



# *Hawaii Modernism Context Study*

## **B. Historic, Social and Cultural Influences of the Mid-Twentieth Century in Hawaii**

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### **B.1 Hawaii and the “Recent Past”**

The story of the “recent past” focuses on the years between the end of World War II and the beginning to mid 1970s. This was a time of new kinds of architecture and decorative design, new approaches to planning and landscapes and new — even revolutionary— changes in transportation, materials and technologies. The mid to late 20<sup>th</sup> century was a transformative time throughout the world and of particular importance in the U.S. where the innovations of architectural modernism and openness to new design gave expression to and accelerated social and physical change. The growth of downtowns and suburbs, the dominance of the automobile and the new aesthetics and efficiencies of “modern” architecture fostered a different kind of world from what anyone had experienced before.

The spread of modern ideas had a special resonance in Hawaii. A key location in World War II — the site of the war’s beginning at Pearl Harbor and a critical staging area for the War in the Pacific — Hawaii emerged from the war as America’s fledgling experiment in racial and ethnic accommodation. For the first time a U.S. state would be comprised of a “minority majority,” with Asian, Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders outnumbering Caucasian residents by a factor of two to one. Mainland politicians and social critics were aware of Hawaii’s role in this new idea of “coexistence.” For many, success in Hawaii boded success on the mainland as well (or, alternatively, suggested threats to the status quo that lay ahead). Hawaii became the proverbial poster child for racial and ethnic harmony and an important symbol for the civil rights movement especially.

For these reasons, the break between the past and present seemed more accentuated in Hawaii than in many mainland states and cities. The new architecture constituted not just new designs and materials but also symbolized the shift from an essentially colonized territory to a fully recognized state. For many people, modern architecture and the International Style seemed coterminous with the sudden rise of the Democratic Party in Hawaii and the emergence of Asian-Americans — particularly the Japanese, who comprised the largest single ethnic group on the islands — as the principal movers of social and economic change. The new buildings and designs also signified the shift from a rural plantation-based society to a modern social and economic order based on urbanism (and “sub-urbanism”) and new ways of earning a living.

The 1950s and 1960s were a disruptive time in Hawaii as well. The old “normalities” of plantation, countryside and city fell aside as new developments spread over previously open lands. The clear demarcations of social class and caste also became less distinct. The Euro-American oligarchy that for many years controlled Hawaii’s agribusinesses lost its influence on the working class. Individual houses, car ownership and the right of a person to work where he or she wanted became the new norm. This ended, for better or worse, the paternalism of the plantation system. Workers could no longer expect a job for life or access to housing and basic medical care. An expanded government stepped in to provide for some of peoples needs, while responsibility shifted from the company to the individual. For the first time, Hawaii’s mostly immigrant population could determine their own future.

The new architecture and accompanying shifts in planning, landscape treatments and interior design and furnishings were the outward expressions of this new social and economic reality. There was an emphasis on utility as both workers and managers extolled practical choices and celebrated simplicity in design and materials. This reflected the organizational practices of Hawaii's longtime plantations, as well fitting with time honored values of frugality exemplified by Chinese, Japanese, Okinawan, Korean and Filipino immigrants to the islands. The new architecture and material culture was "practical" and unsentimental. New buildings could go up quickly and go down again when they no longer served their purpose — very much the way decision making on plantations or military installations occurred. The kinds of aesthetic concerns that marked the old order were abandoned. The seemingly permanent legacy of the Republican establishment — including an incomparable collection of palazzo-like company headquarters, shops and banks in downtown Honolulu — became sudden victims of this new sense of progress.

The transformation of Hawaii's built environment coincided with the sudden growth of tourism in the islands. This happened in 1959, precisely at the time of statehood and was the result of several factors: the introduction of long distance passenger aircraft, the growing spending power of the U.S. middleclass and the special appeal of Hawaii as a vacation destination. While flirting with images of an older "pre-contact" Hawaii, such as grass roofed pavilions and "tiki" decoration, most architects and designers turned to more generalized forms of expression. Concrete construction, fixed and sliding glass panels, flat roofs and an overall simplicity of design characterized many of the new hotels in Waikiki and elsewhere in the islands. Many of these new buildings were the work of local firms; others were the products of mainland designers. Advances in transportation and communication encouraged collaboration. Hawaii's architects also had access to a whole world for inspiration: China, Japan, Tahiti and Bali all factored into the creation of an exotic milieu that would attract both domestic and international travelers. The new architecture showed no loyalty to a single idea.

The most striking characteristic about Hawaii's own experience in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century was the sheer amount of new construction. A look at "before" and "after" photographs of Waikiki is (Photo B-1 and B-2) provides dramatic testimony to the changes that occurred. A tour of the Honolulu residential area of Makiki is equally illustrative of the differences between the old architecture and the new; it shows the extent to which walk-up and high-rise apartment blocks replaced what was once a quiet suburb of single family homes. The construction of Hawaii's first limited access highway, the H-1 (formerly the Mauka Arterial), cut through and at the same time united smaller communities of greater Honolulu, creating the present broad swath of urban development that exists today. This kind of alteration was not universal; some areas, including rural areas of the "neighbor islands" retained their former character. Many plantation-era towns, notably Hilo on the island of Hawaii, retained the character of earlier



B-1  
1930-40's Waikiki  
([http://popartmachine.com/item/pop\\_art/LOC+1093352/%5BWAIKIKI-BEACH,-HONOLULU,-HAWAII:-AERIAL-VIEW-SHOWING-BEACH,-ROYAL.](http://popartmachine.com/item/pop_art/LOC+1093352/%5BWAIKIKI-BEACH,-HONOLULU,-HAWAII:-AERIAL-VIEW-SHOWING-BEACH,-ROYAL.))

times. But even in these places, new architecture began to appear within and at the edges of formerly built-up communities. New resorts throughout the islands also exemplified new architectural ideas.

Throughout this process, Hawaii's identity as a once independent Polynesian kingdom was little recognized. Images of "old Hawaii" fit into some tourist oriented attractions; altered forms of musical and dance performance, notably *hula*, became standard entertainments at many clubs and resorts. "Hawaiiana" became a subcategory of the "exotic;" the Hawaiian theme was appropriated to entertain and amuse and to serve as picturesque background for tourism industry or "mass tourism" It is probably no coincidence that the rise of new appreciation for Hawaii's past and fresh calls by Native Hawaiians for recognition and sovereignty would grow out the "recent past," possibly in direct response to some of the insensitivities and excesses of the period.



B-2

1960's Waikiki

(<http://www.urbanplanet.org/forums/index.php/topic/24948-back-in-the-day-flash-backs-of-hnl-i/>)

What historic preservationists recognize as the recent past begins in the 1940s and extends for another thirty or so years into the 1970s. It is important to remember that the new developments in architecture, planning and design of this period did not entirely replace all that had gone on before. Despite modernism's proclivity to destroy the past, much of earlier times survived. This included not only many iconic buildings — which preservationists still fight to preserve — but also patterns of construction and spatial organization that subtly influenced much of what occurred during the 1940s through 1970s period. Hawaii did not dispose of its past entirely, as a driving tour of suburban Manoa or a walk through Chinatown in Honolulu will reveal. It also did not entirely throw off the social and cultural constraints of the past, all of which remained beneath the surface of the apparently "new" Hawaii of the late 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## B.2 Hawaii before World War II

### B.2.1 The Kingdom of Hawaii

Hawaii has always had an unusual relationship with cultural and social developments on the North American continent as the only independent kingdom ever absorbed into the U.S. Until 1893, Hawaii was an independent country, with a parliament, monarch, military and its own foreign policy. This ended with the overthrow of then Queen Liliuokalani by a coterie of mostly American business leaders, supported by U.S. naval and military forces. The new government declared the independent Republic of Hawaii gained rapid recognition by supporters in Washington. Its members soon pressed for closer ties as a territory of the U.S., a change put into effect in 1898 through annexation.

Hawaii's circumstances had planted the seeds of this shift in political control long before. Settled by Polynesians, certainly by the 8<sup>th</sup> century of the Common Era — and some scholars

and Native Hawaiian traditions argue far earlier — the islands of Hawaii had existed in relative isolation for over a thousand years before Western contact in 1778. Native Hawaiians were enveloped in a strongly hierarchical society based on farming and fishing; they lived throughout the six larger and two small islands comprising the volcanic island chain. They resided in grass houses — *hale pili* — and built rubble stone temples to honor places and gods. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, local chiefs had consolidated political power across islands. In 1795, the Hawaiian high chief Kamehameha defeated Oahu's leader to create a first unified kingdom. The island of Kauai eventually acceded to Kamehameha's ambitions, declaring its allegiance to the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1810.

By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Hawaii fell increasingly within the orbit of Western interests. Seal hunters, then whalers and merchants became a major factor in the kingdom's life. Hawaii's King Kamehameha and successors entered into trade relations with Russian, American and European individuals and companies, allowing for the construction of warehouses and shops at several strategic locations on the islands. Hawaiian farmers supplied provisions for visiting ships, a relationship of exchange that accelerated during the peak whaling period, between 1820 and 1850. During the same period, trade with China focused on the export of sandalwood, an enterprise that fueled economic expansion during the 1820s and 1830s. Hawaiian kings and others of high rank — known collectively as *alii* — became dependent upon Western merchants for both loans and consumer goods necessary to maintain their status. This would gradually introduce a complex relationship of shared power within the Hawaiian Islands.

In the 1820s, Hawaii became the focus of an ambitious Christian missionary effort backed by Protestant churches in New England and elsewhere in the northeast U.S. Introducing literacy to the islands, the Protestant Missionaries profoundly altered Hawaiian society, discouraging the longstanding cultural practices such as *hula* (dance) and *mele* (songs) as well as extinguishing remnants of traditional religion. French priests and Mormons joined the first wave of Protestants, offering alternative religions to the Native population. Added to this mix was the growing number of Euro-American traders and artisans, many of them establishing businesses in Honolulu and other small settlements while adding to Hawaii's foreign population. As in many other countries with Western contacts, the missionaries and early traders and their offspring entered actively into the governance and economy of the islands, held important positions as advisors to the Hawaiian monarchs. This process facilitated the Westernization of the Hawaii Islands and further assured the central place of American and European merchants and then bankers in Hawaiian affairs.

By the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Hawaiian Islands had become an increasingly Westernized way-station in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. With its capital in Honolulu (moving from Lahaina in Maui in 1843), the kingdom welcomed sailors and adventurers from around the world, encouraging trade and agricultural experimentation. Sweet potatoes, cattle, coffee and then rice, sugar and (after 1902) pineapple came to dominate the landscape of Hawaii, replacing the subsistence farming of pre-contact times. These conditions pushed Native Hawaiian from their lands, while at the same time, the attraction of wages and material goods encouraged migration into urban areas, especially Honolulu. Other Hawaiians sought opportunity and adventure abroad, many joining whaling fleets and merchant vessels plying the California coast. Young Hawaiian men also traveled on ships to China and Japan as trade expanded during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

A tragic outcome of these connections with the West and Asia was the introduction of diseases such as measles, whooping cough and smallpox for which Native Hawaiians had no inherited resistance. By the 1830, Hawaii's population of at least 400,000 (and possibly as high as 800,000) had fallen to approximately 130,000. By 1870, the number of estimated Hawaiians was between 40,000 and 50,000. A census in 1890 placed the total at about 35,000. This loss of numbers had encouraged Hawaiian monarchs, especially King Kalakaua after 1872, to seek out immigrants as a way to increase Hawaii's seemingly vanishing population. Chinese, Japanese, Okinawan and Korean laborers came from Asia; Portuguese and Spanish workers traveled from the Azores and Europe. These groups provided the labor for the rapidly expanding sugar industry, which tariff relief with the U.S., as part of the Reciprocity Agreement of 1876 and subsequent favorable treaties, had made possible. The importation of labor was to be a hallmark of Hawaii's economic history and would create the conditions of multi-ethnicity for which Hawaii later became famous.

The growth of plantation-based agriculture and the dominant position of Western merchants who had close ties to the continental U.S., had profound impacts on the Hawaiian Islands. Hawaii by the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was very much a colonized country. The new economy and population loss had displaced and marginalized remaining Native Hawaiians; predominantly U.S. investors had control over business and lands. Plantation managers segregated worker populations by ethnicity, much as their contemporaries did in other colonized countries. The plantation economy also encouraged clear stratification, with Euro-American— or *haole* — owners and managers, Portuguese field bosses and Asian laborers. A similar hierarchy evolved in the business world, with large sugar factors, merchant houses and banks dominating downtown Honolulu, and Native Hawaiians and immigrant Asians populating the service sector.

### **B.2.2 The Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

With the downfall of the monarchy in 1893 and the further assertion of American interests through the Newlands Resolution of 1898, Hawaii became an appendage of the U.S. characterized by its unusual ethnic diversity, organized within a construct based on origins and influence. The *haole* business class controlled politics and economic decisions, monitored the behavior of the working classes and distributed wealth and favors among its members. A few Native Hawaiian *alii*, notably Prince Kuhio (Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole, 1871-1922), who served as a non-voting member of Congress, accommodated to the new order; other Hawaiians found their circumstances even worse. Asian laborers joined in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by migrants from Puerto Rico and the Philippines — both also under U.S. extra-territorial control — fought against complete control by U.S. owners and managers, extracting important concessions through strikes in the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This contest of management and labor would be a hallmark of Hawaii's economic life well into the middle decades of the century.

The great drivers of Hawaii's economy in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were sugar and pineapple, with commercial rice production coming in third among exports. The significance of sugar to Hawaii's social, political and economic makeup during this period cannot be overestimated. Sugar as a commercial crop lay behind many of the political decisions that led to the overthrow in 1893 and the annexation of Hawaii in 1898. By 1890, fully three fourths of the private land

owned in Hawaii belonged to foreign investors, and most of it was used for sugar. The diversion of water from Native Hawaiian lands and employment of new drilling technologies opened up vast areas of most of the Hawaiian Islands to further production. As of 1934, fully 130,000 acres were in sugar producing a yield of over 900,000 tons of raw sugar; the yield was less than 200,000 in 1902. Partially processed in Hawai'i, the raw sugar went on to California for final refining, a circumstance that further cemented relations between Hawaii and its closest North American neighbor.

Pineapple production followed in sugar's path. The crop was introduced by James Dole (1877-1958), the cousin of Sanford B. Dole, President of the Republic of Hawaii, in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Pineapple turned out to be the ideal crop for Hawaii's somewhat arid, but tropical environment. Dole's innovation was the introduction of canning, which made it possible to ship Hawaii's pineapple crop throughout the world. The first large cannery was near Honolulu's harbor. It was there that workers operated new technologies, notably the Ginaca coring machine, which substantially increased production. With farms throughout Oahu and Maui, Dole purchased most of the island of Lanai in 1922, creating a single pineapple plantation of over 200,000 acres. Lanai also included an enormous plantation town, with a civic square, churches and schools and a recreation building for the company's many workers and their families.

With the dominance of the plantation economy, the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century—the years leading up to World War II — were a time of relative stability and a general acquiescence to the status quo. Directed by the *haole* elite, Hawaii depended upon large-scale agricultural production for much of its economy. Although the sugar grew on separate plantations — over 100 at one point — the organization of this industry centered on several companies, known as the “Big Five.” These were Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, C. Brewer & Co., American Factors (now Amfac) and Theo H. Davies & Co. Their management recruited from the same families and their employees organized along ethnic lines, thereby consolidating control much in Hawaii during these years. While plantation workers periodically fought for better wages and conditions — both Japanese and Filipino workers staged a number of strikes between 1909 and 1922 — the reigning oligarchy maintained a tight grip on the economy of the islands. The Republic Party, of which most of the elite were members, controlled the territory's politics as well.

A particularly important ingredient in Hawaii's demographic and economic makeup was the presence of the U.S. military. It was given a foothold at Pearl Harbor as part of a treaty between the Kingdom of Hawaii and the U.S. in 1886, the U.S. military became an increasingly important part of Hawaii in the early decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Camp McKinley (established in 1898), Fort Kamehameha and Fort Shafter (1907), Fort Ruger and Schofield Barracks (1909), and batteries Closson, Dudley and Randolph (1911) comprised the “Ring of Steel” of the new fortified Hawaii. Fort DeRussy, Pearl Harbor Naval Station and Shipyard and Wheeler Field (begun in 1922) all added to Hawaii's naval and military character, as did the hundreds of soldiers and sailors who now became a part of the territory's social fabric. Many Hawaiians and immigrant laborers found work on the bases or in Pearl Harbor's shipyard, where they encountered new technologies and practices. Even more stratified than the civilian world, the navy and army bases introduced values of utility and efficiency that would have an important resonance in the built environment on the islands.

Another important factor in pre-World War II Hawaii was the growth of tourism. Hawaii was popular with adventurous travelers since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and became a favored destination for wealthy visitors in the 1920s. The growth in steamship traffic, much of it owned by the Matson Navigation Company, allowed tourism to flourish in the luxury hotels of Waikiki. The opening of the Royal Hawaiian Hotel in 1927 gave new impetus to the industry, attracting new visitors to Hawai'i, where they could enjoy the attractions of the beach and excursions to Hawaii's new national parks at Haleakala and Kilauea. Overall numbers were small — approximately 22,000 tourists arrived in 1929 — but visiting celebrities such as Shirley Temple, Bing Crosby, Charley Chaplin and others added luster to Hawaii's image as a tourist destination, as did the occasional visits of royalty and political leaders. These included Edward, the Prince of Wales and future King Edward VIII and many Congressional delegates.

Occasional ripples such as the famous Massie case of 1931, which brought Hawaii's social and ethnic tensions into the spotlight, did little to interrupt the tranquility of Hawaii's seemingly peaceful course. Early attempts to gain statehood, notably in 1935 and 1937, ended in disappointment for local backers. Many of the ruling elite preferred a continuation of the existing territorial status and agreed with those who believed that Hawaii's ethnic minorities did not qualify for full voting rights. During the Great Depression, Hawaii's economy gained compensatory support from the U.S. government. This took the form of continuing appropriations for military installations on Oahu and funds for highway and bridge construction throughout the islands. The territorial government also pressed for education improvements, building new schools during the 1930s and giving greater support to Hawaii's fledgling university.

Throughout this period, the plantation system continued to dominate Hawaii's economy and society. The Big Five companies controlled much of this, producing 96 percent of the sugar shipped from the islands in 1933. With the help of newly immigrant laborers, many managers from the economically distraught Philippines, kept wages low and prevented the formation of effective unions. Life was hard for sugar and pineapple workers. Most lived in company towns, built adjacent to sugar fields. Here they resided in ethnically separated "camps," working hard, six-day weeks. Some immigrants managed to break free of the system. A few became small farmers in Hawaii's coffee industry. Others established modest businesses in Honolulu or in the many small plantation towns throughout the islands. Still others found employment on the military bases or in Pearl Harbor Shipyard, where wages were higher than in agriculture. Chinatown and the Japanese district of Aala in Honolulu were reflections of the move toward greater independence as was the growth of modest residential suburbs such as Kaimuki, Palolo and Kalihi. Similar developments occurred on the other islands as well but at a smaller scale.

Planning and transportation in Hawaii echoed current trends. Most of Hawaii's plantation workers relied on trains and communal taxis for their occasional trips to larger towns or cities, such as Hilo or Honolulu. Passenger boats ferried workers and their families from one island to another. The wealthy class had automobiles; the development of many of Honolulu's more prestigious residential areas was a direct response to car ownership. Other residents, including the members of the growing managerial and professional class found more modest housing in slightly denser suburbs, many located adjacent to street car and bus lines. Areas such as "Lower Manoa" and Nuuanu and Wilhelmina Rise answered the needs of this class,

with modest bungalows on small lots becoming a standard housing type. Generally, neighborhoods reflected ethnic differences, with some established *haole* neighborhoods such as Lanikai prohibiting or at least discouraging entry to hopeful Chinese or Japanese buyers.

The school system of Hawaii reflected the ethnic divisions of plantations and suburbs. The *haole* elite sent their children to private schools, most notably Punahou on Oahu. Ambitious Chinese and Japanese parents paid for private education at Iolani or other institutions, often affiliated with churches, including the Catholic Church's many schools. Plantation children went to modest rural schools, often quitting at the end of their primary school years. In both urban and rural areas, junior high and high schools divided into so-called "English Standard" schools for the more ambitious immigrant children and the local *haole* middle class and regular schools for other children. Higher education amplified these differences, with the offspring of the *haole* elite finding it easier to enter prestigious East Coast and West Coast than did the children of immigrants. Many island children did in fact perspective to obtain education from major mainland universities. Some traveled to other countries, including Japan, for higher education. In Hawaii, the predominantly agricultural college joined with the territory's other school to become the University of Hawaii in 1930, adding to the options for local residents.

Hawaii in the 1930s remained, nonetheless, a place of few opportunities. Highly stratified and divided by ethnic and perceived racial differences, Hawaiian society remained relatively static, with awards going primarily to the ruling minority and other groups receiving less than their fair share. This was especially true for Native Hawaiians who were prevented from using their language in the school system by a law of 1896, which limited instruction to English. Thus, native Hawaiians witnessed the gradual loss of their culture. A move by the federal government in 1921 to provide homestead lands for those of Hawaiian descent proved largely ineffective; most of the lands were unsuited for agriculture and Hawaiian claimants had to prove a fifty percent "blood quantum," a requirement that many could then not meet.

Despite apparent stasis, there were important currents of change caused by the growth in population. In 1900 the new Territory of Hawaii had a population of 154,001, of which over two-thirds had come from other countries. In 1940, the U.S. Census recorded a total of 422,770 residents throughout the Hawaiian Islands, many of them still relative newcomers. The ethnic distribution statistics provide a more complete picture. In 1900, the White (Caucasian) population stood at 28,819; Japanese at 61,111; Chinese at 25,767; and Hawaiians at 37,656. In 1940, these figures had changed to 103,791 Caucasians; Japanese 157,905; Chinese 28,774; and Hawaiians 14,375. Those claiming mixed parentage had grown proportionately, the greatest numbers belonged to people of mixed Hawaiian background, who numbered 73,885.

The largest single ethnic group in Hawaii by 1940 was the Japanese, at 37 percent. Of these, 76 percent, known as Nisei (second generation) or Sansei (third generation) were born in Hawaii. The rest were recent immigrants (Issei). While many of the Japanese remained on the sugar and pineapple plantations, others had migrated to larger towns or to metropolitan Honolulu. In 1940, 34 percent of Honolulu's approximately 180,000 residents were of Japanese ancestry. Both Honolulu and other towns also supported significant enclaves of Chinese, Korean and Filipino populations, many running small shops or working in local industries. Although pockets of Asian immigrants resided in the newer suburbs of Honolulu and

to a lesser degree smaller cities such as Hilo, most lived in relatively congested urban areas. The nicer suburbs, such as Manoa and Nuuanu, remained the sole domain of the *haole* oligarchy.

One of the most significant developments of the late 1930s was the effort of different peoples in Hawaii to unite against plutocratic rule. The labor movement of the mid 1920s found fresh impetus in the mid 1930s. The Honolulu City and County workers organized in 1933, and in 1935, through the efforts of veteran trade unionist Jack Hall, the Hilo dock workers formed what was to become the first chapter of the Longshoremen's Union (ILWU), Local 1-36. Other unions followed, including the newspaper writers and printers, hotel workers and musicians and stage performers. In 1937, the first International Workers Parade took place in Maui, with several thousand mostly Filipino marchers calling for better wages. The following year, the battle for workers rights and improved conditions turned violent when the Hilo police attacked a large group of marchers, in what union members later called the "Hilo Massacre."

The labor strikes and unions made modest gains in this period. Sugar and pineapple workers did in fact receive more pay and conditions on the plantations gradually improved. Some plantations, such as Ewa, became model industrial communities, with standardized housing, recreational facilities, schools, clubhouses and churches and temples. The wealth created by sugar, even during the Depression, spilled over into the greater community, providing jobs outside the plantations and spawning an important service sector. Hard pressed and having to make every dollar count, Honolulu and smaller towns, such as Hilo, Waipahu, Wahiawa and Honokaa throughout the islands witnessed significant commercial expansion. New working class subdivisions, such as Kaimuki and Kapahulu in Honolulu, finally fulfilled their earlier promise and finally had modest single-wall houses on what had been for many years, empty lots.

All did not share in the new prosperity. Native Hawaiians during this period had become a mere cipher in the equation of Hawaii's new economy. Marginalized, forbidden their language and pressed into the least desirable lands — or working in various urban industries — Native Hawaiians became a kind of symbol of a former time. Often romanticized, Native Hawaiian culture became a powerful vehicle for the growing tourism industry. Hula dancers, grass skirts, picturesque songs and semblances of Native Hawaiian dwellings became part and parcel of Hawaii's image to the rest of the world. This was true throughout the early Territorial Period and would take on even more commercial trappings during the war and post statehood era.

## **B.3 World War II and After**

### **B.3.1 The War Years**

The events of December 7, 1941 catapulted Hawaii into a new place on the world stage. At just before 8:00 AM, Japanese airplanes bearing bombs and newly designed, shallow-water torpedoes attacked the Pearl Harbor Naval Station and Kaneohe Naval Air Station and other installations. The attack caused the deaths of 2,386 soldiers, sailors and civilians; another 1139 were suffered wounded. Eighteen ships, including five battleships, had either sunk or run aground. Of the total dead, over half were on the Battleship Arizona, which exploded in an enormous ball of fire and smoke shortly after the start of the attack.

The war in the Pacific was not entirely unanticipated. The U.S. had been moving forces to Hawaii and had been building new bases and facilities since the mid 1930s. By 1940, there were 50,000 military personnel in the islands forces, compared to an overall population of just over 422,000 people. Using Works Projects Administration (WPA) and other funds, military engineers and architects added to Schofield Barracks and built Hickam Field on the edge of Pearl Harbor. Throughout 1941, new airplanes arrived at Hickam and the other air stations, including the Army's Wheeler Airfield and the Navy's Bellows Field. In May 1941, Hickam received its first squadron of B-17 Bombers. Military parades at Hickam and Schofield Barracks were popular with local people; soldiers and sailors were a stark presence in downtown Honolulu. Although many expected a Japanese attack, few actually thought it would occur at Hawaii.

The war was a truly transformative event for Hawaii — far more than any other part of the U.S. This was because of the Pearl Harbor attack and also the territory's proximity to the combat theater. The islands' ethnic makeup further complicated its role in the war. With its sizable Japanese community, the territory's citizenry came under heavy scrutiny. The military rounded up many local Japanese leaders, including clergy, teachers and editors of Japanese newspapers, as suspicious aliens. Confinement camps sprang up on each of the islands, the largest being at Sand Island outside of Honolulu Harbor. Authorities later moved some of those confined to Honolulu in the western plain of Oahu, where they lived in tents within a barbed wire compound.

The rest of the population, whether Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Hawaiian or *haole*, existed under a state of martial law. Hawaii's citizens were subject to strict military rule, with tribunals substituting for courts, imposed mandatory curfews, censorship and food and gasoline rationing. Military police recorded the fingerprints of all citizens over six years old. The military government also set prices for food, established wage levels and set rents. Its offices were established in Iolani Palace, the one-time symbol of Hawaiian sovereignty, and the government directed the construction of air shelters, trenches and batteries to guard against future attacks. Public buildings, including Honolulu Harbor's famous Aloha Tower, received coats of camouflage paint.

As the war progressed and the Japanese Navy presented less of a danger, Hawaii became an important training and transit area for American troops in the Pacific Theater. Hundreds of thousands of U.S. personnel passed through Hawaii, where most saw palm trees for the first time and had a chance to experience Honolulu's famous attractions. Bars, restaurants and movie houses catered to soldiers and sailors. The government created a special red-light district in Chinatown for U.S. troops, following a long tradition of both legalized and ignored prostitution on the islands. To fill the need, mainland women moved to Hawaii, where they worked in one of the regulated establishments or operated independently in suburban houses, many frequented by military officers. There was also much innocent fraternizing between the military and civilian populations. The USO was active throughout the islands. The officer class dined with planters and plutocrats, cementing new relationships, while everyday military visitors played on the beaches, saw *hula* dancers and attended USO shows featuring stars such as Betty Hutton and Bob Hope. Others convalesced at Aiea Naval Hospital or in one of the many schools or colleges turned into makeshift medical facilities.

At the war's peak, Hawaii had almost as many military personnel as civilians. The overall service population increased from 28,000 in 1940 to 378,000 in 1944. Other necessary personnel came to the islands: shipbuilders, electricians, mechanics, carpenters, all recruited for the war effort. During the war, with the military personnel considered, the total population increased to 858,000 — the estimated figure for 1944 — thereby increasing the demand for retail, restaurant, and other consumer services.

Many of the service personnel were temporary residents, so the actual numbers of soldiers, aviators, marines and sailors passing through Hawaii was far higher. An estimated 300,000 soldiers completed "jungle training" at Schofield Barracks and other sites. The Royal Hawaiian Hotel issued over 200,000 passes to military "guests," giving them access to the hotel's facilities and the barb-wired beach outside its doors. Both temporary and long-term personnel needed housing. There were also needs for new supply depots, offices, repair shops, bunkers and much more. By the end of the war, the military controlled some 400,000 of Hawaii's 4 million acres. These contained tent cities, wood barracks, Quonset Huts and offices were for all of Hawaii's forces and trainees. Camp Tarawa in Kamuela on the big island of Hawaii housed over 4,000 marines. Oahu was host to at least 50 similar installations. Hawaii's waterfronts were virtual hives of activity, with materials shipped in by the thousands of tons. This included concrete and concrete block, wood for buildings and sheet metal for roofing, all known in Hawaii before the war but never in such quantities.

Hawaii's construction boom did not go unnoticed among the civilian population. Many worked as carpenters and masons, or did the hard work of digging foundations and pushing fill into Hawaii's coastal waters. Hawaii's primarily Asian population worked under and alongside mainland *haoles*, saw mainland people in subservient roles for the first time and became part of a bigger American struggle to achieve victory in the Pacific. Japanese residents were particularly eager to prove their loyalty, at first joining auxiliary brigades such as the Varsity Victory Volunteers and then enlisting in disproportionate numbers to fight in Europe. On June 15, 1942, Hawaii's Japanese volunteers became the 100<sup>th</sup> Battalion, which combined with the 442<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Combat Team to become one of the most decorated units of the war. Wartime service proved Japanese loyalties and also strengthened ties to the U.S. mainland. It gave Hawaii's soldiers insights into a world unlike their own and sowed the seeds of new democratic ambitions.

Hawaii's makeup changed dramatically as a result of the war. Many middle and upper class *haole* families evacuated to the mainland at the beginning of the war, fearing a possible Japanese invasion. Temporary service personnel found housing in rented houses and bungalows or took rooms in everyday peoples' houses. Many local residents found their incomes supplemented by rents. Despite wartime rationing of building materials, some people managed to build houses or additions for rental income. The old divisions between neighborhoods began to break down, with Japanese and Chinese residents moving into areas once preferred by the *haole* population and one-time single family areas providing housing for multiple residents. Local people met outsiders much like themselves, with similar values and similar social and economic status. The war, in short, provided a fresh vision for Hawaii's peoples and immigrant and native peoples.

### **B.3.2 Post War Developments**

Returning veterans did not want to see a return to the status quo after the war. Having mingled for several years with Japanese-American soldiers from California and Washington — many of them former internees in one of the governments several camps — and having experienced both the mainland and Europe they had a different perspective and were further provided the opportunity for a college education utilizing the GI Bill. Martial law had ceased in Hawaii in 1944, nearly a year before the atom bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, thus ended the world conflict. Hawaii's peoples were tired of the restraints and privations of wartime and eager to participate in what promised to be postwar prosperity.

One of the most immediate impacts of war's end was new attention to the islands' schools and colleges. While the population of adults had indeed decreased with the departure of many military personnel, the numbers of children did just the opposite. In 1945, the population of Hawaii was approximately 450,000. By 1950 it would increase to 499,794, and many of these were young children. Existing schools quickly proved inadequate to growing needs. School administrators pressed for temporary buildings and additions. At the same time the University of Hawaii and other colleges felt new pressures due to the number of returning veterans and others who had found their lives interrupted by the war. The university's new president Gregg M. Sinclair ordered a survey of facilities in 1945 and found the institution lacking. He asked the legislature to provide funds for a new science building, administration building, library and at least six new dormitories. With support from the G.I. Bill, returning veterans helped increase the university's population to 3,000 in 1946. By 1948, total enrollment reached 5,000.

The influx of returning veterans and the change from the war time economy helped spawn a short-term building boom. Private owners and local landowners quickly erected housing for veterans and their families. These included conventional, single-wall houses and also an increased number of small walkup apartment blocks. Some of these were near the university; others were in Waikiki and elsewhere along the principal bus routes. Commercial property owners invested in their own properties, now that materials were available to the civilian sector again. Wood fronted buildings along Waiālae Avenue, King Street and Dillingham Boulevard became concrete block commercial fronts and metal roofed and walled structures replaced older wood warehouses. Some military housing and other buildings also became available; a few ambitious developers recycled these into apartments and commercial buildings. Surplus Quonset Huts also were recycled for new commercial uses.

Despite the evident postwar boom, Hawaii's planter oligarchy assumed that business would return to usual. Sugar profits climbed in the late 1940s, asserting the power of Hawaii's top-down agribusiness. Sugar production, which had hit a peak just before the war, began to climb again in the late 1940s, reaching almost a million tons by 1949. Pineapple's fortunes also turned upward. Factories went back on line and more workers found employment in the industry. Other kinds of jobs faded quickly with the wars end. The Pearl Harbor Shipyard cut back severely on employment, as did the other military installations. The demobilization of soldiers also meant an exodus from the islands. There was less competition for goods, but also less work to do. Between 1945 and 1949 real per capita income declined an average of 5.7 percent a year.

The labor movement moved into the vacuum of unemployment to try to improve conditions. Prohibited during the war, the newly created trade unions of Hawaii went into relative hibernation during the first years of the conflict. In March 1943, however, the National Labor Relations Board resumed and unions had the right to organize workers again. The military government in Hawaii complied with the new recognition of workers' rights and oversaw the formation of a Hawaii Employers Council, with West Coast lawyer James P. Blaisdell serving as its first chief negotiator. In July that year, labor organizers formed the second local of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) and early the next year the Teamsters created the first local union.

The unions moved quickly to change the balance of power and rewards in Hawaii. In 1944, the ILWU strongly backed Democratic candidates for the Hawaii Territorial Legislature, winning election for 16 House members and 8 Senators. Passage of the Hawaii Employee Relations Act in 1945 helped facilitate union efforts by granting agricultural workers the same rights to organize as industrial employees. The ILWU, led by the colorful former merchant seaman Jack Hall, moved quickly to organize plantation workers, gaining majority support at 35 sugar plantations by the end of 1945. The union also resuscitated the dockworkers' locals and organized pineapple workers for the first time. With political backing, the union locals soon pushed for higher wages. Strikes in the sugar industry in 1946 and by workers in the pineapple factories and fields in 1947, while not fully successful, did cause some improvements towards wages and benefits. Transit workers refused to collect fares the following year; and in 1949 the ILWU staged its biggest strike when 2,000 of its workers walked off the job, crippling Hawaii's ports for nearly six months.

Gradually, conditions for Hawaii's laboring classes did improve. Plantation companies such as Ewa built a last generation of wood houses and promoted higher safety standards in the mills plus better working conditions in the fields. Among urban workers, wages also increased and the economy began to rebound. In 1949, the state showed a modest rate of economic growth and real per capita income increased by a little over 2 percent — despite the cumulative impacts of the dockworkers strike. New housing starts, new businesses and more orders for Hawaii's agricultural output began to keep pace, with sugar exports reaching a new high in 1950. Still dominated by a *haole* elite and still suffering from the privations of wartime, Hawaii's many peoples had begun the march toward the American dream.

## **B.4 Hawaii in the 1950s**

### **B.4.1 Labor and Politics**

The advance of the labor movement in the late 1940s did not come without cost. Many nonunionized workers and middle class residents resented the new power of the unions. The management class — particularly the old Republican leadership — was clearly at loggerheads with many of the union leaders, whom they portrayed as “outside agitators.” The success of Hawaii's unions came at a time of growing national fears of communism and the beginnings of the Cold War. Suddenly, Hawaii was under the scrutiny of the House Un-American Activities Committee as a particular example of the dangers posed by the communist menace. Others in the U.S. government agreed. Senator Hugh Butler of Nebraska saw the Territory of Hawaii as “a social bog ripe for the wrecking blow of Communism.”

Fears of communism in Hawaii neatly fit with the rising tide of McCarthyism on the mainland. The Territorial Legislature created its own subversive activities commission and requested a visit from a subcommittee from the U.S. House Committee on Un-American Activities to Hawaii. The subcommittee conducted hearings in Hawaii in April 1950, issuing subpoenas to many of Hawaii's labor leaders. Jack Hall and 38 other witnesses took the Fifth Amendment and refused to answer about their communist affiliations. The subcommittee cited the "Reluctant Thirty Nine," as the press called them, for contempt of Congress, sending the witnesses to federal court. Judge Delbert E. Metzger, a longtime opponent of unchecked federal power — he had had differences with military governance in the 1940s — acquitted all 39.

The House subcommittee was not satisfied. Collecting evidence from former union activists in Hawaii, the subcommittee turned the matter over to the FBI, which in 1951 thought there was enough evidence to arrest the ringleaders for conspiring to overthrow of the U.S. government. The case came before Judge Metzger, who set bail low, allowing the then "Hawaiian Seven," including Hall, union organizer John Renecke, Koji Ariyoshi, the editor of a Japanese left-wing paper and four others to return to their normal lives. Due to a protracted legal battle between Judge Metzger and the staunchly anti-communist fellow judge, J. Frank McLaughlin, the trial did not take place until 1953. The court convicted all seven under the anticommunist Smith Act and sentenced them to fines and jail time. Appealing the outcome, the seven were again out on bail, awaiting retrial. Despite return visits by U.S. Congressional representatives to look in to the affair, in 1958, with the tide of anticommunism on the U.S. mainland in retreat, the appeals court found the seven defendants not guilty.

While the anti-union faction in Hawaii was unhappy with the result, the acquittal of the Hawaiian Seven was a victory for the labor movement. Outspoken Republican opponents, notably powerful business leader Benjamin F. Dillingham, had hoped the trials would discredit Hall and other union bosses, but the legal battle had been only partially effective. Most union members remained loyal to Hawaii and the ILWU and other unions. The territory's own Subversive Activities Commission, nonetheless, pushed for other measures, including a proposed mandatory loyalty oath, to bring workers and their leaders into line. Local business interest also funded an anti-union and supposedly anti-communist organization called Imua to fight against union advances.

Their efforts, however, were again ineffective. Pineapple workers on Lana'i struck in 1951; in 1953, the ILWU began a four-day general strike to protest the conviction of Hall and the others of the Hawaiian Seven. In 1954, the "Hod Carriers," founded its first local; the Hod Carriers became the Laborers Union, representing many in the construction trades. And in 1956, 3,000 workers walked off the job to protest the visit of Senator James Eastlake of Mississippi, a member of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, with a reputation as a strong opponent of labor interests. Still, matters started to settle down by the late 1950s. Negotiators, including Hall, averted a strike planned for 1956. The 1958 sugar workers strike, which affected 26 plantations, including some 13,700 union members, demonstrated a softer side of the labor movement. Known as the "Aloha Strike," workers avoided damaging the crops, allowing for irrigation while arbitrators worked out a settlement.

The efforts of the labor movement in the 1950s coincided with a quieter revolution on the political scene. The key event in this was the sudden rise of the Democratic Party as the

dominant player in Hawaii's political battles. Long the domain of disaffected supporters of the monarchy, some Native Hawaiians — others had allied with the *haole* establishment — and “Home Rule” advocates, the Democratic party began to change in the late 1940s to become a more inclusive party of opposition to the longstanding Republic oligarchy that had controlled Hawaii's affairs since the beginning of the territorial period. Leading Democratic figures by the 1940s included Judge Metzger, John Wilson, Ingram Stainbeck and Oren Long. One Democrat, Lincoln Chandler had served as Hawaii's Congressional delegate in the 1930s; and both Stainbeck and Long had held the appointed office of Governor of the Territory of Hawaii during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, although Long held the office for only for a single year. Still, the majority of local legislators were Republicans who still held the purse strings of power in the territory.

The great force behind what would become the “Democratic Revolution” was John A. Burns (1909-1975). Born in Montana, Burns had been a resident of Hawaii since 1913. A member of the Honolulu police force, he turned to politics late in life and worked in the late 1940s to bring Hawaii's sugar workers and ethnic minorities into the fold of a newly constituted Democratic Party. Humble and quiet spoken, Jack Burns was an unusual flag bearer, but he managed to steer a neutral course between the policies of the ILWU and less radical workers and everyday people. His principal victory was in enlisting recently returned Japanese-American veterans into the party and tapping out several rising talents among them, notably Daniel Inouye (b. 1924), George Ariyoshi (b. 1926) and Spark Matsunaga (1916-1990).

While other ethnicities had been an important part of the Democratic Party before, Japanese support was the critical new element in the party's rise. In 1952, the Democrats finally gained half the seats in the territorial legislature. Two years later, Burns led the party to a stunning victory in the legislative elections, with Democrats winning 11 races to hold a total of 22 seats (against 8 held by Republicans) and clear majorities in both the House and Senate. (Burns himself was less successful. He lost a race to unseat Hawaii's congressional delegate Joseph R. Farrington (1897-1954), a liberal Republican and son of onetime governor Wallace Ryder Farrington (1871-1933), running unsuccessfully again against Farrington's widow in 1954.)

Hawaii suddenly had changed from a society based on class and ethnicity to one in which anyone could hope to succeed. Old stereotypes remained and the *haole* business class still controlled most power and influence; however, there was a distinct sense of optimism in Hawaii that gave hope to a new kind of world.

#### **B.4.2 The Move toward Statehood**

Nothing would symbolize that hope more than Hawaii's admission to the union as the fiftieth state in 1959. This shift had been building for a long time. At the time of annexation in 1898 there was no improvement for Hawaii statehood, In fact, as historian Gavin Daws points out in his history of Hawaii, most of the leaders of the Republic of Hawaii acceded to territorial status on the grounds that Hawaii would never become a state. Among the first proponents was Prince Kuhio, who as a congressional delegate in 1921 introduced the first statehood act. Long an advocate of Home Rule, Kuhio realized by this point that statehood might well tip the balance of power in Hawaii back to Hawaiians themselves and away from the colonial overlords who had come to dominate the politics and economy of the islands.

The idea of statehood came up again in the 1930s; however, the U.S. Congress had twice defeated bills to admit Hawaii to the union. Some of this was due to racial prejudice. Hawaii had been a territory longer than many other former territories that were now states. It also had a larger population than many states. Other U.S. territories, including Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands, had equal claims to statehood but there had been little, if any move to consider this possibility. It was World War II that changed the equation. The only direct victim of enemy hostilities, the people of Hawaii had proved their worth in the eyes of many. A place unfamiliar to the majority of Americans had shown demonstrated its spunk and support, and many on the mainland thought this deserved proper recognition.

Advances in technology contributed to the argument for recognition. The war had demonstrated how small the world had become. Once a distant archipelago in the middle of the Pacific Ocean, Hawaii now seemed closer to the mainland due to the links forged by airplanes and radio. Many U.S. service personnel had passed through Hawaii during the war; many had experienced longer tours of duty there. The 1930s radio show "Hawaii Calls," which had introduced Hawaiian songs and, of course, the ukulele to the American public, still broadcast from the courtyard of the Moana Hotel in Waikiki. The show, which reached its high of popularity in the 1950s, persevered until 1975, and at one time was syndicated on 750 radio stations throughout the world. Host Webley Edwards introduced listeners to the strains of *hapa haole* music, a melding of elements from ancient *mele* and Western jazz making these part of America's musical repertoire as well.

By the war's end, few questioned Hawaii's right to be a state. J. Gardner Anthony, Hawaii's attorney general during the war, said during a hearing in 1950 that any remaining opponents would have to be bigoted or "ignorant." There were, of course opponents such as Walter F. Dillingham. He thought that martial law had been the best thing for Hawaii's unruly laboring class and wanted it perpetuated in part through the system of appointed governors and limited representation. Lorin P. Thurston also objected to statehood, denouncing the idea on the editorial page of the *Honolulu Advertiser*, in which he had a controlling interest. These of course were the voices of the old oligarchy, a segment of the population that for so long enjoyed special privileges. There was opposition for other reasons. Alice Kamokila Campbell, the wealthy descendant of Hawaiian *alii*, lamented the fall of the monarchy and dreaded rule by what she considered an outside Asian majority. Other Native Hawaiians also opposed statehood in a quieter way.

By the late 1950s, statehood seemed an inevitability. It was gaining popularity with the majority of the territory's residents. A poll taken in 1940 showed two out of three people in Hawaii favoring statehood. Ten years later, when a convention took place to consider a possible state constitution, 85 percent of the eligible voters turned out and approved the document by a distinct majority. Congressional delegates had regularly kept the idea of Hawaii being a state afloat in congress; Hawaii's appointed governors had advocated on behalf of statehood. These included Ingram Stainbeck, Oren Long, Samuel King Wilder and President Eisenhower's 1957 appointee, William F. Quinn. Hawaii's Statehood Commission kept the idea very much alive as did the territorial legislators, who regularly passed new resolutions supporting statehood status.

Mainland support came out in favor of Hawaii becoming a state. A survey conducted in 1946 indicated that 60 percent of mainland residents believed Hawaii should be a state. In 1954, the

number of favorable responses in a similar poll reached 78 percent. Successive Secretaries of the Interior, from the 1930s on, had been behind Hawaii's entry into the union as a state. President Truman had approved the idea as did President Eisenhower. While the labor disputes of the early 1950s and the accusations of rampant communism dissuaded some U.S. congressional representatives — Senator Hugh Butler remained an opponent of Hawaii's entry as a state until a visit to the islands in 1952 changed his mind — most slowly came around to the idea. (Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina raised the specter of the "Eastern Menace," but gained few converts to his cause.)

In 1956, the voters finally elected John Burns as Hawaii's non-voting delegate to the U.S. Congress, a move that would cement Hawaii's bid for statehood. Assiduously lobbying on behalf of the statehood measure, Burns forged an alliance with Southern Democrats, Liberal Republicans and Alaska's representative Bob Bartlett to overcome opposition in Washington. In the meantime, Hawaii's own opponents reconsidered and in some cases retreated from their earlier positions, conceding that statehood might be Hawaii's best course. Burns, in a tactical move, pressed for Alaska's entry as the 49<sup>th</sup> state, reasoning that Hawaii would soon follow. He was right and in January 1959, the house considered a new statehood bill. On March 11, 1959 the Senate passed the bill, with both Governor Quinn and Jack Burns prominently present. The next day, the House passed the final bill, making statehood a reality.

The required plebiscite in Hawaii took place in June. With 240 precincts reporting, only one came out in opposition: the island of Niihau. The Native Hawaiians population on Niihau was influenced by the Robinson family, who owned the island and who remained opposed to statehood. Niihau's objections would resonate in later years as Native Hawaiians began to question the status of the Hawaiian Islands and what had been lost.

## **B.5 The 1960s and Statehood**

### **B.5.1 Economic and Social Change**

Statehood for Hawaii coincided with a radical change in the economy of the islands. Part of this was due to statehood itself. Hawaii's new status assured outside investors, most from the U.S. mainland, that their money was safe. This resulted in a significant building boom, both of office space and new hotels and resorts. There was also new investment in condominiums, some for Hawaii's existing residents, but many more for visitors and new residents from the mainland and Canada. Hawaii's old agricultural economy faced fresh challenges from the outside too. Sugar, for a longtime the mainstay of Hawaii's economy, faced new competitors. First the Caribbean and South America and then later India, Australia, Indonesia and Thailand could produce sugar more cheaply. As protective tariffs fell away in the 1950s, it became increasingly difficult for Hawaii to compete. Pineapple followed in the footsteps of sugar and its producers soon found it impossible to hold on to market share against countries with lower labor costs and land values.

The shift away from sugar production was not immediately apparent. In fact, from the late 1950s well into the 1980s sugar output in Hawaii increased significantly. In 1954, Hawaii's sugar plantations produced about 900,000 tons for export. In 1964, the total was a million; by the early 1970s production was about 1,200,000 tons annually. In fact, 1966 was the biggest year on record, with production of 1,234,000 tons. Prices for sugar were declining during this

same time. While Hawaii made up for this through new efficiencies in equipment and techniques of growing and harvesting — Hawaii was distinctive for having the greatest output per acre of any sugar growing place in the world, due in part to these factors and the continual improvement of sugar strains grown by the Hawaii Sugar Growers Association — island producers could still not keep pace with sugar companies in other countries.

The Big Five companies, whose management had shifted increasingly to the mainland, saw the handwriting on the wall. Companies such as AmFac, the successor firm to Hackfeld and Co., began to divest from sugar and turn to other forms of real estate investment, often on the mainland. Landowners saw fresh opportunities. The heirs to the James Campbell Estate, which owned much of the Ewa Plain in Oahu, began as early as the mid 1960s to reexamine the ways to use the land more profitably, beginning negotiations with the City and County of Honolulu to rezone the area for new housing and business development. This would eventually become the “new town” of Kapolei, on which more visible work began in the 1980s. Other owners and developers concentrated on Waikiki and downtown. The Bishop Trust, which retained ownership over large tracks of lands throughout the islands, began to lease property for resort and condominiums development. These and other landowners also encouraged new housing subdivisions in Hawaii Kai, Aiea and elsewhere.

The main driver behind the new development was the newly realized tourism industry. Struggling at first — some owners, such as Roy Kelly, recall how tenuous the business of running a hotel was in the 1960s — the industry quite quickly expanded to meet new demands. A graph of visitor arrivals expresses this the most dramatically. In 1958, 171,367 people arrived in Hawaii on holiday. In 1960, there were 296,249 visitors. In 1970, the number hit 1,745,904. By 1980, the figure would reach 4 million. Hawaii benefitted from passenger jets and the rise of the mass tourism industry; it was far enough away to constitute a “distant” vacation, but close enough to reach in a single flight, at least from the West Coast. The fact that Hawaii was an “American” and not a “foreign” destination helped lure potential customers.

Sudden growth in construction was an immediate outcome of the new industry. Expansion of the Honolulu Airport and other facilities on the neighbor islands was an early priority. The government initiated planning and land acquisition for the expansion of the John Rogers Airport in 1956. In 1958, Public Law 85-534 authorized the Air Force to transfer 170.99 acres of land to the Territory of Hawaii for the new Honolulu International Airport. The last territorial governor, William Quinn presided at the ground breaking on February 5, 1959. Financed with \$15 million in bonds and direct appropriations, the new airport welcomed its first regular jet aircraft service in 1959; the following year United Airlines introduced its new DC-8 passenger aircraft. On the island of Hawaii, officials instigated the expansion of Lyman Field. New airports at Lihue on Kauai and Kahului in Maui followed shortly after.

Other government-backed construction kept pace with the airport. New roads, especially the federally financed H-1 expressway stretching from Pearl City to Honolulu (replacing the earlier Mauka Arterial, begun in 1953), further contributed to other commercial and residential developments. By the mid 1960s, Oahu in particular was in the middle of an unprecedented construction boom. Three and four-story walk up apartments, multistory high-rises — the first was the Rosalei in Waikiki, begun in 1954 — and new shopping centers quickly altered the appearance of metropolitan Honolulu. In downtown Honolulu, the gradual process of replacing older grid-patterned streets and relatively uniform collection of Renaissance-inspired buildings

was soon well underway (Photo B-3) By the late 1960s, commentators were fond of calling the construction crane Hawaii's official state bird.

Suburban expansion accompanied changes in Honolulu's skyline. New suburban tracts, including Kahala and Hawaii Kai, the latter the brainchild of California entrepreneur Henry J. Kaiser (1882-1967), transformed the landscape of Oahu. Less heralded developments in Pearl City and Waipahu, once distant plantation towns, and the further infilling of Honolulu's more remote valley areas, such as Palolo, Kalihi and less settled part of Nuunau added to the change in the new state's urban fabric. (Similar changes took place at a smaller scale in Hilo, Wailuku and many other towns throughout the islands; although these are less documented and therefore less well known.)

Military expansion added as well to Hawaii's changing environment. Hawaii had demonstrated its importance again during the Korean War. From 1950 to 1953, American troops rotated into and out of Hawaii from the Korean conflict; bases such as Schofield and Kaneohe worked to keep pace with growing demand for housing and training facilities. Tripler Army Medical Center, associated in many peoples' minds with World War II, opened in 1948 just in time for the waves of casualties coming from the conflict on the Korean Peninsula. The Vietnam War also impacted Hawaii from an early period. In 1966, Hawaii's famous 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division deployed from Schofield Barracks for a tour in Vietnam. The 29<sup>th</sup> Infantry Brigade, Hawaii National Guard, was placed on active duty in 1968. Many soldiers from Hawaii served in the conflict and passed through on their way to the fighting in Vietnam. The arrival and departure of air-transport, cargo planes and fighter jets and bombers were a common sight at Hickam Air Force Base. Commercial carriers also carried troops, many of them draftees, off to the distant war.



B-3

1956 Downtown Honolulu

(<http://www.urbanplanet.org/forums/index.php/topic/24948-back-in-the-day-flash-backs-of-hnl-i/>)

Hawaii's more permanent, non-military population also experienced a radical transformation during this period. Part of this was simply a rise in the overall numbers of residents. In the first U.S. census as a state in 1960, Hawaii had a total population of 632,772, up from 499,794 ten years before. Of these, about 30 percent were Caucasian, another 32 percent were Japanese, 11 percent were Filipino, 6 percent Chinese and the rest fell under "Hawaiians," "Part-Hawaiians" and Pacific Islanders. In 1970, at the end of the statehood "boom period," the population had increased to 768,561, with significant changes in ethnic or racial distribution. Of this total, fully 298,160 were now *haoles* and 443,292 were Asian or Pacific Islander. (The number of people identified as "Negro" or Black — many members or former members of the U.S. military — remained steady throughout this time at about 7,000, or roughly one percent of the total.)

These shifts in population indicated important changes in Hawaii's overall makeup. For the first time there was a substantial number of working and middle class *haoles* on the islands.

Many of these were former service personnel, who had experienced Hawaii during World War II or later the Korean or Vietnam Wars and decided to stay or return after their service. Others came for new opportunities in construction and tourism as part of the overall boom in Hawaii's economic fortunes. At the same time, Hawaii's Japanese, Korean and Filipino workers were reexamining their goals and strategies. Family size among Asian residents plummeted, as more people entered the ranks of the middle classes and placed a priority on education over agricultural and industrial wages.

One of the great contributors to this reassessment was the state's investment in schools and in its institutions of higher learning. Reorganized as the Department of Education in 1962, Hawaii's school system initiated an ambitious program of school expansion to meet the demands of a growing population. These included major changes to both rural and urban schools and the construction of many new schools and school buildings. By the late 1960s, Honolulu had 55 elementary schools and 24 high schools with 76 elementary schools and 17 high schools spread elsewhere on the island of Oahu. Figures are similar on other islands, as the state moved to make education accessible to Hawaii's multiethnic population.

The state's institutions of higher education also grew to meet the new need. Both Brigham Young and Chaminade Universities began in 1955 in anticipation of growth. Under President Laurence Snyder's term in office, from 1958 to 1963, the annual appropriation for the University of Hawaii doubled, as did student enrollment and faculty numbers. New science and other buildings sprang up along McCarthy Mall, including the new physical Sciences Building and Classrooms A and B, later renamed Webster and Spalding Halls, respectively. The new Health Research Institute joined these in 1962, later named Snyder Hall to honor the university's dynamic president. Added to these buildings was the East West Center, which began in 1960. The center was instituted as part of a social, educational and political commitment by Hawaii and the U.S. Department of State to improve contacts between Asia and the U.S. It was designed by upcoming Chinese-American architect I.M. Pei, marking a high-point in Hawaii's efforts to define itself as a place of harmony and cross-cultural understanding.

### **B.5.2 The New Role of Government**

Although it is tempting to credit the Democratic Revolution of 1954 with the many of the changes Hawaii experienced in the 1960s it is not so simple. The Democrats suffered a set back in the 1959 pre-statehood elections, with former Republican governor William Quinn winning the popular election against Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Burns. The Republicans gained the majority in the new state senate.

Burns did not stay out of the governor's seat for long. In 1962, he won his first gubernatorial election, with local lawyer and later jurist William S. Richardson (1919-2010) serving as his running mate. The electors returned him to office in 1966 and in 1970 as well. Burns would hold the office until ill health in 1973 made him step aside to George Ariyoshi (b. 1926), who as lieutenant governor served out the rest of Burns's term. (The people of Hawaii elected Ariyoshi to the governor's seat in 1974. He served until 1986.) Burns oversaw many of the most dramatic changes in Hawaii's economy and social makeup. He also helped refine Hawaii's place in the world, both to the new state's residents and to outsiders from the mainland and elsewhere.

The Burns' governorship ushered in a new period of federal funding in the state. Replacing the paternalistic stewardship of the old *haole* elite, the new, primarily Asian controlled government moved to provide a new level of support and protection, while at the same time encouraging new business and investment. Funding for highways, schools and the university, hospitals and public health became hallmarks of government efforts in the 1960s. Some of this constituted direct funding, as Hawaii was able to take advantage of programs aimed at U.S. states through agencies such as the Department of Education, Department of Housing and Urban Development and Department of Transportation.

The products themselves of new social and political ambitions of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations — the Department of Housing and Urban Development began only in 1965; the Department of Transportation in 1966 — the both new and older government agencies strongly supported Hawaii in its own efforts. Highway funding was the most visible expression of federal support. Hawaii's highway miles increased fourfold in the 1960s. The H-1 and H-2 took shape under the Interstate Highway Program and other federal funds improved the territory's old highway network. Federal funds also paid for new schools, provided loans for houses and businesses and subsidized new airports. Little in fact was untouched by the new bounty of federal support.

Federal funding, eagerly sought by Hawaii's new representatives — Daniel Inouye became Hawaii's first elected voting member of Congress in 1959 and began his Senate term in 1963 — also contributed to new planning initiatives of the 1960s. The Department of Housing and Urban Development paid for planners to draw up new zoning regulations and the beginnings of a statewide plan. The department also underwrote ambitious schemes for urban renewal in downtown Honolulu and Chinatown. The Capital District, with the new Hawaii State Capitol at its center was also a product of federal assistance. The state in turn tried to match the federal government's standards of largesse. Both the state had its own highway program, its own parks and provided significant support to the state's educational initiatives and schools. County government contributed — to roads, parks and new planning initiatives.

Hawaii's labor unions gave further support to federal, state and county government efforts. Union activity spread beyond the sugar industry to include groups such as the hotel workers (HREU, Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union), civil service workers (HGEA, Hawaii Government Employees Union) and state teachers (HSTA, Hawaii State Teachers Association). Other industries, such as the teamsters and dockworkers, were still under the purview of (ILWU, the International Longshoreman and Workers Union). This made for a powerful mix, one that led some critics on the mainland to see Hawaii's new experiment not only as an effort to reach racial and ethnic harmony, but also to rearrange the economic direction of the country as a whole. *Forbes* magazine many years later would declare Hawaii "America's only socialist state" in large part because of the balance among government, labor and industry introduced during this period.

Despite Hawaii's apparent progressivism, much of the state's prosperity still hinged on outside support. This included not only monies available through federal programs of the Great Society Era, but also Hawaii's special line of funding through the U.S. military. Military investment soured during the Vietnam War period and remained high even in its aftermath, in the 1970s. It was not only the raw expenditures of the U.S. Department of Defense, but the impact beyond the bases. Economist Kyohei Sasaki estimated in 1963, that every dollar spent

on the military in Hawaii multiplied three fold in the general economy. Workers at Pearl Harbor, owners of rental properties, laundries, mom-and-pop stores and the airline industry as a whole all benefitted from the money coming to support the troops, sailors and other personnel stationed in Hawaii or trained in the state.

Hawaii received other kinds of federal assistance. There were funds for urban renewal through HUD and direct funding through the U.S. Department of State for the East West Center. The newly inaugurated Peace Corps established a training facility on the Hamakua Coast, near Hilo, where thousands of young people trained to become America's ambassadors in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The National Parks Service made a substantial contribution to Hawaii's greater economy. The continuing appeal of national parks at Haleakala and Kilauea — both parks dated back to the beginning years of the service in 1916 — along with the new Arizona Memorial, completed in 1961 and dedicated the following year, also involved assistance and continuing personnel support.

Statehood had been good economically for Hawaii. New investment, federal support and the rising tourism industry had changed the balance of power in Hawaii, providing opportunities that the onetime immigrant laboring class had hardly foreseen. New cars, new homes and work outside the plantation had made Hawaii a more democratic place to live. Its special significance to World War II and its strategic location in the middle of the Pacific Ocean gave it added importance as the U.S. continued to project its presence into North, East and Southeast Asia. Hawaii was a way station between the East and West, a place where world travelers stopped to readjust to North America or to prepare for the cultures of Asia. Once home to a proud Polynesian people and then a place of economic hardship for imported laborers (and wealth for a small elite), Hawaii was now a vibrant and modern tropical paradise, with beaches, modern hotels and condominiums and a "happy people" strumming ukuleles in unceasingly cloudless sky.

### **B.5.3 The Image of Hawaii**

Hawaii worked hard to project this soporific image to the rest of the world. The comic book character "Little Lulu" made a trip to Hawaii as did "Dennis the Menace" and his family. (They stayed at the Hilton Hawaiian Village, in a grass-roofed cottage.) The Hawaii Visitors Bureau worked hard to promote Hawaii's new image. It supported women hula dancers dressed in grass skirts to greet arriving passengers at the airport and subsidized lei to convey *aloha* as signature elements of the bureau's continuing campaign to make visitors happy. Once supported by private donations, in 1961 the Hawaii Visitors Bureau received an annual allotment from the state's Department of Planning and Economic Development. There were advertising campaigns on the mainland and campaigns aimed at Hawaii's own population to underline, as the bureau announced, "the benefits of tourism to the community." Hawaiian entertainers went to the mainland to promote the islands; they also traveled to Japan and other parts of the world.

Hawaii became a known leader in the new worldwide phenomenon of mass tourism. Emissaries from Australia, Canada, Tahiti, Fiji, Samoa, Taiwan, Korea and Alaska came to Hawaii to learn its methods. Hawaii based architectural firms, notably those founded by George J. "Pete" Wimberley just after World War II, created the basic prototypes for resorts around the world. Hawaii's efficiencies, the organization of tours, in-house hospitality and the

general friendliness of its multicultural people became the hallmark of postwar tourism. Hotels based on the “Hawaii model” would spread eventually to other Pacific islands, to mainland and island Southeast Asia and back to the U.S. mainland.

For those who could not yet afford a vacation to Hawaii — or did not serve time there in the military — Hawaii came into their homes through the postwar medium of television. *Hawaiian Eye* (shown on ABC, 1959-1963), *Adventures in Paradise* (also ABC, 1959-1962) and the seminal CBS series *Hawaii 5-0* (shown from 1968 to 1980) projected a vision of Hawaii around the world. Movies featuring Hawaii included *From Here to Eternity* (1953) set at Schofield Barracks and featuring Frank Sinatra, Deborah Kerr and Burt Lancaster; *South Pacific* (1958), supposedly Tahiti, but filmed in Kauai; Elvis Presley’s famous *Blue Hawaii* (1967); and the lavish Department of the Defense backed *Tora! Tora! Tora!* (1970).

Through the process of exposure and recognition, Hawaii had become the everyman’s tropical playground, accessible and increasingly affordable to North America, Australian and European visitors. People from Hawaii, now entering the solid middle classes, could travel to the mainland, to California and the new phenomenon of Las Vegas. Mainstream American culture came to Hawaii. Drive-in restaurants and movie theaters; *tiki* bars — as much a part of California’s cultural background as Hawaii’s — hula hoops, motorcycles and scooters, ice-skating and a whole range of North American pastimes and toys. Asian popular culture infiltrated Hawaii; Japanese science fiction action figures and comics became popular with Hawaii’s Japanese and Chinese kids, as a special alternative to the novelties of the mainland.

The 1960s were a time when Hawaii’s ancient pastime, surfing, began its first steps toward becoming an international phenomenon. Revived in Hawaii in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and popularized by Olympic Gold Medalist Duke Kahanamoku (1890-1968), Hawaii’s “Ambassador of Aloha,” surfing was resulted in the early 1960s in California and Australia. The film *Gidget* and many other “Beach Party” movies, the singing groups the Beach Boys and “Surfaris” helped popularize surfing with the growing youth culture. The evolution of the short board, which made turns quicker and the sport more visually exciting, added to surfing’s broad appeal.

By the late 1960s, Hawaii was the mecca for enthusiasts. Surf shops opened in Waikiki and the North Shore, spawning a plethora of T-shirt vendors, beach photographers and shell jewelry shops. Hawaii’s new celebrity brought other changes as well. Fast food shops — the first Zippy’s opened in 1966, the first McDonalds came in 1968 — joined the jostle of the streets replacing the traditional *saimin* and “shave ice” shops of plantation days. New forms of American music and shows from the mainland replaced longtime Waikiki entertainers; different forms of Hawaiian music continued to be popular. It was in 1963 that newcomer Don Ho (1930-2007) moved from his mother’s small club in Kaneohe to perform regularly in Waikiki.

With the end of the decade Hawaii had “matured” into its new role as an internationally known tourist destination. “Brand Hawaii” had a well established reputation, from the nightclubs and beach of Waikiki through surf spots, pineapple fields and the daily Kodak Hula Show, held since 1937 in Kapiolani Park. The “Hawaiian Shirt,” known locally as the “Aloha Shirt,” with its origins in the 1930s, became the standard for resort wear around the world. North American tourists, once famous for visiting in groups, felt comfortable coming to Hawaii on their own.

Package tours, discounts, coupons and staged *luau* and *hula* performances had become standardized practices. In 1963, the Oahu branch of Brigham Young University opened its new “Polynesian Cultural Center” in Laie to provide students scholarship money and offer a new tourism venue for Hawaii’s visitor industry. The closest most visitors would ever get to an exotic Polynesian island the center offered a safe excursion to another time and place — much as did Hawaii itself.

## **B.6 The Conflicted 1970s**

### **B.6.1 War and Resistance**

Due to Hawaii’s significant military presence, the Vietnam War of the 1960s and early 1970s had an unusually strong local impact. Hawaii had a large standing force throughout the war, numbering as many as 100,000 military personnel during this period. U.S. soldiers en-route to and returning from Vietnam augmented this number. Hawaii was also an important training center for U.S. troops, the slopes of Hawaii’s mountainous military bases serving as substitutes for the terrain of Vietnam. Planning for the war took place at the U.S. Army command center in Aiea.

Gunners from Hawaii’s 25<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division held the distinction of being the first American combat troops sent to Vietnam. This was in April 1963 and would mark the beginning of a stream of U.S. Service personnel sent to Southeast Asia from bases in Hawaii. As the war escalated, Hawaii remained an important center for rotations into and out of Vietnam. An estimated 1.5 million troops were either stationed or passed through Hawaii during the ten years of the war. Over 4,200 received treatment at Tripler Army Medical Center, which played a key role in providing for the war wounded.

The Hawaiian Islands also served as a meeting place for U.S. leaders and their Vietnamese counterparts; both Presidents Johnson and Nixon held high-level policy meetings in Hawaii. Johnson came six times; Nixon met with Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu at Midway in 1969. Early in the war, Hawaii’s Fort DeRussy became an officially designated R&R (Rest and Relaxation) destination for U.S. military personnel. Some half million soldiers and sailors chose Hawaii as their respite from the war, often joined by family members at the many hotels in Waikiki. Local businesses benefitted greatly from the upsurge of business, with an estimated \$191 million pumped into the local economy between 1966 and 1973. Hawaii would also be the first point of contact for returning prisoners of war, the first of which arrived at Hickam Air Force Base on Valentine’s Day 1973.

The war engendered both patriotic ideals and bitter conflict. As opposition to the war increased during the late 1960s, Hawaii became a particular focus of anti-war efforts. The Church of the Cross Roads near the University of Hawaii became a sanctuary for war resisters, and students from the university joined their cohorts on the mainland in staging protests and burning draft cards. The strong presence of military personnel in the islands added to tensions, as the clash of cultural values became more evident. Sections of Waikiki became well established pockets of countercultural expression, as long haired and short-skirted mainland and local youths joined the older generation of surfers and beachcombers that had longed formed the fringes of the resort area’s population.

Anti-war protests merged with the environmental movement during the 1970s. The first Earth Day was in 1970, and young people in Hawaii saw an immediate connection between Hawaii's fragile environment and the concerns of the rest of the world. The Outdoor Circle (founded in 1911) and the Hawaii Audubon Society (begun in 1928) pioneered, new grassroots activists in the 1960s and 1970s. John Kelly, Jr. founded Save Our Surf (SOS) in the early 1960s. In 1968, a Hawaii branch of the Sierra Club began. The Nature Conservancy opened its Hawaii office in 1973. Imbued with the sense of urgency of the antiwar movement, the activist organization Life of the Land started in 1970; the spin-off organization, Hawaii's Thousand Friends started up later in the decade. Once the newly minted lawyers from the University of Hawaii's law school began their professional lives, environmental activism had already taken deep roots in Hawaii's soil.

The television show Hawaii Five-0 caught much of the tension and ambiguity of this period. One of the most popular TV shows in history, Hawaii Five-0 lasted from 1968 to 1980 and introduced Hawaii to many on the mainland and other parts of the world. With its multi-ethnic cast, the show seemed to exemplify a new postwar era. It also portrayed the problems of people on the islands, facing the threats of drug dealers, international smugglers and con-artists. From its opening shot of star Jack Lord on the roof of the 1964 Ilikai Hotel in Waikiki, through its explorations of new suburbs and modern hotels, Hawaii Five-0 was a paean to the modern era and the new complexities of statehood.

### **B.6.2 Historic Preservation**

The 1970s saw the birth of a local historic preservation interests. Veterans of the environmental movement, young architects, planners, community activists and others began to question the development trends and planning models of the previous decade. Nascent historic preservationists lamented the loss of many of the characteristics of old Hawaii. The new movement was both antiquarian and "New Age" in spirit. Helen Cole, Agnes Conrad, Francis Jackson and Nancy Bannick, all drawn to historic preservation for different reasons, spearheaded an effort to document Honolulu's remaining historic places and buildings. This resulted in a first inventory of downtown Honolulu and a book focused on Honolulu's heritage, published in 1969. In 1972, architect Geoffrey Fairfax followed with another book on the city's historic buildings.

The preservation of Iolani Palace was a lynchpin in the new historic movement. The residence of Hawaii's monarchs, Iolani Palace became a symbol of the islands' history and the buildings that once defined an "older" Hawaii. Governor John A. Burns initiated the effort to preserve the building in the 1960s, encouraging the palace's listing as a National Historic Landmark in 1962. The Junior League of Honolulu, with the guidance of Alice Guild and other members, began to research the palace's history and begin the first steps towards restoration. This effort morphed into a new organization called the Friends of 'Iolani Palace, which took control of fundraising efforts. Under Geoffrey Fairfax's direction and the work of then young architect Glen Mason, the palace was the subject of a multi-year restoration project, completed in 1978.

Preservationists also faced the challenge of numerous other historic buildings; the Alexander Young Hotel, the mid-19th-century Courthouse and Parliament, the King Kamehameha V Post Office and Aliiolani Hale became the foci of preservation efforts — some successful, and many not. The Young Hotel went down in 1968; the old courthouse fell in 1971. Other efforts

bore fruit. These included the restoration of Aliiolani Hale, beginning in the late 1970s, the conversion of the old post office to a community theater and private rehabilitation efforts throughout the state. On other islands, activists worked on behalf of historic Lahaina on Maui, declared a National Historic Landmark in 1962; fought for the preservation of Volcano House, a historic hotel on the Island of Hawaii; and began the long task of reinvesting in historic buildings as places of continuing value.

One of the great historic preservation victories of the 1970s was the preservation of Honolulu's Chinatown. The longtime center of Honolulu's nightlife, Chinatown had degenerated, by the early 1970s, into a warren of prostitution, homelessness and substance abuse. Through efforts by Nancy Bannick and others, the slow but inevitable move to demolish the historic shops and residences of the area through the federal Urban Renewal program of the Department of Housing and Urban Development came to a halt. The newly funded State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), under the leadership of Jane Silverman, took a strong role as well in this effort.

Chinatown became the model for other preservation efforts. Architect Bob Fox and Dorothy Riconda Pyle, both with the SHPO, documented many of the historic structures, completing National Register nominations for many historic properties. Later Fox — by then a private developer — and investors such as Robert Gerrell, began a process of reinvestment in historic buildings that would begin to turn the area around. At the same time, pioneering historic preservationists, such as artists Ramsay (with husband Norman Goldstein) and Pegge Hopper, made individual commitments to rehabilitate historic buildings within the Chinatown core. Working with the city, local preservationists managed to reverse these trends and move toward both recognition and active promotion of the area as a Special District (originally a Historic and Cultural District), under the city and county's planning law.

Although Chinatown remained an important catalyst for historic preservation, there were other efforts begun by a group of like-minded community activists. Historic Hawaii Foundation was organized in 1974 as a statewide non-profit organization, dedicated to preserving and encouraging the preservation of sites, buildings, structures and objects significant to Hawaii's history. The charter membership drive in 1976 resulted in some 1750 members, which formed a constituency for some of the major preservation efforts of the era. The newly established SHPO began a statewide survey program, focusing on historic commercial buildings, houses and communities throughout the islands. Architects especially became involved in the effort. The Honolulu Chamber of Commerce's City Beautification Committee (founded by Alfred Preis, architectural designer of the Arizona Memorial), pushed for preservation of the threatened Kukui and Aala Triangle areas and worked with business owners and residents who were being forced out.

Sometimes successful, just as often not, the new generation of activists began to feel they could offer alternatives to contemporary planning and architectural practice. There was a realization that architects and planners did not have a monopoly on design ideas; for the first time citizens began to enter into the dialogue and have an impact on the built world.

The 1970s, then, were a time of reassessment and general distrust of the architectural status quo. New personalities became involved in the built environment, and other kinds of interests began to have a say in the direction of development in the islands. The 1970s witnessed the

emergence of community activists, fighting to preserve both threatened inner city areas and rural communities. Many took Pete Seeger's criticisms of suburban America to heart and wanted to resist the proliferation of suburban tract homes and "modern" buildings lacking in regional emphasis or character. Disdaining the many "houses made of ticky-tacky," a new generation also listened to Joni Mitchell's soulful "Big Yellow Taxi"— a song inspired directly by the unchecked development she saw in Hawaii in the 1970s.

New laws of the 1970s helped to guide this new level of activism. The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966, the Archaeological Recovery Act (ARA) of 1974 and the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) of 1979 shifted responsibility increasingly onto governmental agencies to do more to document and preserve historic resources. The 1970s marked the emergence of amendments to the state code, requiring both agencies and developers to be attentive to both historic buildings and archaeological sites. Issues such as protected "view-sheds" also became part of the statewide planning process, helping to preserve special areas within the Hawaiian Islands.

The 1970s witnessed the advent of contract archaeology in the state and the founding of numerous environmental and cultural resource management firms still working in the state today. Whereas developers and government agencies once did mostly what they wanted, they were now constrained by laws, statutory review and compliance measures to take further account of the impacts of actions on the environment and upon traditional places.

### **B.6.3 The Hawaiian Renaissance**

A final product of the 1970s was the resurgence of Native Hawaiian activism and the beginnings of a new concern for Hawaiian rights. Sometimes called the Second Hawaiian Renaissance, to distinguish it from earlier efforts, the movement had a strong foothold in the lively musical traditions of the islands. Gabby Pahunui and the "Sons of Hawaii," Keola and Kapono Beamer and others revived the language through their songs and reintroduced young Hawaiians to the value of their past. The "Merrie Monarch Festival," held in Hilo and named after King Kalakaua, had begun in 1964, but took on an even stronger sense of cultural mission in the 1970s as dancers began to further celebrate traditional forms of *hula*.

By the late 1970s, this new attention to the culture of Hawaii took on stronger overtones, as many young Hawaiian rejected the values of the West and began to explore alternative forms of cultural practice. Hawaiian language schools, the revival of traditional farming, the reclamation of fishponds, renewal of traditional healing arts and new attention to Hawaiian crafts converged. For some activists, thus became the foundation for a new sense of sovereignty. Activist causes, especially the fight to wrest Kahoolawe from the U.S. military and land struggles in Kalama, added to the movement's strength, as did the celebrated voyages of the Hokulea, a traditional double-hulled canoe launched by the Pacific Voyaging Society in 1975. This essentially cultural movement had important political ramifications. A constitutional convention of 1978 resulted in the creation of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), which for many pointed to future independence for Hawaiian people.

The Hawaiian Renaissance had profound impacts on many aspects of life in Hawaii. Young Hawaiians took a new pride in their heritage and began to press for the preservation of cultural sites and continuing cultural practices. Issues such as disturbed Hawaiian burials became to

gain public attention as did the impacts of modern development on places once sacred to Hawaiian people. The tourism industry, which had always drawn upon Hawaiian culture as part of the overall “tourism product,” began to reassess the ways the industry employed Hawaiian culture and correct some of its wrongs. George Kanahale, a scholar, musician and activist, reconsidered what constituted a “Hawaiian Sense of Place,” and convinced tourism officials that a greater appreciation of Native Hawaiian values was an essential part of wise development. Hotels themselves began to emphasize “Hawaiian-ness” in the promotional materials and in their guest services.

### **B.7 Envisioning the Recent Past**

By the late 1970s, Hawaii’s simple hope for acceptance as “America’s Fiftieth State” and confidence in a future defined by educational opportunity, openness to new ideas and progressive governance had begun to fade. Voices of opposition to new housing tracts in Hawaii Kai and mega-hotels on the Kona Coast of Hawaii Island (the big island) and the Kaanapali Coast of Maui became increasingly vociferous. Honolulu’s blossoming skyline of condominiums and office buildings began to elicit a response not of pride but of deep concern. Driven partly by nostalgia and further fueled by a sense of loss and feelings of outrage and sadness, this new attitude changed the way people perceived their environment and the forces that directed its future. Many in the state saw the modern architecture and planning that had dominated Hawaii since the end of World War II as less a goal for a new society than as a threat to longtime values.

In 1974, the newly founded Historic Hawaii Foundation began to advocate for the preservation of the historic Royal Hawaiian Hotel. Built in 1927, or only 47 years before the beginnings of the new organization, the historic hotel stood unquestionably as a symbol of an older Hawaii — one that the members of the foundation clearly wanted to preserve. Other buildings and places fit the same paradigm, from Beaux Arts office buildings through distinctive residences created in the 1920s and 1930s. “Regionalist” architects such as C.W. Dickey and Hart Wood, gained new respect as practitioners who had appreciated the values of Hawaii and gave expression to the islands’ unique “sense of place.”

A few modernist architects seemed to fit this model. Alfred Preis, Claude A. Stiehl, Vladimir Ossipoff and a few others still built houses and offices that celebrated Hawaii’s past and its attractive, semi-tropical climate. Other architects, however, seemed to ignore the special circumstances of Hawaii, and continued to impose a kind of architecture that threatened local values. Far from being simply another style or group of styles in the long history of architecture, modern architecture — whether “International Style,” “New Formalist” or “Brutalist” — the new architecture seemed out of synch with the tempo of the time in the same manner that the Beatles and Rolling Stones replaced the “Rat Pack.” Alternative approaches to the built environment seemed for many to offer a better hope for the future.

Ironically, the contributions of local, mainland and international architects during the period between 1945 and 1980 — a time many consider as the height of the “Modernist” era — are now falling under the historical lens. Noted first by architects and designers, many of whom once worked on the newer buildings of that time, modernist architecture has become a subcategory of historic preservation. National and international organizations, such as DOCOMOMO, have become new advocates for architecture of the time.

This new appreciation has come late to Hawaii, where other types of social movements, from environmental preservation through the Native Hawaiian sovereignty movement, have taken precedence. Hawaii nonetheless possesses many fine examples of modernist architecture and many more “prosaic” examples of buildings from that era. There appears to be little local support for the preservation of buildings of the “Recent Past,” since many people still see the buildings of the post World War II era as contradicting more than supporting Hawaii’s values. As time passes, it is hoped that more and more of Hawaii’s citizens will accept that these buildings also represent part of the state’s history as well as the role of the Hawaiian Islands in a greater world.