization of my own responsibilities. I share the rejoicing of all the people of Hawaii over a victory that was made possible by the devoted support of our friends everywhere.

With statehood, we have come of age. We have the wonderful opportunity to build our island state into America's showcase of democracy in the Pacific and Asian world.

We face a future as the Aloha state that can be glorious if we harness and guide the dynamic forces at work in our community to the equal benefit of all the people of all the islands of the great State of Hawaii.

We are prepared to meet these challenges.¹

Statement by William F. Quinn after taking the oath of office as Governor of Hawai'i
Honolulu, Hawai'i
August 21, 1959

Associate Justice Masaji Marumoto of the Hawai'i Supreme Court swore in William F. Quinn as the first governor of the State of Hawai'i minutes after President Eisenhower signed the Hawaii Admission Act into law on August 21, 1959. Like the Honor Roll Petition Ceremony of 1954, the inauguration of New York-born Quinn as governor of the newly minted State of Hawai'i took place at 'Iolani Palace, the sacred grounds that defined the Hawaiian monarchy.

A photograph of this moment captures the trajectory of U.S. colonialism in Hawai'i. [Fig. 4.1] The image displays standard inauguration practices. Justice Marumoto stands on the right and gazes down at papers clasped in both hands. Governor Quinn stands on the left as he recites the oath of office. Governor Quinn is clad in a suit and tie; Justice Marumoto in a judicial robe. Juxtaposed against these easily identifiable marks of Western dress and political appointment are visual tropes synonymous with Hawai'i. The large flower lei adorning Governor Quinn's neck presents the most obvious Hawaiian association in the photograph. The Hawaiian lei tradition

¹ "Gov. Quinn's text," *New York Times* (August 22, 1959): 6.

dates back to early Polynesian voyagers. Leis are symbols of love, healing, and respect amongst family and friends. They are traditionally composed of a variety of materials including hair, bones, feathers, and shells. In modern times, the flower lei has come to denote celebratory occasions that include birthdays, weddings, retirements, funerals, graduations, etc. That Governor Quinn is outfitted in a flower lei to commemorate his inauguration suggests the ease with which foreign settlers appropriated Hawaiian tradition. It also reveals the ways in which symbols can be read as signs of continuity with the past, which can then be assessed positively or negatively.

The territorial seal hanging on the wall behind the two figures stages a more inconspicuous Hawaiian trope. [**Fig. 4.2**] Although half of the seal is cut from the photograph, Hawaiian words outlining the rim of the emblem makes the insignia recognizable. The text reads: *Ua Mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono*. This phrase commonly translates as “The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness.”² The saying is attributed to the Hawaiian monarch Kamehameha III (Kamehameha III; r. 1825-1854), when he uttered the phrase in 1843 following a failed coup to capture Honolulu led by Lord Paulet of the British Royal Navy. The phrase first appeared in a political context in 1845 when it adorned the seal for the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. The Territory of Hawai‘i later used the expression as its official motto.

At the center of the seal is a heraldic shield. The shield is divided into quarters. White, red, and blue stripes that signal the eight major islands of the Hawaiian chain are placed in the upper left and lower right quadrants. The remaining two quadrants have a small white ball pierced by a black staff against a yellow background. The ball and staff chiefly marks of power and authority called a *pūlo‘ulo‘u*. The shield is flanked on the left by an image of Kamehameha I

² Less commonly, *Ua Mau ke Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono* is also translated as “The life breath of the country has endured through rightness” and “The life of the land is perpetuated in universal balance.”

and on the right by Lady Liberty holding a Hawaiian flag. Native foliage surrounds the figures and a phoenix rises from the base of the vegetation. Text that spells out “Territory of Hawaii” caps the shield. The year in which the territory was incorporated into the Union (1900) is located directly beneath this mark.

The seal of the Territory of Hawai‘i was visible in the photograph to viewers at ‘Iolani Palace. No doubt, the seal did not emerge in a cultural vacuum. In fact, it evoked the Royal Coat of Arms of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i – a symbol that continues to adorn the gates and doors of ‘Iolani Palace. [Fig. 4.3] Albert Pierce Taylor describes the coat of arms for the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in great detail in *Under Hawaiian Skies: A Narrative of the Romance, Adventure and History of the Hawaiian Islands*. Taylor affirms:

In the original design appears a triangular flag, the ancient banner of the chiefs...The shield in the center is guarded by two men whose names are Kameeiamoku and Kamanawa, both high chiefs under the ancient regime...Kameeiamoku stands at the right and holds a kahili, or feathered staff, the emblem of state without which no royal court was complete...Kamanawa stands on the left, holding a spear in this right hand, a sign of protection...These two men...are dressed in their ceremonial garments...In the coat-of-arms shield are two tabu sticks called loulou...At the top of the shield is the crown, having eight leaves, or points, also showing the number of inhabited islands...The St. George’s cross...was introduced by King Kalakaua, as perhaps, also, were the drawings in the little design in the center of the shield...Two torches of kukui nuts cross each other, with a kahili fan in the middle... “Ua mau ke ea o ka Aina I ka pono” are words of the national motto on the scroll below the shield.³

Taken together, the lei and territorial seal function as coded language. They synthesize indigenous and Western culture such that their presence at ‘Iolani Palace seems natural within the context of Hawai‘i’s political transition from sovereign kingdom to U.S. territory to U.S. state.

³ Albert Pierce Taylor, *Under Hawaiian Skies: A Narrative of the Romance, Adventure and History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Company, Ltd., Publishers, 1922), 326-329.

The inauguration speech and oath of office by Governor Quinn at ‘Iolani Palace signaled the official culmination of five months that had elapsed since the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives respectively passed the Hawaii Admission Act on March 11th and 12th. Proponents in Congress asserted that statehood for the Pacific island territory intended to allay national fears of communism, noncontiguity with the U.S. mainland, and disproportionate representation in U.S. legislative bodies. More than this, however, statehood demonstrated to the world that the United States accepted people of color as equals. During a statehood dedication ceremony on November 29, 1959, Governor Quinn elaborated on his earlier inauguration speech. He asserted,

We have long proclaimed how important it was to our country that Hawaii be a state...No more will it be charged that we maintain a colony in the Pacific because its inhabitants are largely non-Caucasian...Instead they see us broadening our horizons not by conquest – not as master and slave – but by concord – by solemn vows of everlasting equality.⁴

Governor Quinn’s statement brought the once ambivalent character of the nation toward its distant Pacific territory to the fore. The governor makes clear that political, social, and cultural boundaries were crossed, erased, and translated in the pursuit of statehood.⁵ As such, Hawai‘i’s political transition to a U.S. state supports the claim put forth by Homi K. Bhabha in “Narrating the Nation” that nation-building is a perpetually unfinished, incomplete process. The constant construction of new buildings in Honolulu accounted for the reformulation of meaning, history, and authority of the United States in the Pacific. This chapter examines the process of creating a capitol for a newest state in the Union. The way in which architectural choices and urban planning techniques were employed in the city for the Hawai‘i State Capitol reveal how a

⁴ “Admission Celebration, November 1959,” Records of the Hawaii Statehood Celebration Committee, Hawai‘i State Archives [Series 389], 2-3.

⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, ed., “Introduction: narrating the nation,” in *Nation and Narration* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), 4.

building can operate as a spatial statement that is complexly layered. I contend that native tropes are abstractly rendered on the public façade of the Hawai‘i State Capitol such that conceptions of indigenous space are acknowledged, but do not overshadow, the status of Hawai‘i as a newly established U.S. state.

The Capitol Design

A capitol building replacing ‘Iolani Palace as the seat of government for the State of Hawai‘i was completed in 1969. The Hawai‘i State Capitol marks the first monumental manifestation of U.S. democracy in the Pacific after statehood. [Fig. 4.4] In the preliminary plans for the capitol, the architectural firm of Belt, Lemmon and Lo in joint venture with John Carl Warnecke and Associates declared, “The state capitol...must be a solid exemplification of democracy as expressed by the racially complex population that lives harmoniously in the 50th state.”⁶ In this context, the architects referred to a population of over 600,000, primarily composed of individuals of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, and Hawaiian ancestry in the islands.⁷ Yet upon closer examination, capitol planners and architects desired to specifically emphasize Native Hawaiian elements in the architectural design. Through the construction of the state capitol, Hawaiianess was parsed out to include elements deemed valuable and civilized while ignoring the historical bent that qualified the *other* as savage. Thus, while the Hawai‘i State Capitol became a bold vision of democratic progress in the Pacific, the design purposefully appropriated the Pacific island environment – a key component that genealogically and physically connects Hawaiians to their ancestral memory.

⁶ Belt, Lemmon and Lo, Architects-Engineers in joint venture with John Carl Warnecke and Associates, Architects and Planning Consultants, “Preliminary Plans for the Capitol Building for the State of Hawaii,” (March 1961): 7.

⁷ The 1960 Census notes that Asian and Pacific Islanders accounted for 65.3% of Hawai‘i’s total population. See: Forstall, “Hawaii: Population of Counties by Decennial Census: 1900 to 1990,” US Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C. (November 26, 2002).

By any measure, the state capitol was an ambitious project. The Territorial Planning Board and City Planning Commission dating back to 1938 endeavored to develop and expand the downtown Civic Center to incorporate a new legislative center in anticipation of statehood. They desired to preserve historic buildings while simultaneously allowing for future growth in the capital district that is bordered by Beretania, Richards, Punchbowl and King Streets. A new executive-legislative building that would replace 'Iolani Palace as the center of government was their primary goal. It culminated in the 1941 *Report on the Executive-Legislative Quarters*. In support of the claim that the territory expected statehood, this report related the building of a new capitol for Hawai'i to capitol buildings on the U.S. mainland. The report cites a May 1929 article by W.R. Greeley in *American City* titled, "Our Forty-Eight State Capitol Buildings."

Greeley, an architect from Boston, asserted that the national standard for U.S. capitol building designs are impressive because of their monumentality and emphasis on dome construction. The Territorial Planning Board and the City Planning Commission acknowledged the position put forward by Greeley. However, the group also recognized that since the First World War, architectural designs for capitol planning had shifted. Rather than a standard type with a central rotunda crowned by a dome and flanked on either side by the halls of the two legislative houses, newer capitols such as the skyscraper variants in Lincoln, Nebraska, Baton Rouge, Louisiana and Bismarck, North Dakota strove to expose the materials and functionality of the buildings.

The *Report on the Executive-Legislative Quarters* ventured a step further. It argued that Hawai'i's capitol should give architectural expression to the character and thought of the people it intended to represent. Stylistically, a middle ground had to be found in which the capitol was neither "ultra-conventional" nor "ultra-modern." It also had to reflect the "viewpoint of most

Hawaiians.”⁸ This last requirement utilized conventional nomenclature of the period that identified Hawaiians as all citizens/residents of Hawai‘i, regardless of race or ethnicity. Conflating the racial and ethnic populations of Hawai‘i in the same way that one would characterize a New Yorker, Pennsylvanian, or Californian, served to circumvent the colonial past of the U.S. in Hawai‘i and its present settler occupation of the islands. Discourse in the *Report* about state capitol requirements subsumed the multicultural population of the islands within Hawaiian identity. In so doing, the capitol could seamlessly chronicle Hawai‘i’s past so that the new capitol was different enough to accurately reflect its Pacific island locale, yet tempered enough in its aesthetics to fit into the preexisting landscape of Honolulu’s Civic Center.

In the two decades after the 1941 report, the Territorial Planning Office, the City Planning Commission, and the Postwar Planning Division within the Territorial Department of Public Works received several capitol design proposals. The “Hawaiian style” of architecture that inspired 1920s buildings in Honolulu became the inspiration for many of the proposals. Bertram Goodhue’s Honolulu Academy of Arts (1927) epitomized the “Hawaiian style,” with its low profile, double-pitched hipped roof, stucco and cut stone façade, inset lanai, and interior courtyards. **[Fig. 4.5]** In fact, the Honolulu Academy of Arts served as a model for an early capitol design of 1953. The “preliminary definitive plans” to design the state capitol by Merrill, Simms & Roehrig in association with Heen and Ossipoff was originally negotiated by Ben E. Nutter, Superintendent of Public Works for the Territory of Hawai‘i.⁹ **[Fig. 4.6]** The plan called for a group of one story, reinforced concrete buildings with lava rock, Waianae limestone, and

⁸ “Report on the Executive-Legislative Quarters/Civic Center/City of Honolulu/Hawaii” (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., January 16, 1941), 20.

⁹ “Correspondence from Ben E. Nutter, Superintendent of Public Works for the Territory of Hawaii, to Governor King, December 6, 1956” (Hawai‘i State Archives, Gov 11-4: King, Department of Public Works, State Capitol for Hawaii).

sandstone from the island of Kaua‘i. Green and red glazed terracotta tiles covered the roof, and koa and ohia woods lined the interior of the structure. The Senate, House of Representatives, and Public Hearing Room were positioned around a reflecting pool so as to dramatize the importance of water to the life and economy of the Hawaiian Islands. Modern lighting, ventilation, and acoustical treatments provided contemporary amenities to a “Hawaiian” style structure.¹⁰

No doubt, the design by Merrill, Simms & Roehrig also considered the design aesthetic of clustered groups that had defined ancient Hawaiian architecture. The *heiau* (temple) and *hale* (house) functioned as the primary structures within Hawaiian spatial configurations based on status, gender, and function. Theng N. Ladefoged summarizes the organization of Hawaiian kingly and residential complexes in “Spatial Similarities and Change in Hawaiian Architecture: The Expression of Ritual Offering and Kapu in Luakini Heiau, Residential Complexes, and Houses.” It is worth quoting Ladefoged at length:

Luakini heiau were temples used by Hawaiian kings and their delegates for royal rituals...The inner court or *kahua* of the *luakini heiau* was often surrounded by a rectangular stone enclosure (*pa*). Malo, writing around 1840, states that there was a small house just inside the entrance of the enclosure. Opposite this entrance house was the *hale mana*, where priests and chiefs resided during rituals and where small images and cult objects were kept. In the middle of the court was the *hale pahu*, or drum house. In the 1860s Kamakau wrote that “The *hale pahu*, drum house, was the house where the kahuna did their work.” There was a *hale umu* or oven house, which according to Kamakau was “where the consecrated work was performed for the offerings.” In addition, there was a *hale wai ea*, where, according to Valeri, “holy water” was kept “in a bowl made from a human skull.” The *lananu ‘u mamao*, or oracle tower, was at the far end of the *heiau* with the *lele*, or altar, in front of it. Valeri suggests that the *lele* was either “an elevated wooden structure” such as a scaffolding, or alternatively “a simple pole on which offerings (were) hung.”

Hawaiian household clusters generally “consisted of a group of thatched structures and associated activity areas”. These residential clusters have been identified from both archaeological and documentary data. Ideally, the household cluster or *kauhale* of a chief contained several distinct houses. These might include a sleeping house (*hale moa*); a

¹⁰ Merrill, Simms & Roehrig with Heen and Ossipoff (Associated Architects), “Project Analysis: Executive and Legislative Buildings for the Territory of Hawaii,” (Honolulu, 1953), 3.

men's house (*mua*) used by male family members for eating, praying, and as a place to provide offerings to the gods; an eating house for women and children (*hale 'aina*); cooking houses (*hale kahumu*) and earth ovens (*imu*); crop storage huts (*hale papa'a*); huts for making mats (*hale ulana*) or tapa (*hale kuku*); a menstrual hut (*hale pe'a*) somewhat removed from the main complex; and if it was a coastal household cluster, perhaps a canoe house (*halau*).¹¹

Finally, gable-like edifices constructed of coconut bark, pili grass and woven lashings generally defined the *hale*, while larger gable-like structures elevated on platforms and surrounded by numerous carved idols demarcated the *heiau*. [Fig. 4.7] Thus, the idea that Merrill, Simms, & Roehrig would draw from Hawaiian prototypes is not implausible. The cluster of low structures and centralized spaces that defined ancient Hawaiian architectural and societal organization can be seen in the firm's design.

On December 6, 1956, the Chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee for Governor Samuel Wilder King (term: 1953-1957), along with the Territorial Legislature, informed Mr. Nutter and the architects that they had been denied funds to continue with the project. The governor intended to start over and conduct an architectural competition. The correspondence from Governor King to Mr. Nutter does not specifically indicate why he made

¹¹ Theng N. Ladefoged, "Spatial Similarities and Change in Hawaiian Architecture: The Expression of Ritual Offering and Kapu in Luakini Heiau, Residential Complexes, and Houses," *Asian Perspectives* 37 (1998): 60-63. See also Michael John Kolb, "Social Power, Chiefly Authority, and Ceremonial Architecture in an Island Polity, Maui, Hawaii" (Ph.D. diss., Department of Anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles, 1991); Valerio Valeri, *Kingship and Sacrifice: Ritual and Society in Ancient Hawaii*, Paula Wissing, trans. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, 2nd edition, Nathaniel B. Emerson, trans. (Honolulu: B. P. Bishop Museum Special, 1951); Samuel Kamakau, *The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a Ka Po'e Kahiko*, Mary Kawena Pukui, trans. Dorothy B. Barrère, ed. (Honolulu: B. P. Bishop Museum Special Publication, 1976); Patrick Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985); Marshall I. Weisler and Patrick V. Kirch, "The structure of settlement space in a Polynesian chiefdom: Kawela, Molokai, Hawaiian Islands," *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 7 (1985): 129-158; E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, "The Polynesian Family System in Ka-'u, Hawaii," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 61, no. 3/4 (September and December, 1952): 243-282.

this decision. It may, at first, seem as if the understated and non-monumental project proposed by Merrill, Simms & Roehrig impacted the governor's decision. However, it also important to note that in 1956 Governor King specifically requested to see the plans for New Mexico's State Capitol in Santa Fe, built almost ten years later.¹² [Fig. 4.8] That capitol, a low-rise circular building designed by Willard C. Kruger, links Western, regional, and indigenous traditions. On the one hand, Krueger drew inspiration from the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico. The rust colored façade with thick walls punctured by square openings that define adobe pueblos are reflected in the façade of the New Mexico State Capitol. Moreover, the four entrance wings of the capitol's circular floorplan reflects the Pueblo Zia sun symbol which is characterized by a circle with a group of rays pointing in four directions. On the other hand, the exterior columns that surround the capitol and the rotunda in the center of the building offers a touch of Greek Revival territorial architecture.

That the New Mexico State Capitol endeavored to architecturally acknowledge the state's indigenous population at its capitol building may have initially sparked the interest of Hawai'i's governor. However, when compared to other state capitols, the diminutive size of the New Mexico State Capitol and that of the Merrill, Simms & Roehrig proposal for the Hawai'i State Capitol leads me to believe that Governor King desired a different approach. Governor King held an architectural competition that involved notable U.S. architects with an international reputation. An architect versed in monumental forms could create a structure that garnered

¹² "Appraisal Reports," (Hawai'i State Archives, Gov. 11-4: King, Department of Public Works, State Capitol for Hawaii). In an article for the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin*, The Associated Press (AP) reported that the Governor King wrote directly to New Mexico's governor, Edwin L. Mechem (R-NM), requesting sketches and floor plans for the New Mexico's State Capitol. Governor King is quoted as saying that the New Mexico plan was "attractive and seemed suited for what I had in mind for Hawaii." The AP also interviewed the architect, Kruger. He expressed a desire to be part of the Hawai'i capitol project. See "King is Interested in New Mexico Capitol Layout," Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* (November 30, 1956).

publicity for the new island capitol and, consequently, could increase tourism and potential profits for the state.

In accordance with the governor's call for an architectural competition, the 30th Territorial Legislature passed Act 150 into law in 1957. This act streamlined the capitol planning process. It allocated funds and outlined the offices and responsibilities of the newly formed Territorial Planning Office. The department consisted of a director, assistant director, five planners, a technical publications writer, a temporary employee, and three secretaries who were charged with developing capital improvement programs, expanding tourist promotion and facilities coordination, offering county planning assistance, developing a parks and historic monuments system, enhancing economic development through an inter-island ferry system, and advancing military land studies. Despite the best efforts of the division to hire local qualified planners, the office recruited talent from the U.S. mainland and learned about planning and development programs implemented in other U.S. territories.¹³

Post-statehood, the planning office expressed a desire to create a capitol design that was both American in its monumentality and native in its visual associations. Undoubtedly, U.S. state house associations with reference to indigenous populations are not uncommon. The capitol buildings of New Mexico, Oregon, Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Nebraska, to name but a few, commemorate Native American motifs in some way. In fact, the *Capitol Site Study of 1958* indicated, "Esthetic factors cannot be over-emphasized...Esthetic principles must be considered so that the result is inspirational and progressive."¹⁴

¹³ "Report of the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii, Samuel Wilder King, to the Secretary of the Interior, Fred Andrew Seaton," Washington: Government Printing Office (June 1958), 8-9.

¹⁴ "Capitol Site Study: A Report on the Location of a Site for a Capitol Building for Hawaii, Territorial Planning Office" [Preliminary Draft] (August 1958), 15 (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa: NA4412.H3 H27).

The resulting Neo-Formalist style of the Hawai‘i State Capitol, ultimately designed by Belt, Lemmon, & Lo and John Carl Warnecke and Associates, consists of two cone-shaped legislative chambers and a space for public hearings in the main body of the structure.¹⁵ The offices for the State Senate and House of Representatives occupy the first two stories. Large concrete columns in a reflecting pool encircle the entirety of the building and support the overhanging third story of the Attorney General’s Office. The fourth level houses the executive suite of the governor. [Fig. 4.9] A galleried inner court that takes advantage of Honolulu’s temperate climate wraps around the center of the interior space. A non-rotunda rotunda marked by a square-shaped, concave oculus of curving ribs opens the structure to the elements. Sun, rain, and tradewinds are free to enter the central courtyard where an *Aquarius* mosaic that was created by island artist Tadashi Sato decorates the floor.¹⁶ [Figs. 4.10-4.14] The symmetry of the structure, combined with the application of local materials, makes for a memorable building that is assured of its purpose and function.

The success of the capitol was tied to the symbolic aesthetics of the building. *Hawaii’s State Capitol and Government*, a local Honolulu publication, dramatically indicated,

¹⁵ “The Hawaii Modernism Context Study” states the characteristics of Neo-Formalism as: evenly spaced columns, repetitive patterns, arches, decoration, symmetry, monumental scale, formal landscape (i.e. pools, fountains, sculpture), and rich materials (i.e. travertine, marble, granite). See “Hawaii Modernism Context Study,” prepared by Fung Associates (Honolulu, November 2011): A-6, available at http://www.historichawaii.org/n_02/modernism/HawaiiModernismContextStudy_Nov2011.pdf However, the top heavy box held up by concrete pilotis paired with the large amount of concrete applied at the Hawai‘i State Capitol also imbues the structure with Brutalist qualities in the vein of Le Corbusier’s La Tourette (1960).

¹⁶ “Hawaii’s State Capitol and Government,” Department of Accounting and General Services, 1-3 (University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa: JK1651.H31 H39 1983). The Fine Arts Committee for the state capitol project selected Tadashi Sato to design the floor mosaic and received a \$250 stipend. Ten members of the committee were present during the selection process, which was held at the Honolulu Academy of Arts on October 11, 1968. Mr. Midkiff served as chair. Alfred Preis, the architect for the USS Arizona Memorial at Pearl Harbor (1962), was also in attendance, but in this context he served as the representative for the State Foundation on Culture & the Arts. When the meeting adjourned, it is interesting to note that committee members were encouraged to visit the Frank Stella and Frank Arushechewicz exhibition on view at the Honolulu Academy of Arts where Western art was on full display. See Hawaii State Capitol Fine Arts Committee (October 11, 1968) (University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa: NA4412.H3 H37)

...the two legislative chambers are cone-shaped, like volcanoes...the magnificent columns are representative of the graceful palm trees...so important to the early Hawaiians as a source of food and building material. The Capitol is surrounded by water, embodying the concept of Hawaii as an oceanic island state...The great central court...rises to the sky like the throat of one of the volcanoes that help build this land....Deeply carpeted legislative chambers reflect the ocean floor... and the mosaic design...shows the changing colors and patterns of Hawaii's seas.¹⁷

Geological and botanical symbolism at the capitol functions as a non-offensive articulation of Hawai'i's landscape. This approach aligns with what many architects in the 1950s and 1960s were trying to accomplish. Some rendered mid-century structures more articulate by departing from the blandness of the Miesian glass box and adopting abstract symbolism. As evidence of this trend, and in direct relationship to the Hawai'i State Capitol, we need only consider the Neo-Formalist interpretation of a Greek temple punctuated with seventy monumental columns and surrounded by an open air plaza and pool at Minoru Yamasaki's Woodrow Wilson School of Policy and International Affairs (1965) at Princeton University.¹⁸ [Fig. 4.15]

Symbolism at the Hawai'i State Capitol transforms indigenous memory and genealogy. Hawaiian custom holds that the physical and spiritual world is supported by *'āina* (life through the land). *'Āina* is a nonmaterial power that works through *akua* (deity) to provide rich soils and favorable conditions for the cultivation of land into viable resources of sustenance. Dependence upon the land for food, shelter, and life unites Hawaiians with each other through Papahānaumoku (earth mother) and Wākea (sky father). From these progenitors, the *moku* (islands) formed, *taro* (plants) appeared, and the Hawaiian people were birthed. The sacred presence of *'āina*, as an ancestral member, can neither be owned nor controlled, only temporarily possessed. For the native people of Hawai'i, *aloha 'āina*, or love for the land, exalts the beauty

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ "Princeton school to get new home: Old Building to be moved for public affairs center," *New York Times* (May 27, 1962): 78.

and familial relationships between the various islands, districts, valleys, and streams that inhabit this Pacific archipelago. *Aloha ‘āina*, often mistranslated in English as “patriotism” or “nationalism,” moves beyond the political and geographic characterizations of a people or race and instead reflects a reciprocal relationship of love and protection between native Hawaiians and the land.¹⁹

But, the symbolic representation of Hawai‘i’s topography at the state capitol aligns with sophomoric visualities aimed at enticing tourists to Hawai‘i. The application of abstracted autochthonous images on the built form makes indigenous geographies sellable. Tourists travelling to Hawai‘i look for an experience in which they can “relax and have fun” in addition to visiting “famous and historic places.”²⁰ Visual references to Hawaiian culture in/on the capitol building make the structure a site that visitors want to experience. It becomes a tourist destination and thereby, a site that presents the people, history, and customs of Hawai‘i as consumer products. The Hawai‘i State Capitol speaks to the ways in which dilemmas arise when visual allegories are used as a stand-in for culture. This dynamic allows non-indigenous audiences to take ownership of native images and consequently repurpose the image (and indigeneity) such that the original meaning is altered. Furthermore, the application of metaphors at the state capitol reflects the racialization of architecture. As Imran bin Tajudeen indicates in “Beyond Racialized Representation,” “racialized narratives gloss over the complex and nuanced social and architectural histories...and instead assume direct correlation between race and built environments that are consequently imputed with binary stereotypical associations.”²¹ By

¹⁹ Silva, 11.

²⁰ James Mak, *Tourism and the Economy: Understanding the Economics of Tourism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004), 8-9.

²¹ Imran bin Tajudeen, “Beyond Racialized Representation: Architectural *Linguae Francae* and Urban Histories in the *Kampung* Houses and Shophouses of Melaka and Singapore,” in *Colonial Frames, Nationalist Histories*:

racializing Hawaiian identity through geographic and topographic metaphors, Hawaianness – or the characterizing of what Hawai‘i was or who Hawaiians were – permeated throughout American society as a tangible object that could, as Rona Tamiko Halualani asserts, “enter and traverse an indigenous perspective” while masking the colonial situation of Hawai‘i.²²

Indigeniety and the physicality of Hawai‘i were paramount in the design of the state capitol. Perceptions of Hawaianness by the general public were often superficial and exaggerated, just as in a tourist travel poster. Hawaianness largely relies upon rhetorical constructions of identity that are predicated upon labelling individuals according to notions of race, ethnicity, nationality, and community. This type of classification operates within a circular logic whereby identity will “always take people to the other only to bring them back to themselves.”²³ Nezar Al Sayyad espouses that this formula inherently recognizes the multiple identity positions that arise from the juncture and disjuncture between sameness and difference. However, when identity is attached to a political culture, such as that found in the State of Hawai‘i, it functions – or is forced to function – as a well-defined, historically established model. It does so because it must temper the fact that, as Benedict Anderson contends, national identities are constructed out of human desire to narrate cultural systems.²⁴

If we return to the case of Washington Place this point becomes clear. [See Fig. 1.5] As a residence in which the collapse of the Hawaiian monarchy unfolds, Washington Place is an exemplar of architectural permeability. Hawaiian history works in-and-through the built form such that its signification and, therefore, its recollection within public consciousness is in

Imperial Legacies, Architecture, and Modernity, Mrinalini Rajagopalan and Madhuri Desai, eds. (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2012), 213.

²² Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians*, 135.

²³ Nezar Al Sayyad, “Hybrid Culture/Hybrid Urbanism,” 4.

²⁴ Ibid. See also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London and New York: Verso, 1983), 12.

constant flux. New individuals who occupy the structure become embedded within a Hawaiian past that operates within the realm of informed native consent. This point is evident when, after Lili‘uokalani died, her trustees – including Kūhiō – negotiated the transfer of Washington Place to the territorial government for \$55,000. Washington Place became Hawai‘i’s Executive Mansion and thus linked each territorial governor to George Washington, the mythic “father” of the United States.²⁵ The extent to which the territorial government went in order to keep Washington Place embedded within the architectural history of Hawai‘i is indicative of the ways in which the building operated as visual tool of control.

Capitol/Capital Planning Part I: Selecting an Architect

The capitol planning process reveals the various architectural components that Honolulu city planners, architects, and territorial officials considered before the final selection of Belt, Lemmon & Lo, in joint venture with John Carl Warnecke and Associates. The Governor’s Committee to select an architect for the State Capitol conducted interviews with various architectural firms in 1960. The governor selected fourteen people to serve on the committee.

²⁵ Hawai‘i’s governors, who were appointed by the President of the United States, resided in Washington Place. The first territorial official to move into Washington Place was Governor Wallace Rider Farrington. Before he moved into the home, the house was repainted, re-wallpapered, and rewired. In addition, first floor wall partitions were replaced. They were previously small openings that were enlarged to accommodate big gatherings. Other interior additions include a glassed-in lanai, a new room in the rear, a breakfast room, a pantry, and a storeroom. On the exterior of the home, a carriage porch resting on concrete columns was added as an extension to the pre-existing loggia. As the decades progressed, more changes were made to Washington Place. As documented in the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) report for Washington Place: “As the governors settled into Washington Place, so too did their families. This generated a series of changes to the building to increase living space and to better enable family privacy in a public setting. In 1929-30, for example, a bedroom suite for the governor was added, located over the kitchen wing. Another bedroom and bathroom were installed over the dining room. Bathrooms were periodically redone...At other times crises precipitated alterations, such as the case of the elevator installed in 1949 after Mrs. Stainback’s accident, or the flooding of the 1930s terrace during the inaugural reception for Governor King in 1953...The remodeling of the state dining room, installation of a bathroom and office next to the Queen’s bedroom, creation of a study for the governor, and the replacement of the front door and hall doors were projects also undertaken at this time. As in 1922, the roof and termite-damaged components were repaired. In 1959, a sitting room was created for the governor’s family; this was located over the glassed lanai, where the present-day office is today. The fire escape was put in at this time as well... Service areas of the house, such as the kitchen wing, received various updates...Structural work occurred at various intervals, beginning in the 1920s with the initial renovation, again in 1953-54, and in 1974.” “Washington Place (Governor’s House),” HABS Collection at the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, 2008 addendum, 65-66.

They included representatives from the state, city, and county governments, as well as from business, labor, and cultural groups. Twenty-one architectural ensembles presented their ideas for a state capitol in nine different sessions held during August and September. Notable firms that vied for the commission included Taliesin Associated Architects of the F.L. Wright Foundation (Wisconsin); Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (San Francisco); Harrison & Abramovitz (New York), and Richard Neutra (Los Angeles).²⁶

Transcripts of Neutra's interview with the committee are particularly telling. They reveal how one modernist architect approached a Pacific island commission. Neutra made certain to voice his territorial assignments to the committee by mentioning his success with the governor's mansion in Guam (1954) and his role as the architectural consultant in Puerto Rico (1943-1945). Neutra also took great care to emphasize his current projects in Sacramento, Tulsa, and Los Angeles. When pressed by Mr. Robert R. Midkiff, chairman of the committee, about how he would manage the Hawai'i State Capitol in light of the fact that he was a "busy man," Neutra responded, "I will gladly send you...the expression of the governments, and the clients who have kindly and trustingly employed me, without being exactly my neighbors, and let them say whether they found me too busy, or impeded, to work on their job. I have no more important projects than the Capitol of the State of Hawaii."²⁷ Following this line of questioning, Mr. Hamada, another member of the committee, asked Neutra, "Would you be working in Hawaii too?" In response, the architect stated, "I would visit frequently...and express many detail ideas on small size pages and double pages, and... put such ideas into an envelope and rush them to

²⁶ "List of Architects Interviewed as of September 29, 1960" (Hawai'i State Archives: Gov 12-25: Quinn, Capitol Architect Selection Committee).

²⁷ "Interview with Richard Neutra: Hearing on State Capitol Project," September 23, 1960" (Hawai'i State Archives: Gov 12-25: Quinn, Capitol Architect Selection Committee), 24. See also Thomas S. Hines, *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 194.

the next plane.”²⁸ Sensing the apprehension of the committee toward an architect who would not be on-site, architect Wayne Owens came to Neutra’s defense. He argued, “Mr. Neutra is an architect’s architect, and I feel if... we were to look over the world – choose the outstanding architect in the world – the local architects would give Mr. Neutra the majority of our votes.”²⁹

Neutra’s international fame and his proposed design group from Honolulu did not, in the end, prove persuasive to the committee. Perhaps this was due, in part, to Neutra’s implied refusal to relocate to Hawai‘i for the duration of the project. The committee may have also been concerned that the architect’s celebrity would overshadow the potential fame of the first island state capitol. This, despite Neutra’s explicit statement to the contrary:

But how much more do you need a capitol, which will be newsworthy for the next hundred years. Even for all the visitation and tourist traffic of your state we should wish that it be written up on the front page of “Figaro” in Paris, in the leading magazines in Tokyo and Berlin, and in Rome. But it would be even better if in the year 2000 it will be respected, when all current fashions are forgotten even by their own designers.³⁰

In comparison to Neutra’s testimony, when Cyril Lemmon – of Belt, Lemmon & Lo – spoke about the qualifications of his Honolulu firm to the committee, he emphasized that members of the firm had completed numerous projects in the city which had amassed nearly \$84 million. Lemmon further asserted that partnering with Warnecke, a noted San Francisco architect, created the perfect enterprise between a local and mainland architectural firm. Committee notes from September 2, 1960 record that Warnecke discussed his work for an office building in Tokyo, Japan, the Federal Building in San Francisco, State Building in Sacramento, the new capitol building for the Navajo Nation in Window Rock (Arizona), as well as the

²⁸ “Neutra Interview,” 25-26.

²⁹ Ibid, 31.

³⁰ Ibid, 14.

Oakland Civic Center and Oakland International Airport.³¹ Warnecke's prestigious awards from the International Institute of Architects and world wide exhibitions, as well as an invitation by the U.S. State Department to exhibit in Moscow, stood as evidence of his stature within the architectural community. At one point, he briefly deviated from his architectural accomplishments and instead spoke about his emotional connection to the discipline, musing about how he grew up learning to respect and appreciate older buildings and traditions.

Warnecke's expressed desire to create a capitol that was both distinct, yet connected to Hawai'i's past, resonated with the committee. The architect specifically discussed this approach by mentioning his 1956 project for the U.S. Embassy in Bangkok. [Fig. 4.16] For this endeavor, Warnecke created a building with definite purpose in showing American architectural traditions while simultaneously recognizing Siamese culture, by creating a white embassy building raised on stilts above a small lake in the abstracted vein of a Thai temple. The deep balconies with

³¹ The Land Use Study and Reports completed by Belt, Lemmon and Lo were divided into five subcategories. 1) Comprehensive Master Plans (i.e. Urban Planning Assistance Project for the Island of Oahu; Island of Saipan, Marinas Islands; Hilo-Puna Metropolitan Area, Hawaii; Molokai Ranch, Molokai; Parker Ranch, Hawaii); 2) Redevelopment Studies (i.e. Hilo Urban Renewal Project, Honolulu Central Business District (joint venture); Liliuokalani Trust Lands, Waikiki); 3) Resort Plans (i.e. Ala Moana Reef Studies (joint venture); Koloa-Poipu, Kauai; Palmyra Island; Visitor Destination Areas in Hawaii); 4) Educational Projects (i.e. Bachman Plan for Campus Development, University of Hawai'i; Kalani High School, Oahu); 5) Government Housing and Hospital Projects (i.e. Capehart Housing Project for the U.S. Naval Base, Schofield Barracks, and Fort Shafter; Hawaii Housing Authority for Kalihi War Homes and Punchbowl Homes). The building projects they listed included the First National Bank of Hawaii, the Queen Street Corporation, King Street building, Employment Security Building for the State of Hawaii, Occidental Life Insurance Building, Kuku Redevelopment Project, Queen Emma Redevelopment Proposal, Gregg Sinclair Library at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, the Waikiki-Kapahulu Library, Kalani High School, Ewa Intermediate School, Pohai Nani Retirement Residence, Atkinson Towers Cooperative Apartment Building, Punchbowl Homes, Castle Memorial Hospital, Clark Air Force Base Hospital, and First Presbyterian Church. For his part, Warnecke designed the Forestry Building, Cafeteria Building, Physics Building, Physical Science Building, Residence Halls, Engineering & Service Building, Earth Science Building, and the Le Conte Annex for Physics for the University of California. Additionally, Warnecke was responsible for the Sports Pavilion, University Post Office and bookstore at Stanford University. See, "Brochure of Belt, Lemmon and Lo, Architects & Engineers of Honolulu in Association with John Carl Warnecke and Associates of San Francisco for the Design of the Capitol of Hawaii."

ornate grillwork fashioned a building that not only embraced the environment but was *of* the environment.³²

The Bangkok embassy project aligned with a larger U.S. Americanizing project overseas. U.S. embassy buildings responded to a critical need in foreign relations between the United States and the international community following the Second World War to produce what Jane C. Loeffler identifies in *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies* as “democratic architecture.” The post-war American government looked to redefine the definition of democracy by moving away from implied associations between democracy and the classical, Western past. The construction of “elegant and refined, decorative and flamboyant” embassies allowed the United States to equate democracy with “newness, openness, abstraction, ambiguity, and technological innovation.”³³ Democratic architecture came to symbolize not only American values of freedom and adventure, but also the compromises made between the U.S. federal government, architects, and local conditions.

The U.S. Department of State, in pursuit of this purpose, enlisted the likes of renowned architects to build embassies throughout the world. Among those selected to complete high profile projects were: Walter Gropius for Athens, Greece (1956-1961), Edward Durrell Stone for

³² “Minutes: Governor’s Committee to Select an Architect for the State Capitol of Hawaii” (Hawai’i State Archives: Gov 12-25: Quinn, Capitol Architect Selection Committee), 14. The works that Belt, Lemmon and Lo referred to were not listed in this document. Nevertheless, Lemmon likely referred to the numerous projects in Honolulu that he completed with the firm of Lemmon Freeth (& Haines). As a part of this company, Lemmon participated in the construction of the Waikiki Public Library (1952), Occidental Life Insurance Building (1951), and numerous O’ahu churches. See Fung Associates, Inc., “Hawaii Modernism Context Study,” Historic Hawaii Foundation (November 2011): 4-125. historichawaii.org/library/mod/study/HIModContextStudy_Nov2011_02.pdf Meanwhile Belt and Lo were known for their engineering background. The company brochure for Belt, Lemmon and Lo reveals the following: Robert M. Belt holds “Bachelor of Science degree from Oregon State College. He has had 30 years of professional engineering experience...” and Donald T. Lo “is a graduate of Yale University. His 13 years of professional city planning experience have been divided between California and the Hawaiian Islands...” See “Belt, Lemmon and Lo: An Association of Architects and Engineers” [UH Mānoa: NA737 .B443 B4 1962]

³³ Jane C. Loeffler, *The Architecture of Diplomacy: Building America's Embassies* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998), 8.

New Delhi, India (1954-58), Richard Neutra for Karachi, Pakistan (1955-61), Marcel Breuer for The Hague, Netherlands (1956-1959), and Eero Saarinen for London, England (1956-1960).

Thus, when the U. S. Department of State embarked on a re-vamped worldwide embassy-building program in 1954, they participated in exactly what the Hawaii State Capitol Committee endeavored to find: a building to “fit the local scene,” to be “American,” and to be “both workable and new.”³⁴

The selection committee verified their choice of architect in the *Hawaii State Capitol Progress Report* of December 31, 1960. The committee pointed to the “harmonious organization of diverse experiences” of Warnecke as part of their decision-making rationale. Warnecke’s diverse portfolio made him qualified, in the minds of committee members, to produce a building informed by Hawaiian history and culture. Additionally, the “mature architectural, planning, and administrative experience” of Lemmon, who also served as a member of the City Planning Committee for Honolulu, made for an exceptional project coordinator. Moreover, another principle in the firm, Robert M. Belt, contributed to the experience of the architectural team. He served as the Territorial Superintendent of Public Works (1947-1952) and sat on the Territorial Planning Board (1937- 1940) and Honolulu Traffic Safety Commission (1949-1952). Finally, unlike Neutra, Warnecke and his principles were willing to establish residencies in Honolulu to ensure an efficient planning process.³⁵

Stylistic components of Warnecke’s Bangkok embassy proposal swayed the capitol selection committee, as the appointment letter from Chairman Midkiff to “Cy” Lemmon stated. The letter specified that “Mr. Warnecke’s treatment of the pools surrounding the embassy was

³⁴ Jane C. Loeffler, “The Architecture of Diplomacy: Heyday of the United States Embassy-Building Program, 1954-1960,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49 (September 1990): 251-257.

³⁵ “Hawaii State Capitol Progress Report to December 31, 1960” (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov 12-25: Quinn, Capitol Architect Selection Committee), 2.

most impressive to the Committee...”³⁶ I argue that the reflecting pool encircling the exterior of the Hawai‘i State Capitol is a direct architectural element derived from the embassy project in Southeast Asia. Moreover, I contend that Warnecke repeated the emphasis on horizontality from the Bangkok Embassy at the Hawai‘i State Capitol. To achieve this end, the exterior shaded verandahs of the Bangkok Embassy are turned inward at the Hawai‘i State Capitol. By shifting the verandahs at the capitol, Warnecke incorporated an architectural element that is present in nearly all U.S. embassies of the 1950s – interior courtyards. As Loeffler indicates in “The Architecture of Diplomacy: Heyday of the United States Embassy-Building Program” (1990), almost every U.S. embassy architect attributed their courtyard design to local building traditions. As an example, the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi pointed to Mogul palaces, Hindu temples, and the Taj Mahal as inspiration.³⁷ And, as previously discussed, courtyards (*kahua*) were present in ancient Hawaiian architecture and territorial government buildings such as Honolulu Hale.³⁸ The presence of courtyards in Honolulu’s Civic Center blurs the complex historiography of Hawai‘i’s architecture. Courtyards are one example in which modern needs and uses conflated with Pacific island stereotypes. This falls in line with Thomas Nipperdey’s theory about modernist architecture. He contends, “The multifariousness of the modernization process constantly produces partial modernities, disjunctions, different mixtures of tradition and modernity, and

³⁶ Robert R. Midkiff to Mr. Cyril W. Lemmon, October 18, 1960.

³⁷ Loeffler, “Heyday of the United States Embassy-Building Program,” 265-266.

³⁸ Although not a governmental structure, Julia Morgan’s YWCA (1927) on Richards Street in the Civic Center prominently displays a courtyard. After a visitor enters the building under the decorative Corinthian-columned doorway and passes through the lobby space, an open-air courtyard reveals the layout of the YWCA. A columned arcade outlines the courtyard and divides office spaces from recreational spaces. Simple doors lead into offices and an outdoor pool is adjacent to the courtyard.

conflicts stemming from that.”³⁹ The Territory and, later, State of Hawai‘i looked to the native past in attempts to decipher the ways in which modernity could be interpreted in Honolulu.

Capitol/Capital Planning Part II: Location, Location, Location

Concurrent with the selection of architects for the Hawai‘i State Capitol, the committee asked various architectural critics to provide observations about site selection for the building and its environs. Leonard L. Hunter, assistant commissioner for design and construction for the General Services Administration in Washington, D.C., provided feedback. So, too, did Harland Bartholomew, city planner and former chairman of the National Capitol Planning Commission, as did and George Wimberly, a Honolulu architect. The committee also consulted Pietro Belluschi, dean and professor of architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). The group ultimately found that a successful master plan for Hawai‘i’s capital would harmonize federal, state and local prerogatives through the preservation of ‘Iolani Palace, aesthetic control, and the allotment of space for future growth and development.⁴⁰

³⁹ Thomas Nipperdey, “Wehlers Gesellschaftsgeschichte,” *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 14 (1988): 403-415. Quoted in: Gabriele Bryant, “Projecting modern culture: ‘Aesthetic fundamentalism’ and modern architecture,” in *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the modern in architecture and the city*, Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 68.

⁴⁰ “Report of the Citizen’s Advisory Committee on Capitol Site,” 1957 (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov 11-4: King, Governor’s Committees, Citizens’ Advisory Committee on Capitol Site).

In accordance with calls for a master plan, John Carl Warnecke and Associates presented the “Oahu Civic Centers Plan” to Mr. Frank Skrivanek, City Planning Director for the City and County of Honolulu in 1967. This plan addressed civic facilities and functions including parks, pedestrian malls, preservation strategies, traffic and parking, open spaces, and land acquisition. See John Carl Warnecke and Associates, Architects and Planning Consultants, “Oahu Civic Centers Study” (1967) [University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Hawaiian Collection: NA9284. H6W28]. One year later, in 1968, at the behest of the Civic Center Policy Committee, Warnecke developed a proposal that specifically addressed future plans to develop the Honolulu Civic Center, with private land holdings taken into consideration. The proposal suggested that the construction of Mililani Mall, a tree-lined pedestrian pass that incorporated Mililani, Halekauwila, Richards, and Queen Streets, would serve as the entrance to the civic center and allow for the development of commercial activities which would serve both visitors and the business community. See John Carl Warnecke and Associates, Architects and Planning Consultants, “An Urban Design Study for the Hawaii State Capitol Complex and Civic Center. Mililani Mall” (February 1968) (University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, Hawaiian Collection: NA4423.H65W37). Warnecke’s interest in urban planning throughout Honolulu extended beyond the civic center to include “Preliminary Long-Range Development Plan for the Mānoa Campus” at the University of Hawai‘i, as well as a “Master Plan for an Oceanographic Research Center at Kewalo Basin” for the same institution. See John Carl Warnecke and Associates, Architects and Planning Consultants, “Master Plan for

It is no surprise that the State Capitol Architect Advisory Committee solicited Belluschi for advice. By this point in his career, his reputation had been solidified by the success of the Equitable Savings and Loan Association Building (1944-1948) in Portland, Oregon. [Fig. 4.17] The architectural press lauded the building as an exemplar of the modernist glass box, from which Ludwig Mies van der Rohe and Skidmore, Owings & Merrill may have taken as inspiration for the Lake Shore Drive Apartments (Chicago, 1949) and Lever House (New York City, 1952), respectively. Moreover, in January 1954, Nelson Kenworthy, acting director of the Foreign Building Operations (FBO), and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, selected Belluschi to establish the Architectural Advisory Committee (AAC) for the U.S. Department of State. He chose Ralph Walker, Henry Shepley, and Colonel Harry A. McBride to serve on the AAC. They worked together to recommend appropriate architectural styles, approve the quality of design, and provide opinions for embassy projects.⁴¹ Belluschi, for his part, composed the general philosophy for the AAC –to which Warnecke ostensibly adhered when drafting the Bangkok embassy proposal and, later, attempted to negotiate at the Hawai‘i State Capitol. Belluschi’s treatise read:

To the sensitive and imaginative designer it will be an invitation to give serious study to local conditions of climate and site, to understand and sympathize with local customs and people, and to grasp the historical meaning of the particular environment in which the new building must be set. He will do so with a free mind without being dictated by obsolete or sterile formulae or clichés, be they old or new; he will avoid being either bizarre or fashionable, yet he will not fear using new techniques or new methods should these constitute real advance in architectural thinking.⁴²

Kewalo Oceanographic Research Center and Other Facilities at Sand Island” (February 15, 1966) (University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa: GC57 W37).

⁴¹ Ralph Walker served as the president of the American Institute of Architects (AIA), Henry Shepley as an AIA fellow, and Col. Harry A. McBride as a Foreign Service officer, former Assistant Secretary of State, and administrator of the National Gallery of Art.

⁴² Loeffler, *Building America’s Embassies*, 122.

Belluschi's involvement with the State Capitol Architect Advisory Committee is important because it demonstrates that architecture in the newly-minted state, unlike early territorial examples, did not simply draw visual connections between Honolulu and U.S. mainland cities. Rather, state capitol planning picked up where 1950s government buildings in the Civic Center left off. The modernist block sheathed with allusions to Hawaiian mores constructed Honolulu as a global city that adhered to architectural goals dictated by U.S. government officials and agencies. It also served to remove the stigma of the Hawaiian Islands as a mere Pacific outpost/military base and, instead, center it within contemporary architectural discourses. American society perceived citizens in the State of Hawai'i as less "foreign" and more attached to the Western community of states.

In addition to gathering input from critics, three members of the original selection committee, along with Cy Lemmon, embarked on a fourteen day research trip to the U.S. mainland. The delegation looked at various state capitols, as well as the United Nations building in New York City in order to gather ideas for the capitol design. [Fig. 4.18] The group viewed the U.N. visit as particularly important. In 1945, fifteen years before, the Hawaii United Nations Capitol Committee formed in order to propose Hawai'i as the permanent location for the United Nations headquarters. The committee prepared a decorative document to send to London as their official application. It was covered with *kapa*, a flower lei design, and hand-carved wood letters that spelled "Hawaii." The document suggested that O'ahu, and specifically Pearl Harbor, would remind the world of "what mankind can achieve in amity between different races and nations, and, second, what can befall without a check on ruthless power."⁴³ The Hawaii United Nations Capitol Committee presented Hawai'i as an idyllic and diverse location that strives for

⁴³ "Hawaii's Bid as United Nations Capitol," *Paradise of the Pacific* 57 (November 1945): 11.

international peace and security. Although Hawai‘i did not become the site for the U.N., I suggest that Hawai‘i’s political actors used this opportunity to shape and define the islands in a way that attached legislative relevance to a territory in pursuit of statehood.

Nevertheless, the 1960 delegation from Hawai‘i took inspiration for the new state capitol from the U.N.’s Manhattan location. The committee found the brand of architectural modernism that produced a cohesive scheme for the complex particularly pleasing. The collaborative project between G.A. Soilleux, Gaston Brunfaut, Oscar Niemeyer, Ernest Cormier, Ssu-ch’eng Liang, Le Corbusier, Sven Markelius, Nikolai D. Bassov, Howard M. Robertson, Julio Vilamajo, and Wallace K. Harrison (chief architect) resulted in a three structure complex.⁴⁴

The 550-foot tall, 39-story Secretariat is the most prominent of the three buildings. With a steel frame and glass curtain-walls, it is the epitome of the International Style; however, the marble slabs attached to the two narrow ends of the building evoke a sense of traditional monumental grandeur. In comparison to the Secretariat, the General Assembly Building offers a vibrant, low, five-story profile. The hourglass-shaped building, sheathed in Portland stone but with plate glass on its south façade, pinches in the center and is capped with a dome. The round room with sloping walls that defines its interior may have directly influence the Hawai‘i State Capitol legislative chambers. Finally, the Conference Building connects the Secretariat with the General Assembly Building. It stretches 400 feet and has an elongated façade with four stories and a large wall of glass facing the East River.⁴⁵ When taken together, the U.N. complex “made

⁴⁴ Wallace K. Harrison was among the group of architects who interviewed for the Hawai‘i State Capitol commission.

⁴⁵ Donald Langmead, *Icons of American Architecture: From the Alamo to the World Trade Center* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2009), 412.

the work of deliberation, planning, projection, negotiation, and implementations, seem, if only for a moment, glamorous.”⁴⁶

Thus, the Hawai‘i advisory site committee concluded that long-range planning paired with historical and cultural elements would make for a successful capitol location. As such, the committee recommended eleven locations on O‘ahu. Criteria used in the selection process assessed past, present, and future conditions of the locale. The group determined that a site accessible to the Civic Center and Central Business District (CBD) was of primary importance. Additionally, the capitol site had to reflect the beauty of Hawai‘i, allow for “developability [sic] and expandability,” and be readily recognizable as the center of government. With these criteria in mind, they selected Fort Armstrong – the main entry and exit point of Honolulu Harbor.⁴⁷

[Fig. 4.19] It was a manageable distance from urban Honolulu, could operate as an extension of the Civic Center, offered a picturesque vantage point, and provided a fair amount of space for (re)development and expansion.

Yet, in spite of Fort Armstrong’s advantages, the Governor’s Advisory Committee for a Capitol Building chose the densely packed area surrounded by Richards, Beretania, Hotel and Punchbowl streets. This position adjacent to ‘Iolani Palace and in close proximity to the Federal Building and Honolulu Hale indicated that the prerogatives of the state extended beyond architectural design and into the realm of urban planning. Although the group noted that significant population growth and architectural construction produced a bulging and overflowing

⁴⁶ Aaron Betsky, *The U.N. Building* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005), 22.

⁴⁷ “Report of the Citizen’s Advisory Committee on Capitol Site.”

effect upon the Civic Center, this site offered what Fort Armstrong could not – historic precedence as the governmental center for the Kingdom, Republic, and Territory of Hawai‘i.⁴⁸

With ‘Iolani Palace and the Hawai‘i State Capitol at its core, downtown Honolulu reflected a hybrid urbanism by the ways in which it emerged as “a condition of fundamental interaction among parties with concretely differing positions of power, who must nevertheless cohabit it,”⁴⁹ Honolulu’s Civic Center not only accounts for spaces of native resistance but also speaks to everyday public experiences in urban environments. Past and present accounts of indigeneity and American colonialism architecturally confront each other such that Hawai‘i’s political and social histories are intertwined. While structures associated with the native past, such as ‘Iolani Palace and Washington Place, have a capacity for meanings that ebb and flow across time and space, post-statehood buildings such as the Hawai‘i State Capitol are adorned with abstracted indigenous imagery and imbued with a definitive political purpose that display U.S. imperialism and colonialism for public audiences.

⁴⁸ “H. Thomas Kay Jr., President of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” (July 1, 1966) (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov 13-3: Burns, Honolulu Historical Center). See also Charles E. Peterson, F.A.I.A, “The Honolulu Historical Center Plan” (July 1, 1966) (Hawai‘i State Archives: Gov 13-3: Burns, Honolulu Historical Center), 1-2. In 1966 the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society proposed to create a Honolulu Historical Center. Their proposal suggested that the historical center would “provide convenient and well-equipped facilities for the reception and dispatch of tourist groups wanting an attractive, authentic and educational picture of the capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom.” The Honolulu Historical Center would be an all-inclusive experience. The visitor would have easily accessible parking; information counters would offer free flyers advertising local events and businesses; an exhibit underscoring Honolulu’s place in the Pacific would supplement a walking tour; and a small auditorium showing slides and moving pictures would attest to the beauty of the islands. The historical center would seamlessly make the Civic Center both the political hub of the United States in the Pacific and a tourist attraction.

⁴⁹ Al Sayyad, “Hybrid Culture/Hybrid Urbanism,” 8.

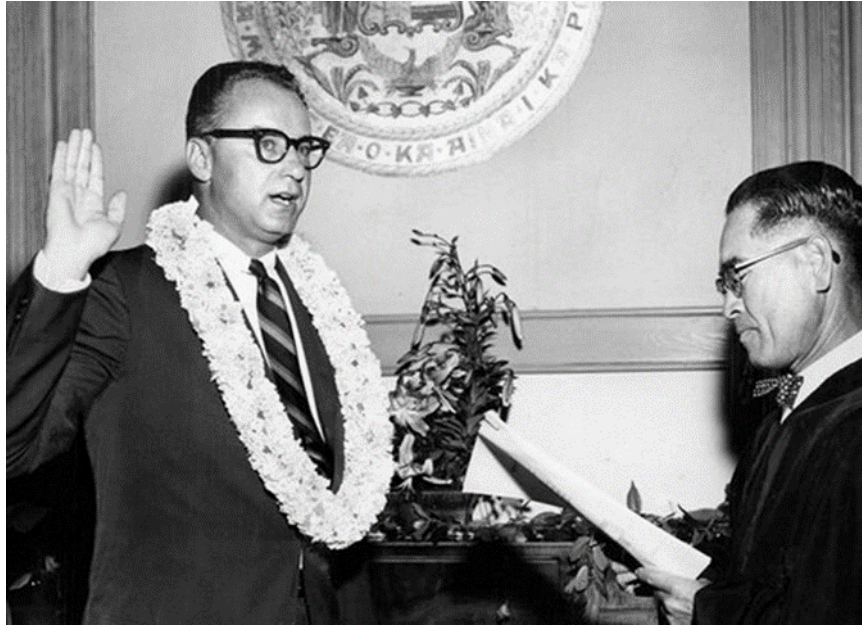


Fig. 4.1. Supreme Court Justice Masaji Marumoto administering the oath of office to William Quinn, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, August 21, 1959



Fig. 4.2. Seal of the Territory of Hawai‘i



Fig. 4.3. Royal Coat of Arms for the Kingdom of Hawai'i, 'Iolani Palace Gates



Fig. 4.4. Belt, Lemmon, and Lo in joint venture with John Carl Warnecke and Associates, Hawai'i State Capitol, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1969



Fig. 4.5. Bertram Goodhue, Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1927



Fig. 4.6. Merrill, Simms & Roehrig in association with Heen and Ossipoff, Hawai‘i State Capitol unbuilt project, 1953



Fig. 4.7. Large *hale*, n.d.



Fig. 4.8. Willard C. Kruger, New Mexico State Capitol, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1966

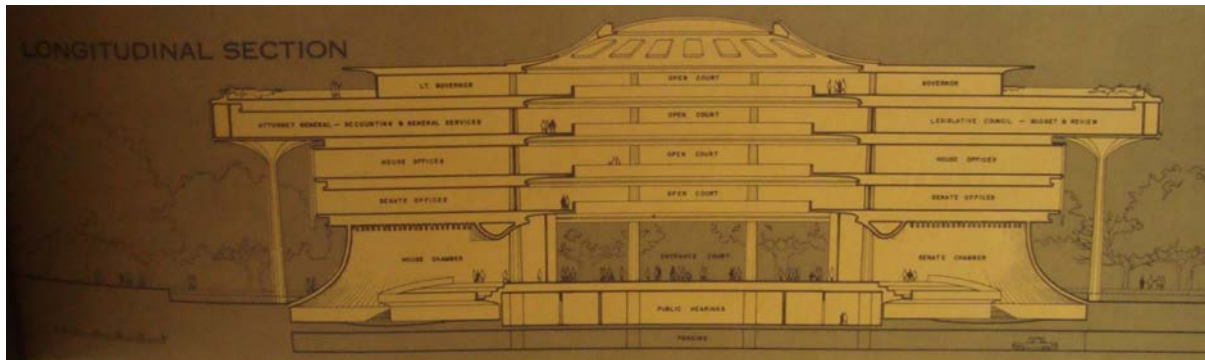


Fig. 4.9. Longitudinal Section, Hawai'i State Capitol, 1961



Entrance



Column



Reflecting Pool



Figs. 4.10-4.14. Entrance, Column, Reflecting Pool, Open-Air Roof, Central Courtyard, Aquarius Mosaic, Hawai'i State Capitol, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1969



Fig. 4.15. Minoru Yamasaki, Woodrow Wilson School of Policy and International Affairs, Princeton, New Jersey, 1965



Fig. 4.16. John Carl Warnecke & Associates, U.S. Embassy (unbuilt project), Bangkok, Thailand, 1956



Fig. 4.17. Pietro Belluschi, Equitable Savings and Loan Association Building, Portland, Oregon, 1944-1948



Fig. 4.18. Wallace K. Harrison, United Nations Headquarters, New York, New York, 1947-1952

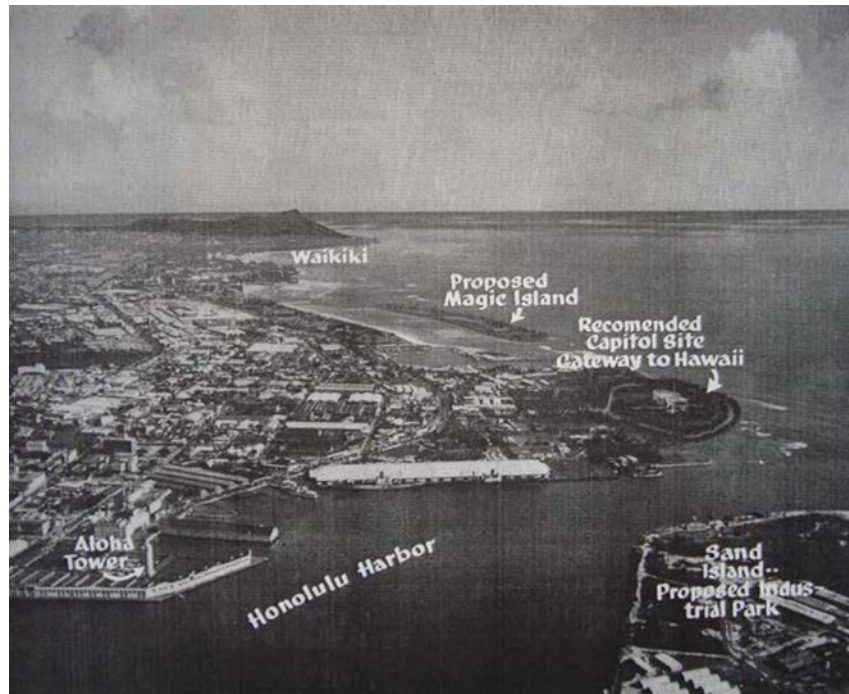


Fig. 4.19. Proposed Hawai'i Capitol Site at Fort Armstrong, ca. 1950s

Chapter 5

Island Retailing, Island Commerce

A June 29, 1969 headline by Martin Rossman in the *Los Angeles Times* reads, “Hawaii’s Economy: It’s as Lively as the Hula.” Rossman interviewed Hawai‘i’s governor, John A. Burns (term: 1962-1974), who pointed to the U.S. military as the “single largest economic factor” of Hawai‘i’s economy, followed by tourism, pineapple, sugar cane, and construction.¹ When asked to express his feelings about the state’s economy, Burns replied: “I’m afraid I’d have to resort to superlatives – it’s that good. It is, perhaps, the most vigorous and dynamic that it’s ever been.”² Rossman reinforced the governor’s enthusiasm about the economy, especially with regard to new construction in the state when he wrote, “Throughout the islands...it’s not the cloud-shrouded mountains that form a backdrop, but the huge construction cranes, piling one concrete cube upon another.”³

The Ala Moana Center (1956-1966) and the Financial Plaza of the Pacific (1968) are two monumental concrete structures that defined Honolulu as a U.S. center for finance and commerce during this period of economic “euphoria.” In this chapter, I discuss the ways in which the architects and planners of these buildings contributed to Honolulu’s economy by addressing blight and suburbanization, two issues that plagued U.S. cities during the twentieth century. The Financial Plaza of the Pacific housed Honolulu’s leading corporations, which, in turn, provided substantial employment for Honolulu residents. And, in an effort to address blight in the Central Business District (CBD), the Financial Plaza of the Pacific offered pleasing, landscaped outdoor space to attract downtown workers and visitors. Meanwhile, developers for the Ala Moana Center elected to build a shopping complex on undeveloped land in the Ala

¹ Martin Rossman, “Hawaii’s Economy: It’s as Lively as the Hula,” *Los Angeles Times* (June 29, 1969): H1.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

Moana district, a location between Waikīkī and Honolulu Harbor which was readily accessible to O‘ahu’s growing suburban population. The success of the Ala Moana Center and the Financial Plaza of the Pacific in relieving urban economic fears posed by blight and suburbanization set the stage for the Hawaii World Trade Center (1979), an architectural proposal that combined retailing and trade so as to position the State of Hawai‘i as a hub for international business.

The Ala Moana Center

Victor Gruen, a Viennese Jewish architect, developed the concept of the American regional shopping mall. In *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream* (2004), M. Jeffrey Hardwick asserts that Gruen endeavored to create environments that would “excite, persuade, and ultimately control consumers’ emotions, responses, and pocketbooks.”⁴ The architect achieved this by merging cultural values embraced by Americans: “retailing and automobiles, commerce and community.”⁵ His design for Southdale (1956) became emblematic of the indoor shopping mall that came to define American retailing during the mid-twentieth century. [Fig. 5.1] The \$20 million shopping center in Edina, Minnesota, a suburb of Minneapolis, absorbed the vitality and sense of community that made downtowns alluring while expelling the filth and commotion of the urban street that the general public deemed repugnant.⁶ Skylights provided illumination for the “Garden Court of Perpetual Spring” in wintery Minnesota while sculpture, glass mosaics, tropical plants, and fountains animated the interior.⁷ Local and national publications described Southdale as “splashy” and as a “pleasure dome.” Visitors expressed delight in the entertainments at Southdale, such as when Hawaiian singers

⁴ M. Jeffrey Hardwick, *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 8.

⁵ Ibid, 93.

⁶ Ibid, 150.

⁷ See “10 Buildings That Changed America: #6 Southdale Center”: interactive.wttw.com/tenbuildings/southdale-center

performed in the main court and employees with trays of Hawai‘i-brewed Dole pineapple juice circulated in the crowd.⁸

David Smiley, author of *Pedestrian Modern: Shopping and American Architecture, 1925-1956* (2013), encourages the study of shopping centers within theoretical discourses about architecture. He argues that the shopping mall should be framed as “an integral protagonist in the creation of modern American architecture.”⁹ If, as Smiley contends, shopping centers are not architectural “pejoratives” removed from high culture but rather normalized as “aesthetic, technological, and planning” feats, they become legitimate architectural representations of the material necessities that modern society’s value.¹⁰ In Honolulu, Gruen’s regional shopping mall concept found expression at the Ala Moana Center (1959-1966). [Fig. 5.2] The complex provided a location for businesses that sought to establish a presence outside of downtown. It offered individuals an alternative means to experience island commerce and fashion away from the urban core. The Ala Moana Center’s environment perpetuated the image of Honolulu as a Pacific island city guided by American social and economic mores. The shopping mall provided spaces and services for Americans who were in search of the “exotic,” but who desired the comforts of a Western lifestyle with easy access to amenities.

The Ala Moana Center is located on fifty acres between Piikoi, Kona, Atkinson and Ala Moana Boulevard, with an additional acre bounded by Kapiolani, Keeaumoku, and Kona Streets. The Hawaiian Land Company, Ltd. had owned the land since 1949 and had it loaded and dredged with coral and hydraulic fill in order to make it a viable, usable space.¹¹ Lowell S. Dillingham, President of Dillingham Corporation and owner of the Ala Moana Center, proposed

⁸ Hardwick, 145.

⁹ David Smiley, *Pedestrian Modern: Shopping and American Architecture, 1925-1956* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 10.

¹⁰ Ibid, 12.

¹¹ “Honolulu: Huge Shopping Center Is Rising on Oahu,” *New York Times* (July 17, 1966): 109.

that the site be a “beauty spot of Honolulu,” rather than a brick and mortar structure surrounded by asphalt pavement.¹² Its central location on the southern shore of O‘ahu made it easily accessible to tourists and residents of the island alike. Travelers vacationing in Waikīkī during the 1960s could walk to the Ala Moana Center in fifteen minutes.¹³ And because nearly 290,000 people lived within 10 miles of the Ala Moana Center, military service members stationed at Barbers Point, Pearl Harbor and Hickam Air Force Base, as well as residents in the affluent communities of Diamond Head and Hawaii-Kai had access to the Ala Moana Center, as well.

[Fig. 5.3]

John Graham and Company of Seattle, Washington completed the Ala Moana Center in two phases. Phase I consisted of two levels connected by escalators and the construction of approximately 680,000 square feet of rentable space. The street level of the shopping center included twelve acres of covered parking and a pedestrian sidewalk leading to a variety of restaurants, a Foodland grocery store, financial institutions, and service facilities. The mall level contained a parking deck and retail stores joined by a pedestrian walkway.¹⁴ Sears Roebuck & Co. established a significant presence in the mall, occupying nearly one-third of rentable space at the Ala Moana Center.¹⁵ McInerny’s, Honolulu’s largest ready-to-wear store, occupied the other end of the structure. Phase II of the Ala Moana Center was initiated in response to the success of

¹² Lowell S. Dillingham, *Art at Ala Moana: Shopping Center of the Pacific* (Honolulu: Dillingham Corporation, 1970), 1.

¹³ “Visit Ala Moana Shopping Center,” *Los Angeles Sentinel* (November 6, 1975): C10. Walter F. Dillingham first acquired the land in 1912 for \$25,000. By 1966, the land was valued at \$50 million. See “Honolulu: Huge Shopping Center is Rising on Oahu,” *New York Times* (July 17, 1966): 109.

¹⁴ *Ala Moana: Honolulu’s Regional Shopping Center* (Hawaiian Land Company Ltd.) 1959 (Hawaii State Library, Hawaiian Collection: H711.552 Ha Oversize).

¹⁵ Sears, Roebuck and Co. was incorporated in 1893. The company began as a Chicago-based mail-order business for watches. By 1894, the company had expanded its offerings to include silverware, jewelry, firearms, clothing, shoes, athletic equipment, furniture, and much more. For a detailed account of business’ history, see: James C. Worthy, *Shaping an American Institution: Robert E. Wood and Sears, Roebuck* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984). For a broad analysis of America’s department stores, see Bill Lancaster, *The Department Store: A Social History* (London and New York: Leicester University Press, 1995).

Phase I. The completion of Phase II increased the total square footage of retail space at the Ala Moana Center to 1,369,744.¹⁶ Liberty House, “Hawaii’s First Family Store” since 1850, served as the anchor for this segment of mall. [Figs. 5.4-5.5]

Phase I and Phase II of the Ala Moana Center engineered an assemblage of modernist boxes connected by open-air concrete roofing. Sears and Liberty House, the two department stores that served as anchors for the mall, provided access to consumers under pilotis that supported covered walkways and provided entry access. Slight variations of pleasing rectangular rhythms on the decorative grille façade gave character to the standard architectural boxes that defined twentieth-century department stores. This aesthetic departs from the emphasis on show windows that had defined late nineteenth-century downtown department stores on the U.S. mainland.

As Joseph Siry documents in *Carson Pirie Scott: Louis Sullivan and the Chicago Department Store* (1988), the shop window convention in the United States utilized “large sheets of imported plate glass set between columnar supports across the length of the storefront at the sidewalk.”¹⁷ This approach proved both practical and functional; it allowed for larger windows in which goods could be displayed and offered an abundance of light to filter through the space.¹⁸ John B. Snook and Joseph Trench’s A.T. Stewart Store (New York, New York; 1845-1846), Louis Sullivan’s Carson Pirie Scott Store (Chicago, Illinois; 1899-1904), and William Le Baron Jenny’s Second Leiter Builder (Chicago, Illinois; 1889-1891) reflect this design aesthetic. [Fig. 5.6]

¹⁶ Mason Architects, “Ala Moana Center: Architectural History Report” (April 16, 2014): <http://www.masonarch.com/research-library/Ala%20Moana%20Architectural%20History.pdf>

¹⁷ Joseph Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott: Louis Sullivan and the Chicago Department Store* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), 128.

¹⁸ Ibid.

By the twentieth-century, architects for American department stores endeavored to create more efficient ways for the American consumer to shop. First, department stores shifted away from large display windows due to the proliferation of electric and fluorescent lighting. These technological innovations allowed for an even distribution of light across space without excessive heat. Products could then be widely displayed on the floor.¹⁹ It follows that expanded space required elevators, escalators, and air conditioning in order to provide consumers with pleasant shopping experiences.²⁰ Moreover, because department stores no longer needed to draw pedestrians off of the street with attractively designed window displays, customers could arrive by automobile, park in an expansive lot, and enter into an enclosed shopping center divorced from the street. In “The Magic of the Mall” (1993), Jon Goss maintains that the function of shopping centers as a safe and sanitary public space for middle-class Americans is critical in fashioning a space “in which credit-card citizenship allows all to buy an identity and vicariously experience preferred lifestyles.”²¹ Consumers at the Ala Moana Center purchased Western fashions within a vibrant Pacific island environment. In this way, the shopping mall operates as a liminal space that negotiates the “diversity of humanity, the mystique of exotic objects, [and] the intoxicating energy of the crowd channeled within the confined public space.”²² The coalescing of people, actions, and events at the Ala Moana Center reflects the relationship between consumption, art, and entertainment. Liberty House at the Ala Moana Center provides an example of this relationship.

¹⁹ Carol Willis, *Form Follows Finance: Skyscrapers and Skylines in New York and Chicago* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1995), 132.

²⁰ Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 39.

²¹ Jon Goss, “The Magic of the Mall: An Analysis of Form, Function, and Meaning in the Contemporary Built Environment,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83, no. 1 (March 1993): 26.

²² *Ibid.*, 27.

Liberty House opened its first location in Honolulu's CBD in 1850 with a two story flagship store on Fort Street called Hale Kilikia (House of Silk), which later became B.F. Ehlers. World War I prompted a sense of American patriotism amongst the store's owners. They elected to rename it "Liberty House." The business grew significantly and, by the 1930s and 1940s, had established branches in Waikīkī and the surrounding neighborhoods of Kailua and Waialae-Kahala.²³ *Everybody Knows About Hawaii: Or do They?* (1966), a publication released by Liberty House, identifies the economic stability of the state as a continuing factor in its growth. The section titled, "There's a Pot of Gold in Paradise," notes the combined income of Hawai'i's residents at \$1.777 billion, retail sales of \$1.102 billion, and tourist expenditures of \$225 million.²⁴ Liberty House financiers projected the store's sales at the new Ala Moana Center to reach \$30-\$40 million within its first year.

Liberty House wanted to offer their customers "a complete line of quality merchandise and services consistent with those available at the finest department stores in all fifty states."²⁵ The three-story fashion and housewares enterprise for Liberty House at the Ala Moana Center reflects the ways in which the business attempted to meet the needs and desires of its ever-growing tourist and suburban consumer. [Fig. 5.7] The store had an open floor-plan spanning 240,000 square feet to include various departments, as well as a garden court restaurant and bar. Though large in square footage, Liberty House strove to create a cozy ambiance by designating each department as a separate shop. Clerestories and elevators provided a sense of design continuity between each department.²⁶ In addition, prominent displays of Hawaiian *kapa* by

²³ *Everybody Know About Hawaii, Or Do They?* (Honolulu: Liberty House, 1966).

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

Donald G. Wilcox decorated the interior cornices of the department store. The abstracted and geometric motifs added texture and depth to the flat white wall. [Fig. 5.8]

The use of *kapa* at Liberty House reveals the company's desire to exhibit the store's island heritage. *Kapa*, or barkcloth, is primarily made from the interior bark of the paper mulberry tree. Hawaiians traditionally decorate *kapa* using dyes from charcoal, colored ocher, and plant extracts. Watermarkings, grooving, and stamping techniques embellish *kapa* designs.²⁷ *Kapa* allowed the company to promote the store as a "contemporary translation of the Island's heritage."²⁸ Kamehiro documents the link between *kapa*, quilt making, and Hawaiian genealogy in her article, "Hawaiian Quilts: Chiefly Self-Representations in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i" (2007) and contends, "Sewing and quilting can be understood as an extension of the chiefly prerogative of using and making fine barkcloths."²⁹ As Kamehiro writes, "...it can be argued that various motifs formalized statements about genealogical sanctity and chiefly authority. The sea urchin design (*ha'u keuke*), for example, is circular with emanating rays resembling the sun. Aristocratic beauty was associated with the sun in myths and chants."³⁰ Thus, just as native symbolism adorned 'Iolani Palace so, too, were *kapa* designs infused with *kaona* (hidden meanings). That Wilcox created panels derived from "research on material obtained from a Bishop Museum publication"³¹ suggests a (re)interpretation of *kapa* from Hawaiian cultural production to "art" for commercial public space. *Kapa* elements at Liberty House encouraged the company to promote its island legacy. Moreover, the *kapa* panels projected a scripted Hawaiian

²⁷ Adrienne L. Kaeppler, *The Fabrics of Hawaii (Bark Cloth)* (Essex, England: F. Lewis, Publishers, Limited: 1975), 7-15.

²⁸ *Everybody Know About Hawaii, Or Do They?*

²⁹ Stacy L. Kamehiro, "Hawaiian Quilts: Chiefly Self-Representations in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i," *Pacific Arts*, New Series, vol. 3/5, *Hybrid Textiles: Pragmatic Creativity and Authentic Innovations in Pacific Cloth* (2007): 26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Dillingham Corporation, *Art at Ala Moana, Shopping Center of the Pacific* (1970).

atmosphere to the public whereby engagement with indigenous culture could be an active or passive experience.

The open-air gathering spaces at the Ala Moana Center also incorporated public art displays that signified Hawaiian culture. Among them, “Fountain of the Gods” by Bumpei Akaji, a Kauai-born sculptor, was a bronze columnar piece placed within a shallow pool and surrounded by bronze birds and colorful mosaics. The artwork received its name because each side of the column represents one of four principal Hawaiian deities.³² [Fig. 5.9] In addition, Edward Brownlee’s “Pool of the Petroglyphs” depicts Hawaiian petroglyphs indicative of family, transportation, and supernatural elements amidst island foliage and waterfalls on a stone façade.³³ [Fig. 5.10]

These two public art works, among others, were undoubtedly part of the popular “tiki culture” that entranced Americans during the 1950s and 1960s. Tiki’s were carved totems that represented the half-man, half-god figure in many Pacific island societies. However, for an American public who tuned in each week to watch Steve McGarrett fight crime in Honolulu on the CBS television show *Hawaii Five-O*, went to the movie theater to see Elvis Presley in *Blue Hawaii*, listened to Don Ho sing “Tiny Bubbles” on the radio and purchased *mu‘umu‘u* from

³² Ibid, 4. Bumpei Akaji was a member of the storied 442nd Regiment Combat Team, a WWII Hawai‘i Army unit of American soldiers of Japanese ancestry. After the war ended, Akaji used his GI bill to study art in Italy, where he was influenced by Byzantine mosaics and frescoes. He later received an MFA from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The sculpture for the Ala Moana Center was his first major commission. He went on to produce large scale copper sculptures for the University of Hawai‘i, Central Union Church, and Fort DeRussy. See Marcia Morse, *Legacy: Facets of Island Modernism* (Honolulu: Honolulu Academy of Arts, 2001). See also Pat Gee, “Bumpei Akaji/Renowned Hawaii Sculptor: Kauai native left large imprint on local art scene,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (November 5, 2002): <http://archives.starbulletin.com/2002/11/05/news/story12.html>

³³ J. Halley Cox with Edward Stasack, *Hawaiian Petroglyphs* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1970), 64. Edward Brownlee was born in Portland, Oregon and is known for receiving the first MFA degree awarded at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa in 1954. He specialized in public art that merged Asia, Oceanic, and Pacific Northwest Influences. See “Edward Malcolm “Mick” Brownlee,” *North Coast Citizen* (December 10, 2013): http://northcoastcitizen.com/ncc_news/obituaries/edward-malcolm-mick-brownlee/article_2bd5c778-61c8-11e3-833f-0019bb2963f4.html. For more on Brownlee’s work see, Jean Charlot, “Brownlee’s Sculptures,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (August 23, 1967): B-1.

mainland shops, tiki culture became an American-derived catchall term to describe the romanticized view of a Pacific island life imbued with beaches, beautiful women, exotic fruits, tropical themed drinks, luaus, and music. Tiki culture also became an architectural source of inspiration. Sven A. Kirsten's *Tiki Pop: America Imagines its Own Polynesian Paradise* (2014) suggests that American architects who appropriated a kitsch aesthetic of oversized tiki figurines and faux-thatched edifices for restaurants, bars, and bowling alleys were attuned to the American public's desire for "paradise" within their mid-century urban enclaves of glass and steel skyscrapers. The Pacific island location of the Ala Moana Center and its Hawaiian-themed art works appealed to tourists and residents because it cohered with trends in national popular culture.

The Ala Moana Center reflected Hawai'i's ties to the U.S. mainland while also acknowledging the islands position as juncture between East and West. For instance, a traditional Japanese garden with stone lanterns, bonsai plants, and a bamboo fence marked the entry to the Coral Reef restaurant, which specialized in Chinese and American cuisine. **[Fig. 5.11]** Much like the appropriation of Asian visual references in the Hawaiian regional aesthetic, the Coral Reef restaurant demonstrates the ways in which the notion of Hawai'i as a multicultural state permeated Hawai'i's mid-century architectural environment.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Honolulu became a sprawling metropolis that expanded its historical center of commerce from the downtown district to new satellite locations on O'ahu. The shopping center built on undeveloped land provided services and luxuries aligned with quality-of-life expectations for Americans. Businesses and public spaces at the Ala Moana center displayed native and Asian cultural motifs as artistic and visual mechanisms to underpin American desires for a Pacific island paradise.

The Financial Plaza of the Pacific

The limited physical space of downtown Honolulu forced the patrons and architects of the Ala Moana Center to construct the edifice outside of the CBD. The CBD lacked requisite resources for a large shopping mall for a number of reasons. First, the economic core of the city experienced blighted conditions. In 1959, Honolulu's City Planning Commission outlined the "gradual disintegration" of the CBD in "Central Business District of the City and County of Honolulu: An Inventory and Analysis of its Problems." The commission concluded that the once "thriving and prosperous district is becoming less of an ideal location in which to conduct business. Buildings have been neglected and allowed to deteriorate, thus resulting in lower rents and continued loss of business."³⁴ By 1960, the Central Business District Consultants of Honolulu formed. The group, comprised of three Honolulu architectural and planning firms (Harland Bartholomew & Associates, Belt, Collins & Associates, and Community Planning, Inc.) and one Los Angeles firm (Charles Bennett & Association), published a report about blighted elements that stretched through Chinatown to the edge of the CBD. They determined from their analysis of Sanborn maps and field research that nearly one-half of all downtown buildings were approaching degraded conditions and in need of either major repair or removal. The committee described the appearance of the CBD as filled with "blank-faced warehouses," "a total absence of architectural character," and "colorless streets."³⁵ Second, spatial constraints caused by the CBD's position wedged in between the Civic Center (Capitol District), Chinatown, harbor, and mountains hindered new large-scale construction. The only way to build was upward, and the availability of parking in garages or curbside spaces limited pedestrian foot

³⁴ City Planning Commission, "Central Business District of the City and County of Honolulu: An Inventory and Analysis of its Problems" (Honolulu: April 1959), 2.

³⁵ Central Business District Consultants, *The Central Business District of Hawaii*, prepared for the City and County of Honolulu (Honolulu, 27 October 1960), 6-35 (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa: HT168.H65 C45).

traffic. The report suggested that the CBD must keep pace with the spread of department stores, theaters, and businesses in Honolulu's satellite, suburban communities of Kapahulu, Kaimuki, Kailua, Waialae-Kahala, and Pearl City.³⁶ The City Planning Commission suggested that the erection of new, modern buildings would aid in the renewal of the CBD.³⁷

Two years after the release of the Central Business District Consultants report, the Downtown Improvement Association (DIA), composed of private property owners and merchants from the district, commissioned "The Master Plan for the Central Business District" from Leo S. Wou.³⁸ The expressed purpose of the plan was "to attain the composite highest and best land use that will result in a greater economic return consistent with the sociological needs of the entire community."³⁹ The revitalization strategy proposed by Wou called for a four-pronged approach predicated on reserving space for offices, retail, culture and entertainment, and an international center. Wou envisioned office space adjacent to the Civic Center, a shopping zone near the primary office area, amusement activities in close proximity to parking facilities, and a center dedicated to hosting international events. The architect endeavored to devise an arrangement that would attract public and private institutions back to the CBD.⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibid, 20.

³⁷ In the abstract of their findings, the City Planning Commission noted that there had yet to be overbuilding on the land. They pointed to the lack of building initiatives within the last five years. Thus, whereas only 25 new buildings had been erected from 1954-1959, 26 were completed between 1912 and 1917, 80 between 1907 and 1912, and 55 between 1897 and 1902. See Ibid, 6, 35. For contemporary scholarship on blight and urban renewal, see Kent A. Robertson, "Downtown Redevelopment Strategies in the United States: An End-of-the-Century Assessment," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 61, no. 4 (1995): 429-436; Colin Gordon, "Fighting Blight: Urban Renewal Policies and Programs, 1945-2000," in *Mapping Decline: St. Louis and the Fate of the American City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); and, Wendell E. Pritchett, "The 'Public Menace' of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Uses of Eminent Domain," *Yale Law & Policy Review* 21, no. 1 (Winter 2003): 1-52.

³⁸ Leo S. Wou received his bachelor's degree in architecture from the University of Pennsylvania in 1950 and pursued graduate studies in architecture and regional planning at Yale University from 1952-1954. Wou established his Honolulu firm in 1960. See Michael R. Adamson, *A Better Way to Build: A History of the Pankow Companies* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2013), 117.

³⁹ "An Interim Planning Report," *Honolulu: The Downtown Improvement Association* (July 1962) (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa: HT168.H65 D73).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

Wou and David Y.C. Tom, a Honolulu planning consultant, were interested in determining how pedestrians would navigate the reconfigured CBD as envisioned in the “Master Plan.” They considered traffic, parking, and circulation within the district as the premise for their “flexible plan,” which included ring roads, tunnels under Honolulu Harbor, and parking garages located on the edges of the CBD. Wou considered the ways in which the urban environment could positively improve the human condition. Wou’s concept placed the individual at the core of the city because of his concern about urban populations. His plan gave pedestrians the maximum right of way and allotted for open spaces that exposed scenic vistas.⁴¹

Although city officials did not adopt Wou’s master plan in its totality, evidence of its success is revealed in two ways. First, Wou’s concept led to the construction of the Financial Plaza of the Pacific, which served as the catalyst for the commercial revival of Honolulu’s CBD.⁴² At the outset, the project gained the attention of Alfred Boecke, the vice-president of Oceanic Properties, Inc. – a land development subsidiary of Castle & Cooke. Boecke initially proposed a four block commercial property but ultimately scrapped the proposal in favor of the single-block Financial Plaza of the Pacific. **[Fig. 5.12]** Second, Wou suggested that Fort Street be reconceived as a pedestrian mall. The Planning Department of the City and County of Honolulu enlisted Gruen to develop a proposal for the Fort Street Mall.⁴³ Gruen’s analysis concluded the following:

...A clearly defined system of pedestrian paths and activities would strengthen the physical and functional link between major land use districts, with attractive urban plazas and malls for human enjoyment. In essence, the study proposes a simplification of the street system within the central area by removing through traffic, reducing the

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Adamson, 117.

⁴³ The Fort Street Mall has its roots in nineteenth-century Honolulu. Fort Street served as the shopping center of Honolulu throughout the 1800s. Large department stores including Liberty House and Woolworth established a presence on Fort Street during the 1950s. See: “Fort Street History”: http://fortstreetmall.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=19&Itemid=27

number of streets and redesigning those remaining to serve efficiently either vehicular or pedestrian traffic, but not both...The Consultants further recommend that urban design programs be established and followed in revitalization process to ensure beauty, livability and clarity of cityscape.⁴⁴

Gruen's pitch also incorporated drawings of people walking along the Fort Street Mall surrounded by views toward the Hawai'i State Capitol and early sketches of the Financial Plaza of the Pacific. [Figs. 5.13-5.15]

In 1968, a conglomeration of companies came together to finance the Financial Plaza of the Pacific, a Brutalist "commercial condominium" that signaled the economic turnaround of the CBD.⁴⁵ The Wilcox Development Corporation, along with Castle & Cooke, the Bank of Hawaii, and American Savings invested in constructing the structure on the block between Merchant, Bishop, King, and Fort Streets in the CBD.⁴⁶ The structure emerged as a byproduct of the agricultural successes of Hawai'i that date back to the territorial years. Castle & Cooke, the Bank of Hawaii, and American Savings were each affiliated, in some capacity, with Hawai'i's sugar corporations, the people who managed them, and businesses that invested in buildings, spaces, and attractions in the islands.

The Financial Plaza of the Pacific consists of three individual yet visually unified structures. Upper cantilevered floors supported by concrete columns and girders give visual dimension to the Bank of Hawaii, a low-rise, six-story, horizontal building with ample floor

⁴⁴ Victor Gruen Associates, Inc., "Report of the studies and recommendations for a program of revitalization of the Central Business District of downtown Honolulu," (April 1968): 3.

⁴⁵ A commercial condominium includes retail, office and industrial properties. A portion of the building can be purchased from the owner/developer of the building, either for use by the owner use or as an investment property to be leased to others.

⁴⁶ The Wilcox Development Corporation did not physically occupy the space but used its holdings as rental property income. Hawai'i's "Big Five" sugar conglomerates included Castle & Cooke, Amfac, Alexander and Baldwin, C. Brewer & Company, and Theo S. Davies. These corporations dominated sugar production in the islands and, essentially, controlled the entire economy from pineapple production and merchandising to transportation and banking. The networks that these businesses created were all encompassing. They controlled portions of the Bank of Hawaii, Hawaiian Electric Company, Oahu Railway & Land Company (OR&L), as well as Liberty House. See Ronald T. Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 20. See also Jared G. Smith, "The Big Five: A Brief History of Hawaii's Largest Firms" (Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1942).

space and windows to accommodate business offices. **[Fig. 5.16]** The Castle & Cooke building is a 21-story tower with generously sized windows that create a grid-like configuration. The uppermost floors of the structure extend eight feet beyond the lower wall to produce a cantilever-like effect that visually links Castle & Cooke to the Bank of Hawaii building. **[Fig. 5.17]** Finally, the American Savings building is a visual and structural combination of the Castle & Cooke tower and the horizontal block of the Bank of Hawaii. The façade repeats the pattern of the uppermost three floors of the Castle & Cooke tower, and the two exterior columns on the side of the building accentuate the building's verticality, mimicking the exterior piers at the Bank of Hawaii. **[Fig. 5.18]**

Concrete unites the three structures at the Financial Plaza of the Pacific. The designers of the project defended their choice of material following public complaints that the complex looked like a prison. John Zeazeas, the assistant project director for the Financial Plaza of the Pacific, supported the use of concrete, arguing that the material's color was a bit darker than usual because it had been waterproofed and infused with pumice and basalt chips. He proposed that architectural design and landscaping defined the beauty of the building, not its material. He critiqued other unnamed contemporary structures in Honolulu as "so bright you can't see the architecture. They glare."⁴⁷ Zeazeas suggested that the warmth of the dark concrete made the Financial Plaza of the Pacific superior because it allowed for an explosion of color to emanate from the monkey pod trees, plumeria, shower trees, and coconut palms that decorated the exterior of the complex.⁴⁸ In this way, the buildings' design acknowledged the landscape and local character of Honolulu.

⁴⁷ Gene Hunter, "Sun To Chase Away Gray," *Honolulu Advertiser* (October 18, 1967): B1:3.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Wou's design for the Financial Plaza of the Pacific also aligned with 1950s and 1960s modern architectural trends in Brutalist construction. Rayner Banham's definition of Brutalism, as derived from his analysis of Peter and Alison Smithson's Hunstanton School (Hunstanton, England; 1949-1954) and Paul Rudolph's Yale Art and Architecture Building (New Haven, Connecticut; 1963) [Fig. 5.19], suggests that Brutalist forms are not dependent upon strict Miesian-like geometries. Brutalist structures must be both visually appealing and "stirring."⁴⁹ In "The New Brutalism" (1955) Banham maintained, "What moves a New Brutalist is the thing itself, in its totality, and with all its overtones of human association."⁵⁰ Thus, the concrete and steel Yale Art and Architecture Building encouraged Timothy Rohan, author of *The Architecture of Paul Rudolph* (2014), to maintain that the building's "powerful forms, textured surfaces, complex spaces, sensitive urban presence, and many allusions to the past demonstrated how to recover the things that Rudolph said the debased functionalism of the 1950s and the International Style had 'brushed aside,' namely monumentality, urbanism, symbolism, and decoration."⁵¹ Similarly, the bold dynamism of shapes, forms, and material of the Brutalist Financial Plaza of the Pacific enlivened Honolulu's downtown architecture from the regularity, order, and symmetry that defined the immediate post-war, pre-statehood International Style Board of Water Supply, AliiAIMoku, and Keelikolani buildings.

The Financial Plaza of the Pacific is more than a site for trade and business. Like the Ala Moana Center, it became an environment that merged commerce, art, and entertainment. The Financial Plaza of the Pacific offers public plazas designed by Halprin & Associates in the heart

⁴⁹ Claude Lichtenstein and Thomas Schregenerberger, *As Found: The Discovery of the Ordinary, British Architecture and Art of the 1950s* (Zurich: Lars Müller Publishers, 2006), 125.

⁵⁰ See Rayner Banham, "The New Brutalism (reprint)," *October* 136 (Spring 2011): 25.

⁵¹ "Brutalist buildings: Yale Art and Architecture Building, Connecticut by Paul Rudolph," *dezeen magazine* (September 26, 2014): <http://www.dezeen.com/2014/09/26/yale-art-and-architecture-building-paul-rudolph-brutalism/>

of downtown Honolulu for people to congregate, meet, and see art displays within a commercial context. One such work, *Kepaakala* (1970), marks the plaza in front of the Bishop Street entrance to the Bank of Hawaii. [Fig. 5.20] Tony Bernard Rosenthal created the large, bronze and steel sculptural sun disk with geometric indentations. This fabrication was not new to Rosenthal's oeuvre. A similar piece, *Rondo* (1969), commissioned by Jack Resnick & Sons, along with William Lescaze, first ornamented the space in front of the towers at 110 East 59th Street and then became a marker for the New York Public Library at 127 East 58th Street. Meanwhile, *Columns* (1970) occupies the plaza in front of the Fort Street Mall entrance to the Bank of Hawaii at the Financial Plaza of the Pacific. *Columns* consist of three vertical posts of bronze, stainless steel, and concrete. Arnaldo Pomodoro, its Italian artist who exhibited extensively in the United States and established friendships with American artists such as David Smith, took inspiration from ancient obelisks, Egyptian hieroglyphics, and Hawaiian sculpture. He created lines and forms that intersect in ways that allude to ecological erosion and the material possibilities of the future.⁵² [Fig. 5.21]

Indeed, the Seagram Building, in New York, was the mid-twentieth century apogee of the privately built outdoor plaza. The Seagram Building, built to house offices for the Canadian beverage distillery, is a thirty-eight-story tower accented with a plaza. Phyllis Lambert, author of *Building Seagram* (2013), provides details about the structure's planning constraints due to zoning ordinances, court appearances, and finances. She crafts a compelling argument through her discussion about Mies van der Rohe's desire to transcend materials and form by creating an environment that merged the bronze and glass edifice with its surrounding landscape in order to

⁵² "Past, Present and Future in the Art of Arnaldo Pomodoro: <http://theculturetrip.com/europe/italy/articles/past-present-and-future-in-the-art-of-arnaldo-pomodoro/>

create “an oasis in the grid of the busy city.”⁵³ The Seagram Building and its plazas, in Lambert’s estimation, function simultaneously as a manifestation of the private domain of the company and the public realm of the building. That the Financial Plaza of the Pacific engages with this same dynamic suggests the ways in which the complex encouraged people to spend time, money, and resources in the economic heart of the city.

Patrons of the Bank of Hawaii at the Financial Plaza of the Pacific also elected to incorporate art in its design. Bronze art panels from the company’s 1927 headquarters at the corner of King and Bishop Streets (non-extant) were moved to the interior wall facing King Street at the Financial Plaza of the Pacific’s Bank of Hawaii.⁵⁴ [Fig. 5.22] Tying the company to a Hawaiian sense of place and history, Lee Lawrie created bronze decorative panels depicting seiners and canoe builders for the exterior façade of the Goodhue-designed bank, which was an arcuated palazzo with a tiled awning and hipped roof. The friezes are poignant in the way that they address the race, work, and economy with respect to Pacific Islanders. Two panels, in particular, depict muscular, native men toiling in the ocean as they wield traditional instruments and utilize *kaula* (cordage) to lash the canoes together. [Figs. 5.23-5.24]

Lawrie’s Hawai‘i friezes fit into his larger oeuvre and contribute to narratives about American social concerns of the era. In 1936, Lawrie declared his sculptural intention:

If the sculpture is to reflect ideas that will tell the passerby the kind of building it marks, pertinent subjects must be found for all the surfaces provided for it. Good subjects make one feel that the work needs to be done, and that feeling causes it to take shape readily.

⁵³ Phyllis Lambert, *Building Seagram* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 9.

⁵⁴ The Bank of Hawaii dates back to 1897 when Peter Cushman Jones, a one-time partner of C. Brewer & Company, founded the business along with members of Castle & Cooke including J.B. Atherton (president of Castle & Cooke), Clarence H. Cooke (son of C.M. Cooke), and E.D. Tenney (officer of Castle & Cooke). For three decades, the Bank of Hawaii housed its headquarters in a downtown building facing Fort Street (1897) and on the entire first floor of the Judd Building (1899) at the corner of Fort and Merchant Streets.

Unconsciously, then, the sculptor returns to the principles that guided the primitives, who were not too knowing, but were intent upon bringing out an idea or a story.⁵⁵

Lawrie's proclamation has a clear racial undertone. The remark that "primitives" were intellectually deficient yet capable of relaying meaning and purpose through action suggests that bodies of color are physical entities devoid of (or separate from) feelings, emotions, and talents. When framed in such a way, people of color are, as Herman Gray contends, "structured by and against dominant (and dominating) discourses of masculinity and race, specifically (whiteness)."⁵⁶ Lawrie's work at the Bank of Hawaii "was a search for – or a moment to recapture – the ancient Hawaiian male whose duty it was to feed both the family and the gods."⁵⁷ Though well-intentioned, Lawrie did not, presumably, capture the implications of this cultural tradition; neither did his commissions for the Louisiana and Nebraska State Capitols.

Lawrie rendered the "The Emancipation Proclamation" literal at the Nebraska State Capitol (1922-1932). [Fig. 5.25] President Abraham Lincoln, flanked by two well-dressed white men, reads from a scroll. The president stands elevated on a platform with the large, neoclassical U.S. Capitol Building looming in the background. Three bare figures marred with shackles at the base of the panel in front of President Lincoln gives every indication of enslaved blacks on the cusp of gaining freedom. The iconography of the panel posits American democracy as a normal, innocuous story of redemption and progress. The image of the benevolent U.S. president freeing

⁵⁵ Lee Lawrie, "Foreword," in *Sculpture* (Cleveland, OH: J.H. Jansen), 1936.

⁵⁶ Herman Gray, "Black Masculinity and Visual Culture," *Callaloo* 18, no. 2 (Spring 1995): 401.

⁵⁷ Prior to his commission for the Bank of Hawaii, Lawrie was famously associated with this work at Rockefeller Center, "Wisdom Planning the Universe" (1933). The low-relief sculpture adorns the entryway at 30 Rockefeller Plaza. It demonstrates positive attributes of intelligence and ardor in the United States. The art deco design depicts a large, muscular man who is crowned and bearded emerging from clouds and holding a golden compass. The biblical phrase "Wisdom and Knowledge Shall be the Stability of Thy Times" is inscribed below the figure. See also Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 35.

black slaves blurs historical causality and context so as to shift the burden of slavery away from the dominant society and replace it with a narrative about liberty and justice.⁵⁸

Lawrie's "Negro Workmen" at the Louisiana State Capitol (1931-1932) reflects a similar sentiment. [Fig. 5.26] The viewer witnesses black men participating in various types of labor in three separate panels. They reel in fish from the sea, single-handedly saw tree trunks, and sever crops with phallic-like machetes. Lawrie depicts men of color as somehow inherently built for the menial, heavy, physical labor that was the realm of Blacks in Louisiana during the slave era and in the Jim Crow South. The artist renders these bodies as if existing within the same hierarchical system that both depended on Black labor in order to prosper for the benefit of the White power elite and simultaneously kept Blacks from rising in that hierarchy.

The discourse about black bodies in Lawrie's art tangentially translates to considerations about Pacific Islander masculinities. Popular discourse often frames Pacific Islander men as naturally athletic and physically strong. In his study of the Maori, Brendan Hokuwhitu contends that perceptions of Maori men as agile, brawny bodies is a concept "constructed to limit, homogenize, and reproduce an acceptable and imagined [Maori] masculinity..."⁵⁹ In much the same way, the physicality of Hawaiian men is tied to their colonial, Western positionality as

⁵⁸ Robert Haller presents a slightly different reading of the Emancipation Proclamation panel at the Nebraska State Capitol. He points to the patronizing nature of the image through its historical inaccuracies. Haller states, "There is something condescending in the drama of the depiction, since the Emancipation Proclamation did not actually free the slaves of Washington, D.C., or any other territory under Union control, and enfranchisement of American blacks did not come until the passage of the 15th Amendment in 1870, long after Lincoln's assassination..." See Robert Haller, "The Drama of Law in the Nebraska State Capitol: Sculpture and Inscriptions," *Great Plains Quarterly* 13, no. 1 (Winter 1993): 16. For more on Lawrie's work at the Nebraska State Capitol see Eric Scott McCready, "The Nebraska State Capitol: Its Design, Background and Influence," *Nebraska History* 55 (Fall 1974): 324-461; Orville H. Zabel, "History in Stone: The Story in Sculpture on the Exterior of the Nebraska Capitol," *Nebraska History* 62 (Fall 1981): 285-372; Timothy J. Garvey, "Strength and Stability on the Middle Border: Lee Lawrie's Sculpture for the Nebraska State Capitol," *Nebraska History* 65 (Summer 1984) 157-78; and, Dale Gibbs, "Art, Architecture and Humanism: The Sculpture of Lee Lawrie," in *A Harmony of the Arts. The Nebraska State Capitol*, ed. Frederick C. Luebke (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 49-66.

⁵⁹ Brendan Hokuwhitu, "Tackling Maori Masculinity: A Colonial Genealogy of Savagery and Sport," *The Contemporary Pacific* 16, no. 2 (Fall 2004): abstract, 259-284.

beachboys and the sustainers of Hawai‘i’s tourist economy. Yet, simultaneously, Hawaiian men could not escape the “lazy kanaka” (person, people) designation ascribed to them by Western colonizers. In *Native Men Remade* (2008), Ty P. Kāwika Tengan asserts, “...Hawaiian men were seen as being unable to compete with either the *haole* (foreigner) elite or the “hard-working Chinese and Japanese men...”⁶⁰ Isaiah Helekunihi Walker confronts this contradictory dynamic attached to Hawaiian bodies in “Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and the Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawai‘i” (2007). Walker contends:

Ka po ‘ina nalu (the surf zone) constitutes a Hawaiian realm, a space overlooked by outsiders...it served as both a refuge and a contested borderland (or “boarder-land”) for many Native Hawaiians. It was a place where Hawaiian men felt free, developed Native identities, and often thwarted colonial encroachment...On land Hawaiians were increasingly marginalized from political, social, and economic spheres in the twentieth century. Yet, in the ocean, Native surfers secured a position on top of a social hierarchy...the Hawaiian boarder-land was a place where white hegemony was uncertain and Natives inverted dominant social categories.⁶¹

The bronze relief sculptures at the Bank of Hawaii reflect the claims made by Hokuwhitu and Walker. Lawrie’s strong, diligent seamen who skillfully and masterfully operate the canoe within the oceanic realm are, paradoxically, located within a banking institution that sought to advance American economic interests in the Pacific.

Furthermore, the Bank of Hawaii friezes reflect the ideology of a company that endeavored to showcase its island origins. This is also evident in the Lei Day Pageant, an event founded by the Bank of Hawaii one year after the opening of its company headquarters. [Fig. 5.27] The first Lei Day Pageant on May 1, 1928 made the bank a venue for the public display of Hawaiian customs. The elaborately decorated lobby had flower leis draped around architectural fixtures and on guests in attendance. Musicians and hula dancers serenaded the audience to add a

⁶⁰ Tengan, 45.

⁶¹ Isaiah Helekunihi Walker, “Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and the Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawai‘i,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 89-90.

Hawaiian ambiance to the affair. Meanwhile, Nina Bowman, the Lei Queen, sat perched on an elevated platform swathed in leis and surrounded by her lei-bedecked court.⁶²

Like the Bank of Hawaii, Castle & Cooke, also had architectural roots in Honolulu's CBD. The company's occupancy of various downtown buildings during the nineteenth century, including the Stangenwald Building (1901) on Merchant Street, explains the company's architectural trajectory to the Financial Plaza of the Pacific. The Stangenwald Building, a six-story, Renaissance Revival style structure designed by Dickey, provided the first high-rise, elevator-equipped, fireproof building for prominent island businesses.⁶³ [Fig. 5.28] However, in 1924, Castle & Cooke invested in a new headquarters (non-extant) at the corner of Merchant and Bishop Streets to accommodate its growing business. The architect, Hart Wood, known for developing the Hawaiian regional aesthetic along with Dickey at the 1929 Alexander & Baldwin Building, built the offices of Castle & Cooke with a neoclassical aesthetic. The imposing five-story structure with colonnades of colossal granite Ionic columns defined the building's facade. The classical block was generously fenestrated with rectangular windows, while an attic story above the main entablature provided additional space. The company's moniker stretched along the entablature above the columns that faced Merchant Street. [Fig. 5.29] The neoclassical design of the 1920s is further evidence of the ways in which architectural regionalism and revivalism coexisted in the early territorial years and of Castle & Cooke's architectural heritage in Honolulu.

⁶² "A Brief History of the Bank of Hawaii," (Honolulu: Bank of Hawaii, 1972). Lei Day (or May Day) is still celebrated across the islands with festivals, lei making contests, and May Day pageants held in schools across the state. See Trisha Kehaulani Watson, "Hawaii celebrates Lei Day through festivals, pageants," *The Gold Standard* (May 2, 2013): <http://www.fkgoldstandard.com/content/hawaii-celebrates-lei-day-through-festivals-pageants>

⁶³ Dr. Hugo Stangenwald, an 1854 transplant to Hawai'i from Austria, was the patron and namesake of the building. The Stangenwald Building became the preeminent location for 19th century businesses in Honolulu. The Henry Waterhouse Trust, B.F. Dillingham, Alexander and Baldwin, and C. Brewer Companies were all housed here. See Mike Leidemann, "Honolulu's first high-rise turns 100," *Honolulu Advertiser* (January 26, 2001): <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/2001/Jan/26/126islandlife1.html>

The CBD's redevelopment during the 1960s sought to reinvigorate the architectural heritage of the district and reestablish it as the center of the state's business economy. Companies at the Financial Plaza of the Pacific assisted in this process by establishing their offices in the CBD which, in turn, brought workers to the district. The 1966 employment census recorded that 17,000 individuals worked in the CBD. By 1969, one year after the completion of the Financial Plaza of the Pacific, the work force had reached 30,000.⁶⁴ This, despite the flight of Honolulu residents to the suburbs. The Financial Plaza of the Pacific not only reflected a post-statehood employment and financial boom but also welcomed public audiences with a functional modernist aesthetic of open-air spaces and artworks. As the corporate inhabitants of the center, Castle & Cooke, the Bank of Hawaii, and American Savings Bank reflected what William P. Lineberry, the associate editor of the Foreign Policy Association, predicted in 1963: "The rise of mainland influence in Island affairs...should not obscure the fact that a number of bright and dynamic individuals, Hawaiian by birth or adoption, are also effectively reshaping the fiftieth state from within."⁶⁵

Hawaii World Trade Center

Lineberry's observation was timely given the initiatives put forward by local Honolulu business leaders and Hawai'i state government officials to develop Honolulu Harbor as a world trade center. Advocates asserted that the history of international commercial exchange at Honolulu Harbor made it a prime location for international business. Local developers, Governor George Ariyoshi (term: 1974-1986), and the Department of Planning and Economic Development

⁶⁴ Michael M.M. McElroy, "A Preservation Plan for Honolulu's Financial District Landmarks" (M.A. Thesis, Urban and Regional Planning, University of Hawai'i, September 1974), 10.

⁶⁵ William P. Lineberry, *The New States: Alaska and Hawaii* (New York: The H.W. Wilson Company, 1963), 178.

advocated for growth and expansion at the site due to the large size of the harbor's piers and its location adjacent to the CBD and Civic Center.

The historical record of Honolulu Harbor dates back to 1794, when Captain William Brown of the British Royal Navy anchored on its shores with his English frigate, *Butterworth*. For the next three decades the harbor served as a foreign docking port. Kamehameha I (r. 1736-1819) requested the construction of a fort at the harbor in 1816 in order to protect Honolulu from undesirable ships, traders, and travelers. By 1843, British and French sailors in the region utilized the fort and Honolulu Harbor. The next six decades were marked by harbor improvements and upgrades that allowed for easier access to the harbor and more efficient modes of docking. However, the most significant alterations occurred after the United States annexed the Hawaiian Islands. Concrete piers replaced old wooden wharves, the channel entering the harbor was widened, and the harbor dredged to allow for the passage of large ships.⁶⁶

Soon thereafter, the territorial government established the Honolulu Port Authority to ensure the efficient mobility of goods and people at the harbor, coordinate infrastructural improvements, preserve existing structures, and erect new harbor facilities. In 1920, the Port Authority hired Arthur Reynolds to construct its offices at Honolulu Harbor. The architect designed the 184-foot Aloha Tower (1926) for the Port Authority, which specifically requested a building visible from the sea and sky. **[Fig. 5.30]** The concrete reinforced structure located at Pier 10 has a base-pedestal configuration. The base has an arched opening at each of the four cardinal faces that are punctuated with small molded imposts. Vertical members accent the tower at each of the four corners which terminate at the apex of the tower with four small, gable-shaped

⁶⁶ Charles R. Sutton and Associates, Inc., "Aloha Tower Plaza and the Hawaii World Trade Center," 333-336 (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa: NA6212 .C52 1979).

caps. These caps sit perched atop each corner of the single, large, and pointed gable in the center. Three vertical bands of windows divided by solid strips of concrete separate the vertical members at the corners of the tower. Four clocks, each weighing seven tons, surmount the windows. An observation deck marked with the word “Aloha” occupies the uppermost level of the structure.⁶⁷ The streamlined cubic form of the Aloha Tower reflects art deco styling, but the structure’s height and columnar appearance gives it a modernistic Gothic designation. The automatic electric light at the top of the tower illuminates the harbor and ushers in long-journeying travelers. Moreover, the arched openings at the base of the tower signal the colonial trope of the triumphal arch located at the edge of the city as a sign of welcome. Just as the British Raj honored King George V and Queen Mary’s visit to Mumbai, India in 1911 with the Gateway to India, so too did the Aloha Tower at Honolulu Harbor welcome sailors, dignitaries, and tourists to Honolulu. Over the years, the Aloha Tower became the welcoming symbol of Hawai‘i.

Charles R. Sutton & Associates (Sutton & Association) devised a plan to utilize this location as a world trade center that would operate as a public multifunctional site to house offices, exhibition spaces, retail businesses, hotels, and educational facilities.⁶⁸ Hastings, Martin, Hallstrom, & Chew, the appraisers and consulting land economists for Sutton & Associates, dispatched inspectors in 1976 to world trade centers throughout the U.S. mainland. The firm determined it necessary to gather information about various types of world trade centers on the U.S. mainland because no standard definition for a “world trade center” existed at the time. The

⁶⁷ “Honolulu High Capacity Transit Corridor Project,” prepared by Mason Architects (Honolulu, 2008): http://historic.honolulutransit.org/files/documents/doe_form_aloha_tower.pdf

⁶⁸ Charles Sutton received an architecture degree from the Cranbrook Academy of Art. He worked in the New York office of I.M. Pei, as well as the Washington, D.C. and Honolulu offices of John Carl Warnecke during the 1960s. After starting his own firm in 1968, Sutton produced various structures in Hawai‘i including the Wailana Place Condominium (1970), Ilaniwai (1978), and Wailea Golf Clubhouse (1978). See “Hawaii Modernism Context Study,” 4-129.

inspectors meet with city officials, administrators, and architects in New Orleans, Dallas, Houston, Baltimore, and New York City. Their findings revealed that world trade centers meant different things in different locations because they were constructed in response to the specific needs of a city. Thus, the design and format for a world trade center site can vary from a convention hall to a trade mart to standard office spaces. The inspectors and architects determined that the variability of world trade center designs left open a space for architects to craft “different functional orientations” according to the patron’s needs and desires.⁶⁹

Sutton & Associates determined the structure and function for a world trade center in Honolulu based on the inspection trip findings by Hastings, Martin, Hallstrom, & Chew. Their report concluded:

The World Trade Center will bring together services which facilitate communication between American and foreign business, will provide information to the business community on methods of doing business abroad, language translation services, a meeting place, conference center, exhibit areas, as well as office and exhibit space for lease to international and local businesses. The World Trade Center in Hawaii is not at this stage considered a “merchandise mart”; however the display of local as well as foreign products and trade offices may be part of the center. Hawaii is considered as area of transition between Asian and Pacific countries and the mainland United States, and can provide via the World Trade Center, conference facilities, information, and services which will fulfill that intermediary role.⁷⁰

The architectural firm proposed a three-step incremental plan to see the Hawaii World Trade Center to fruition. **[Figs. 5.31]** Increment I kept the Aloha Tower as the primary landmark of the harbor. They allotted two acres surrounding the tower as open plaza space with an additional acre relegated to park use. The remainder of the plan called for a galleria, commercial arcade, public exhibition area, passenger terminal, and access to public transportation. Increment II focused specifically on Pier 8 as the site of the World Trade Center Building. The proposal did

⁶⁹ Charles R. Sutton and Associates, Inc., “Aloha Tower Plaza and the Hawaii World Trade Center” (University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa: NA6212 .C52 1979).

⁷⁰ Ibid, 177-179.

not offer a specific design for the structure although two vague options were presented. The first called for an eight-story structure; the second recommended an eight-story base with a 20-story tower. Finally, Increment III concentrated on Pier 11 as the site for a hotel. The firm suggested three alternatives for the hotel design. “Alternative A” called for a seven-story low-rise structure near the Aloha Tower end with 400 rooms and a rooftop deck. The other end of the hotel would be capped with a tower. “Alternative B” and “Alternative C” increased the height of the tower and the capacity of the hotel to 560 rooms and 720 rooms, respectively.⁷¹ [Figs. 5.32]

Following the Sutton Report, the Legislative Auditor of the State of Hawai‘i released its own report in 1979. The government office declared that a world trade center was not ideal for the redevelopment of Honolulu Harbor and its piers. The state report listed three reasons for this decision: “first, there is no evidence that the international trade activities...will help diversify or expand the economy...second, the demand for office space...is likely to be quite small; third, the size of the office building...is out of all proportion to the space needed.”⁷² The report suggested that the Hawaii World Trade Center allotted too much square footage for trade-related activities. Whereas world trade centers averaged between 100,000 to 250,000 square feet of space, consultants for the State of Hawai‘i determined the need for only 11,000-21,000 square feet. The auditor noted the economic infeasibility in sustaining harbor development with this amount of spatial discrepancy.⁷³

The state report also acknowledged that there was no empirical evidence suggesting that tourists would “be attracted out of Waikiki” or “past the Ala Moana Center” even if the world

⁷¹ Ibid, 62-64.

⁷² Legislative Auditor of the State of Hawai‘i, “Evaluation of the Proposed Hawaii World Trade Center: A Report to the Legislature of the State of Hawaii,” (Honolulu, 1979): 24 (University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa: HJ9933.A238 no.79-4).

⁷³ Ibid, 39.

trade center were to incorporate retail space as an appendage of the tourist economy.⁷⁴ To be successful, a Hawaii World Trade Center would have to allocate space and financial resources for a public museum, aquarium, or other large-scale attraction. A hotel would not solve the problem, either, because funding a hotel was fraught with “risk and uncertainty” since tourists and business travelers could elect to stay in nearby downtown Honolulu.⁷⁵ With these considerations in mind, the state legislature failed to support the proposal for a Hawaii World Trade Center at Honolulu Harbor. Nevertheless, although the project remained unbuilt, the Hawaii World Trade Center epitomized the scale that Honolulu’s businesses and Hawai‘i’s state government envisioned commercial development in the capital city.

Conclusion

Honolulu struggled to reconcile its cultural designation as a “paradise of the Pacific” with the realities of its urban environment during the 1950s and 1960s. The city needed to reflect the economic vibrancy of the era through its architecture and urban spaces. While some developers and businesses elected to move out of the city center as a means of responding to rapid suburbanization, other businesses with deeply rooted historical ties to the CBD sought to reinvigorate the district. In so doing, diverse audiences gained access to commercial and retailing options throughout O‘ahu. Promoting Hawai‘i’s economic viability at the Ala Moana Center and the Financial Plaza of the Pacific was particularly important for an era in which the tourist industry dictated the majority of new construction in Honolulu.

⁷⁴ Ibid, 41.

⁷⁵ Ibid, 43.



Fig. 5.1. Victor Gruen, Southdale, Edina, Minnesota, 1953-1956

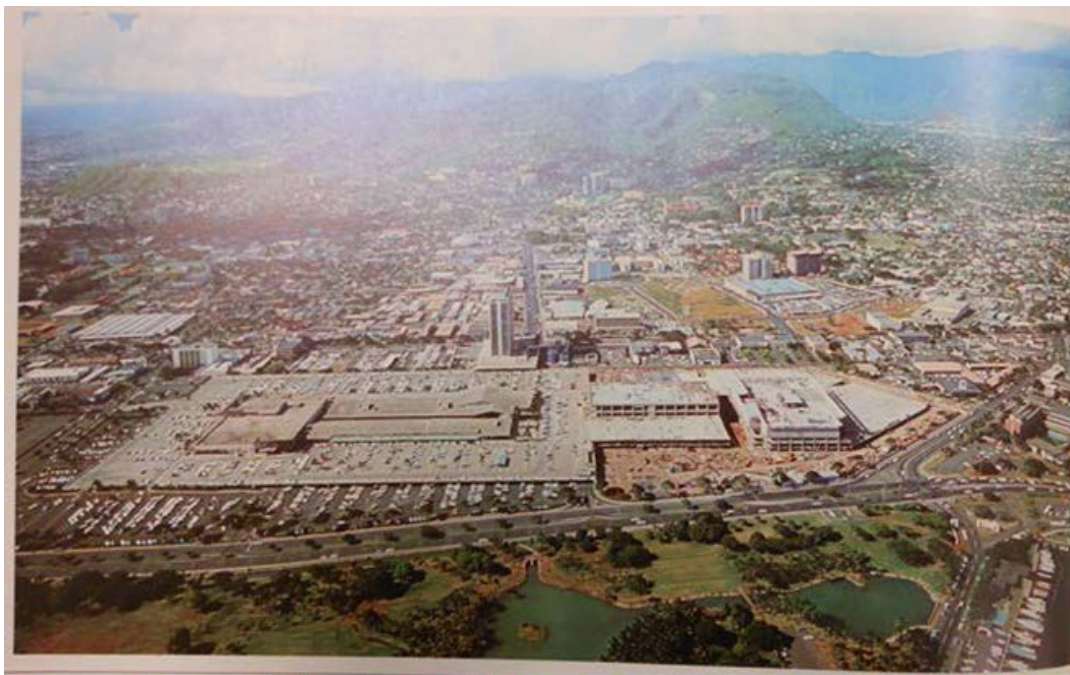


Fig. 5.2. John Graham and Company, Ala Moana Center, Ala Moana, Hawai'i, 1959-1966

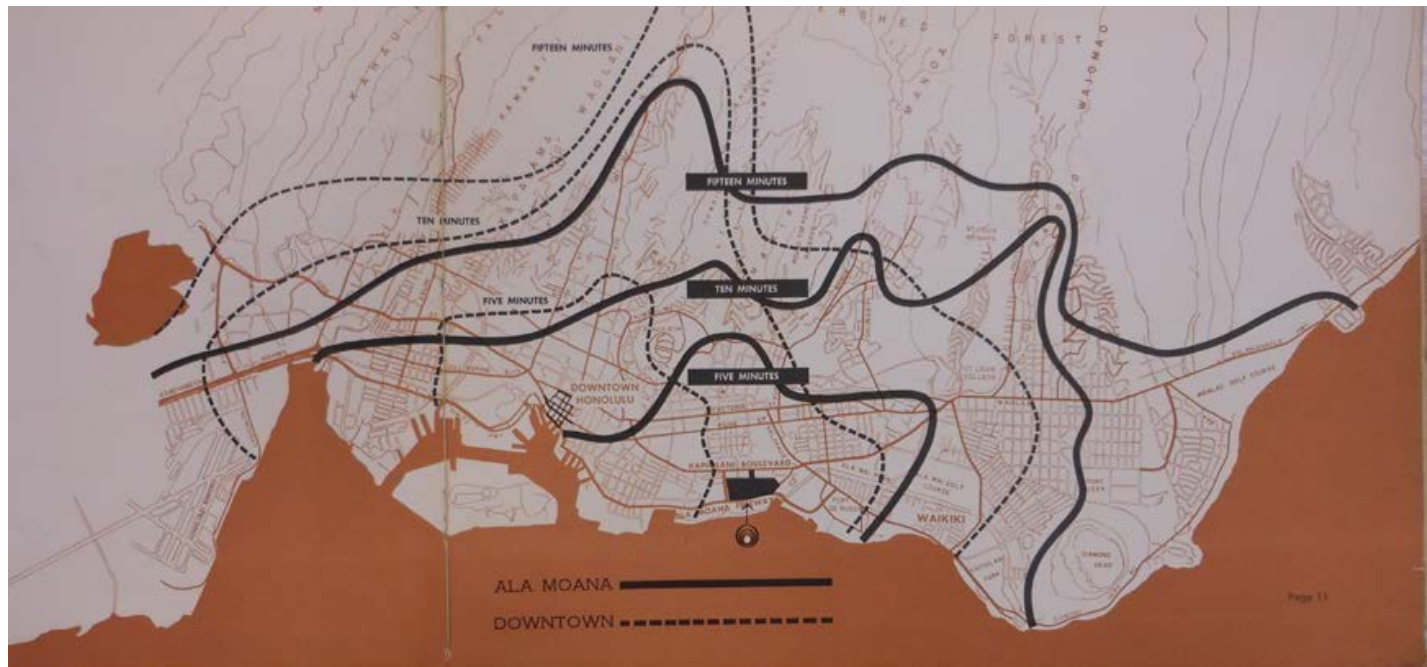


Fig. 5.3. Distance Map

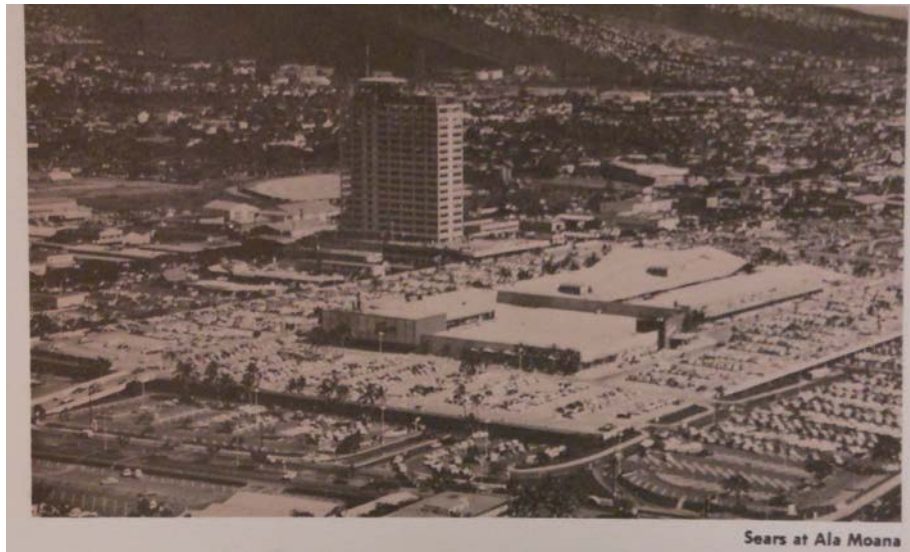


Fig. 5.4. Sears at the Ala Moana Center, Ala Moana, Hawai'i, ca. 1960s



Fig. 5.5. McNerny's at the Ala Moana Center, Ala Moana, Hawai'i, ca. 1960s



Fig. 5.6. Louis Sullivan, Carson Pirie Scott, Chicago, Illinois, 1899-1904

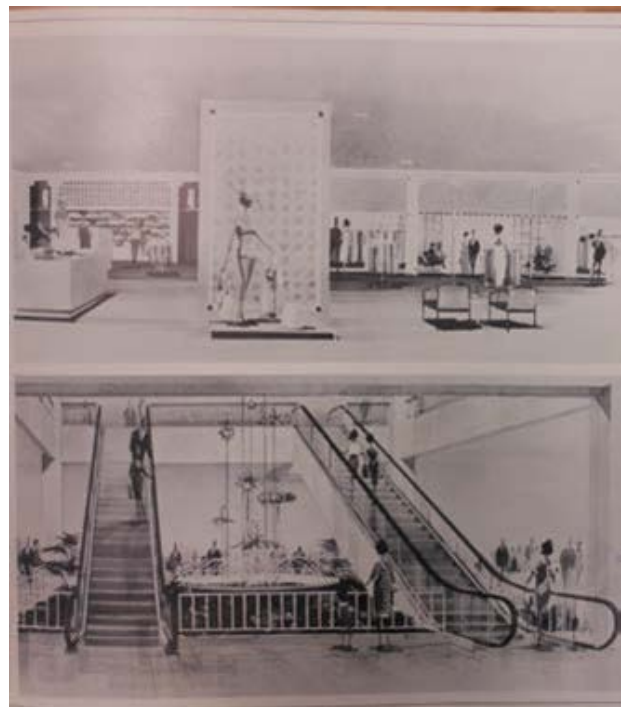


Fig. 5.7. Liberty House at Ala Moana Center, Ala Moana, Hawai'i, ca. 1966

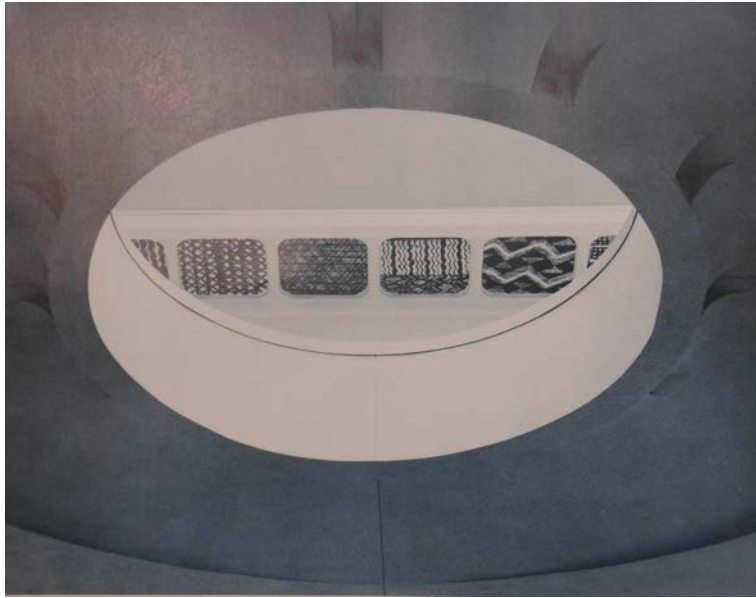


Fig. 5.8. Donald G. Wilcox, Liberty House *kapa* panels, Ala Moana Center, Ala Moana, Hawai‘i, ca. 1966

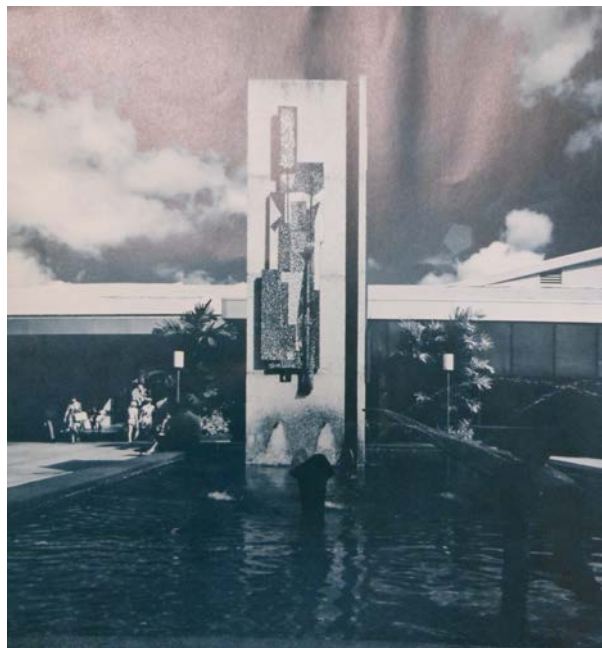


Fig. 5.9. Bumpei Akaji, *Fountain of the Gods*, Ala Moana Center, Ala Moana, Hawai‘i, ca. 1966



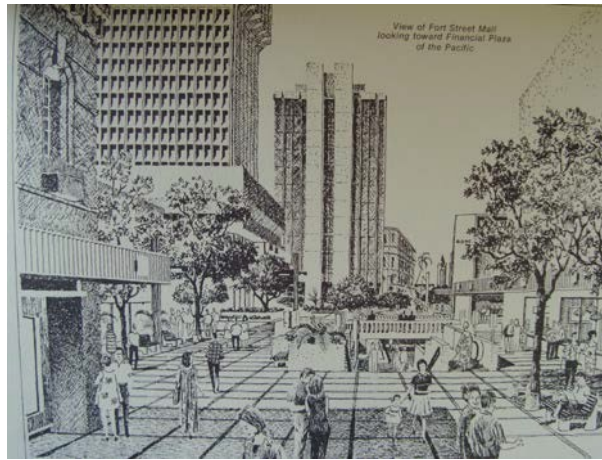
Fig. 5.10. Edward Brownlee, *Pool of the Petroglyphs*, Ala Moana Center, Ala Moana, Hawai'i, ca. 1966



Fig. 5.11. Coral Reef Restaurant, Ala Moana Center, Ala Moana, Hawai'i, 1966



Fig. 5.12. Leo S. Wou & Associates and Victor Gruen Associates, Financial Plaza of the Pacific, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1968



Figs. 5.13-5.15. Victor Gruen, Central Business District Drawings, Honolulu, Hawai'i, ca. 1960s



Fig. 5.16. Leo S. Wou & Associates and Victor Gruen Associates, Bank of Hawaii (Financial Plaza of the Pacific), Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1968



Fig. 5.17. Leo S. Wou & Associates and Victor Gruen Associates, Castle & Cooke (Financial Plaza of the Pacific), Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1968
Presently: Pacific Century Tower



Fig. 5.18. Leo S. Wou & Associates and Victor Gruen Associates, American Savings (Financial Plaza of the Pacific), Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1968



Fig. 5.19. Paul Rudolph, Yale Art and Architecture Building, New Haven, Connecticut, 1963



Fig. 5.20. Tony Bernard Rosenthal, *Kepaakala*, the Financial Plaza of Pacific, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1970, bronze and steel



Fig. 5.21. Arnaldo Pomodoro, *Columns*, the Financial Plaza of the Pacific, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1969, bronze, stainless steel, and concrete



Fig. 5.22. Bertram Goodhue, Bank of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1927



Fig. 5.23. Lee Lawrie, *Canoe Builders*, Bank of Hawaii (Financial Plaza of the Pacific), Honolulu, Hawai'i, ca. 1960s, bronze bas relief



Fig. 5.24. Lee Lawrie, *The Seiners*, Bank of Hawaii (Financial Plaza of the Pacific), Honolulu, Hawai'i, ca. 1960s, bronze bas relief

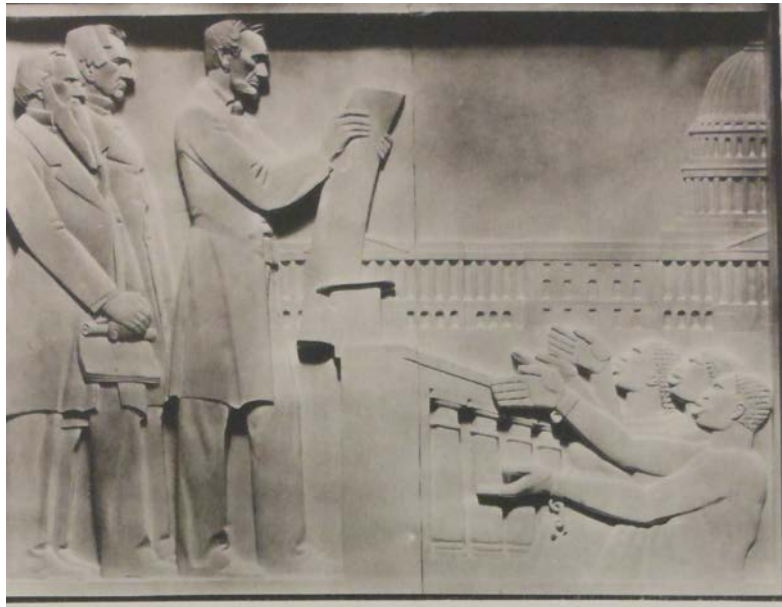


Fig. 5.25. Lee Lawrie, *Emancipation Proclamation*, Nebraska State Capitol, ca. 1920s-1930s

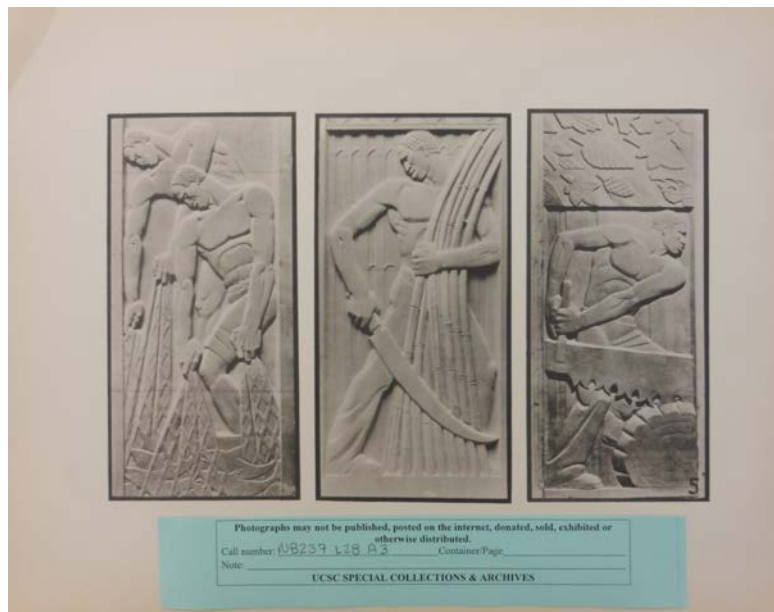


Fig. 5.26. Lee Lawrie, *Negro Workmen*, Louisiana State Capitol, Baton Rouge, Louisiana, ca. 1920s-1930s

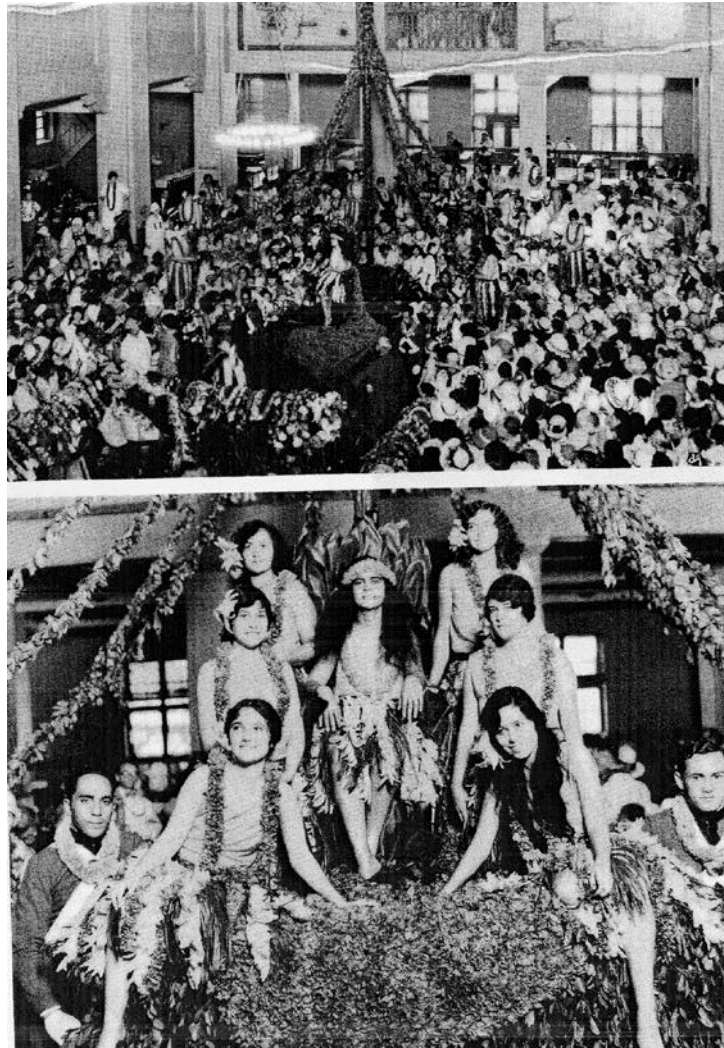


Fig. 5.27. Lei Day Pageant, Bank of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawai'i, May 1, 1928



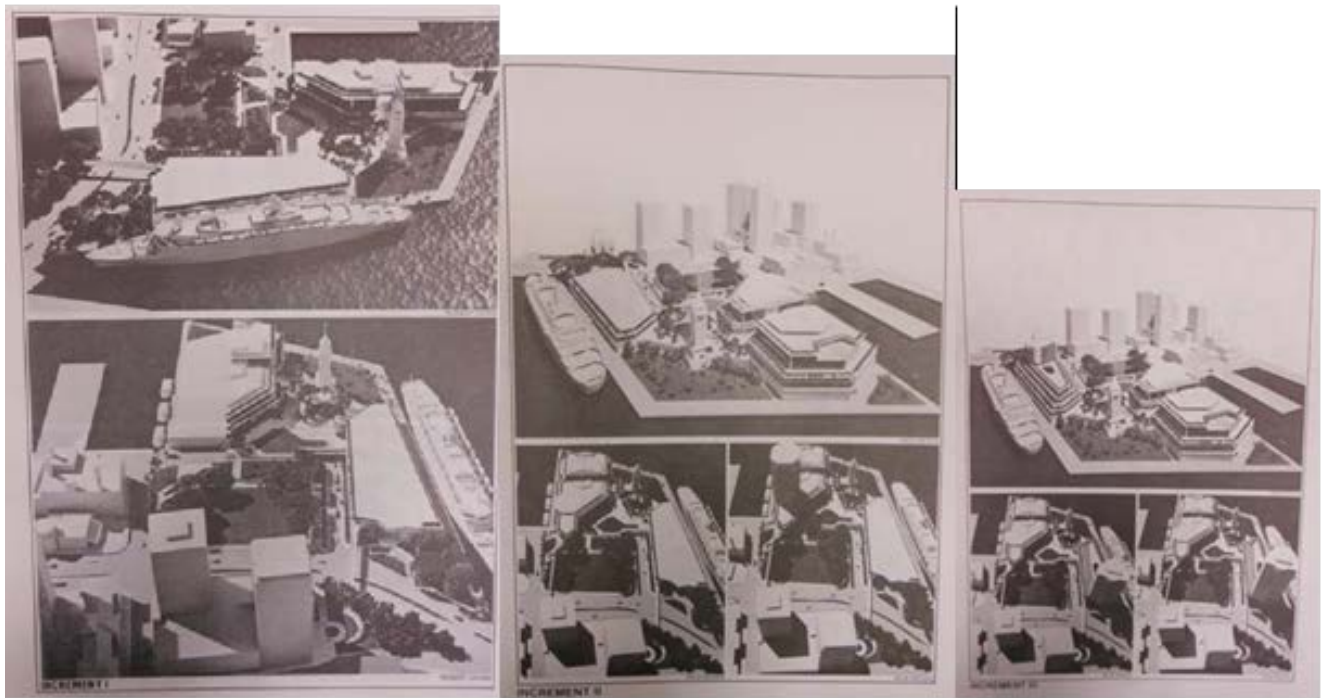
Fig. 5.28. Charles Dickey, Stangenwald Building, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1901



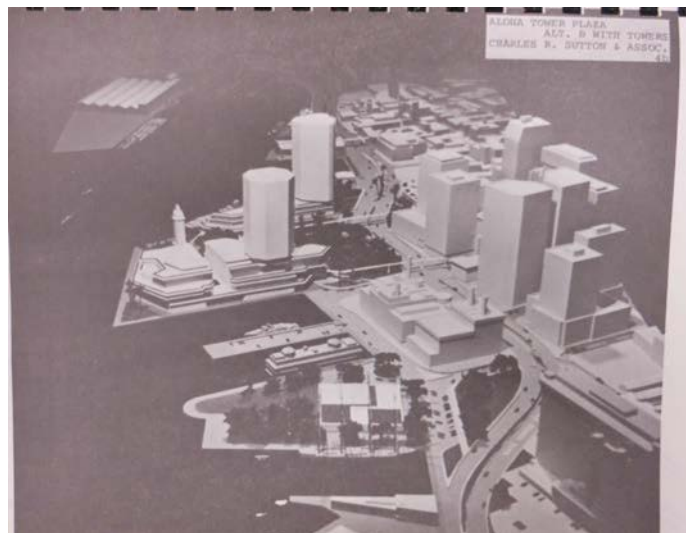
Fig. 5.29. Hart Wood, Castle & Cooke Building, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1924



Fig. 5.30. Arthur Reynolds, Aloha Tower, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1926



Figs. 5.31. Charles R. Sutton, Increment I, II, III for the Hawaii World Trade Center, 1979



Figs. 5.32. Charles R. Sutton, “Alternative A and Alternative B” for the Hawaii World Trade Center, 1979

Chapter 6

Building for Tourism

Keiko Ohnuma's "Aloha Spirit and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging"

(2008) summarizes the findings of many Hawaiian scholars who have researched the meaning and origins of *aloha*. It is worth quoting Ohnuma at length:

The term "aloha," according to a number of Hawaiian sources, did not have its current prominence in precontact Hawai'i. Michele Nalani Ahlo reported that older Hawaiians she interviewed for her 1996 master's thesis on the "Aloha Spirit Past and Present" told her the word was not used much by previous generations, and that it was "a slang" taken up by tourists. [George S.] Kanahale reported, in perhaps the only treatise on the subject, that while the root word is found throughout Polynesia to mean love, compassion, sympathy, or kindness (*aroha* in Māori, *alofa* in Samoan, *aroha* in Tahitian, etc), its earliest recorded uses in Hawai'i emphasized "love of kin," which included ancestors. Aloha also is used in expressions that describe the welcome that should be extended to strangers...The term plays a similarly secondary role in the canonical contemporary account of postcontact history written by a Native Hawaiian, Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa's *Native Land and Foreign Desires*. Kame'eiehiwa expanded on a number of metaphors central to the ordering of ancient Hawaiian society; aloha is not one of them.¹

Ohnuma contends that generations of Western settlers in Hawai'i seized upon *aloha* as a way to describe how islanders were expected to behave as welcoming Polynesians. *Aloha* is the product of Western revisionist history that is "not so much a traditional outpouring as a product of careful strategy and experimentation."² *Aloha* is a part of a manufactured Western discourse that brands the people and the landscape of Hawai'i with a sense of warmth, hospitality, and generosity that fulfills the visitor's (read: customer's) desire for an "authentic" island experience.

¹Portions of this chapter first appeared in *Colonial Frames, Nationalist Histories* (2012).

Keiko Ohnuma, "Aloha Spirit" and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 2 (Fall 2008): 367. See also Michele Nalani Ahlo, "Aloha Spirit Past and Present: Two Generations of Native Hawaiians Discuss the Issue of Aloha in the Context of Cultural Crisis," (M.A. Thesis, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 1996), 11, 65, 105; George S. Kanahale, "Aloha: Fact and Fiction," *Honolulu Advertiser* (January 30, 1968): B3 and *Kū Kanaka, Stand Tall: A Search for Hawaiian Values* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press and Waiaha Foundation, 1986), 470, 477, 479; Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā e Pono ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

² Ohnuma, 368.

Stephanie Nohelani Teves further problematizes the concept of *aloha* in “Aloha State Apparatuses” (2015). In this article, she frames *aloha* within ideological discourses emanating from state institutions and actors. In her estimation, U.S. systems of power that led to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the subsequent establishment of U.S. territorial and state governments in Hawai‘i also participated in crafting and maintaining the tourist industry, specifically hula shows as performances that display Pacific Islander bodies. Government systems have perpetuated the notion that Hawaiians were adept at “performing culture and physical labor.”³ She notes, however, that the tourist and non-Hawaiian experience in Hawai‘i has shifted over time. Instead of *aloha* as a ritualized performance signifying Hawaiian cultural difference, it embodies a “so-called kindness” that extends beyond Hawaiians to include the ethnically diverse, multicultural, and military populations of Hawai‘i.⁴ Teves makes the link between *aloha*, the state, and tourism in her discussion about Hawai‘i’s designation as the “Aloha State”: “the intertwining of aloha with the state created the ruse that the state represented the interests of aloha and coded aloha as the epitome of what is “Hawaiian” to an increasingly globalized media...The naming of the state in this manner solidified institutional support of aloha, and the statist imperative to perform aloha implored citizens or subjects to perform aloha as a requirement of civic participation and to function within a capitalist system.”⁵

This chapter discusses how *aloha* has played out on O‘ahu’s waterfronts both implicitly and explicitly. Waikīkī, Pearl Harbor, and Honolulu Harbor are sites in which the tourist industry and local government have utilized perceptions about Hawaiian culture and the islands political position within U.S. history to construct locations for leisure, pleasure, and education. Waikīkī’s

³ Stephanie Nohelani Teves, “Aloha State Apparatuses,” *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (September 2015): 709.

⁴ Ibid, 710.

⁵ Ibid, 711.

iconic Moana and Royal Hawaiian Hotels, the USS *Arizona* Memorial at Pearl Harbor, and the Aloha Tower Marketplace at Honolulu Harbor exemplify the ways in which architectural construction supports Hawai‘i’s tourist industry and contributes to the narrative of Hawai‘i as the “Aloha State.”

The Resort Era

Waikīkī is home to the tourist glamour associated with the Hawaiian Islands. Waikīkī, which had served as wetland agriculture and aquaculture for Native Hawaiians since 1400 C.E., had become an upscale residential district and resort community as the result of a series of reclamation projects during the 1920s. Key among them was construction of the 3-mile, 250-foot-wide, 10- to 25-foot-deep Ala Wai Canal. This manmade structure allowed for the transformation of rice fields and duck ponds into viable land so that beachfront properties could extend to the adjacent Kalākaua Avenue.⁶ By 1922 the Waikiki Improvement Commission and the Honolulu Board of Supervisors had also approved a plan for a series of boulevards that crossed a grid of narrow residential streets, with Kalākaua Avenue serving as its southern boundary.⁷

Through these developments Waikīkī became a center of entertainment, with magnificent hotels and modern conveniences for visitors, travelers, and the local elite.⁸ While its skyline and economy were dominated by the Moana (1901) and Royal Hawaiian (1927) hotels, smaller, but no less elegant cottage-style lodgings and boarding houses also appeared, including the Halekūlani (1883) and the Pierpont (1911). [Figs. 6.1-6.3] Typical of the architecture of the time, these structures employed large frames, pitched roofs, lava rock columns, and open internal and external spaces. The urban cosmopolitanism of these structures echoed the diversity of private

⁶ Masakazu Ejiri, “The Development of Waikiki, 1900-1949: The Formative Period of an American Resort Paradise” (Ph.D. diss., American Studies, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1996), 234, 244.

⁷ Johnson, 311. See also Hibbard and David Franzen, *The View from Diamond Head*, 106.

⁸ “All About Hawai‘i,” Standard Tourist Guide, 29.

residences that filled out the district. Among these, the colonial-style dwellings of Pualeilani, Kūhiō's beachfront property, illustrates the assortment of architectural influences that permeated the territory. [Fig.6.4]

Structures that housed the leisure activities of Waikīkī were similarly diverse in appearance. Bathhouses such as the Long Branch Baths (1881) and Outrigger Canoe Club (1908) offered each consumer a towel, a bathing suit, dressing room, and a private section of beach from which to swim or participate in surfing and outrigger canoeing. While many of these baths on the shores of Waikīkī operated from simple wooden sheds, the prestigious Outrigger Canoe Club hired the architectural firm of Ripley and Davis to erect an elevated, thatched-roof, pavilion-like clubhouse with open-air spaces.⁹ [Fig. 6.5] After residents and tourists left the beach, they could sample the other recreational offerings of the district, including the Honolulu Aquarium, Honolulu Zoo, Aloha Amusement Park, and Waikiki Theater.

In much the same way that the space of downtown Honolulu was appropriated from indigenous convention and reconstructed by territorial authorities, so too was the sacred and recreational space of Waikīkī. Downtown Honolulu and Waikīkī shared the attention of American settlers as critical spaces for the United States in the Pacific. As L.E. Pinkham, president of the Board of Health, remarked early in the territorial era, “Waikiki to the extent the beach front will permit, is the choice part of the city of Honolulu...”¹⁰ Streetcars labeled “Waikiki” could be boarded at any west corner along King Street. Passengers discharged along the major thoroughfare of Waikīkī, Kalākaua Avenue. Originally named Waikiki Road, this street was renamed by the territorial government, which thought it pertinent to commemorate the

⁹ Hibbard and Franzen, 52-77.

¹⁰ L.E. Pinkham, *Reclamation of the Waikiki District of the City of Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii: Recommendations—Maps—Plans and Specifications* (Hawaiian Gazette, Co., Ltd., February 21, 1906), 9.

former monarch during “whose reign Hawai‘i made great advancements in material prosperity.”¹¹ More significantly, the renaming transcribed Western conventions of memorialization in the Hawaiian landscape.

Kalākaua Avenue thus became a marker of Western inhabitation, one that indicated the colonial and imperial condition of Hawai‘i. The Royal Hawaiian Hotel on Kalākaua Avenue is an explicit architectural manifestation of this process. The Waikīkī hotel added to downtown Honolulu’s drive for statehood in the 1920s as evinced by the Federal Building, Honolulu Hale, and Territorial Office Building. Thus, just as the territorial prerogatives of downtown Honolulu were visually layered into the memory of an indigenous past, so too were colonial building practices assimilated to the landscape of Waikīkī.

Following the success of the Moana Hotel (1901), which ushered in the resort era of Waikīkī, the Royal Hawaiian, owned by the Territorial Hotel Company, opened its doors in 1927. Its Spanish Baroque, Mission-styled design was the work of the New York firm Warren & Wetmore, famed for the Ritz-Carlton, Biltmore, Belmont, Vanderbilt, Commodore, Chatham, and Ambassador Hotels in that city.¹² The plan for the Royal Hawaiian was a modified H- shape, in which one of its four-story wings ran parallel to the beach while the other three faced courtyards. The \$5 million, 400-room structure was accented by a grand ballroom, oceanfront gallery, banquet hall, auditorium, and motion-picture theater. Outdoor recreation was provided in the form of tennis and badminton courts, lawn bowling, croquet, and golf courses. The conveniences afforded by the Royal Hawaiian Hotel attracted the Rockefellers, Fords, and Du

¹¹ Steiner, 28.

¹² For more on the architectural works of Warren & Wetmore see Peter Pennoyer and Anne Walker, *The Architecture of Warren & Wetmore* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2006).

Ponts of the era, who chose to make it their home for months at a time.¹³ An advertisement in the *Standard Tourist Guide* dared visitors to experience “the most delightful tourist hostelry in the world. Erected in a Coco Palm Grove, once sacred to Hawai‘i’s Kings, it [the Royal Hawaiian Hotel] offers luxurious comfort and service distinguished by its excellence.”¹⁴

Purposeful recollection in the *Standard Tourist Guide* of the story of Helumoa at the Coco Palm Grove further encouraged visitors of the Royal Hawaiian to embrace a sense of nostalgia for a lost exotic without any diminution of the comfort and technological development the hotel brought to the territory.¹⁵ According to legend, Helumoa was the site where the supernatural rooster Ka‘auhelema flew down from a crater in Pālolo, landed in front of the *mō‘ī* Kākuhihewa, scratched the earth, and disappeared. Right there on the beaches of Waikīkī, Kākuhihewa planted a coconut grove that designated the location as a special precinct for Hawai‘i’s *ali‘i*. For many centuries the grove at Helumoa had provided a shady place of residence and a playground for the most privileged native Hawaiians. It is reasonable to suggest that the legacy of Helumoa was explicitly adopted by Western financiers to entice wealthy tourists to cultivate their own fantasies of regal experience at the Royal Hawaiian.¹⁶ In fact, a similar strategy had already been employed at the Moana Hotel with references to Ulukou. As the site where four fifteenth-century healers from Tahiti were said to have brought health and well-being to Hawai‘i, Ulukou was purported to offer an analogous vision of exotic privilege for visitors to the Moana.

¹³ Hibbard, *Designing Paradise*, 41-45.

¹⁴ “All About Hawai‘i,” *Standard Tourist Guide*, 43.

¹⁵ Herman, “The Aloha State,” 77.

¹⁶ Andrea Feeser and Gaye Chan, *Waikīkī: A History of Forgetting and Remembering* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2006), 63-72.

As Sylvia Shorto has argued, colonial adaptations in architecture are hybrids of material culture that occupy a continuum of time and space between societies.¹⁷ As embodied by the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, architecture became the conduit by which Waikīkī developed into a commodified venue that negotiated interstices between an “authentic” native experience and familiarity with distinctively Western architectural forms. But architecture was not the only means by which American settlers positioned territorial Hawai‘i as a union of past and present, Western and non-Western. In fact, the “hula girl” was often the first encounter that visitors had with the islands. Such a familiar figure reflected the complex relationship between the “authentic” and the present territorial condition.

According to Jane C. Desmond, the hula girl represented Hawai‘i “in the flesh”; she welcomed travelers disembarking from ships or planes by draping leis around their necks and posing for photographs to document their arrival.¹⁸ Hula girls were the epitome of soft primitives, the perfect welcoming figures to signal escape from the tedium of modernity. But more than this, hula girls participated in what Imada has called “imagined intimacy.” Rather than the performance of hula as a commemoration of ancient oral traditions, achievements, and genealogies, imagined intimacy promised an offering of *aloha* through affection and veneration to the United States. The benevolent narratives relayed through hula, steel guitars, ‘ukuleles, and grass skirts made the territory in the distant Pacific palatable to American audiences while also making the effects of American expansion seem benign.¹⁹

¹⁷ Sylvia Shorto, “A Tomb of One’s Own: The Governor’s House, Lahore,” in *Colonial Modernities: Building, dwelling and architecture in British India and Ceylon*, Peter Scriver and Vikramaditya Prakash, eds. (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 151.

¹⁸ Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 94-97.

¹⁹ Imada, 114-117.

Beyond the hula girl, Hawaiian culture itself soon became part of an American imperialist nostalgia. As a form of mourning for what the colonial presence had transformed, the tourist industry in Hawai‘i marketed Western constructs of royalty and pleasure through the exploitation of native people and the adaptive reuse of terrain. The opening-night ceremony at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel on February 1, 1927, revealed the nature and extent of this activity. Warriors, feather *kāhili* (standards), oarsmen, and island princesses were all organized as elements of a pageant to greet the legendary Kamehameha I with songs, chants, and hula. As the participants in this reenactment approached the beaches of Waikīkī, guests of the Royal Hawaiian who were clad in extravagant tuxedos and gowns awaited on shore. With the exception of Princess Abigail Kawānanakoa and a few other native Hawaiians, however, the majority in attendance were members of Hawai‘i’s Caucasian elite. As Desmond notes, the pageant offered a nod of respect to native Hawaiian history while also functioning as a nostalgic reminder of a romanticized past for those in the audience, not those on the stage.²⁰ Together, the Royal Hawaiian Hotel and the pageant that commemorated its opening were indicative of the market value assigned by Americans to Hawai‘i.

Marguerite Daniels exemplifies American interest in traveling to Hawai‘i during the early territorial years. She was the “anxious tourist” eager to experience Hawai‘i.²¹ Daniels documented her travels to Hawai‘i from San Francisco aboard the *Matsonia* in a 1931 photographic travelogue, now housed at the Hawaiian Historical Society. The Daniels scrapbook seizes upon the “authentic” Hawai‘i that travelers hoped to encounter. Marguerite’s oceanic voyage initiated her Hawaiian experience. Matson menus, business advertisements, sports sheets,

²⁰ Desmond, 92.

²¹ Ron Lindamood used the term “anxious tourist” in the article “Aloha Tower: the liberty statue of the pacific.” See *Paradise of the Pacific* 70, no. 3 (March 1958): 19.

and event programs are displayed in the pages of the scrapbook. The ship's menu is particularly telling in the way that food, like *aloha*, became an ethnic marker. [Fig. 6.6] Along with offering passengers an assortment of hors d'oeuvres, soups, salads, cheeses and entrees, the menu presented "Hawaiian poi" as a culinary option. Poi is a traditional Hawaiian staple made from taro root by pounding it on large flat boards (*papa ku'i'ai*) with stone pounders (*pohaku ku'i'ai*). *Matsonia* voyagers consumed poi as an element of "authentic" Hawaiian culture.

Daniels included images from Honolulu's Civic Center including 'Iolani Palace, Federal Building, and Washington Place as well as photographs of the Aiea Sugar Mill and Royal Hawaiian Hotel in her scrapbook. [Fig. 6.7] She applied decorative *kapa* for the scrapbook's front and back covers. Like the *kapa* utilized for walls of Liberty House at the Ala Moana Center, her use of *kapa* creates a visual link to Hawaiianness that underscores Daniels' presence in the Pacific Islands. That she juxtaposes the *kapa* covers with informational brochures about the *kapa* tradition attests to her desire to decipher the meaning and significance of Hawaiian materials (and culture) on Western terms. [Fig. 6.8]

Hale Koa (House of the Warrior)

Along with serving as Hawai'i's tourist domain for travelers like Daniels, Waikīkī was also a military enclave. The U.S. government established Battery Randolph and Fort DeRussy on the western edge of Waikīkī in 1911 and 1915, respectively. The U.S. military disbanded the use of Fort DeRussy after World War II.²² By 1959, the U.S. Armed Services and the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD) controlled 40%, or 153,989 acres of land, on O'ahu – Fort DeRussy comprised 72 of those acres of prime real estate with an estimated value of \$20-\$43 million. These federal

²² Today, Battery Randolph has transitioned to the Fort DeRussy Army Museum. The steel-reinforced concrete emplacement draws thousands of tourists annually.

agencies elected to erect the Hale Koa (1975), a high-rise hotel to function as a rest and relaxation (R&R) site for service members and their families, on this property.

Initial proposals for the Hale Koa (House of the Warrior) ranged from a low-rise motel to a single high-rise structure. Dissent quickly arose for the former. Members of the Oahu Development Conference claimed that low-rise structures would negatively affect the city's prior plans to accommodate off-street parking. Since this area of Waikīkī was already inhabited by high-rise hotels including the Edgewater (1951), Waikiki Biltmore, and Princess Ka'iulani, it was thought that another high-rise structure would positively contribute to the aesthetic of the community.²³

The Army Corps of Engineers devised plans for the Hale Koa as a \$14 million, 400-room high-rise building. The Corps maintained that money to build the hotel would not come from the territory but from profits garnered from Army exchanges, military theaters, and other post activities. Nevertheless, Honolulu's non-military residents expressed opposition to the construction of the hotel. They claimed that "military men somehow behave as if they were a separate government, that because 'they' bought and developed an area 50 years ago, it should be 'theirs' forever."²⁴ Community leaders suggested that the military should conduct talks with the state government in hopes of rendering a deal whereby some of the land would be for public use. In so doing, communication between Hawai'i's congressional delegation in Washington, D.C. and local businesses were initiated. The point of contact was Senator Daniel Inouye (term: 1963-2002), an ex-soldier with the famed all Japanese 442nd Regiment Combat Team during

²³ Alf Pratte, "To Oahu's two major planners: DeRussy low-rise disappointing," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (September 14, 1967): B8. See also Hibbard, *Designing Paradise*, 76.

²⁴ "DeRussy: Problem or Opportunity," *Honolulu Advertiser* (May 2, 1965): A16.

WWII, who served as a member of the Armed Services Committee. Senator Inouye staunchly supported Fort DeRussy as a location for R&R and secured federal funding for its construction.²⁵

The Hale Koa opened with a Hawaiian ceremony marked by blessings and celebrations – a practice dating back to the opening of the Royal Hawaiian in 1927. [Fig. 6.9] The 14-story Ilima tower had 100,000 square feet of space accommodating 430 guestrooms, meeting spaces, restaurants, and retail shops. The Hale Koa aimed to be an all-inclusive facility with the mission, “To operate a first class hotel and recreation facility at affordable prices for military members and their families.”²⁶ This claim to offer R&R for all service members regardless of rank afforded a level of equality not generally found within the hierarchical organization of the U.S. military. However, restricting public access to the hotel deepened the divide between Hawai‘i’s resident, tourist, and military populations and reflected the primacy of the U.S. military in the State of Hawai‘i.

“Militourism” at the USS *Arizona* Memorial

In March 1961, Elvis Presley deplaned a jet at Honolulu International Airport. He arrived in Hawai‘i from Los Angeles to film *Blue Hawaii*; but, first, Tom Moffat, Presley’s manager, arranged for the singer-actor to perform a concert to benefit the USS *Arizona* Memorial at Pearl Harbor. Presley took the stage in front of 4000 fans at Pearl Harbor’s Bloch Arena to sing fifteen of his greatest hits including “All Shook Up,” “Are you Lonesome Tonight,” and “Hound Dog.” Presley’s concert raised nearly \$54,000 and completed the three year-long fundraising campaign

²⁵ Charles Turner, “DeRussy R&R hotel plan halted: land use dispute indicated,” *Honolulu Advertiser* (June 25, 1970). Kahuku is a small, remote town in the northern part of the island that encompasses approximately three square miles.

²⁶ Hale Koa Hotel, “History,” available at http://www.halekoa.com/about_us/history.cfm
In 1991, a major expansion began at the Hale Koa that included the erection of an additional tower, Maile, on the premises. Other recreational facilities including a swimming pool, two snack bars, a beverage bar, and garden were addressed in the renovations, as was the addition of a parking garage, fitness center, and full service restaurant. The renovations nearly doubled the size of the hotel to 817 guestrooms. Ibid.

by the Pacific War Memorial Commission, which included funds generated by Minnie Pearl of the Grand Ole Opry, the television show *This Is Your Life*, and Senator Inouye, to raise \$500,000 for the USS *Arizona* Memorial.²⁷

Alfred Preis designed the USS *Arizona* Memorial (1961-1962) at the site where 1177 people lost their lives during the December 7, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor.²⁸ [Fig. 6.10] The sunken hull of the USS *Arizona* operates as a base for the white, concrete memorial that stretches horizontally for 184 feet. The linearity of the monument directs the visitor's experience. Guests first disembark from a boat operated by U.S. Navy sailors. They walk across a short plank and enter the memorial through a square opening. They then proceed to the "assembly room," which consists of seven openings on each side and on the roof of the structure. Visitors can look up toward the sky or down on the sunken battleship and the oil remnants that float in the sea. The "assembly room" functions as a site of contemplation before the guest is charged with completing his or her journey by moving toward a white marble wall inscribed with the names of U.S. sailors and Marines who perished on December 7th.

Teresia Teaiwa defines "militourism" as "a phenomenon by which military or paramilitary force ensures the smooth running of a tourist industry, and that same tourist industry masks the military force behind it."²⁹ The USS *Arizona* Memorial, like the Hale Koa,

²⁷ Numerous ideas were put forth about how to commemorate the Pearl Harbor site before Preis' design. As early as 1944, the Pearl Harbor Memorial Trust was established by Hawai'i Governor Ingram Stainback (term: 1942-1951). Members of the community suggested a variety of options that included a memorial garden or park, a 10,000 seat public auditorium, an amphitheater, and a chapel. MacKinnon Simpson, *USS Arizona: Warship, Tomb, Monument* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 2008), 102-104.

²⁸ It is ironic that Alfred Preis was selected as architect for this project. Preis was born in Austria and fled to Hawai'i in 1939 to escape the Nazi regime only to be arrested as a European detainee by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). Preis was separated from his wife and imprisoned at O'ahu's Sand Island Internment Camp for three months during the war. See Ibid, 108.

²⁹ Teresia Teaiwa, "Reading Paul Gauguin's *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau'ofa's *Kisses in the Netherlands*: Militourism, Feminism, and the Polynesian Body," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson, eds. (Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 251.

demonstrates Teaiwa's conclusion that, "The opportunity for rest and recreation that the Pacific Islands have afforded foreign sailors...has been sophisticatedly commodified for tourists in the late twentieth century."³⁰ Visitors pay to be whisked away by U.S. sailors on a boat to a monument that utilizes a historic event to culturally perpetuate the redemptive qualities of American values. Visitors, in a safe and welcoming environment, witness the ultimate "triumph" of American democracy and freedom following wartime devastation. The U.S. military encourages the traveler to remember what Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez calls the "drama of war."³¹ In *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (2013), Gonzalez notes that the processes of touring Pearl Harbor, including the USS *Arizona* Memorial, are "acts that encourage the consumption of a particular version of American history by linking security to pleasure, but are [also] acts that elicit tourist identifications with particular national narratives and versions of patriotism."³² The link between history and narrative makes this militouristic memorial a hybrid space, and what Pierre Nora terms a site of memory (*lieux de mémoire*). The spaces function as a means to "stop time, to inhibit forgetting...to immortalize death," but they only "thrive" because of their "capacity for change, [and] their ability to resurrect old meanings and generate new ones."³³ In this way, the USS *Arizona* Memorial crafts a narrative in which Pearl Harbor functions as a means to repeatedly recall a specific historic moment so as to make the "American" space meaningful for present and future audiences.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 115. Gonzalez's chapter, "Remembering Pearl Harbor," discusses the Pearl Harbor Historic Sites complex operated by the US National Park Service. Gonzalez's theory not only applies to the USS *Arizona* Memorial but to the other locations in the complex including the new Visitor's Center (2011), USS *Bowfin* Submarine Museum and Park (1981), the Battleship *Missouri* Memorial (1998), and the USS *Oklahoma* Memorial (2007). See, 115-145.

³² Ibid, 116-117.

³³ Pierre Nora, *The Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 15.

Aloha at the Harbor

As a result of increased air travel to the islands and popular culture, by the 1970s Americans had attached specific associations to Waikīkī and Pearl Harbor. The same could not be said for Honolulu Harbor despite the Aloha Tower and its early territorial success as the docking port for Matson ships. The city's political leaders and members of the business community expressed a desire to create a site for commerce and public gathering at Honolulu Harbor. After the World Trade Center proposal for Honolulu Harbor failed, local developers, Governor George Ariyoshi (term: 1974-1986), and the Department of Planning and Economic Development advocated for growth and expansion at this waterfront locale due to the large size of the harbor's piers and location adjacent to the CBD and Civic Center.

In 1989, the Aloha Tower Associates (ATA) prevailed in a coordinated bid between the state and private businesses backed by Japanese investors to create a festival marketplace at Honolulu Harbor called the Aloha Tower Marketplace (1994). **[Fig. 6.11]** A festival marketplace is a singular structure that combines commerce, recreation and showmanship. The goal of the enterprise is to restore historic and waterfront districts within urban areas. Festival marketplaces attempt to revive the economic dynamism of historic city cores by investing resources garnered from governments and private businesses. Unlike world trading centers that vary in purpose from office facilities to wholesale trade marts, festival marketplaces are the downtown's answer to the suburban shopping mall. This type of architectural design in urban communities proliferated throughout the United States during the 1970s and 1980s under the general direction of James Rouse. The most prominent festival marketplaces include Harborplace in Baltimore, Maryland (1980), and the South Street Seaport in New York City (1983). These architectural endeavors

merge indoor and outdoor spaces so as to forge public interaction between individuals within dense, urban environments.³⁴

However, researchers such Pauline Maclaran, Stephen Brown, and Lorna Stevens have argued that festival marketplaces are theoretical “pseudospaces.” They contend that these tourist centers are a stand-in for something that never really existed. In “The Utopian Imagination: Spatial Play in a Festival Marketplace,” the authors contend that festival marketplaces recall “an idealised [sic] past through their refurbishment of an historic setting, whilst offering the promise of an idealised [sic] future through the proliferation of consumption fantasies...”³⁵ The Aloha Tower and Aloha Tower Marketplace projected a fantasy in which the *māhele* and the subsequent division of land into private property was relegated to the historical abyss so as to not disrupt the American narrative of Hawai‘i as the “Land of Aloha.”³⁶

³⁴ Jon Goss, “Disquiet on the Waterfront: Reflections on Nostalgia and Utopia in the Urban Archetypes of Festival Marketplaces,” *Urban Geography* 17, no. 3 (1996): 221-247.

³⁵ Pauline Maclaran, Stephen Brown, Lorna Stevens, “The Utopian Imagination: Spatial Play in a Festival Marketplace,” in *European Advances in Consumer Research* 4, Bernard Dubois, Tina M. Lowrey, and L. J. Shrum, Marc Vanhuele, eds., *Association for Consumer Research* (1999): 304-309.

³⁶ The festival marketplace strategy for the Aloha Tower Marketplace failed as a site of public interaction and exchange in the twenty-first century. The Aloha Tower Marketplace faced severe economic challenges in recent years. In 2002, the second owners of the Aloha Tower Marketplace filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy. High rents and the State’s refusal to direct cruise ships to dock at the Aloha Tower Marketplace piers contributed to this action. The lack of parking at the Aloha Tower Marketplace garnered the most complaints. Thus, the same concern expressed by business owners in the CBD during the 1950s and 1960s plagued business owners at the Aloha Tower Marketplace in 2002. AHI Aloha Associates, a Delaware corporation backed by New York-based Apollo Real Estate Advisors LP, eventually bought the complex out of bankruptcy in 2005. However, five years after the mainland firm bailed out the Aloha Tower Marketplace, they looked to sell the property. The failure of the festival marketplace strategy culminated in the 2014-2015 purchase by Hawaii Pacific University (HPU) and decision to redevelop it into 74 housing units where 278 students will reside. The dormitory is set to open in Fall 2015. Moreover, the State still owns the parcel of land and therefore HPU pays the state approximately \$1 million a year. See: Andrew Pereira, “HPU’s re- development of Aloha Tower Marketplace taking shape” (May 11, 2015): <http://www.kitv.com/news/HPU-s-re-development-of-Aloha-Tower-Marketplace-taking-shape/32955332>; Andrew Gomes, “Aloha Tower owner files for bankruptcy,” *Honolulu Advertiser* (January 16, 2002): <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2002/Jan/16/bz/bz01a.html>; Erika Engle, “Aloha Tower Marketplace bought out of bankruptcy,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (July 13, 2005): <http://archives.starbulletin.com/2005/07/13/business/story1.html>

The Aloha Tower Marketplace project was organized by five local businessmen who comprised the ATA: Robert H. Gerell, George F. Hutton, Glenn K. Okada, U.J. Rainalter, Jr., and Peter S. Smith. Each member had a broad range of investments in mixed use, resort commercial, historic preservation, retail, hotel, office, and multi-family residential facilities. The ATA selected the Honolulu firm of Aotani & Associates to direct the project. Design teams from Honolulu (Lacayo Architects), Cambridge, Massachusetts (D'Agostino Izzo Quirk Architects), New York City (Ehrenkrantz, Eckstut and Whitelaw), and Oakland, California (Vickerman Zachary Miller) provided additional expertise in festival marketplace development, urban planning, and waterfront architecture.³⁷ ATA also partnered with Enterprise-Hawaii, an affiliate of James Rouses' Enterprise Development Company out of Columbia, Maryland. The ATA depended on the financial backing of two Japanese investment firms – C. Itoh & Co., Ltd. and The Mitsui Trust & Banking Co. Ltd.; they were also supported by the largest financial institution in the United States at that time, GECC Financial Corporation.³⁸

The ATA published “The Plan for the New Harbor” in 1990. The document outlined the benefits that the State of Hawai‘i would gain from their support of a festival marketplace.³⁹ It asserted that the state would receive \$60 million in cash from Japanese investors upon signing the lease at Honolulu Harbor, \$209 million in projected rent through the year 2005, \$63 million worth of public facilities, and \$5 million to account for revenue losses due to construction.⁴⁰ In addition to these financial considerations, the plan defined how the festival marketplace was equipped to contribute to Hawai‘i’s “aloha spirit” by (1) fostering civic pride for the citizens of Honolulu and the State of Hawai‘i, (2) gaining international recognition for Honolulu Harbor as

³⁷ Aloha Tower Associates, *The Plan for the New Harbor* (Honolulu: The Associates, 1990), 9-11.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 8.

a role model for waterfront redevelopment, and (3) establishing “recreational and cultural enrichment for the people of Hawai‘i by taking them back to their beginnings at the water.”⁴¹

Two large, four-story buildings clad in stucco aesthetically define the Aloha Tower Marketplace. The buildings contain over 190,000 square feet of space and are divided by a central corridor. The architects endeavored to create a cohesive environment at the marketplace. Corner towers marked with “ALOHA” and corresponding pier numbers are etched on the outer border of the buildings. Square and rectangular window openings give visual dimension to the otherwise flat surface of the structure. The overhangs and tiled roof speak to the “Hawaiian Style” that dominated throughout the 1920s and 1930s.⁴² The design of the Aloha Tower Marketplace purposefully appealed to a tourist audience. So, too, did its layout, which included five zones of use: the “Retail Zone,” “Restaurant and Café Zone,” “Bazaar Zone,” “Open Air Retail Zone,” and “Maritime Zone.”⁴³

Greg Ambose of the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* noted the marketplace’s attention to historical memory and detail. He maintained that the architects and ATA “made the marketplace seem as if it had always belonged beside Aloha Tower by recreating the graciousness of a bygone era...” in which Matson ships, festive performers, hula girls, music, and shops welcomed individuals at Honolulu Harbor.⁴⁴ People now had a reason to return to the waterfront as “shops linked by flagstone paths and tropical landscaping helps recapture the excitement of

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Andrew Gomes, “Pier Review: 3 decades of trying to revitalize and redevelop the Aloha Tower area have seen far more challenges than change,” *Honolulu Advertiser* (March 9, 2008): F1-F2 . See also Edward R. Aotani and James K. Tsugawa, “At the Water’s Edge: A Festive Approach to Commercial Development,” *Hawaii Architect* (October 1990): 8-10.

⁴³ Aloha Tower Associates, “Aloha Tower Marketplace: Honolulu’s new waterfront retail center,” (1992): 12 (Hawaii State Library: RH 725. 2 A).

⁴⁴ Greg Ambose, “One Particular Harbor,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (September 17, 1994): B1.

Honolulu.”⁴⁵ However, this nostalgic narrative is one that arises from the assigned meanings attached to foreign space by U.S. structures of power that seek to imbue monuments with a sense of ideality that renders indigenous cultural authenticity as figural rather than literal.⁴⁶

Conclusion

This chapter maintains that tourist venues on O‘ahu waterfronts utilize Western ideological constructs of *aloha* to perpetuate the values that Honolulu’s businesses and governments have assigned to landmark locations. While hotels, resorts, festival marketplaces, and war memorials throughout the island lure guests from around the world with the promise of luxury, comfort and native hospitality, the history of American colonialism in Hawai‘i is masked within the architectural environment. Many travelers have unwittingly absorbed U.S. narratives of modernity, progress, and leisure as they take advantage of the architectural environment and infrastructural developments of O‘ahu. Tourism in the Hawaiian Islands has thus reshaped American culture and consumerism. Americans have removed Hawaiiana – from hula to tiki – from its cultural context and translated it according to the perspectives of the mainland. Tourism is therefore not an end in itself, but a mode by which local and state officials craft an image of the city for various actors to explore personal, political, social, economic, and cultural desires both in the Hawaiian Islands and abroad.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ John Frow, “Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia,” *October* 57 (Summer 1991): 125.



Fig. 6.1. Oliver G. Traphagen, Moana Hotel, Waikīkī, Hawai‘i, ca. 1908



Fig. 6.2. Warren & Wetmore, Royal Hawaiian Hotel, Waikīkī, Hawai‘i, 1927



Fig. 6.3. Halekulani Hotel, Waikīkī, Hawai‘i, ca. 1900s



Fig. 6.4. Pualeilani, Home of Kūhio and Elizabeth Kahanu Kalaniana‘ole, Waikīkī, Hawai‘i, 1921



Fig. 6.5. Outrigger Canoe Club, Waikīkī, Hawai'i, ca. 1910s-1920s



Fig. 6.6. Marguerite Daniels Photo Album/Scrapbook, Matson Menu, 1931



Figs. 6.7. Marguerite Daniels Photo Album/Scrapbook, interior photographs, 1931



Fig. 6.8. Marguerite Daniels Photo Album/Scrapbook, *kapa* cover (recto), 1931



Fig. 6.9. Hale Koa Hotel, Waikīkī, Hawai‘i, 1975



Fig. 6.10. Alfred Preis, USS *Arizona* Memorial, Pearl Harbor, Hawai‘i, 1962



Fig. 6.11. Aloha Tower Associates, Aloha Tower Marketplace, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1989-1994

Conclusion

A proliferation of skyscraper construction in downtown Honolulu occurred just as Hawaiians were publicly and nationally advocating for sovereignty and land rights. On January 17, 1993, nearly 15,000 members and supporters of the Hawaiian sovereignty group Ka Lāhui marched to ‘Iolani Palace, acknowledging the one hundred years since the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. Meanwhile, new monumental structures that defined Honolulu’s skyline during the late twentieth-century surrounded them: Stringer Tusher Architects devised the 32-story, pentagon-shaped 1100 Alakea Plaza (1995); David Hart designed the “finest example of Postmodern historicism” at Alii Place (1992); Norman Lacayo created the 41-story mixed-use Harbor Court (1994); and Kohn Pedersen Fox completed the First Hawaiian Center (1996), which remains the tallest building in the State of Hawai‘i.¹

This dissertation offers a snapshot of Honolulu’s architectural past from 1882 to 1994. Structures in the Capitol and Central Business districts, Ala Moana, Waikīkī, and Honolulu Harbor tell a story about competing interests: political actors seeking to make the islands “American,” institutional agendas dictating style and form, and local and international businesses endeavoring to leave their mark on the city all contributed to the urban landscape that we see today. My decision to mark 1882 as the historical starting point for this study stems from my recognition of ‘Iolani Palace as the monumental, colonial-era building symbolizing the Hawaiian monarchy and Hawaiian culture. I decided to close this study in the 1990s because this decade signaled a period when Hawaiian activists and U.S. government officials engaged in heightened conversations about Hawai‘i’s historic and current relationship with the U.S. government. It was during those years that President William Jefferson Clinton (term: 1993-2001) issued an

¹ Hibbard, *BUS*.

“Apology Resolution” (United States Public Law 103-150) in 1993, admitting to the 1893 illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian government by U.S. backed interests. The Apology Bill expressed “its deep regret to the Native Hawaiian people” but did not offer any remedies that would satisfy Hawaiian sovereignty groups such as Ka Lāhui who advocated for federal recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty and native reclamation of land.²

The relationship between native interests, the state, and local and international businesses has recently coalesced at Our Kaka‘ako (2008-present). This 15-year revitalization project implemented by the Kamehameha Schools trust endeavors to make the Kaka‘ako district the “epicenter of urban-island culture.”³ Wedged between downtown Honolulu and Ala Moana, Our Kaka‘ako seeks to construct “smart, progressive and culturally appropriate” spaces that allow for a “walkable, sustainable, people-friendly neighborhood.”⁴ Powell Berger writes in *Hawaii Business* that Kaka‘ako is “where the transformations in Hawai‘i’s 21st-century life are most clear.”⁵ He points to demographic changes, transportation needs, and environmental concerns to explain Kaka‘ako’s development. Berger maintains that Honolulu’s population, both old and young, are slowly moving away from the suburbs and embracing life in the city. They do not want or cannot afford a suburban home and, therefore, desire to live in a community where they can walk, bike, or utilize public transportation to reach their apartments, jobs, retail shops, and leisure activities.⁶

² Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 38, 77.

³ “Our Kaka‘ako: About Us”: <http://www.ourkakaako.com/about/our-kakaako.html>

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Powell Berger, “Kaka‘ako: Remade for the 21st Century,” *Hawaii Business* (September 2014): <http://www.hawaiibusiness.com/kakaako-remade-for-the-21st-century/>

⁶ Ibid.

Our Kaka‘ako is slated to be a “live/work/play” neighborhood focused on art, culture, and entertainment across several “blocks” of construction.⁷ [Fig. 7.1] The two monumental designs that have been completed to date include Salt and Six Eighty. The former consists of 85,000 square feet of space for retailing, restaurants, and events; the latter is a five-story building consisting of 54 studio and one-bedroom rental units located above first floor retail shops.⁸ [Figs. 7.2-7.3]

Salt, in particular, encapsulates Our Kaka‘ako’s vision for the district as a vibrant, energized, artistic community. Salt is located on the block between Ala Moana Boulevard, Coral, Keawe, and Auahi Streets. [Fig. 7.4] It consists of a series of interconnected exterior spaces that make use of new construction and pre-existing buildings and warehouses. Salt offers familiarity with the old buildings within a state-of-the-art environment. Open-air venues, green spaces, plazas, and parklets (sidewalk extensions) segue into shopping and dining facilities. Both corporate and locally-owned businesses such as Sprint, Starbucks, and Lanikai Juice have invested in the property. Short-term residences are also allowed in the complex. This design approach acknowledges the flexibility of the economic market. New and start-up businesses can test their ideas and concepts all while bringing “excitement and new energy” to Our Kaka‘ako.⁹ These aspects of Salt led Christian O’Connor, the Kamehameha Schools senior asset manager, to proclaim: “The challenge to reuse [these] older warehouses and their materials creates an opportunity to build a beautifully gritty shopping and dining experience that can only exist in urban Honolulu. This project is uniquely Hawai‘i. It isn’t a cookie-cutter mall that could be

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ “Our Kaka‘ako: Master Plan”: http://www.ourkakaako.com/urban_development/master-plan.html

⁹ Duane Shimogawa, “‘Interim Uses’ to be part of Kamehameha Schools’ ‘Our Kaka‘ako’ plan,” Pacific Business News (February 24, 2015): <http://www.bizjournals.com/pacific/news/2015/02/24/interim-uses-to-be-part-of-kamehameha-schools-our.html>

imported or transplanted from somewhere else.”¹⁰ It is also, perhaps, the best indication about how this urban development scheme will complement and/or detract from the architecture, urban design, and tourist attractions of downtown Honolulu and Waīkikī.

Art exhibitions, installations, fashion shows, and street (mural) art draw local and tourist audiences to Our Kaka‘ako. Hawai‘i, as a theme, serves as the focus for many of the artworks. Sean Connelly’s *Small Area of Land (Kaka‘ako Earth Room)* (2013) addresses the impact of colonialism, globalization, and construction on Hawai‘i’s land. [Fig. 7.5] Connelly, an architect and sculptor, displayed the piece at Our Kaka‘ako’s ii Gallery. The work is a 32,000 pound sculpture that he “molded, compacted, formed, and set on display.”¹¹ Connelly calls it an “architectural intervention” that “addresses the way land is objectified in Hawai‘i today.”¹² When interviewed by James Cave of *Honolulu Magazine*, Connelly declared that exhibiting at ii Gallery was apropos because of the historic and contemporary events transpiring in the neighborhood: “On one hand it’s amazing, because it’s really grassroots. But, at the same time, when you really look at it, it’s supported by KS [Kamehameha Schools]. So is this a façade of arts? Or is this actually the example of the top down, bottom up partnership that we’ve all be wanting and looking for?”¹³

Connelly’s statement attests to the history of Kaka‘ako and to the significant role of the Kamehameha Schools for Our Kaka‘ako. In ancient Hawai‘i, Kaka‘ako was a fishing village. The district slowly transitioned into a small residential community with local shops, churches,

¹⁰ CRC Staff, “Salt at Our Kaka‘ako construction to begin later this month,” *I Mua Newsroom* (March 17, 2014): http://www.ksbe.edu/imua/digital_archived_article/salt-at-our-kakaako-construction-to-begin-later-this-month/

¹¹ Lisa Yamada, “Sean Connelly’s Small Area of Land,” *Flux Hawaii* (August 6, 2013): <http://fluxhawaii.com/sean-connellys-small-area-of-land/>

¹² Ibid.

¹³ James Cave, “Kaka‘ako Block F: Too Good to Last? What happens to Kaka‘ako’s creative community when Kamehameha Schools kicks into high gear?,” *Honolulu Magazine* (July 1, 2013): <http://www.honolulumagazine.com/Honolulu-Magazine/July-2013/Kakaakos-Block-F-Too-Good-to-Last/>

schools, and parks servicing Hawaiian, Japanese, and Portuguese families.¹⁴ By the 1950s, zoning ordinances converted the community into an industrial center comprised of warehouses and repair shops. However, a trust administered by the Kamehameha Schools owns 29 acres of land in Kaka‘ako. The trust elected to cultivate the property into “a thriving, urban neighborhood that is rooted in authenticity, creativity, and cultural responsibility.”¹⁵ These goals are in accordance with the mission set forth by the founder of the trust and the great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop (1831-1884). As Rohrer summarizes in “Attacking Trust: Hawai‘i as a Crossroads and Kamehameha Schools in the Crosshairs” (2010), “Princess Pauahi was very concerned about the suffering of her people from the devastating effects of colonialism...She instructed that Kamehameha Schools be established to provide “a good education” to boy and girls, giving preference to “Hawaiians of pure or part aboriginal blood.”¹⁶ Thus, the Kamehameha Schools are charged with educating the community and providing suitable stewardship over its lands. Our Kaka‘ako is a contemporary and inventive approach to fulfilling Pauahi’s directive.

Honolulu’s local press touts Our Kaka‘ako as the “new urban center” of Honolulu. This assertion is far from certain because the project is incomplete and continues to morph day-by-day as new businesses and investors become involved with the project. Nevertheless, a brief examination of the current state of Our Kaka‘ako presents an opportunity to explore the innovative ways in which this contemporary and urban design project is conceptualized and envisioned during early stages of development. Our Kaka‘ako is both tied to the power of place

¹⁴ “Remembering Kaka‘ako: 1910-1950,” University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Center for Oral History: <http://www.oralhistory.hawaii.edu/pages/community/kakaako.html>

¹⁵ “About Kamehameha Schools”: <http://www.ourkakaako.com/about/kamehameha-schools.html>

¹⁶ Judy Rohrer, “Attacking Trust: Hawai‘i as a Crossroads and Kamehameha Schools in the Crosshairs,” *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (2010): 440.

and seeks to embrace diverse audiences, modern technology, and urban planning initiatives. In this way, Our Kaka‘ako responds to similar motivations that encouraged Honolulu’s patrons and architects of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, Our Kaka‘ako’s impact on Honolulu’s historic urban environment remains to be seen, as do the ways in which the constant shifts and changes to the metropolitan landscape will impact O‘ahu suburbs. Nevertheless, this dissertation about Honolulu’s past, present, and future architectural enterprises offers a vision of an island enclave that continues to negotiate and challenge its designation as a “paradise of the Pacific.”



Fig. 7.1. Our Kaka'ako Master Plan, Kaka'ako, Hawai'i (2008-present)



Fig. 7.2. Salt at Our Kaka'ako, Kaka'ako, Hawai'i, 2015 (artist rendering)



Fig. 7.3. Six Eighty at Our Kaka'ako, Kaka'ako, Hawai'i, 2012



Fig. 7.4. Our Kaka'ako street grid, Kaka'ako, Hawai'i



Fig. 7.5. Sean Connelly, *Small Area of Land*, Kaka'ako Earth Room, ii Gallery, Kaka'ako, Hawai'i, 2013

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