Hawaii, U.S.A?: The Role Of Pearl Harbor in Making A Hawaiian-American Identity

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Abstract

This project will explore how Hawaii became American as a result of the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor and the need of the Federal government to declare war. It will be shown that this change began with the December 7th, 1941 attack but it was not a quick or easy process as Hawaii Americanness was not immediately accepted by all. An examination of wartime Hawaii will show how this process began but also that it was not finished during the Second World War. Looking to the attempts of mainlanders, like President Roosevelt, and Hawaiians in the immediate aftermath of the attack to make Hawaii American will demonstrate that Hawaii started to become American in the days following the attack but not without the work of many. Visual representations from the 1920s to today will show how Hawaii moved from a prewar American colony to a state while some images still presented Hawaii as different from the mainland. Despite this long process of Hawaii's Americanization, the multiracial society of Hawaii made statehood the only option for Hawaiians, mainlanders, and the Federal Government after the attack. Using many different forms of argument this paper will show that the attack on Pearl Harbor was the catalyst for making Hawaii American but this is still a process that continues today

Introduction

Hawaii is a vacation destination for many Americans seeking an exotic getaway with the comforts of home and it is a lifetime goal for many to get to Hawaii and enjoy the tropical scenery and beaches. When this dream is realized, these mainlanders fly into Honolulu International Airport and one of the first images of Hawaii they see is Pearl Harbor. In February 2011 as I was inbound into Honolulu a flight attendant highlighted the naval base and the USS Arizona memorial in the harbour, including its historical significance. I was slightly confused as to why this explanation was necessary as I assumed that the Pearl Harbor naval base and its memorials were well known to the American people. As I have explored how the December 7th, 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor impacted Hawaii and the mainland the reason for this explanation became clearer. Hawaii was not well known to mainlanders before the attack and in many aspects of this state is still not fully understood by many Americans today. The need for an explanation of Pearl Harbor on a domestic flight demonstrates the mainland's lack of connection with Hawaii is a theme that will be explored in this paper. The easy access to the islands and the recognizable restaurants, shops, and hotels is something many vacationers take for granted but these familiarities were not inevitable. It took the deaths of thousands for this to happen. The attack on Pearl Harbor did not occur in an American state but rather on an island colony roughly 2,000 miles from the West Coast of the United States. The significant distance, both metaphorically and geographically, from the United States allows this event to be classified as something more than an attack on the United States. It forever changed Hawaiians' relationship to the United States.

This process was not immediate and one of the main reasons for this was multiracial society of Hawaii. The theme of racism affecting the acceptance of Hawaii began before the war and continues until this day. Mainland racism directed towards Hawaiians will be a major theme that runs through all sections, especially the last one, exploring how racism affected Hawaii's Americanness in relation to the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Hawaii was undoubtedly impacted by the attack but so was the mainland. The goal of this paper is not to dispute the impact of the attack had on mainland Americans. Many Americans died in a direct and deliberate act of war against the American military by the Japanese. Pearl Harbor is still one of the most important American symbols and this paper is not attempting to take this away. Despite the targeting of the American military, it was also an attack on the Hawaiian people and as such the attack on Pearl Harbor has many geographic classifications. The attack on Pearl Harbor was both a Hawaiian and American event which affected each of these geographic areas as both separate entities and together. The implications of the attack for the Hawaiians were co-opted by the American government for the declaration of war so Hawaii was presented as part of America. As a result Hawaii moved from being a colonial outpost in the middle of the Pacific, to the centre of American attention to finally becoming a state in 1959.

For this paper to move forward it must be understood who the Hawaiians were in 1941. Kamaaina is the Hawaiian term for long term residents of the islands.[1] The term "Hawaiian" will be employed using these criteria throughout the paper. It will be

[1] Merriam-Webster Online, s.v. "Kamaaina," accessed May 16, 2011, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/kamaaina.

done to differentiate those in the islands before the war from the influx of mainlanders that came to the islands after the war had begun. It is not a reference to the ethnic group unless it is specifically stated that they are being discussed. This definition will be important to demonstrate how the attack on Pearl Harbor affected Hawaii. The Hawaiian people were separate from the mainlanders before the attack but a change began in Hawaii on December 7th, 1941.

There will be four major sections supported by this introduction which will outline the important events in pre Second World War Hawaiian-American relations. The first section will cover wartime Hawaii and how this period created the elements that made Hawaii American. The poor treatment of the Hawaiian people by the Federal government during the war demonstrated how they still viewed Hawaii as different. From martial law to the social pressure of mainlanders, wartime Hawaii shows the process of Americanization was not immediate. The next section will be an examination of the immediate attempts by mainlanders and Hawaiians alike to make Hawaii America. It will focus on speeches and opinions and it will examine the contrasts between Hawaii and the other American Pacific colony of the Philippines. Also how Hawaii's process of becoming American was both helped and hindered by mainlanders will be examined. Visual images of Hawaii will illustrate the impact the attack on Pearl Harbor had on Hawaii's place in the United States. Representations of Hawaii from all time periods will be covered in the next section in order to track how Hawaii moved from an excluded colonial outpost to the fiftieth American state. This section will not be limited to either pre or post war periods, it will cover from the 1920s until today. The final section will deal directly with the debate surrounding

Hawaiian statehood and how race affected the process. In order to understand how Hawaii was able to move from a colonial possession, to the centre of American attention, to eventually become the last state to join the Union, different groups will be examined. The influences of both Japanese Hawaiians and native Hawaiians will show how statehood was the only option for Hawaii after the war. Ultimately race was not the reason for or against statehood but the military applications were the ultimate reason why Hawaii became a state. A selected examination of Hawaiian-American relations will demonstrate how the attack on Pearl Harbor created conditions that facilitated Hawaii becoming a state.

Prewar American Hawaiian Relations

The making of Hawaii into an American symbol began well before the attack on Pearl Harbor with a turbulent political history of coups and negotiations. As an independent monarchy, Hawaii was increasing influenced by white American missionaries and business owners beginning in the mid-nineteenth century. Business owners began to forcibly influence the native Hawaiian monarchy when their economic interests, mostly sugar but later expanded to other areas, became threatened. The American business owners forced a new constitution on King Kalakaua in 1887 which is referred to as the Bayonet Constitution. The growing power of these Americans was beginning to have an affect on the Hawaiian government. The constitution limited the voting rights of many people in Hawaii including native Hawaiians and other ethnic groups, and required that voters be male and could be speak an European language. They were still unhappy with the Hawaiian monarchy and took further steps to protect their business interests. These

foreigners, with unofficial American military support, overthrew the native Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. The new government hoped for immediate annexation by the United States but President Grover Cleveland blocked the takeover. As an independent republic for four years, those in power had continual hopes for American annexation. Some opposition to the proposed takeover existed among business owners proposed as they feared American government's racist regulations on immigration would affect their profits.[2] The calls for annexation also met resistance from the Hawaiians themselves most notably from the deposed Queen Liliuokalani.[3] Petitions were created to protest the proposed American takeover and they had some success in stopping the takeover but only for a short time.[4] Following the election of President William McKinley, the annexation of Hawaii was completed in 1898. Hawaii officially became a territory of the United States with the passing of the Organic Act of 1900.[5] Statehood was not an immediate goal after annexation but resistance to this movement still existed.[6] The majority of opposition initially came from a large business conglomerate known as the Big Five. These five companies were Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, C. Brewer & Co., American Tractors Ltd., and Theo H. Davies & Co.[7] This power block controlled almost all aspects of Hawaiian life, from the plantation-based economy to the politics of the islands. The Big Five dominated Hawaii for many years in a manner not seen on the mainland.

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[2] Roger Bell, *Last Among Equals: Hawaiian Statehood and American Politics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984), 8-9, 24-28.
[3] Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2004), 199.
[4] Silva, 199.
[5] Bell, 39.
[6] Bell, 44.
[7] Alexander MacDonald, *Revolt in Paradise: The Social Revolution in Hawaii After Pearl Harbor* (New York: Stephen Daye Press, 1946), 27.

Aside from the political differences, Hawaii was also culturally distant from the mainland prior to the attack. The cultural distinction was created and sustained by various sources. During the interwar years, Hawaii was presented as an exotic playground for the rich and famous. Films and songs about Hawaii were very popular during the Great Depression which further perpetuated its designation as a tourist paradise.[8] Hawaii was presented as an exotic location with beaches, racially different inhabitants, and beautiful landscapes. Its presentation as an exotic tropical locale did not include Hawaii as part of the United States. The treatment of the Federal government of Hawaii during this period showed they were not willing to accept the islands as an equal. The Jones-Constigan Act removed Hawaii's domestic trading classification thus limiting its mainland market share for sugar in 1934.[9] It gave a larger quota to Cuba at the expense of Puerto Rico, The Philippines and Hawaii.[10] The act put Hawaiian business interests behind those of a foreign country, thus motivating the Big Five began to support Hawaiian statehood after its passing.[11] Hawaii was in precarious position in the late 1930s. Many on the mainland did not consider it to be American, along with the support from those in the islands who did not want to be connected to the United States. Despite this opposition many Hawaiians, including its strongest business interests, wanted Hawaii to have closer ties to the mainland. It took the outbreak of war to settle this debate and forever change Hawaii's identity and status within the United States.

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[8] David Farber and Beth Bailey, "The Fighting Man as Tourist: The Politics of Tourist Culture in Hawaii During World War II," *Pacific Historical Review* 65, no.4 (1996): 644-645.
[9] Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawaii* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 140.
[10] Skwiot, 140.
[11] Bell, 60-61.

America's Tropical Suburb: An Examination of Wartime Hawaii

Section Introduction

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor is one of the most important events in Hawaiian history. It was the first step in the transformation of the islands from a distant colonial outpost to a state within the Union. All prewar rhetoric on both sides of the inclusion debate were null in comparison to what the power of the attack had on Hawaii's place in the United States. Hawaii's inclusion however was not immediate or completed during the war as it was presented as American but the Hawaiian people were not given the same legal status as mainlanders. This section will detail the direct changes brought about in Hawaiian society as a result of the war beginning with an explanation of the attack itself. Exploring the use of martial law and other government controls will highlight how the Hawaiian people were treated differently than the mainlanders and or others in different territories during the war. Pearl Harbor itself will be examined to show how it became increasingly important to the United States military and thus why Hawaii started to become American during the war. The opinions of Hawaiians and mainlanders will demonstrate how Hawaii was viewed in the context of war. Finally the undoing of the Big Five business conglomerate will show one of the most important changes brought about by the attack in Hawaii. The move from a society controlled by business interests to one based on democratic ideals which encompassed all racial and social groups was a significant driving factor for why Hawaii became American as result of the attack on Pearl Harbor. All these factors began during the Second World War.

The Attack on Pearl Harbor

The infamous Sunday morning in December began quite like every other Sunday in Pearl Harbor since it became the primary base for the American Pacific command in 1940.[12] It was marked by relaxed work schedules and sailors sleeping late. By the end of the day the tranquility was shattered and over 2,600 people were dead. American military dead numbered 2,403, with many more wounded.[13] Japanese dead are unknown but most estimates are under one hundred.[14] Often overlooked are the fifty seven civilians that died that day.[15] These casualties will be given further attention later in the section. This attack was one of the most well prepared strikes in military history but it still needed perfect conditions to succeed. The Japanese attack force had stationed itself north of the island of Oahu after a long voyage from Japan, under complete radio silence while successfully avoiding American detection.[16] The first wave of Japanese planes arrived at Pearl Harbor at 7:55am local time launching a surprise attack.[17] Hickam Airfield, located next to Pearl Harbor, received substantial damage to its buildings and one hundred eighty eight planes were destroyed.[18] The United States Navy bore the brunt of the attack and suffered the majority of casualties. In all, twelve ships were badly damaged, six were sunk, and others

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[12] Samuel Weaver, *Hawaii, U.S.A.: A Unique National Heritage* (New York: Pageant Press, 1959), 198.
[13] David M. Kennedy, *Freedom From Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 522.
[14] Robert S. La Forte and Ronald E. Marcello, ed., *Remembering Pearl Harbor: Eyewitness Accounts by U.S. Military Men and Women* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources, 1991), 291. Weaver, 203.
[15] Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 3.
[16] Kennedy, 519.
[17] Archie Satterfield, *The Day The War Began* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 1992), 27.
[18] Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years: 1941-1945* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1971), 5.

received minor damage.[19] All of the eight battleships anchored along the now famous Battleship Row, including the four sunk, received damage from the Japanese planes.[20] One ship is better known than the rest and became a symbol of the American war effort. The USS Arizona was sunk when a 1,760 pound bomb penetrated its deck and detonated the forward magazine setting off a massive explosion that sank the ship.[21] Almost all personnel aboard were killed, and 1,102 sailors and Marines are still entombed within the hull of the ship.[22] The ship leaks oil to this day in what has been described as tears coming from below. This dramatic story added to the emotional impact of the attack for the mainlanders and the ship itself became a physical example of how this was an attack on America. The USS Arizona was turned into a memorial in the post war years.[23] This memorialization shows how the attack on Pearl Harbor had separate implications for the Hawaiians. The attack on USS Arizona was a microcosm on the impacts that the attack on Pearl Harbor had on the United States and Hawaii. In the years to come the USS Arizona affected the Hawaiians and mainlanders differently but also unified them. Military targets like the USS Arizona were not the only things to come under fire on December 7th.

The attack also took a toll on the civilian population of Honolulu, both during and after the Japanese attack. As Japanese planes flew around Pearl Harbor and Honolulu, American anti aircraft guns filled the sky with ammunition. The gunners

[19] Weaver, 200.
[20] Kennedy, 522.
[21] Rosenberg, 71.
[22] Rosenberg, 72.
[23] Rosenberg, 72

fired in all directions, including firing ordnance over Honolulu.[24] Unexploded shells landed in the streets of Honolulu resulting in civilian casualties. Most of these shells were fired when the majority of the Japanese planes had arrived back at their carriers in the late afternoon.[25] In the official records these deaths were broken down race by race with white Americans the only ones listed as Americans.[26] Even in death these Hawaiians had their national identity stripped and replaced by their race. Immediately the Federal government used race to frame Hawaiians as different and thus treat them differently. As a result of the various armaments, fires broke out in the McCully district of Honolulu, which is a considerable distance from Pearl Harbor. Response to the fires was limited, as civilian fire fighters were sent to Pearl Harbor after military equipment was destroyed. Japanese pilots also caused civilian casualties in the deliberate targeting of these non-combatants with the strafing of civilian cars and buildings.[27] The destruction that was caused by both the American and Japanese forces that day shifted the position that Hawaii occupied in the United States. The few hours of chaos of December 7th did more to change Hawaii's place than the decades of work before it.

Hawaiian Views of the Attack

One crucial element that is not often considered by scholars in their works on the attack is how Hawaiians viewed their place in America in the aftermath of the attack. Prior to the attack Hawaiians viewed the mainland as a separate country

[24] Allen, 5-7.
[25] Weaver, 204.
[26] Thurston Clarke, *Pearl Harbor Ghosts: The Legacy of December 7, 1941* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001), 195.
[27] Allen, 5-7.

because of the distance and cultural differences.[28] The inclusion of Hawaii in the United States, from the political beginnings of the process in the late nineteenth century to the moving of the American Pacific Fleet, was against their will. Most people in Hawaiian society from the business elite to the plantation labourers had at best a tenuous connection to the mainland. They were a people subjected to colonialism before and in the immediate aftermath of the attack. The American military presence in the islands was one example of the colonial relationship between the mainland and Hawaii. This was also the reason why Hawaii came under attack.

Military presence in Hawaii was what brought the Japanese planes to Pearl Harbor and what metaphorically moved Hawaii closer to the mainland. The military presence in Hawaii created connections between the Hawaiian people and the mainland primarily because of the work that military provided Hawaiians but also because of the casualties that were caused on December 7th. Some of this association also came from their vulnerability to another attack from the Japanese.[29] Jon Osorio, a Hawaiian and historian, used his parents as an example of a generation of Hawaiians that drew closer to the mainlanders.[30] Osorio claimed that these feelings of unity did not last through to his generation, thus demonstrating that this change took place after the attack on Pearl Harbor but for some it was not a lasting impact. The inclusion of the Hawaiians into the United States, despite Hawaiian opinions wanting

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[28] T. Makana Chock, "Americanization: Framing Statehood in Hawaii," in *Propaganda Without Propagandists?: Six Case Studies in U.S. Propaganda*, ed. James Shanahan (Cresskill, New Jersey: Hampton Press, 2001), 19.
[29]Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, "Memorializing Pu'uloa and Remembering Pearl Harbor," in *Militarized Currents: Toward Decolonized Future in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Setsu Shigematsu and Keith L. Camacho (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 7-8.
[30] Osorio, 7.

the contrary, demonstrates that the attack on Pearl Harbor was co-opted and Hawaii was made American only out of wartime necessity.

Many Japanese Hawaiians had a different reaction from other groups in the islands. Daniel Inouye, the future Senator from Hawaii, was present at the attack on Pearl Harbor and his relationship with the United States changed that day. The then seventeen year old was even aware of this at the time of the attack began, recalling "The world came to an end for me. I was old enough to know nothing would be the same."[31] His prediction was to become all too true. The Japanese Hawaiians were no longer to be a separate community in the islands but would be included with or without their consent. Their integration was however not all inclusive as was demonstrated when Japanese Americans were denied the right to serve in the United States military. Inouye expressed anger at this because he felt he was as American as the mainlanders, not only because of the connections to his birthplace but also with what he saw, and survived through, at Pearl Harbor.[32] He wanted to be treated as American as anyone else. For the Japanese Hawaiians the attack on Pearl Harbor changed their position, relative to the United States, by drawing them closer to the mainland. Inouye's feelings are an example of the immediate impacts the attack had on making all Hawaiians feel American. Many Hawaiians chose to identify with the mainland in the aftermath of the attack and thus the process of their new Americanization included some limited Hawaiian consent.

Treatment of Hawaiians by the Federal Government During the War

[31] Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (New York: Random House, 1998), 349.
[32] Brokaw, 351

The treatment of the Hawaiians by the American Federal government during the war was representative of this new found importance, but also the lack of complete acceptance of Hawaii. The legal treatment of the Hawaiians was but one example of this mindset. Hours after the attack, the governor of Hawaii, Joseph B. Poindexter, declared martial law to the dismay of Hawaiian government officials and civilians alike.[33] This was possible due to a provision in the Organic Act of 1900 allowing him to do so.[34] It was justified by Poindexter in terms of the need to protect Hawaiians. He argued that the military could defend the population from both outside and inside threats better than a civilian government.[35] The head of the Army forces in the islands, Lieutenant General Walter G. Short, became the military governor of Hawaii.[36] This new status created drastic changes that affected the Hawaiians immediately. Blackouts and a curfew began that night, becoming a fact of daily life for years to come.[37] Rationing began that day including the suspension of sales of alcohol as one of the first orders of the military government.[38] Regulation on everything from gas to the legalizing and controlling of prostitution became the new normal in the islands.[39] The use of martial law was the most extreme measure taken and best example highlighting Hawaii's second-class status. The Federal government's poor opinions of Hawaiians were also demonstrated when the freedom of the press was curtailed and Hawaiians were denied a basic democratic right.

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[33] Bell, 76.
[34] Allen, 177.
[35] Bell, 76.
[36] Bell, 76.
[37] Bailey and Farber, *The First Strange Place,* 10.
[38] Office of Military Governor of Hawaii, *General Orders No. 2*, James F. Hanley, December 7, 1941, Hawaii War Records Depository, Honolulu**.**
[39] Weaver, 206.

Freedom of the press was limited by the government as all newspapers in Hawaii came under control of the military government.[40] When contrasted with the freedom of the press on the mainland the second-class status of Hawaii becomes evident.[41] The restriction on the Japanese American press was reflective of the racist governmental control in Hawaii. After being shut down in early December 1941, the Japanese press were allowed to continue publishing out of the necessary of communicating with Issei, first generation Japanese immigrants, who spoke no English but not without government interference.[42] The military government forced them to change their titles from those of Japanese origin to generic titles like Herald and Times, even with resistance from its editors, as not to appear to support the Japanese.[43] These papers were also forced to accept government appointed editors and contributors who did not speak Japanese and often used the term 'Jap' in their articles.[44] This was one of many racist official policies directed at the Japanese Hawaiians during the war in Hawaii. Japanese language papers were not the only ones which were limited by the Federal government or forced out of circulation for a sort time due to war time panic. All newspapers, from those controlled by the Big Five to the papers produced by the various ethnic groups, were censored by the military government. The government control of the press continued after the ending of martial law and was not completely stopped until the end of the conflict in August 1945.[45] Again the treatment of the Hawaiians by the Federal government was not the

[40] Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 4.
[41] Chapin, 175.
[42] Chapin, 181.
[43] Bell, 77.
[44] Chapin, 182.
[45] Chapin, 173.

same as the mainland and they were denied some of the most basic rights of a free society.

Martial law, and all its programs, was an unnecessary measure that stemmed from American racism and war time panic. Complete government control of Hawaii was a measure with no equal in the United States during the war. Martial law had only ever been used by the American government in conquered areas and Hawaii obviously did not fit this criteria.[46] The writ of habeas corpus was suspended due to a lack of constitutional protection in the islands.[47] The official excuse for the continuation of martial law was the threat of another Japanese attack, or a possible invasion, against Hawaii. Japanese planners had contemplated another attack against Hawaii and some Japanese leaders had proposed an invasion of the islands despite the reality of the situation. After the American victory at the Battle of Midway in June 1942, the Japanese advance in the Central Pacific was checked and Hawaii was safe from further attacks.[48] The attack on Pearl Harbor was a tactical victory but its success was partially due to good luck and a lack of American readiness. A full invasion of the Hawaiian Islands would have required the same conditions as the first attack and even more military power. This would have been impracticable because of the growing American strength, and Japanese losses, in the Central Pacific. The continued use of martial law after Midway demonstrates the true nature of the official attitude toward Hawaii. Even direct Japanese invasion of the Alaskan territory was not enough for the declaring of martial law thus demonstrating that this legal status in Hawaii was done for reasons other than protection.

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[46] Weaver, 213.
[47] Bell, 76.
[48] Kennedy, 540.

It has been argued by many scholars that the use of martial law in Hawaii was not an example of racism or that the Hawaiians were being treated as second-class citizens. They contend that martial law was enacted to protect Hawaiians from the very real threat of another attack by the Japanese. The unchanged legal status of Alaska demonstrates that martial law in Hawaii was undertaken for more than reasons of security. The invasion and occupation of the Aleutian Islands, off the coast of Alaska, by the Japanese in 1942 directly threatened Alaskan security.[49] Yet martial law was never declared in the territory. Alaskans did face similar conditions to the Hawaiians including military censorship, blackouts, and travel restrictions but the negative impact on the civil rights of Alaskan's was never to the same level as in Hawaii.[50] The lack of martial law in Alaska demonstrates that Hawaii was viewed as more un-American than Alaska by the Federal government because it was not afford the same protections under American law. Alaska was a territory just like Hawaii and it was directly threatened by the Japanese military but there was no change in its legal definition. Hawaii faced one attack that was not going to be repeated and yet Hawaiians lived under martial law for three years. The use of martial law in Hawaii is a direct example of how Hawaii was not fully accepted as American during the war. The actions of the Federal government also show this to be true. The use of martial law was even unnecessary before these two military engagements and the Federal government was well aware of this fact.

On December 24th, 1941 the American Pacific Command declared Hawaii safe from a large Japanese attack and put it lower than Australia on the shipping

[49] Stephen Haycox, *Alaska: An American Colony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 260.
[50] Haycox, 262.

priority list.[51] This caused shortages, along with the rationing, of essential materials which once again demonstrates the second-class status of wartime Hawaii.[52] A newspaper article written during the process of overturning martial law was indicative of this sentiment. In the article, William Norwood, a mainlander in the islands during the war, questioned the readiness of the Hawaiians to return the government to civilian control in 1943.[53] He claimed that the Hawaiian population supported the continuation of the military government without actually citing any opinion polls or evidence on the topic.[54] He wrote that "Although no polls have been taken to present an accurate gauge of opinion, it appears from general discussion and curbstone comment that most of the residents of Hawaii do not believe their interest during the past year could have been served and protected so adequately under civil law as they have been under military rule."[55] Norwood's poor journalism reflects mainland opinions of Hawaiians at the time. He presented the Hawaiians as unready for democracy and therefore not acceptable as Americans. He also claimed there was a lack of resistance to martial law in Hawaii. This statement was simply not true as there was a struggle against this civil rights violation in the islands. Norwood was a defender of the military rule and uses much of the same language that colonial supporters used in justifying their rule over foreign people. Norwood claimed the Hawaiian took the suspension of their civil liberties in stride and were content to be

[51] Edward D. Beechert, *Honolulu: Crossroads of the Pacific* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 135.
[52] Beechert, 135.
[53] William Norwood, "Easing of Martial Law in Hawaii Tests Democracy," *Christian Science Monitor* January 21, 1943, 13.
[54] Norwood, 13.
[55] Norwood, 13.

treated differently from the mainland. Not all people in Hawaii, or even on the mainland, believed Norwood's statements about support for military rule.

Some mainlanders did try to remedy this situation. Governor Ingram M. Stainback, appointed in late summer 1942, sought to change the complete military control of Hawaiian life.[56] His Attorney General J. Gardner Anthony was appointed in part because of his anti-martial law stance and served from 1942 to 1943.[57] They both fought against the lack of Hawaiian rights and went to Washington D.C. to lobby the Federal government.[58] There was a fairly well publicized debate about the legality of martial law in 1942. Anthony published an article questioning the legality of martial law in the California Law Review.[59] This article was met by Military Governor General Emmons when he wrote a response in the press defending the necessity of martial law in Hawaii.[60] The debate did eventually end on October 24, 1944 when President Roosevelt formally terminated martial law and the military government.[61] This decision was arrived at in the Executive branch because as Roger Bell argued "Military rule flatly contradicted America's constitutional principles and could not be sustained indefinitely, despite the support it received from many influential islanders."[62] Martial law was ended, not only because it was illegal, but because Hawaii was becoming American and thus it was receiving the protections that come with that label but not immediately. The legal status of Hawaii, which was one of the strongest indicators of its second-class status, was still debated for some

[56] J. Garner Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955), 22.
[57] Bell, 76.
[58] Allen, 174.
[59] Bell, 76.
[60] "Martial Law Defended by General Emmons," *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 16, 1942.
[61] Bell, 86. Anthony, 101.
[62] Bell, 86.

time after the war. The case of martial law in Hawaii was not heard by the Supreme Court until December 1945, after the war ended, and they did not find it to be unconstitutional until February 1946.[63] The military government's poor treatment of Hawaiians, in the end, was not all negative, as it helped make Hawaii American as because it created the desire for statehood among the Hawaiian people. Some mainlanders still held poor opinions of Hawaii and this was because of their first hand experiences with the islands.

Mainland Military Personnel and War Workers' Views of Hawaii

The government also placed social pressure on the Hawaiians in the form of an increased mainlander presence. These new arrivals came with an idealized vision of the islands that they were to find out was not true. Before their arrival, many of them believed the myth of Hawaii as an exotic vacation destination. These opinions were partially crafted by the American commanders in order to preserve the racial harmony of the islands by presenting it as something exotic and not American. It was hoped that they would not expect the same social conditions of mainland, especially in the south. This goal was evident in a publication, titled *A Pocket Guide to Hawaii*, given to the mainland troops upon their arrival in Hawaii. Created by the Morale Services of Central Pacific Base Command the guide was created to aid in the transition of mainland military personnel to the social conditions in Hawaii.[64] This publication will receive more attention in the visual representation section of this paper but in short its use of images and language attempted to make Hawaii seem exotic demonstrates that the military command was trying to make the military

[63] Bell, 86.
[64] Special Projects Branch, Morale Services Section Central Pacific Base Command, *A Pocket Guide to Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: Army Information Branch, 1944), i.

personnel feel like tourists. Historians David Farber and Beth Bailey argued that this was a failed policy that had little chance of succeeding because of the actual conditions that existed in Hawaii during the war.[65] The guide was one element of this policy and it too was ultimately unsuccessful. The contradictory stances in this guide are one reason for this failure. The opening line focused on how Hawaii was a new country to these personnel "This is about Hawaii, to introduce you to a new country. New Countries are like new friends. You can't get to enjoy them until you've learned something about them."[66] The authors then took a conflicting stance a few pages later by stating "You'll see people working in those fields. They'll be just as American as you. And just as proud of it."[67] The guide represented Hawaii as both part of, and also removed from, the United States. The issue of race was indirectly addressed to remind the reader that the all Hawaiians were Americans, "There's one primary point to remember. No matter what color of their skin, no matter how they appear, the civilians you see in the Hawaiian Islands are Americans."[68] The need to head off the racist expectations of many military personnel was seen in this passage thus showing the need of the military command to control its personnel. The actual conditions of Hawaii were another element that caused problems for these newly arrived mainlanders.

The images of Hawaii that were presented prior to the war were not the ones actually encountered by these mainlanders. Beaches were covered by barbed wire, military police controlled all aspects of vice, the ratio between men and women was

[65] Farber and Bailey, "The Fighting Man as Tourist", 641.
[66] Special Projects, 1.
[67] Special Projects, 3.
[68] Special Projects, 7.

heavily weighted towards the former, and the landscapes became less beautiful when the military personnel were force marched through them.[69] Two major complaints from mainlanders about Hawaii were related to the slow pace of both the communication and public transportation systems in Honolulu.[70] Many of these mainlanders believed that framing Hawaii as a vacation destination was misguided as they were fighting in a war and not on holiday.[71] Some soldiers even called Hawaii the worst place they had ever been.[72] Another mainland military writer claimed that the Marines would rather be in combat than in the prison that was Hawaii.[73] This claim seems a bit exaggerated as the nature of combat in the Pacific took its toll on the American troops. Marines returning from Tarwa exemplified the failure of this misguided tourist policy. The battle of Tarwa was fought during November 1943 on an island the size of New York City's Central Park. There were over 1,000 Americans killed and over 2,000 more wounded. The photos of dead Marines on the beach shocked the American people and for the first time showed them the cost of fighting in the Pacific.[74] Upon their return to Hawaii they were placed on a work detail in a remote part of the island of Hawaii out of fears they might attack Japanese Americans due to brutal nature of the combat they had endured. Despite these measures some Marines did engage in fights with a few Japanese Americans after being sent into civilian areas.[75] These racially motivated events demonstrated why this policy of tourist soldiers was a failure. These Marines were not on a vacation but rather they

[69] Farber and Bailey, "The Fighting Man as Tourist", 653.
[70] Robert C. Ruark, "Ho-hum in Hawaii," *Liberty*, April 21 1945, 31, 72.
[71] Farber and Bailey, "The Fighting Man as Tourist", 651.
[72] Farber and Bailey, "The Fighting Man as Tourist", 653.
[73] Ruark, 30.
[74] Kennedy, 610.
[75] Farber and Bailey, "The Fighting Man as Tourist", 652.

were involved in a brutal race war that took its tone from the attack at Pearl Harbor. These actions and thoughts affected Hawaii's place in the United States, as armed forces personnel did not believe the tourist label or even that Hawaii was the same as the mainland. Civilian mainlanders had similar experiences to the military personnel in Hawaii.

Another mainland group, that had an impact on Hawaiians' place in America, was the war workers. At one point this group numbered 82,000 people creating a large group of mainlanders those opinions of Hawaii were becoming increasingly important.[76] Much like the military personnel these workers had perceptions of Hawaii that were undone when they came to the islands. Many became disaffected by Hawaii and returned to the mainland, some because of family reasons, but more often because they were not in the Hawaii of popular imagination. An article that appeared in the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* on February 2nd, 1943 urged the workers to remain in Hawaii.[77] The author presented the claim that conditions in Hawaii were improving for war workers, it even offered that they better than on the mainland and that there were war workers returning to Hawaii after leaving for the mainland.[78] This effort was conducted in order to retain these workers in a market that was lacking skilled labour. Some of these claims seem exaggerated but nevertheless show the importance of the war workers. Assessing the complete impact of these attempts to keep war workers in Hawaii and the influence that it had in making Hawaii more America is difficult. The existence of this effort does however demonstrate the attack on Pearl Harbor had unforeseen impacts on what groups were needed to be convinced of

[76] Allen, 233.
[77] "Better Stay in Hawaii," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 2, 1943.
[78] "Better Stay in Hawaii"

Hawaii's Americanness. The war workers were one group that were targeted for this purpose. Additional geographic and non-human elements also increasingly influenced Hawaii's place in America as the war progressed.

The Actual Harbor and It's Impact on Hawaii's Americanness

Another method to explore how the events of December 7th had an impact on Hawaii is to examine the change the actual harbour underwent during the war. From being the under developed main base of the Pacific Fleet prior to the attack, to the main hub of America's war in the Pacific, the increasing importance of Pearl Harbor itself unquestioningly affected Hawaii's place in America. Recovery efforts after the attack began a process that connected the harbour to the United States military more so then before the attack. Salvaging the sunken ships was one of the first priorities of the recovery efforts so these ships could join the war effort. Only the USS Arizona and the USS Oklahoma were unrecoverable. The oil tanks and repair facilities were undamaged which allowed the Pacific Fleet to stay in Hawaii.[79] In order to make Pearl Harbor more serviceable to the American war effort major improvements were conducted during the war years. One such improvement was to enlarge the airfields and create a seaplane basin at Pearl Harbor. Hickham airfield was expanded and the seaplane basin was completed in October 1944.[80] Even with all these efforts the harbour facilities still came out of the war in poor condition due to the intense use and a lack of maintenance.[81] Despite its physical condition the harbour became the centre of the American post war activity in the Pacific. Pearl Harbor was the reason that the military needed to make Hawaii a state as they could not allow it to become an

[79] Allen, 87, 89.
[80] Beechert, 138.
[81] Beechert, 139.

independent country in the post war period. This thought will be further covered in the section on statehood and race where it will be shown to be one of the reasons Hawaii was drawn closer to the mainland. The attack demonstrated its vulnerability but its strategic location and importance to the American military. Other parts of the islands were important, and still are, to the military but Pearl Harbor is the ultimate reason for Hawaii's connection to the United States. Impacts of the attack on the Hawaiians, including how the islands were run, can still not be discounted.

The Beginning of the Collapse of the Big Five During the War

The collapse of the Big Five business conglomerate was another change which began during the war. The undoing of their strangle hold on the islands helped Hawaii to become American thus highlighting the varied consequences of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Prior to the war, this collection of white-dominated businesses controlled almost all aspects of Hawaiian life, from the plantation-based economy to the media, communication, banking, shipping with the mainland and the politics of the islands.[82] The rule of the Big Five has been described as benevolent despotism, oligarchy, even feudalism.[83] But attack on Pearl Harbor was the beginning of the end for the Big Five. Military control of the islands was one reason why this demise occurred. The Big Five dominated Honolulu Chamber of Commerce supported the military government but this ultimately proved to be their undoing.[84] The collapse of Big Five control was not immediate, as it survived into the post war period, but their subjugation to the military government during the war was precipitated their collapse

[82] Poka Laenui, "The Rediscovery of Hawaiian Sovereignty," in *Native American Voices: A Reader*, ed. Susan Lobo and Steve Talbot (New York: Longman, 1998), 137.
[83] MacDonald, 4
[84] John A. Hamilton, June 1, 1944, Chamber of Commerce of Honolulu Memorandum, Hawaii War Records Depository, Honolulu.

of control in Hawaii.[85] The role of the military in this process came from the limiting of civil rights. Martial law completely removed the rights of Hawaiians and thus created calls for not only the restoration of the prewar rights but those of mainland Americans as well. This could not be done if the Big Five still controlled all elements of Hawaiian life. The war workers that came to Hawaii during the war also contributed to the downfall of the Big Five. Their pro union ideas were naturally in opposition to the Big Five. Author Alexander MacDonald described Hawaiian prewar labour contracts as akin to slavery or serfdom.[86] Better working conditions did not occur until the wartime conditions of military rule had been lifted but the ideas of fairer labour practices were planted by the mainland war workers.

Section Conclusion

The war time conditions, opinions and events were the reason why Hawaii moved closer to being America. Earlier attempts made by various factions to the do this before war failed and nothing they could do compared with what the Japanese military did for Hawaiian inclusion when it attacked Pearl Harbor on December 7th, 1941. Without the wartime conditions, and the events, that preceded them than Hawaii would not have moved closer to the United States in the second half of the twentieth century. All factors, no matter how unpleasant, inconvenient or illegal, from the use of martial law to the collapse of the Big Five were needed to get the Hawaiian people to fully realize their second-class status and demand the full protection of the American Constitution. The Second World War set up other factors that led to Hawaiian inclusion and eventually its statehood. The immediate attempts to make

[85] Weaver, 215.
[86] MacDonald, 3.

Hawaii American by both mainlanders and Hawaiians are where our attention will now turn.

An Attack on American Soil?: Making Hawaii American

Section Introduction

The attack on Pearl Harbor was the primary reason why Hawaii started to become American. Following the attack, the work of many in both Hawaii and on the mainland contributed to the initiation of this process. The speech given by President Franklin Roosevelt one day after the attack tied Hawaiian identity and mainland opinion together. It was the first step in convincing the mainlanders of Hawaii's Americanness even though some did not need convincing. The reaction of West Coasters plays into the creation of Hawaii's Americanness as the islands moved metaphorically closer to the mainland as seen with the panic that struck the West Coast on the night of December 7th. Contrasting Hawaii to the other American colony of the Philippines also demonstrates how Hawaii moved closer to the mainland. The intentions of the Japanese planners are also important in understanding why they attacked Pearl Harbor and how mainland opinions of Hawaii were viewed on the world stage. The Hawaiian feelings of connection to mainlanders who served at Pearl Harbor are an important element in understanding this change. Hawaiians themselves aided this process as well, as many embraced the idea of changing from a colonial identity to an American one. Making Hawaii American was an effort made by mainlanders as result of the attack on Pearl Harbor in the drive for war even though war would have been declared despite Hawaii's level of Americanness. Nevertheless

the efforts to make Hawaii American were still made and thus Hawaii became connected to the United States for the first time in a meaningful way.

President Roosevelt's December 8th, 1941 Speech

On December 8th, 1941 President Roosevelt spoke before a joint session of Congress seeking a declaration of war against the Japanese Empire. This act not only officially entered the American people into the worst war in world history but also made Hawaii part of the United States for the first time. It was with this line that Hawaii started to become Americans "Yesterday, December 7, 1941-a date which will live in infamy- the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan."[87] Hawaii was presented to the American people just as any other state and not as just a territory. Roosevelt's speech act was the catalyst for starting the process of making Hawaii part of the United States, a feat that no prewar rhetoric was able to accomplish. By not framing the attack as one on Americans in a foreign country or distant colonial possession, President Roosevelt made Hawaii part of the United States. The rhetoric used was also important in accomplishing this task as he framed the attack as one of treachery by the Japanese "During the intervening time the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace."[88] As peace negotiations were ongoing during the attack, anger was directed towards the Japanese for the surprise attack.[89] The depiction of treachery not only aided the process of making Hawaii part of the United

[87] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *The Call to Battle Stations*. Edited by Samuel I. Rosenman Vol. 10, *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*. New York: Russell and Russell, 1969), 514.
[88] Roosevelt, *The Call to Battle Stations,* 514.
[89] Kennedy, 515.

States, but it also created strong feelings of betrayal that had impacts which lasted the entire war. In *War Without Mercy*, John Dower argued that race hate between the Americans and the Japanese created the brutal conditions in the Pacific War. The race hate even resulted in a variation of the famous phrase "Remember Pearl Harbor" with the addition of "Keep 'em dying."[90] The attack on Hawaii became so important to the American identity that fighting in the Pacific was arguably one of the worst theatres in the entire conflict. Past American violence on the frontier was used by Roosevelt to frame the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Emily Rosenberg argued that President Roosevelt used Americans' understanding of the frontier and famous defeats suffered there to frame the attack on Pearl Harbor.[91] The defeats of General Custer at Little Big Horn and the Texans at the Alamo were used by Rosenberg to frame this argument. She claimed that Roosevelt framed Pearl Harbor in this way to allow Americans to believe this was an attack by racial others that required revenge.[92] Rosenberg was not the only author to tie the events of December 7th to frontier myths. Tom Engelhardt drew the same comparison in his book on American Cold War culture.[93] From the defeat at Pearl Harbor, by a racial other, Americans would ultimately win the war, just as Americans were victorious against the native populations in the late nineteenth century. Engelhardt noted that Hawaii was on the periphery of America when attacked.[94] Again the connection to the frontier is quite obvious and examining this symbolism is

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[90] John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 36.
[91] Rosenberg, 12.
[92] Rosenberg, 12-14.
[93] Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 7-8.
[94] Engelhardt, 5.

helpful in understanding not only Americans want of revenge but also Hawaii's changing place in the United States. Framing Hawaii as the American frontier, while completely justified at the time, may not seem to connote Americanness but it was part of the process becoming American. Little Big Horn and the Alamo were outside the United States at the time they took place much like Hawaii. The attack on Pearl Harbor moved Hawaii closer to the mainland in the minds of Americans because of their understanding of American development on the frontier. Hawaii became a place for Americans to focus on and they connected it to their identity. In framing the attack as one on the American people by a racial other, President Roosevelt was able to justify the declaration and simultaneously move Hawaii closer to the mainland.

Not only did this direct mention of Hawaii in President Roosevelt's rhetoric make Hawaii part of United States, his omissions also had the same affect. The typed version of Roosevelt's speech differs greatly on the question of Hawaii's Americanness from the actual spoken speech. Prior to the speech he made several hand written changes to the prepared speech which altered its impact on Hawaii.[95] Originally the colony of the Philippines was presented in the same manner as Hawaii. It was attacked only a few hours after Pearl Harbor and also saw the death of American military personnel. The Philippines were an important element of the American defences in the Pacific when it was attacked, although it was not with the same element of surprise or numbers of death Americans, by the Japanese.[96] In his first mention of the Japanese attacks Roosevelt crossed out "Hawaii and the

[95] Rosenberg, 86.
[96] Kennedy, 527-529.

Philippines" and replaced them simply with "the island of Oahu."[97] Later in the speech, he removed mention of Manila, the capital of the Philippines, in the same sentence as Oahu and replaced it with the Hawaiian Islands when describing the damage to American military forces.[98] In these speech acts, he removed the Americanness from the Philippines while focusing on the Hawaiian Islands. His actions were designed to overcome the prewar isolationist movement. In the effort to gain support for a declaration of war President Roosevelt selected the Pearl Harbor attack as a primary focus in order to make the event seem closer to the mainland. He felt he needed to create a threat to American safety in order to create popular and governmental support for the war. Including the Philippines would have made this position less attainable, thus its exclusion from this part of the speech. Hawaii became American in the aftermath to facilitate the declaration of war. This stands in contrast to President Roosevelt's treatment of the Philippines and demonstrates the power the attack on Pearl Harbor had on changing Hawaii's position in America.

Roosevelt's speech itself was the first real news of the attack for many Americans because of both distance from the attack and the fact that no photos of the attack were released immediately for public consumption.[99] Americans today have the iconic photos of the USS Arizona burning or the smoke rising from Pearl Harbor in their collective memory, but the American people of the day did not have these images in the immediate aftermath. Not only was the speech important informing the American people of what happened in Hawaii and of the other Japanese attacks in the

[97] Franklin D. Roosevelt, Speech, December 8, 1941, "Proposed Message to Congress," http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/images/decwarp1.jpg (accessed July 9, 2011).
[98] Franklin D. Roosevelt, Speech, December 8, 1941, "Proposed Message to Congress," http://docs.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/images/decwarp2.jpg (accessed July 9, 2011).
[99] Rosenberg, 15.

Pacific but it also set the tone of how the attack was going to be perceived in the days and weeks that followed. The inclusion of Hawaii was not a foregone conclusion as Roosevelt's prewar opinions of the Pacific will demonstrate.

President Roosevelt's Prewar Position Towards Hawaii

President Roosevelt's prewar attention to Hawaii was quite limited. His lack of attention towards the islands demonstrates that in his mind Hawaii did not become important until after the attack on Pearl Harbor. After December 7th, President Roosevelt could no longer ignore the importance of Hawaii to both American defence and identity. He did not completely ignore Hawaii, as he had vacationed there in the mid 1930s and moved the Pacific Fleet to Pearl Harbor in 1940. It appears however that most of his prewar focus in the Pacific was on the Philippines. This attention was justified because of the vulnerable location of the Philippines off the coast of Formosa, currently Taiwan and then a Japanese colony, and the other Japanese-held islands in the central Pacific. At a November 28, 1941 press conference, President Roosevelt noted how the Philippines were an important part of the American defences and were vulnerable to Japanese attack.[100] During this press conference he made no mention of Hawaii. The placing of the Filipino armed forces under American command in July 1941 was further evidence of the concern over the security of the Philippines.[101] In his December 6th, 1941 plea for peace to the Japanese Emperor, Roosevelt stated that the Filipinos were worried about their safety.[102] In public discourse before Pearl Harbor the Philippines always received more attention from Roosevelt than Hawaii. In Roosevelt's private letters Hawaii also did not receive

[100] Roosevelt, *The Call to Battle Stations*, 501.
[101] Roosevelt, *The Call to Battle Stations* , 283.
[102] Roosevelt, *The Call to Battle Stations* , 512-513.

much attention. In a letter to Secretary of State Cordell Hull Roosevelt noted the importance of several islands in the Pacific in relation to debates over their sovereignty with the British.[103] Hawaii was presented in terms of sovereignty as well but his claims were not as strong "The question of the Hawaii by British transport planes and of New Zealand and Australia by American transport planes is a different subject."[104] His attention again was on other points in the Pacific. Six days before Pearl Harbor Roosevelt noted his concern over various locations that might come under Japanese attack.[105] Hawaii was not among them. He also wrote a letter outlining the importance of the Easter Islands, never under American control, to American Pacific defences to Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles.[106] No letter was written about Hawaii. There were several reasons for this omission. The first was that President Roosevelt, and others, considered Hawaii to be safe from Japanese action. The significant distance between Hawaii and Japanese possessions created a false sense of security as the eastern most island group, the Marshalls, is about 2,500 miles from Hawaii. Also Japanese aggression was directed towards Southeast Asia and no signs of hostility were shown towards the Central Pacific. Finally and most importantly President Roosevelt's personal preference was to focus on the European conflict and hence the lack of mentions towards the entire Pacific area. As an example he gave the task of handling the negotiations with the Japanese to Secretary Hull. His unwillingness to handle the talks himself shows that his attention was primarily centred on Europe. When he did focus on the Pacific it was on the

[103] Franklin D. Roosevelt, *F.D.R.: His Personal Letters*, ed. Elliott Roosevelt, vol. 4, (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1950), 775.
[104] Roosevelt, *F.D.R.*, vol. 4, 775.
[105] Roosevelt, *F.D.R.*, vol. 4, 1247-1248.
[106] Roosevelt, *F.D.R.*, vol. 4, 871-872.

Philippines and not Hawaii. The contrast between these two American prewar colonies will show why Hawaii became American and the Philippines did not.

A Contrast Between Hawaii and the Philippines Positions in the United States

Why did Hawaii become American while the Philippines did not? The pre-war situation of both these archipelagos determined how they were viewed after the attack on Pearl Harbor. The Philippines had been promised independence by Congress in 1934 after a ten year period.[107] Giving independence to the Filipino people was not immediate nor was it done for benevolent reasons. It has been argued that the Philippines were given independence because they were indefensible in the event of a Japanese attack.[108] This argument is given credence by the previously mentioned positions of President Roosevelt on the defence of the Pacific. The importance of Hawaii in the American Pacific defences made talk of independence for the islands out of the question. Hawaii was an integral base of operations for the United States military and was a great distance from any threat in the Pacific. There were no thoughts, by anyone in the American government, to giving Hawaii independence because it was indefensible. Both sets of islands were part of the American defences in the Pacific but were treated differently in the aftermath of the attack. This was in no small part because of who controlled both of these archipelagos. While Hawaii was attacked, no Japanese troops landed on any major island and the American military remained in power. The Philippines were subject to direct and repeated attacks in the days following Pearl Harbor and eventually fell to

[107] Kennedy, 392.
[108] Beechert, 132.

the Japanese invaders. This undoubtedly, affected American perceptions of the Philippines.

American colonial presence in both the Philippines and Hawaii was another reason why Hawaii became part of the United States after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Both sets of islands came under American control in 1898, but the American presence in Hawaii was much more established than it was in the Philippines. Americans had been in Hawaii since the mid nineteenth century and Americans controlled the short-lived Hawaiian Republic. American control in the Philippines was not as complete. In 1898 the United States was at war with the Spanish and a naval attack was directed towards their colony of the Philippines. Following the Spanish surrender, there was much debate about what to do with the newly acquired islands in the Pacific. After much discussion Congress decided to keep possession of the Philippines and faced a guerrilla insurrection by the Filipinos. This long and brutal war no doubt played into the American perceptions of the Philippines especially when contrasted to Hawaii. The Filipinos actively resisted American presence whereas the Hawaiians, under the republic, were actively seeking to become part of America. The widely held opinion of the Hawaiian desire to become American was not entirely true, it did played into the American perception of the islands. This claim does stand in contrast to earlier claims made in this paper about a lack of American knowledge of Hawaii but American knowledge of the Philippines was considerably less. The Philippines moved away from the United States because of Pearl Harbor while at the same time Hawaii moved closer. These perceptions connect to what the mainlanders thought of

these islands and our attention will now turn to what they thought about Hawaii in the aftermath of the attack.

The Mainland Reasons for Hawaii's New Place in America

Mainland Americans were the reason why President Roosevelt presented Hawaii just like any other part of the United States.[109] This section will show that Hawaii needed to become American in order for the attack to have enough impact to convince the American people to go to war with the Japanese. As reports of the attack began to reach the mainland, the immediate responses of the mainlanders were feelings of shock and betrayal but it also invoked questions regarding the location of Hawaii. These seemingly contradictory feelings and reactions were the reason why President Roosevelt presented Hawaii as he did. One example was the author Archie Satterfield's use of his brother's reaction of hearing of the attack on December 8th "'Let me see, where is that? Is that where they dive for pearls?' We had no idea at all. And we didn't have any idea how important it was to us."[110] He did not think of Hawaii as America in his immediate thoughts upon hearing of the attack, because he did not even know where it was. This is just one example, but it reflects the thoughts of some Americans who did not associate Hawaii with being American immediately after hearing of the attack. President Roosevelt's speech was specially worded to associate Hawaii with America because of this group of mainlanders. He needed to convince mainlanders that Hawaii was American enough to declare war against its attacker. He also needed to make Hawaii seem closer to the mainland, particularly to

[109] This is not a revisionist history on the events of Pearl Harbor. This section will not entertain the idea that President Roosevelt put the Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor in order to provoke war with the Japanese.
[110] Satterfield, 153.

those in the Midwest and eastern parts of the country. These areas were not close enough to the West Coast to feel any immediate danger from the attack. Thus President Roosevelt needed to make Hawaii seem closer so all mainlanders would support the declaration of war. Those on West Coast convinced themselves that Hawaii had moved closer to the mainland.

Panic played a large role in Hawaii's transition for those on the West Coast. As news of the attack reached the West Coast rumours became widespread including that an invasion of the mainland was imminent. Dennis Keegan, in San Francisco on the day of the attack, described that war did not seem likely because Hawaii was far away.[111] The panic of that day shows that the majority of people did not think Hawaii was as far away as they did on December 6th. The threat of a Japanese attack on the West Coast created terror among the West Coasters despite the reality of the situation. Hawaii was still 2,000 miles from the mainland but those in California thought they were under immediate threat from the Japanese. This had an unforeseen consequence of moving Hawaii closer to the mainland in the minds of those on the West Coast. The opinions of those who threatened the United States and Hawaii will show how Hawaii moved closer to the mainland.

Japanese Planners Views of Hawaii

The views of the Japanese planners in relation to Hawaii are helpful in understanding Hawaii's place in the United States in connection to the attack. Why the Japanese planes came to Hawaii sheds light on this classification of Hawaii. The attack on Pearl Harbor was designed to destroy the American Pacific Fleet to allow

[111] Studs Terkel, *"The Good War": An Oral History of World War Two* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 25.

the Japanese advances in Southeast Asia to be conducted uninterrupted. It was not designed for any symbolic importance for the American, Hawaiian, or Japanese people. The American military presence in Hawaii was what brought the Japanese planes to Pearl Harbor not the hopes of gaining a symbol victory. John Dower, in his book *Cultures of War*, argued that the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was made for strategic reasons and that the psychological impact of the attack was an afterthought.[112] This can be contrasted with the widely held opinion that the Japanese believed that a strike against Pearl Harbor would force the Americans to concede to their demands and avert a war. The Japanese believed the Americans to be weak and not willing to fight. It also demonstrates that the Japanese did not believe Hawaii was a symbol that Americans would be willing to fight for. The planners of the attack also underestimated the American ability to change their identity. Hawaii was an example of this capacity for adjustment in national identity. There were no indications that Hawaii was to become a rallying point for the American people as correctly stated by Dower that "Hawaii itself was marginal in American consciousness at the time: a remote, exotic territory annexed in 1898 that did become a U.S. state until 1959."[113] Restating this point as understood by Dower again shows how Hawaii's identity changed after the attack. If he assumed Hawaii was part of the United States than any statements about Hawaii being marginal or the attack being only conducted for strategic reasons could not be made. The Japanese planners were ultimately wrong in their assumptions about the American people. Hawaii did become a rallying point for the American people in the days and weeks following the attack. Americans prewar

[112] John W. Dower, *Cultures of War: Pearl Harbor/Hiroshima/9-11/Iraq* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), 27.
[113] Dower, *Cultures of War*, 27.

opinions of Hawaii certainly showed a lack of attention towards the islands and the Japanese failure to understand American collective psychology not only led to war but also a change in Hawaii's position in the United States.

The Hawaiians' View of Their New Position

After the attack Hawaiian became American and this new reality was not entirely with Hawaiian consent. The inclusion of Hawaiians in the United States, from its political beginning in the late nineteenth century to President Roosevelt's speech in 1941, was primarily against their will. Almost all people in Hawaiian society from the native Hawaiians to plantation labourers had at best a tenuous connection to the mainland. The elite planters were one group that fit the definition of Hawaiians mentioned in the introduction but they were part of the colonial structure of prewar Hawaii. They had a stronger connection to the mainland because of their business interests but even they were treated as second-class citizens by the mainlanders. The attack on Pearl Harbor began to create new connections for all Hawaiians. Despite President Roosevelt's attempt to frame Hawaiians as Americans, at the time of the attack they were a colonial people. The American military presence in Hawaii created connections between the Hawaiian people and the mainland during the war but it was a hastily created relationship. Feelings of unity were only initiated as a result of the attack on the American military presence in Oahu. This is in opposition to the previous Hawaiian generations who actively resisted American annexation, and to those who resisted American control in the post war years.[114] Not all Hawaiians were against this identity, as many today feel a connection to the mainland and take pride in being American. Nevertheless, the inclusion of the

[114] Osorio, 6.

Hawaiians into the United States, despite Hawaiian resistance, demonstrates that the attack made Hawaii American only out of wartime necessity.

How Hawaiians labelled themselves and the mainlanders is another element that relates directly to the change brought to Hawaii by the attack on Pearl Harbor. The change by Hawaiians from only calling the mainlanders 'Americans' by Hawaiians to using this definition for themselves was not immediate, nor has this change been completely finished today. It does allow us to track how the attack on Pearl Harbor changed how the Hawaiians viewed themselves in terms of their new role in the United States. Around the time of the attack it was not uncommon for Hawaiians to call mainlanders 'Americans'. One example occurred during the attack itself when Yee Kam York describing the attack stated "These Americans, when they have maneuvers, they certainly make it realistic."[115] In comparison when a mainlander Army Colonel described what he though were maneuvers he wondered what the Marines were doing to the Navy.[116] To this mainlander they were not Americans but their specific branch of the service. This shows the contrast on how people in Hawaii viewed each other. To the Hawaiian the mainlanders were a collective that was different from himself. The mainlander saw different branches but they were the same as him. John Garcia, a Hawaiian present during the attack who helped pull men from the water, identified the shells that damaged civilian buildings as American.[117] Hawaiians continued to see the mainlanders as different throughout the war. It was during the war when Jeanette K.J. Gum described the mainland troops

[115] Clarke, 108.
[116] Bailey and Farber, *First Strange Place*, 1.
[117] Terkel, 19-20.

as "Uncle Sam's boys" in her paper written at the University of Hawaii.[118] The lack of Americanness of the Hawaiians was not merely the mainlanders denying it to them. They actively chose to separate themselves from the mainlanders in their use of language. This difference was not felt by all Hawaiians and even those that did initially feel this way Hawaiian and American were no longer mutually exclusive

Hawaiians that lived through December 7th demonstrated claimed that they felt closer to the mainlanders as a result of the attack. John Garcia was one Hawaiian that fits this description. He wanted to join the Army because of his anger over the Japanese actions at Pearl Harbor which he personally witnessed.[119] His family had been in Hawaii for several generations, mostly from Western Europe, and thus his actions show a connection to the mainland that resulted from the attack on Pearl Harbor.[120] Garcia's example showed how Hawaiians came closer to the mainlanders because they had the same experiences as those mainlanders who died or were wounded at Pearl Harbor. They wanted to prove themselves as Americans and Pearl Harbor not only created this sentiment it also gave them the opportunity to prove it. With the Japanese attack Hawaiian identity changed from being one of island and ethnic in nature to being American.

Ethnic group cohesion was connected to how the Hawaiians were able to become American as a result of the war. Hawaii had been marked by racial diversity and opportunities for people of all ethnic backgrounds. It was however not a society marked by complete racial acceptance, as segregation and poor labour conditions still

[118] Jeanette K.J. Gum, "Assimilation During War Time" (Undergraduate Essay, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1943), 3, Hawaii War Records Depository, Honolulu.
[119] Terkel, 21.
[120] Terkel, 21.

existed but it was more open than on the mainland. No government mandated segregation was ever used in Hawaii, but there was a racial hierarchy.[121] Some groups still identified with their home countries and not the United States prior to the attack. The Japanese Hawaiians were a prime example of the change that was to come. They could no longer support Japan because they would have been labelled as disloyal and possibly interned or worse. As they were the same ethnicity as the attackers their choices were limited and they had to show their support for the United States. The attack on Pearl Harbour changed the identity of some of these individuals as they went from defining themselves by their home country to self identifying as Americans. Hawaiian identity was removed from the process as the war created an American nationalism in the islands and not a Hawaiian one.[122] This is important to understand the impact the attack had on the Hawaiian people particularly the different ethnic groups. It also shows how the attack on Pearl Harbor created a new American identity where it did not fully exist before. These groups were no longer just immigrants living in an American colony but they were Americans. Hawaii became American as the various ethnic groups started to identify with the mainland instead the country of their ethnic origin.

Section Conclusion

In the immediate aftermath of the attack, mainlanders began to see Hawaii as something more than a distant colony or an exotic vacation destination. But this was not a natural occurrence in all areas, it took the work of many on the mainland and in Hawaii for this to happen. President Roosevelt was one of the strongest voices on the

[121] Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945-1961* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2003), 246. Bailey and Farber, *First Strange Place*, 35.
[122] Bell, 90.

mainland promoting Hawaii's new found Americanness. His address to Congress was one of the most important steps in making Hawaiian American. President Roosevelt's lack of prewar attention to Hawaii demonstrates the impact the attack on Pearl Harbor had in bringing Hawaii to mainland attention. Most of the government's prewar attention was on the Philippines and a comparison of these two colonies has shown not only the power the attack had on Americans but also how identity can change either way. The Philippines were attacked by the Japanese but it never became a marker of American identity. The Hawaiians themselves were also just as important in making Hawaii American because they began to identify with the United States not with their ethnic origin or even Hawaii. Visual Representations of Hawaii will demonstrate many of these themes but in a direct method.

Hawaii in Visual Representation

Section Introduction

Visual representations, from several different mediums, of Hawaii provide an interesting insight into the changes that started with the attack on December 7th. Geographic representations will show one way Hawaii moved closer to the United States. This demonstrates that that geography is a human created concept and it is not static. Prior to the war Hawaii was separated in geographic representations from the mainland. The events at Pearl Harbor helped make Hawaii American, but this was a change many mainlanders were not willing to completely embrace. Various forms of media during the war reflect this sentiment. In the immediate aftermath of the attack, maps appeared in numerous newspapers moving Hawaii closer to the West Coast while still needing to explain exactly where Hawaii was. Over the course of the war,

more visual representations were created and they demonstrated how Hawaii was not fully accepted into the United States. Racist images of the native Hawaiians in a military guidebook exemplify the concept Hawaii remained exotic and different to mainlanders towards the end of the war. Hawaii was the primary example of Japanese treachery towards the United States in the main theme of many images. Finally the debate around Hawaii's statehood in the 1940s created new visual representations that continued to represent Hawaii as different. These representations demonstrate that Hawaii did move closer to the mainland as well as shown as more American in non geographic images. This however was not enough as many other images still represented as Hawaii as different in the years after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Visual Representations of Hawaii Before The Attack on Pearl Harbor

Geographic representations of Hawaii prior to the war were reflective of the lack of mainland knowledge of the islands but also a Hawaiian desire to distance themselves from being labelled American. Mainland representations of this distance were the strongest despite the Hawaiian intentions in also highlighting this difference. Examples of this difference affected all levels of mainland society including children. In a school atlas published in 1933 Hawaii was not represented as part of the United States. In the sections showing the mainland of the United States as well as the West Coast, Hawaii was not included on the map or in an insert.[123] Hawaii was included in an insert in the section on the Pacific Ocean but was not labelled as part of the United States.[124] This stands in contrast to Puerto Rico, another American territory, which

[123] Goode's School Atlas: Physical, Political, and Economic For American Schools and Colleges Revised and Enlarged by J. Paul Goode Rand McNally and Company New York 1932-1933), 74-75, 58-59.
[124] Goode's, 172-173.

was labelled as part of the United States when included in the section on the Caribbean Sea.[125] The Philippines were also labelled as American in the instance for which it was included in regional maps.[126] Hawaii was not labelled as American and also not shown as being close to the mainland. Maps prepared by Hawaiians also followed this trend.

Another source published in 1927, which attempted to provide an overview of the history of Hawaii, provided a map of Hawaii in the Pacific Ocean.[127] This volume was prepared by the government of the Territory of Hawaii thus offering an interesting perspective of where the Hawaiians associated themselves in the prewar period. Their maps have Hawaii far away from the continental United States and closer to Asia. Not only mainlanders thought Hawaii to be distant from the continental United States. In this map Hawaii is located in the middle on right side of the map and what little is shown of the mainland is in the very top right of the map.[128] Another map shows the shipping routes connecting Hawaii to various points in the Pacific and not just the United States.[129] The entire continental United States along with the rest of North America is shown in this representation. These two examples display that Hawaiians in the prewar period had a stronger connection to the Pacific instead of the mainland United States. This was done in order to protect the Big Five, as fully being part of the United States would have harmed their business interests. This book was published before the Jones-Costigan Act, when being different from the mainland was good for business. The role of maps was also explored in the text

[125] Goode's, 91.
[126] Goode's, 144-145, 160-161.
[127] Ralph S. Kuykendall, *A History of Hawaii* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1927), 2-3.
[128] Kuykendall, 4-5
[129] Kuykendall, 4-5.

explaining the Pacific in this volume. It was noted that many of the islands in the Pacific were often omitted due to space constraints on the map.[130] This is a valid reason for omission but it does however show the lack of understanding of the Pacific, which included Hawaii. Many of these islands were not left off the map in the years after the war and Hawaii is the strongest example.

In the prewar years Hawaii was represented as being distant and peripheral in maps that appeared in print in the mainland media. Appearing in the *Chicago Tribune* on January 11th, 1934, a drawing of a flight of planes flying from San Francisco to Honolulu showed the distance between Hawaii and the mainland.[131] The drawing shows the curvature of the Earth and thus Hawaii looks far from the mainland. The article tries to capture the interest of the reader by using the exotic nature of Hawaii including its distance from the West Coast. An article from the *Hartford Courant* uses a map similar to the one in the *Tribune*. When explaining the chain of defences in the Pacific Hawaii, Midway, Wake Island, and Guam are highlighted.[132] San Francisco can be seen in the distance and the Philippines are shown closer to Hawaii than the mainland. Despite Hawaii actually being closer to North America, this map positioned the islands closer to the coast of Asia. This map is much more in keeping with the maps presented in the book released by the Territory of Hawaii. It seems the map was drawn this way to show the islands connected to each in the Pacific defences, thus needing to show Hawaii with the Philippines, but as a result moved Hawaii closer to Asia instead of the United States. During the interwar period Hawaii

[130] Kuykendall, 2.
[131] "Map of Navy's Flight to Hawaii," *Chicago Tribune*, January 11, 1934, 4.
[132] Charles Nutter, "Uninhabited Coral Reef In Pacific Soon To Be An Important Air Base," *Hartford Courant*, March 31, 1935, D7. See Figure 1 in the Appendix.

had a crisis of identity. In some cases it was shown close to the mainland mostly for business interests like tourism. In other cases Hawaii moved closer to the islands of the Pacific and to Asia. Visual representations right before the war on Pearl Harbor followed much of the same pattern of keeping Hawaii away from the mainland.

Other publications closer to December 7th, 1941 also illustrate this lack of an American connection. In an article in the *Washington Post* on January 28th 1940, which outlined the American defences in the Pacific, Hawaii does not have the importance that it did in the aftermath of the attack. This article was written before the Pacific Fleet moved to Pearl Harbor. Hawaii was presented closer to the United States and as part of the main defence zone of the United States but it merely was represented as part of all the American bases in the Pacific.[133] Despite the claims by some scholars that Hawaii was always important to the United States beginning with the annexation, this map shows that its military applications were not enough for it to be fully included in the United States. Only with the attack on the newly moved Pacific Fleet did Hawaii's military applications become fully understood and reflected in images.

Despite this lack of representation of Hawaii in prewar mainland representations, there was still a Hawaiian effort to make the islands seem closer to the United States. This was only done, however, for business purposes. The tourism industry was one Hawaiian source that created images to make Hawaii seem closer to the mainland. One advertisement appeared in 1934 and showed tourists on Waikiki Beach with the Diamond Head volcano crater in the background and the words

[133] "America's Naval Problem in Pacific," *Washington Post*, January 28, 1940, B8.

"Nearby Hawaii" above them.[134] It does not show Hawaii any closer to the United States but it does try to convey the idea that it was closer than people imagined while still highlighting its exotic landscape. This stands in contrast to the maps produced in the 1927 volume. It appears in the prewar period Hawaii was having a crisis of identity about which community it belonged to. On one side was the connection to the United States, in order to generate tourism, which was in opposition to the representations of Hawaii with a stronger connection to the Pacific. The attempt to distance itself was connected to the Big Five and their desire to protect their own profits. These attempts to create a solely Hawaiian or Pacific identity were undone by the attack.

Visual Representations in the Immediate Aftermath of The Attack

Media representations of Hawaii in the immediate aftermath of the attack were reflective of the lack of mainland knowledge of Hawaii but they also moved Hawaii closer to the mainland. In a December 8th *Los Angeles Times* article, a map was provided of the Pacific Ocean.[135] It provided distances between Hawaii and other locations in the Pacific Ocean. If Hawaii, or even the Pacific, been well known to the readership of this paper than this map would not have necessary. Hawaii was located in the centre of the map, connoting its importance, but the use of distances demonstrate that this new found importance of Hawaii needed to be explained to the mainlanders. Another article that appeared that day in the *New York Times* also included a map of the Pacific Ocean. This map included an inset of detailing the

[134] Skwiot, 115, Fig, 9. See Figure 2 in the Appendix.
[135] Bill Henry, "Japan's Daring Attack on Hawaii Designed to Cripple U.S. Fleet," *Los Angeles Times*, December 8, 1941, Page D1. See Figure 3 in the Appendix.

distances between various points in the Pacific.[136] In the map of the Pacific the various islands and archipelagos are labelled with what colonial power controlled them. Hawaii was labelled as American. In contrast so are the Aleutian Islands off the coast of Alaska thus showing more lack of knowledge of the entire Pacific by mainlanders. On December 10th, the *Chicago Tribune* supplied a map that they hoped readers would use to follow the development of the war.[137] All major points in the Pacific are labelled with their colonial entity listed below, and distances between them are provided. Hawaii is labelled as American along with the other islands in the Pacific and Alaska.[138] This particular map supports the idea that mainland Americans did not know much about the Pacific when war broke out and Hawaii was no exception. These articles' maps illustrate that Hawaii did not occupy a place in the collective American consciousness before the attack on Pearl Harbor. But it does show that in the aftermath Hawaii was becoming better known to the mainlanders as well as taking on more of an American identity. Images produced by Hawaiians during the war also contributed and acknowledge this new found Americanness.

Hawaiian Life as Seen Through Cartoons

Hawaiians produced images of themselves coping with the realties of war. In a 1943 book, *We The Blitzed: A Diary In Cartoons of Hawaii at War*, the various new conditions of that the Hawaiians had to deal with were presented in the untraditional format of a storybook. These challenges included blackouts, rationing, and the

[136] Hanson W. Baldwin, "Big Forces are Massed for Showdown," *New York Times*, December 8, 1941, E4.
[137] "A New Map of the Pacific and Far East," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 1941, 44.
[138] "A New Map of the Pacific and Far East," 44.

possible return of Japanese forces.[139] Other events that showed the discomfort of the war years received attention in this book. Drills in applying gas masks and the finger printing of all Hawaiians were presented as comical by Baker.[140] These were presented to try and make the situations that the Hawaiians had to endure more bearable. The existence of these conditions is evidence that the Hawaiians knew they were being treated differently. Having to provide fingerprints was never done on the mainland and the fear of a constant attack affected the Hawaiian people but not those living on the mainland. The conditions of the newly arrived mainlanders were also illustrated by Baker. From the war workers day dreaming of the Hawaiian paradise to the mainlander sailors and soldiers waiting in line to dance, these situations, that made many hate Hawaii, were also presented in a comical fashion.[141] Lessons of racial equality were presented as well in attempts to show the mainlanders that their racism would not work in Hawaii. *We The Blitzed* was not simply a book of cartoons but an insightful volume exploring war time Hawaii that tried to teach the mainlanders a few lessons about the islands in an attempt to create equality for Hawaiians. These visual representations were not used just to show that a Hawaiian sense of humour existed during the war but that they were dealing with difficult conditions and taking them in stride. In order to help the American war effort the Hawaiians dealt with the threat of death, the lack of supplies and the suspension of their civil liberties. Representing these problems in a visual comedic form highlights one way in which the Hawaiians became American. There was resistance to the

[139] Frances Baker, *We The Blitzed: A Diary In Cartoons of Hawaii at War* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing, 1943), 1, 13, Hawaii War Records Depository, Honolulu.
[140] See Figure 4 and 5 in the Appendix.
[141] See Figure 6 and 7 in the Appendix.

Federal government because of the treatment of the Hawaiians but *We The Blitzed* shows the Hawaiians were willing to help the war effort and as a result they were becoming Americans. Humour formed only one small part of Hawaii's transformation as race hate had a more substantial impact.

Treachery Through the Visual: Hawaii's New Role After Pearl Harbor

The idea of treachery as committed by the Japanese resulted in several visual images being created of Hawaii's new place in the United States. Appearing on December 10th, 1941 in the *Chicago Tribune*, an editorial cartoon by Carey Orr provides another insight into how Hawaii was viewed in the days following the attack.[142] The cartoon is titled "Throwing in an Extra Charge". This title connotes making the shell go farther and thus being able to hit Japan and seek revenge for the attack on Pearl Harbor. The picture shows a Navy gunner in the foreground loading a gun and holding a charge labelled "War without mercy on a treacherous foe." Besides giving John Dower the title of his famous book, this phrase also shows that the Japanese planners were wrong in their assumptions about the willingness of the American people to fight back. The gun is pointed towards Japan in the background and the Japanese flag, with a skull in the place of the red circle that represents the sun, appears over it. An American flag waves next to the gunner. In the middle ground sits Hawaii with smoke rising. American anger is evident with this cartoon. What is also evident was the use of Hawaii as the reason for the anger and how it became something that Americans rallied around after the attack. Racism

[142] Carey Orr, "Throwing in an Extra Charge," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 1941, 1. See Figure 8 in the Appendix.

undoubtedly played a part in this anger but the perceived treachery of the attack on Pearl Harbor was an element that can not be discounted.

Another visual representation of Hawaii, using the idea of treachery, had Hawaii represented as American liberty and innocence. A poster drawn by Charles Alston in 1943 depicts Hawaii as a woman wearing a white robe with the words 'Pearl Harbor' written down her body with a knife in her back and blood surrounding her.[143] This visual representation had been used many times in American history including depictions of the American movements westward as in John Gast's painting *American Progress* and with the Statue of Liberty. But she was not shown as being violated in these examples. Next to the body is a racialized drawing of a Japanese solider with blood dripping from his hand. Lifting this hand is an arm of an American, known because of the stars and strips on their sleeve, protecting Hawaii. Written on the sleeve is '130,000,000 United Americans.' Americans had become united because of the attack on Hawaii. The attack brought all Americans together, Hawaiians included. Alston's work demonstrates the numerous themes presented in this paper and the first is connecting Hawaii to American history.

This one poster represents the various changes that Hawaii was under going during the war. The representation of Hawaii as American liberty and innocence signifies that Hawaii became part of the most enduring myths of American history. Hawaii was no longer simply a distant colonial outpost but part of representations of American liberty and innocence. This was important as it made Hawaii part of the American identity and as such something that must be protected. The feminization of Hawaii had a long history in the representations of the islands by mainlanders thus it

[143] Rosenberg, 91. See Figure 9 in the Appendix.

fit into the theme of liberty and innocence.[144] The Japanese soldier stabbing Hawaii in the back connotes treachery, along with the various racist caricatures created by Americans during the war. Treachery allowed Hawaii to be drawn closer to the United States. The phrase '130,000,000 United Americans' demonstrates that the attack on Pearl Harbor created unity among the American people that included a connection between the mainlanders and the Hawaiians. No longer were Hawaii and the mainland completely separate entities, such as in a colonial relationship, but they were drawn closer together because of the Japanese attack. The treacherous act of war committed by the Japanese was framed by the mainlanders in needing to protect the Hawaiian people from the racial other. The arm stopping the Japanese attacker demonstrates a new connection between Hawaii and the mainland. They were united in the common threat of the Japanese empire but it also marks a paternal relationship reminiscent of colonialism. It demonstrates once again that the change from colonial outpost to full fledged member of the United States was not immediate for Hawaii. In this instance Hawaii became American not because of equality but rather out of mainland fear of threats to American liberty and innocence. The new unity was not enough to stop racist depictions of Hawaiians being created by mainlanders during the war.

Mainland Views of Hawaii Understood Through *The Pocket Guide to Hawaii*

The aforementioned booklet *A Pocket Guide to Hawaii* is an invaluable source that provides insight into how mainlanders framed their opinions about Hawaii once they arrived. In particular the numerous images in the guide demonstrate how Hawaii

[144] Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawaii* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 44.

was viewed towards the end of the war. Many of these drawings depict native Hawaiians as naked and short further illustrating the racist sentiments that went into the guide especially when compared to mainland Americans.[145] The few women that are represented appear only in traditional native Hawaiian clothing including one as a hula dancer. The people of the Hawaii were not represented as they actually were at the time. Only native Hawaiians were shown and they represented them as living in primitive conditions and wear little or no clothing. When contrasted with the representations of the military personnel the differences between Hawaii and the rest of the United States is apparent. The mainlanders are shown in their uniforms, fully clothed and not interacting with the Hawaiian landscape, expect in one insistence where a white man is fishing. Representing the Hawaiians in this way makes connections to the prewar images of Hawaiians as exotic and foreign.

Beyond the visual representations of the native Hawaiians and mainlanders, this guide presented Hawaii as an exotic land completely different from the rest of the United States. From the landscapes to the representations of Hawaiian daily life it was a stark difference to anything seen on the mainland. One representation depicted a grass hut with the man wearing only a loin cloth standing next to it. In the image there is also a chicken and pig in the foreground and the hut is flanked by palm trees.[146] This image was not a true representation of the living conditions in Hawaii during the war. Hawaii was highly modern and Honolulu was much like any other city in the United States equipped with public transit, telephone and electricity lines, and a fully

[145] See Figure 10 in the Appendix.
[146] See Figure 11 in the Appendix.

functioning modern harbour. This added to the prewar assumptions that Hawaii was a primitive land that offered escape from the United States.

Pictures of Hawaiians interacting with the sea are another example of how the guide represented Hawaii as primitive. Hawaiians were represented on two occasions as fishing with a spear and a net but not having caught any fish.[147] A white man is shown having caught a marlin that is larger than him and he is holding a fishing rod.[148] The contrast of these two types of fishing highlights the differences between the groups and their perceived levels of civilization. It is an obvious racist depiction of the Hawaiians as they use primitive tools and fail while the white American uses the updated method and succeeds. The *Pocket Guide* is evidence that many American did not feel that Hawaii was on the same level as the rest of the United States. From representing the people as primitive and different to the exotic drawings of the landscapes, *A Pocket Guide to Hawaii* demonstrates how the mainlanders viewed Hawaii as different and attempted to use this difference for their own benefit during the war. This had consequences because myths of Hawaii, like those representations of the people and culture of Hawaii, being completely different affected how it was included in the post war years.

Images of Post War Hawaii

The post war years Hawaii brought closer to the mainland but the visual representations did not always reflect this fact. From the military connections, trade, and the newly reopened tourism sector, Hawaii was connected to the rest to the United States more than it had ever been. In some cases legal parity with the rest of

[147] Special Projects, i, 26. See Figure 12 in the Appendix.
[148] See Figure 13 in the Appendix.

the Union was not enough for inclusion. In a newsletter created by Citizens' Committee for Statehood for Hawaii in 1947, new flag ideas for the United States were proposed for when Hawaii was admitted as the forty nineteenth state. One proposal included keeping the forty eight stars in the blue field and placing the Hawaiian star in the top stripe to symbolize Hawaii as "an extracontinental state."[149] Another proposal in the newsletter offered breaking the star up into four groups, representing President Roosevelt's four freedoms, and placing Hawaii's star in the centre of these groups.[150] These proposals literally placed Hawaii away from all the other states but also gave it a prominent position on the flag of the United States. Even the idea of statehood created images of Hawaii that simultaneously removed it from and made it part of the United States. Also these proposals demonstrate that Hawaii could not be completely removed from the United States in the post war period. The attack on Pearl Harbor made it a permanent part of the United States. Those mainlanders who have even seen any travel literature on Hawaii are presented with an image that shows how Hawaii and the mainland are connected.

Aside from the tropical conditions, the mountains, and beaches, the USS Arizona memorial is often seen on Hawaii tourist brochures and literature today. The white structure sitting aside the sunken hull of the ship is an image that will always be associated with Hawaii. It is one of the most solemn American war memorials, along with the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and attracts millions of visitors a year. It is also one of the greatest images showing how the connection between the mainland and Hawaii became stronger because of the attack. As the Arizona was staffed by

[149] Citizens' Committee for Statehood for Hawaii, "Washington Newsletter #4," March 26, 1947, 3, Hawaii War Records Depository, Honolulu.
[150] "Washington Newsletter #4," March 26, 1947, 3.

mainlanders the impact of this image is obvious for non Hawaiians. It represents a large loss of life and an event that initiated one of the most brutal wars in American history. It became one of the symbols of the Japanese treachery for Americans and the Arizona is still a politically charged memorial today. For Hawaiians it represents when and why their permanent connection to the mainland began. This is not say that the Hawaiians did not feel empathy for those died at Pearl Harbor, as many of them did including the Hawaiian families who lost members during the attack. The attack on Pearl Harbor made Hawaiian American and the USS Arizona memorial representations why this happened. The attack on Pearl Harbor and the destruction and loss of life aboard the USS Arizona will always be linked. Its importance will always be a reminder that Hawaii and the United States became linked during the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Section Conclusion

Visual images provide a method to document the change Hawaii underwent as a result of the attack on Pearl Harbor with physical evidence. It was however not a complete change, as some images still presented Hawaii as drastically different even after the war. Prior to the war Hawaii had mainly been represented as unlike anywhere on the mainland. Images of Hawaii were created, by both Hawaiians and mainlanders, to make it seem to be an exotic land for an escape from the United States. On maps, Hawaii was often connected to the Pacific instead of to the mainland. The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor moved Hawaii closer to the mainland in many maps as seen in the various newspapers released in the days following the attack. The immediate impact of the attack in moving Hawaii closer to the mainland

and away from the Pacific can be seen in these maps. Hawaii also became American in visual images because of the perceived treachery committed by the Japanese when they attacked Pearl Harbor. From the remnants of colonial paternalism to American history, Hawaii was becoming strongly linked to the rest of the United States. Despite this new found attention some visual images created during and after the war still depicted Hawaii as something different. From the guide made for mainland troops in Hawaii to the proposed flag ideas for Hawaiian statehood, the attack on Pearl Harbor was still not enough for some to accept Hawaii as the same as any other part of the United States. Some images, like that of the USS Arizona, are constant reminder for Hawaiians of why they are connected to mainland. Without the attack on Pearl Harbor these images would not have been created and Hawaii may not have been drawn closer to the mainland. The attack did occur and as a result Hawaii was on the road to statehood.

The Racial Rainbow: Race and Hawaiian Statehood

Section Introduction

Race and statehood were not two elements often linked together in American history but in the case of Hawaii they were inseparable. The events at Pearl Harbor magnified this duality but at the same time also created elements that made these issues moot. Race, along with business interests, was the reason why Hawaii was not a state before the war. The drive for Hawaiian statehood prior to the Second World War encountered problems due to the various racial origins of its inhabitants. Prewar mainland opponents to statehood presented Hawaii as foreign because its inhabitants

were a collection of different races without a white majority.[151] The attack on Pearl Harbor changed how race affected Hawaii. Cultural assimilation, particularly of Japanese Americans, in the immediate aftermath of the attack was one example of how Hawaii moved closer to the mainland. In contrast the loss of native Hawaiian rights, as well the strongest opinions for self-government, was because of the war and the military applications of the islands. This also connects to why Hawaii sought statehood instead of independence in the post war period. Finally it will be argued that race did not affect the eventual statehood status of Hawaii but rather it was the military importance of the Hawaii to the American government that was the reason for its entrance into the Union. One such example that will be explored is the Cold War context in connection to race and America's image on the world stage. The continuing military importance of Hawaii overtook any reasons to deny statehood to Hawaii based on race. These reasons became evident with the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Prewar Opposition to Hawaiian Statehood

The inclusion of Hawaii had always met been with opposition from the mainland mostly because of racism. Southern opposition to Hawaiian statehood, which began in the annexation debates, was among the strongest as they wanted to deny rights to the racially diverse people of Hawaii fearing that it would lead to equality in their home states.[152] They feared Hawaiian representatives would support national civil rights legislation thus affecting the power structure in the south. Race was not the only opposition to prewar statehood as business interests also played a large role in Hawaiian opposition to inclusion. But racism was still undeniably one of

[151] Bell, 3-4.
[152] Bell, 33.

the strongest reasons for mainland opposition. Race however was overcome as one of the reasons for resistance to Hawaiian statehood and this process began with the events of December 7th.

The drive for Hawaiian statehood prior to the war encountered problems because of the various racial origins of its population. Mainland opponents to statehood presented Hawaii as foreign because its inhabitants were a collection of different races without a white majority.[153] Certain groups were targeted more than others and the Japanese Hawaiians were one of them. Anti Japanese sentiment existed well before Pearl Harbor as a 1916 scholarly article makes evident. The author A. F. Griffiths claimed not to be racist towards the Japanese Americans and that the article was written to help their transition into American society so all of Hawaii could benefit.[154] Despite this claim Griffiths still presented racist arguments about how to include the Japanese Americans. One of his suggestions, to solve what he presented as a problem, was to use Christianity to assimilate them into American society.[155] He also suggested that he did not write the paper to argue for the naturalization of Japanese Americans born in Japan.[156] He claimed to be friendly to the Japanese Americans but does not want to give them citizenship. Griffiths did not support the Japanese Hawaiians as full Americans. Another writer, Webb Waldron, claimed in 1937 that no matter where someone of Japanese ancestry was born they would always be loyal to Japan.[157] Again anti Japanese sentiment affected Hawaiians before the

[153] Bell, 3-4.
[154] A. F. Griffiths, "The Japanese Race Question in Hawaii," *The Journal of Race Development* 6, no. 4 (1916): 423.
[155] Griffiths, 440.
[156] Griffiths, 438.
[157] Bell, 78.

attack on Pearl Harbor. The events of December 7th further complicated the Japanese Hawaiians place in the United States. As Hawaii had a significant population of Japanese Americans, racism entered into the discourse of inclusion in the aftermath of the attack. Being attacked by a racial other and having a large number of this group in Hawaii, Americans were weary about the inclusion of the islands. There were even attempts to remove Japanese Hawaiians from society. Despite calls by government officials for the internment of all people of Japanese ancestry in Hawaii, they continued to be an important part of Hawaiian society during the war.[158] Thus Japanese Americans in Hawaii were not interned as they were needed for the various war industries.[159] Towards the end of the war race became less important, not due to an increase in tolerance, but rather because of the importance of Hawaii to the United States military. Hawaii only became American because of its military importance and the process of recognizing this started during the war.[160] In fact the racism that was so prominent at the beginning of American-Hawaiian relations almost disappeared as a result of the strategic military importance of the islands.

Race and Its Effect on Statehood

Inevitability is something that is often discussed in historical analysis but its use shows a lack on real understanding of a topic. T. Makana Chock argued that Hawaiian statehood was inevitable after the campaign of assimilation employed by the American government.[161] Prior to the war statehood was not inevitable for Hawaii but the events at Pearl Harbor firmly cemented the case for Hawaiian statehood. No

[158] Bell, 78.
[159] Bailey and Farber, *First Strange Place*, 5.
[160] Bell, 86.
[161] Chock, 17.

factors like race, politics, or distance was enough to stop Hawaii from becoming a state. Race was one of the reasons for this change. As per Chock's comments about assimilation, Hawaii needed to become a state due to the prewar policies of the Federal government, in attempting to make Hawaii American, and because of the military importance that became evident during the war. The pressure applied by Hawaiians also made statehood one of the few options available in the post war period. Two ethnics groups demonstrate how the attack Pearl Harbor shifted Hawaii from a colonial outpost, with some of its inhabitants seeking independence, to the last state admitted to the Union. Japanese Hawaiians led the calls for statehood in the post war years and helped to the reverse the racism that limited Hawaiian rights. The native Hawaiians had hoped for independence even after the war and many of their opinions were in direct opposition to the Japanese Hawaiians. Examining the actions and thoughts of these groups after the war will demonstrate the change of Hawaii becoming American was not without opposition but also how race was a factor. Cultural assimilation in the aftermath of the attack was the first and most tangible impact that led to Hawaiian statehood.

Japanese Hawaiians After December 7th

In the immediate aftermath of the attack, Japanese Hawaiians, both citizens and aliens, attempted to prove their loyalty to the United States. In a sociology paper written at the University of Hawaii at Manoa in 1943, student George Terada presented a grim picture of Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor. In order to avoid internment, which they believed to be imminent, his family burned anything that

might show loyalty to Japan.[162] Japanese food, clothing and even marriage customs in Terada's words "died on December 7".[163] A speak American campaign was also launched among the Japanese Americans to show their loyalty to the United States.[164] It was said to be a voluntary measure conducted by the Hawaiian Japanese but the post December 7th pressures were the reason for this campaign. Some of the new found Americanness of Hawaii came from fears of the Hawaiian Japanese that they would be labelled disloyal and interned. Despite literally destroying their cultural connections to Japan, some of the changes for the Japanese community were not negative. Terada noted that the previously shunned mixed marriages and mixed raced children were accepted back into families.[165] This type of acceptance allowed the first generation Japanese to become part of integrated Hawaiian society which itself was becoming part of the United States. Different races were embracing the new Americanness of Hawaii which would have an affect on Hawaiian statehood. From the Hawaiian Japanese perspective, Pearl Harbor forced them to become more American and as a result so did the place where they lived. Military service led to even further assimilation for the Japanese Hawaiians.

Japanese Hawaiian Military Service and Its Impact on the Statehood Debate

The Japanese Hawaiian soldiers who served in the United States Army were an example of how military service was connected to citizenship. Senator Daniel Inouye is often described as "the first citizen" of Hawaii.[166] This was in no small part

[162] George Terada, "Assimilation in Wartime" (Undergraduate Essay, University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1943), 10.
[163] Terada, 11.
[164] Allen, 145.
[165] Terada, 11.
[166] Ferguson and Turnbull, 165, 176.

due to his military service during the Second World War. Inouye was present at Pearl Harbor during the attack and provided medical support to the wounded. This experience led him to enlist, when allowed by the Federal government, in the United States Army.[167] He represents how the Japanese Hawaiians were accepted into the United States because of their service in the war thus showing the concept of war service being required for the granting of citizenship.[168] His story mirrors many aspects of Hawaii's acceptance as a state. When Hawaii became a state, Inouye was the first to be elected to the House of Representatives.[169] After one term in the House he was elected to the Senate and he still holds this position today. The concept of military service and citizenship can be applied to the whole of Hawaii not just individuals. Because of the conditions that the Hawaiians faced during the war, beginning at Pearl Harbor, they were accepted into American society. But not just the Japanese Hawaiians, all Hawaiians were given more attention by mainlanders because what they endured during the war. They showed themselves to be loyal to the United States and willing to die for their country. Military service and it connections to citizenship began the process that would end in Hawaiian statehood.

The Japanese American Undoing of the Republican Control of Hawaii

The returning Japanese Hawaiians veterans changed the politics of the islands and that was essential in putting Hawaii on the road to statehood. They were able to influence that process because of the events of December 7th. Many of these men joined the American military because they felt they needed to prove their loyalty specifically after the attack on Pearl Harbor. More than 10,000 Japanese Hawaiians

[167] Brokaw, 351.
[168] Brokaw, 352-354.
[169] Brokaw, 354.

enlisted but only forty percent were eligible for service with 2,645 serving thus showing their willingness to defend the United States.[170] Also many Nisei, second generation Japanese, were angry at the Japanese attackers and joined to defend the country of their birth.[171] They wanted revenge for the civilians killed during the attack, as their Chaplin Israel A.S. Yost noted "When asked if they would 'fight the Japs,' they replied without hesitation, 'Yes!' They pointed out that they had family and friends to avenge since most of the civilians killed in the attack on Pearl Harbor were of Japanese descent."[172] When asked directly about fighting the Japanese there was also no hesitation "I talked to a number of officers and enlisted men of Japanese American ancestry about the possibility of going to the Far East. No one had any objections."[173] The Japanese Hawaiians who volunteered for active service were placed in the segregated 100th Infantry Battalion which consisted of volunteers, draftees, and members of the Hawaiian National Guard. They were later combined with the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, Japanese Americans from the mainland, and sent to the mainland for training.[174] The motto of the 100th Infantry Battalion was "Remember Pearl Harbor."[175] Again the connection between these soldiers and the attack on Pearl Harbor is quite clear. The unit was never in combat against the Japanese military but fought mostly in Italy with some campaigning in France and

[170] Bell, 82.
[171] Clarke, 195.
[172] Israel A.S. Yost, *Combat Chaplain: The Personal Story of the World War II Chaplain of the Japanese American 100th Battalion*, ed. Monica E. Yost and Michael Markrich (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 23.
[173] Chester Tanaka, Go for Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442d Regimental Combat Team (Richmond, California: Go For Broke, Inc., 1982), 19.
[174] Ferguson and Turnbull, 159. Brokaw, 351.
[175] Tanaka, 23.

Germany.[176] They distinguished themselves in combat by earning twenty one Medals of Honor and numerous other citations including over 9,000 Purple Hearts.[177] As a result of this war record the 442nd were nicknamed the "Purple Heart Battalion."[178] It was one of the most decorated units in the history of the United States Army.[179] When these veterans returned to Hawaii they were not willing to maintain the status quo and expected change because of the sacrifices they made in the war. Many sought to affect political change and there was one avenue available to them.

To bring change meant undoing the Big Five's control of the islands' politics These Japanese Americans had fought for the United States and they were no longer willing to be second-class citizens. They joined the Democratic Party, strengthening it to levels not before seen in Hawaii, to off set the Big Five control. These veterans had help in gaining more support for the Democratic Party. The war workers that came to Hawaii create strong pro union feelings that benefitted the Democrats by increasing their popularity among the groups that were shut out of the Republican Party.[180] This gave the veterans a base to work with upon their return. The GI Bill was also helpful in their attempts to win equality for the Hawaiian people as it gave the veterans funding to go to school after their service. Many Japanese Hawaiians earned law degrees because of this bill allowing them to influence the legal system in the islands. Their military service also helped them because they earned the respect of many in Hawaii and many also viewed them as full citizens of the United States for the first

[176] Ferguson and Turnbull, 159.
[177] Brokaw, 351.
[178] Cheng-Kun Cheng, "Assimilation in Hawaii and the Bid for Statehood," *Social Forces* 30, no. 1 (1951): 23.
[179] Weaver, 194.
[180] Skwiot, 149.

time. It was also these men, and their Democratic affiliation, that led the movement for Hawaiian statehood. The Democrats eventually took control of the territorial legislature.[181] Their opposition to a continuation of colonialism left the Federal government with few choices as they needed to retain Hawaii for the military. The pressure applied by these veterans, with their considerable influence in the islands, left statehood as the only choice for all sides concerned in the process. Despite this situation not all groups in Hawaii supported the drive for statehood.

Native Hawaiians and Statehood

The native Hawaiians are another group that deserves attention when considering questions of race and statehood in Hawaii. As the Japanese actions at Pearl Harbor demonstrated, Hawaii is both an important military location but also open to attack from foreign threats. Limiting the native Hawaiians right to self determination was connected to the military importance of the islands. Racist rhetoric marked most of the reasons for not giving the native Hawaiians independence prior to the attack. Much of this took the form of colonialist arguments that the native Hawaiians could not govern themselves and needed American help. The attack on Pearl Harbor forever ended any hope of the islands ever being under native control again. The depiction of native Hawaiians as feminized was used by first colonists and then the military in order to justify their presence in Hawaii by arguing they needed to protect the native Hawaiians. The attack on Pearl Harbor gave support to this racist paternalistic argument. This, of course, misses the point as the American military presence was why Hawaii was attacked but nevertheless it was, and continues to be,

[181] Dean Itsuji Saranillio, "Colliding Histories Hawaii Sattehood at the Intersection of Asians 'Ineligible to Citizenship' and Hawaiians 'Unfit for Self-Government,' "*Journal of Asian American Studies* 13, no. 3 (2010): 295.

used by the American military to justify their presence in the islands.[182] The attack on Pearl Harbor drove Hawaii closer to the mainland and no amount of native Hawaiian protest was able to stop it from happening.

Despite what the attack did to Hawaiian American relations, native Hawaiians still tried to stop the relationship from growing any stronger in the post war years. The image of native Hawaiians happily accepting American control is false and even today the annexation is still mourned by many Hawaiians. One such example was that of the Iolani Palace, the seat of the Hawaiian government, when it was draped in black on the centennial of the overthrow in 1993.[183] This resistance to American control was quite strong during the statehood debates after the war and it even became marked by racism. Japanese Americans became a target in the native Hawaiian anti-statehood campaign. One method that the native Hawaiians used was attempting to limit immigration to Hawaii. One suggestion was to give control of the islands to the United States Navy and this would require that land purchasing be under the control of native Hawaiians like the system used on Guam.[184] While this system would have given more power to the American government it would have also gave more control to the native Hawaiians, more than they had under the territorial government. This seems to be targeted at Japanese immigrants as they were becoming a prominent group especially after the war. Despite this resistance among the native Hawaiians to full inclusion within the United States many did support the drive for statehood. They hoped that they would gain more rights if Hawaii was a state.[185]

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[182] Ferguson and Turnbull, 44.
[183] Ferguson and Turnbull, 60.
[184] Saranillio, 298.
[185] Saranillio, 286.

Ultimately, however native Hawaiian sovereignty rights were limited in order to gain equal rights for all Hawaiians with statehood.[186] These benefits were not enough for all native Hawaiians to support statehood.

The native Hawaiian opposition, being quite strong was one of the reasons why while statehood was delayed as long as it was.[187] Protests against American control are still conducted by native Hawaiian groups today but their actions have had little affect on gaining the sovereignty of the islands back. That attack on Pearl Harbor demonstrated that Hawaii was invaluable location for the United States military. Returning the islands to the native Hawaiians was not possible from the perspective of the Federal government. Statehood became the only way the government could control the islands as a military government would have failed because of the new found voices in Hawaii demanding full rights. Statehood became the only option for all sides in post war Hawaii and native Hawaiians were once again subjugated under American rule without their full consent. Race not only played a role in Hawaiian statehood within the islands but also had an affect on the United States and its image during the Cold War.

The Cold War Context of Hawaii's Statehood

Hawaii's position in the Cold War context was one reason why Pearl Harbor connected to statehood. It has been suggested by many that Hawaii was admitted as a state not because of its military implications or as an example of racially integrated society but because of America's image on the world stage. Being a multiracial

[186] Saranillio, 286.
[187] Saranillio, 302.

society, Hawaii had many similarities to the decolonizing world.[188] The author Samuel Weaver suggested, in 1959, Hawaii became a state because of its strategic position in the Pacific and that this aided America's new internationalism in the post war period.[189] As a result the Federal government needed to make Hawaii part of America in order to better its position in the Cold War. The racist rhetoric that was often directed towards Hawaii became dangerous to American interests aboard. Hawaii was again taking on military implications but this time indirectly. As statehood was delayed for Hawaii until 1959, during one the tensest periods of the Cold War, the context of war with the communist nations can not be understated. One such reservation for statehood after the war was a fear that communism would develop among the Asian population in the islands.[190] Many were not willing to accept a population that they thought was open to communism, within their country. This concern was unfounded and Hawaii actually became tool in the fight against communism. The threats to Hawaii, and by extension the United States, by racial others that began at Pearl Harbor continued to influence Hawaii's position in America. Race became an issue that no longer only affected business' bottom lines or the racist southern hierarchy but something that influenced America's image and security abroad. Hawaii needed to be fully accepted in order to better America's position in the Cold War.

The Cold War also connected Hawaii to the mainland because of its strategic position for the United States military. It became the centre of their operations during the Cold War in the Pacific. This military connection is important in understanding

[188] Saranillio, 289.
[189] Weaver, 215.
[190] Chock, 42.

statehood in terms of race because many opponents hoped to connect Hawaii with Asia instead of the United States. These two labels were presented as mutually exclusive as something that was Asian could never become American.[191] Strom Thurmond used this argument in the Senate when attempting to block the legislation that would make Hawaii a state.[192] The fear of communism played into this as well as it helped frame Hawaii as Asian. Despite the long history of racism in stopping Hawaiian statehood, the attack on Pearl Harbor create new conditions that trumped the bigotry of many mainlanders. The military importance of Hawaii overtook any racist arguments for stopping statehood. The Cold War only worked to magnify this importance. The importance of Pearl Harbor became evident again when war broke out on the Korea peninsula in 1950 and the United States military once again sent troops to East Asia. The military needed to control Hawaii so statehood was the only option for both the Hawaiians and the Federal government. Independence was not a goal of the strongest voices in Hawaii and thus it did receive much support outside native Hawaiian groups and their supporters. The Federal government could no longer treat the Hawaiians as colonial subjects but they still needed the islands for its military applications and thus the support for statehood. After statehood was declared in 1959 the military applications of the islands were confirmed. The war in Southeast Asia in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrated the importance of Hawaii to American strategy in the Pacific. Hawaii was the place where American troops took leave from the fighting in Southeast Asia.[193] The Hawaiian economy today, and large parts of its society in general, is dominated by the United States military. Race was overcome by

[191] Klein, 246.
[192] Klein, 247.
[193] Ferguson and Turnbull, 53.

the military reasons for inclusion and became to strong for the Federal government to ignore. The core reason for Hawaiian statehood was its military importance and no factor, not even race, was enough to stop it from becoming part of the Union.

Race Undoing the Hopes of Independence

Race has also been argued as one of the reasons why Hawaii became a state and not an independent country. Due to the multiple races that made up the Hawaiian population, independence would have been impractical, argued Abraham Chapman.[194] It was certainly true that race was one reason why Hawaiians had to endure second-class status but it was also the reason why they became part of the United States. Hawaii had a racial makeup of various groups that included native Hawaiians, Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Spanish, and various other European groups. No race in Hawaii had a majority in the post war years and this affected what position Hawaii took in the United States. Decolonization was one of the largest impacts of the Second World War but it did not occur in Hawaii. The Hawaiians instead drew closer to their colonizers and even had equal legal status within their country. This stands in contrast to the work of the United Nations to give independence to colonized people. Hawaii was classified as "non-self-governing area by the United Nations.[195] The designation was given in hopes that the Hawaiians be given more rights either through inclusion or independence. The numerous factors discussed in this paper demonstrate that after the attack on Pearl Harbor independence was not going to be granted. The numerous races in Hawaii did not allow for an

[194] Abraham Chapman, "Hawaii Seeks Statehood," *Far Eastern Survey* 25, no.14 (1946): 209.
[195] Bell, 89.

unified front seeking independence. The decolonization of the rest of world was not a model that occurred in Hawaii and thus it became included into the United States.

Mainland Stance on Race and Hawaiian Statehood

The post war opinions of mainlanders in connection to Hawaiian statehood in connection were important as they created support for statehood among the American people and government. The opinions of mainlanders were varied but support for Hawaiian statehood had grown. One example was an article by *Newsweek* columnist Ernest K. Lindley from 1946. He claimed that Hawaiians were undoubtedly Americans after the attack on Pearl Harbor as it was an attack on American soil and therefore the people were Americans.[196] Lindley supported Hawaiian statehood after he originally objected because he was not convinced by the arguments and thought the push for statehood was framed by elites.[197] He listed the fears of non-white majority controlling the islands but sets these fears aside due to the lack of segregation in the islands and relatively peaceful race relations. This piece of writing was an example of the change brought about in terms of race and statehood. He noted that the fears of ethnic groups voting in blocks were unfounded as they will vote like any other American. His initial reservations about Hawaii being American were undone after the attack and the war effort that followed. The contribution of the Hawaiians to the war effort was an important part of his acceptance of Hawaii. The concept of connecting the earning of citizenship through military service is evident here. Lindley applied this idea for the entire state and thus his support for statehood after the war. Also his earlier objections to statehood seemed based on race but with

[196] Ernest K. Lindley, "Hawaii: Forty-Ninth State?," *Newsweek*, July 22, 1946, 33.
[197] Lindley, 33.

the war performance of Hawaiians his objections disappeared. This support for the multi-racial Hawaiian society was not supported by all mainlanders.

In the immediate aftermath of the war race still marked Hawaii as different. In a November 26th 1945 *Life* article racism was still used to show the difference between Hawaii and the mainland. The author claimed that Hawaiians were saved from a 'servile destiny' because of American control.[198] Despite the claims that Hawaiians were 'saved' from the colonialism of the European powers or Japan, Hawaiians were still treated differently in the post war years. This author used false information about the Hawaiians that was thinly veiled racism. It was claimed there were few Japanese spies in Hawaii during the war but most Japanese Hawaiians were loyal.[199] In fact this was untrue because no Japanese Hawaiians were convicted of treason, spying or any other disloyal activity.[200] When discussing prewar Hawaii it was stated that various ethnic groups including Filipinos, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants were hated in Hawaii not because of their race but because of economics. They presented another false claim as many in the islands resented the development of business by those in these groups and it was not because of their success but because it threatened the racial status quo. This demonstrated that Hawaii did not have complete racial harmony and these racial differences were used to show Hawaii as different. It was also noted that it was still preferable to be light skinned in Hawaii.[201] A colonial attitude towards Hawaii did not disappear because of the war. It was noted that Christianity and the English language helped to unify the various

[198] "Hawaii: A Melting Pot," *Life*, November 26, 1945, 110.
[199] "Hawaii: A Melting Pot," 109.
[200] Allen, 133.
[201] "Hawaii: A Melting Pot," 104.

races. While this may have had some elements of truth there were still racial tensions and not all Hawaiians spoke fluent English. It also again shows Hawaii was viewed as different because they had to undergo a change to be like the mainlanders. The tone of the article notes that the author was in favour of American control but that the Hawaiians were not fully American yet.

Section Conclusion

The admission of states into the Union was usually dependent on population growth and democratic institutions and not on the races of its inhabitants. Race was one of the major reasons why statehood was not granted to Hawaii much earlier. The attack on Pearl Harbor created a new American identity for the Hawaiian people but this was not enough for them to gain statehood immediately following the war. Much of the prewar opposition to Hawaiian statehood framed the debate even after the war and it was mostly focused around racism. Race, however, was not always a point of contention and it was even one of the reasons Hawaii became a state. The multiracial Hawaiian society was the reason why Hawaiians sought statehood instead of independence. Two ethnic groups, the native Hawaiians and Japanese Hawaiians, showed how independence could not be gained after Pearl Harbor and why statehood was the only option available to the Hawaiian people. The returning Japanese Hawaiians veterans were a major reason for Hawaiian statehood. Some of this group entered the American military because of their race and used their military service to influence the political process upon their return. American foreign policy played into the acceptance of Hawaii as racism came to affect America on the world stage and Hawaii became a state in order to help America's image aboard. Finally race and

statehood were connected from the events that began at Pearl Harbor and ended with the proclaiming of statehood in 1959.

Conclusion

The December 7th, 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor was an important period in American history that has informed how many currents events are viewed. It was a national tragedy that has influenced American military planning, conduct of foreign policy, and it is one of the most important cultural symbols. It even changed the borders of the United States. The attack came to change how Americans viewed tragedy on the national level. Especially after the attacks of September 11th, 2001, Pearl Harbor was brought back to the forefront of American discourse. It was used to explore America on the world stage but also its vulnerability. The places of these new attacks became a rallying cry for the American people and support was given to the people of Washington D.C. and New York City. This was the major difference, aside from those targeted, between the 9/11 attacks and the attack on Pearl Harbor. The same support was not given to the Hawaiian people. This was because of Hawaiian's position, or lack thereof, in the United States. This is not a statement about their political status but about Hawaii's place in the collective American consciousness. The levels of destruction as well as the loss of civilian life were quite different between the two attacks but both were attacks on the United States. This is where the crux of this paper has been. The attack on Pearl Harbor was an integral part of Hawaii becoming American. This process of Hawaii's Americanization began before the attack but it was not until Pearl Harbor appeared in newspapers, was mentioned during radio broadcasts and spoken by President Roosevelt in Congress did Hawaii

fully become American. This was not, however, an immediate process. It took many years and the efforts of many in Hawaii and on the mainland to complete this process. The war years in Hawaii were an important element in this transformation but also showed that Hawaii's acceptance by the mainlanders was not immediate.

The prewar lack of attention as well as the colonial status of the islands carried over to the treatment of the Hawaiians during the war even as they were becoming part of the United States culturally, politically, and even militarily. Hawaii was the centre of the American war effort in the Pacific during the Second World War and thus many new influences came to the islands. Despite this influx of mainlanders moving the process of Hawaii's Americanization forward, Hawaiians were still not treated the same. They were forced to endure many years of martial law that included rationing, blackouts, suspension of civil rights, and threat of another Japanese attack. No measurements of this severity were used on the mainland. The newly appointed military leaders justified their powers by claiming it was to protect the Hawaiian people but in reality it demonstrated that the Federal government considered Hawaii to be different from the mainland. Many of the mainlanders stationed in Hawaii had poor opinions of the islands because of unreal expectations. Despite this some mainlanders did attempt to make Hawaii American in the immediate aftermath of the attack.

The most important attempt at making Hawaii American was undertaken by President Roosevelt with his speech delivered on December 8th, 1941. It was the first step in the post attack period that changed Hawaiian identity. This choice to frame Hawaii as American was pivotal in this new identity for Hawaiians. Their identity

also came from what Roosevelt chose to remove. The Philippines were originally presented the same as Hawaii but later removed and they were listed the same as the other American Pacific colonies. Had both colonies been presented as the same than Hawaii's Americanness would have not been to the same level it is today. Despite these hypothetical situations Hawaii became part of the United States and the Filipinos gained independence. This was because of the attack on Pearl Harbor and the lack of mainland connection to the Philippines. Also needing to convince the mainlanders of Hawaii's Americanness in order to overcome the anti war portions of society undoubtedly made Hawaii American. These efforts were successful as the opposition to Hawaiian statehood declined in the post war period. Numerous visuals representations do show this change but also that Hawaii's identity was not completely altered by the attack.

Prior to the attack the majority of images of Hawaii presented it as different from the mainland. It was presented as both distant from and close to the United States. The Hawaiian examples were dependent on what line of presentation best benefitted the profits of the Big Five. Mainland maps of Hawaii excluded Hawaii demonstrating unwillingness to make it American. The war brought changes to this media that moved Hawaii closer to the mainland but also still highlighted its differences from the rest of the United States. Hawaii was becoming American in propaganda posters by using the islands as the prime example of Japanese treachery. Hawaii was also presented as different during the war in order to keep up morale among mainland troops stationed in the islands. The images created during the war literally illustrated the two ways that Hawaii was shown to the mainlanders. Finally

the post war images were the culmination of the two representations as Hawaii became American but the visual images do not fully present Hawaii as the same as the rest of the United States. The designs of the American flag proposed in connection to Hawaiian statehood are evidence of this situation. The USS Arizona memorial is a striking image that demonstrates how the attack on Pearl Harbor affected Hawaii and the mainland as separate entities but also how they are tied together. The different races of the Hawaiians were another element that led the exclusion of the Hawaiians but also their eventual inclusion as full citizens of the United States.

Race was the primary reason for resistance of mainlanders to the inclusion of Hawaii beginning in the nineteenth century. The attack on Pearl Harbor began a process that not only removed race as the main objection to Hawaiian inclusion but it was one of the primary reasons for Hawaii's eventual statehood. Two ethnic groups represented the opposite sides of the inclusion debate within the islands. The Japanese Hawaiians moved from an isolated group to one of the strongest proponents of Hawaiian statehood. The Japanese Hawaiians veterans played an integral role in this change because of their new found influence from their military service. Native Hawaiians were in control of the islands until the late nineteenth century but after the attack their sovereignty rights had all but disappeared. Race also became to affect American foreign policy during the Cold War and thus Hawaii needed to be included to show America's Cold War allies that they would supported and not excluded based on race. Hawaii's multiracial society left statehood as the only option and thus the granting of this status in 1959. Ultimately Hawaii's political inclusion was because of

the islands importance to the American military. Race was not enough to stop Hawaii from being excluded as the military applicants of the islands were the reason why Hawaii was included.

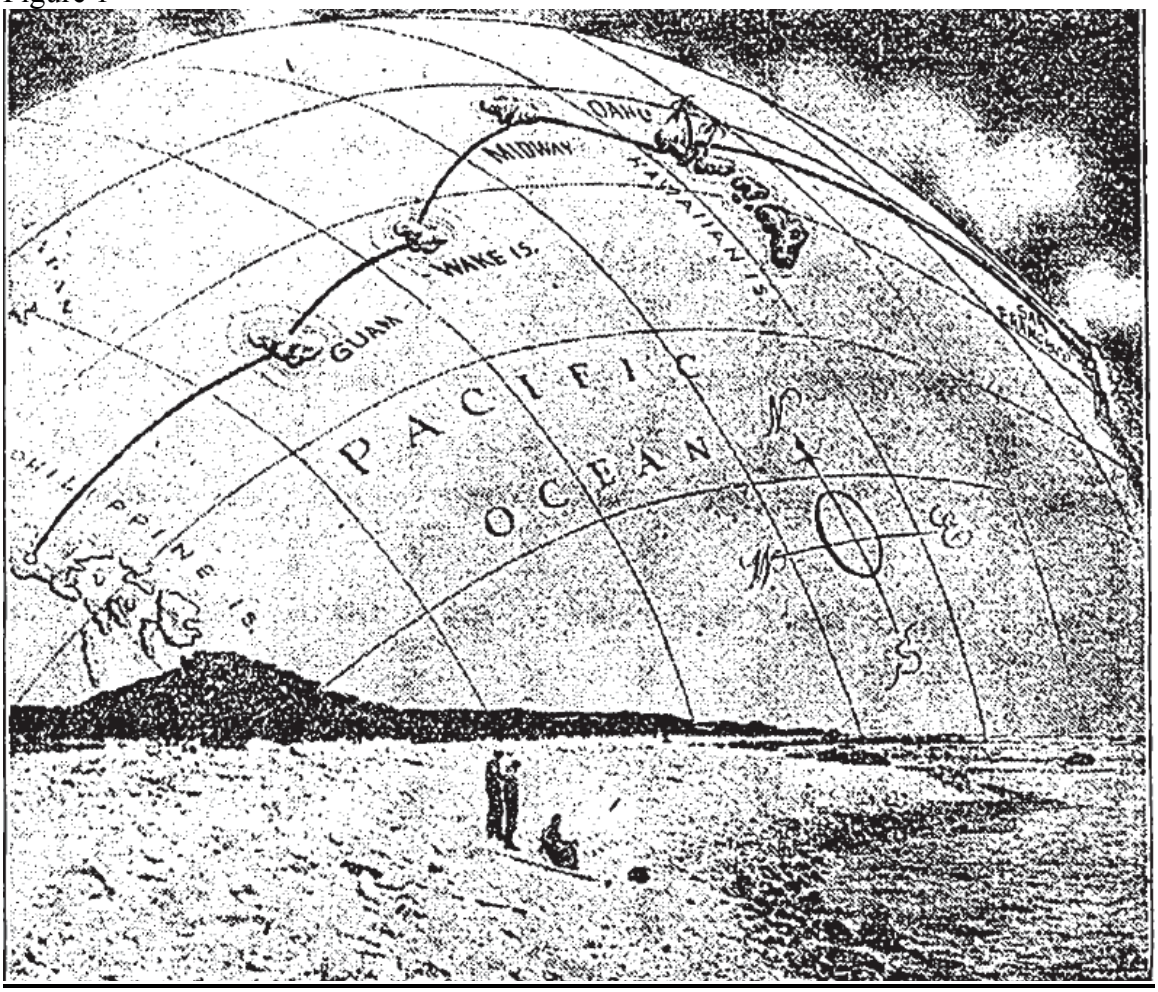
All these factors are what made Hawaii American in the aftermath of the attack on Pearl Harbor. Even the factors that were designed to exclude Hawaii in the end actually aided in its inclusion. These developments leave questions of whether the Hawaiians wanted to be included in the United States. The native Hawaiians appeared to never want to be included from the beginning of the process with annexation to the statehood debates. Other groups worked to have Hawaii included so it seems that opinions are mixed on the question of Hawaiian desire to become American. The factors discussed in this paper have established that it did not matter what their opinions were on the subject. The attack on Pearl Harbor left the Hawaiians with no choice but to become Americans. Many Hawaiians did work to become part of America but without the events of December 7th their attempts may have fallen on deaf ears or may not have even been possible. The prewar relations made sure that Americans were to dominate Hawaii. Despite this it was not inevitable that Hawaii would become an equal part of the United States. The attack further entrenched American control but the Hawaiians benefitted from this new found identity. Becoming American ensured that they were not to have their civil rights limited again. It took years of suffering under military rule for this to occur but the Hawaiians persevered and were rewarded. Many Hawaiians today do not view this identity as a reward but again it was the only option available and it was also the best they could have received given the relationship between Hawaii and the United

States. Hawaiians are now Americans and it all began because of the Japanese attack on the American Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor.

On December 6th, 1941 Hawaii was another distant American colonial possession that few mainlanders even knew existed. In 1959 it became the fiftieth state. This shift in designation was only possible due to the attack on Pearl Harbor. Hawaii was a crucial American symbol in the drive for war but needed to become American before this was possible. From many factors and the efforts of numerous people Hawaii became American but not without much conflict. From the native Hawaiians to racist members of Congress there have been numerous examples of opposition to Hawaii becoming American before, during, and after the attack. Despite all this resistance, the attack on Pearl Harbor made Hawaii's new Americanness was a foregone conclusion. The Pearl Harbor attack is one of the most important events in American history. Not only did it began the conflict that forever changed American society but demonstrated the transformative nature of American identity. The inclusion of Hawaii into the United States is not mentioned along the importance of Pearl Harbor but it is a change that can no longer be ignored.

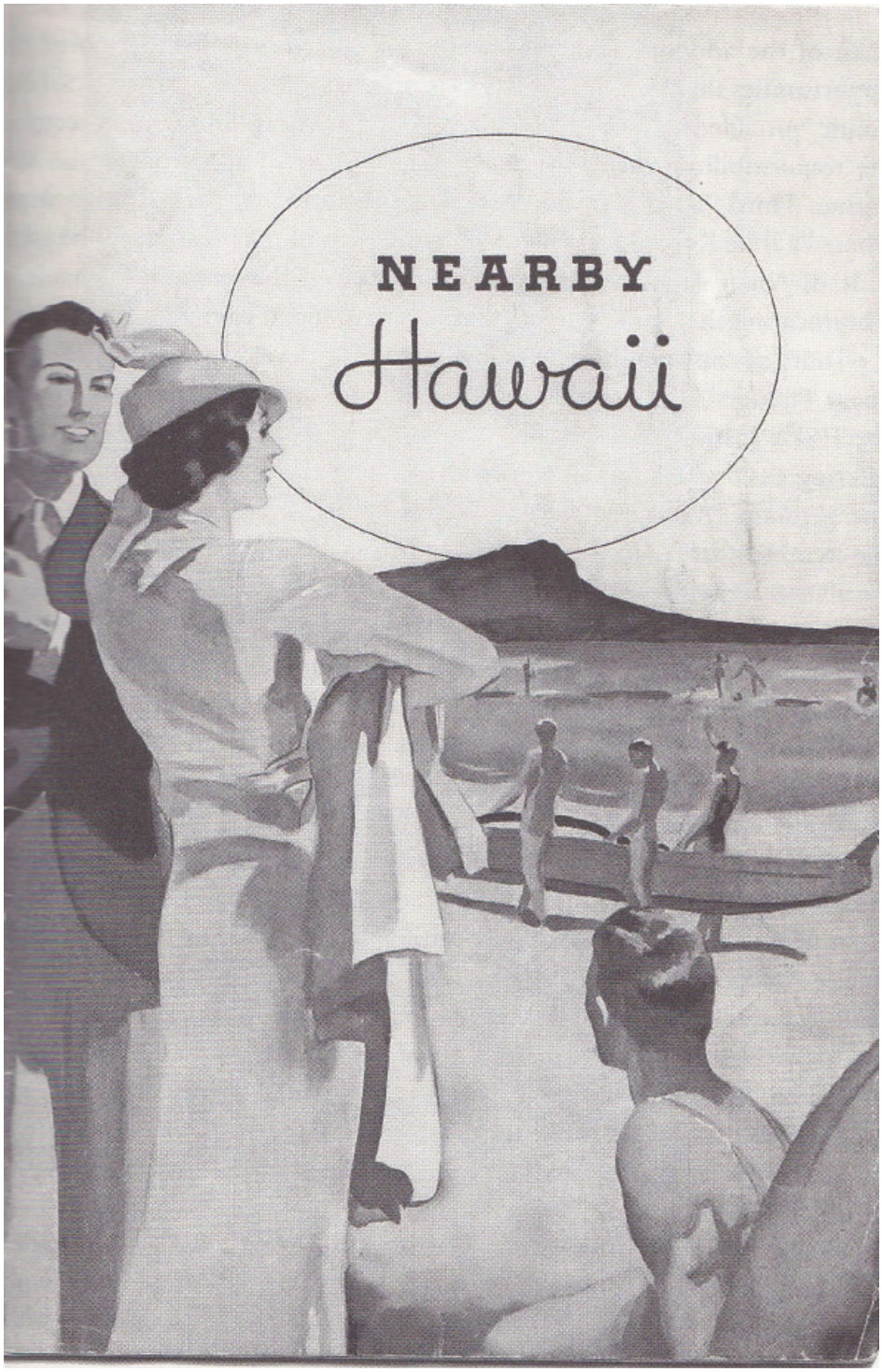
Appendix

Figure 1



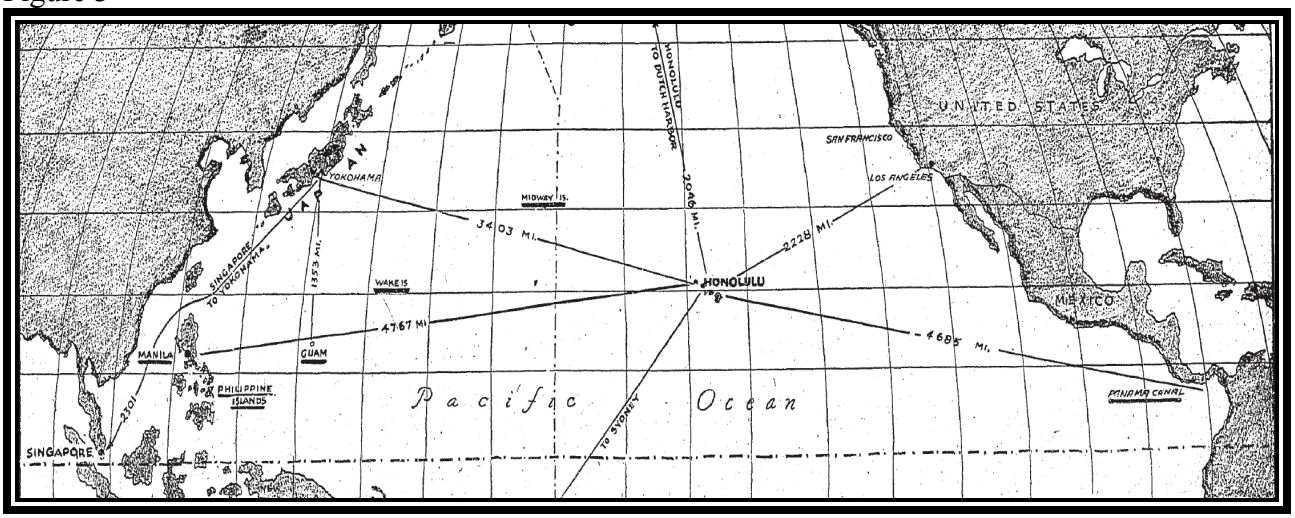
Charles Nutter, "Uninhabited Coral Reef In Pacific Soon To Be An Important Air Base," *Hartford Courant*, March 31, 1935, D7.

Figure 2



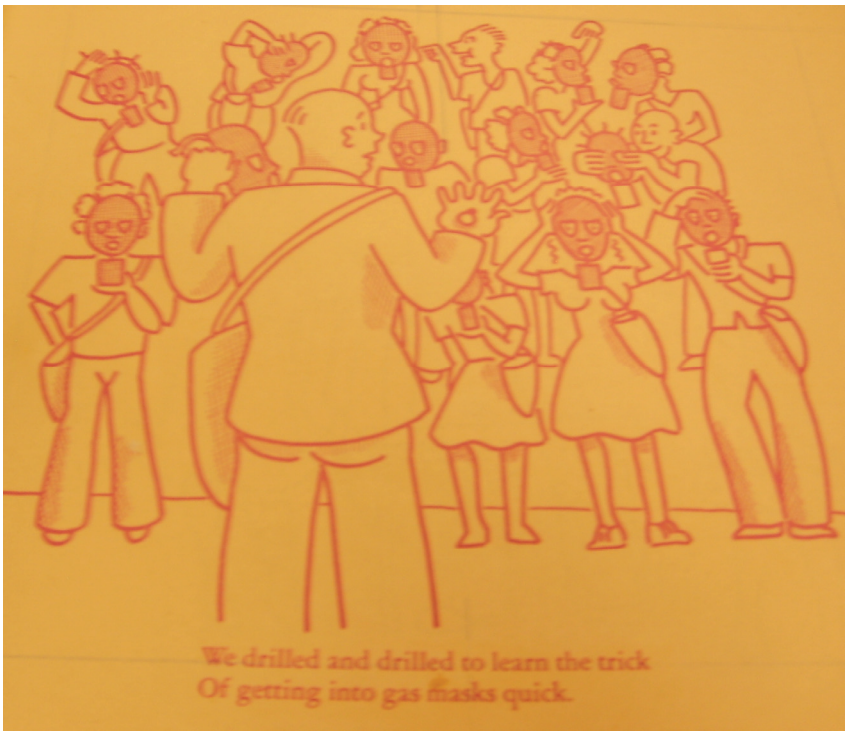
Christine Skwiot, *The Purposes of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawaii* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 115, Fig. 9.

Figure 3



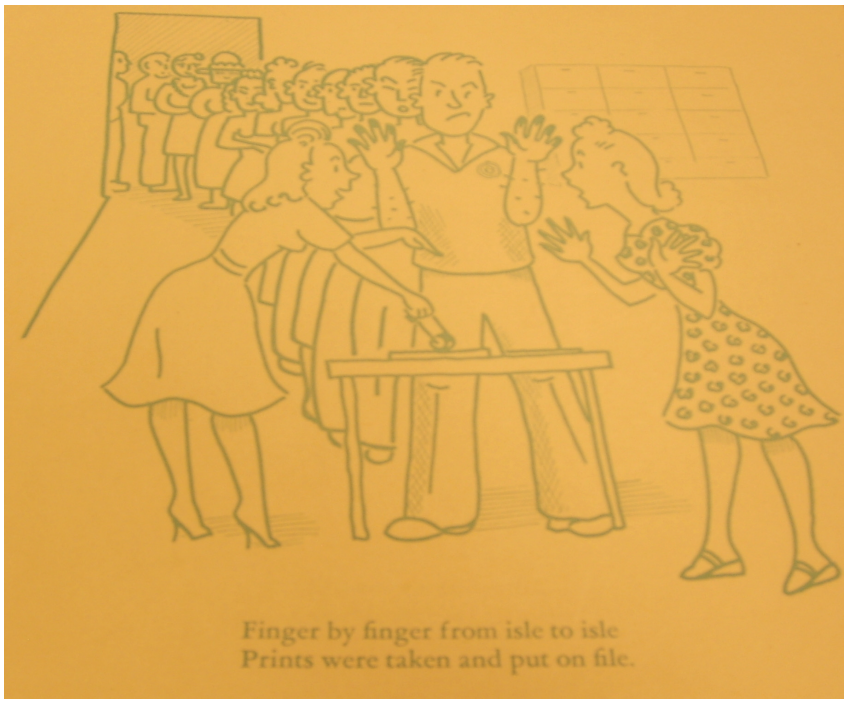
Bill Henry, "Japan's Daring Attack on Hawaii Designed to Cripple U.S. Fleet," *Los Angeles Times*, Dec 8 1941, D1.

Figure 4



Frances Baker, *We The Blitzed: A Diary In Cartoons of Hawaii at War* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing, 1943), 6.

Figure 5

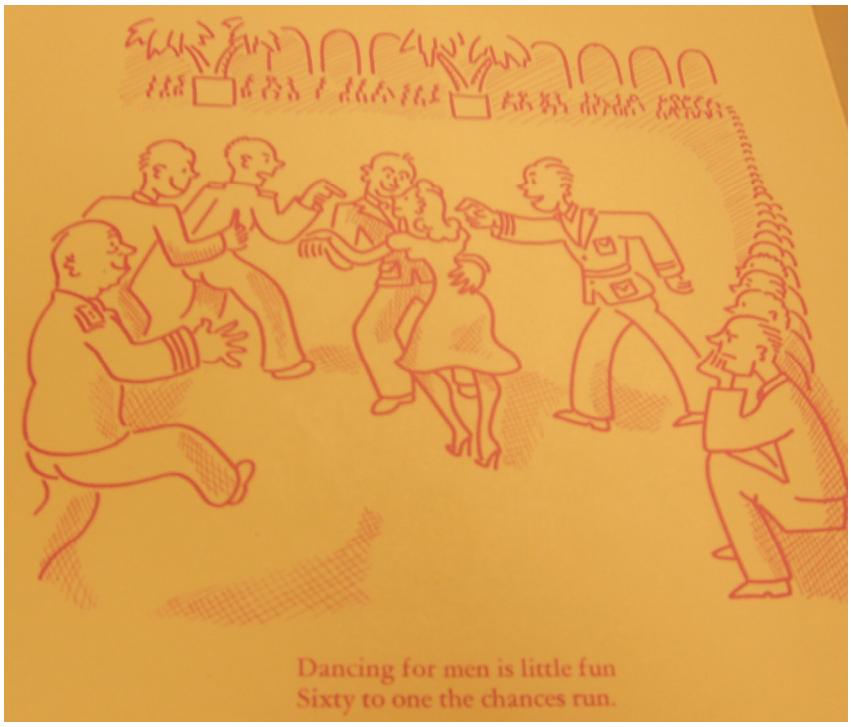


Frances Baker, *We The Blitzed: A Diary In Cartoons of Hawaii at War* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing, 1943), 7.

Figure 6

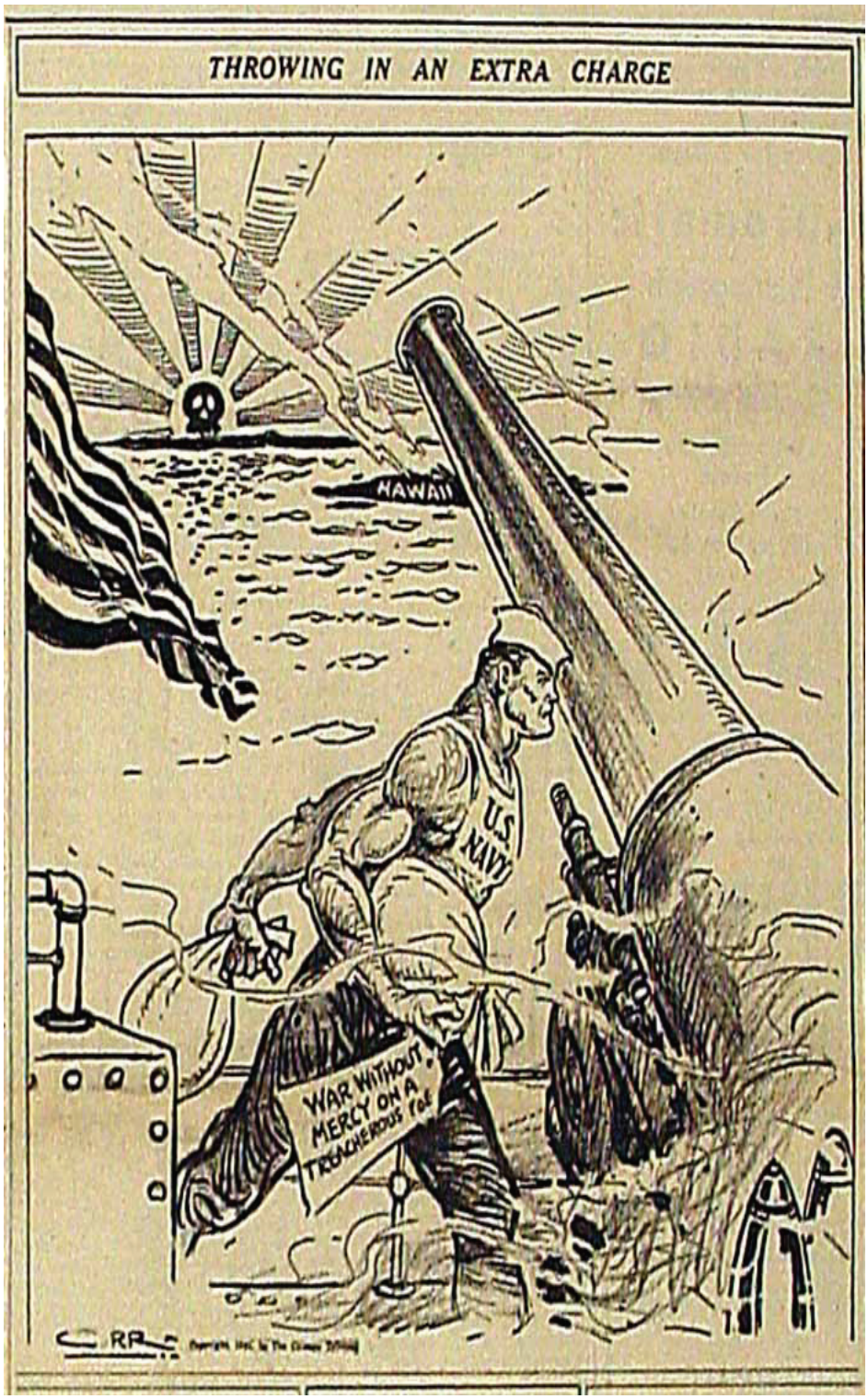
Frances Baker, *We The Blitzed: A Diary In Cartoons of Hawaii at War* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing, 1943), 9.

Figure 7



Frances Baker, *We The Blitzed: A Diary In Cartoons of Hawaii at War* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing, 1943), 14.

Figure 8



Carey Orr, "Throwing in an Extra Charge," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 1941, 1.

Figure 9

Emily S. Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in America Memory* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003), 91.

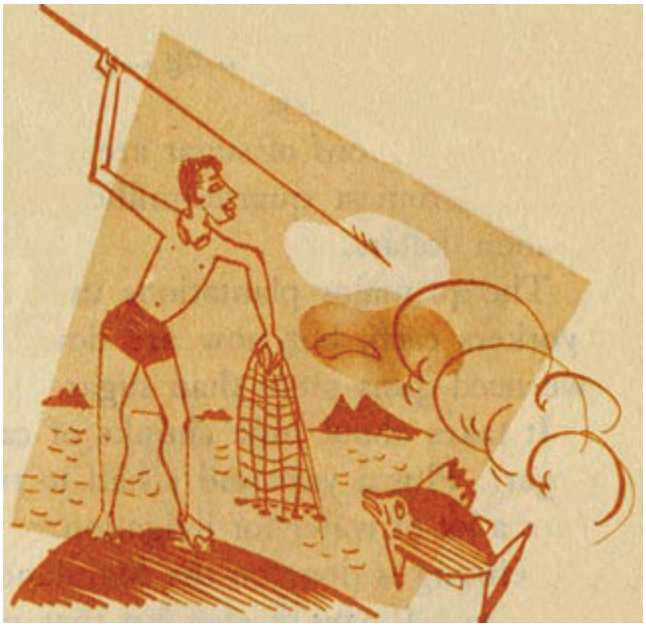
Figure 10

Special Projects Branch, Morale Services Section Central Pacific Base Command, *A Pocket Guide to Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: Army Information Branch, 1944), 15.

Figure 11

Special Projects Branch, Morale Services Section Central Pacific Base Command, *A Pocket Guide to Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: Army Information Branch, 1944), i.

Figure 12



Special Projects Branch, Morale Services Section Central Pacific Base Command, *A Pocket Guide to Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: Army Information Branch, 1944), 26.

Figure 13

Special Projects Branch, Morale Services Section Central Pacific Base Command, *A Pocket Guide to Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: Army Information Branch, 1944), 36.

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