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“We Don’t Mention the United States:” The Cultural Politics of Historical Interpretation Within the Settler State of Hawai’i at Pu‘ukoholā Heiau and ‘Iolani Palace

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My ancestors came from Beijing, China, and the Azores, Portugal, arriving in Hilo, Hawai'i in 1881, and 1883, respectively. Growing up along the shores of the Wailuku River in Hilo in the 1930s, it wasn't until an oral history for a class that my grandma told me her family had been homeless during World War II, after their first home had been condemned for not having a proper roof. She and her siblings worked washing the clothes of the American soldiers stationed nearby, and participated in air raid drills after Pearl Harbor was bombed. She witnessed statehood and a handful of tsunamis, one of which her brother survived by clinging to the top of a palm tree on the shores of Hilo Bay, and she raised my mom in the same house she grew up in. (You can still see her and my mom's names etched into the lava rock in the backyard.) The county park down

the street is named after her brother, who died young of cancer, but who was going to make it big in baseball after being offered a tryout with the Yankees.

While I am not Native Hawaiian, nor claim a "local" identity, I feel strong ties to Hawai'i through my Portuguese-Chinese grandma and the ways in which these islands have shaped my life. Recognizing I am part of the settler structure I explore in this dissertation, I hope it offers a unique perspective from a public history standpoint on two important cultural sites I have come to know well.

To my grandma and grandpa, for always believing in their "college girl."

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

"We Don't Mention the United States:" The Cultural Politics of Historical Interpretation Within the Settler State of Hawai'i at Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace

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Through analyses of two foundational sites of the Hawaiian Kingdom—Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace—this dissertation offers an alternative interpretation of how Hawaiian history has been deployed as both a settler colonial tourist strategy and a means to foster Hawaiian independence and indigeneity. This project investigates how, through specific acts of historical commemoration at each site, the colonial histories of Hawai'i have been (re)presented and revised through the collaboration (and sometimes, conflict) of community organizations and those acting as stewards of the site. These efforts have led to narratives more critically engaged with telling histories of Hawai'i that include the structural impact of settler colonialism and militourism.

Pu‘ukoholā Heiau is an eighteenth-century heiau (temple or shrine) built by Kamehameha the Great on the Kohala Coast of Hawai’i Island in a successful quest to unify all the islands under his rule in the 1810s. Though condemned by Christian missionaries arriving immediately after his death, generations of Native Hawaiians quietly preserved and protected the site. The National Park Service has been its steward since the 1960s. Built for similar reasons by a later sovereign, ‘Iolani Palace serves as the second case study. Constructed in the 1870s by King Kalākaua, the Palace stands in downtown Honolulu, Oahu, as a symbol of Hawaiian sovereignty. After being occupied for several decades by those who overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom, the Palace was eventually vacated to become a museum and taken over by the Friends of ‘Iolani Palace, a non-profit organization working in tandem with the State of Hawai’i to preserve the structure and interpret its history.

Ultimately, this dissertation explores how the historical interpretations at these sites developed and how Native Hawaiian activists, community groups, and other indigenous advocates pushed contemporary stewards towards culturally decolonial micro-interventions that help complicate the settler imaginary that perceives and represents Hawai’i as both American and an American commodity. This dissertation seeks to resituate these sites as spaces of contestation and indigeneity operating within, and sometimes beyond, the limitations of their administering state agencies.

Table of Contents

Introduction: The Cultural Politics of Historical Interpretation Within the Settler State of Hawai'i at Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace..... 1

Chapter 1: The "Ancient Heathen Temple of Kamehameha": Pu'ukoholā Heiau, 1791-1959..... 62

Chapter 2: "A Site of National [U.S.] Significance": Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, 1959-1993..... 107

Chapter 3: "Famous are the children of Hawai'i, Ever loyal to the land": 'Iolani Palace, 1879-1959..... 160

Chapter 4 "America's Only Royal Palace": 'Iolani Palace, 1959-1993..... 201

Conclusion: Moving Forward at Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace..... 254

Bibliography..... 265

Appendix A: Glossary of Terms..... 275

List of Figures

Chapter 1

Figure 1 King Kamehameha the Great, circa 1800s..... 65

Figure 2 Cropped half of stereoscopic ambrotype identified as "first house of stone built by John Young during time of Kamehameha I in Kawaihae," circa 1882. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection..... 76

Figure 3 Buildings at the Kawaihae Landing, including two-story adobe structure, circa 1882. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection..... 80

Figure 4 A 1889 photograph of the Heiau at the top of the hill. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-35-7-010..... 85

Figure 5 Front page 1896 image of "Kepoolele Apau," the 124 year old woman who witnessed Keōua's sacrifice at Puʻukoholā Heiau. ("Oldest on Record," Hawaiian Gazette (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 8, 1896.)..... 88

Figure 6 A 1925 aerial photograph of the Heiau. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-35-7-026..... 93

Chapter 2

Figure 1 Undated image of the Heiau wall showing stacked rock pattern. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-35-7-012..... 126

Figure 2 The entrance to Pu‘ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site with the heiau in the distance. Photo by author, Pu‘ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, March 2016……. 147

Figure 3 Park volunteer Uncle Ed Shiinoki leads a hands-on demonstration and tutorial on the Hawaiian nose flute at the park visitor center. Photo by author, Pu‘ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, March 2016……. 151

Chapter 3

Figure 1 View of ‘Iolani Palace soon after it was completed, circa 1880s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-11-4-008……. 162

Figure 2 King David Kalākaua, circa 1882. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PPWD-15-4.018……. 167

Figure 3 King Kalākaua on the Palace lanai (porch), circa 1880s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-96-15-009……. 167

Figure 4 Hula performance on the grounds of ‘Iolani Palace for King Kalākaua’s 49th birthday (November 18, 1885.) Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-32-9b-008……. 168

Figure 5 ‘Iolani Palace decorated in red, white, and blue bunting, the Hawaiian flag, and Kalākaua’s banner for Kalākaua’s Jubilee celebration, November 20, 1886. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-36-8-004……. 170

Figure 6 The celebratory crowd on the grounds of ʻIolani Palace for Kalākaua's Jubilee parade, November 20, 1886. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PPWD-8-4-016……. 170

Figure 7 Queen Liliʻuokalani, photographed in London during Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, December 31, 1886. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PPWD-16-4.014……. 173

Figure 8 Crowds gather around as Sanford B. Dole "proclaimed" the Republic of Hawaii, 1894. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-7-002……. 179

Figure 9 After first hoisting the American flag, on August 12, 1898, the Hawaiian flag was ceremoniously lowered at ʻIolani Palace. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-35-8-001……. 181

Figure 10 An enormous American flag was raised on "Annexation Day," August 12, 1898. Note the people gathered on both lanais (porches) and gathered on the grounds in front of the Palace. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-36-1-025……. 181

Figure 11 ʻIolani Palace lit up for inauguration of Sanford B. Dole as first governor of the Republic of Hawaii on June 12, 1900. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-36-6-001……. 182

Figure 12 The Palace and grounds as they appeared during the early Territorial Period, between 1900-1929. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-8-038……. 187

Figure 13 The Palace and grounds as they appeared during the late Territorial Period, circa 1930s-1940s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-9-027……. 187

Figure 14 The first ʻIolani Palace, built in 1844. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-5-004……. 190

Figure 15 The throne room as it was during the Monarchical Period, pre-1893. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-11-9-016…….. 192

Figure 16 The throne room in use by the legislature of the Republic, post-1893. Courtesy ʻIolani Palace Facebook Page, September 24, 2016, Accessed February 2, 2020……. 192

Figure 17 Visitors touring the throne room, circa 1940s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-11-10-014……. 193

Figure 18 The 1956 Kuhio Day commemoration in the throne room of ʻIolani Palace. Pictured at the far left in white is Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of ʻIolani Palace from 1971 to 1998, and at the right gesturing is David Kaonohiokala Bray, a Native Hawaiian religious leader and one of the first guides to lead visitors through the Palace starting in 1954. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-97-2-028..... 196

Chapter 4

Figure 1 The Palace and grounds as they appeared in the years leading up to statehood, circa 1950s. Note the temporary addition on the right side of the photo. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-10-003..... 203

Figure 2 Additional temporary extensions were added on the rear lanais (porches) of the Palace. Courtesy ʻIolani Palace Facebook Page, January 26, 2019, Accessed February 2, 2020..... 203

Figure 3 Undated photo of Helen Lydia Kamakaʻeha Liliʻuokalani Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of ʻIolani Palace from 1966 to 1969. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-34-4-029..... 208

Figure 4 Termite tenting during the restoration by the Friends, circa 1960s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection..... 211

Figure 5 Replacing the turrets during the restoration by the Friends, circa 1960s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-10-030…… 211

Figure 6 An example of the 1960s restoration work conducted by the Friends of ‘Iolani Palace. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-11-7-023…….. 214

Figure 7 Aloha Spirit Law posted in the break room of the Hawai’i State Historic Preservation Office. Photo by author, Hawai’i State Historic Preservation Office in Kapolei, Oahu, September 2015……. 218

Figure 8 An example of how the Palace grounds were used once the Friends took over stewardship, pictured here is a 1969 “Aloha Friday” concert by the Royal Hawaiian Band in the ‘Iolani Palace coronation pavilion. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-4-4-026……. 230

Figure 9 The Friends of ‘Iolani Palace draped the Palace in black to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, January 1993. Courtesy ‘Iolani Palace Facebook Page, January 3, 2019, Accessed February 2, 2020..……. 245

Introduction: The Cultural Politics of Historical Interpretation

Within the Settler State of Hawai'i at Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace

[§5-7.5] "Aloha Spirit" (a) "Aloha Spirit" is the coordination of mind and heart within each person… Each person must think and emote good feelings to others… It was the working philosophy of native Hawaiians and was presented as a gift to the people of Hawaii. (b) In exercising their power on behalf of the people and in fulfillment of their responsibilities, obligations and service to the people, the legislature, governor [and all other governmental officials] may contemplate and reside with the life force and give consideration to the "Aloha Spirit". [L 1986, c 202, §1][1]

Traveling from smoggy, traffic-jammed Southern California to clear, sunny Kona, Hawai'i, feels like going from black and white to Technicolor. Yet the combination of the suffocating heat on the leeward, or dry side, of the island, and the invasive African brush that sprouts between the cracks in the hardened black lava covering nearly every inch of the coast creates a sense of confusion, and misrecognition. This is not the paradisiacal landscape middle-class white Americans living in the continental U.S. have learned to covet over the last century of occupation. No hula girls greet you as you disembark your plane on a raised staircase, descending directly onto the tarmac, into the oppressive heat. There are no ukulele serenades to soothe you, or fresh pineapples to quench your thirst. And yet the sun seems brighter, the grass greener, the air cleaner, and the sky a deeper blue. Driving north from the airport, the miles and miles of desolate lava landscape give way to miles of exclusive resort hotels, with their beautifully landscaped, guarded entrances and guest lists. From the Hilton at Waikoloa Village to the Villages at

[1] "Aloha Spirit Law," the State of Hawai'i law passed in 1986. Accessed April 20, 2019, http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/hrs2015/Vol01_Ch0001-0042F/HRS0005/HRS_0005-0007_0005.htm

Mauna Lani, these faux temples finally culminate at Pu‘ukoholā Heiau, an actual temple (or shrine made of dry stacked rocks) used by Hawaiian royalty.[2]

Perhaps one of the most important sites on all of the islands, King Kamehameha used the Heiau as his spiritual and strategic base for uniting the archipelago under his rule in the 1790s. However, the present day Pu‘ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site does not seem like much from the road. In fact, the industrial port in the bay below seems more imposing, more powerful, than the pile of stacked rocks that sits on the crest above—symbolic, perhaps, of the ways in which external economic demands have continued to damage and consume the natural and cultural landscape of the islands. As you turn off the highway and drive towards the coast, the road wraps around to afford a better view of the Heiau, and you see it is taller and more imposing from the coastal side, a purposeful choice made by Kamehameha I to intimidate visitors arriving by sea

[2] According to *Pana O'ahu: Sacred Stones, Sacred Land,* "Some *heiau* (sacred sites) were national temples used for ceremonies involving the *ali'i nui* (highest order of chiefs) and their *kāhuna* (priests). Others were *ko'a*, small structures perhaps built by the *maka'āinana* to secure bountiful harvests from the land or the sea, and still others were built to encourage rainfall. Some sites were undoubtedly places of quiet prayer and reflection, while others were scenes of large ceremonial hula performances. Still others were no more than simple shrines where family members appealed to their '*aumākua* (family gods) for guidance." [Jan Becket and Joseph Singer, eds., *Pana O'ahu: Sacred Stones, Sacred Land* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), vii.] Similarly, in a text panel titled "What is a heiau?," the visitor center at Pu‘ukoholā National Historic Site defines them as such: "Heiau are places of worship and central to Hawaiian religious beliefs. From the heiau, the kahuna (priest) communicated with the gods and advised the ali'i (chief). Heiau were constructed for different reasons, with their activities ranging from those of state and war, to ensuring rainfall, successful harvests, and abundant fisheries." The dictionary definition of heiau is as follows: Pre-Christian place of worship, shrine; some heiau were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces. Some examples include heiau ho‘ōla (heiau for treating sick), heiau ho‘oulu ‘ai (heiau for the increase of food crops), and heiau waikaua (heiau used for services to bring success in war). [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

from other locales.[3] In many ways, this stretch of road between the airport and the Heiau represents the landscape of settler colonialism—which, at its most basic definition, is the replacement of indigenous peoples and their cultures with that of the settler's society—in this case, symbolized by the high-end resorts, industrial installations, and even the invasive foreign vegetation that has destroyed native plant life.[4] As a continual process that serves to undermine legitimate efforts at indigenous self-determination, to strengthen the United States military occupation as well as the American tourist imaginary to allow further loss of land through development, and to replace Native Hawaiians on the land by enacting strategies of imperialist nostalgia, temporal displacement, and mythohistory, settler colonialism is one of the most threatening imperial legacies alive in Hawai'i today. The ways in which it has been enacted through practices of preservation, tourism, and public commemoration are a

[3] Kamehameha's own material representation plays an important role in the way the site is interpreted by the National Park Service, which has erected a larger-than-life cut out suggesting his great size and strength played a role in his success and legacy as a leader. This is just one of many connections that exist between the physicality of the landscape, the site itself, and the people represented.

[4] See Alyosha Goldstein, ed., *Formations of United States Colonialism* (Duke University Press, 2014) and Patrick Wolfe, *Writing Past Colonialism: Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1999) for more on settler colonialism. One helpful recent definition is: "Settler colonialism refers to the structure of a society and cannot be reduced to, as many nationalist ideologies would have it, the merely unfortunate birth pangs of its establishment that remain in the distant past; settler colonialism and patriarchy are structures, not events (Wolfe 1999). Settler colonialism is a persistent social and political formation in which newcomers/colonizers/settlers come to a place, claim it as their own, and do whatever it takes to disappear the Indigenous peoples that are there. Within settler colonialism, it is exploitation of land that yields supreme value. In order for settlers to usurp the land and extract its value, Indigenous peoples must be destroyed, removed, and made into ghosts." [Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, Angie Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections Between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy," *Feminist Formations* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2013), 12.]

main point of exploration in this dissertation.[5] The new leisure sites and industrial infrastructure actively being developed and installed are emblematic of the ways in which contemporary structures of settler colonialism continue.

As Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen note in their volume *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century,* "Settler colonialism is not the past—a violent but thankfully brief period of conquest and domination—but rather the foundational governing ethic of this 'new world' state."[6] This "governing ethic" in Hawai'i plays out in myriad ways, including who has rightful say over the use of the land and who defines its historical and cultural significance. Hawaiian land and, often, culture continue to be seen as the most precious resources of the "Aloha State," meant to be commodified, packaged, and exported for consumption by American tourists as well as the rest of the world. The core articulation of this governing ethic in Hawai'i is the "Aloha Spirit Law," quoted at the opening of this introduction. Passed in 1986, the law states that everyone in Hawai'i, from government officials to the general public, must "give consideration" to the "Aloha Spirit" by "emot[ing] good feelings to others." The deployment of this codified concept of the aloha spirit by the state has served as a method of control and

[5] Kānaka Maoli and Kānaka 'Ōiwi are both Hawaiian-language terms for Native Hawaiian and the three phrases are often used interchangeably. This dissertation will predominately use the term "Native Hawaiian" to discuss the indigenous people of Hawai'i.

[6] Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen, *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century: Projects, Practices, Legacies* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 3.

disruption of indigenous resistance movements, and has generally shaped and constrained interpretive efforts at Hawaiian historic and cultural sites.

One such example of how this restrictive framework is played out on the ground comes from the quote used as part of this dissertation's title—"We don't mention the United States." Taken from an interview with a docent of the Friends of 'Iolani Palace, the non-profit partner created in the 1960s to assume stewardship responsibility for the Palace once it was officially vacated by the State, Stuart Ching was a recent college graduate who quit his desk job to gain experience in historic preservation and museum curation by volunteering with the Friends. In 1984, Ching was interviewed by the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* as part of their ongoing coverage of the restoration efforts of the Palace, the subject of Chapter 4. In the interview, Ching was asked what the most common question posed by visitors was, and after jokingly answering 'Where is the restroom?,' he replied that 'Who overthrew the monarchy?' was the most common historical question asked by visitors to 'Iolani Palace in 1984. His answer? Ching noted that the docents' official reply was "'Commercial and foreign interests living in Honolulu.' We don't mention the United States."[7] As discussed in more detail in Chapter 4, that seemingly true but overly simplified response not only represented the Friends' model of the "middle ground" approach to interpreting controversial topics like the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, it also exemplified the ways in which the

[7] "A palatial outlook," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 12, 1984.

aloha spirit, a defining part of modern American culture, produces a restrictive framework which limits the number of acceptable historical narratives and the popular understanding of key historical events.

In spite of the aloha spirit's totalizing narrative about Hawaiianness, however, moments of cultural decolonization—neither total sovereignty nor total decolonization, but smaller interventions in deconstructing settler colonial narratives—have taken place through interventions made at sites of great Hawaiian cultural significance. This project investigates how, through specific acts of historical commemoration at two such case study sites, the colonial histories of Hawai'i have been (re)presented, and the ways in which these histories have been revised in recent decades through the efforts of those leading the interpretive efforts at each site. Through analyses of these two foundational sites of the Hawaiian Kingdom—Puʻukoholā Heiau National Historic Site and ʻIolani Palace (a State Monument)—this dissertation offers an alternative interpretation of how Hawaiian history, even as it has been commemorated and deployed to lure tourists, has also been a resource for asserting Hawaiian autonomy and indigeneity by legitimizing Native Hawaiian placemaking practices.[8]

[8] As Tiffany Ing notes in her work on Kalākaua, "The nineteenth-century Kānaka Maoli intellectual and literary traditions as documented in newspaper publishing were both extensive and impressive, and a large part of this study is based on those traditions. A significant amount of those newspaper articles were intended to increase a sense of Hawaiian nationalism within the lāhui, to preserve cultural knowledge on paper, and to resist colonialism." [Tiffany Lani Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua: Nineteenth-Century Perspectives on a Hawaiian Sovereign* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019), 13.] This dissertation does not use this wealth of archival source material and is therefore inherently limited. However, it seeks instead to analyze English-language source materials and the narratives created around the two case study sites to investigate how the haole elite attempted to manipulate the historical narrative in their favor. (Lāhui means nation, race, tribe, people, nationality, etc. and is commonly used

This introduction seeks to articulate these specific dynamics of coloniality and how the imperial efforts of the United States (in the form of agents acting on its behalf) shifted the structure of Hawaiian society from the 1880s to the 1960s, and in turn, its cultural sites. In many ways, official governmental practices and policies resulted in violent interventions which created ruptures in Hawaiian society and caused significant changes in Hawaiian culture.[9] This dissertation explores how these changes impacted two foundational sites of the Hawaiian Kingdom—Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace. Deterritorialization, as I deploy it in this dissertation, refers to the weakening of ties between culture and place, and is one of the dynamics of coloniality to disrupt legitimacy, undermine and replace authority, and engineer new modes of social order that privilege settlers. This dissertation explores how the process of deterritorialization was enacted at Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace to force indigenous legacies of sovereignty, cultural knowledge, and national pride into a "bygone" past in order to weaken the indigenous meaning of those foundational sites in the contemporary moment (see Chapters 1 and 3). Reterritorialization—or a cultural remapping with the settler culture as replacement—then occurred as mythohistorical narratives were concocted in aid of the tourist imaginary while white settlers exhibited imperialist

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to refer to the Hawaiian nation, both historically and in the present.) [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

[9] For more on coloniality and an excellent recent addition to the scholarship on decolonialization, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism* (Duke University Press, 2018).

nostalgia for these fictionalized, but safely past, narratives (as seen in Chapters 2 and 4).[10]

The strategic use of the past to romanticize, mythologize, and recast the historical narrative for the purposes of a cultural regime, interest, or group is what Robert Tilton calls mythohistory. Imperialist nostalgia is a phenomenon described by Renato Rosaldo as a "particular kind of nostalgia…where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed."[11] He continues "In any of its versions, imperialist nostalgia uses a pose of 'innocent yearning' both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with often brutal domination."[12] Working in tandem with imperialist nostalgia is Mary Louise Pratt's concept of anti-conquest, as taken up by geographer R.D.K. Herman for the Hawaiian context. In the reterritorialization process, as Herman describes, Hawaiian culture is not only replaced by settler culture, but in the process, reappropriated and redeployed in a manner that strips it of meaning and power, warping it to fit the mythohistorical narrative being advanced by those settlers:

> Anti-conquest involves glorifying the Other at the same time that the Other is denied real power. Inasmuch as glorification of "Noble Savages" has not precluded their being colonized, anti-conquest poses itself as a benign

[10] For more on deterritorialization and reterritorialization, see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). For more on the tourist imaginary, see Camilla Fojas*, Islands of Empire: Pop Culture and U.S. Power* (Austin: University of Texas, 2014).

[11] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations*, 26 (Spring 1989), 108.

[12] Ibid.

> paternalism that puts the Other on a pedestal—a gesture of respect that is also an exclusion, an isolation, and a fixing of the Other into a historical space separate from the modern. In this case, anti-conquest is manifest as the promotion of things Hawaiian at the same time that Hawaiians themselves are excluded from power.[13]

By exploring the processes by which the Hawaiian Kingdom was usurped in myriad ways by white settlers over the course of the nineteenth century (as discussed in Chapter 3), it becomes clear how a distinctive Hawaiian modernity was foreclosed upon within the settler colonial framework. In the haole (meaning foreigner, and later, white person) elite's view, Hawai'i could only be made "modern" by being destroyed and replaced—even though it had an established track record of modernity as a sovereign nation on a global scale.[14] This sovereign standing was undermined because it was a threat, and many of these efforts to delegitimize Hawaiian authority and culture were played out at 'Iolani Palace (discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). Others were enacted at historical and cultural sites across the islands in an effort to temporally displace Native Hawaiians and

[13] R.D.K. Herman, "The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-Conquest of Hawai'i," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, No. 1 (March 1999), 77.

[14] The dictionary definition of haole is as follows: White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin, as plants, pigs, chickens; entirely white, of pigs (Malo 37; perhaps Malo actually means of foreign introduction). See kolea 1. References in traditional literature are few, but these have been noted: He haole nui maka ʻālohilohi (FS 201), a big foreigner with bright eyes [referring to Kama-puaʻa, the pig demigod]. Hānau ke poʻo haole, he haole kēlā (KL. line 505), born was the stranger's head, that was strange. Hoʻokahi o Tahiti kānaka, he haole (Kua-liʻi chant, For. 4:375) only one people in Tahiti, foreigners. ʻĀina haole, foreign land. ʻŌlelo haole, European language, especially English. hoʻo.haole To act like a white person, to ape the white people, or assume airs of superiority [often said disparagingly, especially of half-whites]. Hoʻohaole ʻia, Americanized, Europeanized; to have become like a white person or have adopted the ways of a white man. (Marquesan haoʻe is probably a loan from Hawaiian.) [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

banish them to an ancient, primitive, and bygone era.[15] These efforts are most clearly seen in the framing and reframing of Puʻukoholā Heiau, the subject of Chapters 1 and 2 of this dissertation. Maya L. Kawailanaokeawaiki Saffery describes the settler imaginary:

> The settler imaginary is made up of beliefs and images that settlers use to imagine away the colonization and marginalization of Indigenous peoples in order to make the ʻŌiwi [Native Hawaiian] presence and cultural practices palatable and nonthreatening to the status quo that validates their dominance. Blinders they place on themselves and others who buy into this false narrative serve to perpetuate these erasures by disguising them as how things have always been.[16]

This concept of the settler imaginary, or the white tourist imaginary, is a prevalent theme used throughout this dissertation. I use it to explore the ways in which the two case study sites were cast and recast in the reterritorialization process described above by Saffery in which Hawaiian cultural concepts were made more palatable to bolster social orders that privileged white settlers, and how mythohistorical narratives further served to temporally displace Hawaiian history to cement the settler colonial system.

From the beginning of Western contact, Hawaiians had persisted in resisting and refusing the dynamics of coloniality at every turn. Thus, the haole elite had to build

[15] Temporal displacement serves as a key logic of settler colonialism in both North America and Hawai'i—the idea that indigenous people are inherently "pre-modern" is a trope that plays out in both places, though in different ways. For more on the temporal displacement of indigenous peoples in North America, see, for example, Jean O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) and Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017).

[16] Maya L. Kawailanaokeawaiki Saffery, "Sovereign Spaces: Creating Decolonial Zones Through Hula and Mele," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i,* edited by Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, (Durham, NC Duke University Press, 2019), 145.

legitimacy while suturing in the threat of force. Once successful, the haole elite went about organizing Hawaiian society to ensure their supremacy, not only racially but also in terms of their class status. In this way, those individuals who had forced their way into occupying the highest realms of society shaped it, and Hawai'i as a society became increasingly structured around the logic of capital. Though these efforts had been percolating for generations, they were intensified during this period as the political and cultural structures of the islands were both aligned and fully integrated with that effort. The first generation of missionaries also transformed the social structure of Hawai'i, as editors Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez note in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i* as they explain that the first-generation missionaries' "children and grandchildren went beyond harvesting souls for God to harvesting Hawaiian land for profit."[17] They describe the way in which the immediate descendants of the missionaries quickly shifted from their spiritual focus to that of privatized land ownership and personal wealth, among other things, ultimately establishing themselves as a class of haole elite. Ultimately, this haole elite seized and secured a social order that would ensure that their interests were protected and expanded. They were aided in this effort by what Teresia Teaiwa has called "militourism."

According to Teaiwa, militourism is a "phenomenon by which a military or paramilitary force ensures the running of a tourist industry, and that same tourist

[17] Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, eds., *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019), 7.

industry masks the military force behind it."[18] In the twentieth century, as Hawai'i became a key location in the U.S. empire and experienced the heightened presence of the U.S. military, the increasingly prevalent tourist industry mystified the imperial processes so that Hawai'i morphed into an unquestioned paradise with flows of military personnel capitalizing on myriad opportunities for leisure, which in turn became a main engine of the economy. In turn, the concept of the aloha spirit continues to inoculate against conflict and prevents dissidence while promoting the tourist imaginary in conjunction with statehood. In essence, the aloha spirit functions to keep the logic of capitalism stable. It also works to facilitate the racialization of Hawai'i centered around whiteness so that whites can consume it, bolster their identity, and contribute to the legitimacy of the racial order. No'u Revilla and Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio explain "American colonialism uses aloha as an alibi; tourism uses aloha as a commodity; New Age peddlers of Polynesian sorcery use aloha to gloss over settler identity; and politicians use aloha to define our people as 'happy hosts,' punishing us when we go off script—when we refuse to perform."[19] Therefore, this manipulation of aloha is one example of the reterritorialization process mentioned above, whereby Hawaiian cultural

[18] Teresia Teaiwa, "Reading Paul Gauguin's Noa Noa with Epeli Hau 'ofa's Kisses in the Nederends: Militourism, Feminism, and the 'Polynesian'Body," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific* edited by Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 251.

[19] No'u Revilla and Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio, "Aloha Is Deoccupied Love," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i,* edited by Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, (Duke University Press, 2019), 126.

concepts were co-opted, removed, and then replaced with concepts more palatable to white settlers to ensure ease of consumption.

As Aikau and Gonzalez note "Against colonialism's distortion of ideas and theft of land, Native resistance was born from the first moment of Western contact."[20] In this way, the modern Hawaiian sovereignty movement that was reborn in the 1960s and 70s was a continuation of the resistance movements, discussed in more detail below, that had been fighting against the settler colonial structure and all its insidious tentacles—deterritorialization, reterritorialization, imperialist nostalgia, temporal displacement, mythohistory, militourism, the aloha spirit, and more—since the first foreigners, or haoles, arrived on Hawaiian shores. Most importantly for this dissertation, it is within these constricting systems that the historical interpretation of Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace was first being formed. Each case study helps illuminate struggles to culturally and symbolically decolonize historic and cultural sites within a system bound by the dynamics of coloniality and the logic of capital. Each also highlights how various people at these sites attempted, through a series of micro-interventions, to deploy interpretation as a tool of cultural decolonization.[21]

[20] Aikau and Gonzalez, 7.

[21] The case study sites also illuminate how each exhibits a different dynamic and therefore fulfills a different symbolic function for the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. While there are both sovereignty activist demonstrations and large-scale decolonial interpretive efforts played out on the grounds of the Palace, the Heiau is more of a regionally valued site for sovereignty. Because of its location, the Palace can draw both large crowds and media-attention from outside the state, while the Heiau's remote location keeps it a relatively smaller venue for voicing Native Hawaiian perspectives on sovereignty and other contemporary issues. However, both serve important roles in the movement and activists' continued commitment to cultural decolonizing work.

The subject of decolonizing museums has been actively discussed by scholars and critics in recent years. It is relevant to the two case studies explored here because of the ways in which this ongoing conversation will increasingly dictate their paths forward. In *Decolonizing Museums*: *Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums,* Amy Lonetree examines "collaborative partnerships between mainstream institutions and Native American communities."[22] Obviously in the same situation as Lonetree's case studies, both the Friends of 'Iolani Palace and the National Park Service will continue to manage their sites for the foreseeable future and will need to address these conversations about collaborative partnerships in order to continue their efforts at a decolonial praxis.[23] Lonetree also notes:

> This new relationship of "shared authority" between Native people and museum curators has changed the way Indigenous history and culture are represented and has redefined our relationship with museums. The efforts today by tribal communities to be involved in developing exhibitions point to the recognition that controlling the representation of their cultures is linked to the larger movements of self-determination and cultural sovereignty.[24]

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[22] Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*: *Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 2.

[23] Contemporary National Park Service leadership staff on Hawai'i Island are Native Hawaiian, and though they work under unique constraints they bring important perspectives to the organization. At both Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site and Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, many of the rank and file staff members, from interpreters and educators to archaeologists, are Native Hawaiian as well, thus showing the complexities of critiquing these organizations for their pitfalls while closely watching Native Hawaiian scholars work to enact changes from within.

[24] Lonetree, 1. Lonetree's work builds on that of Patricia Pierce Erikson, Mary Louise Pratt, and James Clifford, as well as Susan Miller, "Native America Writes Back: The Origin of the Indigenous Paradigm in Historiography," *Wicazo Sa Review* 23, No. 2 (Fall 2008), 9-28; and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2012). For more on decolonizing museums and other historical, heritage, and cultural sites, see Peter R. Mills and Kathleen L. Kawelu, "Decolonizing Heritage Management in Hawai'i," *Advances in Anthropology* 3, No.3 (2013), 127-132, for

Though they have both exhibited a desire to participate in different modes of symbolic and cultural decolonization, the future choices of the Friends of ʻIolani Palace and the National Park Service might shift given a broader awareness of this discussion, and their past actions have laid the groundwork for their continued examination of these methods to include Native Hawaiian community groups in consultation with their various efforts on their sites. Both sites have faced definite pressures to move beyond what they have done in the past, and this emerging, more inclusive conversation will continue to guide their interpretive and preservation efforts.

Puʻukoholā Heiau, the first case study covered in Chapters 1 and 2, is an eighteenth-century heiau (temple or shrine made of dry stacked rocks) built by Kamehameha the Great on the Kohala Coast of the Big Island of Hawai'i in a successful quest to unify all of the Hawaiian Islands under his single rule in the 1810s. It offers a rare glimpse into early Hawaiian society, before large amounts of outside influence were present on the islands following his death in 1819. After being informally preserved and protected by local residents in the area for generations, the National Park Service has been its steward as a National Historic Site since the 1960s. Built for similar reasons by a later sovereign, King Kalākaua, ʻIolani Palace serves as the second case study covered in Chapters 3 and 4. It stands in downtown Honolulu, Oahu, as a symbol

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example; as well as recent digital articles published by the American Alliance of Museums, including, for example, Elisa Shoenberger, "What does it mean to decolonize a museum?," February 7, 2019, Accessed February 3, 2020, https://www.museumnext.com/article/what-does-it-mean-to-decolonize-a-museum/ and Frank Howarth, "Decolonizing the Museum Mind," October 8, 2018, Accessed February 3, 2020, https://www.aam-us.org/2018/10/08/decolonizing-the-museum-mind/.

of the Hawaiian monarchy and a sovereign society with an established record of equal footing among other world nations, and was built by King Kalākaua in the 1870s to symbolize his nation's standing on the world stage. After being occupied for several decades by those who overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom, the Palace was eventually vacated to become a museum, and was taken over by the Friends of 'Iolani Palace, a non-profit organization that works in tandem with the State of Hawai'i to preserve the structure and interpret its history. Further discussion of these sites and the breakdown of the chapters of the dissertation appear later in this introduction.

Through the lens of these case studies and the themes outlined above, this dissertation seeks to explore how Hawaiian history has been deployed simultaneously as both a colonial settlement strategy of tourism and a means to foster efforts at Hawaiian independence and indigeneity. Though representative of the continued outsider occupation of Hawaiian land, various groups have used these sites in attempts to resist imperialist nostalgia and the tourist imaginary. They have sought to preserve their important cultural monuments and structures and to recast the colonial, mythohistorical narratives surrounding them towards narratives more critically engaged with telling histories of Hawai'i that include the impact of structural forces of settler colonialism. Through tourism the colonial histories of Hawai'i have been constructed, and reconstructed in the face of social, political, and economic change over time. At these sites, we see the ways the colonial narrative has been both constructed and contested. Ultimately seeking to explore broad concepts of American empire,

militourism, the aloha spirit, and stewardship, this dissertation seeks to engage a variety of themes and topics to reframe the above case studies as spaces of contestation and indigeneity within the structure of settler colonialism. However, it is important to note that these forces of coloniality and decoloniality are both dynamic and ongoing. As Native Hawaiian cultural resistance and placemaking are actively transpiring, so too are the dynamics of coloniality. Invasion is a structure, not an event.[25]

In both cases, in the same way in which select historic sites are preserved in a state of "arrested decay"—whereby they are not actively improved, but also not allowed to deteriorate further—the haole elite who seized power in the 1890s sought to erase the indigenous legacy and negate sovereignty through a form of "accelerated decay"—whereby the sites were not actively damaged or destroyed, but were also not allowed to be maintained or improved. By attempting to let these significant sites of Hawaiian cultural heritage fall into disrepair from the turn of the century into the beginning of World War II, white settlers engaged in a campaign to temporally distance the Hawaiian monarchy in order to expedite the process of reterritorialization to recast the historical narrative towards one of American progress and empire. After decades of these efforts, the political and cultural atmosphere of the islands changed with statehood in 1959, and the emerging sovereignty movements of the 1960s and 70s greatly influenced how the historical commemoration of these sites would be formed.

[25] Patrick Wolfe, *Writing Past Colonialism: Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1999), 3.

As a whole, cultural sites have been crucial for the contestation of power and meaning in Hawai'i. In some ways, these sites of the Hawaiian Kingdom can be looked at as bookends—the Heiau started the monarchically structured kingdom while the Palace was the site that saw its end. Further, since each site steward—the National Park Service and the Friends of 'Iolani Palace—began its tenure around the same time as the burgeoning Hawaiian sovereignty movement in the 1960s and 70s, not only were they responding to a larger national heritage movement during this time, but they were also having to address issues the sovereignty movement was bringing to the fore as well.

At both Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace, literal land ownership and symbolic stewardship would become central to futures of the sites as the interpretive plans were developed. At each site, the institution of government allowed a controlled opening of space for cultural production by Native Hawaiians. Further, in line with both Kamehameha's legacy and Kalākaua's reputation, both sites were envisioned by these monarchs as a cultural means by which to produce a sense of belonging, nationhood, and legitimized order for Native Hawaiians and other citizens of the Kingdom, and they continue to serve this purpose in many ways

Select Historiography of Hawaiian Nationhood and Settler Colonial Structures

All Hawai'i stand together/It is now and forever
To raise our voices/and hold your banners high
We shall stand as a nation/To guide the destiny of our generation
To sing and praise the glory of our land[26]

Through the efforts of community groups, who have revised their own representation of the colonial histories of Hawai'i in recent decades, Hawaiian heritage has been deployed in new ways to attract tourism while consistently reaffirming Hawaiian indigeneity.[27] In the same way that tourism has become so embedded into the fabric on the Hawaiian landscape that it seems impossible to extract, the military occupation "is thoroughly normalized within Hawai'i, sedimenting itself through accumulated familiarity into the everyday ways of life that produce what we experience as normal."[28] This song, "All Hawai'i Stand Together," was performed by Liko Martin at a 1977 rally on the grounds of 'Iolani Palace to protest the continued test bombing since the 1940s of the island Kaho'olawe by the U.S. military. (The island was later added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1981, with bombing officially ending in

[26] "All Hawai'i Stand Together," Written by Liko Martin and Dennis Pavao, 1977, performed by Liko Martin at a rally on the grounds of 'Iolani Palace to protest the use of Kaho'olawe as a bombing test site by the U.S. military. Accessed December 2, 2016, http://www.ilind.net/2015/01/04/its-the-anniversary-of-the-first-protest-landing-on-kahoolawe-on-january-4-1976/

[27] In this dissertation, I explore other examples of interpretative opposition and alternate commemoration that lean more critically, and which might serve as a model for my case studies to follow. These examples could include writer's workshops, contemporary art installations, performances, tours, and other modes of engagement and expression at diverse sites outside of Hawai'i such as the Oakland Museum of California and art institutions in Guam and across the Pacific.

[28] Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i*. Vol. 10. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), xiv.

1990.)[29] While protest and civic action were often centered around the Palace (as discussed in Chapter 4), this activism is also represented in the scholarship surrounding Hawaiian history and culture.

Many scholars note that, "Native resistance was born from the first moment of Western contact,"[30] though Hawaiian studies became a more prevalent field of study, with an increasingly decolonial perspective, in the post-statehood period. However, this is not to say that cultural decolonization efforts were not widespread, as suggested by the prevalence of Hawaiian language newspapers and the nearly complete population literacy to the proliferation of hālau hula (meaning hula schools or groups) and mele (songs), efforts to maintain cultural sovereignty were extensive, productive, and significant.[31] With roots in the development of ethnic studies departments across the nation, the study of Hawai'i as an independent cultural and historical region began to blossom in the 1960s and 70s after the major civil rights movements in the United States. Increasingly the field began to draw more parallels with Native American Indian studies, because of similar issues of and desires for political and cultural sovereignty,

[29] "Hanau Hou He 'Ula 'O Kaho'olawe-Rebirth Of A Sacred Island," *Kūkulu Ke Ea A Kanaloa Kaho'olawe*, Kahoʻolawe Island Reserve Commission, Accessed March 28, 2016, http://kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/history.shtml

[30] Aikau and Gonzalez, 7.

[31] Hālau hula today means hula school or group, but the literal translation is long house, as for canoes or hula instruction; meeting house. Mele means song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant. [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

decolonization, crises of indigeneity, and contemporary activism to improve social conditions. Branching out both intellectually and practically, in the early 2000s degree programs devoted to the study of the Hawaiian culture and history were formally created. The Kamakakuokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies is part of the Hawai'inuiakea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa,[32] and the Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language is at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo.[33] Both of these programs emphasize the issues mentioned above, and their faculty members are some of the leading scholars on issues of Hawaiian sovereignty, settler colonialism, and other themes explored in this dissertation. The establishment of Hawaiian studies university programs in the late 1990s and early 2000s also brought an abundance of new scholarship in the field of Hawaiian history, with a particular focus on many of the key themes discussed here.

The year 1993 was an important milestone in Hawai'i (and is discussed in relation to the case studies in Chapters 2 and 4). On the centennial anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by representatives of the elite haole oligarchy acting illegally, the Hawaiian state legislature held a tribunal in which it "recognized the unique status that the native Hawaiian people bear to the State of Hawaii and to the

[32] "Kamakakuokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies," University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Accessed September 17, 2016: http://manoa.hawaii.edu/hshk/kamakakuokalani/

[33] "Hawaiian Language and Literature," University of Hawai'i at Hilo, Accessed August 10, 2014: http://hilo.hawaii.edu/academics/hawn/

United States."[34] Therefore, the legislature established a "Hawaiian sovereignty advisory commission" to "seek counsel from the native Hawaiian people on how to facilitate the efforts to be an indigenous sovereign nation of their own choosing."[35] In conjunction with this recognition, Michael Kioni Dudley and Keoni Kealoha Agard re-published a companion piece, *A Call for Hawaiian Sovereignty*.[36] It was meant as "an introduction, an overview in outline, of what native Hawaiian sovereignty is all about" and "as an instructive tool to inform the general public."[37] While the American government did not send a representative to the tribunal, it did issue a Presidential apology that President Bill Clinton signed on November 23, 1993. That action must be attributed in some part to the powerful collection of essays and testimony that resulted from the tribunal. Edited by Ward Churchill and Sharon H. Venne, judges on the tribunal, *Islands in Captivity: The Record of the International Tribunal on the Rights of Indigenous Hawaiians*, serves as a powerful testament to the renewed energy sparked by the events that took place that year. With lengthy discussions given to Hawaiian history and testimony, this volume stands as the most thorough and representative

[34] "An Act Relating to Hawaiian Sovereignty," Accessed February 8, 2019, http://sct.narf.org/documents/hawaiivoha/brief_in_opposition.pdf

[35] Ibid.

[36] An earlier version of this book was published in 1990, but was not widely available outside of Hawai'i.

[37] Michael Kioni Dudley and Keoni Kealoha Agard, *A Call for Hawaiian Sovereignty* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Nā Kāne O Ka Malo Press, 1993), xiii.

work compiled on the history of U.S. violations against Native Hawaiians, and how these past wrongs are currently fueling the sovereignty movement today.

These works begin to portray a change in the ways in which Hawaiian history was being interpreted for a scholarly and more public audience, and was a call for action. Haunani-Kay Trask, the most influential scholar in establishing the aforementioned Hawaiian university programs and one of the most outspoken leaders of the modern sovereignty movement, was one of the first to publish a battle cry for sovereignty. Originally published in 1993 and then revised with appendices in 1999, her masterful call to action represents a turning point in the field and its scholarship. Part history, part testimonio, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* is provocative and impassioned, and was and still is inflammatory for many. In her opening lines, Trask asserts "No matter what Americans believe, most of us in the colonies do not feel grateful that our country was stolen, along with our citizenship, our lands, and our independent place among the family of nations. We are not happy Natives."[38] This marks her starting point as she charts the history and current state of the Islands from Western contact to present day. It is perhaps most evident in this book that this emerging field is personal as well as political, as many of its politics are still actively being battled both within Hawai'i's communities and within the larger context of American empire.

[38] Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 2.

NoeNoe Silva, Trask's colleague at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, wrote the second groundbreaking book in the burgeoning field ten years later, titled *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism.* In her work, Silva uses Hawaiian language newspapers to definitively prove that Native Hawaiians were not happy with annexation, and that they actively rebelled and battled against political actions by the United States. The opening lines of the book say as much: "One of the most persistent and pernicious myths of Hawaiian history is that the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) passively accepted the erosion of their culture and the loss of their nation."[39] A review for Silva's foundational book signified the arrival of the new wave of Hawaiian Studies scholarship: "*Aloha Betrayed* represents a maturation of Native Hawaiian scholarship in the past two decades…it is a milestone of the first phase of contemporary Native Hawaiian scholarship and also a native 'takeover' of the historiography of modern Hawai'i."[40] Silva goes on to show that during the course of the nineteenth century, "the oligarchy," a small group of American missionaries and businessmen, gradually accumulated economic and cultural power in the Hawaiian Islands, later overthrowing the monarchy and seeking annexation to the United States. She argues that as a result, the "colonial historiography" was skewed in favor of those

[39] NoeNoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 1.

[40] Review by Taro Iwata, *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (Summer, 2005), 105-106. Published by University of Illinois Press on behalf of the Immigration & Ethnic History Society, Accessed April 4, 2019, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27501638.

who supported annexation, and later statehood, and has been the dominant voice in Hawaiian history.[41] In her research, she discovered the 1897 anti-annexation petition signed by the majority of the Native Hawaiians on the Islands, and was instrumental in having the entire document put on display in the Bishop Museum of Honolulu, further sparking the sovereignty movement. Groundbreaking in its research materials, interpretations, and activism, *Aloha Betrayed* marks another incredibly influential contribution to the field.

Another landmark work in the study of Hawaiian history is Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio's *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, in which he takes up both language and the law. Silva and Trask's colleague at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Osorio narrates all the ways in which white Americans were a much more insidious than passive spectator group on the Islands. In his concluding chapter on the complexities of the modern sovereignty movement, Osorio reflects, "Our submission to the language of law and especially to its ubiquity and its fickleness is what, I believe, has so altered our sense of ourselves and our inherent sovereignty."[42] It is precisely the laws forced upon the Native Hawaiians over and over again that many of these works make the effort to reclaim and reframe, in order to give agency back to the native community in an attempt to further inspire the sovereignty

[41] Silva, 5.

[42] Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004), 251.

movement and other efforts at more native-centered approaches to life in contemporary Hawai'i.

In addition to these foundational texts in the historiography of Hawaiian Studies, other scholars were taking up Hawai'i as a case study through the lenses of empire and race as well. For example, as Matthew Frye Jacobson argues in *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917,* Hawai'i often "found itself gripped in U.S. possession only at arm's length: the United States held them, to be sure, but at a safe distance from anything approximating full citizenship, equality, or participation in the sacred workings of self-government."[43]

The legacies of what Jodi Byrd calls the "internal occupations of race" persisted in the decades after annexation in 1898, as with the influx of white military families after World War I, Hawai'i became entrapped in the American racial dichotomy of white/non-white exemplified by the 1932 Massie court case. Taking place less than six months after the first trial of the Scottsboro Boys in Alabama and reminiscent of the mob violence and lynching prevalent in the South, "local" men were kidnapped, brutally beaten, and one murdered for the alleged sexual assault of a white navy wife.[44] Today's interpretation of "local" identity stems from this trial (local becoming synonymous with

[43] Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 234.

[44] John P. Rosa, *Local Story: The Massie Case Narrative and the Culture of History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014).

non-white, or the opposite of a haole or white person). The pre-World War II racial and sexual anxiety surrounding white womanhood and "local"—the closest term to "colored" in Hawai'i—men are brilliantly articulated in John P. Rosa's work *Local Story: The Massie Case Narrative and the Culture of History.* Relatedly, several works discuss the ways the popular press cast Queen Lili'uokalani, the last ruling monarch of Hawai'i, as an African caricature, conflating dark skin with inferiority in an attempt to prove her a ridiculous and incapable leader, and to undermine her control in the American-run courts.[45] Overall, these examples are not surprising with the context of U.S. imperialism, but offer interesting insights into how Hawaiian race relations were influenced by white Americans' previous experiences with Native Americans and African Americans, and provide further justification to using empire as a lens through which to view these linked, racialized interactions.

Much work has been done on how American racial anxieties played a role in Hawai'i's path to statehood and how, as Matthew Frye Jacobson asserts, "Hawaiian

[45] As Sally Engle Merry elaborates in *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law,* "Law became a marker of the seductive idea of 'civilization,' that complex set of signs, practices, and forms of bodily management that could confer sovereignty even upon a female monarch with brown skin when white masculinity seemed the essential badge of rule." [Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 8.] Additionally, as Caroline Elkins and Susan Pedersen explain in regard to the law, white masculinities, and settler populations generally, "Settler colonies, like settler societies, are marked by pervasive inequalities, usually codified in law, between settler and indigenous populations. In settler colonies, the caste division between the settler and the indigene is usually built into the economy, the political system, and the law, with particular economic activities and political privileges (including, sometimes, rights to own land, vote, or be tried according to metropolitan standards of justice) reserved for members of the settler population." (Elkins and Pedersen, 4.) Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill make a similar connection that, "'settler colonialism,' comes laden with historical connotations within the U.S. imaginary that link settlers to representations of intrepid white men who bravely conquered the Wild West." (Arvin et al, 12.)

petitions for statehood were rejected in 1903, 1911, 1913, and 1915 [so that] the United States [could take] the Hawaiian Islands without, as it were, taking the Hawaiians."[46] Further, while Southern Senators were debating the addition of Hawai'i, as Gerald Horne's *The White Pacific: U.S. Imperialism and Black Slavery in the South Seas After the Civil War* posits, white supremacy influenced Hawai'i's decision to actively avoid annexation, as Native Hawaiians wanted nothing to do with slavery and the rest of America's racialized problems. This seems ironic considering the ways the Hawaiian Islands are often touted as a paradise where Americans can escape the racial tensions flaring at home. In *Facing the Pacific: Polynesia and the U.S. Imperial Imagination*, Jeffrey Geiger finds that nineteenth and early twentieth century advertisements "attest to the linked pleasures that South Pacific islands have, over centuries, afforded the consuming gaze of the West—connoting solitude, release from cares, and, more recently, renewal from urbanized modern life."[47] Thus the folklore surrounding Hawai'i was spun so that it offered a brief respite from American racial tensions but the die had been cast from the beginning, and white Americans often could not discern between the perceived racial problems surrounding Native Americans, African Americans, and Native Hawaiians becoming "American." As indigeneity scholar Judy Rohrer explains of continental Americans' first exposure to race relations in Hawai'i:

[46] Jacobson, 236.

[47] Jeffrey Geiger, *Facing the Pacific: Polynesia and the U.S. Imperial Imagination* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 1.

> Confronted with the unfamiliar label 'haole,' we respond from what we know, and that is usually our experience of race on the continent (I refer to the continental United States as 'the continent'). And so we are surprised because in Hawai'i we are made aware of our whiteness, whereas on the continent, for the most part, we were oblivious to it or took it for granted. Unlike the continent, whiteness in Hawai'i is always marked and often challenged.[48]

Thus, though the similarities abound, Hawai'i offers a unique case study of how race is constructed and enacted in a mythologized "multicultural melting pot," a concept that finds its origins in the development of the labor population for the plantations between around 1850 to the 1930s. As Burlin notes that "the United States was conceived as an empire and was inherently imperial given the systemic growth requirements of its capitalist political economy"—an economy that required settlers and migrants to keep it running.[49]

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[48] It seems important to note that Judy Rohrer is a white woman who grew up in Hawai'i and received her PhD in political science from the University of Hawai'i, experiences she says inspired her to study the making of haole identity on the Islands. [Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2010), 2.]

[49] Burlin, 3. In this regard, Lorenzo Veracini makes an important distinction between settler and migrant, explaining, "Settlers, however, are unique migrants, and, as Mahmood Mamdani has perceptively summarised, settlers 'are made by conquest, not just by immigration.' Settlers are founders of political orders and carry their sovereignty with them (on the contrary, migrants can be seen as appellants facing a political order that is already constituted)." [Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Cambridge: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3.] In regard to some scholars' arguments that the plantation labor system created the loving, multicultural-melting-pot racial environment in Hawai'i, I would point to Patrick Wolfe's argument that "Settler colonies were not primarily established to extract surplus value from indigenous labor. Rather, they are premised on displacing indigenes from (or *re*placing them on) the land." [Patrick Wolfe, *Writing Past Colonialism: Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1999), 1.] Thus, Native Hawaiians are endangered whether they participate or not, as the goal is not to include them in a subordinate role but to erase them. Alternatively, Hall interprets this process different though noting it is still detrimental, "The most widespread American mythology about contemporary and historical Hawai'i revolves around the vision of the melting pot, a multicultural paradise where elements from every group combine into a rich whole that all can share… The pleasure of this vision erases a violent, coercive, and tragic history. The multiplicity of races and cultures in contemporary Hawai'i was born in the deliberate attempt by plantation owners to

In addition to race and empire as frameworks through which to study Hawaiian history, settler colonialism has also comprised a more prominent role in recent decades, and acts as an important framework for this dissertation. Settler societies are prevalent around the globe as a result of motivations ranging from ancient "voyages of exploration" to modern economic greed and the desire for military domination. In the case of North American settler colonialism, indigenous populations were decimated, either from foreign disease or other violences. Thus, often becoming the minority (or sometimes even remaining the majority), these populations became dominated for one reason or another by an outside group, who then asserted their control over nearly every aspect of daily life. Consequently, the legacies of North American settler colonialism continue to reconfigure themselves as the structure of invasion is allowed to repeat itself through governmental policies, economic domination, and cultural appropriation.[50] Indeed, Jodi Byrd explains, "The breakaway settler colonialisms that produced the global North, particularly the United States, have created internally contradictory quagmires where human rights, equal rights, and recognitions are predicated on the very systems that propagate and maintain the dispossessions of indigenous peoples for the common good of the world."[51] Indigenous populations stay

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divide and conquer their workforce." (Lisa Kahaleole Hall, "'Hawaiian at Heart' and Other Fictions," *The Contemporary Pacific* 17, no. 2 (2005), 406.)

[50] Wolfe, 3.

[51] Jodi Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press), xix.

trapped within the settler society, because as part of the U.S. empire, the settlers remain in power. The 2014 anthology edited by Alyosha Goldstein, *Formations of United States Colonialism*, argues that "analyzing U.S. colonialism demands understanding U.S. empire and the imperial nation-state as itself a comparative project and mode of power."[52] Therefore acting as a part of the imperial effort, settler colonialism can offer important evidence as to why the concept of empire provides a productive category of analysis in U.S. history. A particularly complex system in the North American context, "Settler colonialism in what is now the United States changes over time, shifting in disposition variously from accommodation to annihilation to inclusion of indigenous peoples, while never being reducible to the encounter between 'settler' and 'native' positionalities."[53] These shifts have been well-represented in the Hawaiian context, and serve to illustrate why Hawai'i is a particularly relevant case study in the realm of U.S. empire.

The 2008 anthology *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* remains a groundbreaking work in the understanding of settler colonialism and how "local" identity in Hawai'i creates a unique case study for interpretations of colonial legacies continuing to be re-enacted today. Inspired by Haunani-Kay Trask's analysis of Asians in Hawai'i as settlers rather than immigrants, an

[52] Goldstein, 1.

[53] Ibid., 9.

interpretation later seconded by scholars like NoeNoe Silva and Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Asian Settler Colonialism* explores the ways in which "Asian histories of oppression and resistance in Hawai'i…end up reproducing the colonial claims made in white settler historiography."[54] Editor Candace Fujikane further asserts "In their focus on racism, discrimination, and the exclusion of Asians from full participation in an American democracy, such studies tell the story of Asians' civil rights struggles as one of nation building in order to legitimate Asians' claims to a place for themselves in Hawai'i."[55] The book works to combat the stereotype of Hawai'i as a multicultural melting pot where racism does not exist and all races are welcome to partake, and instead offers a counter-analysis to how Asian settlers see themselves and their "occupation of Native Hawaiian land in a U.S. colony."[56] Recognizing their own position within the settler societal structure, these scholars seek to actively engage their own roles in the subjugation of native peoples, and the result has been a major turning point for the field, as studies of settler colonialism have been greatly influenced by this anthology. Yet again, U.S. empire building comes into play, as the generations of Asian settlers discussed in the collection are the descendants of migrants who were recruited to do work on the various white-owned plantations around the Islands. More broadly,

[54] Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Y. Okamura, eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 2.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., xiii.

empire is a useful lens here in that it allows a wider scope in viewing transnational migration, the ongoing legacies of settler societies, and how citizenship and local identity were shaped by race and racial tensions, many of which still exist in Hawai'i today.

As Judy Rohrer has observed, "One of the dominant contemporary productions of haole (white people, whiteness) is that of victim, unfairly discriminated against by state policies that benefit Native Hawaiians (Kanaka Maoli) and by a local culture characterized as 'anti-haole.'"[57] Though common throughout the United States, calls of purported "reverse racism" serve to mask the American imperial white supremacist structure at play in Hawai'i. White Americans came to dominate the Islands, almost

[57] Rohrer goes on to note that "Precontact Kanaka Maoli did not think in terms of race, and certainly never asked to be 'raced' (this is the crux of the argument against using the Western racial label of 'native Hawaiian')." [Judy Rohrer, "'Got Race?' The Production of Haole and the Distortion of Indigeneity in the Rice Decision" *The Contemporary Pacific* 18, no. 1 (2005), 1, 9.] Lisa Kahaleole Hall further explains, "When the Hawaiian people lost our national sovereignty through the illegal invasion and overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1893 and our subsequent annexation by the United States of America in 1898, we also lost control over the meaning of 'Hawaiian' identity. In the forcible transformation from nation to American colony to American state, the meaning of 'Hawaiian' became ambiguous, as residents of the Territory of Hawai'i, and then of the state, began to be called 'Hawaiian' along with the indigenous Hawaiian people. The terms 'Native Hawaiian' and 'Kanaka Maoli' are often used today to ensure accurate recognition of who is being discussed, but 'Native Hawaiian' carries its own colonial baggage." [Hall, 404.] Finally, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui argues "Blood quantum classification cannot account for the emphasis on relatedness in genealogical practices—forms of identification that serve to connect people to one another, to place, and to the land. These connections are grounded in sovereignty, self-determination, and citizenship, not racialized beneficiary status. The discourse of 'racial equality' continues to be leveled as an attack on Kanaka Maoli claims—those based on collective inheritance and the sovereign claim to full nationhood under international law—as well as the meager U.S. federal funds earmarked for Native Hawaiians. Thus, now more than ever, Kanaka Maoli must insist on our own genealogies and their attendant responsibilities to our land and descendants." [J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 196.] This imposed language of "native" is also part of the indigenous experience of empire, and an important topic that needs to be interrogated further.

from their first appearance at the turn of the nineteenth century. As a result of this domination, Candace Fujikane notes, "It is no coincidence that in their own homeland, Hawaiians suffer from the highest rates of homelessness, unemployment, poverty, health problems, and incarceration for property crimes and substance abuse."[58] Clearly, the insidious legacies of American imperialism and settler colonialism continue to plague Hawai'i, and there is a marked division amongst scholars working there as some call for complete Hawaiian sovereignty and a dismissal of all non-native Hawaiians from the Islands while others who reject this kind of dramatic action are seen as equally controversial for not supporting the sovereignty movement. Though these debates circulate widely, many foundational books in the realm of Hawaiian Studies continue to be published which explore settler colonialism and American imperialism while reshaping both Hawaiian scholarship and activism.

As Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua explains in her introduction to the anthology, *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty*, "Through battles waged in courtrooms, on the streets, at the capitol building, in front of landowners' and developers' homes and offices, on bombed-out sacred lands, in classrooms and from tents on the beaches, Kanaka Maoli pushed against the ongoing forces of U.S. occupation and settler colonialism that still work to eliminate or assimilate us."[59] Led by

[58] Fujikane and Okamura, 1.

[59] Noelani Goodyear-Ka'opua, Ikaika Hussey, Erin Kahunawaika'ala Wright eds., *A Nation Rising: Hawaiian Movements for Life, Land, and Sovereignty* (Duke University Press, 2014), 1.

contemporary indigenous scholars like Haunani-Kay Trask, NoeNoe K. Silva, and Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, there has been a definite and powerful shift to more nuanced and native-centered approaches both in and outside of Hawai'i, including many that examine cultural appropriation and tourism as negative impacts of U.S. empire.

The final framework of this dissertation is the aloha spirit, tourism, and militourism. In describing "ethnic tourism," Martha K. Norkunas argues, "indigenous peoples begin to shape their cultural identities according to what they believed tourists wanted to see…This was a kind of participation in stereotyping, a tacit agreement to domination."[60] In *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West*, Hal K. Rothman asserts:

> Tourism is the most colonial of colonial economies, not because of the sheer physical difficulty or the pain or humiliation intrinsic in its labor but because of its psychic and social impact on people and their places. Tourism and the social structure it provides transform locals into people who look like themselves but who act and believe differently as they learn to market their place and its, and their, identity.[61]

Clearly, tourism has a negative effect on the society and culture on which it is imposed. The overwhelming burden tourism places on indigenous peoples can also cause racial tensions, as state forces are often tipped towards protecting tourist revenue and

[60]Martha K. Norkunas, *The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History, and Ethnicity in Monterey, California* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 7.

[61] Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 12.

tourists over the well-being and desires of native peoples. In discussing the "animosity" that many in Hawai'i feel towards tourists, Dean Itsuji Saranillio explains that the theft of tourists' property from their rental cars is the crime taken most seriously in the area of Maui he studies. However, he notes "Yet crimes against Kānaka ʻŌiwi (Native Hawaiians), such as desecration of sacred burials; the continued seizing of water leading to the death of rivers; forcing people to change their way of life; and not least the theft of an entire nation, are all forms of violence often considered natural and a normal part of American history."[62] As a result of this multi-generational experience of constructed identity, and the continued crushing burden the tourism industry places on their home, many Hawaiians today are turning to other forms of community engagement and storytelling to ensure their stories and voices are preserved their way.

As Patrick Wolfe posits, settler societies operate through the "logic of elimination," meaning they seek to erase indigenous peoples in order to take full control of their land. In one of the most touristic areas on all the islands, Stephanie Nohelani Teves explains how this logic of elimination plays out through the tourist imaginary: "The fabrication of 'Hawaiianness' throughout Waikīkī in Hawaiian motifs, street names, and so-called Hawaiian motifs, street names, and so-called Hawaiian cultural performances, caters to tourists' fantasized image of Hawai'i, a simulation of a Native

[62] Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "(Locals Will) Remove All Valuables from Your Vehicle: The Kepaniwai Heritage Gardens and the Damming of the Waters," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i,* edited by Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, (Duke University Press, 2019), 50.

presence which, in fact, signals Native absence."[63] By catering to the white tourist imaginary, as Norkunas and Rothman suggest, the constructed Hawaiian identity on display in places like Waikiki further serves to obscure and erase Hawaiian history. Teves continues, "The tourists who pass these large portraits [of Princess Kaʻiulani] daily are presented with imagery of the Hawaiian Kingdom as a thing of the past, one whose majesty and royal magnitude has cultural value but no political relevance today, erasing Hawai'i's history as a kingdom, a nation."[64] This retrojection of Hawaiian culture and history as a relic of a bygone era is a main point of exploration in this dissertation, epitomized by the maneuvers attempted by the haole elite to temporally displace the two case study sites examined here. Additionally, one of the most powerful ways this structure of elimination has been implemented in Hawai'i is through education and academia, and the devaluation of Hawaiian culture. Lisa Kahaleole Hall argues that kitsch in the form of aloha shirts and tiki bars serves to make "Hawaiian-ness seem ridiculous," and that "a culture without dignity" cannot be valued, so that "the repeated marketing of kitsch Hawaiian-ness leads to non-Hawaiians' misunderstanding and degradation of Hawaiian culture and history."[65] Therefore kitsch serves an important

[63] Stephanie Nohelani Teves, "Princess Kaʻiulani Haunts Empire in Waikīkī," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i,* edited by Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, (Duke University Press, 2019), 74.

[64] Teves, 73.

[65] Hall, 409.

role within this structure, because it helps interpret Hawaiian culture as not worthy of serious academic study.

Native Hawaiian scholar Kuʻualoha Hoʻomanawanui asserts that non-native people's insistence on an indigenized identity is a continuation of the erasure that started with initial exploration. Therefore, claiming the "Hawaiian at heart" identity serves to feed the logics of elimination that destroy and then replace native peoples in North America.[66] This cultural appropriation constitutes an act of violence, as the settler population takes up aspects of indigenous culture so that these cultures become commodified, domesticated, and their kitsch normalized. In *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture,* Martin A. Berger suggests, "My concern is that white academics who focus on representations of nonwhite peoples—no less than members of the general public who 'love' black athletes, comedians, and musicians—may use the mantle of 'racial justice' as a respectable cover for indulging in our long-standing fascination with the other."[67] His point is well taken, as it clearly relates to non-natives, both American and abroad, continually expressing a deep love and appreciation for native cultures without recognizing the people who actually embody them, let alone the dire circumstances many indigenous people face as a result of the settler society that

[66] Kuʻualoha Hoʻomanawanui, "From Captain Cook to Captain Kirk, or, From Colonial Exploration to Indigenous Exploitation: Issues of Hawaiian Land, Identity, and Nationhood in a 'Postethnic' World" in *Transnational Crossroads: Remapping the Americas and the Pacific*, edited by Camilla Fojas and Rudy Guevarra, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 229-268.

[67] Martin A. Berger, *Sight Unseen: Whiteness and American Visual Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 3.

allows such unabashed "affection." Lisa Kahaleole Hall poignantly summarizes the issue in Hawai'i, saying:

> "Hawaiians at heart" assume that knowing and appreciating Hawaiian culture is enough to transform them into being Hawaiian. Indeed, some have gone so far as to claim that they are more Hawaiian than actual Hawaiians, because they have greater cultural or language knowledge. A bitter irony exists in the psychological ease with which non Hawaiians study Hawaiian language and culture. Often Hawaiians are misread as uninterested or resistant to learning when they do not fully participate in Hawaiian education, but the reality is that all contemporary Hawaiians come from a past where our parents', grandparents', or great grandparents' use of Hawaiian language and culture was forbidden, legislated against, brutally punished, or a combination of these. Non-Hawaiians without this history do not carry a legacy of internalized fear, shame, and anger to impede their study, nor do they feel guilt about this history. The anger and shame that Hawaiians cut off from their cultural history feel toward non-Hawaiians' attempted cultural one-upmanship is very real, though rarely articulated.[68]

The trauma inherent in experiencing indigeneity with the American settler society is very real, and another important way in which native cultural life has been damaged. By criticizing indigenous peoples for not being invested enough in their cultural histories, people in the settler position help continue the legacies of settler colonialism, whether inadvertently or not. Though there is a wealth of theoretical knowledge surrounding settler colonialism globally, it seems North America and Hawai'i in particular are receiving more attention over the last decade, another part of the important shift in valuing native cultures on the continent. Another aspect of settler colonialism, and

[68] Hall, 410-411.

devastating legacy of U.S. imperialism, is the increasing militarization of native land, as well as the negative effects tourism has on native populations.

In *Facing the Pacific: Polynesia and the U.S. Imperial Imagination*, Jeffrey Geiger argues that "Hawai'i would serve as a physical and conceptual base upon which to push US ambitions farther west and south: Honolulu and the islands were transitional cultural spaces of transnational flow, perched between the comfort and safety of home and the purer, more intense exoticism promised by the imagined, as yet untamed, southern skies of Polynesia."[69] Connecting both the idea of home and its relationship to tourism with U.S. "ambitions" for expansion, Geiger highlights the ways in which tourism and militarism work together within the American imperial fantasy. Taking the Hawaiian Islands as a case study, tourism and militarism are integral parts of America's empire-building, as they serve to both populate and domesticate American territories with non-Natives.

Hawai'i has a particularly contentious role in the U.S. empire because of the nature of its statehood and the unrelenting, incredibly destructive nature of the American military's presence. Two foundational works explore these controversial topics, Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull's *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i,* which seeks to disrupt the everyday to reveal how the American military has normalized itself within Hawai'i, and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez's *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines*, which explores how

[69] Geiger, 15.

tourism and militarism have functioned together, jointly empowering the U.S. to assert its geostrategic and economic interests in the Pacific. Though taking different approaches, the three scholars tackle similar issues, including military outposts and the destruction of sacred landscapes, war memorials, the creation of "historic sites" and their relationship to militourism, as well as how Hawaiians experience American patriotism through the lens of their own native warrior culture. [70] These dynamics are often hidden as Ferguson and Turnbull note, "The military is thoroughly normalized within Hawai'i, sedimenting itself through accumulated familiarity into the everyday ways of life that produce what we experience as normal."[71] Thus, Pearl Harbor becomes a national war memorial rather than an example of illegal occupation, as American military bases continue to inhabit huge swaths of the already geographically small Islands. Still, Ferguson and Turnbull explain, "Hawai'i has the dubious distinction of being the most militarized state in the United States."[72] For tourists, perhaps, the military seems an original fixture of the Hawaiian landscape, as a natural beacon of safety, freedom, and American excellence, ever present in the event that it is needed to defend America's interests in the Pacific. For Hawaiians (and often, residents of Cuba, the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico), it acts as a reminder of the continued

[70] Ty Kāwika Tengan explains, "It has historically been military service that filled the void for Hawaiians seeking to be warriors, leading Hawai'i to have the highest rate of men killed in the Vietnam War." [Ty Kāwika Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2008), 7.]

[71] Ferguson and Turnbull, vix.

[72] Ibid., 1.

subjugation of their native land, and serves to strengthen and extend the reach of U.S. empire in the Pacific.

Vernadette Gonzalez tracks these imperial legacies to their origins in that, "Early travel narratives and colonial fictions established the literary and visual terms that framed the tropical possessions of the United States as land to be claimed: this early tourist gaze, then, shared the inclination for ownership and control that defined military itineraries."[73] Therefore, empire is a useful category of analysis in this context as it helps clarify how the various processes of both militarism and tourism have enabled the U.S. to continuously claim its territories, and the Hawaiian Islands in particular. Gonzalez argues that the rhetoric surrounding the sites acquired in 1898 help fuel this relationship between militarism and tourism: "As sites of fantastical imaginings and military occupations, they mark the uneasy tensions between American and its others, American republican ideals and the U.S. state's imperial historical record, and the voyeuristic and violent fantasies of the tourist and the soldier."[74] Ferguson and Turnbull push further noting, "The connections between the extensive material presence of military installations in Hawaiian land and water and the indirect, seemingly casual markers of the military in everyday life are seldom articulated."[75] These hidden

[73] Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Duke University Press, 2013), 12.

[74] Ibid., 9.

[75] Ferguson and Turnbull, xiv.

histories mask the violence of settler colonialism and American imperialism, while allowing tourists from all over the world to experience America's very own paradise on earth.

Like militarism, tourism has had devastating effects in Hawai'i, from the destruction of sacred sites to the encroachment of resorts into ancient surfing spots to the criminalization of cultural practices like subsistence fishing. Native Hawaiians suffer its consequences in their daily lives. In her book, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire,* Adria Imada discusses these connections at length:

> Empire as a "way of life" in the islands remains visible yet nearly unspeakable even today, manifesting itself as the most "militouristic" zone of the United States. As described by Teresia K. Teaiwa, militourism is 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." Tourism and the military are inextricable and symbiotic forces in the islands: tourism is the state's largest industry, followed closely by U.S. Department of Defense spending. What makes American empire in the islands so difficult to assess and repudiate is that it was and continues to be interpreted as a consequence of aloha.[76]

By attributing Hawai'i's subjugation to the stereotypical rendering of Hawai'i that the American imperial imagination itself helped create, the U.S. empire functions to rearticulate its control through the bastardization of the concept of aloha.[77] Scholar Rona Tamiko Halualani explains, "Most, however, are exposed to widely imagined

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[76] Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits Through the U.S. Empire* (Duke University Press, 2013), 10.

[77] "In another example, the word 'aloha' has been so commodified, distorted, and exploited that its use has provoked laughter among non-Hawaiians in the context of tiki bars and campy comedy routines. Unpacking the layers of colonial accretion on a foundational cultural concept is a daunting task." (Hall, 409.)

reflections of Hawaiians splashed over travel posters, advertisements, T-shirts, and souvenirs around the globe: the requisite hula girl and her sexualized body, the native male surfer, the happy *ukulele*-playing Hawaiian who greets you as you walk by, and the famed *Aloha* spirit (the notion that Hawai'i and Hawaiians are naturally benevolent, generous, and willing to share everything Hawaiian: native residency, experience, artifacts, and identity)."[78] Yet despite this seemingly positive representation, it is necessary through settler logics of elimination to relegate these peoples to the past, and as such, hula and other traditional cultural practices became associated with vice, as "barbaric relics of dying pasts and racially inferior peoples, despite the fact that they were wildly popular with tourists."[79] In many ways, one of the main tools in aiding American imperial fantasies was the transformation of racialized Hawaiian bodies into sexualized ones, where bodies as contested sites could come to symbolize other things. Hawaiian female bodies were especially sexualized through the enticing commodification of hula, whereas when white women took on the role of hula dancer, their costumes and movements were much more "modest" and showed "appreciation" for an ancient culture. In *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World,* Jane C. Desmond argues, "Many, many people are willing to pay a lot of money to see

[78] Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), xiv.

[79] Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 7.

bodies which are different from their own, to purchase the right to look, and to believe that through that visual consumption they have come to know something that they didn't before."[80] Similarly, in *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture,* Shawn Michelle Smith contends that visual culture not only reflects, but shapes the racialized formation of American identities, clearly an important idea to consider in this context.[81]

Not only were Hawaiian bodies and gender recast, so too was the land itself. While settler colonies lay the foundation for a complete takeover, tourism often deals the final blow as "lands initially deemed external and terrifying were continually remade and remapped as internal in an attempt to obliterate any other possible spatial, historical, or sovereign memory."[82] As a result, foreign territories become tamed,

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[80] Jane C. Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), xiii. Similarly, several scholars have examined the role of sex, intimacy, and labor in empire building, including Patricia O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006); Ann Stoler, ed., *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Duke University Press, 2006); and Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), to name just a few.

[81] Shawn Michelle Smith, *American Archives: Gender, Race, and Class in Visual Culture* (Princeton University Press, 1999). In a similar vein, Teresia Teaiwa describes the ecological racism and the misogynistic leanings that justified the nuclear testings that took place on the Bikini Islands. "The sensational bathing suit was named for Bikini Atoll. This was the site in the Marshall Islands for the testing of twenty five nuclear bombs between 1946 and 1958. Bikini Islanders testify to the continuing history of colonialism and ecological racism in the Pacific basin. The bikini bathing suit is testament to the recurring tourist trivialization of Pacific Islanders' experience and existence. By drawing attention to a sexualized and supposedly depoliticized female body, the bikini distracts from the colonial and highly political origins of its name. The sexist dynamic the bikini performs—objectification through excessive visibility—inverts the colonial dynamics that have occurred during nuclear testing in the Pacific, objectification by rendering invisible." [Teresia K. Teaiwa, "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans" *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 87.]

[82] Byrd, 148.

naturalized, and "safe." Jeffrey Geiger explains this process in regard to Hawai'i, stating "Hawai'i had been incorporated into an imagined US frontier, having long lost its mystique for the traveler in search of an 'unmapped' paradise. The mythical Pacific remained an ideal to be met beyond the frontier's known horizon, while Hawai'i was a safe travel option occupying the realms of tourism and international trade."[83] Thus, Hawai'i has become thoroughly American, even if Native Hawaiians have not. The construction of the dichotomous identity of Hawai'i as both battleground and popular getaway, both American and an American commodity have been fueled by the mythology created by the U.S. empire. Native Hawaiians continue to be framed as "'ideal' natives who are graciously welcoming to outsiders and who present visitors with a nonthreatening, alluring encounter with paradisical exoticism."[84] Further, Americans feel comfortable visiting the Islands, viewing "Hawai'i as their 'Aloha State' of love and affection and their nation's own South Seas paradise"[85] Though actively being disputed through scholarship, activism, and the sovereignty movement, these representations persist, influencing many Americans' view of the Hawaiian Islands.

The last few years have a brought a wealth of new scholarship to reframe Hawaiian history and strategize new methods for decolonization.[86] Specific to 'Iolani

[83] Geiger, 14-15.

[84] Desmond, 4.

[85] Skwiot, 1.

[86] Excellent recent additions to the historiography include *Beyond Ethnicity: New Politics Of Race In Hawai'i*, edited by Camilla Fojas (2018), Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., and Nitasha Tamar Sharma, J. Kehaulani

Palace, Stacy Kamehiro and Tiffany Lani Ing have written excellent books on King David Kalākaua's tenure and his intentions behind building 'Iolani Palace.[87] Each seeks to recast the derided monarch in a new context by explaining his efforts as well as those who succeeded in slandering him during his time, and through most of the historical record. In addition to these monographs, Liza Keānuenueokalani Williams and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez's recent interdisciplinary investigation utilizes Derrida's theorization of hospitality and the concepts of host and hostage to explicate the coloniality of the cultural concept of aloha as deployed at the Palace and in the militouristic regime of the State.[88] Their article focuses heavily on indigenous mobilization like the *Mai Poina* walking tour at the Palace (discussed in Chapter 4) as an active form of cultural decolonization.

Gonzalez's other recent addition to this effort is *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i*, which she edited with Hokulani K. Aikau. Featuring poetry, art, maps, and tour itineraries, in addition to traditional essays, *Detours* offers an innovative approach to

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Kauanui's *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism* (2018), Stephanie Nohelani Teves' *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance* (2018), Noelani Arista's *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (2018), Dean Itsuji Saranillio's *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai'i Statehood* (2018), and Maile Arvin's *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai`i and Oceania* (2019).

[87] Stacy Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009) and Tiffany Lani Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua: Nineteenth-Century Perspectives on a Hawaiian Sovereign* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019). See also, Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016) for more on the overthrow and the Palace.

[88] Liza Keānuenueokalani Williams and Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, "Indigeneity, Sovereignty, Sustainability and Cultural Tourism: Hosts and Hostages at 'Iolani Palace, Hawai'i," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 25, no. 5 (2017), 668-683.

decolonization in that it celebrates a variety of methodologies while centering indigenous knowledge systems. Offering a succinct overview of the book's goals to unsettle expectations of a touristic Hawai'i while carving a decolonial path forward, the editors explain:

> This is important because just as colonization, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy continue to evolve and shape-shift, appropriating our efforts, co-opting our people, and slowly killing us, we need decolonizing practices that are creative, adaptive, innovative, and ongoing if Indigenous peoples are going to get out in front of the colonizing machines and hold firm to "the chattering winds of hope."[89]

This invitation to creative decolonization is followed by an excellent overview of many of the main events in Hawaiian history explored in this dissertation—the arrival of the missionaries, changes in the Hawaiian Kingdom, and the overthrow of the monarchy, among others. With works like these leading the charge, the efforts to decolonize Hawai'i and other indigenous peoples, cultures, and sites will take creative form as they continue to grow.

[89] Aikau and Gonzalez, 3.

Case Studies: Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace

If just for a day our king and queen/ Would visit all these islands and saw everything
How would they feel about the changes of our land
Could you just imagine if they were around/And saw highways on their sacred grounds
How would they feel about this modern life[90]

In "Hawai'i '78," songwriter Micky Ioane reflects on a tumultuous year in which a group of 200 non-violent Native Hawaiian protesters occupied Hilo Airport to bring attention to the expansion of the airport onto Hawaiian homelands without proper compensation. This illegal use of homelands, coupled with the high rates of incarceration of Native Hawaiians and increasing resort development on the nearby waterfront, prompted the peaceful protest which was met with unnecessary force from the National Guard.[91] It was during this same time period that National Park personnel were facing backlash from community groups for their restoration plans, or lack thereof. It was also the first year the Friends of 'Iolani Palace started giving public tours of the restored building. Ioane explains, "Talking with my grandfather, I asked, 'If Kamehameha came back right now, how would he feel about seeing condos on the sacred land where we used to go fish?'"[92] The song touches on what was going on at both sites—the contestation for power and meaning using Hawaiian history and its

[90] "Hawai'i '78," Written by Micky Ioane, 1978, famously recorded by Israel Kamakawiwo'ole, 1993.

[91] Timothy Hurley, "Not Forgotten," *Honolulu Star-Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 20, 2015. In this article, Hurley also draws parallels to the TMT situation, and ponders whether similar displays of force will be deployed against the group of non-violent protesters that occupied Mauna Kea.

[92] Ronna Bolante and Michael Keany, "50 Greatest Songs of Hawai'i," *Honolulu Magazine* (June 1, 2007). Accessed May 12, 2016, http://www.honolulumagazine.com/Honolulu-Magazine/June-2007/50-Greatest-Songs-of-Hawai-8217i/index.php?cparticle=3&siarticle=2#artanc

accompanying cultural resources, and how Native Hawaiians continued to call attention to the wrongs of the past, and the present.

As discussed previously, NoeNoe K. Silva masterfully proved, through the use of Hawaiian language sources, that there was a powerful and aggressive resistance movement to the United States' various efforts to control Hawai'i at the end of the nineteenth century. Resistance did not end in the 1890s, however, as there were efforts in the 1910s and 20s to revitalize the Hawaiian language, which had suffered greatly as a result of annexation because of the increased use of Pidgin (Hawai'i Creole English) and the shifting laws restricting which languages were allowed to be spoken and taught in public schools. The 1930s and 40s were dominated by labor organizing and strikes, with the post-war period seeing a surge of touristic development which could not be slowed.

Still, this myth of passive acceptance persists and having been codified into law as the aloha spirit, it is often used systematically to dismiss Native Hawaiian efforts for self-determination today. In her discussion of "Aloha State Apparatuses," Stephanie Nohelani Teves explains how protest has been framed as a betrayal of the famed aloha spirit: "Even worse, when Kānaka Maoli betray aloha, they become no longer 'Hawaiian,' and to no longer be 'Hawaiian' is to no longer have a place in Hawai'i. This helps explain why social protest in Hawai'i is often devalued, because it is considered a violation of the aloha spirit."[93] Therefore, despite a demonstrated opposition to foreign

[93] Stephanie Nohelani Teves, "Aloha State Apparatuses," *American Quarterly* 67, No. 3 (September 2015), 717.

occupation from the beginning, in both feeling and action, the evolution of the aloha spirit has been manipulated to undercut this opposition. By being forced to answer to a very specific definition of aloha, activists are often dismissed, and their legitimate claims ignored. The case studies explored here grapple with this tension between state-mandated adherence to the aloha spirit and the prevalent opposition to the settler colonial structure in Hawai'i.

'Iolani Palace, which stands 150 miles and a few islands away from Pu'ukoholā Heiau in Honolulu as the royal residence of some of the last of the Hawaiian monarchs, serves as a meeting point and a figurative peak of independent Hawaiian society. If Pu'ukoholā Heiau represents the symbolic start of the monarchy, as "a modern translation of a Heiau," the Palace represents its end.[94] In her exploration of the development of the Palace, Stacy Kamehiro discusses how the Palace was designed to "mark the modernity of the kingdom"[95] and that its grounds were presented as "the center of Hawai'i's mana."[96] Kyle Kajihiro and Terrilee Keko'olani further explain "Although the architecture is borrowed from different European styles, the foundation of the building and the sacred symbols incorporated into its construction followed

[94] "The palace also adapted to some extent the character of a temple or *heiau*. It constituted both a political and religious center." Kamehiro goes on to explain that some archaeologists argue that heiaus are very specifically located and positioned in terms of astronomy, and that "'Iolani Palace appears to have been purposefully situated, reinforcing the interpretation of the palace as a modern translation of a *heiau*." (Kamehiro, 66-68.)

[95] Ibid., 2.

[96] Ibid., 25.

Indigenous religious ceremony, such as that of a traditional heiau (temple)."[97] Thus, the Palace has been symbolic for many reasons since its construction, marking at first, the Hawaiian monarchy's place alongside other world leaders as well as Hawai'i's place as a modern nation. This was done through both the elegant architectural style as well as its advanced technology, as the Palace had a telephone system, modern indoor plumbing, and electricity before the White House or Buckingham Palace.[98] As a self-sustaining society, the Hawaiian monarchy recognized other nations' influence and integrated those ideas into its development as a modern kingdom while continuing to exist uniquely and independently. However, following the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, the Palace was occupied for nearly 60 years, which is the subject of Chapter 3.

As Stephanie Nohelani Teves notes "The state of Hawai'i has been integral in this process by appropriating and co-opting aloha to quiet dissent and police Kānaka Maoli behavior. By perpetuating the myth of the 'Aloha State,' the local government prioritizes a false sense of belonging among Hawai'i's multicultural population at the expense of Kānaka Maoli sovereignty claims."[99] Further serving to displace indigenous people physically and legally, Teves argues that protest and claims to sovereignty serve to

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[97] Kyle Kajihiro and Terrilee Keko'olani, "The Hawai'i DeTour Project: Demilitarizing Sites and Sights on O'ahu," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i,* edited by Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, (Duke University Press, 2019), 250.

[98] Kamehiro, 59.

[99] Teves, 710.

refuse the American government in Hawai'i and aid in the argument that the multicultural melting pot created by the strategic use of aloha is one of many insidious ways to silence and erase Native Hawaiians.

Two decades after "Hawai'i '78" was performed on the Palace grounds, just 30 miles south of Puʻukoholā Heiau a group of Native Hawaiians were evicted from their land in order to create another National Park dedicated to Native Hawaiian culture. As scholar Candace Fujikane notes, "the settler state and landowners have 'naturalized' evictions as the most visible, everyday acts of occupation and what Patrick Wolfe refers to as the structural 'logic of elimination' guiding settler colonial policies and practices."[100] Sally Engle Merry has argued, "Hawai'i represents a space of denial in the consciousness of American history,"[101] while Jocelyn Linnekin suggests, "From the indigenous perspective Hawaii represents a worst-case example of colonial conquest."[102] Using Patrick Wolfe's assertion that "invasion is a structure not an event," the case studies in this dissertation illuminate how the legacies of North American settler colonialism continue to reconfigure themselves as the structure of invasion is repeated through governmental policies, economic domination, and cultural appropriation, including that which is related to the demarcation and interpretation of

[100] Candace Fujikane, "Restoring Independence and Abundance on the Kulāiwi and 'Āina Momona," *American Quarterly* 67, No. 3 (September 2015), 975.

[101] Merry, 24.

[102] Jocelyn Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 1.

historic sites.[103] Wolfe argues that settler societies seek to erase indigenous peoples—physically, culturally, archivally—in order to take full control of their land and resources without consequence.[104] Therefore, this dissertation explores the ways in which the historical commemoration and interpretation efforts at Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace might offer an intervention into this process that reveals both the role of settler colonialism and the re-assertions of indigeneity in the face of complex and contradictory cultural and economic processes that seek to devalue it.

While many of Hawai'i's historical sites appear marketed to a touristic visitorship at first glance, the case studies presented here do something different. By examining the politics of place and the ways the popular imaginary is constructed as well as that which disrupts it, this project explores why and how the public engagement and

[103] Wolfe, 3.

[104] Adele Perry elaborates on the effects of this phenomenon as she describes British Columbia's history of indigenous dispossession. "Demanding that an Indigenous people prove their very existence in evidentiary terms that they lack is reminiscent of the predicament Elizabeth A. Povinelli identifies in contemporary Australia, namely the incessant yet unanswerable demand that Aboriginal peoples demonstrate 'tradition.' The result is that Indigenous people and their claims against settler societies are forever and necessarily found insufficient, impartial, and inauthentic." Additionally, "As Joanne Barker argues [in *Formations of United States Colonialism*], Native people are placed in the untenable position of having to prove an origin, sustained authentic difference, and ontological coherence that precedes and survives colonization while at the same time conforming to these superimposed systems of recognition as a prerequisite to securing their legal status and rights as defined within the system of colonial rule." By seeking to destroy their very existence through eviction and erasure, and then trivializing their only means of retort in the form of protest, the settler society is inherently violent as it depends on, in this case, militourism to displace and replace indigenous people on the Hawaiian landscape. "Both militarism and tourism rely on sedimented notions of colonized land and people (especially women) as passively there for the taking." [Adele Perry, "The Colonial Archive on Trial: Possession, Dispossession, and History in *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*," in Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions, and the Writing of History* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005), 341.; Alyosha Goldstein, ed., *Formations of United States Colonialism* (Duke University Press, 2014), 5. Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, *Securing Paradise: Tourism and Militarism in Hawai'i and the Philippines* (Duke University Press, 2013), 6.]

interpretive programming presented at these particular sites of conflict—whose competing social, cultural, and economic interests have helped transform them into ideological battlegrounds—have participated in the struggle over meaning at each. As a result of their stewardship by classic enactors of state violence (such as the federal government, in the case of the National Park Service at the Heiau, and the State of Hawai'i at the Palace), it might be assumed that each site's interpretation is complicit in representing their organization's different institutional agendas. Yet at each site there are ruptures in the dominant interpretive narrative that warrant examination, and enable openings for indigenous histories and cultural practices to be enacted, and for their absences to be noted, too. Ultimately, this dissertation explores how the historical narratives at these representative case studies developed and how Native Hawaiian activists, community groups, and other indigenous advocates have pushed contemporary stewards to offer micro-interventions through their interpretative approaches to help circumvent the conceptualization of Hawai'i as both American and an American commodity. This dissertation seeks to resituate these sites as spaces of contestation and indigeneity operating within and beyond the limitations of their administration. By locating ruptures in dominant narratives, this dissertation rereads historical commemoration of Hawaiian sites to give space to subtle forms of resistance.

In his 2008 book, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones*, Gary Okihiro describes the evolution of the symbolism of the pineapple in Hawaii, as it was "made local by the tourist industry as the 'aloha spirit,' which mocked

Hawaiian dispossession and leied and embraced tourists in advertisements, brochures, and postcards."[105] This theme of the use of "aloha" as a distraction for the larger issues faced by Native Hawaiians has been prevalent over the last several decades, and continues to be used in the modern efforts to come to terms with a colonial past that is still gripping the Hawaiian Islands. Hawai'i occupies a distinctive place in the American imagination, offering a flight over or a passage through the beloved place without the additional baggage or effort of creating a meaningful relationship with the *people of* the place. Today, Native Hawaiian sovereignty is expressed in myriad ways, through classic songs like "Hawai'i '78," through protest at sites like 'Iolani Palace, and increasingly, through the interpretation offered at historic sites.

Charting Kamehameha's rise to power achieved through his building of the ceremonial temple at its center, Chapter 1 (The "Ancient Heathen Temple of Kamehameha": Pu'ukoholā Heiau, 1791-1959) details his early experiences with foreigners and how he integrated both indigenous cultural-religious knowledge systems and Western war tactics to secure his empire. It explores the myriad changes that occurred in rapid succession upon his death, including the arrival of Western, Christian missionaries and the abandonment of the traditional Hawaiian religious system. In the period immediately following his death (1820-1860), white settlers worked to create a mythohistorical narrative surrounding his legacy and the Heiau, to temporally displace

[105] Gary Y. Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 176.

Native Hawaiians and their history and culture as things of the past, and to legitimize new uses of the site. From the overthrow in 1893 onwards, tourism became a focal point as part of the process of reterritorialization. While settlers appreciated the grandiose structure, they rejected the cultural significance of the events that had given it prominence in the Native Hawaiian religion. Thus, the Hawaiian cultural concepts Kamehameha embodied through the Heiau—of strength, dominance, complete power—were co-opted, while the ceremonial rites were removed and replaced with American virtues of self-made work ethic and ambition. In the decades approaching statehood, this recasting would become even more important as tourism began to play a bigger role in the site's future.

Statehood brought many changes in Hawai'i, but at the Heiau, it prompted designation as a site with "national" significance. Chapter 2 ("A Site of National [U.S.] Significance": Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, 1959-1993) charts the tenure of the National Park Service as steward of the site, including the site's various designations, the contentious preservation and restoration efforts of the 1970s and 80s, and the evolution of collaboration between local Native Hawaiian organizations and the agency. In the post-statehood era, the legacies of the reterritorialization process explored in Chapter 1 continued to play out at the Heiau, and how the contemporary interpretive efforts address these legacies is also explored here.

Completed in 1879, 'Iolani Palace is one of the most well-known historic sites in Hawai'i. As the second case study in this dissertation, it offers an important

complement to Pu`ukoholā Heiau as a highly trafficked, often contentious space. Titled "Famous are the children of Hawai'i, Ever loyal to the land": 'Iolani Palace, 1879-1959, Chapter 3 first explores King Kalākaua's motivations for the Palace's construction, how it was utilized, and why it came to hold so much symbolic significance in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Then charting the illegal overthrow of the kingdom by the haole oligarchy, the chapter shifts focus to investigate the Palace's occupation by the territorial government and the ways in which the settler colonial tactics discussed in this introduction were used in varying degrees to defame Kalākaua, Queen Lili'uokalani, and the achievements of the Hawaiian monarchy in order to resituate the white settlers as the rightful heirs to the kingdom. Similar to the Heiau, it was only after a few decades of the reterritorialization process that the haole oligarchy were able to first attempt to utilize the Palace for a touristic purpose leading into statehood.

As the one of the most damaging events in recent Hawaiian history, statehood was particularly painful at the Palace, as the foreign occupation of the space reached its symbolic peak in the 1950s during its use by the Statehood Commission. However, relatively quickly after statehood passed in 1959, the Friends of 'Iolani Palace, a non-profit group, were founded to lead the Palace's restoration efforts, and eventually design and implement the interpretive vision for the historic site. Chapter 4 ("America's Only Royal Palace": 'Iolani Palace, 1959-1993) documents the development of the Friends of 'Iolani Palace and their restoration and interpretive efforts. Though operating under much more public scrutiny than the National Park Service at the Heiau, both the

Friends' efforts as well as those of NPS were nevertheless constricted by and within the settler colonial framework of the aloha spirit, and these processes are explored further in this chapter. Kyle Kajihiro and Terrilee Keko'olani argue "The entire palace grounds have become a contemporary sacred space for Hawaiians as living symbols of Hawaiian sovereignty."[106] The importance of this site to the future of the Hawaiian Kingdom continues to be played out on the Palace grounds today, and important moments of cultural decolonization are explored throughout these chapters.

Conclusion

Tired and worn, I woke up this mornin'/Found that I was confused
Spun right around and found I had lost/The things that I couldn't lose
The beaches they sell to build their hotels/My fathers and I once knew
Birds all along sunlight at dawn/ Singing Waimanalo blues[107]

Throughout Hawai'i's history, many outside forces have sought to control the islands through different strategies of settler colonialism. These foreign efforts are evidenced by the loss of native land and sacred sites, as described in the song excerpt from "Waimanalo Blues," written by Liko Martin and Thor Wold in 1974 in protest of the ongoing development taking place in Hawai'i. By outlining these strategies here, and the ways in which they are enacted in Hawai'i and specifically at two foundational sites

[106] Kajihiro and Keko'olani, 252. For more on the area surrounding the Palace, see Craig Howes, "A Downtown Honolulu and Capitol District Decolonial Tour," in *Detours: A Decolonial Guide to Hawai'i*, edited by Hokulani K. Aikau and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, (Duke University Press, 2019), 300-314.

[107] "Waimanalo Blues," written by Liko Martin and Thor Wold, recorded by Country Comfort, 1974.

of the Hawaiian Kingdom, this dissertation explores how the interpretive efforts at Puʻukoholā Heiau and ʻIolani Palace are reacting to and constrained by the deployment of the aloha spirit. As Stephanie Nohelani Teves argues:

> Hawaiʻi's so-called primary resource and export—the aloha spirit—is thus sustained through ideas about aloha, which enables the tourism industry to capitalize on ideas about Hawaiʻi, which Hawaiʻi residents internalize, in a way that naturalizes the exploitative nature of tourism and makes tourism appear to be the only way that Hawaiʻi can sustain its economy.

Thus further serving the settler colonial structure, this convincing appearance of tourism as an economic necessity helps to keep residents trapped in what Native Hawaiian scholar Haunani-Kay Trask calls a "hostage economy."[108] This hostage economy, coupled with the cultural appropriation and commodification of Hawaiian culture as kitsch and the multi-generational experience of constructed identity as a result of the tourist economy, has inspired many Native Hawaiians today to turn to other forms of community engagement and storytelling to ensure their stories and voices are preserved their way. These efforts are evident at the case study sites.

As discussed previously, in 1993 there was a surge in the sovereignty movement on the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. A resolution was introduced in Honolulu to change Thurston Avenue, a street named in honor of one of the leading actors in the 1893 overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani, to "Kamakaeha Avenue," based on the queen's birth name, "Lili'u Kamakaeha." Public responses to the

[108] Trask, 50.

resolution were strongly divided. As geographer R.D.K. Herman concludes, "Combined, the [reactions] suggest that things Hawaiian have some value or cultural capital, making for a distinct sense of place. At the same time, some of the comments point out that this archipelago is not the Hawaiians' place any more, but rather belongs to everyone. It is part of America. Speak English, please."[109] While the aloha spirit and the settler colonial structure persist in Hawai'i, there are also clear efforts at cultural decolonization. Though representative of the continued outsider occupation of Hawaiian land, Pu'ukoholā Heiau and 'Iolani Palace nevertheless have been locations where indigenous voice has helped resist imperialist nostalgia and the tourist imaginary. Though subtle in pushing back against what often seems a hegemonic system, Native Hawaiian groups seeking to preserve these cultural sites have worked with the stewards at each to recast the colonial, mythohistorical narratives surrounding them towards one more critically engaged with histories of Hawai'i. While it is within these oppressive systems that the historical interpretation of each case study was first being formed, the Heiau and Palace illuminate not only the struggles of how to culturally and symbolically decolonize historic and cultural sites within a system bound by the dynamics of coloniality and the logic of capital, but also how Hawaiian historical and cultural sites might succeed through a series of micro-interventions to build a robust set of culturally decolonizing interpretive efforts.

[109] R.D.K. Herman, "The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-Conquest of Hawai'i" *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 no. 1 (March 1999), 77.

Chapter 1: The "Ancient Heathen Temple of Kamehameha":

Puʻukoholā Heiau, 1791-1959

Hawaiʻi's own true sons/ Be loyal to your chief/ Your country's liege and lord/ The chief Royal father/ Kamehameha/ We shall defend in war/ With spears—Hawaiʻi Ponoʻi[1]

Built to be an imposing structure on the crest of the hill when approached from the bay below, the secluded Puʻukoholā Heiau blends in with the invasive dry brush landscape surrounding it today. A large rectangular platform made strictly from precisely stacked, dark lava stones and used as a ceremonial temple by King Kamehameha the Great (also known as King Kamehameha I), its name literally translates to temple (heiau) on the hill (puʻu) of the whale (koholā) because it sits above Kawaihae Bay where whales often breach only a couple hundred yards offshore.[2] It is an

[1] "Hawaiʻi Ponoʻi - Words by King David Kalākaua, Music by Henri Berger," Accessed October 27, 2017, https://www.huapala.org/Hawaii/Hawaii_Ponoi.html. The source material for the song notes "Source: Cunha's Songbook Copyright 1898 by Hugo Schlam - Lot, Kamehameha 5, wanted a gift of music for his people and asked Kaiser Wilhelm I of Germany to send a bandmaster to Hawaiʻi. Henri Berger arrived June 5, 1872, and organized the Royal Hawaiian band who perfomed June 11,1872, after 5 days of practice. This first performance of the Royal Hawaiian band introduced "Hymn to Kamehameha I "which Berger re-wrote for the first celebration of King Kamehameha Day. The melody was based on the Prussian hymn originally titled "Heil Dir Im Siegerkranz". The words by King David Kalākaua was set to the Hymn to Kamehameha I in 1874, and was first sung by the Kawaiahaʻo Church Choir, on King Kalākaua`s birthday, Nov. 16, 1874."

[2] In "Decolonizing Heritage Management in Hawaiʻi," Peter R. Mills and Kathleen L. Kawelu discuss Moʻokini Heiau, located about 20 miles north of Puʻukoholā Heiau and (minimally) stewarded by Hawai'i State Parks. They offer a description of the surrounding area that may be helpful to envision the setting of Puʻukoholā Heiau as well—the only difference being the bustling industrial harbor in the bay below the Heiau, a topic discussed at length in Chapters 1 and 2, offers much more of a disruption that what is described. Otherwise, the "solitude, lack of shade, and constant wind" are factors that are all present at Puʻukoholā Heiau as well. "For anyone sensitive to the colonial environment which has rendered this ancient cultural site into a quaint and isolated scenic adventure often taken by non-culturally affiliated tourists, the very act of visiting Moʻokini evokes an uncomfortable sense of misappropriation. The solitude, lack of shade, and constant wind can close in on one's senses, disengaging visitors from the frenetic pace of the surrounding world, and creating an anachronistic sense of being in the past, or in a

impressive architectural feat and a modern symbol of the traditional Hawaiian religious and cultural systems that thrived in the pre-contact period (pre-1778). Though touted as an "ancient heathen temple" by the haole (white) elite at the end of the nineteenth century, Puʻukoholā Heiau was built only a year before the White House, and Kamehameha was about three decades younger than George Washington.[3] However, the obfuscation of this part of Hawaiian history is prevalent, as a campaign waged by the haole elite of the 1880s into the 1930s worked to temporally displace certain aspects of Hawaiian history and culture in order to make it more easily subsumed by a white supremacist logic of settler colonialism in aid of the settler imaginary.

As a whole, this dissertation explicates the colonial dynamics and cultural politics of settler occupation through examining the United States imperial efforts toward transforming Hawaiian societal structure, primarily through its cultural sites, from the 1880s to the 1960s. The focus of this chapter will be on the first 150 years of

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post-apocalyptic future, or both." [Peter R. Mills and Kathleen L. Kawelu, "Decolonizing Heritage Management in Hawaiʻi," *Advances in Anthropology* 3, No.3 (2013), 127.]

[3] Haole initially meant foreigner, and later, white person. For reference, the dictionary definition of haole is as follows: White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin, as plants, pigs, chickens; entirely white, of pigs (Malo 37; perhaps Malo actually means of foreign introduction). See kolea 1. References in traditional literature are few, but these have been noted: He haole nui maka ʻālohilohi (FS 201), a big foreigner with bright eyes [referring to Kama-puaʻa, the pig demigod]. Hānau ke poʻo haole, he haole kēlā (KL. line 505), born was the stranger's head, that was strange. Hoʻokahi o Tahiti kānaka, he haole (Kua-liʻi chant, For. 4:375) only one people in Tahiti, foreigners. ʻĀina haole, foreign land. ʻŌlelo haole, European language, especially English. hoʻo.haole To act like a white person, to ape the white people, or assume airs of superiority [often said disparagingly, especially of half-whites]. Hoʻohaole ʻia, Americanized, Europeanized; to have become like a white person or have adopted the ways of a white man. (Marquesan haoʻe is probably a loan from Hawaiian.) [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

Pu‘ukoholā Heiau. Under the overarching umbrella of settler colonialism extend a series of tentacles weaving their way through the indigenous culture to normalize themselves, morphing to build and maintain their power. Of these tentacles, deterritorialization, temporal displacement, and militourism are the most pressing for this chapter.

Deterritorialization entails a disruption of the existing cultural connections to a given place in order to supplant legitimate social regimes with a new settler ordering of the landscape. Explored in this chapter are the processes of how deterritorialization unfolded at Pu‘ukoholā Heiau to retroject indigenous sovereignty, knowledge, and national pride as the ancient past in order to undermine this foundational site’s cultural significance. Temporal displacement is the process of divorcing an event or site from its appropriate moment in time in order to recast the historical narrative surrounding it. In this chapter, the concept is used to describe the attempts by the haole elite to code the Heiau as primitive, heathen, pagan, and ancient, when in fact, it was less than a century old when these efforts started, and played an important role as part of an incredibly complex, hierarchal societal structure. As with the other case study in this dissertation, haole elites sought to temporally displace the Heiau in aid of the deterritorialization process and later, the white tourist imaginary. The final tentacle of the settler colonial structure most relevant to this chapter is Teresia K. Teaiwa’s concept of militourism. Discussed in greater detail in a later section below, briefly defined, militourism is 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."[4] This phenomenon plays out in myriad ways at the Heiau and beyond, as discussed later in this chapter.

Before Puʻukoholā Heiau even existed, however, King Kamehameha the Great had already fundamentally changed the structure of Hawaiian society in the later part of the eighteenth century by fighting to unite all of the islands in the archipelago into one kingdom, under one ruler. While each major island has its own name—Maui, Oʻahu, Kauaʻi, Molokaʻi, Lānaʻi, Niʻihau, and Kahoʻolawe—the chain is called Hawai'i today because the Big Island of Hawai'i was Kamehameha's birthplace, headquarters, and lifelong home, and he chose to rule his kingdom from there. Though often described with words like barren, deserted, remote, and abandoned, the Kohala Coast on the northwest side of Hawai'i island had a long legacy of habitation, and was very important to King Kamehameha's legacy, even leading up to the tourism and statehood era of the 1950s. Each June, the Big Island of Hawai'i celebrates Kamehameha Day in honor of the great king. The three moku, or districts, of

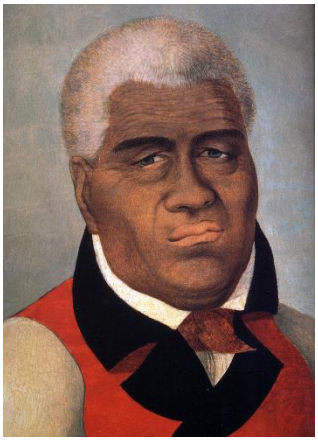

Figure 1 King Kamehameha the Great, circa 1800s.

[4] Teresia K. Teaiwa, "bikinis and other s/pacific n/oceans," *The Contemporary Pacific* 6, no. 1 (Spring 1994), 87. For more on militourism, see the September 2016 special issue of *American Quarterly*, as well as work by Teresia Teaiwa, Vernadette Vicuña Gonzalez, Kathy E. Ferguson, Phyllis Turnbull, Ayano Ginoza, Craig Santos Perez and Christine Skwiot, for example, and groups like Hinemoana of Turtle Island and DMZ-Hawaiʻi/Aloha ʻĀina.

the Royal Order of Kamehameha I represent the three phases of his life—his birthplace in Kohala, the war years of Hilo, and his ancestral homeland and final dwelling place in Kona.[5]

Though scholars debate the periodizations of Hawaiian history, for the purposes of this dissertation, three main periods will be referenced—pre-contact, sovereign Hawai'i (500-1778); post-contact, sovereign Hawai'i (1778-1893); and colonial Hawai'i (1893-present). In this second period of post-contact, sovereign Hawai'i (1778-1893), there are four major events that happened in quick succession that put Hawaiian society under extreme stress. These are: the introduction of contagious diseases by ship Captain James Cook and his crew in 1778; the expanding influence of Christian missionaries upon their arrival in 1820; the first tourists in the form of seamen arriving on British and French whaling ships in the early to mid-1800s; and finally the "Great

[5] Local historian Jan Wizinowich explains the importance of Kamehameha's birth journey in the district of Kohala, where he would later build Puʻukoholā Heiau to unite the islands. "When Kamehameha's mother Kekuʻiapoiwa became pregnant, it was prophesized that the baby she was carrying would be a slayer of chiefs. On hearing the prophesy, Hawai'i Island Chief Alapaʻinui began to plot to kill the infant. The great warrior Naeʻole was selected by Kekuʻiapoiwa to be the child's caretaker, and he enlisted the entire Kohala populace in what Fred [Cachola, historian of the Royal Order of Kamehameha I, Moku O Kohola] calls the 'grand Kohala conspiracy' to do whatever it took to protect the infant. When Kamehameha was born at Kokoiki, Naeʻole spirited him away, following a clandestine route to ʻĀwini, an easily defensible plateau three valleys past Pololū. The events of that journey can found in the very place names of Kohala. Stories point out names like Hōʻea, which means to arrive, to take first breaths. When baby Kamehameha arrives at Hāwī, the breath of hunger, the wet nurse isn't there. Kapaʻau, with its many streams, had to be traversed and his kapa cloth got wet moving through the water." [Jan Wizinowich, "To Celebrate the King: Kamehameha Day and Kamehameha's Legacy of Aloha," *Ke Ola: Hawai'i Island's Community Magazine* (May-June 2017), 23.] Moku means district, island, islet, section, forest, grove, clump. [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

Mahele," or division of land from communal to private ownership, in 1848.[6] As a young chief in his uncle Kalaniʻōpuʻu's court on Hawai'i, Kamehameha's rise to power was in the context of this first event, as he witnessed the ways in which Captain Cook attempted to manipulate Native Hawaiians, and was even present for Cook's ultimate murder. It is with this understanding of the potential outcome of interactions with foreigners that he eventually began to unite the islands under one rule, causing a major shift in Hawaiian society from rule by individual, regional chiefs to a unified kingdom.

Because of this experience with early European visitors as a young warrior chief on the leeward (west) side of the island, King Kamehameha I made it his main project to unify the Hawaiian kingdom, and the symbol of his success in that endeavor is Puʻukoholā Heiau. Now stewarded by the National Park Service as a National Historic Site, Puʻukoholā Heiau is one of the most important cultural sites representing Hawai'i's post-contact, sovereign history. Oral histories suggest that an ancient heiau built by Lono, the legendary god of peace, had previously existed on the site. In 1790, Kamehameha began to consider connecting to that legacy by building Puʻukoholā Heiau on the same site as part of his unification effort.

When Kalaniʻōpuʻu, the ruler of Hawai'i Island, died in 1772, war broke out among his three potential successors, his son Kīwalaʻō, half-son Keōua, and nephew Kamehameha. Though accounts differ, it is believed that Kīwalaʻō became heir

[6] Timothy S. Allison-Apia, "The Influence of Colonialism on the Tourism Work Force in Hawai'i," PhD Dissertation, (Los Angeles: California School of Professional Psychology, 1999).

immediately, with the support of his half-brother Keōua. This surprised and upset Kamehameha and thus he launched a campaign to defeat his cousins. Kīwalaʻō was quickly defeated in 1774, while Keōua established an independent kingdom in Kaʻū and Puna (in the south eastern part of the island) and commenced a 10-year war with Kamehameha. In the 1780s, Kamehameha was distracted by conflicts with his Maui adversary, Kahekili. Meanwhile, Keōua took advantage of Kamehameha's absence from the Big Island and sought to expand his kingdom around 1790. After several indecisive battles, the two leaders were at a stalemate.

At this point, Kamehameha decided to pursue a ceremonial means to defeat his rival and began construction on Puʻukoholā Heiau. The Heiau was designed as a luakini temple, or one where human sacrifice would take place, and which held the highest rank in the religion of the Hawaiian kings.[7] At contact in 1778, there were only six luakini temples in existence, which shows the significance of Puʻukoholā Heiau and the power Kamehameha would have drawn from the site's completion in 1791. Oral histories state that a prophecy was given to Kamehameha that once Keōua was sacrificed at Puʻukoholā Heiau, Kamehameha would rule over the entirety of the Hawaiian Islands. The statement held true, and with Keōua's death, the islands were

[7] Luakini means temple, church, cathedral, tabernacle; large heiau where ruling chiefs prayed and human sacrifices were offered; to perform temple work. [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf] Renowned Native Hawaiian artist Herbert K. Kane has created excellent depictions of this series of events, including "Building of Pu'ukohola" and "Arrival of Keoua Below Pu'ukohola." For more information, please see his website at herbkanehawaii.com.

united, and remained united under Kamehameha and his descendants.[8] In this way, the Heiau fulfilled its intended purpose almost immediately. So why was it preserved? Though he achieved his goal of conquering the island of Hawai'i, Kamehameha continued to use the site throughout his lifetime for ceremonies, including additional human sacrifices.[9] The Heiau would have been a reminder to all, both native and foreign, of his success and of his power.[10] At his death, Kamehameha had ruled the entire archipelago peacefully for nearly twelve years.

With Kamehameha's death in 1819, his successors enacted a quick succession of major changes which were compounded by the arrival of influential foreigners,

[8] Before the Heiau's completion, however, there were a variety of reasons Kamehameha was believed to be successful in his quest to unify the Hawaiian Islands. First, he had had the island's war god, Ku-kailimoku in his personal keeping. Additionally, because a large part of Keōua's army had perished near Kilauea during one of their earlier battles, it was believed that the powerful goddess Pele was on his side. For another version of the Heiau's origin story, see Russ and Peg Apple, "An Architect for a Temple," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 14, 1972.

[9] Linda Wedel Greene, *A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island* (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, 1993), Chapter 7, Topic B, Section 2, Subsection e. This study also contains the richest collection of sketches and photographs depicting the Heiau. It is readily available online for viewing.

[10] Journalist Joseph Brennan explains that in the early 1800s a young John Palmer Parker, future leader of the cattle revolution, knew he had to somehow ingratiate himself to Kamehameha I if he was going to be successful. "The mark of the king [Kamehameha] was everywhere. All John [Palmer Parker] had to do was to look shoreward and see the temple Puukohola which the monarch had built in honor of the war god, Kukailimoku. The people were still totally subservient to the king, so it was imperative that John obtain the sovereign's approval." [Joseph Brennan, *The Parker Ranch of Hawai'i: The Saga of a Ranch and a Dynasty* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1974), 38.] R.D.K. Herman further explains, "The right of the chiefs to rule was cemented through their consecration of heiau luakini, what might be termed 'temples of state.' Pu'u Kohola was such a heiau, and like other luakini, its consecration involved human sacrifice. Thus Pu'u Kohola Heiau is kapu (taboo—sacred, thus off limits to most people) and would have been a fearsome place in its time." [R.D.K. Herman, "Pu'u Kohola: Spatial Genealogy of a Hawaiian Symbolic Landscape," in *Symbolic Landscapes* edited by Gary Backhaus and John Murungi (New York City: Springer Publishing, 2009), 97.]

impacting the structure of Hawaiian cultural, social, and religious life. The first section of this chapter explores these changes, including the arrival of white, Western, Christian missionaries and their promotion of American ideals of democracy, private property ownership, and personal economic and commercial gain in a capitalist society. It examines how this influx of foreign culture influenced Hawaiian society. In this period immediately following Kamehameha's death, the white missionary settlers disrupted the legitimacy of indigenous cultural-religious knowledge systems by advocating for conversion to Christianity and the destruction of heiau and other cultural sites. They also undermined and replaced authority by promoting the American virtues mentioned above. Finally, the white missionary settlers penned hyperbolic accounts of Hawaiian cultural-religious practices centered at the Heiau to confirm the illegitimacy of the recently abandoned kapu system (the taboo system that dictated much of Hawaiian social and religious life), while forcing indigenous cultural knowledge and national pride into the past in order to weaken the indigenous meaning of this foundational site.[11] All of these efforts were in aid of the deterritorialization process to weaken the ties between culture and place in order to begin the process of settler reterritorialization.

[11] Kapu has a complex set of meanings described in more detail throughout this chapter, but the basic definition of the word is taboo, prohibition; special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo; sacredness; prohibited, forbidden; sacred, holy, consecrated; no trespassing, keep out. [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

If the Heiau was fallen into disrepair as a result of rejection and neglect by Native Hawaiians, it would be easier for later white settlers to "restore" it as a tourist destination for consumption as part of the white tourist imaginary in later decades. From the overthrow in 1893 onwards, tourism became a focal point as part of the process of reterritorialization. While settlers appreciated the grandiose structure, they rejected the cultural significance of the events that had given it prominence in Native Hawaiian religion and society. Thus, the Hawaiian cultural concepts Kamehameha embodied through the Heiau—of strength, dominance, complete power—were co-opted, while the ceremonial rites were removed and replaced with American virtues of self-made work ethic and ambition. The second section of this chapter details these contentious battles over Kamehameha's legacy and how those in power sought to deploy ideas of legacy as a thread of continuity—as exhibited by the writing of "Hawai'i Pono'i," the national anthem excerpted at the opening of this chapter—while foreign influences simultaneously sought to reframe Kamehameha and Pu'ukoholā Heiau in the service of U.S. empire. The third section explores the colonial period in Hawaiian history, when the mythologizing and temporal displacement of Native Hawaiians as primitive relics of a bygone era began in earnest in efforts by haole and other foreign elites to recast the historical narrative surrounding Kamehameha and the Heiau to legitimize new uses for the site, especially tourism. In the decades approaching statehood, this recasting would become even more important as tourism began to play a bigger role in the site's future.

Building Kamehameha's Empire, 1791-1820

Despite his legendary accomplishment of uniting the islands, Kamehameha often faced derision and disgust from his European contemporaries because of the way in which he achieved his goal and because of the generally racist attitudes of "explorers" of the era. Because Kamehameha firmly controlled all trade and other interactions with foreign ships, all sea captains arriving in the Hawaiian Islands had to obtain his permission before initiating any activities with his subjects, prompting them to land at the Kawaihae harbor and bear witness to the imposing Heiau structure. When Kamehameha was away, this responsibility fell to his advisor, John Young.

John Young was a British sailor who became Kamehameha's most trusted haole advisor and who eventually married Kamehameha's niece, Ka'ōanā'eha. Young's first and perhaps most influential contribution to Kamehameha I was his expertise in Western weaponry, which ultimately helped Kamehameha in succeeding in his mission to unite the islands.[12] Popular mythology states that John Young affectionately became known as Olohana—the early Hawaiians' interpretation of "all hands"—because he often called for "all hands" (or "all hands on deck" in seamen's terms) to help with large projects, and especially in battle.[13] He was well-liked in his newfound home of Hawai'i,

[12] For more on John Young, see, for example, Russell Apple, *Pahukanilua: Homestead of John Young Kawaiahae, Kohola, Island of Hawai'i* (National Park Service, Honolulu, 1978) and Linda Wedel Greene, *A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island* (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, 1993).

[13] The original Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site brochure, published in 1975, refers to John Young as Olohana.

and often served as a trusted translator and host for Western visitors. However, many of these foreigners could not understand his desire to work in service of Kamehameha's rule.

In a letter dated March 2, 1794, British ship captain George Vancouver laments that Young and Isaac Davis (Kamehameha's other trusted haole advisor) would not leave Hawai'i to join his own crew. He then concludes:

> I am convinced that through the uniformity of their conduct and unremitting good service to Tamaah Maah [Kamehameha] and the different chiefs that they have been materially instrumental in causing the honest, civil and attentive behavior, lately experienced by all visitors, from the inhabitants of the island, so contrary to the reports that have been published in England to their great disgrace and the inhuman conduct of these islanders prior to the residing of said persons among them.[14]

Reprinted by *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1906, reporter James W. Girvin concludes, "Thus we see from this authentic source how much was due to the influence of John Young and Isaac Davis in introducing civilization on the islands."[15] In Westerners' eyes,

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[14] Jas. W. Girvin, "Olohana," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), September 11, 1906. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* was one of two leading English-language newspapers at the turn of the century, published by missionary descendent Lorrin A. Thurston's Hawaii Gazette Company Limited. Thurston was a leader of the haole oligarchy that came to rule the islands by the end of the nineteenth century, and he authored the 1887 "Bayonet Constitution," so-called because King Kalākaua was forced to sign it at gunpoint, and which effectively limited the monarch's power to that of a figurehead. Thurston was equally instrumental in the 1893 overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani and continued to advocate for American imperial action in Hawai'i. He used his various publications to rail against the monarchy and its subjects, who continued to fight for Hawai'i's sovereignty throughout. Ironically, Thurston was one of the leading proponents of establishing Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park in 1916, and profited from the site's inherent touristic potential. Thus, it is in line with the newspaper's goals that Vancouver's letter would be reprinted, as a reminder of the monarchy's "barbaric" and "savage" beginnings, and their need for the civilizing influence of the haole presence, first with John Young and Isaac Davis, and then with Thurston and his contemporaries.

[15] Ibid. It must be noted here that though the reporter relays the story of the "First Cession of Hawaii," whereby John Young convinced Kamehameha to "become part of the empire of Great Britain." In reality,

civilization came about as the result of a trade-based economy, the encouragement of which they credited to Young and Davis.

A third haole advisor of Kamehameha, John Palmer Parker, furthered this project at the Heiau site. First introduced by Vancouver in 1793, when he gifted a few heads of cattle to the king, the cattle population at the Heiau site had grown out of control by the 1810s because a kapu had been placed on them which prohibited them being hunted.[16] As a result, Parker was tasked with leading the effort to turn the feral population into a commercial enterprise.[17] It was during this time just after the turn of the century when the harbor below the Heiau would first be used commercially, a development that would greatly affect the site for centuries to come.

Though Captain Cook's arrival brought iron weapons and tools that would help Kamehameha secure his kingdom, it also brought devastating diseases that killed large swaths of the population and caused the birth rate to plummet. Additionally, under Kamehameha's rule, Hawaiian society saw a shift from an agricultural subsistence economy to one increasingly reliant on trade with a rising number of foreign visitors,

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Kamehameha brokered his first international alliance with Vancouver in order to maintain Hawai'i's independence under the protection of the British empire.

[16] Cattle and horses were landed in Kawaihae specifically because it was believed John Young would know how to care for them.

[17] John Palmer Parker eventually married Kamehameha's great-granddaughter, Rachael Keli'ikipikanekaolohaka Ohiaku. Laurance Rockefeller also has interesting connections to Parker Ranch, which had a rich relationship with the monarchy because of Parker and Ohiaku's marriage, and which is responsible for a huge portion of land ownership on the Big Island. According to a docent at the Anna Ranch Heritage Center, the museum dedicated to the Parker family in nearby Waimea, Rockefeller lived next door to the ranch in early 1960s, and built the Mauna Kea resort on Parker land he had leased.

who regularly landed in the harbor below the Heiau. With his death in 1819, another major change came to the Hawaiian kingdom, as the kapu system was overthrown and heiau were no longer ceremonially used.

Kamehameha's death prompted his son and successor Liholiho (also known as Kamehameha II), under the advice of his father's favorite wife, Ka'ahumanu, and with the enthusiastic encouragement of John Young, to abandon the kapu system. (It is important to note that Young and John Parker Palmer were the only non-Hawaiians present for the breaking of the kapu following Kamehameha's death, symbolizing their high status not only in Kamehameha's eyes, but in Hawaiian society as a whole.[18]) As a result of the abandonment of the centuries-old religious system, the peaceful transition of power from father to son left the Hawaiian Islands politically strong and with a sense of continuity, but with a hole that the arrival of Christian missionaries was perfectly timed to fill. Though not immediately embraced upon landing in 1820, the missionaries were not actively opposed either, and infiltrated Hawaiian society as a result. This gentle introduction made it all the more fluid for white, Christian settlers to begin deterritorialization.

In this case, the missionaries who had arrived advocated not only for religious changes to Hawaiian life, but also espoused American virtues of democracy, private property ownership, and personal economic and commercial gain in a capitalist society. As a result of their efforts to engineer a new sociopolitical order that privileged

[18] Brennan, 38.

themselves as settlers, their descendants would later dominate the financial and political realms of Hawaiian society, ultimately being directly responsible for the monarchy's demise, which will be centered at 'Iolani Palace and discussed in later chapters. The completely coincidental confluence of events of King Kamehameha dying as American missionaries were already en route to the islands allowed a much swifter shift in Hawaiian life than otherwise would have been possible under his rule. Ultimately, his successors made decisions that would change the fundamental cultural structure of modern Hawai'i. It is interesting to note that the members of Kamehameha's family who overthrew the kapu system had, in some ways, the most to lose from the elimination of its strict power structures, and in essence could not have foreseen how the dictums of Christianity would move into the resulting vacuum. They sought to capitalize on a moment of transition, and the elimination of kapu aided in their effort to shift Hawaiian culture towards something new. But not everyone supported this decision.

Figure 2 Cropped half of stereoscopic ambrotype identified as "first house of stone built by John Young during time of Kamehameha I in Kawaihae," circa 1882. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection.

Though John Young was highly respected, not all agreed with his marriage to Ka'ōanā'eha, even as they approached 50 years together. The notion of white racial purity as a pillar of settler colonialism meant that other white settlers during this time were not

supportive of Young's marriage. "Even if she was the niece of Kamehameha the Great, she was still a native. Many haoles in the period 1820 through about 1950 believed that John Young's marriage to a Hawaiian had violated his—and their own—social code."[19] In other words, his racial purity was at stake by carrying on a significant—both in legal status and amount of time—but "miscegenistic" relationship with a Hawaiian woman, even one of the highest status. While Young is often credited with encouraging Kamehameha II to allow the recently arrived missionaries access to the Hawaiian people, there is evidence that his wife Kaʻōanāʻeha opposed this choice. Her brother, Kekuaokalani, also did not accept the changes reshaping Hawaiian culture. Russell Apple, Pacific Historian for the National Park Service in the 1970s who did extensive research on the Heiau and early Hawaiian history, explains "Kamehameha I left to Kekuaokalani [his nephew] the guardianship of the family war god, a position which implied also guardianship of the Polynesian religion. Kekuaokalani supported the retention of the Polynesian taboo system recently overthrown by Kamehameha II [Liholiho]."[20] In standing with her brother, Kaʻōanāʻeha also continued to resist Christianity and Western values until her death, even refusing a Christian burial. This is especially poignant considering it was her family's duty to protect and uphold the Hawaiian Kingdom's religious and social values. Her brother, Kekuaokalani, even tried

[19] Russ Apple, "Checkered Roles in Hawaiian History," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 8, 1982.

[20] Russell Apple, *Pahukanilua: Homestead of John Young Kawaiahae, Kohola, Island of Hawai'i* (National Park Service, Honolulu, 1978), 76-77.

to build an insurrection against Liholiho (Kamehameha II) but failed. Overall, Kaʻōanāʻeha's tenure as cultural leader confirmed by her genealogy of the Kamehameha line could not be psychologically married with Young's evident racial and class status as one of the first and most prominent white settlers to the island. This contradictory messaging from a highly respected couple further symbolized the cultural and racial politics of this time period in Hawai'i.

This tension adds another layer to Puʻukoholā Heiau as a place where the traditional Hawaiian political and religious system reigned supreme and left a lasting legacy even after Kamehameha I's death. In her 1993 report, *A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island*, Linda Wedel Greene goes into great detail regarding the specifics of the kapu system:

> The ancient Hawaiian culture's system of law, derived from religious authority, influenced social organization by dictating an individual's appropriate behavior within this highly rigid and ranked society...This system, a 'sanctioned avoidance' behavior conforming to specific rules and prohibitions (kapu), prescribed the type of daily interactions among and between the classes, between the people and their gods, and between the people and nature. By compelling avoidance between persons of extreme rank difference, it reinforced class divisions by protecting mana (spiritual power) from contamination while at the same time preventing the mana from harming others. Kapu not only separated the nobility from the lower classes, but also prevented contact with such spiritually debasing or defiling things as corpses and evil spirits. The kapu system preserved the Hawaiian culture not only by maintaining social control through the prevention of chaos caused by the confusion of societal roles and by reinforcing political power, but also by providing environmental controls through the conservation of natural resources, which maintained a balance in nature and enabled maintenance of a subsistence.[21]

[21] Greene, Chapter 1, Topic E, Section 6, Subsection c, Paragraph 1.

While the class restrictions of kapu are no longer enforced, today it is not uncommon to see the word “kapu” on both official signs and spray painted across abandoned buildings as a way of expressing that which is forbidden. The kapu system can be grouped into three categories. “The first evolved from the basic precepts of the Hawaiian religion and affected all individuals, but were considered by foreign observers to be especially oppressive and burdensome to women.” This included dietary restrictions for women and limitations on the interactions between men and women. “A second category of kapu were those relating to the inherited rank of the nobility and were binding on all those equal to or below them in status.... The third category were governmental edicts issued randomly by a paramount chief or his officials that were binding on all subjects and included such acts as the placing of kapu on certain preferred surfing, fishing, or bathing spots for the chief's exclusive use.”[22] This final category was essentially the law which allowed feral cattle and horses to establish themselves and then thrive to the great detriment of the local people. By placing a kapu on the animals, Kamehameha made it clear that any interference with them was punishable by death.

By the time of Kamehameha’s death in 1819, the kapu system had also been weakened by decades of interactions with foreign visitors, particularly with Hawaiian women often boarding ships while in harbor to engage in kapu activities onboard. Furthermore, given that the strictness of the system often presented a challenge to the ali'i as well as the common people, it is not surprising that Ka'ahumanu and Liholiho

[22] Greene, Paragraph 4.

were able to abolish it upon Kamehameha's death. Even Kamehameha himself was skeptical of the system, but he was also not convinced that the alternative of Christianity was a suitable replacement. However, his influential widow, Ka'ahumanu, quickly converted. During this time, commoners were starting to realize that nothing was happening to those who broke kapu, and increasing derision from foreign visitors also cast doubt on the sanctity of the system. Therefore, the religious differences in Kamehameha's own family combined with the practical social reasons for abandoning the system ensured that it was a thing of the past. Only seven years after her husband's death and six years after the arrival of the first missionaries, Ka'ahumanu is quoted exclaiming in an 1826 visit to Kawaihae, "I thank God for what my eyes now see . . . Hawaii's gods are no more."[23] Following the demise of the kapu system, Pu'ukoholā Heiau ceased to have a role or function in Hawaiian political and religious life. As a result, in the 1820s, the harbor below the Heiau became more important than the Heiau itself, serving as a commercial port for fresh produce and live cattle from nearby Waimea.[24]

Figure 3 Buildings at the Kawaihae Landing, including two-story adobe structure, circa 1882. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection.

[23] Greene, Chapter 7, Topic B, Section 2, Subsection h.

[24] Herman, 99. For more on this and the history of the region before Kamehameha's rule, see Herman's chapter.

Christianity, Tourism, and the Battle over Kamehameha's Legacy, 1820-1893

The earliest written account of Pu'ukoholā Heiau was recorded by William Ellis in 1823 and published widely by the Hawaii Gazette Company in 1917. Ellis was a British missionary who lived in Hawai'i in the 1820s, right after the abolishment of the kapu system and the official end of ceremonial usage of Pu'ukoholā Heiau.[25] In his account of traveling the Big Island, he discusses the abandonment of multiple heiau and the new practice of Christian altars being erected on top of the "ruins."[26] This account worked to undermine the legitimacy of the recently abandoned kapu system, while casting indigenous culture into the past in order to weaken Native Hawaiian ties to the land.

After describing the naturally good conditions of the Kawaihae harbor, as well as the history, size, shape, and materiality of the Heiau, Ellis recounts his visit with John Young and his experiences walking around the Pu'ukoholā Heiau complex. "As I passed along

[25] William Ellis was an experienced missionary with the London Mission Society. After living in the South Pacific for six years, his supervisors sent him to Hawai'i for a short visit in 1822, which ended up lasting four months. Though the American Board of Foreign Missions had already established themselves on the islands, Ellis and his associates were invited to stay in Hawai'i. He and his family arrived in their new home in February of 1823, and he commenced the survey which is referenced here. [Jadelyn J. Moniz Nakamura, "Keonehelelei – The Falling Sands" (Hawaii Volcanoes National Park Archeological Inventory of the Footprints National Register Site, 2003), 22.]

[26] William Ellis, *A Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, or Owhyhee; with remarks on the History, Traditions, Manners, Customs and Language of the Inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: Hawaii Gazette Company Ltd., 1917). Accessed April 10, 2017: https://archive.org/stream/journalofwilliam000434mbp/journalofwilliam000434mbp_djvu.txt. Lorrin Thurston's introduction to Ellis' text claims "There has recently been a growing demand, both on the part of permanent residents of and visitors to Hawaii, for specific information concerning the history of Hawaii, more particularly of the period of transition from the ancient feudal system when the King and Chiefs had supreme and absolute power of life and death and the common people had no rights of person or property, to the era when constitutional guaranty of protection and the laws of civilization be came established."

this avenue, an involuntary shuddering seized me, on reflecting how often it had been trodden by the feet of those who relentlessly bore the murdered body of the human victim an offering to their cruel idols."[27] After this single dramatic sentence, he continues for several pages describing the structure's physicality, and the ways in which each section of the Heiau would have been used as well as what physically remains of these ceremonies and practices. He spontaneously resumes his condemnation, exclaiming:

> And, although the huge pile now resembles a dismantled fortress, whose frown no longer strikes terror through the surrounding country, yet it is impossible to walk over such a golgotha, or contemplate a spot which must often have resembled a pandemonium more than any thing on earth, without a strong feeling of horror at the recollection of the bloody and infernal rites so frequently practised within its walls. Thanks be to God, the idols are destroyed! Thanks to his name, the glorious gospel of his Son, who was manifested to destroy the works of the devil, has reached these heretofore desolate shores! May the Holy Spirit make it the "savour of life unto life" to the remnant of the people![28]

Following this exclamation, Ellis calmly resumes his description, concluding with a visit to the nearby Malekini Heiau, which he finds not nearly as impressive as Pu'ukoholā. As impressive as Ellis finds Pu'ukoholā Heiau, it is clear he is pleased to engage in the efforts to temporally displace it by describing it as desolate and in ruins—even though it had only been built a mere three decades earlier, and only three years before he himself was born. In stark contrast, local Native Hawaiians were taking care of it. While Ellis'

[27] Ellis, 71.

[28] Ibid., 73.

writings serve to privilege the Euro-centric, missionary, settler perspective, there is evidence that from a Native Hawaiian viewpoint, the Heiau still held value.[29] In this way, Ellis' rhetoric did not match reality, and further served to silence Native Hawaiian knowledge and memory at the site.

Anecdotal sources suggest that residents of nearby Kawaihae cared for the structure site during this period, but not much else is known. As Ellis suggests with his accounts of Christianity being practiced in the area, archaeological records also suggest that at the turn of the century the area surrounding the Heiau was densely populated. Though there was an 1853 smallpox epidemic that decimated nearly half of Kawaihae, there is evidence that residents were still actively using, or at least, caring for, the Heiau site. NPS historian Linda Wedel Greene explains that there was a Catholic church erected on the "ruins," just as Ellis alluded to above, but which local residents refused to attend until it was moved elsewhere, seemingly out of respect (or fear) of the Heiau. A Christian church was dedicated nearby in 1859, and "Toward the end of the service, the parishioners marched over to the old heiau of Pu'ukohola where they prayed and sang [again]."[30] Even after another moment of rupture in Hawaiian history, the Great Mahele or land division of 1848, the land on which the Heiau sits stayed in the possession of John Young, Jr., also known as Keoni Ana.[31] Keoni Ana died in 1857 and left the site to

[29] Greene, Chapter 7, Topic A, Section 4.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Apple, *Pahukanilua*, 11. The Bishop Museum holds a high quality image of Keoni Ana in their collections.

then-Queen Emma, his niece and John Young's granddaughter. On her death in 1885, the land went into the trust of Queen's Hospital.[32] So, in effect, the land never left the possession of John Young and his direct descendants, a remarkably unbroken chain of ownership given the range of extreme changes Hawaii underwent during this period.[33]

Hawai'i Pono'i, which translates to Hawai'i's Own, is an anthem that was written by Hawaiian leaders in the 1860s and 70s in response to a rapidly changing world where the monarchy was under increasing pressure from outsiders.[34] The lyrics, excerpted at the beginning of this chapter, harken back to King Kamehameha as a symbol of strength and loyalty to the kingdom and its subjects. While his legacy today may be contested in certain circles (as a compassionate leader or a bloodthirsty tyrant), during the monarchical period, his successors called on his example as a model of unity and strength.[35] The permanence of the Heiau served as a symbol of Kamehameha's legacy in the face of attempts by first, white Christian missionary settlers, and then, white businessmen and other haole elite.

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[32] Apple, *Pahukanilua*, 22.

[33] John Young's legacy is something Laurance Rockefeller will later seek to capitalize on, as discussed in the next chapter. Also, based on this fragmentary evidence, it is clear Native Hawaiians were still in the area caring for the Heiau from Kamehameha's death up until it became a National Park site.

[34] Written by William Charles Lunalilo (grandnephew of Kamehameha I) in the 1860s, arranged by King David Kalākaua and Henry Berger, performed by the Royal Hawaiian Band, 1870s. The Hawai'i legislature proclaimed Hawai'i Pono'i the state anthem in 1967. Accessed May 2, 2016: http://www.huapala.org/Hawaii/Hawaii_Ponoi.html

[35] As one example of this contestation, see Edward Joesting, *Kauai: The Separate Kingdom* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984).

There are a few sketches and photographs of the site which show the remarkable degree of preservation of the Heiau throughout the 19th century. Even after nearly 60 years of disuse and condemnation, the Heiau was still in excellent condition, making attempts like Ellis' at temporal displacement all the more absurd. The Heiau was also still well-known. In 1883, the site is listed on a map of the harbor as the "ancient heathen temple of Kamehameha" though it was ostensibly less than 100 years old at that point.[36] The Heiau and harbor are also listed on a map by surveyor-general and history professor William DeWitt Alexander in 1886.[37] In this period of post-contact, sovereign Hawai'i (1778-1893), the monarchy constantly harkened back to Kamehameha's legacy even as the haole oligarchy demonized it in an attempt to temporally distance it from the "modern," Christian nation they sought to build instead.

Figure 4 A 1889 photograph of the Heiau at the top of the hill. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-35-7-010.

[36] "Harbors of Hawaii" map, published by the United State Navy in 1891, and based on sketches by J.D. McDonald in 1883. Accessed on the Hawai'i State Archives website, May 1, 2017.

[37] "Map of the Island of Hawaii," W.D. Alexander, Accessed on the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa website, May 1, 2017: https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/handle/10524/49295

It was not until the period of colonial Hawai'i (1893-present) that Kamehameha's goal of unification, and the Heiau as a symbol of that goal, began to be appropriated into the framework of U.S. empire. From his death in 1819 to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, English language accounts of Hawai'i's history are conflicted as they present a barbaric yet honorable leader, whose human sacrifices at Pu'ukoholā Heiau are the one blot on an otherwise impressive record. For these foreigners, Kamehameha's acts of human sacrifice proved his uncivilized nature and justified the missionary-led conversion to new regimes of democracy, Christianity, and white supremacy. (The irony, of course, being the prevalence of human sacrifice in the Christian ideology the missionaries espoused as well, including the stories of Abraham and his son, Isaac, as well as that of Jesus Christ himself, who was purportedly sacrificed so that his followers could achieve salvation.) Over the course of the 60-year period between the arrival of white, Christian missionaries in the 1820s and the political manipulations of the 1880s by the haole elite that led to the eventual overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, two generations of missionary descendants continued to lay the groundwork of making Hawai'i more hospitable for Western, Christian, white supremacist ideals, subtly and gradually folding Hawai'i into the American orbit. While the writings of missionary William Ellis, for example, offer commentary on the present, they do not attempt to recast the past in the same way and to the same extent that the territorial government later sought to do in this effort to bring the islands into an American colonial context. However, Ellis' perspective fueled their shared ethnocentric

interpretation of the site. His documentation of the Heiau was used as one of many accounts in the English media's attempts to narrate the bloody origin story of the Heiau as something of the distant past, in order to reframe Pu'ukoholā Heiau as a site with national significance to America because of the ways in which it unified Hawai'i, which as a result could be absorbed more easily into the American empire.[38]

The Heiau in the Colonial Period, 1893-1930

In the 1890s, missionary descendant Lorrin A. Thurston was editor of the newspaper *Hawaiian Gazette* (and also a lead organizer of the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy). In December 1896, only three years after the overthrow, Thurston ran a cover story on Kepoolele Apau, who was raised in the southern part of Hawai'i Island and who the paper touted as the oldest living Hawaiian person at 124 years old.[39] The article claimed that Apau personally remembered when Kamehameha consecrated Pu'ukoholā Heiau with his cousin Keōua's death, having seen the sacrifice as a young child. However, rather than recounting Kepoolele Apau's first-person version of the

[38] For a thorough accounting of the impressions by foreign visitors over the years, see Linda Wedel Greene, *A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island* (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, 1993). The few examples given in this next section are exemplary of the sentiments of many who documented their experiences in Hawai'i in the late nineteenth century.

[39] "Oldest on Record," *Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 8, 1896. *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* also ran this story on the same day.

events, which would effectively link Kamehameha to the contemporary moment within Apau's lifetime, the article instead quoted from Professor W. D. Alexander's *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*.[40] In effect, by relying on the account as related in a history textbook, as opposed to in a first-person narrative, the article consigned living memory to the distant past in yet another attempt by the haole elite to temporally distance this important site of Hawaiian history in order to weaken the tie between Hawaiian culture and the Heiau to essentially also weaken the indigenous meaning of the Heiau as a foundational site of the Hawaiian kingdom.


KEPOOLELE APAU, 124 YEARS OLD.
(Sketched by Harry Roberts from a photograph by J. J. Williams.)

Figure 5 Front page 1896 image of "Kepoolele Apau," the 124 year old woman who witnessed Keōua's sacrifice at Puʻukoholā Heiau. ("Oldest on Record," Hawaiian Gazette (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 8, 1896.)

To recast the historical narrative for the purposes of the settler regime, a mythohistorical account was deployed by the haole elite to temporally displace Native Hawaiian history and collective memory as a far distant relic that is out of place in the modern colonial milieu. This was done in part through maps, textbooks, and articles—materials that exhibit the cultural production of "official knowledge" by elite haole scholars, far removed from the actual historical events, under the guise of objectivity.

[40] W. D. Alexander's *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* was originally published in 1891 and was commonly used throughout Hawai'i as the history textbook. Alexander was well-versed on the Heiau, as he wrote the cover story ("List of Ancient Heiaus") of the May 1898 edition of the Evening Bulletin, based out of Honolulu, solely from memory. Both Puʻukoholā and Malekini Heiau were on the list. ["List of Ancient Heiaus," *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), May 5, 1898.]

Though Alexander himself valued indigenous knowledge and relied heavily on the work of Native Hawaiian historians such as David Malo and Samuel Kamakau for his book, the newspaper article is an example of foreign efforts—in this case led by Thurston—seeking to redefine the narrative surrounding Pu'ukoholā Heiau by privileging Alexander's written, scholarly account of the event over the oral history of a Native Hawaiian eyewitness. By editorializing the 1791 event as ancient, the reporter joined other writers of the time in mythologizing Native Hawaiians as primitive relics of a bygone era, further pushing them into the past while ushering in a new, Western, Christian order which privileged white settlers.

The emerging tourism industry also kept the story of the Heiau in people's minds, and the colonial impulse to conquer made it crucial that the cultural landscape of Hawai'i and its important historic sites were transformed into *American* relics to pave the way for settler reterritorialization. In this case, to cultivate potential for tourism at the site. The "Great Holiday Program" in 1909, presented for a three night run at Honolulu's Empire Theatre, featured "Scenes of Ancient and Old Days in Hawaii Nei," including one of the "Old Heiau at Kawaihae, Hawai'i," and a 1910 tourist map of Hawai'i lists Pu'ukoholā Heiau as the "Great Hawaiian Temple."[41] The common thread through many of these representations is reconfiguring the Heiau as ancient while playing up the spectacle of the indigenous past. For example, in the summer of 1906, a series of

[41] "Great Holiday Program," *The Hawaiian Star* (Honolulu, Hawaii), June 10, 1909.

articles were published in papers ranging as far as the *Omaha Daily Bee* of Nebraska to the *Evening Star* of Washington, D.C., and which detailed Kamehameha's sacrifice of Keōua and how this act paved the way for Christianity.[42] These articles often use W.D. Alexander's account of the event that was first quoted from his book by the *Hawaiian Gazette* in 1896, therefore continually cementing that secondhand account as the official story.

In addition to seeking to relegate the Heiau to the distant past, another tactic for incorporating the Heiau into the context of American empire emphasized the Heiau, and by extension Hawai'i itself, as a node in a larger capitalist, imperialist, and militaristic world order that privileged white settlers. An 1898 letter to the editor of *The Independent* out of Honolulu claiming to be written by a "kamaaina," or someone born in Hawai'i, argues that instead of building costly military apparatuses on Oahu, the U.S. government, having annexed Hawai'i to the United States that same year, should use existing structures on the Big Island.[43] "The old heiau at Kawaihae is a magnificent fort, and half a dozen 13-inch guns mounted on its walls would render the harbor of Kawaihae impregnable." The author goes on to note the rich agricultural capacity of the

[42] "Great Hawaiian Monarch," *Omaha Daily Bee* (Omaha, Nebraska), August 5, 1906.; "The Great Hawaiian," *Evening Star* (Washington, D.C.), July 27, 1906.

[43] Kama'āina is not synonymous with Native Hawaiian, it simply means a "local" person or someone born in Hawai'i. It gives no reference to ethnic or racial background. The dictionary definition of kama'āina is native-born, one born in a place, host. [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

surrounding areas and their potential to feed large armies easily, foreshadowing the ways in which the area would be occupied by American military forces during World War II.[44] By gesturing towards Kamehameha's strong military legacy which was headquartered at the Heiau, this letter exemplifies the ease with which the appropriation of Kamehameha's goals and legacy into the framework of the American empire was happening during the colonial period.

Many accounts from the early colonial period also, somewhat incoherently given the conflicting tactics outlined above, discuss the Heiau's current condition in an effort to further the deterritorialization process. Part of this process was to emphasize that Native Hawaiians rejected the Heiau and all it represented—Native Hawaiian religion, culture, the sovereign kingdom, etc.—in order to pave the way for its meaning to be more easily co-opted into the settler imaginary in later decades. In the early part of the twentieth century, it is clear that the Heiau is still intact and relatively famous, though the accounts of its state of preservation vary. In 1906, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* ran a detailed account of the Heiau's current state:

[44] "Correspondence," *The Independent* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 10, 1898.

> We saw the heiau which Kamehameha built on a hill at the advice of a kahuna, building it in the shape of a fish net that thereby he might entrap and murder his brother, the king of Kau, whom he feared as the stronger man. He did entrap him in it, too, and did murder him. They tell the story in all the histories—and, they will tell it to you on the spot. If you do not believe the tale, they will show you the stone on the seashore where the king of Kau is said to have landed when he came to be killed. The heiau on the hill is in a wonderful state of preservation. So is the secondary temple, on the slope below it. In this state of preservation they should be kept, moreover. I do not think the upper structure is a temple at all, myself. It has much more the appearance of a fortified place. But it is the largest thing of the kind in the Islands, and in the best condition. It is well worth keeping, for its historic interest. Indeed, it will be a valuable asset, some day—much more valuable even than now. If it were restored by some of the old men who can still say how such restoration should be made, it might be a thing that would draw tourists around the world.[45]

This account illustrates the challenge of simultaneously needing the Heiau to be ancient in contrast to the new, modern order and as a requirement of conquest, but also recognizes it is only 115 years old at this point (again, nearly the same age as the White House). Further, the economic imperative of tourism requires that since it is in such good condition, it should be maintained, at least minimally, for future touristic endeavors.

This contradiction continues to be played out in the next two decades as accounts of the structure's condition vary. Less than a year after the glowing review and recommendation for tourism quoted above, Honolulu's *Evening Bulletin* claimed "A traveler returning from Hawaii reports…that the heiau at Kawaihae is in a very bad

[45] Sol. N. Sheridan, "Across the Lava Beds," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 9, 1906.

condition."[46] But then, in 1912, Reverend Henry P. Judd of Kahului, on a visit to Kohala, took "A walk over to the old heiau called Puukohola, famous for its size and state of preservation."[47] This is particularly interesting given Judd's stature as a reverend and the overall desire by the religious sector for the Heiau to disappear into the pagan past. Ten years later, a 1922 Smithsonian report emphasized the overgrowth of kiawe trees at the site, whose roots were affecting the stability of the structure's foundation.[48] While it is unclear which (if any) of these contradictory accounts is accurate, almost a century and a half after its construction,

Figure 6 A 1925 aerial photograph of the Heiau. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-35-7-026.

a 1925 *Honolulu Advertiser* article titled "Law Provides Preservation of Heiaus, etc." detailed an 1898 law passed by the Republic of Hawai'i aiming to preserve and protect

[46] *Evening Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 2, 1907.

[47] "Sunday School Institutes," *The Maui News* (Wailuku, [Maui] Hawai'i), May 25, 1912.

[48] "Puukohola Heiau National Historic Landmark: Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site," *Cultural Landscapes Inventory* (Honolulu: National Park Service, 2003), part 2a, page 4.

heiau sites, and how it was not being enforced.[49] It ended with the conclusion that if these heiau (and other cultural sites) were to be preserved properly, they seemingly would have a strong potential as tourism sites. As a result of this discussion, the territorial government's Department of Public Works designated the site a historical landmark in 1928, marking the site's first official classification as part of the new, American state, and the welcoming of Kamehameha's legacy into the context of American empire.

As one of the most powerful and symbolic Heiau found on any of the islands, Puʻukoholā Heiau played a crucial role in helping Native Hawaiians maintain a connection to the pre-American Hawaiian past at this time. By co-opting Kamehameha's legacy to justify and legitimize the colonial order of things, white settlers who had come to power attempted to erase the indigenous legacy and negate sovereignty, and then recast the historical narrative towards one of American progress and empire. Nevertheless, one example of Native Hawaiians still making a claim to the site they had been stewarding since the early 1800s happened in June 1929 when, a year after the territorial government bestowed their designation, the Order of Kamehameha I felt compelled to unveil a bronze plaque of their own commemorating the site.[50] The Order of Kamehameha I had been founded in 1865 by Kamehameha the

[49] "Law Provides Preservation of Heiaus, etc.," *The Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 24, 1925.

[50] Greene, Chapter 7, Topic K, Section 1.

Great's grandson, Lot, in part to protect Hawaiian sovereignty. It later helped birth the Hawaiian Civic Clubs that would step in to help preserve the Heiau in the 1970s.[51] Making an intervention in this attempt to co-opt Kamehameha's legacy, the Order made a strong showing at the commemoration ceremony. An account of the event from the *Honolulu Star* explains that over two hundred Honolulu members of the Order of Kamehameha joined nearly 1000 members from the other islands to place the plaque and to hear speeches from then territorial Governor Wallace Farrington and Senator Stephen Desha. At the conclusion of the ceremony, an American flag and a Hawaiian flag were flown together "from a single staff." Farrington's speech emphasized Kamehameha's readiness to change, and insisted that the "native sons and daughters of Hawaii" should also be ready and willing to change in order to embrace American dominance. Additionally, he conflated the narrative of human sacrifice inherent in the site with the notion of sacrificing "laziness or indifference." This choice of words is very telling, as many scholars have written about the ways in which Native Hawaiians were and are often framed either as lazy savages or carefree, childlike natives in need of civilizing. The day's events ended with the singing of Hawai'i Pono'i.[52]

[51] "About," Royal Order of Kamehameha I, Accessed March 1, 2017, kamehameha.org/about

[52] Louise P. Johnsen, "Excursionists Return from Marking Heiau," *Honolulu Star* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 17, 1929. Additionally, there is a history of the site, circa 1929, that describes this ceremony as well as the consecration of the Heiau and a description of the structure. (Albert P. Taylor, "Puukohola" undated manuscript. Taylor (1872-1931) was librarian of the "Archives of Hawaii." The manuscript is housed at the Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives in Honolulu.)

It is meaningful that the Order of Kamehameha I placed the plaque commemorating their namesake, and celebrated by flying their nation's flag and singing their national anthem, despite being under colonial subjugation. Yet even while these indigenous supporters of Kamehameha harkened back to a sovereign past, the territorial government remained secure in their power and allowed these ceremonies to take place, signaling that even when allowed to commemorate their indigenous history, the memory would still be subsumed in a larger colonial spectacle. (This event is reminiscent of one that happens later at the Palace on the 1993 centennial anniversary of the overthrow of the monarchy where the symbolic meaning of flying the Hawaiian flag alone over the Palace causes controversy.) Thus, the framing of Kamehameha's legacy that began during the monarchical period had evolved and been adapted to the needs of American empire. During and following World War II, the role of Hawai'i in that empire would shift again, as would the framing of Hawaiian history and Pu'ukoholā Heiau's role in it.

Militourism and Statehood, 1940-1959

Long before the second World War enabled an explosion of military expansion in Hawai'i, the territorial government had, in keeping with the suggestions of the kama'āina letter writer, encouraged the construction of bases throughout the islands. After all, it was the threat of violence provided by the support of U.S. military troops that had allowed the white oligarchy to come into power in the first place (as discussed

in more detail in Chapter 3). From the beginning, the intertwined American interests in Hawai'i both economically and militarily required a strong occupying presence. The construction of bases symbolizes the U.S. capitalizing on the strategic location of the islands and realizing their overall goal of dominating the Pacific. As a result, Oahu became host to five bases in the first decade of the twentieth century—Fort Shafter and Fort Armstrong in 1907, Schofield Barracks in 1908, Fort Rutger in 1909, and Fort DeRussy in 1911.

With this increasing population of U.S. military personnel, the need for recreational spaces became clear. In 1916, the Kilauea Military Camp (KMC) was founded within the boundaries of the Big Island's Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, itself established just a few months prior.[53] Charting the park's dubious origins, Ashanti Shih explains, "In 1916, the government of the Territory of Hawaii transferred its lands – the stolen Crown Lands of the Native Hawaiian monarchy – to the U.S. Department of the Interior, under the administration of the newly created National Park Service."[54] Thus, though not yet officially part of the American nation as a state, the territory of Hawai'i became even more entangled in a U.S. orbit with the founding of its first "national" park

[53] For more on the Kilauea Military Camp (KMC), see Jadelyn J. Moniz Nakamura and Geoffrey Mowrer, "The Establishment of Kilauea Military Camp: The Early Years 1898-1921," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 53 (2019), 55-82. There are several images of KMC on the Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park website.

[54] Ashanti Shih, "The most perfect natural laboratory in the world: Making and knowing Hawaii National Park," *History of Science* 57, No. 4 (2019), 506.

on lands meant to be reserved for use by the Native Hawaiian people.[55] As part of the settler colonial structure, the new National Park further served the process of eviction and erasure discussed in later chapters of this dissertation. Shih goes further noting:

> In conjunction with the major land transfers to the U.S. Department of the Interior, the creation of the park dismissed Native and local ways of interacting with the land. Native Hawaiian homesteaders were kicked off their plots, and Japanese and Filipino plantation laborers who lived off the park lands during strikes were repeatedly chased out of the park's borders in the 1910s and 1920s.[56]

In place of local residents, settler scientists took root along the edge of the volcano, and military personnel became the majority of the "population" residing (if only for short periods at a time) within park boundaries. While there are other Department of Defense Morale, Welfare and Recreation sites located on the various islands, none are situated within the boundaries of a National Park, and none have offered the same range of recreational activities as KMC.

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[55] While still the largest and most well-known National Park site in the islands, Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park would pave the way for the park service to acquire stewardship of Pu'ukoholā Heiau.

[56] Shih, 506. Shih further argues, "The settler colonial status of the western territories of Arizona, Wyoming, and Hawai'i, and their 'peripheral' position in U.S. political and economic thinking is important here. This case forces us to expand the scope of our studies of U.S. national parks beyond national or even transnational dimensions, and investigate them as settler colonial spaces. Hawai'i was an overseas colony, with a Native population thought to be 'vanishing,' which made it easy and tempting to siphon off its land for use – be it agricultural, touristic, or scientific – by the metropole. The redefinition of the volcanic areas of Hawai'i and its wildlife as a 'natural laboratory' was intimately tied to Hawai'i's political status as a colony and to the islands' environmental status as being tropical and volcanic – exoticized, mystified, racialized, and rendered isolated and vulnerable. Scientists played an important role in constructing Hawai'i as a place of lush tropicality, ongoing seismicity, and unparalleled isolation – the perfect location for studying evolutionary biology, biogeography, and volcanology. With these elements mingling in their minds, Jaggar and Thurston sought to transform Hawai'i's volcanoes, land, and nonhuman life into a park not only for the enjoyment of tourists, but also for the work of scientists." (Shih, 502-503)

In many ways, KMC is the epitome of the concept of militourism, a term coined by Teresia K. Teaiwa 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."[57] While many view the National Park Service as a conservation agency, it also acts as an organ of tourism in the natural and cultural landscapes of America and its territories. Indeed, the National Park Service modeled itself after the U.S. Army, even drawing a visual connection with their uniform design. In regard to the creation of National Park sites to protect the natural landscape, "This federal intervention required vigorous enforcement. Congress turned to the U.S. Army to patrol and protect these lands in the national interest."[58] Troops were present in other national parks at this time, as informal forest fire brigades and to assist in construction projects, for example. While the civilian founders of Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, led by Lorrin Thurston, missionary descendent and overthrower of the monarchy, had tourism in mind from the beginning, they welcomed the establishment of KMC within the park's boundaries to benefit from the military's presence. This mutually beneficial relationship enabled the U.S. military to be "thoroughly normalized within Hawai'i, sedimenting itself through accumulated familiarity into the everyday ways of life that

[57] Teaiwa, 87.

[58] Presidio Heritage Gallery, "Telling the Presidio Story" Permanent Exhibit, April 20, 2016. For more on the development of the National Park Service, see for example, Dawn Duensing, Denise D. Meringolo, and David Louter.

produce what we experience as normal."[59] Thus, the military became connected to tourism through this sedimenting process over the first few decades of the twentieth century, leading to a synergistic relationship between the two.

It was this precarious relationship that allowed perhaps the only example of a detainment camp within the boundaries of an existing National Park, as KMC "served as an internment camp and later as a prisoner-of-war camp during World War II."[60] Though it would not become a National Park Service site for a few decades, as martial law ruled the entire island of Hawai'i at this same time, Pu'ukoholā Heiau saw extensive training maneuvers conducted within mere feet of the Heiau site. In fact, the entire cultural complex was within the boundaries of the "Former Waikoloa Maneuver Area," an area of about 100,000 acres that served 50,000 troops from 1943 to 1945. The remnants of this occupation are still seen in the vicinity today as cleanup of munitions remains ongoing.[61] The two towns closest to the Heiau—Kawaihae and Waimea—also

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[59] Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i*. Vol. 10. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), vix. Ferguson and Turnbull go on to note that "Hawai'i has the dubious distinction of being the most militarized state in the United States." (1) As mentioned previously, Lorrin Thurston profited from the designation of Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park because he bought and renovated the Volcano House before the park was established, and then sold it to a new owner to be used as the hotel.

[60] "About KMC," Kilauea Military Camp, Accessed March 29, 2016, http://kilaueamilitarycamp.com/about-kmc/ Throughout its history, the U.S. military has argued for KMC to be under its control rather than subject to lease from NPS. This would set a dangerous precedent, both in Hawai'i specifically, and the United States more broadly, for the American military controlling huge swaths of relatively undisturbed natural landscapes, to do with what they wish. Luckily, Park Service representatives resolutely argued against a land turnover, especially during World War I and World War II—using the age old question "What are we fighting for?"—and KMC has remained under the control, at least on paper, of the National Park Service.

[61] "Former Waikoloa Maneuver Area," US Army Corps of Engineers Honolulu District, Accessed January 15, 2020, https://www.poh.usace.army.mil/Missions/Environmental/FUDS/Waikoloa.aspx. The boundaries

experienced dramatic changes, and occupations, during the war. The Kawaihae harbor became the main "port" on the west side of the Big Island, as troops, cattle, and other supplies to support the military occupation across the islands were shipped in and out at an unprecedented rate. Additionally, amphibious landing exercises were conducted in the bay right below the Heiau, ostensibly causing irreparable damage to the cultural site as a whole, and further weakening the stacked rock structure. [62]

While Waimea had always been paniolo, or cowboy, country, the open grazing plains provided the perfect setting for troops to train and camp. At one point, nearly 40,000 men were "stationed" in Waimea.[63] The impact of this occupation was felt in myriad ways, with elementary school children being displaced to "private homes and even a garage" as a result of their school building being commandeered as a hospital for the soldiers, for example.[64] Overall, military expansion greatly impacted the Heiau, not only by bringing more people to the area, which caused damage to the structure and its environs, but also through explosions causing damage to the Heiau's structural integrity

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of the "Former Waikoloa Maneuver Area" showing both Kawaihae Harbor (designated in top left corner) and the heiau site within the boundaries is available online at https://www.poh.usace.army.mil/Portals/10/docs/fuds/WMA%2030x42%20Poster_2015_low%20res_2.pdf.

[62] Rodney Chiogioji and Hallett H. Hammatt, "Na Makani Piao Lua o Kawaihae: A Historical documentation study of Kawaihae 2nd Ahupua'a, South Kohala District, Island of Hawai'i," Prepared for the Queen Emma Foundation. (Honolulu: Cultural Surveys Hawai'i, 1997), 46.

[63] Chiogioji and Hammatt.

[64] Fred Greguras, "Camp Tarawa Today," Historic Hawai'i Foundation, Accessed March 30, 2017, https://historichawaii.org/2017/03/30/camptarawa/

and foundation. Additionally, the influx of federally funded young bachelors with free time to spare encouraged an increase in touristic enterprises in the area, including bars, restaurants, public beaches, and other sites of leisure.

In 1946, a tsunami wiped out the harbor that was used to ship goods from Waimea. This cycle of destruction and rebuilding would soon allow the harbor's continued expansion. On the Kohala coast of the Big Island, much of the land that would become the high-end resorts one sees today would have been cattle land owned by Parker Ranch and the trust now known as the Queen Emma Foundation. During this time, most other surrounding landowners began converting their properties from sugarcane and pineapple plantations to these tourist resorts, adding another layer to the settler structure. In regards to the harbor, longtime Kawaihae resident ʻIlima Moʻiha explains:

> I believe the military started coming in [to stay] probably in the '50s. I graduated in 1959 and they were there already, because they were using Pohakuloa [sic] as the training site and the only way to get to Pohakuloa would have been through Kawaihae, bringing all their things in through the harbor. The military train up at Pohakuloa, but they also live down at Kawaihae, because they have all of their equipment that they bring in.[65]

The continued use of the harbor by the U.S. military and other industrial and commercial corporations resulted in plans for its expansion. In keeping with these twin

[65] "World War II," Kawaihae Home Website, Pacific Worlds, Accessed January 15, 2020, http://www.pacificworlds.com/kawaihae/memories/memory2.cfm. For more first person narratives on how the town was condemned, as well as other aspects as to how Kawaihae and the area surrounding Puʻukoholā Heiau changed, see Kawaihae Home Website, Pacific Worlds: http://www.pacificworlds.com/kawaihae/memories/memory2.cfm. This website also has a rich collection of images depicting the Kawaihae area during World War II.

trends of commerce and tourism, in 1956 the town of Kawaihae was condemned, and longtime residents were forced out to make way for new harbor expansion. Melvin David Lonokaiolohia Kalahiki tells about his family home and the process of how it was usurped and destroyed to make way for the harbor development:

> But I always was concerned about that place, so when I came back from Mainland and I went back over there, the first time I got back over there, the Kawaihae I knew—my grandfather's place—was wiped out from the harbor coming in. They had condemned the place for public purposes. And I really wanted to know what my uncle had done, whether he had sold the place, and if he did…. Years later I saw my Uncle William in Hilo and asked him about the property. He was paid only $284 and he still had the check. He was so angry at the small amount the government paid out, that he could never cash that check.[66]

Thus, an entire community who had been in the area for generations, and who were probably the descendants of those residents who had cared for the Heiau in the first half of the nineteenth century, was pushed out of their ancestral homelands to make way for yet another installation that would further cement the settler colonial structure in Hawai'i.

By 1959, the harbor opened for expanded industrial purposes, after the Army Corps of Engineers and the Atomic Energy Commission successfully completed "Project

[66] "The Harbor," Kawaihae Home Website, Pacific Worlds, Accessed January 15, 2020, http://www.pacificworlds.com/kawaihae/memories/memory5.cfm. For more first person narratives on how the town was condemned, as well as other aspects as to how Kawaihae and the area surrounding Pu'ukoholā Heiau changed, see Kawaihae Home Website, Pacific Worlds: http://www.pacificworlds.com/kawaihae/memories/memory5.cfm. There are images of the Kawaihae harbor being excavated via nuclear blast, circa 1959 in Walter C. Day, *Project TUGBOAT: Explosive Excavation of a Harbor in Coral* (Army Engineer Waterways Experiment Station, 1972), www.dtic.mil/dtic/tr/fulltext/u2/754534.pdf.

Tugboat"—an investigation into the use of nuclear explosives to excavate harbors and conduct other similar projects. The Kawaihae harbor was the first major construction project to use this method.[67] This harbor expansion and growth in tourism in part fueled the Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club, among others, to become active in preserving the Heiau site, as the island chain was poised on the cusp of statehood.[68] Kawaihae resident Kuʻulei Nagasawa McCarthy notes that even today, dangerous leftover munitions continue to be found in the area and that there are still frequent sweeps of the area to try to complete the cleanup efforts. She reminisces, "when we were kids, guys would find bombs that didn't go off, shells that didn't explode, and so the military would come and detonate everything."[69]

In exploring the ways in which U.S. colonial and militouristic actions in the late 19th and early 20th century impacted this foundational site of the Hawaiian Kingdom, this chapter has used the concepts of deterritorialization, temporal displacement, and militourism to map the first 150 years of Puʻukoholā Heiau's existence. With a clear

[67] Greene, Chapter 7, Topic A, Section 8.

[68] There are United States Geological Survey (USGS) aerial photographs from 1954, 1964, and 1976 that clearly show the Heiau in relationship to the harbor, and eventually to the resort development nearby. These photos help trace the harbor and resort development and expansion between 1954 and 1976.

[69] "World War II," Kawaihae Home Website, Pacific Worlds, Accessed January 15, 2020, http://www.pacificworlds.com/kawaihae/memories/memory2.cfm. For more first person narratives on how the town was condemned, as well as other aspects as to how Kawaihae and the area surrounding Puʻukoholā Heiau changed, see Kawaihae Home Website, Pacific Worlds: http://www.pacificworlds.com/kawaihae/memories/memory2.cfm.

disregard for the historical, cultural, and natural landscape of Hawai'i, the white supremacist logic of settler colonialism enacted at and around the site during this time period were further cemented during World War II. Representing an expansive reason for complete takeover, World War II justified the escalation of the occupation of the Kohala coast and signified a major turning point in the U.S. need to control Hawai'i as a strategic base for future conflicts. By drastically increasing the use of Kawaihae harbor, this military occupation paved the way for its expansion. Using eviction and environmental degradation as part of the settler colonial toolkit to achieve its goal, the U.S. then irrevocably altered (and really, destroyed) the natural coastline to create a more efficient harbor structure—all while using dangerous nuclear materials which would pollute the area further.

As one of the most powerful and symbolic Heiau found on any of the islands, Pu'ukoholā Heiau plays a crucial role in connecting Native Hawaiians, as well as other residents of Hawai'i and tourists alike, to the pre-American Hawaiian past. The site offers a rare glimpse into early Hawaiian society, before large amounts of outside influence were present on the islands (with the exception of the role of John Young). Additionally, through an exploration of foreign efforts—including those of early missionaries and, later, the territorial government—to define the historical narrative surrounding Pu'ukoholā Heiau to serve their own ends, this chapter has charted how the structure of settler colonialism was played out at the Heiau site and aided or obstructed preservation efforts. Similar to what would later happen at 'Iolani Palace

(see Chapter 3), by attempting to dictate the narrative surrounding the site's state of preservation—divorced from the reality of its condition—white settlers who had come to power attempted to erase the indigenous legacy and negate sovereignty, and then recast the historical narrative surrounding Kamehameha the Great and his master project towards one of American progress and empire.

Chapter 2: "A Site of National [U.S.] Significance": Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, 1959-1993

Hawai'i`s own true sons/ Look to your chief/Those chiefs of younger birth/ Younger descent Royal father/ Kamehameha/ We shall defend in war/ With spears
—Hawai'i Pono'i[1]

While the year 1959 is infamous in Hawai'i as it marks another moment of rupture for Hawaiian sovereignty—statehood—not much immediately changed in the succeeding days and months in the area surrounding Pu'ukoholā Heiau. However, the region would face other challenges during this time. The end of the 1950s and beginning of the 1960s was a moment of transition for the Hawaiian Islands as a whole, but they were particularly historic years for the Kohala Coast of the Big Island. Following close on the heels of statehood, a tsunami ripped through the area on May 22, 1960. Though property damage and the loss of human life were far more extensive on the opposite side of the island in Hilo Bay, the Kohala Coast also saw serious impacts from the tsunami. U.S. military-industrial interests seized this opportunity of the decimated harbor and laid the groundwork for even further industrial expansion. Thus, the 1960 tsunami symbolically and violently opened the decade that would see rapid, extreme

[1] "Hawai'i Pono'i - Words by King David Kalākaua, Music by Henri Berger," Accessed October 27, 2017, https://www.huapala.org/Hawaii/Hawaii_Ponoi.html. The source material for the song notes "Source: Cunha's Songbook Copyright 1898 by Hugo Schlam - Lot, Kamehameha 5, wanted a gift of music for his people and asked Kaiser Wilhelm I of Germany to send a bandmaster to Hawai'i. Henri Berger arrived June 5, 1872, and organized the Royal Hawaiian band who perfomed June 11,1872, after 5 days of practice. This first performance of the Royal Hawaiian band introduced "Hymn to Kamehameha I "which Berger re-wrote for the first celebration of King Kamehameha Day. The melody was based on the Prussian hymn originally titled "Heil Dir Im Siegerkranz". The words by King David Kalākaua was set to the Hymn to Kamehameha I in 1874, and was first sung by the Kawaiaha'o Church Choir, on King Kalākaua`s birthday, Nov. 16, 1874."

change in the area. These combined events of statehood and the tsunami, both tragic in their own way, created an opening for the region to become part of the commercial and militouristic goals of the newly incorporated state of Hawai'i, where the dominant framework was the aloha spirit.

With the aloha spirit now the official governing ethic that came with statehood the new State of Hawai'i was perfectly positioned to capitalize on the post-war interest in tiki lounges and the pagan mythologization of aspects of Hawaiian culture as kitsch.[2] The white tourist imaginary allowed that this broader awareness of "island" cultures would make visitors perhaps more interested in experiencing an "authentic" site of Hawaiian religion, no longer satisfied by the faux gods they found in their Mai Tais at Trader Vic's. With the locals of Kawaihae removed through evictions and the coastal landscape completely changed by industrial expansion and another natural disaster, it was all the easier to dedicate larger swaths of land on the Kohala Coast to development in aid of creating a culture to consume. The last great influx of foreign visitors had been the nearly 50,000 soldiers (at any one time) who had been cycled through Kawaihae and Waimea during World War II. The region was poised for a new chapter. The 1960s marked the pinnacle of jet-setting "domestic" tourism, and many of the soldiers who had passed through the Big Island during the war and enjoyed the rest and relaxation that places like Kilauea Military Camp and other sites of leisure provided were

[2] For more on the commodification of Hawaiian culture, see, for example, Camilla Fojas, *Islands of Empire: Pop Culture and US Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015).

interested in coming back for purely recreational purposes. This period represents the Kohala Coast's premiere as a tourist destination, as well as the first time the area would see this number of foreign visitors coming specifically for leisure.

As mentioned in the introduction and discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, by the 1960s Hawai'i's position as a key location in the U.S. empire had been solidified—both by its important role in World War II and with the designation that statehood had brought. With this sedimenting came both the heightened presence of the U.S. military as well increasingly demanding flows of tourists. At the dawn of World War II in 1941, all of the Hawaiian Islands saw a total of nearly 32,000 visitors—totaling nearly as much as half of the population of the Big Island at the time.[3] In 1956, the year the town of Kawaihae was condemned to make way for the harbor expansion, it saw 134,000 tourists arrive by air—now, more than double the population of the island.[4] A decade later, when Pu'ukoholā Heiau was designated a National Historic Landmark, the number of visitors had skyrocketed to 865,000. By 1967, Hawai'i would receive more than a million tourists a year, and that number would only continue to increase nearly exponentially as the years progressed.[5] It was during this moment of opportunity that

[3] Visitors: "Historical Visitor Statistics," Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism, Visitor Statistics, Accessed January 15, 2020, https://dbedt.hawaii.gov/visitor/. "Population: Hawai'i - Censuses: Historical Censuses," University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, Accessed January 15, 2020, https://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/c.php?g=105181&p=684171.

[4] Ibid.

[5] "Historical Visitor Statistics," Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism, Visitor Statistics, Accessed January 15, 2020, https://dbedt.hawaii.gov/visitor/.

resort developer Laurance Rockefeller, grandson of John D. Rockefeller, was invited to tour the Big Island of Hawai'i.

With a small empire of island resorts and National Park hotels to his name at the end of the 1950s, when Hawai'i's statehood became official, Rockefeller was brought to tour Hawai'i as a guest of the State and the Honolulu-based architecture firm Belt Collins in 1960. Belt Collins was started in Honolulu by civil engineer Robert M. Belt and planner Walter K. Collins in 1953 and was one of the first consulting firms to integrate resort master planning with design.[6] As mentioned above, that same year a tsunami destroyed the harbor, and legislation was approved to expand it upon redevelopment. Indeed, the State was hoping to partner with Belt Collins to inspire Rockefeller to build his next resort complex on the Big Island. At this point, Rockefeller had just finished "environmentally friendly" resorts in Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Grand Teton National Park in Wyoming, to name a few, so the State of Hawai'i hoped he might bring both his tropical paradise aesthetic as well as his expert blending of the natural and built environments to the Big Island. Additionally, the State had just published its "Visitor Destination Area Study" of the Kohala Coast, of which Belt Collins was a major contributor, and which concluded that, in short, the state's tourism industry would only

[6] "About," Belt Collins, Accessed November 12, 2019, bchdesign.com/about.

continue to grow and that other destinations needed to be established outside of Waikiki (on Oahu) in order to accommodate it.[7]

While exploring many sites across the islands, Rockefeller would first approach by water to gain his impressions of the land from the sea, just as King Kamehameha I had done when selecting the site for his grand temple, Puʻukoholā Heiau. Having seen the way in which the Kohala Coast presided over the water, Rockefeller chose a site just south of the famous Heiau to construct the Mauna Kea Beach Resort, under the design and planning of Belt Collins, and on land leased from Parker Ranch (the ranch owned by descendants of John Young compatriot John Palmer Parker).[8] With the hotel site a mere three mile drive from the Puʻukoholā Heiau, Rockefeller took a keen interest in the historic site. Being a prominent member of the hospitality industry, his influence would

[7] For more on the tourism industry in Hawai'i, see Cristina Bacchilega, Heather Diamond, and James Mak, among many others.

[8] In discussing how Belt Collins utilizes a variety of design experts—master planners, environmental, consultants, civil engineers, and landscape architects—to create integrated designs that keep resort owners coming back to the firm, firm representative Fiona Gruber explains, "One of the best examples of this long-term owner satisfaction started with an airplane ride and picnic on a remote beach on the Big Island of Hawai'i. In the mid-'60s Laurance Rockefeller and his team, along with selected governmental officials and other interested parties, were searching for a Hawai'i property that might be developed under the RockResorts brand. Walter Collins was a leader in the effort among passengers who flew over the uninhabited, partially barren lava of the Kohala Coast on that long-ago day. From the time Rockefeller and his party arrived on the remote and beautiful beach until today, Belt Collins has created a community of design for the famed Mauna Kea Resort that spans more than a quarter century. In fact, the firm's work for Mauna Kea has set destination resort standards for projects around the world." [Fiona Gruber, ed., *Belt Collins* (Australia: The Images Publishing Group, 2003), 10.] Land lease info: *Recognition of Puʻukoholā Heiau as a Registered National Historic Landmark*, *June 10, 1966*, May 17, 1966 draft, National Park Service, Puʻukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series I: Records of the Superintendent, Box 1, Folder 8: Landmark Status: Program and Press Releases, May-June 1966, page 2.

later shape the story surrounding the Heiau. However, he first focused on building his masterpiece hotel.

In the same way that monarchs of the later nineteenth century attempted to draw parallels between themselves and Kamehameha the Great—as for example in "Hawai'i Pono'i," the national anthem excerpted at the opening of this chapter—Rockefeller attempted to entwine himself with the storied leader and his legacy in the region by naming his development company Olohana Corporation. Olohana was the Hawaiian "nickname" of John Young, the British sailor discussed in Chapter 1 who became Kamehameha's most trusted advisor and who eventually married Kamehameha's niece, Ka'ōanā'eha.[9] By conjuring up a mythohistorical link to the past, Rockefeller thus chose to align himself with the white settler John Young rather than the indigenous ruler Kamehameha himself, connecting his own arrival in Hawai'i to the Western civilizing influence associated with Young, who some believed to the harbinger of modernity in Hawai'i. Christening himself the virtual son of these two highly respected men, the "environmentally sensitive" Rockefeller would finish the resort in 1965, unveiling it with a 97% occupancy rate, unheard of for a resort on the Big Island.[10]

[9] "Olohana" is the early Hawaiians interpretation of "all hands." Popular mythology states that John Young became known as Olohana because he often called for "all hands" (or "all hands on deck" in seamen's terms) to help with large projects, and especially in battle. The original park brochure, published in 1975, refers to John Young as Olohana.

[10] Allegedly, it was after this exploration that the "visionary" Rockefeller became especially interested in aiming to preserve the legacies of Native Hawaiians in the form of abandoned settlements, trails, and fishing areas, while creating jobs to replace those that were being lost to the demise of the sugar plantation era. [Gruber, 30.] Robin W. Winks also discusses the resort's early development in his biography of Rockefeller. In the book, Winks elaborates "In the spirit of ecumenical values, [Rockefeller]

In many ways, the creation of mythohistorical narratives surrounding Rockefeller continues to this day. A short film on the hotel's website about its founding features what the viewer can assume is supposed to be a Native Hawaiian woman narrating. After an older Native Hawaiian woman opens the film by performing a heartfelt mele, or chant in Hawaiian, on the shore of the hotel's private beach, the younger (and coded as more refined, and therefore modern) narrator provides some context for the founding of the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, explaining in a soothing voice:

> Aloha is a welcoming, natural love that is in our very essence. It inspires us to share our spirit, to be a destination for all to experience. As a new state tourism would become our economic foundation, and to build that foundation while respecting our culture, community, and the beauty of the islands, the State's first governor would call upon a visionary with a master plan to inaugurate the industry on Hawai'i island.[11]

By continuing to present Rockefeller as a "visionary" who was hand-selected ("called upon") by the State to begin the tourism boom of the 1960s, the hotel's website further obscures the historical narrative surrounding the region's development. But just as this

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restored an ancient *heiau* or temple—Puukohola Heiau, the Temple on the Hill of the Whale—that had been built by Hawaii's King Kamehameha the Great in 1791, and presented the result to the National Park Service as Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site. Predictably, some cynics said that Rockefeller had restored the heiau to placate local Hawaiians, so that they would work more happily and dependably in his resort. Others said that he was creating a tourist attraction as protection against the possibility that the lava bed from which the hotel arose would—despite a golf course built by Robert Trent Jones, the most famous designer in the business—not prove sufficiently interesting to hold guests. Most likely such results did flow from his actions, but there is no reason to doubt his own expressed conviction that on Hawaii's serene and beautiful Kohola Coast visitors would find 'greater awareness, faith, and belief in the oneness, eternal unity of God, man and nature." [Robin W. Winks, *Laurance S. Rockefeller: Catalyst for Conservation* (Washington DC: Island Press, 1997), 70.

[11] "The History of Mauna Kea Beach Hotel," Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, Accessed December 2, 2019, https://princehawaii.app.box.com/s/8fezdceed4zv1at2p8zmw91gq1x3dxdv. The hotel's website contains several telling photographs depicting the myriad ways in which the area was changed by the construction of the resort.

framing is a continuation of the mythohistory surrounding Laurance Rockefeller, so too is it a continuation of the deployment of the aloha spirit to inoculate against any conflict or civic unrest while promoting the white tourist imaginary. By functioning to keep the logic of capitalism stable in promoting tourism as the foundation of Hawaiian survival, the aloha spirit also works here to facilitate the racialization of Hawai'i centered around whiteness so that whites can consume it, bolster their identity, and contribute to the legitimacy of the racial order.

Laurance Rockefeller did not play as large a role in the development of the park site as originally anticipated, and the National Park Service partnered with local community groups to fill this gap and protect the Heiau site from further damage due to development. As part of the "superstructure of tourism," Rockefeller's Mauna Kea Beach Resort was the first of several exclusive complexes built along nearly the entire Kohala-Kona coastline, in conjunction with various industrial installations, opening the flood gates to a decade of construction that would leave the natural harbors and beaches of the leeward side of the island almost totally and irreversibly altered.[12]

This chapter seeks to chart how statehood in 1959, tourism in the 1960s, and then the emerging sovereignty movements and Hawaiian cultural revitalizations of the 1970s were played out at the Heiau site and in the surrounding region. The first sections of this chapter explore the Heiau's designation as a National Historic Landmark

[12] Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1998), 6.

in 1966 and its designation as a National Historic Site in 1972, and the ways in which Laurance Rockefeller and the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel were involved in these occasions. Furthering the effort started at the turn of the nineteenth century, by casting the Heiau as a site of national "American" significance, the State ushered forth settler reterritorialization. Hawaiian cultural concepts were co-opted in service of the white tourist imaginary. While the previous chapter of dissertation explores how the National Park Service first entered Hawai'i as both an organ of tourism and an agent of preservation—with recognition of it as an inherently colonizing force as an arm of the federal government—the middle sections of this chapter investigate how at the heiau site, the National Park Service sought to redefine its stewardship role by publicly seeking Native Hawaiian input from the start.[13] These sections detail the National Park Service's restoration plans of the 1970s and the debates surrounding them in the 1980s. Despite good intentions, or political efforts at appeasement, mythohistorical narratives continued to be concocted about the Heiau in aid of the tourist imaginary while white settlers exhibited imperialist nostalgia for these fictionalized, but safely past, narratives.

[13] For resources on the problematizing of the National Park Service legacy, see, for example, Karl Jacoby, *Crimes Against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (University of California Press, 2014); Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (Oxford University Press, 2000); and Alan Spears, "No, national parks are not our 'best idea'" *The Denver Post* (Denver, Colorado), April 22, 2016. Most recently, related work on this topic includes Ashanti Shih, "The most perfect natural laboratory in the world: Making and knowing Hawaii National Park," *History of Science* 57, No. 4 (2019), 493–517; as well as the work of Marla R. Miller, Mattea V. Sanders, Sherri Sheu, and Helis Sikk, all of whom will participate in a panel titled "New Perspectives on National Park History" at the April 2020 Organization of American Historians Annual Conference.

The final sections of this chapter explore the collaboration between Native Hawaiian community groups and the National Park Service to work together to deconstruct settler colonial narratives and enact indigeneity on the landscape in new ways.

Despite the conversion of nearby property and the ever expanding industrial harbor, as well as another defeat to Hawaiian sovereignty in the form of statehood, Pu'ukoholā Heiau remained physically intact, though like both of the sites explored in this dissertation, literal land ownership and symbolic stewardship would become central to its future.[14] However, while its physical elements remained standing, the site's symbolic significance continued to be used rhetorically in service of the aloha spirit and mythohistorical narratives in aid of the white tourist imaginary, and the reterritorialization process continued to cement it within a white, Western, settler context as a site of "American" significance. In spite of the aloha spirit's totalizing narrative about Hawaiianess—as welcoming and hospitable, for one—there have been smaller moments of cultural decolonization enacted at the heiau site as a result of Native Hawaiian community groups continued persistence and determined decolonial efforts, in communication with National Park Service staff working to hold space for these groups to perform and participate in culturally relevant, historically-minded activities in an effort to educate the public. Therefore, this chapter explores how the

[14] For more information on the history of land ownership in the surrounding area, see section II of the *Development Concept Plan*, April 1986 draft, National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series I: Records of the Superintendent.

interpretive efforts at Pu‘ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site have revised the colonial histories of Hawai’i (despite the constricting system embodied by the aloha spirit) and attempted to build efforts at symbolic decolonization through a series of micro-interventions. Cultural sites like the Heiau have been crucial for the contestation of power and meaning throughout Hawaiian history, and the model of collaboration exhibited by Pu‘ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site and its community groups may be one way of ensuring that Native Hawaiians continue to have a strong voice in dictating their future.

Pu‘ukoholā Heiau as a National Historic Landmark, 1966-1970

According to the National Park Service, “National Historic Landmarks (NHLs) are historic places that hold national significance. The Secretary of the Interior designates these places as exceptional because of their abilities to illustrate U.S. heritage.”[15] In this case, the landmark status was the first step towards the Heiau receiving NPS stewardship. Just seven years after Hawai’i itself officially joined the United States, the Heiau was landmarked as part of the “national” story, a far cry from how it had been cast historically over the preceding century. In addition to this attention from the federal government, other interests were also keeping a close eye on the Heiau.

[15] “National Historic Landmarks,” National Park Service, Accessed September 17, 2019, https://www.nps.gov/orgs/1582/index.htm.

According to his biographer, Robin W. Winks, and popular mythology surrounding the jet-setting era of the 1960s tourism boom, the story goes that Rockefeller worked to restore the site of Puʻukoholā Heiau, and later presented it to the National Park Service as a gift of stewardship. In fact, there seems to be no basis for this story, and many sources contradict this claim, describing the dire circumstances the Park Service inherited when they took over the site. Anecdotal evidence, as mentioned in the previous chapter, suggests that residents of nearby Kawaihae had been the only people caring for the structure since the turn of the century.

By naming his company "Olohana Corporation," Laurance Rockefeller attempted to position himself as symbolic heir to the site, despite not owning the land (it was still in the holdings of the then-named Queen Emma Foundation, now known as the Queen Emma Land Company, established to support the Queen's Hospital). Ironically, Queen Emma was John Young's granddaughter, so in this sense, the land never left the ownership of Young's actual descendants. The 1966 event program for the site's designation as a National Historic Landmark featured short summaries of the major organizations involved—the Queen's Hospital, Parker Ranch, the National Historic Landmark program, and the Olohana Corporation. It explains,

> In 1964, Laurance S. Rockefeller and his Hawaii associates established a corporation for the purpose of developing the Kohala Coast resort community at Kawaihae. The corporation bears John Young's Hawaiian name, Olohana, in tribute to the direction given by that historic figure to the social and cultural advancement of the Hawaiian people and whose influence guided Hawaii's emergence as a nation and contributed significantly to Hawaii an integral part of

> the United States….Plans are currently being considered for the creation of an historical park encompassing Pu'ukohola and Mailekini Heiaus.[16]

It is clear that in the same way the previous chapter explores how foreigners credited John Young with bringing about a trade-based economy, and thus, a more civilized society, this company's summary attempts to draw on this same legacy, substituting tourism for trade in the inevitable march of progress led by Young. By valorizing Young for their own narrative building, the Olohana Corporation effectively created a mythohistory surrounding themselves, privileging haole actions and influence over Hawaiian history and positioning John Young as a white founding father for American Hawai'i.

Though he did not own the land directly, Rockefeller did have development rights through his company. Press coverage of the event noted "The entire area surrounding the Heiau is being master-planned by the State and Olohana Corporation, which manages the Laurance Rockefeller interests in Hawaii."[17] Additionally, in a letter dated December 28, 1965 regarding the 1966 dedication event, Russell Apple, then superintendent of the nearby "City of Refuge" today known as Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, explains "The land [of the Heiau] and vicinity are under planning and eventual development by the Olohana Corporation, a Laurance S.

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[16] "Recognition of Pu'ukoholā Heiau as a Registered National Historic Landmark, June 10, 1966," event program, National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series I: Records of the Superintendent, Box 1, Folder 8: Landmark Status: Program and Press Releases, May-June 1966.

[17] Jack Bryan, "War temple to be made a landmark," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 4, 1966.

Rockefeller organization, and the Heiau is in the vicinity of the new Mauna Kea Beach Hotel…It is anticipated that Laurance S. Rockefeller will be the principal speaker, although this is not yet firm." The letter was sent to a variety of groups, including the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, the county chairman's office, the county board of supervisors, the Kona and Waimea Hawaiian Civic Clubs, Parker Ranch, the Waimea-Kawaihae Community Association, and Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park.[18] This is significant because there is no archival record of Olohana Corporation plans for the site, though many have speculated that Rockefeller's motivation lay in drumming up touristic interest in it as an "attraction" near his new hotel. Though a 1967 NPS document references the Olohana Corporation development plan being prepared for the area between the "Port of Kawaihae" and Puako, where the Heiau is located, this is the most specific archival reference to said plan.[19] My interpretation of this archival contradiction is that Rockefeller wanted the site designated, but did not want to invest his own time and capital to get it done. In other words, he sought to enhance the appeal and importance of the site by expressing interest in it so that he could later lobby the National Park Service to actually invest the time and money to develop it as a cultural heritage site.

[18] Memorandum by Russell A. Apple, December 28, 1965, National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series I: Records of the Superintendent, Box 1, Folder 7: Landmark Status: Correspondence, Dec. 1965-June 1966.

[19] Proposed Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site Hawaii (National Park Service, 1968), 5. University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, Hamilton Library, Pacific Collection.

It seems management staff at the hotel were also unaware of this purported involvement of Olohana Corporation with the Heiau. Leslie Moore, Jr., general manager of the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, replied on January 3, 1966 stating "This is very interesting information…Thank you for bringing this to our attention."[20] Thus, it becomes clear that while Rockefeller was supposed to have a major hand in developing the site, he was far removed from the actual decision-making process.[21] However, his company, the Olohana Corporation, based in Honolulu, acted as an advisor to the National Park Foundation during the transition of land from the Queen Emma Foundation.[22] Over two and a half years into the project, an August 5, 1968 letter from Walter Collins of the Honolulu-based Belt-Collins firm updated Rockefeller on the site's progress. As a result, Rockefeller wrote to then-NPS director George Hartzog in Washington D.C. voicing his full support of the project and inquiring about how to expedite the process of designation.[23] Thus, though not on the ground involved in the

[20] Letter by Leslie Moore, Jr., January 3, 1966. National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series I: Records of the Superintendent, Box 1, Folder 7: Landmark Status: Correspondence, Dec. 1965-June 1966.

[21] The 1986 park Development Concept Plan mentions a 1967 "comprehensive land use plan…for the development of a major resort/residential community for the Kohala area of the Island of Hawaii." (Development Concept Plan, April 1986 draft, National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series I: Records of the Superintendent, page 2.)

[22] Series of March 1970 letters between Richard P. Schwartz, Real Estate Consultant, and Robert R. Garvey, Jr., Assistant Secretary, both of the National Park Foundation, with James C. Faries of the Olohana Corporation. ("Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.)

[23] Letter from Walter Collins to Laurance Rockefeller, August 5, 1968. "Park Reports Office" Binder; Laurance Rockefeller to George B. Hartzog, Jr., August 9, 1968. ("Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.)

day-to-day operations of the planning process, Rockefeller continued to broker the park being designated by using his social capital to draw needed attention to the site's in-flux status.

In addition to Rockefeller's support for NPS involvement at the site, developments at the harbor also raised new concerns about preservation of the Heiau. Beginning with "Project Tugboat," completed a year prior to the destructive 1960 tsunami, the harbor was excavated using nuclear explosives by the Army Corps of Engineers and the Atomic Energy Commission, as discussed in Chapter 1. By the later part of 1969, Native Hawaiian groups had grown concerned about another Kawaihae harbor expansion damaging the heiau site. In response, the Bishop Museum of Honolulu conducted an "Archaeological Surface Survey" and concluded that, following the initial (and no longer nuclear) test blasts in November 1969, an archaeological crew should return to ensure "enough detail be recorded in order that a complete and accurate reconstruction of the heiaus is possible if necessary" following the final blasting scheduled for May 1970.[24] Once again, the structural integrity of the Heiau was at stake just as it had been in various times throughout the 1940s and 1950s.

In October of the same year, Colonel John Hughes, Hawai'i district engineer for the U. S. Corps of Engineers, met with about thirty members of Hale o Hawaii to discuss

[24] Deborah F. Cluff and William K. Kikuchi, *The Archaeological Surface Survey of Puu Kohola Heiau and Mailekini Heiau, So. Kohola, Kawaihae, Hawaii Island, Preliminary Report, September 19, 1969.* National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series III: Cultural Resource Management, Box 1.

the preservation measures in place.[25] Hale o Hawaii was one of many local Native Hawaiian civic clubs involved in the preservation efforts surrounding the Heiau. These groups were mostly concerned with the effect of the vibration of blasts, the impact of nearby resorts on the landscape, and how to most accurately preserve and restore the Heiau. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Hawaiian Civic Clubs of Hawai'i Island, the groups that grew out of the Order of Kamehameha I who had initially laid the bronze plaque at the Heiau in 1929, continued to be a strong voice in the heiau site's development.

As a result of the continued threat of development, the National Park Service bestowed National Historic Site status on the Heiau in 1970.[26] Representative Patsy T. Mink—the first non-white woman and the first Asian American woman elected to Congress—introduced the congressional bill to establish the Heiau as a National Historic Site. Though Rockefeller's biography claims he had purchased the land encompassing Pu'ukoholā Heiau and its associated historic sites to donate to the National Park Service, NPS records state that the trustees of the Queen's Hospital officially donated 34.3 acres on April 4, 1973, for it to become Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, and another 26.5 acres in 1986.[27] Additionally, six months prior,

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[25] "Kawaihae's Heiaus Face Blast Shock," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 13, 1969.

[26] The article notes that the Queen's Medical Center would donate the land, again disproving the story of Rockefeller purchasing and donating it himself. ["Mrs. Mink Asks Historic Site," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 6, 1970.]

[27] Cluff and Kikuchi, *Archaeological Surface Survey.*; Greene, Chapter 7, Topic N, Section 2, Subsection a. Apple explains "Congress has never been willing to purchase land upon which to establish a National Park.

> On Nov. 4, 1972, the symbolic gift of the land from the trustees was part of a pageant, "Ho'okupu 'Aina" (literally meaning "gift of land"), held below and on Pu'ukoholā Heiau, followed by a reception at nearby Spencer Park. Hawaiian Civic Clubs of Hawai'i Island presented the pageant, sponsored by The Queen's Hospital trustees, the Olohana Corporation, and the National Park Service.[28]

While there was much celebration across the board because the Heiau and its accompanying historic sites were now protected from further harbor redevelopment, when the Park Service took over as stewards, they faced quite a challenge in terms of the practical preservation work that lay ahead.[29]

The Beginning of National Park Service Stewardship, 1970-1972

Despite its designation as a historical landmark in 1928, in the same way the territorial government sought to expedite the deterioration of Iolani Palace in the early twentieth century through what I have called "accelerated decay," years of neglect,

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While Congress has on occasions made appropriations for the purchase of private holdings within National Parks, chief reliance has been placed upon acquisition by donation or exchange. Parks are created out of the public domain or on lands donated or exchanged for the purpose." [Russell Apple, *A History Of The Land Acquisition For Hawaii National Park To December 31, 1950*, Master's Thesis (University of Hawaii, Manoa campus, June 1954), 8.]

[28] Greene, Chapter 7, Topic N, Section 2, Subsection a.

[29] Major changes were also happening in the Olohana Corporation. By 1978, United Airlines had acquired Mauna Kea Properties and the Olohana Corporation for $78 million in the interest of capitalizing on the area's ever growing tourism potential. According to NPS documents, it was sometime between 1983 and 1986 that United Airlines and their subsidiary, Mauna Kea Properties, succeeded the Olohana Corporation to own development rights to several thousand acres of Queen's Hospital land. In December of 1982, park staff noted: "The Corporation, in 1972, completed a low income residential community, just inland of Kawaihae," seemingly to house resort staff. [*Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment*, Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site Hawaii (Prepared by Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, December 1982), 21. Accessed July 10, 2017: https://archive.org/details/naturalculturalr00puuk.]

invasive species expansion, and other damage had taken a toll on the once regal Heiau area.[30] NPS staff struggled to clear invasive trees, nearly two acres of concrete from a 1960s mixing plant, and general debris from squatters and people dumping. Though the "Sons of Kamehameha" were said to have done some restoration work on the Heiau in 1928, there is no documentation of these efforts, other than a brief mention in the first park brochure, published in 1975: "About 1928, a Hawaiian organization built steps and a walkway to the temple."[31] I believe that the group called the "Sons of Kamehameha" in this mention are the same group—the Order of Kamehameha I—who placed the bronze plaque on the site in 1929. Though there is no evidence of them completing repair work as part of that effort, it seems that the similarity in group name and timeline would mean these disparate sources are talking about the same event.

As part of the reterritorialization process discussed in Chapter 1, the poor condition of the Heiau was used as justification for white settlers to "restore" the site and align it with the white tourist imaginary as an ancient relic in the 1930s on. However, little official repair work was done at the governmental level. Only the informal stewardship by locals over the years had kept the Heiau intact. By 1972, the National Park Service was charged with repairing a collapsed interior back wall, a large section above the entrance to the platform, and a smaller section on the opposite

[30] Russ and Peg Apple, "Problems: Kiawe, Concrete, Junk," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), May 18, 1974.

[31] 1975 brochure, National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series II: Records of the Chief Ranger, Box 1, Folder 14: "Park Generated Ephemera 1975."

wall.[32] It is unclear when this damage occurred, as the archaeological survey of September 1969 does not mention it, and this would seem to suggest that perhaps the blasts of May 1970 did in fact damage the structure. Regardless, the park's "Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment" made it clear that the National Park Service operated from a Western perspective as the author argued:

> The Hawaiian style prehistoric structures are dry-laid, stacked-stone, and structurally weak…The massive…temple sites were originally constructed for a 'one-time use' and not for long-term preservation… Therefore, efforts to preserve these stacked-stone structures start with a structure that has, built into it, 'self-destructing features.'[33]

At some point after Kamehameha's death, some areas of the Heiau had collapsed, and nearly two years of restoration and stabilization work by the National Park Service were required to make the site safe and accessible.[34] Additional work included

Figure 1 Undated image of the Heiau wall showing stacked rock pattern. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-35-7-012.

[32] Greene, Chapter 7, Topic B, Section 3.

[33] *Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment*, Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site Hawaii (Prepared by Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site, National Park Service, Department of the Interior, December 1982), 4. Accessed July 10, 2017: https://archive.org/details/naturalculturalr00puuk.

[34] *Puukohola Heiau National Historic Landmark: Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site*, Cultural Landscapes Inventory (Honolulu: National Park Service, 2003), part 3a, page 8.

minimizing modern intrusions such as the remnants of World War II training grounds, as discussed in Chapter 1, including a tank road, foxholes, and gun emplacements.[35] The 1975 park brochure ultimately noted, "Over the years, the [Heiau] platform has withstood major earthquakes on this volcanic island, but recent earthquakes have begun to collapse the layers of rock. The National Park Service is now planning how best to repair the damages and to do maintenance work stemming from 150 years of abandonment."[36] The brochure goes on to recount the story of Kamehameha's quest for dominance over all the islands, and his decade-long struggle to control Hawai'i Island. It also discusses the Heiau's completion and consecration with Keōua's death as well as the unification of the islands. There is a brief mention of the thatched houses and wooden altars that would have been present on the Heiau, but no commitment to restoration is made.

Though the park's initial enabling legislation authorized restoration of the Heiau in August 1972 (and there was an expressed desire from the public to do so), a lack of both written and visual archival sources prevented the National Park Service from

[35] Greene, Chapter 7, Topic H.

[36] 1975 brochure, National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series II: Records of the Chief Ranger, Box 1, Folder 14: "Park Generated Ephemera 1975." Interestingly, this line would not be changed until the 2014 version of the brochure. The 1975, 1976, 1989, and 1994 versions of the park brochure are identical. In 1996, an updated version was published which featured colored photos and much more detail about the site. Though it includes the same completion and consecration story of the heiau, as well as information on the materiality of the structure, it has added sections on Kamehameha's youth and the kingdom he built as well as information on the chiefly warrior class of Hawai'i, a photo and description of the cultural festival, and a small map showing the entire site. This version is very similar to the most recent 2014 revision of the brochure, which is still in circulation as of July 2019.

immediately embarking on any large scale projects.[37] While there are significant sources describing the site's appearance cited here, and in Linda Wedel Greene's 1993 report *A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island*, for example, those that do exist often contradict each other.[38] Additionally, due to the site's sacred status during Kamehameha's lifetime (1791-1819), only a select few would have been permitted to enter the site, thereby limiting the chance for documentation even further. Once the kapu system was overthrown in 1820 after Kamehameha's death, any ephemeral materials at the site were destroyed, thus restricting the opportunity for the incoming missionaries, who left a large record of other Hawaiian sites of the time, to document the specific appearance of the Heiau's interior areas.[39] Discussed in more detail below, this restoration debate continued to

[37] Early on in the park's development, there were a series of discussions to restore the site at a cost of $1 million and timeline 10 years to rebuild, with plans to "be developed by the National Park Service." ["Kamehameha's War Temple to Be Rebuilt," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 11, 1972.] There were plans to "recreate the heiau complex as it was in 1791…An oracle tower, sacrificial altars and wooden images of the gods will be installed on the heiau's terraces. The massive lava rock temple will be repaired. And a visitor orientation center, museum and parking areas will be built….Parks officials term the project a long-term effort. 'There are many, many steps involved,' said [Robert L.] Barrel [State director of the National Park Service]. 'Research, land acquisition, funding and national priorities are all factors. But with good breaks, the park should be completed in the next 10 years." ["Heiau at Puukohola to be Restored as park," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 11, 1972.] Many of these plans were implemented in the 1980s, aside from the ephemeral aspects initially envisioned to be installed on the heiau's terraces.

[38] Linda Wedel Greene, *A Cultural History of Three Traditional Hawaiian Sites on the West Coast of Hawai'i Island* (Denver Service Center: National Park Service, 1993), Chapter 7, Topic B, Section 2, Subsection e. This study also contains the richest collection of sketches and photographs depicting the Heiau. It is readily available online for viewing.

[39] Interestingly, according to NPS documents, Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park is the park that specifically "interprets the kapu and refuge system," not Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site. ["Interpretive Concept Plan: Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historic Park, Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Haleakalā

plague the National Park Service into the 1980s. Currently, the park's self-guided audio tour mentions potential future efforts to restore the surrounding landscape with more native vegetation, which might encourage endemic animals to thrive in the area, but it seems no concrete plans are in place for this effort. Additionally, with the site's long history as a port and village up until the 1950s, and also as a site for extensive military training during World War II, it seems the remnants of those past occupations will be left in place as part of the site's history. While initial restoration plans sought to recreate the Heiau as it was in 1791, NPS seems to have settled on a more holistic approach to the site's history, mostly likely due to practical reasons like lack of funding and staffing to carry out the original restoration plans of the surrounding landscape.

The National Park Service and Preservation of the Heiau, 1972-1975

Similar to the timing of the Friends of 'Iolani Palace and their interpretive efforts intertwining with the burgeoning Hawaiian sovereignty movement (which will be discussed in Chapter 4), by the time the National Park Service was ready to put forth a public interpretive plan, the sovereignty movement had become a vocal factor in Hawaiian society and so NPS plans were in conversation with these movements. Discussed in more detail in the introduction to this dissertation, briefly, the Hawaiian

National Park, Kalaupapa National Historic Park," *Long Range Interpretive Plans: Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historic Park* (National Park Service, February 1999), 7.]

sovereignty movement gained traction in the 1960s and 70s in response to a variety of factors, but most importantly to over-development, commercialization, and the appropriation of Hawaiian land and culture in aid of the white tourist imaginary. Through the larger goal of self-governance, the movement has sought to address these issues by calling attention to them through protest at different sites across the islands, creating a wide variety of educational materials, and through intervening in historical interpretive efforts at important Hawaiian cultural sites.

While constrained by the aloha spirit framework, it was also in the midst of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement of the 1970s that NPS staff began to formulate the first plans for the heiau site, and the first "Statement for Management" for the site was completed in 1976. A decade earlier, at the 1966 National Historic Landmark dedication ceremony, Superintendent Apple had exclaimed, "Let's remind them of the dignity present in ancient Hawaii, and that we have not forgotten Kamehameha the Great, who built Puʻukoholā in honor of his war god – Ku-ka-ili-moku…E inoa a Kamehameha."[40] It seems this sentiment carried through the park's founding document, as it speaks highly

[40] Draft event plan, April 20, 1966. National Park Service, Puʻukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series I: Records of the Superintendent, Box 1, Folder 7: Landmark Status: Correspondence, Dec. 1965-June 1966. A myriad of groups attended this event: "Kamehameha's memory will also be honored by representatives of the Kamehameha Lodge, the Kaahumanu Society, the Hawaiian Civic Clubs, the Hale-o-Na-alii and the Kuhio Council of the Keaukaha Homesteaders [all of which are Native Hawaiian community organizations.]" [*Recognition of Puʻukoholā Heiau as a Registered National Historic Landmark*, *June 10, 1966*, June 7, 1966 press release, National Park Service, Puʻukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series I: Records of the Superintendent, Box 1, Folder 8: Landmark Status: Program and Press Releases, May-June 1966.] There was much press coverage of the designation, such as Mary Cooke, "Land Gift to the Gods: Heiau to Become Part of National Park," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 3, 1972 and "Puukohola Heiau Becomes a National Park," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 6, 1972.

of Kamehameha and his "ambition, leadership, strength of character," and how he was "intelligent, physically dominant, willful, and persuasive."[41] This document was perhaps a product of its time and used language which sought to appeal to American veterans of Vietnam in particular, in an effort to contextualize Kamehameha in national cold war dynamic. Russ Apple, with his wife and frequent collaborator, Peg Apple, published a series of newspaper columns about the site's history in the 1970s, which seemed aimed to drum up support for the park. In the weeks leading up to the park's official opening in November 1972, they published two particularly interesting passages:

> In the face of Hawaii's Western drift in 1790, Kamehameha pulled a switcheroo. He clung more strongly to the ancient gods, but kept the gunpowder…The hilltop Heiau still dominates the Kawaihae landscape. It dominated more than the Kawaihae landscape in 1790. It bugged the other ruling chiefs, and dominated their thoughts…Credit Puukohola Heiau for the founding of the Kingdom of Hawaii. Also credit gunpowder (Kamehameha had the most); advice from foreigners (Kamehameha had the best); and Kamehameha's timing and leadership. And don't forget the war god Ku-ka-ili-moku.[42]

By deploying Hawaiian religious symbolism while using colloquial language like "switcheroo" and "bugged," the Apples attempted to normalize the Heiau as a military operation, despite its legacy of (ceremonial) human sacrifice, while also emphasizing many of the aspects of Kamehameha's domination that are rarely mentioned. Though their tone may read as problematic and flippant, they were effective in getting support

[41] *Statement for Management, 1976.* National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series III: Cultural Resource Management, Box 1, page 2.

[42] Russ and Peg Apple, "Hawaii's New National Park," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 4, 1972.

for Kamehameha, particularly in their emphasis on his success in his interactions and relationships with both Westerners and Hawaiians. However, they also insist on comparing the Hawaiian Kingdom to that of the United States empire:

> Puukohola Heiau has the same relationship to the founding of the Kingdom of Hawaii as Independence Hill has to the founding of the United States. Both are the principal structures associated with the founding of new nations. But don't carry the comparison too far. The sacrifices at Puukohola were human and those at Independence Hill were political. Each structure represents the culture which built it. Independence Hill's bricks are held together with mortar; the unworked basalt boulders of Puukohola have no mortar; their odd shapes had been interlocked mechanically by Hawaiian stone masons. Both structures still stand…Kamehameha's Kingdom of Hawaii started at Puukohola Heiau in 1791, and is the political ancestor of the 50th State of the Union.[43]

Though the Apples say not to carry the comparison too far, one could argue that human sacrifice is just as much a part of the story of "Independence Hill" as it is Pu'ukoholā Heiau. There are several points in American history where native peoples were slaughtered to ensure the success of the nation, not to mention the fact that the nation's capital was built on the back of enslaved African Americans. In these ways, human sacrifice, broadly defined, also plays a crucial role in the "consecration" of the American empire, and continues today. They go on to argue, "The heiau at Kawaihae is of national significance…The kingdom he [Kamehameha] founded is the political ancestor of the State of Hawaii."[44]

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[43] Apple, "Hawaii's New National Park." Though the original document repeatedly reads "Independence Hill," it is unclear if Apple is referring to Capitol Hill in Washington D.C. or Independence Hall in Philadelphia. I believe it is Independence Hall because of the references to it being a structure made of brick.

[44] Russ and Peg Apple, "Piercing the Veil," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 11, 1972. The Apples continue "Why has Puukohola's significance and history been suppressed, or if told at all,

As mentioned in Chapter 1, reterritorialization involved Hawaiian cultural concepts being co-opted and then replaced. By remapping the Heiau with a white, American settler culture as replacement, the language surrounding the Heiau in the 1970s acts in service of mythohistorical narratives which allowed white settlers to feel imperialist nostalgia for fictionalized and safely past events. However, despite the Apples' constant comparisons of the Heiau to and as part of the American Empire, NPS leadership insisted (at least publicly) on a native-centered approach to interpretation. Whether in a sincere response to the burgeoning sovereignty movement mentioned above, or as a political decision of appeasement to placate any brewing protests, Howard H. Chapman, western regional director for the National Park Service, "pledged that the restoration the park service plans for the Heiau will be done, to whatever extent possible, by Hawaiians."[45]

Of the 2000 people in attendance at the park's official opening, about 100 members of the Big island's Hawaiian Civic Clubs, as Apple explained, would "perform

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minimized? That is, until this decade. Overlooking, even belittling, the role Puukohola played is almost as much a part of Hawaii's cultural history as is the story of the war temple itself… During much of the 19th century and first half of the 20th, the roles played by Puukohola Heiau and John Young in the foundation of the Kingdom of Hawaii were culturally objectionable to most people." They go on to discuss how the white missionaries, businessmen, and politicians tried to "eliminate the indigenous Hawaiian culture and substitute one or more varieties of Western culture." Additionally, they mention the framing of Kamehameha as heathen and how the accomplishments of American and European civilizations were to be lauded over those of "heathens." "Sometimes the events at Puukohola in 1791 were used to sermonize how Hawaiians behaved before they were civilized and Christianized by Westerners." They also note that Hawaiian language sources always placed high value on Kamehameha, Young, and the site.

[45] Harry A. Whitten, "Hawaiian Gods 'Smile' on Queen's Gift of Land," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 6, 1972. These newspaper articles were accompanied by excellent photographs depicting the days events in detail and are readily available online through digital newspaper repositories.

Hawaiian rituals of the 1790's to honor the gift of the Heiau land to the United States."[46] This would be the first opportunity that civic club members (who for years had supported the effort to open the Heiau to the public) would have to enact their experiences of indigeneity at the site, and it would be especially poignant considering it occurred during a moment of evolution (and revolution) in Native Hawaiians' understanding of themselves as a group due to the sovereignty movement and other cultural revitalization efforts. Still, Apple's framing of the park opening as a gift to the United States is extremely problematic and the embodiment of the settler colonial perspective of the National Park Service. A gift implies something willingly given, and this kind of language further obscures the historical narrative surrounding the continued illegal settler occupation of Hawai'i.

"Short talks were given by Laurance S. Rockefeller, chairman of the Olohana Corp.; Big Island Mayor Shunichi Kimura and Lt. Gov. George Ariyoshi," therefore cementing the site's position within the framework of U.S. empire.[47] With Rockefeller representing tourism, and Kimura and Ariyoshi representing the United States occupation of the islands by embodying the State presence, this opening event symbolized just how sedimented the tentacles of settler colonialism were at the heiau

[46] Russ and Peg Apple, "Kamehameha's War Temple," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 28, 1972.

[47] Whitten, November 6, 1972. Cooke also notes that refreshments were served by the Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club, but provided by Rockefeller's Mauna Kea Beach Hotel.

site, and was indicative of how they would dictate the site's future, despite the emphasis on an indigenous presence at Pu'ukoholā Heiau.

Keiko Ohnuma has theorized that the aloha spirit acts as a social lubricant in Hawai'i, working to smooth any potential conflicts by deflecting attention.[48] In this way, the governing ethic of the aloha spirit allowed these "Hawaiian rituals of the 1790's" to be co-opted by white developers for their own capitalist gain, reinforced a nostalgia for a mythical past, reasserted Eurocentric interpretive modes, and "othered" indigeneity. There are only two published accounts of the day's events, and they vary greatly. Written by *Honolulu Advertiser* columnists Bob Krauss (a haole who wrote for the *Honolulu Advertiser* for fifty five years from when he moved to Hawai'i in 1951 until his death in 2006) and Native Hawaiian Sammy Amalu (who had an occasional column from 1962 to 1984), they exemplify two disparate perspectives on the day. Bob Krauss played the role of John Young as part of the play held during the opening ceremony, and published his column on the day under the title "Hijinks at Rehearsal: Pageant Takes 'Sailor' Back to 1790." He explains, "During rehearsal, there was a constant flow of wise-cracks and teasing," adding "when the teasing was finished, we stood together…and prayed in Hawaiian that we would not bring shame upon ourselves, that we should be grateful to those who have helped, and that we try together to uphold the

[48] Keiko Ohnuma, "'Aloha Spirit' and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, No. 2 (2008), 366.

old traditions."[49] Krauss concluded, "I know that you can't re-create the past, that the old gods are dead. But for a few moments, in the afterglow of the sunset, the parts we had played seemed as real as the ache in my shoulders."[50] Taking a different approach than Laurance Rockefeller, who also worked to symbolically embody John Young, Krauss engaged in an act of living history colonization, whereby he deployed the cultural capital of John Young to grant himself authority to publicly participate in and then speak on Native Hawaiian religious activities.

Though there were likely others who did not support the site's designation as a National Historic Site, Sammy Amalu represented the only published source in a column titled "Desecration at Puukohola." In it, he laments the activities of the opening ceremony, exclaiming:

> It was a scene to evoke nothing but old memories of dread and of horror, one to strike only terror into the hearts of the Alii [chiefly class]…Like a retarded child pointing a loaded pistol at his head, they were playing dangerous games. They were toying with godly things, they whose hands were profane. They were stirring up the dead….For years, the altars of Puukohola ran red with human blood, with the blood of chieftains and of princes and of kings. It was the Alii who died. They died by the thousands to slake the thirst of Puukohola. And now they would raise up those altars again, stir awake those slumbering gods, and let flow again the blood of princes. To what evil do we commit ourselves in our unknowing? What perilous powers do we let loose in our unthinking?[51]

[49] Bob Krauss, "Hijinks at Rehearsal: Pageant Takes 'Sailor' Back to 1790," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 6, 1972.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Sammy Amalu, "Desecration at Puukohola," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 7, 1972.

While Krauss seemed to take on a tone of jovial imperialist nostalgia, noting "the old gods are dead," Amalu made a forceful argument that reenactors cannot simply box up the past and play pretend but rather that a sacred place imbued with such strong spiritual significance should not be toyed with. These two discordant perspectives synopsize issues of settler colonialism at the site, as the Native Hawaiian perspective seems to emphasize the fear the Heiau would have struck into all who visited and the seriousness and reverence with which it should be handled, while the haole perspective concludes with one of warmth and satisfaction at a fun day celebrating the federal government's stewardship of a foundational Native Hawaiian cultural, historical, and religious site. Their firsthand accounts and opinions regarding the dedication of the site were also joined by more standard reporting on the day's events. One article noted the "ceremonial return of sacred lands to the Hawaiian gods" and that during the rehearsal of the ceremonial pageant, the actors took the soft rain that fell on them "as a blessing from the gods."[52] Taken together, these examples demonstrate the wide range of what enacting indigeneity looks like under a Western, militouristic statehood.

Despite this emphasis on the indigenous presence at the heiau site, the Park Service found itself running afoul of indigenous expectations in a variety of ways. "Park Service Breaks Kapu, Names a Woman" read the March 1974 *Honolulu Advertiser* story. Native Hawaiian park technician and local community activist Rose Akana Fujimori had

[52] Mary Cooke, "Land Gift to the Gods: Heiau to Become Part of National Park," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 3, 1972.

ten years of experience when she was assigned to the park in 1974, despite being "opposed for the post by Hawaiian activists" who "claim[ed] that under Hawaiian religion women are kapu in the sacred areas of Puukohola." Though it seemed she would not have direct interaction with the platform of the Heiau since she would be giving interpretive programs, Alma Cooper of the Congress of Hawaiian People argued that "the old Hawaiian religion is not dead and that its precepts should be honored." Local conservationist William Reich supported her objections, saying "management and visitors alike should respect the practices and taboos of the Hawaiian religion."[53] This controversy was emblematic of the tensions NPS was constantly navigating, and the reality that there was never going to be a clear solution that satisfied everyone. While it is clear Hawaiian religion remained a serious factor in residents' minds, Native Hawaiians were and are not a monolith and often did not agree on the best course of action.

Despite this controversy, the park successfully opened a temporary visitor center in July of 1974, "and for that half a year, 2,495 visitors were counted. By July 1975, 14,255 people visited the area and 3,000 more in 1976."[54] Clearly, there was interest surrounding the site, and the community began to voice their support for restoring the Heiau. With the initial goal of the site's preservation handled, a new chapter in the

[53] "Park Service Breaks Kapu, Names a Woman," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), March 1, 1974.

[54] *Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment*, 17.

site's history began. But if these were the problems associated with preservation, things would only grow more contentious with restoration.

Restoration Debates, 1975-1989

In taking over responsibility for such a foundational site in Hawaiian history, the National Park Service took on a role of settler that was contested by indigenous groups in different ways. The National Park Service, in turn, sought strategies to ameliorate their role. For a federal agency typically seeking apolitical interpretive strategies and navigating bureaucratically dictated presentation practices, site managers faced new challenges to their authority and walked a tightrope between conflicting entities. Though seemingly headed towards a strong collaborative relationship during the late 1970s and early 1980s, this foundation would be threatened by a major misstep around the issue of restoration a few years later.

The park's original 1976 Statement for Management notes:

> There is an ill-defined but very real commitment to the ethnic Hawaiian community in general and to the Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club in particular to: a) plan all development and make site-specific major management decisions with their input and, b) within the letter and spirit of Civil Service regulations, hire Hawaiians to maintain, interpret and manage Hawaiian cultural resources.[55]

While a well-intended commitment, NPS staff struggled to balance their views of appropriate historic preservation with those of community members who called for the

[55] *Statement for Management, 1976,* 4.

restoration of Pu‘ukoholā Heiau. In 1976, the Hawaii County Bicentennial Commission passed a resolution supporting restoration, and in 1979 the Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs submitted a resolution with the same sentiment. Though slow to address these resolutions on the public record, park staff were nonetheless working on their response.

In the park's 1982 "Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment," park personnel worried that if a historic structure report was not completed and the restoration question not addressed, "the Hawaiian public could make a big issue of the shortcomings in the National Park Service's research efforts which can be embarrassing to the Park Service. The NPS credibility with the surrounding community and nearby NPS organizations will suffer. The Park has a good working relationship with native Hawaiians at the present time."[56] This relationship would continue to be a focal point for park staff, as they sought to make improvements to the park site.[57] In that same 1982 report, park staff presented management

[56] *Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment*, Addendum 3.

[57] The 1980s marked a decade of concern with visitor attendance numbers as well as the implementation of admission fees. While Pu‘ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site saw a steady increase in attendance numbers, it was never considered for charging entrance fees. A flurry of press coverage accompanied these debates over the course of the decade: "Visitors Decline 18% at National Parks in Hawaii" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 23, 1980. The park was averaging about 1300 visitors a month, and had shown a steady increase in visitors over the years. "More Visitors at Hawaii's National Parks," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 18, 1984. Park visitorship was up 21%.; Hugh Clark, "Isle national parks to charge fees?," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), May 6, 1986.; Stephanie Castillo, "Park Fee Bill Has Good Odds of Passage, Key Senator Says," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 7, 1986.; Edwin Tanji, "Four national parks in Hawaii to charge fees," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 25, 1986. All island parks would charge except the heiau site.; John Christensen, "Conservationists Have Some Questions About Where Parks Fees Will Go," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 31, 1986. Again, the heiau site was excluded from charging

objectives that included restoring the natural landscape to that of 1790-1830, developing "visitor use facilities," maintaining "close contacts with local interest groups," and to "continue and encourage the traditional Hawaiian uses of the land and sea."[58] Additionally, the document claimed "All management and actions plans are being planned in direct consultation with the Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club and other interested local organizations to ensure compatible development."[59] It is important to remember that these civic clubs had grown out of the Order of Kamehameha I founded by Prince Lot in part to protect Hawaiian sovereignty, an effort which was furthered by Prince Kuhio after the overthrow of the monarchy. In this way, the civic clubs and other local groups working to hold the National Park Service accountable as stewards of Puʻukoholā Heiau were continuing in the tradition set forth by their founders to protect Hawaiian cultural sovereignty and its important foundational sites. For their part, despite the commitment in the 1982 Plan to some level of restoration, figures within the Park Service began to revise the meaning of that commitment shortly thereafter in troubling and problematic ways that would threaten the collaborative relationship the

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entry fees.; Jay Hartwell, "Hawaiians partially exempt from park fee," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 8, 1987.; Norm Brewer, "Park User Fees: No Consensus in D. C.," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 30, 1987.; Hugh Clark and Jerry Burris, "Park entry fees go in effect Monday," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 31, 1987.; Rod Thompson and Stephanie Castillo, "Park-Fee Collections Bring Few Grumbles," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 3, 1987.; Hugh Clark and Edwin Tanji, "New park fees seen well accepted," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 3, 1987.; Stephanie Castillo and Rod Thompson, "Park Fees Prove a Chore for Rangers," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 12, 1987.

[58] *Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment*, 2.

[59] Ibid., 24.

two sides had been working to build, and undermine the validity of their previous statements.

In an initially internal April 1986 "position paper" regarding the restoration of the heiau site, NPS archaeologist Gary Somers argued that the park's enabling legislation did not specifically define the term restore, and that there was no precedent from other legislative actions. In giving a historiography of sorts, Somers noted of the site's past documentation: "What seems clear is that the terms stabilization, restoration, and reconstruction are sometimes used interchangeably, even though they have quite different meanings. Since Congress did not provide us with a definition of 'restore,' we must rely on National Park Service policy to find a definition." After giving a brief summary of what he views as the definition of each of the terms mentioned above, Somers concludes "Congress directed us to restore Puukohola Heiau. The portion of the Heiau that can be restored has been restored."[60] The document is endorsed with "I concur" and the signature of Edward Ladd, the former regional archaeologist who had completed work on the Heiau in the early 1970s. Essentially, this document indicated—internally only—that NPS would engage in limited future action at the site. This was a major breach of trust that should have been discussed more openly and transparently with local partners in order to fulfill the promise of "direct

[60] Gary F. Somers, *Position Paper Puukohola Heiau Restoration* (Pacific Region: National Park Service, April 1986). "Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.

consultation" the earlier plan had laid out. It would be viewed as such when it was eventually made public.

When the park-produced document was circulated to local stakeholders a few months later in the fall of 1986, responses were passionate, to say the least. Rose Fujimori, the park employee controversially assigned to the site in 1974, wrote a letter to Somers stating, "People in the community always had a strong distrust of the National Park Service. To me, the National Park Service is pulling a dirty deal with the Hawaiian community and the public."[61] Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club President Elaine Flores escalated the matter by writing to Howard Chapman, western regional director for the National Park Service, who 14 years earlier had "pledged that the restoration the park service plans for the Heiau will be done, to whatever extent possible, by Hawaiians."[62] Flores wrote:

> We feel that the National Park Service is trying to pull the wool over our eyes by playing a game of semantics with us. We should have known better than to start trusting. This is what we have been familiar with from the time these islands came in contact with the Westerners and we are fed up with these kind of deals.

She went on to note that Chapman himself had always been clear and honest in his dealings with the community but that the Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club would still be making other organizations aware of Somers' position. She concluded by saying "We don't know what Mr. Somers is doing. We feel that you should talk this matter over

[61] Letter from Rose Fujimori to Gary Sommers, October 23, 1986. ("Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.)

[62] Whitten, "Hawaiian Gods 'Smile' on Queen's Gift of Land."

with Mr. Somers and ask him not to play God with words that even your Park Service people are not fully aware of."[63] This restoration debate would continue to simmer and be compounded by another major misstep around the same time that the position paper was written.

Gary Barbano, director of the Pacific region of the National Park Service, issued an April 11, 1986 memorandum regarding the park's draft development concept plan, noting the Park Service's struggles to convince the Queen Emma Foundation to donate the remaining lands near the park site and suggesting NPS limit public access. He emphasized the importance of making sure the plan clearly states NPS goals given the contentious situation, and even stated "Some of our recommendations are clearly straw men, included to provoke a reaction. If we get the reaction we hope for (I'm really being optimistic here), we may decide to come back with an amended version of the DCP [Development Concept Plan]."[64] While this memo was issued around the same time as Somers' contentious position paper, it did not become public until a few years later in 1989, and reactions were again swift and vociferous. For example, Kamaki A. Kanahele III, administrator for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, wrote to Park Superintendent Jerry Shimoda, "The non-visitation policy at the heiau needs to be re-

[63] Letter from Elaine Flores to Howard Chapman, October 22, 1986. ("Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.)

[64] Memorandum from Gary Barbano to "Jerry and Rose" [Jerry Shimoda, Park Superintendent, and Rose Fujimori, park staff], April 11, 1986. ("Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.)

examined. Preservations [sic] without use is pointless."[65] Mayor Bernard Akana suggested the creation of the trail from Spencer Beach Park to the park site, present today, while letters from the State Department of Transportation, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, and the Kawaihae Boating Association also made similar infrastructural and practical comments against restricting public access. Former park employee Rose Fujimori remained active in the conversation as well. As the president of the Kona Hawaiian Civic Club, her letter to Superintendent Shimoda touched on a variety of issues, including the necessity of using proper punctuation and spelling to help people learn Hawaiian words, the group's insistence on new park facilities being constructed ("The area of Kawaihae is being developed with high class hotels and the harbor facilities will be first class and it would be in poor taste to have a dinky National Park Service Office. All the West Hawaii National Park offices are dinky"[66]), as well as the reigniting of the restoration debate.

It seems that during the firestorm of 1986-89, park staff failed to meet community expectations in answering the restoration question in the Development Concept Plan. Knowing that they were nearly 20 years into the debate without a

[65] Letter from Kamaki A. Kanahele, III, administrator for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, to Jerry Shimoda, park superintendent. February 13, 1989: "We are disappointed that the plans of Mauna Kea Properties and the State of Hawaii have placed constraints on the National Park Service's plans for development of the heiau…The planned development of the Harbors Division and Mauna Kea Properties should not be allowed to interfere with the cultural resources management needs at Pu'ukohola Heiau." ("Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.)

[66] Letter from Rose Fujimori, president of the Kona Hawaiian Civic Club, to Jerry Shimoda, Park Superintendent, February 14, 1989. ("Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.)

satisfactory result, Fujimori concluded her letter with "If somehow our comments cannot be handled or the Park Service don't agree with us, for goodness sake don't sit on it, please write and let us know about it."[67] Though there had been well-intentioned commitments at the start of the decade, it seems there were weak spots within the agency that caused a ripple effect and created conflict. Community members were careful in their language and offered measured responses to NPS action, so it is all the more a shortcoming that NPS staff did not openly and actively seek stakeholder input. However, NPS and community groups would turn over a new leaf with the 1991 annual cultural festival, which commemorated the 200th anniversary of the consecration of Pu'ukoholā Heiau.

Ho'oko'ikahi (Unification) at Pu'ukoholā Heiau, 1990 to Today

Though the National Park Service remained the site's steward—and was thus an inherently occupying force dictating the terms through which Native Hawaiians could engage with the site—NPS continued to offer wide-reaching opportunities for partner organizations to express agency within the settler colonial context. This section seeks to articulate those moments of cultural and symbolic decolonization. Given the

[67] Letter from Rose Fujimori, president of the Kona Hawaiian Civic Club, to Jerry Shimoda, Park Superintendent, February 14, 1989. ("Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.) Fujimori also noted "We remember very well that the enabling legislation calls for restoration of Pu'ukohola Heiau and John Young's House site. We remember too, that we supported its restoration. The National Park Service claimed that they needed to do some research and many years have since past (sic) and no word from the Park Service as yet regarding their research. We question the reason this important subject was obviously omitted [from the memo]."

contentious atmosphere of the later 1980s and the influence of the sovereignty movement to recognize and honor Hawaiian history, it makes sense that NPS and local groups chose the theme of Ho'oku'ikahi, or unification, for the 1991 annual cultural festival at the park.[68] Their choice carried a double meaning: unification within the regional Hawaiian community, where descendants of Kamehameha and Keōua—whose genealogies were forever intertwined by the actions taken to consecrate the Heiau 200 years prior—could come together to jointly honor their shared ancestors and symbolically lay to rest ill-will for that event, as well as

Figure 2 The entrance to Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site with the heiau in the distance. Photo by author, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, March 2016.

[68] The first annual two-day cultural festival was held in August 1976, and "stage[d] activities such as traditional Hawaiian arts, a procession of the royal court, a reenactment of Kamehameha I's battles, Hawaiian dances and outrigger canoe rides in the bay." While it is unclear if this first festival had a theme, since then the event has grown to include Ho'oku'ikahi or Unification, as its annual guiding principle, starting since at least 1991. *Puukohola Heiau National Historic Landmark: Puukohola Heiau National Historic Site*, Cultural Landscapes Inventory (Honolulu: National Park Service, 2003), part 2b, page 2. For more information on this festival, see R.D.K. Herman, "Pu'u Kohola: Spatial Genealogy of a Hawaiian Symbolic Landscape," in *Symbolic Landscapes* edited by Gary Backhaus and John Murungi (New York City: Springer Publishing, 2009) and Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, "Pu'ukoholā: Mound of the Whale," *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008). For more information on the 1991 festival, see Catherine Kekoa Enomoto, "Healing is gift as heiau marks 200," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 19, 1991. These newspaper articles were accompanied by excellent photographs depicting the days events in detail and are readily available online through digital newspaper repositories. The 1991 festival inspired the formation of Nā Aikāne o Pu'ukoholā Heiau, one of the park's non-profit partners. (National Park Service, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series II: Records of the Chief Ranger, Box 6, Folder 1: March 30, 1995 membership letter.)

unification between these descendants and other community stakeholders and the National Park Service to enter a new era as collaborators with a renewed commitment to their shared goals of educating the public through a decolonial praxis.

Community member Fred Kalani Meinecke describes Ho'oku'ikahi between the descendants of Kamehameha and Keōua as "intended to forgive the wrongs, the pain, and the suffering of 200 years ago. We have come together here [at the Heiau] to reconcile, to unite as descendants of those who were here then, and to build a more harmonious, positive and promising future together."[69] Attended by 2,500 people, the main focus of the event was "on the ritual unification in harmony of body, mind and spirit to put to rest now and forever the political divisiveness, grievances, and grudges of the past."[70] This theme carries through to the current cultural festival celebrated today, but on this important anniversary, it held a particularly poignant significance. It helped reiterate a particular kind of symbolic ownership for Native Hawaiians—the ability to enact their own understandings of their indigeneity on the landscape of their ancestors in modern times in order to visualize a unified future together. In this way, the unification aspect of the event with NPS and the colonial legacies it may have embodied was secondary to this more intimate experience of coming together with an initial focus

[69] Fred Kalani Meinecke in *The Waimea Gazette* (Waimea, Hawai'i), September 1991. (*Ho'oku'ikahi: Unification* pamphlet, "Park Reports Office" Binder, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222.)

[70] Hugh Clark, "Famed Pu'ukohola heiau to be honored," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 28, 1991.

on healing within their own community. However, organized jointly by community groups and NPS, it symbolized an important step in the two entities' continued relationship.

In the news since the early 2000s as it completed its most recent worldwide journey, the hokule'a—a Polynesian double-hulled voyaging canoe with a long history of symbolic significance in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement—went through extensive preparations for its journey to the site's commemoration event and even included a direct descendent of Keōua, whose death allowed Kamehameha to consecrate the Heiau. Designed to "forgive the wrongs, pain and suffering of the historic day that clinched Kamehameha's rise to conquest, dominion and immortality by eliminating his political rival," each of the actors representing Keōua, Kamehameha, and their entourages were descended from the two leaders.[71] "Following the exchange of gifts signifying conciliation and unification, the royal court…participated in an awa ceremony intended to end the bitterness between the descendants of Kamehameha and Keoua."[72] In her account of the day's events, titled "Hopes at a War Heiau: A Legacy of Unity, Pride," reporter Joan Conrow boldly explained, "Native Hawaiians rewrote a chapter of their history yesterday."[73] She continued her coverage, emphasizing that "Organizers

[71] Joan Conrow, "Hokule'a sails off to heiau commemoration," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 14, 1991.

[72] Joan Conrow, "Hopes at a war heiau: a legacy of unity, pride," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 18, 1991.

[73] Joan Conrow, "Hopes at a war heiau."

hoped that yesterday's rededication would leave a legacy of Hawaiian unity and cultural pride."[74] Thus, despite their past missteps with local stakeholders, National Park Service staff were able to recommit to their collaboration with these descendants in particular to open the site for ceremonial and commemorative use during this event. Though the restoration debates of the 1980s may not have been satisfactorily resolved on all sides, through their continued preservation work and stewardship of the site, NPS allowed these bold statements of indigeneity to reclaim the foundational historical events of the site in order to plot a stronger path into the future.

Thus, nearly twenty years after becoming a National Historic Site, the infamous war temple from which Kamehameha conquered his empire (once decried as a "golgotha" by missionary William Ellis), had officially become a site of unification for Native Hawaiian community members, in ways which they themselves dictated and enacted. Further, though not completing a restoration of the ephemeral elements which complemented the Heiau structure during its peak, the restoration of community use of the site was an important part of rebuilding the relationship between the National Park Service and local community stakeholders.

[74] Joan Conrow, "Hopes at a war heiau."

The 2017 festival theme was again Ho'oku'ikahi (Unifying the past with the present to establish a firm future) and the event commenced at sunrise with the park's lead non-profit partner Nā Papa Kanaka o Pu`ukoholā Heiau performing the Ho`okupu, or gift-giving ceremony. Volunteer led activities included hula kāhiko (ancient hula), lei haku ame lei wili (ancient lei making), hana kapa kuiki (quilting), lauhala (lauhala weaving), 'ohe hanu ihu (nose flute), kūkūweke la'ī (rain cape), hana 'upena kiloi (net making), ku'i 'ai (poi pounding), holo wa'a (canoe rides), hana hū (spinning tops), 'ohe kāpala ki'i (bamboo stamp, designs), pahu (drums), ulana lau niu (frond plaiting), kahili (fly brush), nī'au pūlumi (hawaiian broom), ipu (gourd making), hana pala'ie (loop and ball making), makau (fishhook), kumu la'au (woodwork), ku'i wauke (tapa pounding), and awa (traditional drink). While today many of the activities remain the same as the first festival as a string of continuity connecting the present to the past, it seems the unification theme of 1991 has also been held onto as an important aspect of this annual

Figure 3 Park volunteer Uncle Ed Shiinoki leads a hands-on demonstration and tutorial on the Hawaiian nose flute at the park visitor center. Photo by author, Puʻukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, March 2016.

commemoration.[75] In *Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums*, Amy Lonetree argues:

> One of the central components of the [decolonization] movement is to revive tribal languages and cultural ceremonies that were previously persecuted by the government, revive institutions and technologies, and continue participation in activities and cultural practices that never lapsed.[76]

Thus, through this festival event, and the annual events that followed, these cultural ceremonies coupled with the demonstration of indigenous technologies and traditional cultural crafts, Native Hawaiians have implemented their own decolonial efforts at Puʻukoholā Heiau for the last several decades.

As Ty P. Kāwika Tengan explains in his book *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i*, the annual cultural festival that takes place every August at Puʻukoholā Heiau draws many visitors who stand on the outskirts of the site while participants re-enact and reconnect with their histories.[77] In these ways, the public performance of the indigenized identity serves as a reclamation of the cultural practices and tradition while offering participants a visceral connection to Kamehameha

[75] Based on past brochures, the festival usually has many of the same craft workshops. (National Park Service, Puʻukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Collection 3222, Series II: Records of the Chief Ranger, Box 1, Folder 16: "Park Generated Ephemera, Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club.") In addition to perpetuating the Hawaiian culture through crafts, several years have featured health screenings by doctors, nurses, and dentists to increase health literacy within the Native Hawaiian community. For example, in 2007 nearly 200 people were seen through Papa Ola Lokahi organization. (Box 6, Folder 1, undated memo) In 2016 and 2017, the Chaminade University of Honolulu nursing program was on site for free health screenings.

[76] Amy Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*: *Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 6.

[77] Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, "Puʻukoholā: Mound of the Whale," *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai'i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

and their respective ancestors. Further, it remains an opportunity for unification, first between descendants of the two warring chiefs, and secondly between Native Hawaiians and the National Park Service. As R. D. K. Herman explains:

> Here in this place, U.S. Federal representatives in the form of Park Service personnel are proud to work closely with Hawaiians using this protected site for cultural revitalization. It is an unusual reconciliation between the State forces of protection and preservation, and Hawaiian forces of indigenous nationalism… So the theme of reconciliation takes a broader context than even the participants may recognize.[78]

The annual cultural festival that takes place each August continues to be a community-led effort with local Native Hawaiians planning and implementing nearly all of the programmatic elements of the event for themselves, with NPS staff taking a supporting role. As such, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site proclaims itself a site "where living culture is perpetuated."[79]

[78] R.D.K. Herman, "Pu'u Kohola: Spatial Genealogy of a Hawaiian Symbolic Landscape," in *Symbolic Landscapes* edited by Gary Backhaus and John Murungi (New York City: Springer Publishing, 2009), 106.

[79] Interpretive Concept Plan: Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historic Park, Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Haleakalā National Park, Kalaupapa National Historic Park. Long Range Interpretive Plans: Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site, Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historic Park (National Park Service, February 1999), 46.

Conclusion

Puukohola Heiau is a special Hawaiian cultural resource yet it is probably visited by more non-Hawaiians. It is vitally important that interpretation be meaningful to the non-Hawaiian yet sensitive to the concerns of Hawaiians…There is a very real potential to alienate the Hawaiian community and/or misinterpret the site for Caucasians. Since the area is off the tourist runs, the type of visitor may be different from those in packaged tours. However, it is important that the historical and partially socio-religious aspects be maintained.

–1982 Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan
and Environmental Assessment[80]

Because the park's main goal is to educate visitors about Kamehameha and his legacy, the self-guided audio tour offered at Pu'ukoholā Heiau assumes a non-native, American audience as it notes during its introduction:

> Many visitors are surprised to find that the events that took place here occurred not too long ago. At the same time that George Washington served as this nation's first president, Pu'ukoholā Heiau was being used by Kamehameha to secure his mana, or spiritual power, to help in his unification of the Hawaiian people. What might appear to you as nothing more than piles of rocks on a dry and desolate hill in reality stands as a silent testament to one of the greatest periods in Hawaiian history.[81]

By describing Washington, a foundational figure of American nationalism and pinnacle of patriotism, and Kamehameha as contemporaries, the audio tour attempts to bring the Heiau out of the "ancient" framing of nineteenth-century English newspapers and into modern American history. However, it is problematic in comparing King Kamehameha's accomplishments to those of George Washington, thus situating

[80] Natural and Cultural Resources Management Plan and Environmental Assessment, Addendum, 14.

[81] Self Guided Walking Tour, Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site. Time cited 3:10-3:40, Accessed May 2, 2016: https://pacificislandparks.files.wordpress.com/2015/05/smartphonetour.mp3

Hawaiian history in an American context well before an American ever set foot on the islands, and this audio tour also seeks to engage the majority of visitors who are from the continental U.S. in learning about this important Hawaiian site by giving them a familiar frame of reference, thus geospatially locating them within U.S. empire and in contradistinction from the "other" of indigenous people. Although the language of the tour is legitimizing a certain continental U.S. point of view, the activities at the site bely that image by bringing to life indigenous systems of science and engineering on display via hands-on activity. In this way, bringing the "piles of rocks on a dry and desolate hill" to life are the collection of Park Service and partner non-profit volunteers who offer special weekly and monthly cultural workshops to visitors, such as nose-flute making, coconut frond weaving, 'ohe kapala (bamboo stamping), and cordage weaving, as well as cultural demonstrations featuring feathered mahi'ole (helmet), hapai pohaku (stone lifting, in this case to demonstrate how the walls of the Heiau were constructed), olokea (the ladder system that functions as scaffolding for hale—a house), and whale watching (Pu'ukoholā means "hill of the whale").[82] These activities serve as an important opportunity for these community volunteers to perform their indigenous identities at the site year-round (in addition to the annual cultural festival) and to use hands-on education to further the perpetuation of traditional crafts as a small moment of cultural

[82] For example, in March 2020, there were cultural demonstrations or guided programs by Hawai'i Pacific Parks Association staff, Royal Order of Kamehameha I Kohala Chapter members, Hawaiian Island Humpback Whale Marine Sanctuary volunteers, and park volunteers, several of which included historical information about Kamehameha and his royal descendants, and post-contact, sovereign Hawaiian society.

decolonization. Overall, cultural continuity, sustainability, and resilience take place at the Heiau as a result of these volunteer led efforts, and the National Park Service staff act as a partner in this effort by working to hold space for these groups to perform and participate in these culturally relevant, historically-minded activities in an effort to educate the public.

Similar to other National Park sites, which may occasionally find themselves at odds with their local community members, this National Historic Site has faltered in the past. But as a result of the strong commitment to community involvement from the beginning, NPS staff has been able to circle back to their original intent to recommit to their community partners and maintain a positive relationship with local groups.[83] Contemporary National Park Service leadership staff on Hawai'i Island are Native Hawaiian, and though they work under unique constraints they bring important perspectives to the organization. At both Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site and Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, many of the rank and file staff members, from interpreters and educators to archaeologists, are Native Hawaiian as well. So while it is clear from park documents that NPS personnel in the past were very concerned with engaging the community and ensuring that their voices were represented in park

[83] For analysis on Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site's neighboring park, please see Ruth-Rebeccalynne T. L. Aloua, "Reauthorizing Kānaka 'Ōiwi Heritage Discourse at Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historic Park, Hawai'i" (Master's Thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2015). For example, Aloua explains "The experience I gained first while working at Kaloko-Honokōhau [from 2008-2011] and later conducting my thesis research has given me insight into differences between National Park Service culture and Hawaiian culture. While on duty at the National Park, I learned how the legitimacy and authority assumed and imposed by Park Service representatives creates tensions with Kānaka 'Ōiwi [Native Hawaiians]." (11)

interpretive efforts, today those voices also help to guide the organization from within. Further, it is clear from the historical record that Native Hawaiians were an active and vocal partner in this engagement, and enthusiastically pursued collaboration opportunities while continually holding NPS staff accountable. In this way, the two entities work together to deconstruct settler colonial narratives and enact indigeneity on the landscape in new ways.

For whatever reason it is valued, whether it be as the site that commemorates the hoʻokuʻikahi, or the unification of the Hawaiian islands; the only place in Hawai'i that preserves three types of heiau; or because it is the last great temple built by arguably the most famous monarch in Hawaiian history, Pu'ukoholā Heiau remains a foundational site in Hawaiian social, religious, cultural, and political history.[84] In fact:

> Many contemporary Hawaiians still believe that Pu'ukoholā Heiau has a significant role to play as the Hawaiian people of today attempt to rebuild the Hawaiian nation and pursue a level of sovereignty and independence which once prevailed over the islands. Pu'ukoholā Heiau continues to serve as a beacon of unification where hundreds of Hawaiian practitioners gather regularly to honor Kamehameha and their ancestors in traditional rituals and protocol to perpetuate these sacred practices.[85]

In these ways, similar to the ways in which the grounds of ʻIolani Palace have become a gathering place for the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, as we shall see later in this

[84] *Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site Draft Foundation Document* (Public Review), (National Park Service, August 2014), 7. Accessed June 30, 2017: parkplanning.nps.gov/PUHEFoundation.

[85] *Pu'ukoholā Heiau National Historic Site Draft Foundation Document*, 6.

dissertation, Pu'ukoholā Heiau is an important place where indigenous Hawaiian history is preserved and perpetuated.

Just two years before the Palace was draped in black on the 100-year anniversary of the illegal overthrow of the dynasty Kamehameha founded (see Chapter 4), the park celebrated the 200th anniversary of the consecration of the Heiau that made that dynasty possible. Grappling with the tension between the federal government's larger legacy of displacement and this specific park's efforts to privilege indigenous histories through the annual cultural festival, weekly cultural workshops, and the relatively new visitor center exhibitions, Pu'ukoholā Heiau is an important case study in this project because it allows an exploration of themes surrounding American empire and stewardship, as well as an important look into how Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners at one specific site are attempting to subvert the dominant narratives of settler colonialism. This exploration of themes discovered that this model of stewardship based on reciprocity and open communication is successful in part because it does not take a hierarchical approach but rather a partnership approach. It is clear the ways in which this site management facilitated the development of relationships—a different approach to stewardship than has been typical or traditional.

In 2006, a powerful earthquake caused severe damage to the Heiau.[86] Though initially there was conflict over who the "experts [are] in the repair of Hawaiian heiau. Is

[86] "Pu'ukohola Heiau," List of Classified Structures, National Park Service. Accessed June 9, 2017: hscl.cr.npg.gov

it the federally appointed archaeologist or a Hawaiian cultural practitioner?"[87] Nā Papa Kanaka ʻO Puʻukoholā Heiau, the park's lead non-profit partner and the indigenous group involved in the repair, compromised with the National Park Service to allow female archaeologists to oversee the work done by male cultural practitioners—many descendants of Kamehameha himself—and they worked together to rebuild the physical structure. This compromise was the culmination of 30 years of collaborative work. In nearly a mirror image of the 1974 outcry when female park technician Rose Fujimori was hired, in this case, obvious progress was made in that trust had been built, with community groups at the center of the solution instead of unhappy on the margins. This effort is symbolic of the disparate entities' continued desire to work alongside each other to strengthen the relationship between federal steward and native resident, a relationship other historic sites might turn to as an example.

[87] Shad S. Kane, "'Ewa Moku: An Interaction with Federal Agencies," in *Cultural Kapolei* (Kapolei, Hawai'i:2011), 243-244.

Chapter 3: "Famous are the children of Hawai'i, Ever loyal to the land": 'Iolani Palace, 1879-1959

No one will fix a signature/ To the paper of the enemy
With its sin of annexation/ And sale of native civil rights
We do not value/ The government's sums of money
We are satisfied with the stones/Astonishing food of the land
—Kaulana Nā Pua (Famous Are The Flowers)[1]

'Iolani Palace, situated just inland of another major harbor on a different island, was the royal residence of some of the last of the Hawaiian monarchs. In her exploration of the development of the Palace, built between 1879 and 1882, Stacy Kamehiro discusses how it was designed to "mark the modernity of the kingdom"[2] and that its grounds were presented as "the center of Hawai'i's mana." [3] Thus, the Palace has been symbolic for many reasons since its construction, marking the Hawaiian monarch's place alongside other world leaders as well as Hawai'i's place as a modern nation. This was done through both the elegant architectural style as well as its advanced technology, as the Palace had a telephone system, modern indoor plumbing,

[1] "Kaulana Nā Pua (Famous Are The Flowers) - Ellen Keho'ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast," Accessed October 27, 2017, http://www.huapala.org/Kau/Kaulana_Na_Pua.html. Written by Ellen Keho'ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast in 1893 and performed by the Royal Hawaiian Band in 1895, "This himeni opposed the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States…This song was composed as Ellen Wright Prendergast was sitting in the garden of her father's house in Kapālama. Members of the Royal Hawaiian Band visited her and voiced their unhappiness at the takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom. They begged her to put their feelings of rebellion to music."

[2] Stacy Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009), 2.

[3] Ibid., 25.

and electricity before the White House or Buckingham Palace.[4] As a self-sustaining society, the Hawaiian monarchy recognized other nations' influence and integrated those ideas into its development as a modern kingdom, while continuing to exist uniquely and independently. Further, acting as a demonstration of authority, the Palace is one of the first sites visitors see when they arrive in the harbor below Honolulu. The practice of constructing sites to signify and legitimize a specific social order and authority had been established by Kamehameha the Great at Pu'ukoholā Heiau as a successful strategy. Akin to the message he sent his guests through the imposing size of the Heiau, King Kalākaua was attempting something similar with the Palace. The difference, however, was the Palace's marking of elegance and modernity. While Kamehameha needed a show of dominance and strength to assert his authority over other ruling Hawaiian chiefs as well as any visitor who landed on his shore, Kalākaua saw the need for a demonstration of cultural refinement, equal intellect, and comparable wealth to the haole oligarchy who had been accumulating capital and political power over several generations and who threatened to undermine his legitimacy and rule as the nation's sovereign.

[4] Kamehiro, 59.

Symbolically, the Palace has represented the figurative peak of independent Hawaiian society. Its history of usage—from the sacred home of the indigenous monarchy in the 1880s and 1890s to the illegally occupied bureaucratic center of first, the territorial government from the 1890s into the 1940s, and then of the push for statehood in the 1940s and 1950—has dictated how it has been viewed by different political groups and constituencies through decades of contestation. While always imbued with powerful significance as the seat of the Hawaiian Kingdom, this conflict over the years has given it an intense meaning for Native Hawaiians as well as other groups. Therefore, this chapter will offer a biography of the structure in terms of the ways in which it played a role historically, memorially, and politically in terms of indigenous sovereignty eventually being overridden by capitalist-imperialist power plays at the site, concepts discussed in more detail below.

Figure 1 View of ʻIolani Palace soon after it was completed, circa 1880s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-11-4-008.

While the previous chapters examined the territorial government's efforts to define the historical narrative surrounding Puʻukoholā Heiau, Chapters 3 and 4 use ʻIolani Palace as a case study to offer a comparison and insight into how, though the

haole elite's tactics differed at the two sites, their project and goals were the same—to temporally banish Hawaiians to the distant past by letting the most significant sites of cultural heritage fall into disrepair. Then, in an attempt to erase the indigenous legacy and negate expressions of sovereignty, the haole elite choreographed the creation of mythohistories, or the strategic use of the past to mythologize and recast the historical narrative for the purposes of a cultural regime or interest. In this case, the haole elite strove to recast the historical narrative towards one of American progress and empire. While the Heiau was nearly a century old when the territorial government and other haole elite started these efforts, the Palace was almost brand new, and incredibly sophisticated with all the markings (and one might say, trappings) of Western modernity. The symbolic significance of the site gave Kalākaua, and later, Lili`uokalani, a connection to past ali'i (monarchs) while capitalizing on the spectacle of both modernity and Native Hawaiian excellence.[5] It was a symbol of the Hawaiian Renaissance and the locus of a culturally thriving kingdom. In essence, the site functioned to unify the Hawaiian people through a sense of shared investment and identity as well as cultural pride and ownership. As the excerpt that opened the chapter suggests, the haole oligarchy who sought control of Hawai'i did not act without immediate, forceful, and consistent opposition—from Native Hawaiians, Queen Lili`uokalani, non-native

[5] Ali'i means chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch, peer, headman, noble, aristocrat, king, queen, commander; royal, regal, aristocratic, kingly; to rule or act as a chief, govern, reign; to become a chief. [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

residents, and even U.S. government officials. "Kaulana Nā Pua (Famous Are The Flowers)" is a song composed by Ellen Keho'ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast to put into words Native Hawaiians' feelings towards the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom by the haole oligarchy in 1893. Noting Hawaiians would rather starve (eat stones) than have their land and civil rights under the control of the white settlers, this song is one of the first of many public displays of the desire for Hawaiian sovereignty to be restored immediately following the overthrow.

This chapter will explore the Palace's initial construction and how Hawaiian culture flourished during the first fifteen years of its existence, with the Hawaiian nation gaining legitimacy on the world stage and the monarchy asserting its authority within the kingdom during this period of 1879 to 1893. With the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy by the haole oligarchy in 1893, the process of deterritorialization started so that the ties between the Palace and Hawaiian excellence were weakened, primarily through the efforts of the haole oligarchy and other elite white settlers, in order to engineer new modes of social order that privileged themselves and their economic and social desires. Within the settler colonial framework, the distinctive Hawaiian modernity that had been cultivated by indigenous leaders over the previous decades stood as a threat to the white settlers' vision for the islands, and therefore had to be destroyed and replaced. At the Palace itself, these men sought to change not only its title, but also its inherent meaning during the nearly 50-year intermediate period of territorial governance leading up to World War II (1893-1941) by engaging in settler

colonial strategies of temporal displacement and mythohistory as part of the deterritorialization process. During this time, though fallen into disrepair, the Palace was envisioned as a new touristic revenue opportunity in the post-war period, ultimately enabling the successful push for statehood. In the post-war period, the reterritorialization process began as the symbolic meaning of the Palace shifted for both Native Hawaiians and those sympathetic to Hawaiian sovereignty, as well as those settlers who continually sought to foreclose decolonization efforts. Ultimately, this chapter explores the ways in which the processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization unfolded at the Palace as part of the large settler colonial structure.

"The Finest Residence in the Kingdom": Kalākaua's Palace, 1879-1891

When the Hawaiian Kingdom was founded by Kamehameha the Great in 1810, Puʻukoholā Heiau was the new nation's spiritual and political base, with other strategic bases located throughout the island chain. His successor, King Kamehameha II, also declined to designate a permanent capitol for the kingdom. Then, 20 years after Kamehameha the Great's death, his second eldest son, King Kamehameha III, drafted the first constitution in 1840 and chose the present-day Palace grounds in Honolulu as the capitol of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1845. By this time, the first generation of Hawai'i-born missionary descendants had grown up to join their fathers in dominating the economic and political sectors, particularly in the downtown Honolulu area surrounding the Palace. As Davianna Pômaikaʻi McGregor notes, it was during this time

from 1858 to 1910 that the Hawaiian economy shifted from whaling to sugar plantations to ranching, industries which were dominated across the island chain by these Honolulu-based missionary descendants, and which were all extractive industries that allowed the accumulation of wealth and power by a select few, while disrupting indigenous relationships to the land.[6] Over the years, various structures came and went on the Palace site itself, until the late 1870s, when King Kalākaua started construction on the ʻIolani Palace standing today. During the laying of the cornerstone in 1879, it was mentioned that in addition to many leaders of royal Hawaiian blood, John Young, Kamehameha the Great's most trusted haole advisor, was also originally interred on the grounds, therefore gesturing towards the important history and legacy of the actual site. It is important to understand the historical trajectory that embodied the settler colonial transformation of the Palace and its symbolic significance because a century later these are the contentious events the Friends of ʻIolani Palace would be tasked with interpreting.

Completed in December 1882, King Kalākaua celebrated his coronation there in 1883, inhabiting the new Palace building and enjoying a short five years of growth and prosperity in his kingdom, now centered on the grand structure. One event that

[6] Davianna Pômaikaʻi McGregor, "Essay 9: Sites of Resistance to Imperialism," *Asian American and Pacific Islander Heritage Theme Studies* (National Park Service, 2018), Accessed April 4, 2019 https://www.nps.gov/articles/aapi-theme-study-essay-9-resistance-to-imperialism.htm.

epitomizes the seemingly stable political climate during this time is an 1884 summer garden party during which the Palace was opened to the public by Queen Kapiʻolani, Kalākaua's wife. Touted as a "Palace Garden Party," the newspaper advertisements exclaimed "The Royal Palace will be thrown open for the Inspection of the Public, thus affording a rare opportunity for residents and strangers to visit the finest Residence in the Kingdom."[7] The goal of the party was to raise funds for the epidemic of Hansen's disease, an issue of increasing magnitude throughout the island chain.

Figure 2 King David Kalākaua, circa 1882. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PPWD-15-4.018.

Figure 3 King Kalākaua on the Palace lanai (porch), circa 1880s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-96-15-009.

This event epitomizes Kalākaua's time as sovereign because he orchestrated it to achieve several things. First, to showcase the grand building he worked so hard to build, both to confirm his standing within his own kingdom and also to "strangers" on the world

[7] "Palace Garden Party," *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 26, 1884.

stage. By opening the Palace to the public, Kalākaua was also positioning himself and Kapiʻolani as monarchs of the people, both welcoming and regal. Second, he was attempting to leverage that grandeur and spectacle towards fundraising for one of the most dire issues his people faced at the time—the outbreak of Hansen's disease. While the isolation patients faced by being sent to live on Moloka'i was devastating to communities across the islands, events like this were aimed by the monarchy to consolidate power by raising the profile of the king as someone sympathetic to the plight of his people, knowledgeable in determining the best course of action, and active in seeking ways to support those no longer allowed to live amongst the general population. Finally, and perhaps most poignantly, the King and Queen wanted to showcase the Palace as a place that belonged to the Hawaiian people, and which expressed their national legacy and the strength of their kingdom.

During this time, the King (and Palace) inspired a renewed sense of cultural pride, reintroducing hula and chant and encouraging a resurgence of Hawaiian-language newspapers and cultural knowledge. Kalākaua founded the Hale Nauā Society to "revive the ancient scientific knowledge of Native

Figure 4 Hula performance on the grounds of 'Iolani Palace for King Kalākaua's 49th birthday (November 18, 1885.) Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-32-9b-008.

Hawaiians in combination with modern science" as well as established a Hawaiian Board of Genealogists "to research and perpetuate the genealogies of the chiefs of Hawai'i."[8] Additionally, the King personally selected and sponsored seventeen Native Hawaiian men and one Native Hawaiian woman to study abroad in subjects such as military science, law, engineering, and physics, as well as foreign language, arts, and music, in order for them to assume important governmental posts upon their return. Thus, while built in a very European style by a series of non-native architects, 'Iolani Palace was intended by the monarchy to physically embody a new kind of Hawaiian renaissance, in which renewal came both through revisiting past traditions and exploring contemporary global opportunities, and blended both worlds. In other words, the Palace's European architectural style should not be read as a rejection of Hawaiian tradition; rather, it was calling upon a global regal tradition, all the while acting as a symbol of the Kingdom's power and standing in the global league of nations. By bringing the structure to life with hula, chant, and other traditional Hawaiian practices, Kalākaua worked to imbue the site with the "mana" of both traditions—influence from foreign art and architectural traditions blended with indigenous practices and décor—creating a path forward for the Kingdom to thrive in an ever-evolving world. The materiality of the Palace exemplified this strategy. By taking electricity, plumbing, and other "modern" furnishings from the rest of the world and coupling them with the best Hawai'i could offer in the form of

[8] Davianna Pômaika'i McGregor and Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, *Mo'olelo Ea O Na¯ Hawai'i (History of Native Hawaiian Governance in Hawai'i)* (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, August 19, 2014), 289-291.

beautiful koa wood staircases and a piano, among other things, the King made a strong statement of awareness that he was willing to engage in symbolic politics and emphasize that indigenous Hawai'i was just as good, if not better, than the white supremacist settler colonial fantasy put forth by the haole elite.

Figure 5 'Iolani Palace decorated in red, white, and blue bunting, the Hawaiian flag, and Kalākaua's banner for Kalākaua's Jubilee celebration, November 20, 1886. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-36-8-004.

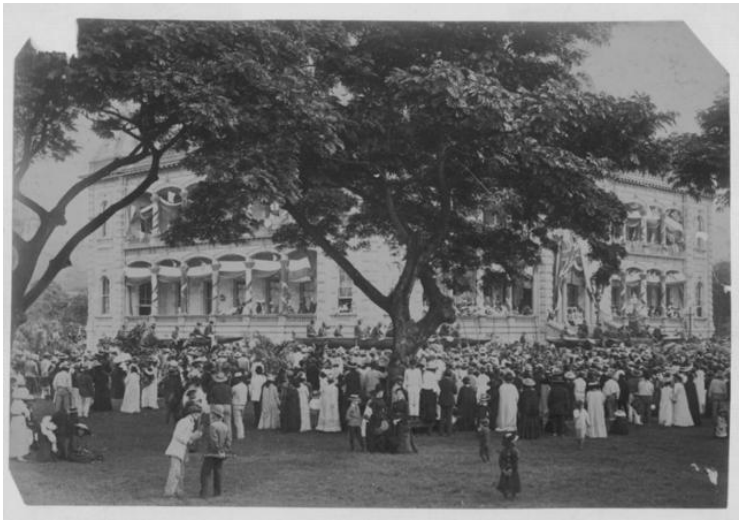

Figure 6 The celebratory crowd on the grounds of 'Iolani Palace for Kalākaua's Jubilee parade, November 20, 1886. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PPWD-8-4-016.

Through this effort, the King emphasized his position as leader of the sovereign nation by deftly framing the Palace and monarchy in a tradition the world would understand, but which ultimately became a threat to the haole elite. In the ideology of the elite, grounded in white supremacy and the logic of capital, an indigenous leader should be

primitive and incompetent, a poor steward of his nation's vast natural and cultural resources. In this way, Kalākaua undermined white supremacist and settler colonial logics; the indigenous monarchy was actualizing their own cultural vision on their own terms by forming a hybrid path forward. However, not all residents of Hawai'i were interested in this harmonious blending of indigenous and global influences, and many haole elite saw Kalākaua's spending as extravagant and a sign of his illegitimacy as a leader, as well as a threat to their own capital investments across the islands. One such group that formed during this time was the secret "Hawaiian League," who were reactive to Kalākaua's vision for his nation, and specifically, to his refusal to turn over Pu'uloa (Pearl Harbor) to the U.S. in order to renew the U.S.-Hawai'i Reciprocity Treaty of 1875.[9] Not interested in supporting the Hawaiian renaissance, and determined to secure their personal wealth at whatever cost, these men sought to remove the monarch from power once and for all.

The men of the Hawaiian League, later renamed the infamous Committee of Safety, were powerful missionary descendants, plantation owners, and other businessmen who, though they initially only sought control of the government, eventually also sought annexation to the United States. They argued for restrictions against what they saw as the King's extravagant spending and alleged corruption—convenient accusations given he was the only obstacle to them taking complete control

[9] McGregor and MacKenzie, 33.

of the islands. On July 7, 1887 in the Palace halls, Kalākaua was forced at gunpoint to sign the aptly named "Bayonet Constitution," written by Lorrin Thurston, a prominent member of the Hawaiian League, and which effectively stripped the monarchy of its power and Native Hawaiian and other non-white citizens of their voting rights.[10] Basically, the new constitution gave the majority of governing power to the legislature, which the men of the Committee of Safety controlled, and took away the absolute power of the King, forcing him to abide by the same laws as the average citizen. Further, the legislature reserved the right to imprison those who opposed their new laws, therefore strictly censuring any resistance to the takeover. As the seat of government, this political treason was violently enacted within the Palace walls, marring it as a site of trauma for Kalākaua and the predominantly non-white citizens of the Kingdom. Ultimately, the overall goals of racialized power and land ownership were codified by the Bayonet Constitution, and the government was now stacked against Native Hawaiians and non-white residents of the islands. As a result of what had transpired in the grand structure Kalākaua had worked so hard to deploy as a symbol of his nation's equal standing on the global stage, the King would never recover from this traumatic event, and died a few years later in 1891. His sister, Lydia Kamaka`eha, would

[10] There are many factors that facilitated this show of force by white businessmen, the most compelling reason being that the sugar industry would benefit from the new constitution, particularly as a result of the exclusive economic deals with the U.S. that it allowed. In 1890, new legislation passed in the United States that hurt the profits of the sugar barons of Hawai'i, thus motivating them to seek annexation to the U.S. as a permanent solution.

become Queen Lili`uokalani, the last Hawaiian sovereign to live and rule from the Palace.[11]

Figure 7 Queen Lili‘uokalani, photographed in London during Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee, December 31, 1886. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PPWD-16-4.014.

“Act as in a funeral…”: The Overthrow, Annexation, and Occupation of the Palace, 1892-1905

In the first half of 1892, the *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* ran several stories about the Queen’s activities, including the anniversary of her accession, her outreach efforts to Hawaiian youth, improvements being made to the Palace grounds, and events she hosted at the Palace.[12] Throughout her brief time as Queen, she gave her people hope by gracefully completing her royal duties in the community, all while responding to their pleas by fighting to draft a new constitution that would restore the power of the throne and her people’s voting rights. Though squarely cast as a domestic leader by the English-language press because of her gender—garden parties, youth outreach, being a good hostess—she fervently worked

[11] The historiography of the events leading up to and including the overthrow and nearly every aspect of the monarchy is extensive. See, for example, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 2002), and NoeNoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004).

[12] “Royal Reception,” *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 30, 1892; “Children’s Ball,” February 23, 1892; “The New Palace Fence,” February 25, 1892; “State Ball,” March 18, 1892; “Musicale,” May 13, 1892.

with her brother's former allies in the legislature in an attempt to reverse some of the damage done by the Bayonet Constitution.[13] Working within the restrictions set by the Bayonet Constitution, Lili`uokalani demonstrated her leadership role and her position as the center of the Hawaiian nation by hosting such events. Then, by using the Palace strategically to deploy her mana to try to win back her rights as sovereign, the beloved Queen mobilized her cultural role as the nation's matriarch to harness her "domestic" efforts to mount a formidable challenge to the haole elite.

The haole oligarchy that ruled most of the economic and political sectors of the islands recognized the threat Queen Lili`uokalani posed to their plans to control the islands, and on January 17, 1893, the Queen was deposed by a group of American businessmen with the support of United States Marines and U.S. Minister John Stevens. Common in colonial discourse is the narrative of the illegal colonial intruder acting as though they are the group being intruded upon. In this case, the haole elite enacted this trope by claiming American lives and property were in danger—from whom and in what ways remains unclear. Yet this is how they were able to successfully call on the Marines and the U.S. to become involved.

As a result of this literal military invasion and coup d'état, a provisional government was established. Davianna McGregor notes:

[13] This is an area not taken up in this dissertation but which would benefit from further investigation—the ways in which Lili`uokalani was gendered throughout her rule and especially in the aftermath of the overthrow.

> During four days in January 1893 - from the 14th through the 17th, the steady, gradual and sometimes imperceptible changes that had led to the dominance of the Caucasian settlers over the Native Hawaiian aliʻi (chiefs) and people culminated with political and military maneuvers that resulted in the suppression of the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom and Constitutional Monarchy. The Constitutional Monarchy was overthrown, a provisional government was established, and martial law was declared to quell any mass uprising of Native Hawaiians against the oligarchy which had seized state power. Of crucial significance for the events of that time, and to later generations, were the pivotal roles played by the American Minister to Hawaiʻi and the U.S. military in the overthrow of the monarchy.[14]

Though those in favor of annexation had reached Washington, D.C. by early February 1893 to argue their cause, they were too late for the supportive exiting President Benjamin Harrison to help approve their efforts. Newly inaugurated President Grover Cleveland immediately sent U.S. Special Commissioner James Blount to the islands to investigate, and Blount reported that U.S. representatives were indeed responsible for the overthrow of the Queen. Arriving March 29, and ordering the American flag lowered by March 31, 1893, Blount meticulously researched the events of the overthrow, taking almost three months to compile his well-reasoned conclusion that the citizens of the Hawaiian Kingdom did not support the provisional government, and that Lili`uokalani should be reinstated as sovereign.

Despite these findings, the white settlers turned overthrowers continued their efforts as part of the deterritorialization process to weaken the symbolic significance of the Palace. Having succeeded in installing a colonial system which disrupted the

[14] McGregor and MacKenzie, 313.

legitimacy of the existing indigenous political power structure, they then replaced its authority with their own model of governance. The haole elite then went about establishing news modes of social order that privileged themselves and the settler position by dehumanizing and delegitimizing the native monarchs. One aspect of that effort was through the use of English-language newspapers which framed the ongoing colonial project and desecration of the Palace as inevitable and outside their control.

Less than a week after Blount ordered the American flag lowered from in front of the Palace in April 1893, the *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* exclaimed simply, "Plundered!," with an article detailing U.S. troops looting the Palace, tearing decorations from the walls and stealing jewels from a valuable crown.[15] The tone and title of this article is interesting, considering who and what is being plundered. Did the leaders of the provisional government allow this disgraceful crime to happen as a sign of their disdain for the monarchy, as represented by the Palace and the heirlooms held within it? Or, were they unable to control the very troops whose firepower they sought as backup in the first place? The article is ostensibly having it both ways, allowing the provisional government to shirk any responsibility for the damage by blaming it on the American troops, while conveniently omitting the fact that the Americans troops were only at the Palace at the provisional government's request. The second was the adoption of a new name for the Palace. By June, the local English-language papers were

[15] "Plundered!," *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), April 5, 1893.

reporting “The monarchy becomes a thing of the past,” and began to call the Palace exclusively by its new name, the “Executive Building.”[16] By attempting to so quickly distance themselves from the events of only six months prior, the provisional government began to frame the site in a very specific way to position themselves to symbolically overtake the seat of governance, first in the figurative form of the Palace, and then in the literal form of a territorial government.

Despite the alternate version of events that the provisional government and their supporters had produced, which basically claimed that the men who had participated in overthrowing the monarchy were the logical heirs to a kingdom their parents and grandparents had been welcomed into 70 years prior, as well as intimidation from the haole oligarchy, Blount was steadfast in his task and produced his report for President Cleveland. For his part, President Cleveland recognized what was both legally and diplomatically right, and immediately withdrew the annexation treaty from Congress, calling it “an act of war,” and called on Congress to reinstate Lili`uokalani as Queen. He was unsuccessful, and the provisional government decided to morph into the Republic of Hawai'i and wait for Cleveland to leave office, as the U.S. Congress continued to debate the “Hawaiian question” amongst themselves. In this way, the men that had undertaken the overthrow proved that they were so secure in their place in Hawaiian society, and indeed so confident in the outcome of their imperial project,

[16] “At the Capitol,” *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 3, 1893; “Executive Building,” June 5, 1893.

that they could ignore the President of the United States, let Congress debate the issue, and pass the time until a more agreeable ally was in the White House. The dynamics of coloniality were so dominant throughout the haole elite that even when the very imperial body they were purportedly working for did not want the addition, they continued undeterred in their efforts to create a new American state for their own benefit.

In this case, the small haole oligarchy that orchestrated the illegal takeover of the Kingdom of Hawai'i recognized the symbolic claim to power that occupying the Palace would embody, and clung to the building while simultaneously letting it fall into disrepair—with its ruination serving as confirmation of the monarchy's inherent racial inferiority. Not unlike the situation at Pu'ukoholā Heiau under territorial governance, the Provisional government and its allies engaged in an active process of temporally distancing the Palace so that it became emblematic of the past, and the historic and concluded state of indigeneity and native power. Though Lili`uokalani did not live in the Palace, but rather across the street at Washington Place, she was imprisoned for nearly eight months in one of the upper rooms—part of the overthrowers' plans to exert their control over the tumultuous situation and to weaken any existing resistance movement by ensuring her isolation from her supporters. Additionally, her movements were restricted for another year and a half after she was freed, preventing her from traveling to the U.S. to plead her case. One year after removing Queen Lili`uokalani from power, "A Wonderful Celebration" was held at the "Executive Building," during which a derisive

caricature of Blount (the only white American man to relay the truth of what had happened from the Native Hawaiian perspective) was paraded in front of the Palace. The *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* called the festivities "the greatest anniversary in Hawaiian history…a day that will live in the memories of all loyal people in the group, a day that by us and our descendants will be considered a day of rejoicing and gladness, a day that will be celebrated by everyone."[17] However "everyone," as described here, likely did not include Native Hawaiians, who were half of the resident population in 1890, and many of the non-white residents who had also lost so much with the Bayonet Constitution and subsequent overthrow.[18]

By July 4, 1894, the Republic of Hawai`i was declared amidst turmoil and opposition from Native Hawaiians and other local residents who were anti-annexation. Nearly every person of Hawaiian ancestry, and many, many others, signed anti-annexation petitions during this time. It is clear from the historical record that the people of Hawai'i wanted to remain a sovereign nation and did not want

Figure 8 Crowds gather around as Sanford B. Dole "proclaimed" the Republic of Hawaii, 1894. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-7-002.

[17] "A Wonderful Celebration," *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 18, 1894.

[18] McGregor and MacKenzie, 21-22.

to become part of the United States. Though opposition was often ignored in the white-owned press, the *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* did publish a letter detailing the planned November 1894 royalist uprising, calling it a "desperate political conspiracy" and producing the letter in full—written from the pro-annexation point of view of the "double agent who had infiltrated the Hawaiian organizations."[19] Then, in January 1895, during another unsuccessful attempt by royalists to restore the Queen, Lili`uokalani and 200 others were arrested, and the Queen abdicated her claim to the throne under the threat of physical violence towards herself and her people. During this time, the Queen continued to be imprisoned in the Palace. By holding her in the very building she had previously governed from, the annexationists were seeking to demonstrate their control and power through their overtaking of the Palace. While they could have exiled or banished her (which they later did), they kept her in place to further prove their point that the Palace was no longer the seat of a Hawaiian government, but the new center of operations for the push for annexation. However, "for the Native Hawaiian people, Lili'uokalani remained the queen and ruler of the Native Hawaiian people and the embodiment of the Native Hawaiian government until her death in November 1917."[20]

[19] "A Great Plot is Laid Bare," *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 17, 1894.

[20] McGregor and MacKenzie, 37.

After an 1897 annexation treaty failed, President William McKinley signed the resolution to illegally annex Hawai`i to the United States of America on July 7, 1898, amidst the Spanish American War, and it became a territory in 1900. This was a devastating time for the Hawaiian people, as the American flag was once again raised over ʻIolani Palace, and precious furniture, paintings, silverware, and other Palace artifacts were auctioned off.[21] An oral history published in the summer of 1951, titled "Feelings of Hawaii's Natives Respected on Annexation Day," details the story of the raising of the flag over the Palace in 1898 and how the admiral tasked with doing the job was extremely hesitant to

Figure 9 After first hoisting the American flag, on August 12, 1898, the Hawaiian flag was ceremoniously lowered at ʻIolani Palace. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-35-8-001.

Figure 10 An enormous American flag was raised on "Annexation Day," August 12, 1898. Note the people gathered on both lanais (porches) and gathered on the grounds in front of the Palace. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-36-1-025.

[21] "Flags Changed," *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 13, 1889; "Auction Sale," May 11, 1900; "Royal Furniture Sold at Auction," February 14, 1903. The search for Palace artifacts continues to this day, and items have been discovered in nearly every U.S. state as well as several dozen countries.

do so. As an "act of consideration for the feelings of the Hawaiian people," Admiral Miller ordered "no rejoicing" when the flag was raised over the Palace, but instead to "act as in a funeral."[22] As an outsider to the annexation fervor of the haole elite, Admiral Miller seems to have recognized the trauma of the overthrow and annexation and sought to alleviate it with his action. Outside of the bubble of pro-annexationists, there remained an awareness, stemming from Blount's report, Cleveland's actions, and Lili'uokalani's now subdued but persistent leadership, that this occupation was both illegal and immoral, despite the concerted effort to maintain the fiction that things were going well and the majority of people in Hawai'i supported their cause. In fact, the annexationists were thrilled their decade-long efforts were finally starting to pay off—politically and economically. In the early years of the twentieth century, the territorial government continued to wreak havoc at the Palace, selling nearly all the remaining

Figure 11 'Iolani Palace lit up for inauguration of Sanford B. Dole as first governor of the Republic of Hawaii on June 12, 1900. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-36-6-001.

[22] "Feelings of Hawaii's Natives Respected on Annexation Day," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 11, 1951.

furniture and hosting elaborate celebrations in honor of the United States and annexation all while showing outright disdain for the monarchy.

As part of the cultural regime of the annexationists, the white-owned press also engaged in the campaign to delegitimize and ridicule the monarchy. Part of the reterritorialization process for the white settler elite included symbolically creating a new narrative by celebrating their newfound legitimacy and continued occupation—which had been confirmed and embraced with annexation—by framing themselves as the righteous heirs to the kingdom. One such example of this disdain is an article published by a local paper, "Nondescript Relics of the Days of the Hawaiian Monarchy will go Under the Hammer at the Drill Shed this Morning."[23] Listing a "motley collection" of items such a silver, furniture sets, and more, the author noted "There are things grewsome and funny in this catalogue."[24] Going on to describe items such as the mourning table where deceased monarchs would have been laid in state, the black velvet and feather accoutrements that would have accompanied the occasion, and other accessories, the article has an incredibly disrespectful and openly mocking tone. "Kalakaua's [sic] saddle cloth lies near by. It has the princely monogram and is as ugly as a woman might wish her dearest foe's gown to be. But it is kingly, and still bears the wrinkles and marks made by the massive form of the genial rider."[25] Remembered and

[23] "Nondescript Relics of the Days of the Hawaiian Monarchy will go Under the Hammer at the Drill Shed this Morning," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), May 17, 1900.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

respected by Native Hawaiians as the "merrie monarch" for his commitment to Hawaiian cultural arts and traditions, less than a decade after his death King Kalākaua's belongings were auctioned off and openly ridiculed by his overthrowers, on the very site he constructed as a testament to his kingdom and his people. The use of language in the article such as "relics" and "the days of the Hawaiian monarchy" further serve to accelerate the retrojection of the events of the overthrow and naturalize the series of events that led to the territorial government. The derisive tone in articles such as these further serve to frame these political events as fated to happen, and confirm the haole elite as the natural heirs to the kingdom while eliding any agency or wrongdoing on their part.

In addition to the spiritual annihilation of the Hawaiian monarchy, the physical annihilation of the Palace continued into the turn of the century. By 1905, there was a bee infestation so severe that the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported "Honey Freely Flows in Hawaiian Capitol."[26] Initially suspected to be a leak, "native" carpenters opened the ceiling to find 22 square inches of honeycomb within the wall and ceiling. Tickled pink by the prospect of so many government officials carrying buckets of fresh "royal" honey and honeycomb home, the reporter writes in a completely trivializing tone about the damage being done to the Palace by inaction. It seems as though the new ruling class recognized the importance of occupying the site to maintain power as a

[26] "Honey Freely Flows in Hawaiian Capitol," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 2, 1905.

way to occupy space, but also of symbolically letting it fall into disrepair. In this way, they could point to the building and blame shoddy craftsmanship and poor design under the leadership of the indigenous monarch Kalākaua, while investing in the upkeep of their private estates and exclusive clubs. This acted as a justification for then having to actively destroy the building to complete their erasure of any indigenous legacy. As part of the imperial project, it would be in their best interest to let the Palace look primitive and rundown in order retroactively justify the takeover and make the point that they were the only ones keeping the islands running as a means to justify their occupation.

Further, the auctioning of priceless monarchical heirlooms served a dual function—the erasure of an indigenous past, certainly, but also fundraising. Through the logic of elimination, where settler colonial power is created through the erasure of indigenous peoples and societies, the new ruling elite could erase native influence while simultaneously raising money for their new government by selling Hawaiian cultural artifacts. Thus, just twenty years after its completion as the grand, symbolic signal to the rest of the world of Hawai'i's standing among global nations, the Palace sat forlorn, stripped of its furnishings and under illegal occupation.

Contestation and First Steps at Restoration at the "Executive Building," 1909-1959

In her foundational work, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, NoeNoe K. Silva argues, "One of the most persistent and pernicious myths of Hawaiian history is that the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians)

passively accepted the erosion of their culture and the loss of their nation."[27] She masterfully proves, through the use of Hawaiian language sources, that there was a powerful and aggressive resistance movement to the United States' various efforts to control Hawai'i at the end of the nineteenth century. Resistance did not end in the 1890s, however, as there were efforts in the 1910s and 20s to revitalize the Hawaiian language, which had suffered greatly as a result of annexation because of the increased use of Pidgin (Hawai'i Creole English) and the shifting laws restricting what languages were allowed to be spoken and taught in public schools.

As part of this commitment to retaining Hawaiian culture, the Palace, despite its status as a nearly empty shell of its former self, also continued to hold a symbolic significance for those who remembered the racial equality and sense of justice under the monarchy. For this reason, it quickly became a meeting site and gathering place for groups large and small to congregate and, for the most part, air their grievances. This held true beyond the community of Native Hawaiians as well: because of its symbolic history of civil rights to non-native groups, the Palace and the reinstatement of the monarchy was also just as important to many non-white settlers as it was to Native

[27] NoeNoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 1. Even before the turn of the century, the construction of Hawai'i as American was begun, and through tourism the colonial histories of Hawai'i that these case studies seek to revise were established. In *Islands of Empire: Pop Culture and U.S. Power,* Camilla Fojas explores the ways in which travelers were encouraged towards Hawai'i for the colonial tourist experience, because "English was spoken, dollars were accepted, and passports were not necessary." [Camilla Fojas, *Islands of Empire: Pop Culture and U.S. Power* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 26.] Many authors have written comparatively about this same moment in Hawai'i, Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and other island territory contexts. See Christine Skwiot and Vernadette Vicuna Gonzalez, for example.

Hawaiians. Over the early decades of the twentieth century, both the site and the state of the Palace developed into a central point of contention, both because of this symbolic meaning but also because of its physical location in the territory's capitol. These groups recognized that any action taken on the site would be imbued with additional symbolic significance both because of the structure's relationship to the monarchical period, but also because of the literal significance of being the former and present seat of government.

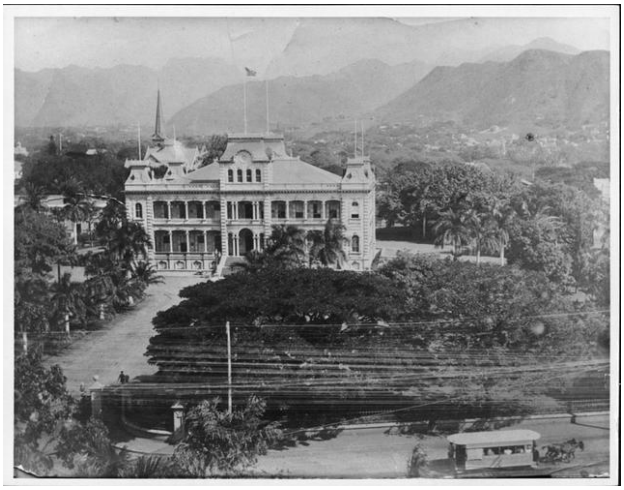

Figure 12 The Palace and grounds as they appeared during the early Territorial Period, between 1900-1929. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-8-038.

Figure 13 The Palace and grounds as they appeared during the late Territorial Period, circa 1930s-1940s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-9-027.

While archival sources suggest Native Hawaiians and others loyal to the monarchy continued to meet on and around the Palace grounds, one of the first recorded acts of outright protest came in 1920. Japanese sugar plantation workers marched on the "Executive Building" to

demand better wages.[28] This is especially telling considering King Kalākaua believed the Japanese to be a "race cognate" with Native Hawaiians and his *Hoʻoulu Lāhui* program especially promoted the immigration of Japanese laborers.[29] Perhaps it was because of this special connection that even nearly 30 years after his death, they marched to his Palace for assistance. Regardless, this event is emblematic of the ways in which the Palace became a public forum and way to publicize a cause. Many groups, both native and non-native, came to the site in an effort to enact public memory and history as a means of advocacy, while reasserting the geospatial significance and political potential of the Palace as a site of change. The 1930s and 40s were dominated by labor organizing and strikes across the islands, and particularly at the Palace.

Responding to these protests and perhaps trying to undermine the Palace's symbolic significance as the recent seat of the native monarchy, in the 1930s the territorial government began to focus their time and energies on recasting the story of the Palace. This also aligns with the time period in which Puʻukoholā Heiau began to figure in adventure stories emphasizing its "ancient" and "primitive" origins. As was evident in the previous chapter on Puʻukoholā Heiau, during the 1930s the territorial government grew very concerned with preserving Hawaiian historical sites, while recasting the historical narrative away from their treasonous acts towards one of

[28] "Japanese March in Strike Demonstration," *Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), April 3, 1920.

[29] McGregor and MacKenzie, 291-292.

progress. While the Heiau offered an easier way for the haole elites to distance themselves from the "primitive and ancient" Hawaiians of days past, the Palace presented more of a challenge because it was barely fifty years old. It was also elegant, regal, and reflective of European sensibilities while demonstrating indigenous excellence. Nevertheless, the territorial government's goal was twofold. First, intervene in the memory of the recent past to make it more difficult for those not in favor of the government to connect to that history. This also served to reinterpret the site and craft its symbolic and literal meaning so it could not be used for other purposes. Second, to create a useable past as a capitalist enterprise for potential tourist revenue. By offering legitimacy and mystification to obscure what actually happened there, they could attempt to capitalize on potential tourist revenue to help build morale and support as well as funds. Drawing closer to their ultimate goal of being a part of the U.S. imperial body, the territorial government began to use a particular version of the indigenous past as spectacle to help fuel the legitimacy of the goal of statehood and tourism by displacing memory and recreating an artificial sense of place.

For example, the shift to this recasting of the story of the Palace began in January 1930, when Bishop H. B. Restarick, the president of the Hawaiian Historical Society, published an article on the first coral Palace building in the 1840s, going into detail about the structure and events held there.[30] By focusing on the 1840s structure,

[30] H. B. Restarick, "Present Palace Dates Back In History For 50 Years; Reception Is Described," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 11, 1930.

the author was able to harken back to the indigenous beginnings of the Hawaiian Kingdom by emphasizing early rulers' use of natural materials and "the land"—coded as "primitive"—to deflect attention away from the more sophisticated European tastes of the later monarchs. Even still, images of the 1844 structure show a functional, modern design. The Bishop's article also served to distract attention from the current administration's destruction of the contemporary Palace. In March 1930, the Palace was basically gutted because it had been ravaged by termites and ants. The territorial government seized this opportunity to try to spin their disregard for the building into an issue of funding. The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* noted "the old staircases, still luxurious in their mahogany grandeur will remain in the building. But where the elite and others once trod the shining floors of koa, they will hereafter march on linoleum that will have a concrete base."[31] This imperialist nostalgia of mourning the loss of indigenous materials (at their very hands) while hinting at their general lack of funding for its upkeep was a strategic move to transition to a tourist

Figure 14 The first 'Iolani Palace, built in 1844. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-5-004.

[31] "Iolani Palace Wrecking Now 80 Pct, Ended," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), March 8, 1930.

economy, based around sites like the Palace. By replacing the original, damaged materials with modern, but inferior materials, the territorial government worked to recast not only the history of the Palace, but its future as well.

The government's eventual recognition that they needed the Palace building to pay for itself led them to rethink their strategy of usage for the site. Despite the destruction of the historical fabric of the building, the territorial government decided to restore the Palace's name in 1935 to start the process of framing it as special and exotic in order to eventually be able to charge an entry fee to step inside.[32] In June 1936, Acting Governor Charles M. Hite also proposed to restore the throne room, complete with original furniture and portraits of the monarchy, to "get as much of the old Hawaiian monarchy on display as possible in order that visitors may be given a more complete impression of the Hawaiian background of the Territory."[33] At that point, the throne room had been used by the house of representatives of the territorial government for almost two decades. Aside from the symbolic complications of this plan, there were many practical obstacles as well. One such example was the Bishop Museum's unwillingness to return the room's original throne chairs, which had been deeded to the museum by the Republic of Hawai'i in 1897.[34] Hite's response was to

[32] 'Iolani Palace National Register of Historic Places—Inventory Nomination Form, June 12, 1988, section 8.

[33] "Hite Would Restore Palace Throne Room," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 26, 1936.

[34] "Replicas of Old Throne Chairs May Be Made," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 20, 1936.

make replicas, noting his "plan was to restore the throne room to its original state, and not to make a museum out of it."[35] In symbolic terms, this restoration signaled another settling of the government's power, as the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* exclaimed "From the high walls of the room the painted features of Hawaii's kings and queens, chiefs and chiefesses, of European and Asiatic rulers look down upon the deliberations of representatives of the American people."[36] So quick to abandon the angle of nostalgia,

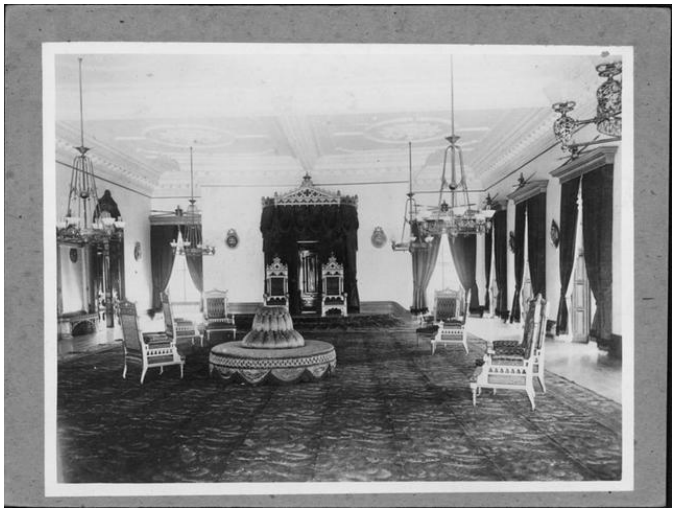

Figure 15 The throne room as it was during the Monarchical Period, pre-1893. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-11-9-016.

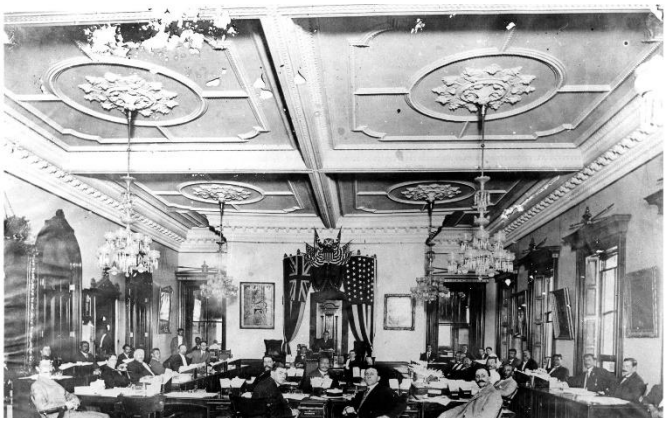

Figure 16 The throne room in use by the legislature of the Republic, post-1893. Courtesy 'Iolani Palace Facebook Page, September 24, 2016, Accessed February 2, 2020.

[35] "Replicas of Old Throne Chairs May Be Made."

[36] "Only Throne Room in U.S. To Be Restored To Past State," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 30, 1936. This extensive article is particularly telling of the ways in which the territorial government and its allies were working to frame the Palace and its history within an American context of progress. The progress of the restoration effort was well-documented in both the *Advertiser* and *Star-Bulletin* through 1938. Nearly a year after these discussions began, in August 1937 Hite proposed that the Palace be turned into a museum and the government uses be moved across the street to the judiciary building ["Hite Points Out Building Program," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 24, 1937.]

the government circled back to a narrative of democracy (and conquest) to sell the Palace. Therefore squarely placing the site within the context of American empire, this restoration effort was part of the government's continued recasting of the historical narrative.

Capitalizing on the mythology of royalty as the only Palace in U.S. fantasy heritage, it was a very conscious choice by the territorial government to choose this particular room to restore. The quote above exemplifies the narrative Governor Hite, his cabinet, and the rest of the haole oligarchy attempted to reproduce of the Palace being a beautiful and sophisticated building squarely under the ownership of the United States, and in fact playing a pivotal role in American politics. Transitioning the throne room from an active space of legislative power to a museum space serves as a way to neutralize its previous power. In essence, people are less likely to strike and protest at a museum, and instead would attempt to go to where the government actually sits, away from the symbolic meaning of the Palace. Further, restoration acts as a response to where their power is being challenged and a reassertion of where their power actually lies, in contrast. Basically, others who

Figure 17 Visitors touring the throne room, circa 1940s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-11-10-014.

participate in the system of settler colonialism and imperialism would be interested in coming to tour a site of successful conquest. Although there was resistance, a boom of tourism and consumption was coming soon and how the territorial government would value the Palace depended on what it could do for them in the coming moment. Though they might have never predicted America's involvement, and Hawai'i's in particular, in World War II, the continued occupation of the site also served as a way to secure future capital, as during the war federal investment in Hawai'i's infrastructure and sites of production boomed.

It is crucial to note that during and immediately following World War II, a conflict that Hawai'i had been inextricably thrust into with the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the Palace served as a military headquarters and command center, and then as the base of the Statehood Commission. The war served as an interruption to the touristic thinking surrounding the Palace, but ultimately finalized the conquest of Hawai'i. Thrust into the heart of the war, the United States realized that the Hawaiian Islands were a hugely strategic locale. That military advantage, coupled with its tropical tourist potential, made it incredibly valuable to the American empire. After World War II, Hawai'i was more intertwined in U.S. orbit than ever before, and with the fundamental shift caused by the war, the advantages offered by the islands paved the way for statehood soon after.

Notably, in 1946, resistance was still being voiced. For example, Native Hawaiian Alice Kamokila Campbell asserted in a message to Congress that Native Hawaiians would

not forfeit their rights to the islands' resources or succumb to the greed of outsiders.[37] Yet, the post-war period saw a surge of touristic development which could not be slowed.[38] With the bombing of Pearl Harbor and Americans' unprecedented collective exposure to the Pacific and Hawai'i, many returned from World War II with a new "appreciation" of the place. This affection, coupled with the new, shorter jet plane travel plan to the islands, allowed an explosion of tourism that worsened the impact of the settler state, as discussed in Chapter 2. This touristic development elsewhere played a role in why the territorial government deemed it worthwhile to restore the Palace as a tourist site. In the case of Hawai'i, where the politics of empire and occupation are played out through tourism, the effort of empire cannot be separated from the construction of the Hawai'i commodity. During this post-war period of occupation, the initial Palace restoration debate began to surface in the local English-language newspapers. Guides were hired and visitors were allowed limited access to the building, despite its continued official use by the territorial government.[39] In March of 1951, the first calls for the Palace's restoration as a museum were published. The

[37] Kelema Lee Moses, "Almost, But Not Quite: Architecture and the Reconstruction of Space in the Territory of Hawaii," in *Colonial Frames, Nationalist Histories: Imperial Legacies, Architecture, and Modernity*, eds. Mrinalini Rajagopalan and Madhuri Desai (United Kingdom: Ashgate, 2012), 172.

[38] For more on the development of tourism as a colonial force bringing waves of settlement to Hawai'i, see Camilla Fojas, Rona Tamiko Halualani, Dawn Duensing, Lisa Kahaleole Hall, Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Judy Rohrer, Hal Rothman, Teresia K. Teaiwa, and Haunani-Kay Trask.

[39] "Iolani Palace to Have Guide for Visitors," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 24, 1953; "David K. Bray To Be Guide at Iolani Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 11, 1954. Stories on Bray and other guides continue through the 1950s.

public improvements committee of the house of representatives of the territorial government proposed the plan.[40] This discussion was continued through 1954, when it was ultimately opened to the public. In 1954, there were over 16,000 visitors to the Palace. By the next year, the Palace was averaging about 2,500 visitors a month (nearly double that of the previous year).[41] With the anointment of statehood, those in power felt secure in their newfound status within the American empire, and this security in part facilitated the memorialization of the grandeur of the monarchy, now squarely framed as a relic of a distant era.

Figure 18 The 1956 Kuhio Day commemoration in the throne room of ʻIolani Palace. Pictured at the far left in white is Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of ʻIolani Palace from 1971 to 1998, and at the right gesturing is David Kaonohiokala Bray, a Native Hawaiian religious leader and one of the first guides to lead visitors through the Palace starting in 1954. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-97-2-028.

[40] "House to Consider Restoring Iolani Palace as Museum," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), March 28, 1951.

[41] "16,000 Saw Throne Room During 1954,"*Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 17, 1955; "Bray Clicks Off Record 4,515 Palace Visitors," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 4, 1955.

Post-Statehood

Discussed in more detail in the next chapter, the aloha spirit is a set of behaviors that is deemed appropriate under the common understanding of aloha in a militouristic, American Hawai'i. It rose to prominence during the post-statehood period as a way to smooth conflict and limit dissent, signifying the anxiety of the new haole elite who continued to dominate Hawai'i's racial politics. Though touted as a unifying concept in the post-statehood period, the preceding decades of colonial Hawai'i (1893 to 1959, in this case, though the period of colonial Hawai'i persists to the present day) were so contentious that statehood was the only thing that enabled the putting forth of this idea of the aloha spirit after 1959 as a tool of societal-behavioral control. In this way, it acts as a cultural device to use the "harmony" of statehood to silence indigenous voices and delegitimize their claims. Dean Saranillio elaborates further, arguing:

> While Hawai'i statehood is memorialized, as a civil rights victory that united Hawai'i in order to achieve statehood, nearly all but forgotten is the existence of other Native Hawaiians and supporters who, citing the 1893 overthrow, voiced opposition to statehood. Such lapses in present memory are systemic and deliberate, as the state commissions responsible for normalizing support for statehood, actually repressed and intimidated Hawaiian opposition.[42]

Today, the cultural authority of the "Aloha State" is an oft-contested force, and the ways in which the Palace was used by the state government in the 1960s and 1970s

[42] Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Seeing Conquest: Colliding Histories and the Cultural Politics of Hawai'i Statehood," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2009), 5.

after the state commissions had achieved their goal of statehood will be discussed in the next chapter.

Post-annexation and pre-statehood (between 1898 and 1959), the occupation of ʻIolani Palace by the territorial government represented the ultimate insult for many. Kelema Lee Moses explains the hidden effects of what Mary Pratt has called anti-conquest, or a strategy of representation that normalizes colonization by rendering the indigenous population as inept and primitive while maintaining the colonizer's innocence and legitimacy in the takeover. In this case, "Anti-conquest involved glorifying Hawaiians at the same time they were being denied real power. In terms of physical space, the attitude of anti-conquest was most evident in the case of government buildings that had once served the Kingdom of Hawai'i, but that were later appropriated by the territorial government."[43] This was also done through the settler colonial processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialization. By first weakening the visual and physical ties between the Palace and Hawaiian sovereignty in overthrowing the monarchy and then occupying the building, the haole elite who instigated the conquest sought to break down Hawaiian culture. Then by remapping their own cultural uses of the space by using it as the seat of governance, they were able to "glorify" certain aspects of Hawaiianess while still remaining in complete colonial control for several decades. In other words, within the system of settler colonialism, the

[43] Moses, 170.

distinctive Hawaiian modernity that had been cultivated by indigenous leaders over generations stood as a threat to the goals of the haole elite, and therefore had to be destroyed and replaced, ultimately resulting in statehood.

In regard to statehood and the Palace's physical role during this time period, the Hawaii Statehood Commission operated out of the 'Iolani Palace, the symbol of Native Hawaiian sovereignty, which statehood foreclosed. Camilla Fojas further elaborates:

> The campaign for Hawai'i statehood changed the perception of the islands from a foreign and distant land to a domestic paradise. Statehood made the archipelago seem closer to home, and popular culture elicited a desire to visit the newest U.S. appendage. The Hawaii Statehood Commission, created in 1947 [the same year Alice Kamokila Campbell presented her message of dissent to Congress], promoted and generated local support for the statehood movement through informational brochures, booklets, and leaflets about 'every phase of Statehood.[44]

The occupation of the Palace for this purpose further served the symbolic and physical annihilation of the Hawaiian monarchy's legacy. Its name had been changed to the Executive Building until it was deemed "safe" enough to change back to 'Iolani Palace in an effort to cast it as a site of tourism, and it had been neglected and abused until it was deemed ready for a post-statehood restoration. Yet all the while, the symbolic meaning of the Palace continued to morph, both for those in favor of Native Hawaiian sovereignty and cultural decolonization, as well as for those settlers who clung to their power and dominance at every turn.

[44] Fojas, 102.

Just a few months before statehood, an article exclaimed "The many visitors who throng its Throne Room today fortell [sic] the flood which would visit the Palace if it were restored to its proper state."[45] Despite its popularity as a potential tourist attraction, there was still discussion about maintaining the Palace as an executive building. Another author exclaimed in regard to the continued occupation of the Palace, "Cannot graciousness be repaid with graciousness? After all, we are their guests."[46] Clearly, the use of the Palace was still being contested into the 1950s, and though the motives changed, the result stayed the same—it was unclear what its future would hold. However, the rupture of statehood forced the symbolic meaning of the building to shift—the structure had to become something else post-1959 because Hawai'i had become something else as a result of statehood. The official indoctrination of the former nation-state into the occupier's imperial body was complete, and the Palace would remain squarely within the context of the American empire.

[45] Clarice B. Taylor, "Iolani Palace Grounds Are Scared," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 19, 1959.

[46] Emma Lyons Doyle, "'Iolani No Capitol,'" *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), April 4, 1959.

Chapter 4: "America's Only Royal Palace": 'Iolani Palace, 1959-1993

We back Lili'ulani/ Who has won the rights of the land/ (She will be crowned again)/
Tell the story/ Of the people who love their land
—Kaulana Nā Pua (Famous Are The Flowers)[1]

Statehood foreclosed the reality of Native Hawaiian sovereignty but, as scholars noted in the previous chapter have suggested, with the fundamental shift in the meaning of the "State" of Hawai'i came the need by the those in the government seeking to benefit from the bourgeoning tourism industry to create new important sites and monuments to enable the strategic manufacturing of symbolic capital. The question of which building would house the state capitol became the center of much debate as those in power argued over the ideological identity of America's youngest state and how its complicated ideals would be represented on the landscape. Ultimately, there was a consensus that the regal, but dated, Palace was not an appropriate fit for this role—fiscally under resourced and already unable to physically serve the extractive occupation and infrastructural needs of the territorial legislature, it also continued to represent the pinnacle of indigenous excellence for many Hawai'i residents, native and otherwise. Ultimately, this significance would become too much baggage even for the state's new tourist economy to carry, and the Palace was finally

[1] "Kaulana Nā Pua (Famous Are The Flowers) - Ellen Keho'ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast," Accessed October 27, 2017, http://www.huapala.org/Kau/Kaulana_Na_Pua.html. Written by Ellen Keho'ohiwaokalani Wright Prendergast in 1893 and performed by the Royal Hawaiian Band in 1895, "This himeni opposed the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States…This song was composed as Ellen Wright Prendergast was sitting in the garden of her father's house in Kapālama. Members of the Royal Hawaiian Band visited her and voiced their unhappiness at the takeover of the Hawaiian Kingdom. They begged her to put their feelings of rebellion to music."

vacated in favor of a newly constructed capitol building in the 1960s after years of repeated cries for restoration from various local figures; first by elite haole women with the support of local journalists, and then with the more public support of Native Hawaiian descendants of the royal family.

In early 1959, with statehood on the horizon, there were heated debates surrounding the current usage and future of the Palace, with many prominent haole residents trying to get the legislature out of the building and off the site before it caused further damage. In February, Clarice B. Taylor wrote an op-ed in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* noting, "Since this is the only actual royal residence in the United States, 'Iolani Palace should be preserved as the greatest attraction in Hawaii for visitors...Every inch of the grounds is sacred to the Hawaiian, for it was there that a temple existed in prehistoric times and it was there that Hawaii's sacred nobility walked."[2] She ends her piece by circling back to tourism, concluding with a guarantee of visitorship if the site is restored to its regal state from the Monarchical Period (detailed in Chapter 3). In March, Mrs. Walter Dillingham, who was ironically related by marriage to one of the first territorial governors at the turn of the century, held a meeting of dozens of women's clubs across the islands to push for restoration.[3] The next month, Emma Lyons Doyle wrote in the *Honolulu Advertiser* "It is with disappointment that I note that the

[2] Clarice B. Taylor, "Iolani Palace Grounds Are Sacred," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 19, 1959.

[3] Mary Verplorgen, "Mrs. Dillingham Enlists Women In Drive to Restore Iolani Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), March 20, 1959.

idea of maintaining the capitol at ‘Iolani palace is still entertained.”[4] As a continuation of the reterritorialization efforts that were discussed in Chapter 3, these mythohistorical narratives of the prehistoric sacredness of the grounds and its destiny to dazzle tourists were concocted in aid of the tourist imaginary while these elite haole women exhibited imperialist nostalgia for these fictionalized, but safely past, stories.

Figure 1 The Palace and grounds as they appeared in the years leading up to statehood, circa 1950s. Note the temporary addition on the right side of the photo. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-10-003.

Figure 2 Additional temporary extensions were added on the rear lanais (porches) of the Palace. Courtesy ‘Iolani Palace Facebook Page, January 26, 2019, Accessed February 2, 2020.

Though there was momentum behind the idea of vacating the Palace and restoring it to a museum setting, in August of 1959, mere days before statehood was made official, a large wooden extension was added to the

[4] Emma Lyons Doyle, “‘Iolani No Capitol,’” *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai’i), April 4, 1959.

Palace to make room for additional offices.[5] This turn of events was much to the dismay of the elite haole women who had been working to gain support for its restoration, one of whom noted "legislators should vacate 'Iolani Palace completely before they 'mutilate it beyond repair.'"[6] Though their goals were not immediately achieved, the efforts of these women would eventually pave the way for the Friends of 'Iolani Palace, an organization founded in 1966, to begin official restoration efforts. After being designated a National Historic Landmark in 1962, however, in 1963, amongst overcrowded offices, a shoddy extension, and a parking crisis that threatened to turn into a kerfuffle with the public (legislators illegally tried to reserve public parking spaces for themselves and their staff), the Palace remained an occupied space.[7] But pressures to leave the site and calls for restoration were mounting, and by the end of 1964, amongst furniture and artifact donations to the State, tentative plans were put in place to restore the Palace.[8]

The historic preservation-themed efforts of these elite haole women were not without larger political and economic intent given their relative complicity in upholding

[5] "Iolani Palace Gets New Extension," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 17, 1959.

[6] "Mrs. Bowen Berates 'Mutilation' of Iolani," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 18, 1959. See also "Palace Extension Surprises Quinn," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 18, 1959.

[7] Forrest Black, "Legal Question Arises Over Right Of Public to Park at Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 13, 1963. While the drama started in February, it exploded in August 1963 with a flurry of articles representing both sides of the debate, as well as letters to the editors and op-eds deriding the governor and the legislators' decisions.

[8] "Barracks, Palace To Be Restored," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 11, 1964.

the power structure that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy. Their interest in protecting ʻIolani Palace is clearly weighted towards its value as a future touristic site in service of hegemonic state imperatives, and guided by imperialist nostalgia—a "particular kind of nostalgia…where people mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed."[9] Though decrying the legislature's use of the structure and the abuse the building suffered at the government's hands, they never outright critiqued the government itself for its neglect (or occupation). In line with the rhetorical work done by previous haole elites to temporally displace not only the Palace, but other Native Hawaiian sites like Puʻukoholā Heiau, as relics of a bygone era, the language they used surrounding the Palace suggests it is decrepit and fragile, but still worth saving.[10] Though those Native Hawaiians and their allies who were in favor of restoration did not value the State's motivation of tourism, they were optimistic about the opportunity for other agendas to be advanced during the restoration. Namely, that of Native Hawaiians looking to achieve their own goals in regard to self-determination and controlling the historical narrative surrounding the overthrow and other important moments in Hawaiian history.

[9] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations*, 26 (Spring 1989), 107-122.

[10] Temporal displacement involved the process of divorcing an event or site from its appropriate moment in time in order to recast the historical narrative surrounding it. In this dissertation, the phrase is used to describe the attempts by predominately, the territorial government and other haole elites, to cast the Palace as outdated and decrepit and the overthrow as a distant memory, when in fact, the Palace was only about a decade old at the time of the overthrow, and the overthrow only about 40 years previous to when the territorial government sought to "restore" it for touristic purposes.

Using tools of a settler colonial framework such as temporal displacement, imperialist nostalgia, mythohistory, and reterritorialization as a lens, this chapter will explore how ʻIolani Palace and its grounds (a former heiau) have continued since statehood to sustain a symbolic significance for different sectors of Hawaiian society.[11] Additionally, though their mission is to "preserve, restore, and protect" the Palace, this chapter will discuss how the interpretation of the Palace—led by the Friends of ʻIolani Palace—has shifted over this time period, particularly between the 1970s and 1990s.[12] The Friends of ʻIolani Palace, Native Hawaiian community groups, and others use the Palace as a public intermediary space where different interpretations of Hawaiian history, culture, and sovereignty, among other things, are put forward, sometimes collaboratively, and sometimes through conflict.

The Founding of the Friends of ʻIolani Palace, 1960s-1970

It is an interesting confluence of events that led to the Friends of ʻIolani Palace being established. Whereas the elite haole women highlighted above were playing into the stereotypical trope of the exocitized native as a relic of the past, with histories that

[11] "The Palace also adapted to some extent the character of a temple or heiau. It constituted both a political and religious center." Kamehiro goes on to explain that some archaeologists argue that heiaus are very specifically located and positioned in terms of astronomy, and that "'Iolani Palace appears to have been purposefully situated, reinforcing the interpretation of the Palace as a modern translation of a heiau." (Stacy Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalakaua Era (*Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 66-68.

[12] "Mission," Friends of Iolani Palace, Accessed May 12, 2019, https://www.iolaniPalace.org/contact/the-friends-of-iolani-Palace/.

must be commemorated as part of the indigenized spectacle of the Hawaiian Islands, those natives were not in fact gone and forgotten.[13] A Native Hawaiian descendant of the royal family took up the mantle of restoring the Palace, and it was through her genealogy, class power, and name recognition that she was able to legitimize the organization. However, she also aimed to fulfill her kuleana, or responsibility, to her ancestors to care for their legacy and represent the historical narrative of the events that transpired on the grounds of ʻIolani Palace from a Native Hawaiian centered perspective.[14] Her organization would work to resist the imperialist nostalgia and tourist imaginary that opened this chapter by seeking to preserve the important cultural structure and recast the colonial, mythohistorical narrative surrounding it towards one more critically engaged with the history of Hawai'i.

The Friends group was founded in the mid-1960s under leadership by Helen Lydia Kamakaʻeha Liliʻuokalani Kawānanakoa. Born in 1905 and named after Queen Lili'uokalani, Kawānanakoa was a descendant of the royal family. Though she only led the group from 1966 until her death in 1969, she was well-known for her civic service,

[13] As will be discussed throughout this chapter, this process by haole elite to strategically manage public memory and temporally displace the history of injustice of the overthrow and occupation is very similar to the efforts made at Pu`ukoholā Heiau.

[14] Kuleana has various meanings, including right, privilege, concern, responsibility, title, business, property, estate, portion, jurisdiction, authority, liability, interest, claim, ownership, tenure, affair, province; reason, cause, function, justification; small piece of property, as within an ahupuaʻa (land division); blood relative through whom a relationship to less close relatives is traced, as to in-laws. [Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf]

having founded other charitable organizations dedicated to Native Hawaiian causes and, most importantly for this effort, she was well-connected socially. Following her unfortunate passing in 1969, the leadership role was briefly passed to her brother-in-law Wilmer C. Morris, who was also descended from royalty, and then more permanently to her daughter Abigail Kinoiki Kekaulike Kawānanakoa in 1971.

Figure 3 Undated photo of Helen Lydia Kamakaʻeha Liliʻuokalani Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of ʻIolani Palace from 1966 to 1969. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-34-4-029.

Abigail K. K. Kawānanakoa remained at the head of the organization until 1998.[15]

The new State of Hawai'i supported the Friends organization and its mission through a lease agreement which left the State ultimately responsible for the physical Palace structure and grounds but allowed the Friends nearly free reign to manage the

[15] While it would be useful to know the racial and class make up of the Friends group, this data was not present in the archival sources surveyed for this project.

restoration and to plan accompanying interpretive elements. However, these unlikely partners had different reasons for wanting to preserve the Palace. For the State, the preservation of the Palace increasingly fit into the economic imperative of tourism and a narrative that normalized conquest. For example, in 1966, around the same time the Friends group was being founded, a Hawaiian Visitors Bureau Publication pamphlet was published in which Hawaiian history began with James Cook and ended with statehood. This pamphlet called the royal residence of Washington Place a "tropic White House" and went on to list the "Rulers of Hawaii" from Kamehameha to Lili'uokalani, followed by the "President of [the] Republic" Sanford Dole, the various "Governors of the Territory," and then the "Governors of the State," thereby situating the republic and territory as the logical heirs to the kingdom, and obscuring the contentious overthrow as a seamless transition of power.[16] As a result of these touristic efforts, and in combination with the steady popularity of all things "Aloha," the State was very firmly placing the Palace within a white, Western context—prioritizing white male leaders over Hawai'i's last indigenous Queen, and situating itself as the righteous entity to govern the islands.

In the mid-1960s, at the same time Laurance Rockefeller was in talks with the National Park Service to preserve Puʻukoholā Heiau, the Friends was founded as "a

[16] "Iolani Palace," Hawaiian Visitors Bureau Publication (1966), Hawaiian and Pacific Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa.

group dedicated to the restoration and preservation of America's only royal palace."[17] Once the group was started, they hit the ground running and began work on restoring and reinterpreting the Palace grounds, receiving their first donation in 1967, and starting a membership drive later that year.[18] As evidenced by early internal memos, letters, and other documents, the Friends were most concerned, initially at least, with carefully restoring both the structure and interior finishes to the Monarchical Period of the Palace in order to open it to the public. Since the early 1960s, Palace staff and volunteers had been trying to acquire Palace furniture and other artifacts, while structural restoration plans were being formalized.[19] They seemed to feel that once people set foot inside the historic space restored to its former glory, they would be convinced of Monarchical Hawai'i's rightful place in history as a modern, progressive, and sovereign state. This contrasts sharply with the story being constructed by the territorial governor in the 1930s, who aimed to emphasize the Hawaiian origins of the state while squarely framing the monarchy as a relic of the past, as discussed in Chapter 3.

[17] "Donation to Friends of Iolani Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), March 9, 1967.

[18] "Membership Drive Started by Friends of Iolani Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), March 23, 1967.

[19] "Iolani Palace Whispers Hawaii's Ancient Past," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 14, 1963; "Monarchy Days Sideboard Donated for Iolani Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), May 13, 1964; among others through late 1965 and into 1966.

By 1969, the Friends had put enough pressure on the State government that it had stopped all official uses of the Palace, allowing a restoration proposal to be completed.[20] The 1970 restoration proposal details temporary wooden walls which created offices but did little damage to the structural integrity of the building. However, in line with their predecessors of the 1900s to 1930s, the neglect of state agents and their engagement in a strategy of "accelerated decay" had again allowed the Palace to fall into disrepair, particularly in regard to the roof and extensive termite damage throughout the building. There were also structural changes to the doors and windows that

Figure 4 Termite tenting during the restoration by the Friends, circa 1960s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection.

Figure 5 Replacing the turrets during the restoration by the Friends, circa 1960s. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-10-10-030.

[20] Bob Krauss, "Sorry…The Governor Doesn't Work Here Anymore," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), March 8, 1969. It is important to note that though the Friends were responsible for the historical interpretations of the site, the ultimate responsibility for the structural restoration of the building fell to the State Parks Division.

needed to be reversed, as well as the unearthing of some of the original grand details of the Palace, including the wall niches which would have been used for displays of vases, statues, and other gifts.[21] Despite a near complete gutting and rebuilding only 40 years prior, the Palace was once again in a sorry state. Not only did challenges lie ahead in terms of how the Friends would embody the site's history interpretively, a local columnist also noted, "The passing years have not been gentle with the palace" and alluded to the structural challenges they would face as well.[22]

Whether intentional or not, this continued accelerated decay symbolized the state's blatant disregard for the royal legacy, and in fact, active erasure of the royal past. As part of the reterritorialization process whereby the white overthrowers had attempted to cultural remap the site with themselves as the replacement for the indigenous monarchy, in conjunction with the ongoing symbolic annihilation of Native Hawaiian history through the recasting of historic events which took place on the Palace grounds, this effort at literal annihilation through inaction and neglect was prevented by the formation of the Friends group.[23] Though later sections of this chapter focus on the Friends' symbolically decolonial micro-interventions in the form of their interpretive

[21] 'Iolani Palace National Register of Historic Places—Inventory Nomination Form, June 12, 1988, section 8.

[22] Samuel Crowningburg-Amalu, "at Iolani Palace: a search for the long ago," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 24, 1971.

[23] Patrick Wolfe explains symbolic annihilation as the process of "displacing indigenes from (or *re*placing them on) the land." [Patrick Wolfe, *Writing Past Colonialism: Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (Bloomsbury Academic, 1999), 1.]

programming, it is important to note that the restoration and preservation of the materiality of the site is in and of itself a major cultural and symbolic decolonial intervention into the accelerated decay and active neglect that had been taking place at the Palace for decades.

A 1970 Hawai'i State Parks restoration document written by the Friends explained, "In the restoration of 'Iolani Palace, the basic premise is that of the presentation of a slice of time out of the past, a not too distant past, but a past that has totally vanished."[24] This statement shows the Friends' understanding of the erasure of Native Hawaiian history that had happened at the site over the course of several decades, and their commitment to bringing those stories back to light. Working against the efforts put forth by the territorial government to temporally displace the monarchical period as a vestige of bygone days, the Friends emphasized that it was "a not too distant past" while acknowledging that they would interpret but a "slice of time," and not the entire history of the site. By focusing on "a past that has totally vanished," in large part due to the haole elite that dominated the islands at the turn of the century, the group was able to gesture towards the challenges they would face in restoring the site while staying committed to their main goal of interpreting the indigenous history of the building.

[24] George Moore, Geoffrey W. Fairfax, E. Blaine Cliver, Barbara Furstenburg, Leonard McCann, Glenn Miyashiro, John Shklov, Phillip R. Ward, and Clyde Wong, "A Report: Iolani Palace Restoration Project," published by the Department of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawai'i (May 1, 1970), 4.

With tourism in mind, and secure in their identity due to the successful bid for statehood, the State cast its support behind the organization and helped fund the restoration of the Palace structure. The same 1970 restoration document exclaimed, "When we, or our ancestors, have betrayed the trust of history by permitting our heritage to slip into dereliction, it is inevitable that we must resort to restoration….as a labor of love."[25] Though glibly glossing over the reasons the Palace had fallen into disrepair and at whose hands, similar to what was required at Puʻukoholā Heiau due to neglect and active erasure of the indigenous past, they acknowledge that much of their work will involve research and restoration, not preservation of existing historical integrity. In fact, it is noted that the "stair treads" are the only original flooring in the Palace, or "the only floor whose use royalty and [visitor]

Figure 6 An example of the 1960s restoration work conducted by the Friends of ʻIolani Palace. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-11-7-023.

[25] Moore et al (1970), 27.

share."[26] Further, important interpretive elements like the butler's pantry, dumbwaiter, and toilet room are complete reconstructions, not restorations.[27]

Despite these challenges, the Friends were committed to their goal of physically restoring and preserving the Palace structure. As part of that effort, they sought to highlight the regal legacy of the monarchy through its physical embodiment of the Palace, and reclaim the 15 year period when indigeneity thrived over the 75 years of settler abuse that followed, therefore privileging the monarchy as what mattered over the legacy of the territorial government, even while remaining within the settler colonialism system and within the face of the continued illegal occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawai'i's 1959 statehood, which resolved its precarious political situation in the eyes of the haole elite involved with the government, allowed symbolic power to be seized by the Friends—led by a Native Hawaiian royal descendent who was able to manipulate her class status to actually be able to assemble the group, win state funding, and start crafting and recrafting the interpretive story of the Hawaiian monarchy. At the same time, the touristic imperative surrounding statehood pushed the State to support the project due to the new revenue opportunities represented by a restored Palace.

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[26] Friends of 'Iolani Palace, "Friends of 'Iolani Palace Guide Training," Summer Training Program (June 24-September 30, 1977), 13. Also known as the docent manual.

[27] Friends of 'Iolani Palace, "Friends of 'Iolani Palace Guide Training," Summer Training Program (June 24-September 30, 1977), 12.

Though the Friends and the State had multiple agendas in restoring the building, they had the same goal of opening the Palace to the public. Both the State and the Friends group agreed that "The story of 'Iolani Palace must be told with supreme accuracy, empathy, and great restraint."[28] However, their common goal did not necessarily mean they agreed on what those terms implied in practice. The 1970 restoration plan was the start of a cultural and political negotiation between the State and the Friends, an indigenous-led, though elite, group who sought to reclaim the site and its story for the seemingly uninformed (settler) public. Whether for education, reclaiming indigenous legacies, or touristic profit—the two groups' differences truly started to emerge once the restoration began, as public documents and internal materials show very different tones and narratives being produced by each. However, with Hawai'i now over a decade into its tenure as the Aloha State, it had become imperative to the Friends' success that the 'Iolani Palace restoration effort reflect the state's governing principle of aloha at whatever cost. As a result, the restoration and interpretation of the Palace remained bound by this framework. In spite of its totalizing narrative about Hawaiianness, however, moments of cultural decolonization have taken place through interventions enacted at the Palace.

[28] Moore et al (1970), 20.

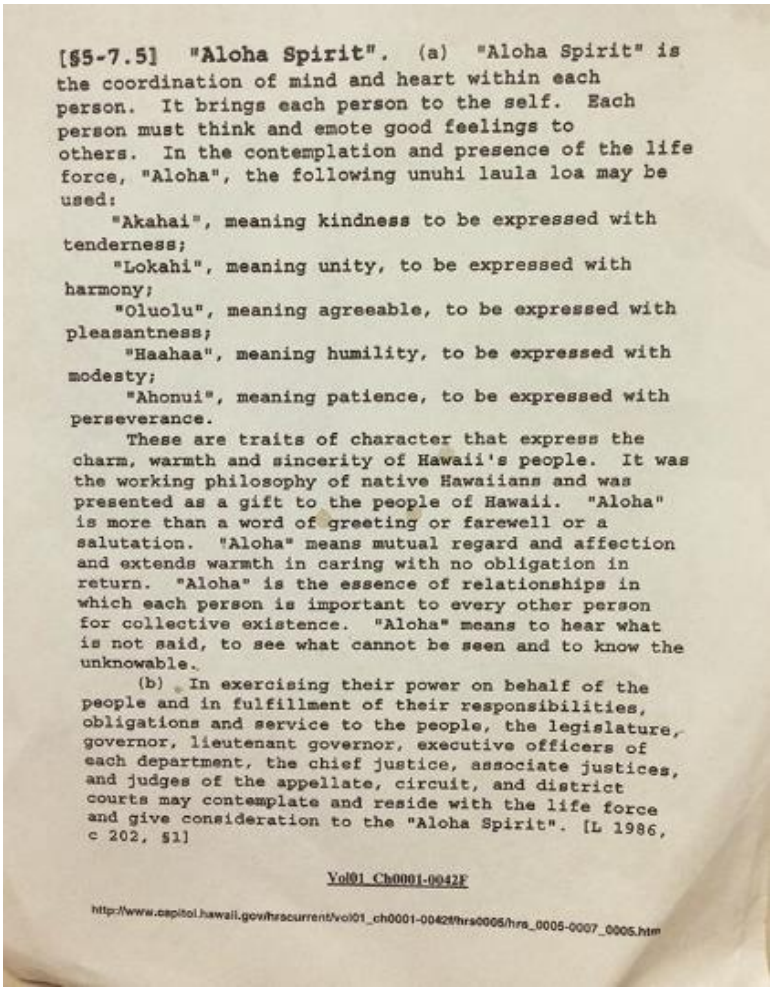
"The Aloha Spirit:" Modern Settler Colonial Framework

As discussed at length in the introduction to this dissertation, the idea of aloha itself can have several meanings, including love, affection, compassion, mercy, sympathy, pity, kindness, or grace, and this multilayered significance lends itself to various interpretations based on context. Yet, in pre-contact Hawai'i and even through the Monarchy period, "Aloha" did not have its current prominence as the signifier of Hawaiianness. It was only after 1959, when Hawai'i officially became the "Aloha State," that the aloha spirit was put into service in the crucial role of fully integrating one of the most isolated places on earth into the American empire. In discussing this tumultuous transition, Keiko Ohnuma explains "The need to construct a discourse around aloha in the decade after statehood clearly reflected anxieties about how different social groups stood to gain or lose after the change in Hawai'i's status."[29] In this way, in the post-statehood period, the aloha spirit set the tone for nearly all social, political, and cultural interactions, and became a de facto governing ideology.

Two decades later, in 1986, this ideology was codified into law. The law reads, in part, "'Aloha Spirit' (a) 'Aloha Spirit' is the coordination of mind and heart within each

[29] Keiko Ohnuma explains that post-statehood, "'aloha spirit' became a burning subject of public debate, spawning a steady stream of newspaper reports about initiatives, declarations, public and private forums, and the ubiquitous letters to the editor from tourists who did, or did not, experience aloha on their visit—a genre unique to Hawai'i that seems to owe its existence to the fact that aloha is indeed a newspaper subject category. This preoccupation continued through the 1970s into the early 1980s, marked always by a sense of anguish and urgency related to the question of loss: Is the aloha spirit lost? Is it dying? Does it exist?" [Keiko Ohnuma, "'Aloha Spirit' and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, No. 2 (2008), 370.]

person… Each person must think and emote good feelings to others… It was the working philosophy of native Hawaiians and was presented as a gift to the [rest of the] people of Hawaii."[30] Thus, the notion of the aloha spirit emerged as a compulsory code of relational, behavioral, and affective dispositions centered around harmony, generosity, and positive sentiment that residents (primarily Native Hawaiians as the purported originators of the concept, but all others as well) must dutifully enact in their daily lives as citizens of the "Aloha State."



[§5-7.5] "Aloha Spirit". (a) "Aloha Spirit" is the coordination of mind and heart within each person. It brings each person to the self. Each person must think and emote good feelings to others. In the contemplation and presence of the life force, "Aloha", the following unuhi laula loa may be used:

"Akahai", meaning kindness to be expressed with tenderness;

"Lokahi", meaning unity, to be expressed with harmony;

"Oluolu", meaning agreeable, to be expressed with pleasantness;

"Haahaa", meaning humility, to be expressed with modesty;

"Ahonui", meaning patience, to be expressed with perseverance.

These are traits of character that express the charm, warmth and sincerity of Hawaii's people. It was the working philosophy of native Hawaiians and was presented as a gift to the people of Hawaii. "Aloha" is more than a word of greeting or farewell or a salutation. "Aloha" means mutual regard and affection and extends warmth in caring with no obligation in return. "Aloha" is the essence of relationships in which each person is important to every other person for collective existence. "Aloha" means to hear what is not said, to see what cannot be seen and to know the unknowable.

(b) In exercising their power on behalf of the people and in fulfillment of their responsibilities, obligations and service to the people, the legislature, governor, lieutenant governor, executive officers of each department, the chief justice, associate justices, and judges of the appellate, circuit, and district courts may contemplate and reside with the life force and give consideration to the "Aloha Spirit". [L 1986, c 202, §1]

Vol01_Ch0001-0042F

http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/hrscurrent/Vol01_Ch0001-0042F/HRS0005/HRS_0005-0007_0005.htm

Figure 7 Aloha Spirit Law posted in the break room of the Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Office. Photo by author, Hawai'i State Historic Preservation Office in Kapolei, Oahu, September 2015.

Ohnuma asserts that this hegemonic discourse "has served to obscure a history of traumatic meanings, all carrying political investments that remain

[30] "Aloha Spirit Law," Accessed August 10, 2016, http://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/hrs2015/Vol01_Ch0001-0042F/HRS0005/HRS_0005-0007_0005.htm.

hidden beneath the seemingly transparent universality of such private sentiments as love and kindness."[31] As one example, this manufactured notion of aloha in a militouristic, American Hawai'i is the umbrella under which the practice of "Aloha Fridays," or businessmen wearing a collared, button-down, brightly colored, floral-patterned Hawaiian shirt at the end of the workweek, gained popularity after statehood. Christen Tsuyuko Sasaki argues "Aloha wear and depictions of militarized bodies embodying the garments emerged [after World War II] as one of the primary vehicles used to deploy a shared story of racial inclusion and touristic fantasy."[32] Aloha shirts would have been particularly prevalent in and around the Palace during the restoration period because of its location in the center of the downtown economic and political districts. The shirts, intended to convey casual island life and lack of formality, were thus ironically ever-present in the areas of the city most devoted to social and economic gain.[33]

The codification of aloha spirit as a governing ideology symbolized how settler colonialism had transitioned between the 1890s and the modern era. While couched in terms of aloha, seemingly in honor of Native Hawaiian culture, the framework nevertheless created a very constrained space in which to discuss topics such as the

[31] Ohnuma, 366.

[32] Christen Tsuyuko Sasaki, "Threads of Empire: Militourism and the Aloha Wear Industry in Hawai'i," *American Quarterly* 68, No. 3 (September 2016), 644.

[33] The symbolic commodification of the Palace site took place through these allied arenas—for more on this, see Ohnuma and Sasaki, as cited in the preceding footnotes.

legality of Hawaiian sovereignty, the rights of Native Hawaiians, the underlying reality of racial tension and inequality, and the appropriation and monetization of traditional Hawaiian culture. It was within this framework that the Friends of ʻIolani Palace were attempting to intervene in their interpretation of the site's Monarchical past. While the post-statehood era created a moment of opportunity for the Friends to undertake the project of restoring the Palace and interpreting the events surrounding the overthrow, it also created a limited range of what they could acceptably do and not do in pursuing that effort. Nevertheless, though the Friends' critiques of this occupation and the events of the overthrow are restricted within the larger context of the settler colonial system at work in Hawai'i, they remain important critical interventions. In this way, the site acts as an important case study into the challenges historic and cultural sites face within a system bound by the dynamics of coloniality and the logic of capital, and how sites like the Palace might succeed in building a series of culturally decolonizing micro-interventions.

As the Friends' restoration occurred simultaneously with the genesis of the modern sovereignty movement in the 1970s, the Palace lends itself as a space for people to define and enact their positions—political, cultural, or otherwise—not only because of its strategic location in the center of downtown Honolulu, but also because of its history of symbolic power, as discussed in the previous chapter, and how this

evolved in the post-statehood period.[34] How might the range of interpretations at the site since the Friends acquired it gesture towards efforts to disrupt the dominant aloha spirit narrative? The next section argues that though the Friends of ʻIolani Palace are not vocal members of the sovereignty movement themselves, they continued to act as allies to that movement by subtly contesting the settler state and by offering partnerships and the opportunity for others to further that claim and enact their own decolonial programming.

Negotiating the First Efforts at Interpretation, 1970-1978

The 1970s were a very active period at the Palace. In May 1972, President of the Friends Abigail Kawānanakoa, sent out a letter with a detailed update on the progress of the restoration efforts.[35] Later that year, a donation and collections call letter was also put out.[36] By November of 1972, Dr. Edward P. Alexander, founder of the American

[34] In addition to works discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, such as work by Haunani-Kay Trask, NoeNoe Silva, and Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, excellent recent additions to the historiography include *Beyond Ethnicity: New Politics Of Race In Hawai'i*, edited by Camilla Fojas (2018), Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., and Nitasha Tamar Sharma, J. Kehaulani Kauanui's *Paradoxes of Hawaiian Sovereignty: Land, Sex, and the Colonial Politics of State Nationalism* (2018), Stephanie Nohelani Teves' *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance* (2018), Noelani Arista's *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (2018), Dean Itsuji Saranillio's *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Histories of Hawai'i Statehood* (2018), and Maile Arvin's *Possessing Polynesians: The Science of Settler Colonial Whiteness in Hawai`i and Oceania* (2019).

[35] Letter to members from Abigail Kekaulike Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of Iolani Palace, May 1, 1972.

[36] Letter to members from Abigail Kekaulike Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of Iolani Palace, September 8, 1972.

Association for State and Local History and former Vice President of Colonial Williamsburg, had become involved at the Palace as the head interpretive planner, a paid consultant position.[37] While there is no record of input from Native Hawaiians, sources suggest that all who were involved with the site were pleased and impressed by Alexander's presence. He essentially lent legitimacy to the Friends through his credentials and served the State's goal of normalizing the Palace as a formative political site in American history (in the same way the territorial government had attempted to integrate Pu`ukoholā Heiau into a U.S. historical narrative in the 1930s). During this time, tourism remained the dominant public motivation for restoration, as continued efforts to restore the Palace included specific acquisition requests which would help boost the Friends of 'Iolani Palace membership and offer a greater appeal to the public.[38]

The middle of the decade was a bit tumultuous, as there were debates about management of the site—mostly as a result of personality conflicts and differences of opinion in how funding should be allocated—and the public opening was delayed. But in August of 1975, a *Honolulu Advertiser* article prompted 80 interested docent candidates to contact the Friends. It is interesting that in their "introductory form," "the

[37] Letter to members from Abigail Kekaulike Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of Iolani Palace, November 1, 1972.

[38] Letter to members from Abigail Kekaulike Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of Iolani Palace, September 1973. Includes specific restoration updates for "Friends" to share with visitors—restoration, acquisition, traffic, and membership are among categories highlighted.

question of educational background was not included" and instead potential guides were asked about their interests, hobbies, and motivations for volunteering.[39] It was not until the second round of applications that potential guides were asked about education and were given materials to study.[40] It is unclear if any applicants were denied, but the training regimen was well-structured in its attention to detail and high expectations.[41] A close reading of the 1977 training manual demonstrates both the opportunities and constraints of the dominant aloha spirit framework and how it imposed a singular interpretation on all tour guides, regardless of, among other things, their political leanings and ethnic background. It set a clear tone for the interpretation of the site, noting "'Iolani Palace is a gift to the people of today from an era and from people who are gone."[42] While acknowledging that the monarchy's reign had ended and their legacy had all but disappeared, the Friends began to attempt to frame the site as a lasting reminder of the Hawaiian Kingdom's leaders and citizens who had come before them.

Modeled after guidelines provided by Alexander in 1973, the initial tour of the Palace "generally follows tour patterns known to have been used by groups of visitors to

[39] No evidence was found that they asked about Native Hawaiian background either.

[40] Friends of Iolani Palace, "Status of Guide Training Program" memorandum to membership (February 4, 1976), 2.

[41] Friends of Iolani Palace, "Status of Guide Training Program" memorandum to membership (February 4, 1976), 2.

[42] "Friends of 'Iolani Palace Guide Training," (1977), 2.

‘‘Iolani Palace during the Monarchy Era itself.”[43] In drawing these connections to the past and the legacy of the monarchy, the manual is sure to note “The visitor’s [sic] are welcomed on behalf of the people of Hawai'i and the Friends of ‘Iolani Palace.”[44] It is interesting to note here that the guide is careful not to mention State involvement or ownership, and the vague use of “people of Hawai'i” belies the burgeoning pressures during this time to center indigeneity. While the manual does not forthrightly support Hawaiian sovereignty, it is careful to proclaim Hawai'i’s stature among world nations during its sovereign period. For example: “Furnishings and portraits [in the state dining room] show the great extent to which Hawaiian monarchs were accepted by European rulers as equivalents.”[45] Further, it addresses the queen’s imprisonment head-on, and draws parallels between those past events and the present day:

> Lili’uokalani was confined in this particular suite because the Palace has already become the Capitol and all the other suites were occupied by government offices. The Suite was quickly and sparsely furnished for her use with odds and ends. Lili’uokalani also had to endure a ‘show’ trial in her former Throne Room. The overthrow of the Monarchy was the result of mistrustings, misunderstandings and wildly different needs between cultural and economic interests. Certain social problems facing Hawai'i now are direct outgrowths of this unhappy period.[46]

[43] “Friends of ‘Iolani Palace Guide Training,” (1977), 3.

[44] Ibid., 4.

[45] Ibid., 11.

[46] Ibid., 22.

While highlighting the actions and events that paved the way for annexation and statehood—including how quickly occupation began since rooms were already filled immediately following overthrow; how the room where the Queen was held was furnished with odds and ends while the provisional government auctioned off her heirlooms; and mentioning the travesty of a trial she had to endure—the Friends were able to center the interpretation around this volatile series of events, while still operating within the constraining framework of the aloha spirit. The specific wording here is telling in that it exemplifies the limitations of the aloha spirit and how the harmonious sheen can falter when discussing historical events. What was ultimately codified into law—"Each person must think and emote good feelings to others"[47]—is on full display here as the overthrow was not an illegal and treasonous political plot by a select few white supremacist businessmen, but rather "the result of mistrustings, misunderstandings and wildly different needs between cultural and economic interests" (which could be read as Native Hawaiian and local peoples' interests versus the interests of the haole elite). While the leadership of the Friends opened up a space for these events to be discussed, the limitations put in place by the governing principle of the aloha spirit meant they have to soft pedal their approach, and in effect, "emote good feelings." The function of training docents using this language is something to consider—particularly in the ways in which the Friends sought to properly tell the story

[47] "Aloha Spirit Law."

with “supreme accuracy, empathy, and great restraint.” In this case, empathy and accuracy were not always able to co-exist. For example, calling the overthrow a “misunderstanding” may have felt empathetic, but it was not accurate.

Though staking out a middle ground, it is important to note that the narration of this series of events was included, and did play a prominent role in the interpretive efforts put forth, while alluding to the contemporary civic unrest that often played out on the Palace grounds. In the same way the territorial government worked to temporally displace the events of the overthrow in the hopes of normalizing their power, statehood, too, became the more cemented and solidified norm with each day that passed. In other words, the overthrow was framed as “ancient history” to legitimize the newly established social order, and in the same way, statehood was framed as if it had always been, therefore eliminating any opportunity it might be reversed or contested. Moreover, the Friends needed to be conscious of their audience. Though many local residents and Native Hawaiians were sure to visit the Palace in its renewed splendor, the Friends realized that one of the state’s main goals for restoration was the generation of tourist dollars—predominantly, white, middle class American tourist dollars, at this point in time (though that would quickly shift to upper middle class Japanese tourist dollars in later decades). While the territorial government’s goals in restoring the throne room in the 1930s were also to capture tourist dollars, their museumification efforts aimed to mothball the monarchy. By turning the space into a museum, they were signaling to the world that everything the throne room symbolized

was dead, and that the Palace would never be the seat of indigenous government again. By contrast, with the Friends' restoration and interpretive efforts, the door to indigenous self-determination may have been reopened a crack, as they aimed to acknowledge the contention surrounding the overthrow at 'Iolani Palace. Ultimately, it is most important that the Friends sought to standardize the interpretation of the events, so as to maintain consistency of experience across the visitorship, while telling as much of the complete story as possible.

While there were some victories in this regard, the tone could not always match their goals of privileging the monarchy within the settler colonial state. Constrained with the context of American empire, the docent manual concludes, "Final word: Visitors are reminded that they have been guests in the State Residence of Kings and Queens. They will not be able to repeat this experience anywhere else in the United States."[48] Again harkening back to the idea of the only royal residence in America, the pressures of the need to serve tourism placed the Palace within the American context, even as the Friends aimed to take a middle ground. While the continued commodification of the monarchy functioned to facilitate the tourist imaginary and support the logic of capital, the Friends were leading important cultural work to make micro-interventions to build opportunities for decolonial programming—an effort they would continue into the next two decades.

[48] "Friends of 'Iolani Palace Guide Training," (1977), 27.

Settling In, 1978-1990[49]

With the restoration nearing completion, the Palace was rededicated in 1976. Though tours would not start for another two years, this ceremony was an important step in the public eye to raise the profile of the restoration project. With a clever play on the American national anthem, a *Honolulu Advertiser* piece entitled "Flag gives proof heritage still there" described the events of the ceremony and the raising of the Hawaiian flag over the Palace. Edward A. K. Kawānanakoa, grandson of the Friends' founding president Lili'uokalani Kawānanakoa Morris and the last male in the remaining royal line, acted as flag-bearer at the rededication ceremony. This event would be the first time the Hawaiian flag was flown *alone* over the Palace since it was removed on annexation day in 1898. The article explains as the flag was raised, "A brisk northeast trade wind caught [the flag] immediately, and there was a brief audible gasp before the crowd stood and broke into spontaneous applause while the Royal Hawaiian Band struck up 'Hawai'i Pono'i,' the state song and former national anthem of Hawaii." The reporter concludes, "For most who attended, the moment could hardly have been more moving or more dramatic."[50] Indicative of the affective nature of both the restoration

[49] While the restoration effort of the 1970s was not without challenge—personality disputes, funding shortages, structural issues, and differences in public opinion—this dissertation focuses on the interpretive efforts put forth by the Friends of Iolani Palace and how they chose to interpret Hawaiian history during the Monarchical Period. The newspaper records of the time, for one, show the highly contested nature of this effort. This is an area for further exploration and not within the scope of this study.

[50] Robert W. Bone, "Flag gives proof heritage still there: Iolani Palace rededicated at ceremony," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), April 1, 1976.

effort and the impact of seeing Native Hawaiians present on the site enacting their indigeneity using the continued symbolic significance of the Palace, this event foreshadows the range of passionate responses that were to come once the Palace was fully restored and therefore available for use as the quintessential backdrop to discussion and debate over the Hawaiian monarchy and modern Native Hawaiian self-determination.

Perhaps hinting at how the tides were turning with the resurgence in Native Hawaiian pride, cultural knowledge, and political energy, the Friends' public tours made small interventions in deconstructing dominant settler colonial narratives. Notably in the Friends' interpretive efforts, while they addressed Lili'uokalani's experience in certain rooms, they also gestured towards how the new "rulers" of the territorial government did not represent the Hawaiian people. Explaining how Kalākaua's bedroom was used as the office of the governor from the overthrow until the Palace was vacated, "For most of the twentieth century, Hawai'i's Governors were not elected by the people but were appointed by the President of the United States."[51] Also during this period, the "Guide to Hawaii's State Parks" featured the "'Iolani Palace State Monument" as "popular for informal lawn picnics" in an effort to invite people of all classes, racial backgrounds, and more to enjoy the restored, historic grounds.[52] As

[51] "Friends of 'Iolani Palace Guide Training," (1977), 15.

[52] "Guide to Hawaii's State Parks," Department of Land and Natural Resources (1970-1980), Hawaiian and Pacific Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa.

mentioned previously, the Palace had always been an important public green space and site of inclusion and equity in the otherwise bustling downtown sector of Honolulu dominated by the cultural and economic desires of the haole elite. Thus, this invitation was the continuation of the legacy put forth by the Monarchy to enjoy the lawn and gardens of the Palace grounds and to be present, even if in a limited way, in the landscape of capitol of the Kingdom, and now State.

With the training manual completed and the first class of docents ready to greet the public, the official opening of the Palace and the first tours took place in May 1978. The first week of tours sold out despite very little publicity. It is unclear whether any Native Hawaiian leaders were invited to attend. The first official visitors were not state officials either, but a military couple stationed in a neighboring city. "The first tour reportedly was reserved for a number of state officials and other dignitaries who were invited to see the product of a painstaking restoration effort that took eight years and cost $6 million. However none appeared. So a couple from Pearl City...became the first VIPs to

Figure 8 An example of how the Palace grounds were used once the Friends took over stewardship, pictured here is a 1969 "Aloha Friday" concert by the Royal Hawaiian Band in the 'Iolani Palace coronation pavilion. Courtesy Hawaii State Archives, Photograph Collection, PP-4-4-026.

tour the palace officially."[53] Representative of Hawai'i's domination by United States militourism, the first people to see the Palace restored to its Monarchical splendor were a white Air Force soldier, his wife, and her mother.

Despite this perhaps disappointing lack of support by those in charge, over the course of the next three months, the Palace hosted a whopping 18,000 visitors on its guided tours.[54] Capping off the very successful year on a high note, the Friends and State were jointly honored with Awards of Merit by the American Association for State and Local History for the restoration effort.[55] With this strong momentum, the Palace was poised to enter the new decade as a wildly popular attraction that would continue to increase its visitorship in the 1980s.

With the initial success of the public opening and guided tours, the focus shifted in the early 1980s to continuing to reclaim Palace furnishings and other artifacts. A few news articles discuss items being returned, in various states between pristine preservation of what was a treasured family heirloom and sad disrepair of former throne room chairs that had been left out for the garbage truck (and very luckily spotted

[53] Helen Altonn, "State Officials Are 'No-Shows:' First Guests Tour Iolani Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), May 9, 1978.

[54] Helen Altonn, "Even 'Empty,' Iolani Palace Proving a Prime Attraction," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 10, 1978.

[55] "Iolani Palace awards," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 17, 1978.

by a Friends volunteer).[56] Perhaps one of the more interesting pieces told the story of a bullet from the Wilcox Rebellion (a violent 1889 scuffle at the Palace which basically sought for Kalākaua to reverse the Bayonet Constitution) falling out of a chaise lounge that was being restored by Palace staff.[57] Though obviously many Native Hawaiians may have been happy to see the Palace vacated by the state government and restored and interpreted under the leadership of a royal descendent, it seems even more obvious that, given a choice, they would have preferred the monarchy never to have been overthrown in the first place. Yet, along with these news stories came the inevitable twinge of imperialist nostalgia, mentioned previously, whose "innocent yearning" worked to both "capture people's imaginations and conceal its complicity with often brutal domination."[58] As a result of the success of the restoration and items being enthusiastically returned, and the safety of elapsed time from the illegal and treasonous acts of the haole elite in perpetrating the overthrow, some reporters seemed to express that all could now be forgiven since the site was restored to its former glory.

In relaying two newspaper clippings from the 1890s—one regarding a garden party thrown by the Queen in 1892 and one relaying the events of the first official

[56] Maili Yardley, "Palace parties," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 16, 1980; "Seats of History," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 17, 1980; "Old clippings lead to items from Palace," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 22, 1983.

[57] Bob Krauss, "That Palace bullet was a longue shot in 1889," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), April 5, 1982.

[58] Rosaldo, 107-108.

auction of Palace furnishings in 1896—one reporter concluded "Now, almost 100 years later, comes the happy ending to both these stories. The palace has been restored, lovingly and authentically. Its furnishings, art objects, books, the personal possessions of the rulers, jewelry, uniforms and costumes are coming home from the four corners of the globe."[59] This neat framing seems to state that, seemingly because the building is no longer in shambles, and some of the stolen and looted items now back on the Palace grounds, the oppressive legacy of the overthrow had been resolved.

While the article's easy optimism obscured ongoing tensions, in some cases the return of items did indicate more substantive progress. For example, in the 1930s, the Bishop Museum had denied the territorial governor's request for the return of the thrones to the Palace due to their distrust of the governor's motives and intentions, recognizing the use of those materials would further obfuscate the violence and illegality of the overthrow. However, in 1986, the thrones were returned under the stewardship of the Friends to complete the restoration of the throne room and coincide with the anniversary of the Jubilee of 1886.[60] Four years later, the Palace received the crowns, royal scepter, and Sword of State back from the Bishop Museum as well.[61] This return of artifacts was incredibly symbolic in terms of one leading organization that

[59] Maili Yardley, "Palace happenings," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), April 9, 1980.

[60] "Iolani Palace Will Get Thrones," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 14, 1986.

[61] Helen Altonn, "Iolani Palace to receive 2 crowns from museum," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), May 9, 1990; Burl Burlingame, "Gods hold off rains as Hawaii's crown jewels move to Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 17, 1990

preserves indigenous legacies recognizing another, relatively newer one, doing the same thing. The Bishop Museum was founded in 1889 by Charles Reed Bishop in honor of his late wife, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last descendant of the royal Kamehameha family. The Museum was established during the tumultuous period leading up to the overthrow to house the extensive collection of Hawaiian objects and royal family heirlooms of the Princess, and in effect, protect them from the same fate that eventually befell the objects housed in the Palace.[62] The Museum obviously recognized that the 1930s territorial government was not the right guardian for these important artifacts so, by granting them to the Friends of ʻIolani Palace, they bestowed not only the physical objects, but also legitimacy, trust, and a sense of institutional rapport.

As the Palace was increasingly seen as a steward of Native Hawaiian heritage, it also sought to navigate the pressure to serve tourist audiences as well as local and indigenous ones. For example, while the guided tours were hugely popular with local residents and tourists alike, there was talk of creating special experiences for locals only. Local visitor Bernice K. N. Wong wrote to Abigail Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of ʻIolani Palace, to relay that though she enjoyed her recent tour, she was disappointed to be scolded by a docent several times to keep up. Wong also inquired about longer tours for local residents who are interested in a deeper history, saying "Our land is gone; our beaches are practically reserved for exclusive enjoyment of our tourists. Can we not

[62] "About Us," Bishop Museum, Accessed February 8, 2019, https://www.bishopmuseum.org/about-us/.

save something from our past for the Hawaiians to cling to, to feel the mana?"[63] H. J. Bartels, long time curator of the Palace, responded to Wong's letter, letting her know the interpretive staff did intend to offer longer presentations at some point, but that "Budget limitations have made it impossible to date for us to develop in-depth special-interest tours."[64] Despite the response to Wong's letter and the budget pressures cited by Bartels, the Palace did increasingly move to offer special events and interpretive programs over the early to mid-1980s.

In the fall of 1982, on the 100th anniversary of the first formal banquet given at the Palace, the Friends curated a special exhibit placing hundreds of artifacts, many on display for the first time, in the dining room.[65] A few months later, in celebration of the 100th anniversary of King Kalākaua and Queen Kapiʻolani's coronation, the Friends hosted a "commemorative ceremony" highlighting important details from the event.

> Special guests include[d] descendants of dignitaries who attended or participated in the actual coronation, representatives of consulates that were in Hawaii at the time of the coronation and representatives of organizations, government agencies, and military branches that sent delegates to the 1883 ceremony. Their presence at the commemorative ceremony will provide a link between modern Hawaii and the Hawaiian monarchy.[66]

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[63] Letter to Abigail Kekaulike Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends of Iolani Palace, from visitor Bernice K. N. Wong, June 4, 1982.

[64] Letter to visitor Bernice K. N. Wong from Iolani Palace curator H. J. Bartels, July 12, 1982.

[65] "Imaginary Banquet at Palace," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 2, 1982.

[66] "Palace will relive 1883 coronation," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), February 6, 1983.

This VIP guest list emphasized Hawai'i's pre-colonial status as a sovereign on the global stage within living memory, a narrative that is rarely focused on in Hawai'i's tourist economy. Perhaps most poignantly, Friends president Abigail Kawānanakoa gave a talk about the importance of the commemoration, noting that it was her grandfather, Prince David Kawānanakoa, who carried the crowns in the original coronation ceremony only a century prior. Highlighting both the loss of sovereignty and the resilience of the desire for independent nationhood, this event issued a symbolic claim to the site. It offered the inherent indigeneity of the site as a disruption and intervention into the temporal displacement enacted by the early government. By drawing literal links to the not so distant past, the Friends were attempting to reverse the erasure of the territorial government discussed in the previous chapter and make a strong showing that the indigenous presence, and pockets of cultural sovereignty, were still alive and well in Hawai'i.

The 1980s continued as a period of relative success and much public celebration by the Friends. There were many important anniversaries to commemorate at the Palace, and much progress made in the continuing restoration efforts. While the overthrow was often at the front of the Friends' interpretive mind, as well as that of visitors, it was typically addressed in the contexts of these celebratory occasions. For example, a 1984 pamphlet published by the Friends provides details about the impressive architectural details of both the interior and exterior of the Palace, while also discussing historical events such as the Wilcox Rebellion and the overthrow of the

monarchy.[67] It is interesting to note that information on the overthrow was highlighted in this well-circulated pamphlet. In an interview with Stuart Ching, one of the Friends volunteers, he explained that the second most-frequently asked question by visitors, after 'Where is the restroom?,' is 'Who overthrew the monarchy?' Ching noted that the docents' official answer was "'Commercial and foreign interests living in Honolulu.' We don't mention the United States."[68] That technically accurate, but non-controversial response, embodied the Friends' approach to interpretation at 'Iolani Palace. Through their choices, the Friends acknowledged the actions of representatives of the U.S. state without necessarily calling on the necessity for action or redress on the part of (predominately American) visitors.

The celebrations of the Monarchical period continued through the end of the decade, as the Friends also celebrated the centennial anniversary of electric lights at the Palace in November 1986. The Jubilee celebration also included a birthday party for Kalākaua with hula performances.[69] Another event during this time commemorated the culmination of the 25 year effort recovering the Palace furnishings, and promoted the

[67] "Iolani Palace," State of Hawai'i in partnership with the Friends of Iolani Palace (1984), Hawaiian and Pacific Collections, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa.

[68] "A palatial outlook," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), August 12, 1984.

[69] "Turning Night Into Day for One Hundred Years," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), July 20, 1986; Mary Adamski, "King's 1886 Gift of Electric Light Re-enacted at Palace Ceremony," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 22, 1986.

continued effort to find objects.[70] As the centennial anniversary of the overthrow neared though, it was never far from residents' minds. One newspaper article during this time detailed the restoration efforts of the Blue Room, where Lili'uokalani met with her advisors regarding the new constitution, which was ultimately a primary catalyst for the overthrow. Describing Lili'uokalani's pride of personally decorating it with prominent family portraits on each wall, the journalist concludes that during those violent few days, it "then must have felt like her coffin."[71] The funerary theme would heavily influence the Palace interpretive efforts of the early 1990s, as the Friends, and other groups, sought to memorialize that traumatic event.

While this new era of the Palace started on a poignant note with the Hawaiian flag being raised, alone, and the crowd of dignitaries and others who had gathered for the rededication ceremony emotionally and spontaneously breaking out into Hawai'i Pono'i, the Friends continued their task of combatting the temporal displacement initially enacted by the territorial government by working to manage public memory of the site and emphasize that they were only one or two generations away from the monarchy who last ruled Hawai'i. With major accomplishments like the tours starting, hosting great attendance numbers, and receiving national recognition of their success, they also faced increasing pressure from locals and Native Hawaiians to have special

[70] Jon Yoshishige, "Palace Blue Room reopens to public," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 27, 1991.

[71] Susan Manuel, "Hawaiian heritage," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), October 9, 1987.

experiences and access to the Palace that were not designed with external tourism in mind. Despite some contestation over what was seen as the Friends' middle ground approach, with the anniversary of the overthrow only a few years away, these connections to the past and the present laid a strong foundation for them to push the boundaries of the aloha spirit framework which had constrained them for two decades.

'Iolani Palace Grounds as a Site of Alternative Interpretations, 1990-1993

The descendants of the same haole elite that overthrew the kingdom are still involved in the state government today, and the aloha spirit is still the prevailing framework of multicultural harmony through which the Friends must operate. As Stephanie Nohelani Teves notes,

> The state of Hawai'i has been integral in this process [creation of the Aloha Spirit hegemony] by appropriating and co-opting aloha to quiet dissent and police Kānaka Maoli behavior. By perpetuating the myth of the 'Aloha State,' the local government prioritizes a false sense of belonging among Hawai'i's multicultural population at the expense of Kānaka Maoli sovereignty claims.[72]

While the codified concept of aloha spirit further serves to displace indigenous people both physically and legally, Teves argues that protest and claims to sovereignty serve to refuse the American government in Hawai'i and aid in the argument that the multicultural melting pot is perhaps not as harmonious as it may seem.

[72] Stephanie Nohelani Teves, "Aloha State Apparatuses," *American Quarterly* 67, No. 3 (September 2015), 710.

Though never officially involved in these debates, the staff, volunteers, and interpretative efforts of the Palace are undoubtedly intertwined with these movements, and up to this point, the organization had exhibited a track record as an ally to the sovereignty movement. Though the Friends may have held a different perspective from Native Hawaiian demonstrators in their desire to preserve the regal air of the Palace (and, in effect, their hard work during the 20-year restoration as well as the multimillion dollar investment by the State and other entities) by initially attempting to limit large gatherings on the Palace grounds, through long-term efforts at clear communication and collaboration, they allowed an opening for these sovereignty claims to be advanced, and in some cases, actively participated in this effort. Despite its financial backing from the State of Hawai'i (and the presumed pressure to downplay conflict this might entail), the Friends have been able to open a space for Native Hawaiians to celebrate and reclaim their sovereign past, in at least a limited way. The middle ground approach pursued by the group opened the door to an interpretive flux that other programs, such as the annual *Mai Poina* walking tour, which first began in 1993 and means "don't forget," then extended outright claims of, and demands for, sovereignty.[73] However, the current official interpretation at the Palace has not been updated since the late 1980s and has therefore plateaued, as any further pushes or critiques would open the

[73] Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf

door to challenges to the very entity which sponsors them. However, the pivotal early 1990s centennial anniversary of the overthrow brought renewed recognition of indigenous rights and sovereignty, a recognition that was contested, especially in and around the Palace and its grounds. The Palace served as a crucial public intermediary space for processes of collaboration, conflict, or a combination of the two.

Kamehameha Day in June 1992 exemplified this role for the Palace, and the processes and tensions involved in the Friends' efforts, as Native Hawaiian activists, state officials, Friends president Abigail Kawānanakoa, and others weighed in on how the Palace and its grounds should be used, and by whom. Almost six months before tensions flared at the June event, all seemed well during a January "Sovereign Sunday" gathering at the Palace, where nearly 500 people gathered on the Palace grounds for a permitted commemoration of the 99th anniversary of the overthrow. Acting as a precursor of what was to come later that year, demonstrators sought to build a sense of community amongst Native Hawaiians and build general support for the sovereignty movement.[74] It was during this time that "a coalition of over 40 Native Hawaiian organizations developed a community education project called Hui Naʻauao (Group seeking wisdom or enlightenment)."[75] The goal of this coalition was to educate both Native Hawaiians and other Hawai'i residents about the indigenous governance system

[74] Kris M. Tanahara, "Sovereign Sunday gathering held at Iolani Palace," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 13, 1992.

[75] Davianna Pômaika'i McGregor and Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, *Moʻolelo Ea O Na¯ Hawaiʻi (History of Native Hawaiian Governance in Hawaiʻi)* (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, August 19, 2014), 519.

and the events surrounding the overthrow of 1893 and the annexation of 1898 through different forms of educational materials.[76] Empowered by the strong showing of the Sovereign Sunday event, organizers sought more opportunities for community gathering and solidarity building on the Palace grounds. There is no record of any opposition to the event from the Friends, and everything seemed to run smoothly, even with the large number of attendees. The same could not be said for the June event.

Six months later, with the 100th anniversary of the overthrow drawing closer, native groups sought to hold additional gatherings on the Palace grounds in pursuit of the same goals of the January event. Kamehameha Day saw vigils and peaceful demonstrations at the Palace by around 100 people over the course of the weekend.[77] However, there was an unfortunate miscommunication between the demonstrators and the Friends over the permit for this event, and some participants were taken into custody by both the Honolulu Police Department and State Special Services Division. An article published the day after the event documented the frustration of native activists: "Members of the Hawaiian community expressed shock and outrage over the state's arrest and expulsion of pro-sovereignty demonstrators yesterday at 'Iolani Palace. They say deputies overreacted to a peaceful protest….'What is the state afraid of?'" asked

[76] McGregor and MacKenzie, 519.

[77] Stu Glauberman, "Activists plan procession, rites to save ancient sites," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 6, 1992; Jeanne Mariani and Rod Ohira, "Sovereignty seekers under vigil," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 11, 1992.

Mahealani Kamauu, executive director for the Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation.[78] Given their long-term efforts at communication and collaboration, this was not the outcome either event participants or the Friends wanted to see, and in the days following much effort was made to determine how the situation had deteriorated.

Abigail Kawānanakoa, President of the Friends, explained that, while her preference had been for the event to be held offsite to protect the physical integrity of the Palace, the Friends had not forbidden the demonstration. However, as the demonstrators had stayed past the time approved in their permit from the State of Hawai'i, the police had made a determination to start arresting demonstrators. This situation exemplifies some of the downside of the Friends' "middle ground approach," as they were not always in a position to argue with the State's approach as the legal owners of the site. Interestingly, all those interviewed by journalists about this specific incident expressed sympathy for the cause of the indigenous groups, while also remaining conscious that holding these large-scale events at the Palace presented issues that would need to be handled in a more intentional way. For his part, State Land Board Chairman William Paty planned meetings with Kawānanakoa, state security officers, and leaders of a range of Hawaiian organizations to establish a set of protocols for the use of Palace grounds to try to meet the needs of all involved.[79]

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[78] David Oshiro, "Arrest anger Hawaiians," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 12, 1992.

[79] Stu Glauberman, "Hawaiian input on Palace sought," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 18, 1992.

For their part, La ʻEa O Hawai'i Nei, one of the groups involved in the Hui Naʻauao coalition, and whose members made up the majority of those arrested, issued a statement saying the "palace is a pertinent historical symbol but it is not more important than the Hawaiian people who gather there."[80] Their words indicate a growing sense among native groups that, while the Palace retained a symbolic importance, there was more to contemporary native identity and sovereignty than commemorating coronations and emphasizing electricity and indoor plumbing—choices made by the Friends that mostly served to incorporate the monarchy into a European value system. While Kawānanakoa and the Friends were sympathetic to the demonstrators' viewpoint, the group also was consistent in their stance that they should have the final say on any events held at the Palace given their restoration efforts, capital investments, and mission to preserve the Palace. As a result of this inclusive conversation, plans for a peaceful Fourth of July sovereignty gathering were set in motion.[81] There was extensive coverage in both the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and the *Honolulu Advertiser* regarding the July 4 gathering and how it remained peaceful and positive on all sides, therefore reopening the door to future gatherings on the Palace grounds.

[80] Stu Glauberman, "Arraignment today in Palace case," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), June 19, 1992.

[81] Ibid.

In the afterglow of this successful event, the Friends continued with their traditional interpretive events, hosting a celebration in November of 1992 that recreated decor from Kalākaua's jubilee and celebrated his legacy with hula and other cultural activities.[82] However, they were also moving forward with events to mark the centennial anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, at which time the Palace would be draped in black and play host to several educational events over the course of the five-day remembrance. The Friends hung black bunting across the facade of the Palace as a symbol of mourning to mark the 100th anniversary of the overthrow. Mary Helen Styan, vice president of the group, noted it was "a sign of the anguish felt and remembered by Hawaiians over the loss of their

Figure 9 The Friends of 'Iolani Palace draped the Palace in black to commemorate the centennial anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, January 1993. Courtesy 'Iolani Palace Facebook Page, January 3, 2019, Accessed February 2, 2020.

[82] "Palace hosts Kalākaua's birthday fete," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), November 12, 1992.

sovereignty and lands, and the blatant overthrow of their queen."[83] In addition to this somber decor, the group also conducted an anniversary "pilgrimage" through the Palace and hosted the Royal Hawaiian Band to play funerary music followed by mourning chants. They partnered with the Onipa'a Centennial Committee (under the Office of Hawaiian Affairs) to plan re-enactments of the overthrow, marches, prayer vigils, and more. (Onipa'a means "fixed, immovable, motionless, steadfast, established, firm, resolute, determined" and was the motto of Kamehameha V and of Lili'uokalani.)[84] Thus, though the aloha spirit may have constrained the acceptable interpretive narratives the Friends were able to put forth on their guided tours and in their exhibitions, not only did they make space for other entities to further these efforts, they themselves made important culturally decolonial micro-interventions themselves, particularly in the form of this solemn anniversary event.

While the Friends of 'Iolani Palace were not operating from an anti-colonial perspective and could not be vocal members of the sovereignty movement themselves, they continued to act as allies to that movement by holding space for indigenous groups to enact their own decolonial programming. One such example is the five-day interactive experience designed by Native Hawaiian artists and activists Victoria

[83] Stu Glauberman, "Iolani Palace to be draped in black to mark overthrow," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 4, 1992.

[84] Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986). Accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.ulukau.org/elib/collect/ped/index/assoc/D0.dir/book.pdf

Kneubuhl and Dallas Kealiihooneiaina Mossman Vogeler.[85] Written by Kneubuhl and directed by Vogeler, this innovative program was part walking tour and part play, produced as part of the Onipa'a Centennial Committee's efforts to commemorate the anniversary. A completely woman-led effort, just like the Friends, this creative intervention would later become known as the *Mai Poina* walking tour (meaning "don't forget"), and is still held every year at the Palace at the annual Onipa'a commemoration of the overthrow. The tour is an interpretive program that emphasizes the perspectives of marginalized social groups and highlights timelines of hidden histories in order to critically reshape the narrative surrounding the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and combat the temporal displacement enacted by the overthrowers.[86] It goes beyond the limited interpretive intervention the Friends could make then and can make now within the aloha spirit framework to directly address issues of sovereignty, cultural appropriation, and both historical and contemporary racial tensions and inequalities.

However, the first collaboration between the Friends and the Onipa'a Centennial Committee was not without tensions, as the Friends of 'Iolani Palace and other groups worked towards a consensus in how the anniversary would be commemorated on the Palace grounds. For example, during the first iteration of the walking tour, there was a

[85] Dallas Kealiihooneiaina Mossman Vogeler's daughter and granddaughter published an excellent decolonial booklet charting Hawaiian history from the formation of the islands to the overthrow to the sovereignty movements that coalesced as the Onipa'a centennial event in 1993. Mary Alice Ka'iulani Milham and Allison Leialoha Milham, *Uncovering Hawai'i's Past: Beyond Textbooks and Travel Guides* (Great Basin Press, 2012).

[86] See the Hawai'i Pono'ī Coalition website for more information: http://www.hawaiiponoi.info/.

desire to use the entirety of the Palace, a request which was denied by the Friends. Director Dallas Kealiihooneiaina Mossman Vogeler and the cast were "disappointed they won't be allowed inside the palace itself, but will have to play their scenes from the steps, the balcony and the grounds."[87] Though initially disappointing for the group, this decision ultimately allowed for a much larger audience and visibility of the performance. Plus, there was some compromise as well as "invited guests from Hawaiian organizations will enter the palace to make presentations and meditate in the history-filled palace chambers."[88]

Further compromise was exhibited in the approach to security during the event. In an intentional contrast to the June event which led to arrests, it was planned for security to take a more "laid-back" approach during the commemoration. Though groups in addition to the *Mai Poina* cast still wanted wider access to the Palace, State Land Board Chairman William Paty, ultimately responsible for protecting state monuments like the Palace, said "We will have to work out something long-term, perhaps conditioned on how things are handled here [at the Onipa'a event]. After the observance, we can take a whole new look at how use of the palace and grounds can be worked out."[89] Overall, everyone involved seemed to sense that this event would act as

[87] Stu Glauberman, "Hawaiians to re-enact overthrow of 1893," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), December 12, 1992.

[88] Stu Glauberman, "Hawaiians to re-enact overthrow of 1893."

[89] Stu Glauberman, "The Palace and the protests: Officials declare 'laid-back' policy," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 6, 1993.

a turning point for the symbolic importance of the Palace, both as a historic site and as a nexus for cooperation between different segments of Hawaiian society. Ultimately, these five days of remembrance would set the tone for the rest of the decade and beyond.

Perhaps most symbolic of all, only the state flag—originally the flag of the Hawaiian Kingdom—was flown over ʻIolani Palace and surrounding state buildings during the five days of observance of the overthrow. No United States flags were flown in those five days in what then-Governor John Waiheʻe called "'an appropriate reminder' of U.S. involvement in the overthrow of Queen Liliʻuokalani."[90] This action, coupled with the walking tour and other accompanying events of the remembrance, signified an orchestrated pushback against the weight of state power and acted as an organized and sanctioned gathering to protest the continued occupation of the Hawaiian Islands.

As the longest running of the different interpretive approaches used during this 1993 event, the walking tour is an important educational tool used to contest the erasure of the United States' role in the overthrow of the Hawaiian government, and offers an artistically engaged, critically informed perspective to counter the common understanding of this ruptural event. As one example of the crafting and sharing of

[90] McGregor and MacKenzie, 514. For more on the different native groups in support of sovereignty, see Stu Glauberman's 1993 articles in the *Honolulu Advertiser* and Davianna Pômaikaʻi McGregor and Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, *Moʻolelo Ea O Na⁻ Hawaiʻi (History of Native Hawaiian Governance in Hawaiʻi)* (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, August 19, 2014).

alternative historical interpretations, it helps the Palace to break free from the behavioral constraints of the museum and educate visitors in new ways using other modes of commemoration. Because of the success of the Onipa'a event—over 10,000 people were present during the most well-attended day, with thousands more spread across the other days—the Palace was able to respond to that success by updating one of their most commonly circulated brochures in 1996.[91] Making small changes in word choice and tone, the Friends were better able to reflect the desire of their main audience—Native Hawaiians and Hawai'i residents—to more forcefully portray the events of the 1893 overthrow.

Changes on the Interpretive Landscape

Because the codification of the aloha spirit in 1986 coincided with planning efforts for the centennial anniversary of the overthrow in 1993, Native Hawaiian groups were pushing back against how the law seemingly dictated the portrayal of Hawaiians as a uniformly generous, kind (and historically distant) people, while normalizing part of a larger narrative around conquest in Hawai'i being bloodless and gentle. Those crucial years in the late 1980s show that Native Hawaiians are a multifaceted group of people, not a monolith with a singular vision for sovereignty, and that they often disagree not only with each other but with other agencies and institutions. Not to be taken as a sign

[91] Shannon Tangonan and Kris M. Tanahara, "Heavy times, heavy turnout," *Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu, Hawai'i), January 17, 1993.

of weakness or chaos, these individual perspectives are part of the emblematic story of the aftermath of conquest—when unlikely alliances are built to achieve power, status, or mere physical and/or cultural survival. Such an alliance might rest on shared class status, for example as when elite haole women partnered in trying to save the Palace from further damage with elite Native Hawaiian women joining and extending the effort.

Over the course of their restoration and preservation efforts, the Friends created a narrative not previously present at the site and then aligned their resources to amplify the critical Hawaiian perspective of sovereignty activists. In turn, these alternate sets of programming created a body of knowledge not bound by the limitations of state institutions, and therefore, were more forward in their decolonizing efforts. The restoration and preservation of the materiality of the site is in and of itself a symbolically decolonial intervention into the accelerated decay and active neglect that had been taking place at the Palace for decades. The structure went from an eyesore and place of continued settler colonial trauma to a showpiece which renewed a sense of indigenous pride. Thus, the restoration efforts of the Friends allowed sovereignty activists the ability to directly draw on the Palace's symbolic and spatial capital by recasting the monarchy as a living entity. In essence, the Friends' efforts elevated the Palace as a site where indigenous reterritorialization could begin to take place. While there will always be multiple perspectives on Hawaiian sovereignty, the Friends of ʻIolani Palace put forth great effort and care in their efforts as stewards of the site.

One recent example which demonstrates that there are multiple perspectives regarding sovereignty and the use of the Palace involves the ʻAha Hipuʻu, a collection of Hawaiian royal societies. In 2008, they decried the occupation of the Palace grounds by a sovereignty group stating, "we strongly denounce the actions of this group as well as its claims to be heirs of the Hawaiian Kingdom. We represent the unbroken historical link to Hawai'i's past, and we continue to promote the protocol of our aliʻi heritage. Together with The Friends of ʻIolani Palace, we are working to preserve and maintain the dignity of ʻIolani Palace and its grounds."[92] Thus, demonstrating its relevance even into the 21st century, the Palace continues to act as a public intermediary space where different interpretations of Hawaiian history, culture, and sovereignty, among other things, are put forward, sometimes collaboratively, and sometimes through conflict.

Hawai'i's 1959 statehood allowed symbolic power to be seized by the Friends—led by a royal Native Hawaiian descendent who deployed her class status in strategic ways to recast the historical narrative surrounding the Hawaiian monarchy. Starting within the restrictive framework of the aloha spirit, the Friends of ʻIolani Palace faced challenges in their quest to restore the site to its former glory as the indigenous seat of government and center of excellence. However, from hunting for artifacts long looted, to building a trained docent program from scratch, to hosting special events and offering important interpretive programming, the Friends were able to advance an

[92] McGregor and MacKenzie, appendices 119.

agenda over the decades which centered the events surrounding the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy while creating space for other critically engaged groups to offer more targeted interventions and outright calls for the restoration of Hawai'i as a sovereign nation. This effort culminated in 1993 with the centennial anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, as the Friends were able to both offer an appropriately set backdrop for the five-day commemoration ceremony, but also able to put forth their own strong participation in supporting the themes of the event, including Hawaiian sovereignty. Thus, though still restricted within the confines of the aloha spirit framework, not only did the Friends make important space for other entities to offer critical public educational and engagement opportunities, they themselves made important micro-interventions, particularly in the form of the 1993 anniversary event, to help build a robust set of culturally and symbolically decolonizing programming at 'Iolani Palace.

Moving Forward at Pu‘ukoholā Heiau and ‘Iolani Palace

All Hawai'i stand together/It is now and forever
To raise our voices/and hold your banners high
We shall stand as a nation/To guide the destiny of our generation
To sing and praise the glory of our land[1]

A 1995 pamphlet in support of Hawaiian sovereignty, titled “Questions and Answers about Plebiscites and Decolonization,” explained: “As a colonized nation, Hawai'i was placed on the United Nations list of Non-Self Governing Territories in 1946….In order to avoid its trust obligation under the United Nations’ process and to ensure the outcome it desired, the U.S. government orchestrated the so-called 1959 ‘plebiscite’ in Hawai'i.”[2] In their booklet *Uncovering Hawai’i’s Past: Beyond Textbooks and Travel Guides*, Mary Alice Ka’iulani Milham and Allison Leialoha Milham explain this “trust obligation” was that Hawai’i was “scheduled for de-colonization” and thus served as the catalyst for the plebiscite.[3] By definition, a plebiscite is a “direct vote of all the members of an electorate on an important public question such as a change in the

[1] “All Hawai'i Stand Together,” Written by Liko Martin and Dennis Pavao, 1977, performed by Liko Martin at a rally on the grounds of ‘Iolani Palace to protest the use of Kaho‘olawe as a bombing test site by the U.S. military. Accessed May 12, 2016, http://www.ilind.net/2015/01/04/its-the-anniversary-of-the-first-protest-landing-on-kahoolawe-on-january-4-1976/.

[2] Jose Luis Morin, Esq.; “Questions and Answers about Plebiscites and Decolonization, December 8, 1995,” handout obtained at a table on Hawaiian sovereignty, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i, 1996, as cited in Karen K. Kosasa, “Critical Sights/Sites: Art Pedagogy and Settler Colonialism in Hawai'i,” PhD Dissertation (University of Rochester, New York, 2002), 20.

[3] Mary Alice Ka’iulani Milham and Allison Leialoha Milham, *Uncovering Hawai’i’s Past: Beyond Textbooks and Travel Guides* (Great Basin Press, 2012), 18.

constitution," or in this case, statehood.[4] In this façade of democracy, the Hawaiian people were not allowed the option of voting for independence in 1959. Additionally, Native Hawaiians, as well as non-natives who supported Hawaiian independence, cast their vote alongside the larger American settler population, including not only those who had settled in Hawai'i after World War II but also the large population of U.S. military personnel stationed on the islands, who were granted temporary residency enabling them to vote—thus "padding" the electorate membership in favor of their desired outcome of statehood. Milham and Milham go on to argue that "The long-awaited Non-Hawaiian majority, necessary for the appearance of American-style democracy, had finally arrived," and thus had helped facilitate the United States' favorable outcome of the plebiscite.[5] Therefore, instead of dislodging the descendants of the white oligarchy which had held political power since the 1890s, the plebiscite forced Hawaiians to abide by a vote to solidify the status quo.[6]

Each of the chapters in this dissertation present statehood in 1959 as one of the most devastating events in Hawaiian history. A result of generations of efforts to control the Hawaiian Islands, and in some ways, the culmination of an important phase of the reterritorialization process, scholar R.D.K. Herman argues that the statehood

[4] "Definition of plebiscite in English," Lexico Powered by Oxford, Accessed December 2, 2019, https://www.lexico.com/en/definition/plebiscite.

[5] Milham and Milham, 18.

[6] R.D.K. Herman, "The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-Conquest of Hawai'i," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89, No. 1 (March 1999), 100.

moniker “The Aloha State” is one of the best representations of this process. “Vigorously employed by the tourism industry and stamped on Hawaiian license plates, this mix of English and Hawaiian terms reflects the American ideal of the Islands: it is a state-property of the U.S.—and with a native culture that is gracious, warm, charming, welcoming.”[7] Thus, the so-called “plebiscite,” Hawai’i’s resulting statehood, and its codified colonial identity as “The Aloha State” are representative of many of the larger themes explored here, including how the use of the aloha spirit and strategies of imperialist nostalgia, temporal displacement, and mythohistory uphold the militouristic, white supremacist, settler colonial structure. This dissertation explores how two case study sites—Puʻukoholā Heiau on the Big Island and ʻIolani Palace in Honolulu, Oahu—were created during the era of Hawaiian sovereignty and then preserved within these constricting systems. It also outlines how interpretation of both sites was researched, designed, and implemented, initially with the same constraints, but also gradually expanded to push back against the core myths of the aloha spirit ideology.

The epigraph that opened this section is excerpted from the song, “All Hawai'i Stand Together,” performed by Liko Martin at a 1977 rally on the grounds of ʻIolani Palace to protest the continued test bombing of the island Kahoʻolawe by the U.S. military since the 1940s. (The island was later added to the National Register of Historic

[7] Herman, 93.

Places in 1981, with bombing officially ending in 1990.)[8] It was not the first, and would not be the last, time that protesters expressed opposition through the mechanism of ʻIolani Palace to action allowed by the settler colonial structure. During the second half of the twentieth century, the military continued its aggressive expansion, with military personnel and their families representing a quarter of the islands' population.[9] This steady increase in activity as well as population is why throughout the twentieth century, the predominately white settlers in power turned to the aloha spirit as a way to forcefully placate consistent and vocal opposition to the settler colonial structure in Hawai'i. Keiko Ohnuma has called the aloha spirit "social lubricant and glue" and the binding for "a cultural and political entity whose membership is contested."[10] Using the case studies presented here, coupled with an investigation into the strategies and themes of settler colonialism listed above, this dissertation examines how Puʻukoholā Heiau and ʻIolani Palace help illuminate not only the struggles of how to decolonize historic and cultural sites within a system bound by the dynamics of coloniality and the logic of capital, but also how these sites might succeed through a series of micro-interventions to build a robust set of decolonizing interpretive efforts.

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[8] "Hanau Hou He 'Ula 'O Kaho'olawe-Rebirth Of A Sacred Island," *Kūkulu Ke Ea A Kanaloa Kaho'olawe*, Kahoʻolawe Island Reserve Commission, Accessed August 10, 2016, http://kahoolawe.hawaii.gov/history.shtml.

[9] Camilla Fojas*, Islands of Empire: Pop Culture and U.S. Power* (Austin: University of Texas, 2014), 203.

[10] Keiko Ohnuma, "'Aloha Spirit' and the Cultural Politics of Sentiment as National Belonging," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, No. 2 (2008), 366.

By examining the deterritorialization process that immediately followed Kamehameha's death in 1819, the arguments presented in this dissertation draw new conclusions on the ways in which white settlers fundamentally altered the structure of Hawaiian society. This process took place first through the arrival of missionaries and their cultural emphasis on private property ownership and personal economic gain through the logic of capital. Then, those same settlers orchestrated a campaign of mythohistorical dramatizations to temporally displace the Heiau to center themselves as the proper leaders of the islands. As part of the reterritorialization process in the colonial period post-1893, later generations of white settlers co-opted Kamehameha's legacy to fit their needs while emphasizing the Heiau's importance as a site of national significance in the capitalist, settler colonial society. However, there were native actions and efforts to counter attempts to cement the settler colonial structure. One notable early attempt at symbolic decolonial resistance to this process was the laying of the 1929 plaque by the Order of Kamehameha I as discussed in Chapter 1. This gesture served as a small form of resistance to the reterritorialization process. By the 1960s, Lawrence Rockefeller had entered the park's orbit and was mythohistoricizing himself in relation to John Young. Then, the 1970s featured re-enactments ripe for imperialist nostalgia. But, they also featured the public performance of a diverse array of traditional Native Hawaiian trades and crafts, which allowed a (re)embodiment of indigeneity to be enacted at the Heiau. Pu'ukoholā Heiau has never been studied through these lenses of settler colonialism, and this dissertation offers new ways of

looking at the site and its trajectory within the grasp of the American empire. While ʻIolani Palace has been the subject of much more scholarly focus, using these same themes also offers a unique insight into the site and its cultural history.

By exploring the ways in which the territorial government utilized settler colonial strategies of imperialist nostalgia, temporal displacement, and mythohistory to manipulate the cultural history and symbolic significance of ʻIolani Palace, this dissertation offers new insights into how the deterritorialization and reterritorialization processes were enacted at the Palace site to strengthen and uphold the militouristic, white supremacist, settler colonial structure of Hawai'i. Only six months after the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, the haole oligarchy was already engaging in an aggressive campaign to temporally distance the Native Hawaiian rulers as relics of a bygone era. They quickly started the deterritorialization process of weakening of ties between culture and place in order to disrupt the legitimacy of the Hawaiian monarchy as an institution, undermine and replace Queen Lili'uokalani as its sovereign, and engineer new modes of social order that privileged white settlers. They did this by changing the name of the Palace as well as mythohistoricizing themselves in the English-language newspapers (which they controlled) while simultaneously mocking the former monarchs. In addition, those in power sought to culturally remap the Palace as part of the reterritorialization process by first letting it fall into disrepair to "prove" the monarchy's inferiority, then by the 1930s to recast it as a potential site of tourism. Throughout this time period, however, there are myriad forms of resistance in the form

of anti-annexation petitions, individual visits to Congress, and the active use of the Palace by Hawaiian citizens to attempt to enact public memory and history as a means of advocacy to reassert its political potential as a site of change. By the 1950s, an important phase of the reterritorialization was (nearly) completed in the form of statehood. After this culturally disruptive event, the 1960s brought the formation of the Friends of ʻIolani Palace to preserve, interpret, and steward the site for public education and use. The 1970s and 80s saw their efforts expand, and moments of cultural decolonization, including the *Mai Poina* walking tour discussed in Chapter 4, began to have a more prominent role at the site.

While the majority of each case study concludes its focus in 1993, the interpretive efforts reveal the ways in which the structures of settler colonialism at each site have continued, and in so doing, they have engaged a subtle form of resistance. The annual cultural festival at Puʻukoholā Heiau continues to bring local Native Hawaiian community groups together at the site to commemorate the legacy of King Kamehameha and perform and enact their Native Hawaiian culture as a reassertion of cultural sovereignty. Additionally, the National Park Service staff and volunteers provide a diverse set of public programming each year, including daily interpretive talks, school tour programs, presentations on a variety of special interest topics, and weekly traditional craft demonstrations. By occupying the space, community groups exert a de facto form of decolonization, and pressure NPS to acknowledge colonial structures even while they may not succeed in changing the fundamental forms of ongoing settlement.

At the Palace, there is a relatively new virtual tour, which will allow visitors "to roam through the building beyond the stanchions, climb the majestic koa staircase, and see remarkable artifacts on display using their computers or mobile devices."[11] This program will allow more access to visitors around the world, and further aids in the Friends of 'Iolani Palace's efforts to tell a fuller story of Hawaiian history. Additionally, the annual *Mai Poina: The Overthrow* walking tour that takes place on the grounds of the Palace is perhaps one of the most forthright examples of decolonizing programming and continues to represent an important intervention supported by the Friends.[12]

While the Friends of 'Iolani Palace and the National Park Service's efforts will always inherently be mediating efforts that make state control more palatable, both organizations are filling a need for physical and cultural conservation at their respective sites. However, it would be worthwhile for scholars to reexamine if these efforts are enough in the context of current conversations around cultural and symbolic decolonization of indigenous sites, or whether other actors would have greater legitimacy in that effort. At 'Iolani Palace, the Friends led the 1993 efforts to both mourn the loss of the Hawaiian nation and to produce and support interpretive programs aimed at re-embodying that sovereignty. At Pu'ukoholā Heiau, the National

[11] "Iolani Palace uses 3D scanning technology for virtual tours," Web Staff KHON2, published April 5, 2016. Accessed November 12, 2016, http://khon2.com/2016/04/05/iolani-palace-uses-3d-scanning-technology-for-virtual-tours/.

[12] For more information, see "Mai Poina Walking Tours," Hawai'i Pono'ī: The Hawai'i Pono'ī Coalition, Accessed September 17, 2018, http://www.hawaiiponoi.info/.

Park Service has built strong partnerships with local Native Hawaiian community groups to support cultural conservation and continuity. These 1993 efforts were the culmination of decades of consistent work to represent Hawaiian history in the face of colonial narratives, and signify relatively early efforts to do so. However, both are now differently situated in relation to the project of colonization as well. What was once considered relatively innovative in the 1970s has now become problematic in not going far enough—so where can these organizations go from here? One area of study regarding ʻIolani Palace and Puʻukoholā Heiau would to be to focus more on the agencies themselves in terms of the Friends and NPS—for example, the institutional logistics of the agencies that run these sites, their funding structures, and how staff members in leadership positions are hired and trained are all important topics for further inquiry. In "Decolonizing Heritage Management in Hawaiʻi," Peter R. Mills and Kathleen L. Kawelu note "One of the largest obstacles to the decolonization of heritage management in Hawaiʻi has been the under-representation of CRM [cultural resource management] professionals from descendant communities."[13] Therefore, examining career pipelines in the stewardship organizations of each site would also be a beneficial subject to take up. Additional research beyond the scope of this study would also benefit from the use of oral histories of those who were involved in the making of these organizations since the 1960s. The degree to which the agencies have been seen as

[13] Peter R. Mills and Kathleen L. Kawelu, "Decolonizing Heritage Management in Hawaiʻi," *Advances in Anthropology* 3, No.3 (2013), 127.

successful in their interpretive and preservation efforts depends on the reviewer's relationship to the site, and a more ethnographic survey of both case studies would be useful.

While settler colonialism seems likely to remain the dominating structure in Hawai'i, these sets of programming offer an alternative approach to decolonization. As Jan Lin notes "The emergence of a multicultural heritage sector represents the new power of minority communities to fight racism and discriminatory stereotypes, portray historical struggles against injustice, and create more cohesive cultural identities to address continuing challenges."[14] The emergence of the Friends of 'Iolani Palace and the National Park Service as partners to their foundational sites of Hawaiian history can be considered part of the process Lin is describing. While these organizations became involved in the two case study sites in order to attempt to do some of the things mentioned, there is also certainly a critique that comes out of new efforts to decolonize museums that notes they may be making small progress but avoiding the larger issue of working within the system of settler colonialism. It remains an open question as to how successful they can continue to be in any decolonial efforts given the likelihood of this settler colonial framework remaining in power. However, by providing a snapshot of a particular moment in time, this dissertation lays the groundwork for scholars to undertake a more contemporary, perhaps ethnographic rather than historical, study

[14] Jan Lin, *The Power of Urban Ethnic Places: Cultural Heritage and Community Life* (New York: Routledge, 2011), xiii.

that examines the time period from 1993 to the present. Overall, at these unique case study sites, and throughout Hawai'i and beyond, the consistent efforts at decolonization will continue to strengthen and innovate, as this "new power" continues to grow.

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Appendix A: Glossary of Terms

Sites

Puʻukoholā Heiau: literal translation is temple on the hill of the whale

ʻIolani Palace: literal translation is royal hawk (the high flight of the hawk symbolized royalty)

People

King Kamehameha (1758-1819) first ruler to unite all Hawaiian Islands in 1810

King Kalākaua (1836-1891) completed ʻIolani Palace in 1882, forced to sign Bayonet Constitution in 1887

Queen Liliʻuokalani (1838-1917) last monarch of Hawai'i from 1891-1893, worked until her death against the illegal occupation of Hawai'i

Terms

Ali'i: Chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch, peer, headman, noble, aristocrat, king, queen, commander; royal, regal, aristocratic, kingly; to rule or act as a chief, govern, reign; to become a chief

Hālau hula: Today, meaning hula school or group. Literal translation: long house, as for canoes or hula instruction; meeting house

Haole: White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin, as plants, pigs, chickens; entirely white, of pigs (Malo 37; perhaps Malo actually means of foreign introduction). See kolea 1. References in traditional literature are few, but these have been noted: He haole nui maka ʻālohilohi (FS 201), a big foreigner with bright eyes [referring to Kama-puaʻa, the pig demigod]. Hānau ke poʻo haole, he haole kēlā (KL. line 505), born was the stranger's head, that was strange. Hoʻokahi o Tahiti kānaka, he haole (Kua-liʻi chant, For. 4:375) only one people in Tahiti, foreigners. ʻĀina haole, foreign land. ʻŌlelo haole, European language, especially English. hoʻo.haole To act like a white person, to ape the white people, or assume airs of superiority [often said disparagingly, especially of half-whites]. Hoʻohaole ʻia, Americanized, Europeanized; to have become like a white person or have adopted the ways of a white man. (Marquesan haoʻe is probably a loan from Hawaiian.)

Heiau: Pre-Christian place of worship, shrine; some heiau were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces. Some examples include heiau hoʻōla (heiau for treating sick), heiau hoʻoulu ʻai (heiau for the increase of food crops), and heiau waikaua (heiau used for services to bring success in war)

Kamaʻāina: Native-born, one born in a place, host

Kapu: Taboo, prohibition; special privilege or exemption from ordinary taboo; sacredness; prohibited, forbidden; sacred, holy, consecrated; no trespassing, keep out

Kuleana: Right, privilege, concern, responsibility, title, business, property, estate, portion, jurisdiction, authority, liability, interest, claim, ownership, tenure, affair, province; reason, cause, function, justification; small piece of property, as within an ahupuaʻa; blood relative through whom a relationship to less close relatives is traced, as to in-laws

Hawai'i Pono'i: the state song and former national anthem of Hawai'i, meaning Hawai'i's own [people]

Lāhui: Nation, race, tribe, people, nationality

Luakini: Temple, church, cathedral, tabernacle; large heiau where ruling chiefs prayed and human sacrifices were offered; to perform temple work

"Great Mahele:" division of land from communal to private ownership, 1848. Portion, division, section, zone, lot, piece, quota, installment, bureau, department, precinct, category, scene or act in a play; share, as of stocks; measure in music; land division of 1848 (the great mahele)

Mai Poina (walking tour): don't forget

Mele: Song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant

Moku: District, island, islet, section, forest, grove, clump

Onipa'a: Fixed, immovable, motionless, steadfast, established, firm, resolute, determined (this was the motto of Kamehameha V and of Liliʻuokalani)

All definitions (except biographical summaries) are taken from:
Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1986).
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