

Remembering "the American Island of Oahu": Hawai`i under Military Rule, 1941-1945

by

Carlee J. Johnson  
B.A., Hawai`i Pacific University, 2009

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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in the Department of History

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University of Victoria

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## **Supervisory Committee**

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Dr. Jason Colby, Department of History  
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Dr. Rachel Cleves, Department of History  
**Departmental Member**

## Abstract

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This thesis traces the origins of a colonized and militarized Hawai`i, ultimately leading to the years of military rule, 1941-1945. It examines the ways in which the Hawaiian Islands differed from the United States mainland prior to and throughout the war years, and demonstrates that Hawai`i's history is much richer than the "Remember Pearl Harbor" framework acknowledges. Focusing on long time residents (Islanders or locals), rather than on the large population of migrant Americans also in the archipelago during the war, it addresses ways in which military rule controlled and Americanized the people of Hawai`i. Finally, it illuminates the ways in which local stories challenge national ones: How were America and Hawai`i different places in 1941?

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## **Dedication**

*To my brothers,*

*You are by far my greatest inspiration in life.*

*&*

*To my parents,*

*Without your love and support I would not be where or who I am today.*

## Introduction

### *Personal Note*

As I relaxed one afternoon flipping through the many photographs in Ralph Kuykendall's *Hawaii: A History* (1961), I came across an emotive photo of an unnamed street, virtually overtaken by people. The caption to the left read: "News of the Japanese acceptance of defeat touched off the greatest spontaneous celebration in the history of the islands, August 14th, 1945. Servicemen and civilians swarming in downtown Honolulu streets march and cheer amid stalled traffic."<sup>1</sup> Initially drawn into the excitement offered by the photo, I was given to deeper reflection.

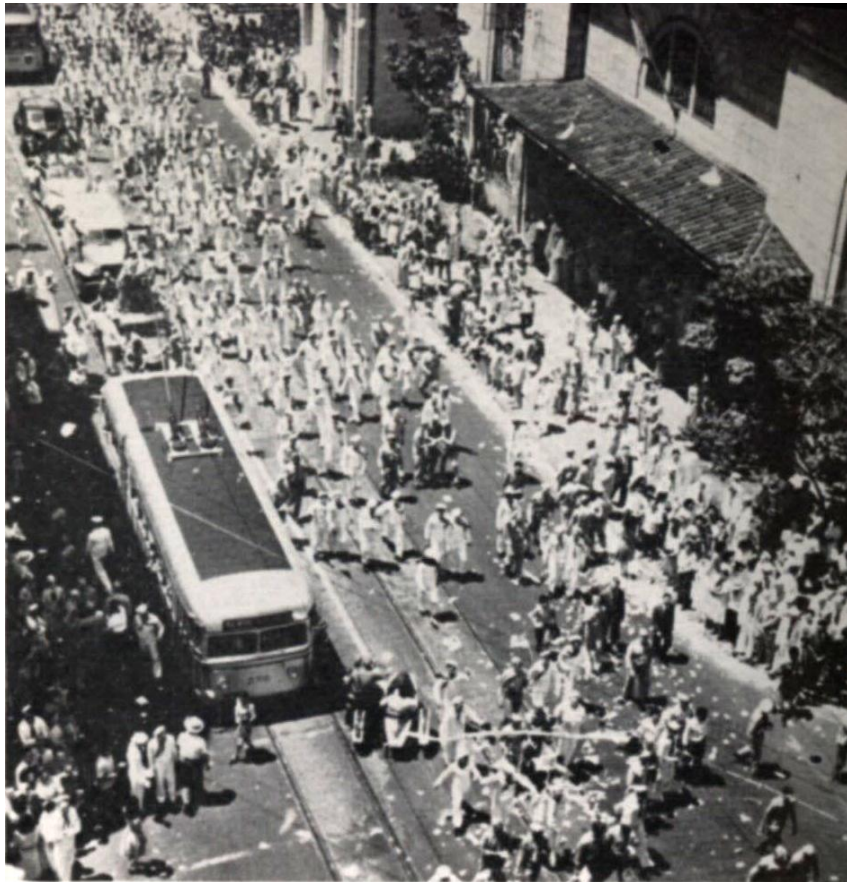
The spatial arrangement of the photograph is telling. Taken from a birds-eye-view, both the street and the large bus on the left-hand side of the photo are pictured diagonally, leading the curious eye to the commotion on the street. On the fringes of the photo are several figures, but they are not the focal point. Rather, those on the street adorned with matching white uniforms and white caps, American sailors, are the focal point. In many ways, this frame is a microcosm, for it mirrors the way in which most Americans remember World War Two. The war narrative is chronological; it begins with the Japanese surprise attack on Pearl Harbor and ends with Japanese surrender—the ultimate American victory. It has didactic value, for it teaches Americans young and old of the Good War, invoking themes of bravery, sacrifice, and freedom. While this is not to claim that war memories are singular or static, or to deny that post-war lessons are varied, it is to argue that the hegemonic Pearl Harbor narrative remembered and shared by

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<sup>1</sup> Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, *Hawaii: A History, From Polynesian Kingdom to American State* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1961), 230-231.

generations of Americans involves the armed forces of the United States valiantly conquering the Empire of Japan, however varied the details may be.

As I continued to contemplate the photo, I wondered: Was this really the greatest spontaneous celebration the Islands had ever seen? Or perhaps, was it just the best known?



[Figure 1: People Swarm a Honolulu Street in Celebration of the Japanese Surrender]<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Earl J. Stephenson photo reproduced in Ibid.

### *Re-centering the Islands*

In President Roosevelt's address to the nation and declaration of war on Japan, his words were prophetic, December 7th, 1941 indeed was "a date which will live in infamy."<sup>3</sup> Since 1941, the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor has been a popular subject of history, memory, and—of course—national identity. Reminders of Pearl Harbor are everywhere; as Emily Rosenberg noted, it has lived on in "popular and professional books, films, journalism, television, memorial sites, and Internet chat rooms."<sup>4</sup> After the attacks on American soil in September 2001, Pearl Harbor was the "most commonly invoked metaphor" through which the enemy acts were understood.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, tourists can consume this narrative at various sites throughout the Hawaiian Islands, such as the National Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, the Fort DeRussy Army Museum, and the USS *Arizona* Memorial. The latter, which welcomes nearly two million visitors annually, has the distinction of being the most visited site in the Hawaiian Islands.<sup>6</sup>

While it is undeniable that the Pearl Harbor narrative has withstood the last seven decades, it is important to realize that when the American President declared war on Japan, Pearl Harbor was not yet the phrase under which the American experience in the Pacific theater of World War Two would be swept. In fact, prior the Japanese attack, most Americans knew little or nothing of America's distant island possessions, much less

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<sup>3</sup> For Roosevelt's original draft including edits see Emily S. Rosenberg, *A Date Which Will Live: Pearl Harbor in American Memory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 86-87.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>6</sup> For statistics see, Visit Military Bases. "Pearl Harbor Naval Station." Accessed November 11, 2011. <http://www.visitmilitarybases.com/local75.html>; R.D.K. Herman "The Dread Taboo: Human Sacrifice and Pearl Harbor," *The Contemporary Pacific* (Spring 1996): 113. For a fuller discussion of each of these sites see Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

a place called Pearl Harbor.<sup>7</sup> The words Pearl Harbor did not even appear in Roosevelt's declaration of war speech.<sup>8</sup> Rather, the closest he came to mentioning a specific location in the Hawaiian Islands was his reference to O`ahu, or as he phrased it, "the American island of Oahu."<sup>9</sup> As news of the attack reached civilians on the mainland, so began a period of addressing Hawai`i "in newly emphatic terms, as part of America."<sup>10</sup>

Roosevelt chose his words carefully, for he had the dual tasks of emphasizing that a foreign enemy had violated "American" soil while avoiding explicit reference to an American empire, of which Hawai`i was a part. Roosevelt's language was comparable to President James K. Polk's nearly a century prior, specifically Polk's claim that Mexican forces had "shed blood upon American soil" as a *casus belli*—when in reality the land in present day Texas was contested. Nonetheless, both Polk and Roosevelt's statements paved the way for a declaration of war.<sup>11</sup> The colonization and militarization of the Hawaiian Islands was, of course, a lengthy and complicated process. Rather than acknowledging this imperial history, Roosevelt opted to portray Hawai`i as "appendage of the U.S. West Coast."<sup>12</sup> Nor did the U.S. President draw attention to the fact that the

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<sup>7</sup> Rosenberg, 10; DeSoto Brown, *Hawaii Goes to War* (Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1989), 52; Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 16-17; Ernest Golden transcript in *An Era of Change: Oral Histories of Civilians in WWII Hawai`i*, Vol. V, (Honolulu: Center for Oral History, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai`i at Mānoa, 1994), 1459-1549. Golden is quoted: "they say Japanese had bombed Pearl Harbor... But Pearl Harbor itself had no meaning... geographically speaking in its relationship with the United States. None," *xli-xlii*.

<sup>8</sup> Rosenberg also mentions this "curious omission," on page 16.

<sup>9</sup> While this thesis observes modern Hawaiian orthography, quoted material is kept in its original form (example: Roosevelt's spelling of *Oahu* rather than *O`ahu*). Moreover, as per RDK Herman's reminder ("The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-Conquest of Hawai`i," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89 no. 1 (1999): fn. 11) that the Hawaiian language and people are not extinct, this thesis aims to avoid addressing Hawaiian traditions and place names in past tense. Finally, Hawaiian words are not italicized as foreign words, as per Sally Engle Merry's note in *Colonizing Hawai`i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), *xiii*.

<sup>10</sup> Bailey and Farber, *The First Strange Place*, 16.

<sup>11</sup> Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty!: An American History*, Vol. 1., 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2009), 448.

<sup>12</sup> Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 13.

American military had in fact made the Hawaiian Islands a target by relocating the Pacific Fleet to Pearl Harbor a year earlier.

For most Americans today, Pearl Harbor is an event. For Hawai`i, however, Pearl Harbor is a lagoon harbor in the `Ewa district on the island of O`ahu, makai of present-day Pearl City and Waipahu.<sup>13</sup> In fact, the name Pearl Harbor is itself a creation of the West. The Hawaiian language identifies this area as Pu`uloa; once revered as an abundant source of fish, Pu`uloa was home to roughly forty of O`ahu's most important loko i`a (fish ponds).<sup>14</sup> Just as Pu`uloa has a lengthy history in its Polynesian context, the same is true of the archipelago known today as Hawai`i. Accordingly, any understanding of the changes brought to the Islands with the onset of World War Two must begin with a more complex version of Hawai`i's past.

This thesis moves beyond the dominant Pearl Harbor narrative by tracing the origins of a colonized and militarized Hawai`i, ultimately leading to the years of military rule, 1941-1945. It investigates civilian life under martial law; those in Hawai`i most commonly forgotten by the hegemonic war narrative, but in so many ways the most affected. Focusing on the lives of long time residents (Islanders or locals), rather than the large population of migrant Americans, it examines the ways in which military rule controlled and Americanized the people of Hawai`i. Finally, it illuminates the ways in

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<sup>13</sup> Makai means toward the ocean. Mauka, its opposite, means inland or toward the mountains.

<sup>14</sup> Ferguson and Turnbull suggest 40 loko i`a; Kyle Kajihiro suggests 36 in "A Brief Overview of Militarization and Resistance in Hawai`i," *A DMZ-Hawai`i/Aloha `Aina Paper*, (March, 2007): 1-12. Pu`uloa translates to a long cinder cone or hill. See Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1971); Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1974); for a more extensive discussion including maps see *Sites of Oahu*, compiled by Elspeth P. Sterling and Catherine C. Summers, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1978), 41-56.

which local stories challenge national ones: How were America and Hawai`i different places in 1941?<sup>15</sup>

### *Historiography and Sources*

In his 1984 article "Ring of Steel: Notes on the Militarization of Hawaii," Ian Lind noted that histories devoted to the roots of militarism in Hawai`i "remain obscure."<sup>16</sup> Lind's assessment holds true decades later. Indeed, very few works have addressed the history of the American military in the Hawaiian Islands. Moreover, despite the abundant primary documents available for scholars interested in Hawai`i's war years, even fewer have focused on the years of martial law.

J. Garner Anthony and Gwenfread Allen were the first scholars to address the period of military rule in Hawai`i.<sup>17</sup> In his capacity as Attorney General, Anthony approached martial law from a legal standpoint, and focused on the prolonged existence and unconstitutionality of the military government. He questioned the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus by drawing on controversial trials of civilians in provost courts for matters unrelated to the prosecution of the war. According to a contemporary, Anthony was "Hawaii's most vocal critic of martial law."<sup>18</sup> While Anthony's *Hawaii Under Army Rule* is useful, it focuses primarily on the proceedings of the military courts rather than on details of island life.

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<sup>15</sup> Locals are not just residents, but are defined in contrast to Hawaiians and haoles (Caucasians). Local culture emerged from the amalgamation of immigrants from Asia and Pacific Islands as well as Native Hawaiians on the plantations; local culture is normative in Hawai`i today. See Judy Rohrer, "Mestiza, Hapa Haole, and Oceanic Borderspaces: Genealogical Rearticulations of Whiteness in Hawai`i" *Borderlands E-Journal* 9 no. 1 (2010): 1-27; Haunani-Kay Trask, "Settlers of Color and "Immigrant" Hegemony: "Locals" in Hawai`i," *Amerasia Journal* 26 no. 2, (2000): 1-24.

<sup>16</sup> Ian Y. Lind, "Ring of Steel: Notes on the Militarization of Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii* 31 (1984): 27.

<sup>17</sup> J. Garner Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1955); Gwenfread Allen, *Hawaii's War Years, 1941-1945* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1950).

<sup>18</sup> Allen, 174.

Another influential account was Gwenfread Allen's *Hawaii's War Years* (1950), which aimed to provide a more comprehensive assessment of Hawai`i's role in the Second World War. She drew upon the Hawai`i War Records Depository (HWRD) extensively, and was in fact commissioned by the legislature to write a history of Hawai`i's war years. Six decades later, *Hawaii's War Years* remains the lengthiest treatment of far-reaching topics such as post-attack clean up, Islanders in the services, housing shortage, blackout, and the migrant experience in wartime Hawai`i, among others. However, the decades of change since Allen's writing have rendered her framework outdated. In 1950, very few conceptualized the war years as a part of the larger colonization process; Allen was not exempt from this. Moreover, her lack of proper citation inhibits a reader from separating passages based on archival research from those based on personal experience.<sup>19</sup>

Since the time of Allen's and Anthony's writings, the political and social climate of Hawai`i have transformed remarkably; historical scholarship was not immune to these changes. In the 1940s and 1950s, Hawai`i was more or less preoccupied with the looming question of statehood. Some, like Anthony, advocated for statehood on the grounds that once it became a state, Hawai`i would indisputably share the same rights as those enjoyed by mainland states. Others, like Allen, highlighted Hawai`i's patriotism and celebrated the efforts of Islanders during the war years.<sup>20</sup>

In 1959 Hawai`i became the fiftieth American state; however, even this change of legal status did not settle disparate opinions. While statehood was decided by a

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<sup>19</sup> Allen provides an extensive bibliography, but uses no footnotes or endnotes; this prevents the reader from interacting with her sources.

<sup>20</sup> See J. Garner Anthony, "Hawaiian Martial Law in the Supreme Court," *Yale Law Review* 57 No 1. (November 1947): 27-54; Allen, 378.

referendum, none of the options included a return to independence. By the 1970s, a strong opposition movement emerged. The "Hawaiian Renaissance" began as a growing consciousness of Hawaiian identity and led to the "re-establishment of Hawaiian culture, language schools, the rehabilitation of the ancient temples and ceremonies, the forging of communities on the land, and most important the struggle to re-appropriate the Hawaiian land base itself."<sup>21</sup> Perhaps the most notable accomplishment of this growing activism was the return of the island Kaho`olawe in 1994, which had been used as a target range by the U.S. military since the 1940s.<sup>22</sup> Today, the ultimate goal of many activist groups is the restoration of Hawaiian independence.<sup>23</sup>

The decades of change since Allen and Anthony's writing have affected scholarship immensely. Since the 1970s, scholars including Noenoe Silva and Lilikalā Kame`elihiwa have used Hawaiian language documents to revise some of the most controversial events in Hawai`i's history. In her work, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Silva drew on petitions against annexation, which were signed by ninety-five percent of the native population. Historiography prior to Silva's reconnaissance maintained that there existed no opposition, and that annexation was accepted as part of the general movement toward becoming fully American. Kame`elihiwa's *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* addressed traditional land tenure and the devastating affects of the

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<sup>21</sup> *Hawai`i: Return to Nationhood* Eds. Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman, IWGIA Document 75, (Copenhagen, 1994), 9.

<sup>22</sup> Bombing stopped in 1990, and Kaho`olawe was returned to the state in 1994. Today it is used only for Native Hawaiian cultural purposes.

<sup>23</sup> `Ōiwi, Kānaka Maoli, and Lāhui (the people, nation, or race) are all used to refer to the Hawaiian people. Kānaka is plural, while Kanaka is singular.

Māhele (the dividing and selling of lands).<sup>24</sup> Today it is nearly impossible to pursue a topic within Hawaiian history without considering the influence of this wave of critical scholarship.

Also important are recent studies of various ethnic groups, particularly Hawai`i Japanese.<sup>25</sup> Gary Okihiro traced the roots of anti-Japanism in Hawai`i, and made strong connections between the imposition of martial law and the large presence of ethnic Japanese in the Islands.<sup>26</sup> He observed that the war years were a time during which Hawai`i Japanese were initially targeted and demonized, but that Nisei (or American citizens of Japanese ancestry) eventually proved their Americanness to those who questioned it, such as military authorities and members of the haole (Caucasian) elite.<sup>27</sup> Other works such as Kathy E. Ferguson and Phyllis Turnbull's *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai`i*, refuted the notion that Hawai`i Japanese were the sole reason for the imposition of martial law, and argued that the period of martial law during the war years was but one manifestation of the military's relentless desire to control the Islands.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Two examples include Silva's *Aloha Betrayed*, and Lilikalā Kame`eleihiwa *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

<sup>25</sup> These works include Franklin Odo *No Sword to Bury: Japanese Americans in Hawai`i during World War II*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Eileen H. Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawai`i* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Gary Okihiro *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawai`i, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Tom Coffman, "When Time Began," (Chapter 5) in *The Island Edge of America*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2003), 59-103.

<sup>26</sup> Okihiro viewed martial law as an alternative to mass internment.

<sup>27</sup> Nisei, or those of Japanese ancestry born in the new country, were American citizens by birth. Haole, broadly speaking, means Caucasian. In the Hawaiian language haole originally meant foreigner (or, of foreign origin), but later came to denote those of Caucasian ancestry. More specifically, haole defined the land owning planter class, many of whom were also former missionaries or decedents of missionaries. Today it describes those of Caucasian ancestry, especially foreigners, and continues to mark otherness. For discussions of whiteness in Hawai`i see Judy Rohrer, *Haoles in Hawai`i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2010) and Rohrer, "Mestiza, Hapa Haole, and Oceanic Borderspaces."

<sup>28</sup> Ferguson and Turnbull, 56-57; Lind "Ring of Steel," 35.

Also relevant is Beth Bailey and David Farber's, *The First Strange Place: Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (1992). Bailey and Farber's social history discussed the ways in which identities were negotiated and confused as Americans from different mainland regions encountered one another in Hawai`i.<sup>29</sup> For these diverse Americans, Hawai`i was—as the title suggests—a strange place where race and ethnicity had very different meanings than the localities from whence they came. Although Bailey and Farber addressed different social and ethnic groups, such as African Americans, sex workers, and haoles, their emphasis was on the experiences of American migrants in Hawai`i rather than on those of Islanders. Perhaps most important was their insight that Roosevelt's notion of "the American island of Oahu" clashed with the American migrant realization that Hawai`i was not like *their* America.

In addition to published sources, archives and manuscripts at the University of Hawai`i (UH) at Mānoa including the Hawai`i War Records Depository (HWRD) and records of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory (RASRL) offer rich primary source material covering Hawai`i's war years. In April 1943, the Hawai`i Territorial Legislature authorized UH Mānoa to create the HWRD, and designated it official collector of materials related to the impact of war on Hawai`i and its people. Throughout the war years, the HWRD accepted materials donated by various contributors from individual citizens to the military. Today, it has an extensive collection of primary resources including newspapers, photographs and journals, among others. Records of the RASRL consist largely of research and reports conducted by faculty and students of the UH Department of Sociology, who focused on race, ethnicity, and social change. During

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<sup>29</sup> On the importance of regional identities see Bailey and Farber, 20-21.

the war years, researchers collaborated with the military government and focused on war-related topics such as social change and civilian morale.<sup>30</sup>

Another important collection was created in 1994 by the Center for Oral History, also at UH Mānoa. The project entitled *An Era of Change: Oral Histories of Civilians in World War II Hawai`i* is a five-volume compilation documenting the lives of thirty-three men and women who experienced the war years in Hawai`i.<sup>31</sup> While the project was not focused exclusively on long-time residents, the vast majority of interviewees were Islanders (rather than recent migrants), most of whom also lived on O`ahu. The personal histories offered by *An Era of Change* are a rich supplement to the HWRD and RASRL collections. Nonetheless, few scholars have utilized *An Era of Change* since the project's completion.<sup>32</sup>

Despite its critical innovations, none of the published scholarship examines island life under martial law within the broader context of the colonization of Hawai`i, and none examine the substantial Americanization and militarization that took place before and during the war years. Eileen Tamura defines Americanization as "the organized effort... to compel immigrants and their children to adopt so-called American ways," and notes that the terms Americanization and assimilation (or Anglo-conformity) were used interchangeably throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century. In her work

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<sup>30</sup> This is was the first session of the legislature after the declaration of martial law. Note that the legislature met for scheduled biennial sessions in 1943 and 1944; however, early in the war years it was not clear whether or not it would convene. Allen, 170; Hawai`i War Records Depository (HWRD) website. Accessed November 11, 2011. [http://libweb.hawaii.edu/digicoll/hwrld/HWRD\\_html/HWRD\\_welcome.htm](http://libweb.hawaii.edu/digicoll/hwrld/HWRD_html/HWRD_welcome.htm); while records of the RASRL span several decades (1920s-1960s), materials detailing the war years are most pertinent to this thesis. During the war years the RASRL was called the War Research Laboratory.

<sup>31</sup> *An Era of Change* is one of several projects created by the Center for Oral History (est. 1976). Transcripts from *Life Histories of Native Hawaiians* (1978) was also informative. See *Talking Hawai`i's Story: Oral Histories of an Island People* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2009), for condensed versions of transcripts from various projects.

<sup>32</sup> The eight main islands include: Ni`ihau, Kaua`i, O`ahu, Moloka`i, Lāna`i, Kaho`olawe, Maui, and Hawai`i (the latter is locally known as "Big Island"). Perhaps the transcripts have been underused because of the difficulty accessing them outside of Hawai`i.

on the Nisei generation in Hawai`i, Tamura predominantly draws on the concept of acculturation to depict both the persistence of ethnic identity as well as adaptation to American middle-class norms—or in other words, to illuminate the dual identities of Hawai`i Nisei.

The term Americanization is most useful in this thesis insofar as the bulk of the analysis centers on paternalistic plans to inculcate loyalty among Hawai`i's non-whites, rather than on processes of acculturation or on the persistence of ethnic difference.<sup>33</sup>

Today, Americanization is defined as "to make or become American in character; assimilate to the customs and institutions of the U.S."<sup>34</sup> Despite the difficulties associated with defining "American in character," this definition most closely resembles the way in which Americanization relates to this analysis. Furthermore, the meaning of the term vis-à-vis the specific topic under study will be clarified throughout.

For the purposes of this thesis, the definition of Americanization is broadened to include the making of Hawai`i into an American place whether politically, economically, culturally, or ideologically. Insofar as the political and economic forms dominated throughout the latter half of the 1800s, and again resurged in the late 1950s with statehood, they are less pertinent to the period under study. Instead, the cultural and ideological forms—through which Islanders came to self-identify as American (whether separate from or together with their identity as Hawai`i residents), and mainlanders began to regard Hawai`i as an American place—are most relevant to the period of military rule in Hawai`i. The term militarization, or the entrenchment of the military order in

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<sup>33</sup> See Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity* (Chapter 3), for a lengthier discussion of the etymologies of these terms.

<sup>34</sup> Dictionary.com. "Americanization." Accessed September 15, 2011.  
<http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/Americanization>

otherwise non-military spheres, will also figure prominently throughout. Militarization reached new heights in wartime Hawai`i and penetrated civilian life in ways unthinkable and unknown on the U.S. mainland.

This thesis illuminates the ways in which Hawai`i differed from the mainland prior to and throughout the war years, and demonstrates that Hawai`i's history is much richer than the "Remember Pearl Harbor" framework acknowledges. Moreover, it maintains that Hawai`i has only ever been loosely connected to the U.S. mainland thorough economic arrangements, political labels, and military presence. In light of the decades of change that have occurred in Hawai`i since the 1940s, this thesis reexamines the vast primary sources on wartime Hawai`i, and interprets the period of military rule as it relates to the complex history of the Islands. To fully comprehend the impact of the war years on Hawai`i and its people, a brief discussion of island life before the war is necessary.

## Chapter One: Islands before the War

Only in recent decades have non-Native historians looked to events other than the 1778 arrival of the British Captain James Cook as a "narrative beginning" of Hawaiian history. In selecting this "discovery" as the starting point, Western historians ignored, as Elizabeth Buck observed, "all the vast time of Hawai`i's past that was represented in its epic, poetic, and genealogical chants...[which were instead] relegated to the dubious...categories of folklore and myth."<sup>35</sup> More recently, historians have looked to earlier starting points, such as the waves of Polynesian Voyagers who sailed from the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti thousands of years before Cook.<sup>36</sup>

The early voyagers knew themselves not as Hawaiians but simply as the people, or Kānaka Maoli. Those who stayed in the archipelago developed an intricate system of land tenure to ensure sustenance for the growing population. Lilikalā Kame`eleihiwa presented traditional land tenure as follows:

*Ahupua'a* were usually wedge-shaped sections of land that followed natural geographical boundaries, such as ridge lines and rivers and ran from mountain to sea... Ideally an *ahupua'a* would include within its borders all the materials required for sustenance—timber, thatching, and rope from the mountains, various crops from the uplands, kalo from the lowlands, and fish from the sea. All members of society shared access to these life-giving necessities.

This system connected the people to one and other, and the people to the 'Āina (land):

"Polynesians saw their universe as a perfect creation...an organic whole of which each

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<sup>35</sup> Elizabeth Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of History and Culture in Hawai`i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 13. Again, the emphasis is on Western accounts. Hawaiian mo`olelo (history, tale, legend; the stories of the people, chiefs, and gods) are, of course, excluded from this. Some Hawaiian historians do not even regard Cook as the first haole to arrive in the Islands. See Silva's (*Aloha Betrayed*, 20-21) reference to Samuel Kamakau's *Ke Kumu Aupuni* (1867).

<sup>36</sup> Herb Kawainui Kane, *Ancient Hawai`i* (Captain Cook, Hawai`i: Kawainui Press, 1997), 8-9, 16. Hawaiian mythology describes a people called Menehune, who were said to have existed in the Islands before the Hawaiians. Nonetheless, the traditions we consider Hawaiian began with the arrival of Polynesians.

person or thing was an integral part." Accordingly, the relationship between the people and the 'Āina, which was also an akua (god), was one of reciprocity.<sup>37</sup>

While Hawaiian society was hierarchical with a Mō'i (paramount chief) responsible for all of the land, it would be inaccurate to interpret Old Hawai'i as akin to feudal Europe. As this notion prevailed though much of Hawai'i's history according to the West, it also propelled the progress narrative in which Hawai'i's "destiny was inevitably American."<sup>38</sup> More accurate descriptions of Hawaiian society clarify the essential roles of both Ali'i (chiefs) and maka'āinana (commoners). While genealogy determined who could be Ali'i Nui (high chief), this group assumed more than simply a prestigious title. Those of Ali'i Nui rank were responsible for mediating between the divine and the human, something maka'āinana could not do alone. At the same time it was the Ali'i whose presence and disciplined behavior guaranteed that the akua would continue to bless the endeavors of the people as a whole."<sup>39</sup> Importantly, maka'āinana were not bound to an ahupua'a, and could freely move if an Ali'i was not serving them satisfactorily.<sup>40</sup> Likewise, when a ruler was not pono (good, or able to keep the universe in a state of perfect harmony), an Ali'i Nui may be subject to deposition.<sup>41</sup>

The notes taken by explorer Charles Wilkes, commander of the first American exploring expedition (1838-1842), suggest that foreigners were slow to understand the intricacies of Hawaiian society. Unaware of the complexities of Hawaiian land tenure,

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, 7, 30. Kame'eleihiwa, 27. For more see Jon Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002).

<sup>38</sup> For a relatively late example of this see Sylvester K. Stevens, *American Expansion in Hawaii* (1945), 290.

<sup>39</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 10.

<sup>40</sup> This brief discussion of Old Hawai'i is, of course, oversimplified. For more see *Ka Po'e Kahiko, The People of Old* translated by Mary Kawena Pukui (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Special Publication 51, Bishop Museum Press, 1964) or Kane, *Ancient Hawai'i*. For a simplified map of societal organization see Herman, "The Aloha State," 81.

<sup>41</sup> Kame'eleihiwa, 26.

Wilkes saw vast tracts of virgin land waiting to be exploited. He made note of several areas that could be cultivated with "sugar cane, cotton, wheat and other American crops." Noting the lifestyle of the Hawaiian, whose "idea of a luxury does not extend beyond poi [poi] and fish," Wilkes reported that it would be necessary to make them desire, "artificial wants, which cause them to look for employment," and thus create a labor pool. While Wilkes's assessment was telling, his was just one of many appropriative gazes cast by foreigners throughout the 1800s.<sup>42</sup>

By the time Wilkes arrived, the first missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) had already been in Hawai`i for nearly two decades. Earlier historians addressed the so-called achievements of the ABCFM as an early form of Americanization in the Islands; as Sylvester K. Stevens explained in 1945, "Not that the missionaries set out to warp the minds or inclinations of the Hawaiians, for Christian civilization was their goal, but inevitably this civilization was tinged through and through with American ways, customs, and inclinations."<sup>43</sup> Americans of the ABCFM came to convert the Hawaiians, and to "civilize" them according to Euro-American values. While conversions initially took more effort and time than planned, success abounded within a couple of decades.<sup>44</sup> In 1835, only 0.7 percent of Native Hawaiians were registered as members of a Protestant church. Within a decade, however, the figure climbed to 22 percent, and by 1853, "virtually the entire population had an affiliation with some Christian denomination."<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Wilkes meant Poi. Poi is a Hawaiian staple food made from taro (or kalo) plant. Wilkes (Vol. 4, 65, 220) quoted in Ferguson and Turnbull, 15.

<sup>43</sup> Stevens' 1945 discussion is reflective of the ways in which historiography shapes popular opinion.

<sup>44</sup> Silva, 30.

<sup>45</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 18. This is a highly complex part of Hawaiian history. Language and translation must also be considered; for example, in missionary translations of the bible into Hawaiian.

Nonetheless, these figures must be understood within a specific context. The period of mass conversion to Christianity was also a time of widespread change due to the combined threats of disease and capitalist intrusion.<sup>46</sup> Conservative estimates of Hawai`i's population in 1778 range from 400,000 to 1,000,000, and within forty-five years it was reduced to 135,000. Disease was among Cook's most lethal gifts to the Hawaiian people—not only did it result in mass death, but it also caused irreparable strain on the relationship between *maka`āinana* and *Ali`i*. In a society where leadership was determined by genealogy, the successful rule of any *Mō`ī* depended upon the health of the entire populace.<sup>47</sup> As Jon K. Osorio eloquently stated, the people loved the *Mō`ī*, but "for all his efforts he could not give them life."<sup>48</sup> Many lost faith in their institutions and *akua* altogether.

Through the 1830s and 1840s, *Kauikeaouli* (*Mō`ī Kamehameha III*) struggled to keep a balance between preserving Hawai`i's independence, and keeping the forces of Western imperialism at bay.<sup>49</sup> By the first half of the 1800s, Europeans had staked out most of Polynesia, and in 1843, threats to Hawai`i's sovereignty became reality when British Admiral George Paulet forced the *Mō`ī* to surrender Hawai`i's independence.<sup>50</sup> While this seizure was revoked within months, the threat of foreign governments backed

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<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 15; *Kame`eleihiwa*, 13-14. Hawai`i was already an outpost for whalers, fur traders, and sandalwood exporters in the first half of the 1800s.

<sup>47</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 9-12.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*; Merry, 60; *Kame`eleihiwa*, 81. The end of the *kapu* system in 1819 (sacred laws; various restrictions governing the conduct of the people), which was prior to the arrival of the ABCFM, also changed Hawaiian society incredibly but is outside the scope of this paper, see *Silva*, 24-27 or *Kame`eleihiwa*, 33-40.

<sup>49</sup> There were five *Mō`ī Kamehameha*. When *Kamehameha V* died in 1872 he had not appointed a successor; the legislature then appointed *Lunalilo* who was both popular and genealogically worthy. He died within a year, and again, without appointing a successor. Despite that he intended to appoint Queen *Emma*, the legislature selected *Kalākaua*. He and his sister *Lili`uokalani* ruled from the *Kalākaua* line until *Lili`uokalani's* overthrow.

<sup>50</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 37. This event is referred to as the *Paulet Affair*. In late 1843, the British Queen *Victoria* and French King *Louis-Philippe* formally recognized Hawai`i's independence. The United States followed in 1849.

by warships remained. Recognizing the need for Hawai`i to modernize in order to preserve the Kingdom's independence, the Mō`ī, along with his missionary advisors, affected some of the most drastic changes to Hawaiian society throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Among these were the introduction of a Western legal system with a constitution, and land ownership based on the capitalist model. Silva summarized these efforts as follows:

The Kanaka `Ōiwi often took the tools of the colonizers and made use of them to secure their own national sovereignty. The ali`i adopted Western dress and courtly manners; they and the maka`āinana learned writing and eventually took control of the print media; and they adopted constitutionalism, codifying laws in English and American ways to be recognized as an independent nation unavailable for colonization.<sup>51</sup>

However, not all Kānaka Maoli were equally comfortable with these sweeping changes. Between 1840 and 1845, dozens of Native petitions were sent to the government, in which maka`āinana expressed fear that Hawai`i's independence was threatened by the growing presence and influence of foreigners. Many recognized the latter as a threat to their way of life.<sup>52</sup> These fears were well founded, for many efforts proved devastating in the long term. Among these was a set of laws collectively termed the Māhele, which provided a legal basis for individual land ownership. Osorio described the Māhele as "the single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society," because it resulted in a massive land transfer from Hawaiians to foreigners. Osorio was also careful to clarify that it was "doubtful that Kauikeaouli had any intention of swindling his people

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<sup>51</sup> Silva, 15-16.

<sup>52</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 31.

of their own lands, or that any of the Native Ali`i and leaders had any idea how immense a social, economic, and political transformation they were unleashing..."<sup>53</sup>

Merchants and missionaries expressed desire for Hawaiian land since at least 1828: "according to the Calvinists, the world could not be pono without private ownership of 'Āina."<sup>54</sup> The availability of Hawaiian land for purchase after the Māhele was timely for several reasons; not least of which was the fact that it coincided with the massive conversion of Hawaiians to Christianity, at which time many missionaries abandoned the church and searched for new opportunities. Hawai`i's whaling industry was also in a state of decline, which opened the door for the expansion of large-scale agriculture.<sup>55</sup> In addition, the discovery of gold in California (1848) followed by the American Civil War (1861-1865) offered an expanded market for agricultural goods from the Islands, and contributed to a period of relative stability for new planters. Other missionaries, as Lili`uokalani described, "...resigned their meager salaries from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and found positions in the councils or cabinets of the Kamehamehas..."<sup>56</sup>

As Ronald Takaki summarized, the growth of plantations would gradually "remake Hawaii in an American image" in order "to advance the market civilization of

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<sup>53</sup> Ibid., 44-74; Kame`eleihiwa, 8; This was especially true of maka`āinana, who were most unprepared to interpret and respond to laws outlining individual ownership of the 'Āina. Past historians have also referred to these laws as the Great Māhele, although the word 'great' is less common today due to the positive connotation of the word.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 13, 171.

<sup>55</sup> Note that four of the largest five companies that eventually dominated Hawai`i's sugar based economy began as merchants or suppliers to whalers.

<sup>56</sup> Lili`uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898), 232. That haoles assumed various advisory positions is reflective of the dissolution of Hawaiian society and the subsequent lack of ability to fill these positions vis-à-vis traditional genealogical requirements (due to the decline of the Hawaiian population), as well as the Mō`i's recognition of the need to modernize in order to retain independence.

the United States beyond Indian lands and Mexican territory to a new Pacific frontier."<sup>57</sup> Indeed the period of plantation growth was a crucial catalyst in the Americanizing (or Westernizing) of Hawai`i's economy; the shift from collective stewardship to private ownership paved the way for massive profits to be made through the sale of agricultural products to the mainland. While refashioning Hawai`i's economy and society to better serve mainland markets was the goal of planters, ensuing decades brought more complicated results. As sugar and pineapple plantations proliferated throughout the archipelago, the Native population available and willing to labor continued to shrink. Moreover, the making of Hawaiians into compliant servants of capitalism was no easy task.

Eventually, planters looked abroad to fill their growing needs. In 1852 the first Chinese contract laborers arrived, and this was only the beginning.<sup>58</sup> As dependence on Chinese labor grew, planters feared that an organized Chinese working class might threaten their domination of Hawai`i's economy.<sup>59</sup> Chinese laborers remained the chief source of labor for most of the second half of the 1800s, but by the turn of the century were joined by laborers from Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, Norway, and Germany.<sup>60</sup> By 1900, persons of Japanese ancestry were the largest ethnic

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<sup>57</sup> Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1983), 3.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>59</sup> Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1955), 26.

<sup>60</sup> Planters quickly realized that white laborers could upset the racial status quo and those of German and Norwegian origin were moved to luna (overseer) positions. The HSPA pursued a "divide-and-rule" strategy by importing new ethnic groups at lower wages and keeping them in separate work camps to prevent interethnic organization. Nonetheless, the first interethnic strike took place in 1920.

group in the Islands, greater than both haoles and Hawaiians combined.<sup>61</sup> Indeed, the growth of plantations transformed Hawai`i's demographics remarkably.

Sugar eventually became king of the Islands, but not far behind was "his son Pineapple, as well as his nephew, Island Cattle Ranches."<sup>62</sup> The largest sugar companies eventually controlled much more than Hawaiian land; planters soon became the elites and assumed the most powerful roles in Hawai`i's economics and politics.<sup>63</sup> As Andrew Lind explained, their control "extended to almost the whole of the economic structure of the islands. Such apparently unrelated economic enterprises as transportation, banking, public utilities, merchandising, and operation of hotels were financed and operated by the promoters of the sugar and pineapple plantations."<sup>64</sup> Moreover, by 1900, over ninety percent of all gainfully employed persons in Hawai`i labored on plantations or worked in plantation related occupations.<sup>65</sup>

Five sugar-based corporations collectively called the Big Five (Alexander & Baldwin, Castle & Cook, C. Brewer & Co., American Factors, and Theo H. Davies & Co.) eventually formed a powerful oligarchy whose main goal was self-enrichment vis-à-vis drawing Hawai`i's economy closer to that of the United States.<sup>66</sup> Most planters hoped

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<sup>61</sup> See Lind, *Hawaii's People*, 27 for census statistics. Note that Norwegians and Germans were included in the Caucasian category, while Portuguese were designated a sub-category of Caucasian.

<sup>62</sup> Fred W. Beckley quoted in Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i, 1974), 334. In the 1930s, Beckley was among those who were concerned that if Hawai`i became a state, "the voice of the state would be the voice of the Big Five."

<sup>63</sup> Planters (plantation owners) addressed their needs collectively as early as 1882, and established the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) in 1895.

<sup>64</sup> This included the acquisition of the Matson Navigation Company (it became a subsidiary of Alexander & Baldwin), which ensured the Big Five's monopoly on the transport of sugar (and people) to the mainland U.S. Four fifths of the Big Five held 74% of Matson's stock. Lind, *Hawaii's People*, 65; Noel Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1993), 80; George Cooper and Gavan Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii: The Democratic Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1990), 3.

<sup>65</sup> Lind, *Hawaii's People*, 64.

<sup>66</sup> Through his ownership of Oahu Railway and Land Co. (among other companies) Benjamin Dillingham's power was of similar magnitude, but was derived from construction and transportation rather than

for American annexation, and they began to see success through the last decades of the 1800s.<sup>67</sup> In 1875, the first Reciprocity Treaty between Hawai`i and the United States was signed, after which planters could export sugar duty-free to the American market. By 1886, a renewed treaty granted the United States "exclusive privilege of entering Pearl Harbor and establishing there a coaling and repair station," signifying the first transfer of Hawaiian land into the hands of a foreign government.<sup>68</sup> Sugar was indeed the strongest force in the movement to Americanize Hawai`i both economically and politically.

Kalākaua's reign illuminates just how difficult it was for a Mō`ī to mediate between the people and the interests of sugar at this time. In 1887, a small group of haole elites styling themselves the Hawaiian League appeared in Kalākaua's office with a new constitution, with which they aimed to divest the Mō`ī of most of his authority and significantly restrict voting rights.<sup>69</sup> As his sister and successor Lili`uokalani described, they "had not the courage to assassinate the king," and instead held him at bayonet point until he signed it.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, Kalākaua had to choose between death and surrender, for the

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plantation agriculture. His son later founded Hawaiian Dredging Co. Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 3.

<sup>67</sup> Takaki, 20.

<sup>68</sup> In fear that the recently passed Chinese Exclusion Act would cause Congress to withhold extending reciprocity, some local businessmen suggested conceding land. Few changes were made to the harbor until after annexation. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 209; Kuykendall and Day, 210-11. Kalākaua announced details of the renewed treaty to his legislature in 1887, text available at, Hawai`i, Independent & Sovereign. "Hawai`i-United States Convention-1884." Accessed on November 11, 2011. <http://www.hawaii-nation.org/treaty1884.html>.

<sup>69</sup> Lorrin A. Thurston drafted the Bayonet Constitution, after which voting rights were determined by gender as well as economic and literacy thresholds. Aliens (most notably haoles) who met these requirements could now vote. These requirements persisted, more or less, until annexation. See Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui* (Chapter 7) for context and events leading up to the Bayonet constitution. On page 247 he lists the legislature, which was dominated by haole Reform Party members by this time.

<sup>70</sup> Lili`uokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, Chapter 39. The haole sugar planters selected Hawaiian League as their name; they formerly called themselves Annexation Club, and later reappeared as the Committee of Safety. Many were members of the Reform Party. Lili`uokalani simply called them the Missionary Party, for many descended from missionaries. Lili`uokalani also called these men "quasi Americans, who call them themselves Hawaiians now and Americans when it suits them..."

kingdom's "best trained and equipped armed force" was in fact composed of these very elites.<sup>71</sup> Appropriately, the 1887 constitution is known as the Bayonet Constitution.

When Lili`uokalani inherited the throne she aimed to reverse some of these changes. As the queen stated in her memoir, she aspired to "restore some of the ancient rights to my people." After being flooded with native petitions upon taking office, Lili`uokalani believed that she was backed by "two-thirds of the popular vote," and as she described, "the entire population of native or half-native birth...without fear of contradiction." In late 1892 the Mō`ī moved to abrogate the Bayonet Constitution. Among the changes she proposed was the restoration of voting rights to Hawaiians and others disenfranchised in 1887; under the new constitution "only subjects, in distinction from temporary residents could exercise suffrage." This, she asserted, was not unlike any other civilized nation on earth:

Is there another country where a man would be allowed to vote, to seek for office, to hold the most responsible of positions, without becoming naturalized, and reserving to himself the privilege of protection under the guns of a foreign man-of-war at any moment when he should quarrel with the government under which he lived?<sup>72</sup>

Her proposal faced fierce opposition from the haole elite, who had spent a half-century acquiring title to Hawaiian land, gaining control of Hawai`i's legislature, and reducing the Mō`ī to a figurehead. In mid-January 1893, a group of thirteen successful businessmen who called themselves the Committee of Safety overthrew Lili`uokalani. Led by Lorrin A. Thurston, the author of the Bayonet Constitution, they were also aided by rogue American Minister John Stevens who ordered ashore 162 marines from the USS

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<sup>71</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 239.

<sup>72</sup> Lili`uokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, Chapter 38-39.

*Boston* ostensibly to "protect American life and property."<sup>73</sup> Acting on his own annexationist sympathies rather than directed by Washington, Stevens subsequently recognized the Committee of Safety as Hawai`i's new Provisional Government.<sup>74</sup>

Annexation was long the goal of sugar, or as Lili`uokalani described, it was "the very essence of the dominant "missionary" idea"—which she contrasted with the monarchy's "progressive foreign policy" which "was well calculated to discourage it."<sup>75</sup> The drive for annexation gained speed after the passage of the McKinley Tariff in 1890, which significantly undercut the profits of Hawai`i's planters. However, securing American annexation was no simple task. Opposition within Hawai`i ranged from native petitions to the more militant Wilcox Rebellion in 1895.<sup>76</sup> The Wilcox Rebellion, which was an armed attempt to restore the monarchy, ended in several arrests. Even Lili`uokalani was arrested for purportedly conspiring against the government—ironically, by the same group that organized her overthrow.<sup>77</sup>

In the United States, President Grover Cleveland expressed opposition by withdrawing the treaty of annexation and sending Commissioner James Blount to

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<sup>73</sup>In reality the marines guarded Ali`iolani Hale (House of the Monarchy) as the revolutionists entered and took control. Stevens promised to do this in advance. See Lili`uokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, Chapter 39-40; Silva, 129-131.

<sup>74</sup>The Provisional Government remained in place until Hawai`i was declared a republic on July 4, 1894, after which the usurpers appointed Stanford Ballard Dole to the Presidency. Following annexation, Dole's title changed again to Territorial Governor of Hawai`i.

<sup>75</sup>Walter LaFeber, *The Clash: U.S.-Japanese Relations Throughout History*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1997), 54; Lili`uokalani, *Hawaii's Story*, Chapter 38.

<sup>76</sup>Noenoe Silva used Hawaiian language sources such as petitions to annexation and other forms of protest to revise the historical record of the American annexation of Hawai`i. By discussing organized native resistance, Silva debunked the notion that Hawaiians had passively accepted the dissolution of their culture as well as the transfer of their lands to the United States.

<sup>77</sup>Lili`uokalani was imprisoned in an upstairs bedroom of her former palace. She discussed this at length in *Hawaii's Story*, and also denied lending any support to the rebellion. Wilcox also organized anti-annexationist Hawaiians into the Hawaii Independent Party/Home Rule Party of Hawaii and he campaigned for the seat in U.S. Congress, which he held from 1900-1903. For a lengthier treatment of Wilcox's complex politics see Douglas V. Askman, "Her Majesty's Disloyal Opposition: An Examination of the English-Language Version of Robert Wilcox's the *Liberal*, 1892-1893" *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008): 177-200.

Hawai`i to investigate. The Blount Report, which was completed by July, found that the U.S. military was improperly used and was essential to the success of the revolution. Nonetheless, the overthrow and imprisonment of Lili`uokalani were crucial steps toward annexation, as was the Provisional Government's massive political disenfranchisement of non-whites (specifically Asian immigrants and Hawaiians with monarchist sympathies). Restricting the electorate allowed the haole elite to present Hawai`i as an American-like place—both governed and controlled by whites.<sup>78</sup> While pro-annexation arguments varied in nature, none were stronger than those advanced by the haole elite in Hawai`i.

The years following the overthrow were rife with debate and uncertainty vis-à-vis the future of Hawai`i. Aware that Cleveland's sympathies were not with the annexationists, the ruling elite waited for American voters to elect a more favorable candidate. The election of President William McKinley in 1897 breathed new life into the annexationist cause; however, his 1898 treaty failed to pass in the Senate. At the turn of the century, Washington was characterized by "fierce partisan hostility" and was sharply divided between Democrats and Republicans, anti-imperialist and imperialists, respectively. This was only exacerbated by the war with Spain over Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Philippines.<sup>79</sup> Needless to say, the Hawai`i annexation debate was polarized.

Hawai`i's racial composition was cited by those on both sides of the debate. Imperialists did their best to ignore that the majority of Hawai`i's residents were of Asian,

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<sup>78</sup> Eric T.L. Love, *Race Over Empire: Racism & U.S. Imperial Expansion, 1865-1900*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004), 117-118. Unfortunately lengthy discussions of native resistance, Lili`uokalani's protests and trip to Washington, Cleveland's response and insufficient effort to restore her, as well as the Blount and Morgan reports (1893 and 1894), are all beyond the scope of this thesis. For more see Lili`uokalani, 226-289 and Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, Chapter 4-5. For Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland's relationship with the queen, see Lili`uokalani, 121-128.

<sup>79</sup> Love, 124.

Portuguese and Hawaiian decent, while articulating an imagined brotherhood with the haole element responsible for the erection of a purportedly responsible and American-like government.<sup>80</sup> Lorrin A. Thurston's *A Handbook on the Annexation of Hawaii* armed supporters on the mainland with the notion that Hawai`i was "a child of America," and emphasized that annexation was necessary to protect the future of white civilization in the Islands.<sup>81</sup> Thurston's *Handbook* also drew upon the importance of Hawai`i vis-à-vis the national security of the United States—an argument supported by the influential naval strategist Alfred T. Mahan, who similarly warned that Japanese would take Hawai`i "if we do not hold the islands ourselves."<sup>82</sup> Some imperialists argued that Hawai`i Japanese were doing their part in Japanese expansionism simply by residing in the Islands.<sup>83</sup> However, those unconvinced by Thurston's portrait of Hawai`i advanced an alternative definition of country, asserting that the acquisition of distant island possessions "inhabited by races radically different in physical...and mental characteristics...for whom the Union was [not] established," undermined the Constitution.<sup>84</sup>

Realizing that a treaty would not win a two-thirds majority, mainland annexationists proposed a joint resolution in 1898, for it required only a simple majority in both houses of Congress.<sup>85</sup> However, the joint resolution was equally unsuccessful. It was not until after the outbreak of war with Spain that Nevada Congressman Francis G.

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 145-148.

<sup>81</sup> Thurston quoted in Ibid., 137-138.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid., 120-134; LaFeber, 54-55; Coffman, 7-8; Alfred T. Mahan *Influence of Sea Power upon History* (1890). Mahan quoted in Lind, "Ring of Steel," 29 (originally from his 1898 pamphlet "Is Hawaii of Strategic Value to the United States?"). Similar warnings were also issued against Great Britain at this time; for the dispute of over the submarine cable at Necker Island see Love, 120-124.

<sup>83</sup> Coffman, 8; Love, 152-4.

<sup>84</sup> See Love's discussion of race-based opposition to American expansion in *Race Over Empire*; Judge Thomas Cooley quoted in Love, 128. Also note that American newspapers and labor were two particularly outspoken opponents of annexation.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 145.

Newlands drafted a new resolution, certain that the patriotism sweeping the nation at war would garner enough votes. The Newlands Resolution, as it came to be known, passed in July 1898 and became the legal basis for American annexation. By 1900 the U.S. Congress approved the Hawaiian Organic Act, which provided a structure for Hawai'i's Territorial government.<sup>86</sup>

After Hawai'i was annexed, some stressed "the importance of bringing in American settlers and Europeans who could become American citizens, in order to prevent the orientalizing of Hawaii."<sup>87</sup> By 1905 the Hawai'i legislature created a Board of Immigration whose purpose it was to bring to Hawai'i those "capable of becoming American citizens"—the latter were, of course, narrowly defined as white and Protestant.<sup>88</sup> These early plans were unsuccessful for several reasons; most notably, those of Asian ancestry composed an overwhelming majority of the population by 1900 and were essential for Hawai'i's economic function. The island elite eventually realized the limits of Americanizing Hawai'i via immigration, and instead turned to cultural Americanization, which included far-reaching attempts to foster obedience and diffuse potential disloyalty among non-whites.<sup>89</sup>

Feeling insecure about the future, the haole elite undertook measures to ensure that non-whites conformed to so-called American ways, but at the same time did not gain

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 148-9. The Newlands Resolution was almost identical to the resolution that preceded it, which suggests the influence of the war on votes; Newlands presented his resolution three days after Commodore George Dewey's celebrated victory against the Spanish at Manila Harbor. The absence of a state-to-state treaty is still heavily debated today. Hawai'i Organic Act (1900) available at, Hawai'i, Independent & Sovereign. "Hawaiian Organic Act, 1900." Accessed November 11, 2011. <http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/us-organic-act-1900.shtml>.

<sup>87</sup> Kuykendall and Day, 210. This definition of American was narrowly defined by race; 'de-orientalization' by importation of whites would have been a more adequate description.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 211. These efforts were mainly supported by contributions from plantations.

<sup>89</sup> Americanization was, at this time, to be achieved by importing whites; non-whites were regarded as unfit and unable to become American.

too much power or advantage within the haole institutions. For various reasons, Hawai`i Japanese were often the main target of the new wave of Americanization.<sup>90</sup> Despite rhetoric of wanting non-whites to believe in "democracy, representative government... and religious freedom," Americanizers were most interested in this population discarding all vestiges of Japanese culture and displaying undivided loyalty to the United States.<sup>91</sup> Indeed, only an "Americanism distorted by the constricted opportunities" was available to Hawai`i Japanese.<sup>92</sup> The first three decades of the twentieth century were rife with efforts to limit ethnic Japanese practice of their culture, customs, and language.

One feature of this form of Americanization unfolded as the regulation and closure of Japanese institutions in the Islands, such as language schools or Buddhist temples. As much of the haole elite was unable to understand the Japanese language, some feared that these institutions were bastions of anti-Americanism and Emperor worship, rather than stabilizing influences in plantation communities or places to celebrate Japanese holidays. In 1919 Lorrin A. Thurston, the influential publisher of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, expressed his belief that Hawai`i's public schools were the only hope to Americanize the Nisei.<sup>93</sup> Thurston was joined by Governor Wallace R. Farrington, who was also dedicated to strengthening the teaching of "American ideals" in Hawai`i's classrooms.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Odo, 38; Takaki, 145-176. Hawai`i Japanese also assumed key organizational roles in the labor strikes of 1909 and 1920, and thus were considered a threat to planter hegemony.

<sup>91</sup> Albert Palmer (minister of the Congregationalist Central Union Church, 1920) quoted in Tamura, 59.

<sup>92</sup> John M. Blum, *Was For Victory: Politics and American Culture During World War II*, (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976), 157. He is referring to ethnic Japanese in California; however, the passage is applicable to Hawai`i.

<sup>93</sup> Tamura, 60. Note that an Americanization fever also swept the mainland U.S. following the First World War. While many haole elites hoped to close Japanese institutions completely, this was met with opposition from some Issei who had a vested interest in preserving the institutions they and their ancestors had created for Hawai`i Japanese.

<sup>94</sup> Kuykendall and Day, 202.

As early as 1915 Issei responded to haole pressures and formed the Hawaii Japanese Education Society. Sensitive to suspicions cast by haole elites, the Society undertook to revise textbooks used by language schools, deleting, for example, "sections encouraging Emperor worship" and replacing them with life lessons through stories of children in Hawai'i.<sup>95</sup> Act 30, which became law by 1921, also required administrators and teachers to obtain permits from the Department of Public Instruction (DPI), but to accomplish this, one had to prove that they "possessed" the "ideals of democracy, knowledge of American history and institutions" and could "read, write and speak the English language." Eventually all textbooks had to be written in English, and instruction was limited to one hour per day and six hours per week.<sup>96</sup>

Newspapers were also a contested space. In 1919 *Nippu Jiji*, one of the most widely circulated Japanese language papers in Hawai'i, made space for a daily English language section.<sup>97</sup> The president and editor-in-chief Yasutaro Soga did this in order to "bring understanding between Americans and Japanese," particularly vis-à-vis Japanese concerns and life in the Islands.<sup>98</sup> Again, this did not satisfy Americanizers. Within a year of *Nippu Jiji* creating an English language section, Edward P. Irwin, then editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, asserted that "here in Hawaii today, there are Japanese papers that do not actively teach anti-Americanism, but they do teach Japanism, and that amounts to the same thing."<sup>99</sup> Executive secretary of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) John K. Butler also believed that the very existence of a Japanese

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<sup>95</sup> Tamura, 61.

<sup>96</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>97</sup> *Hawaii Hochi* was the other widely read Japanese language paper.

<sup>98</sup> Quoted in Tamura, 72. Yasutaro Soga was interned during the period of military government.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-3. Irwin's comments were influenced by a similar movement on the mainland against German language papers. Japanism was what the Americanizers called Japanese love for the old country and interest in preserving language, culture, etc. This mirrored similar post-WWI movements in the mainland U.S. against German language papers and others.

language press precluded the opportunity for haoles to "inculcate American ideals and the doctrine of individual action."<sup>100</sup> By 1921, the Hawaii Territorial Legislature drafted an anti-foreign language press law, which was sponsored by the American Legion and supported by the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.<sup>101</sup>

Restrictive immigration and land laws similarly excluded non-whites from American rights. Just as the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) was extended to Hawai`i in preparation for annexation, so too were the Gentlemen's Agreement (1907), which limited Japanese immigration to the U.S., and the quota system set up by the 1924 Immigration Act, which effectively terminated Japanese immigration.<sup>102</sup> Further, between 1912-1923 several state laws were also imposed to prohibit Issei from owning land.<sup>103</sup> While some circumvented this restriction by placing land ownership in the names of their Nisei children, it was an uncomfortable thorn in the side of many. Even some island elites realized that restricting the rights of Issei was counterproductive; however, there was only so much those in Hawai`i could do to challenge laws of the United States.<sup>104</sup>

Citizenship was an equally controversial issue. While there were Americans in Hawai`i who also held citizenship in China, Germany, Italy, and France, among others, Americans of Japanese ancestry were most pressured to renounce dual citizenship—

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<sup>100</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 53, 71- 74. Japanese language papers were not the sole target of the law; there were also papers in Chinese, Korean and other languages circulating at this time. However, in light of the other forms of anti-Japanism proliferating at this time, the law implicitly targeted Japanese papers. The proposed law required foreign language publications to include English translations within their content. Realizing that the increased costs of abiding by the law would essentially terminate foreign language papers, it was met with opposition from both haoles and Japanese. Eventually, the law was modified so that only specific material was targeted, such as articles discussing the government, or by publisher previously charged with fostering dissent. There was no money appropriated to ensure the 1921 bill was carried out, but it drove the wedge between haole and Japanese communities deeper. The American Legion was a nationalistic group committed to imbuing adult foreigners with loyalty to America.

<sup>102</sup> The Hawaiian Cabinet Council had passed its own Chinese Exclusion Act in 1886, which limited the number of Chinese entering Hawai`i, whereas the U.S. Act halted it almost completely.

<sup>103</sup> Tamura, 78.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-9.

especially in the 1930s as U.S.-Japan tensions grew.<sup>105</sup> Issei were urged to direct their American born children expatriate in order to assimilate completely, and many did.<sup>106</sup> Divesting oneself of Japanese citizenship was one way that Hawai`i Nisei could express loyalty to the United States; however, for their Issei parents and grandparents, becoming an American citizen not an option.<sup>107</sup> While these various laws perpetuated the practice of defining American in terms of whiteness, for non-whites who could not meet this definition, some elites regarded cultural Americanization as the most viable option.

The oral history records of Ruth Yamaguchi and Robert Kiyoshi Hasegawa attest to the impacts of Americanization upon Hawai`i's school children. Ruth Yamaguchi, who attended `Ewa school on O`ahu in the 1930s, recalled being impressed by the statue of Abraham Lincoln outside of her school: "...[M]ost of us kids knew about Abraham Lincoln. Most of them worshiped him like a hero... every day I'd go there and look and admire that statue."<sup>108</sup> Robert Kiyoshi Hasegawa, a youth living on Lāna`i in the 1930s, was the son of a mother who taught the Japanese language and a father who was active in the Japanese language school, Buddhist temple, and Japanese community organizations. Naturally, he attended language school. He remembered arriving to class one day and realizing that the photograph of the Emperor had been replaced by one of U.S. President

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<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 84.

<sup>106</sup> Odo, 36-37; Coffman, 68. In 1937 there were less than four hundred applications for expatriation at the Japanese consul, whereas in 1941, there were over thirty-six hundred.

<sup>107</sup> Tamura, 76. Notably, ambiguities in U.S. naturalization law had allowed judges to grant citizenship to several non-white aliens in the early years of the twentieth century, and five hundred Islanders of Asian decent had become naturalized citizens by 1921. However, this was halted in 1922 with the *Ozawa v. United States* decision. Takao Ozawa, an Issei who had spent the better part of his life in California and Hawai`i, dreamed of becoming an American citizen before his death but was denied naturalization by the Supreme Court.

<sup>108</sup> Ruth Yamaguchi transcript, *An Era of Change*, Vol. V, 1672.

Franklin D. Roosevelt. Bowing to the Emperor, which was customary at the beginning of class, was thereafter discontinued.<sup>109</sup>

A report by William Atherton DuPuy, Executive Assistant to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior, also attested to the degree of Americanization in Hawai`i by the 1930s. DuPuy's report ensured those unfamiliar with the Islands that Hawai`i was on the "American plan... [in] language, manner of dress, manner of life generally, homes, schools, industries, business establishments, [and] transportation..."<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, he explained that while Hawai`i was home to a complex mixture of races, haoles were the "group that guides all the rest toward adjusting itself to the American mold of citizenship and government."<sup>111</sup> While he was correct about the designs of the haole elite, other factors including U.S. foreign relations and military aspirations had also contributed immensely.

The souring of U.S.-Japan relations in the 1930s, set off by Japan's militarism and pursuit of its own regional goals, also influenced Americanization and militarization in Hawai`i immensely.<sup>112</sup> In 1932, Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, commandant of the Fourteenth Naval District (which included Hawai`i), warned of an "acute threat of sabotage" posed by "hostile elements in the local population."<sup>113</sup> Despite that the espionage bureau of the Honolulu Police Department and investigative teams associated with the Army, Navy, and FBI deemed Hawai`i Japanese non-threats—Island born were considered "loyal" and aliens (not born in Hawai`i) "not actively disloyal"—some

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<sup>109</sup> Robert Kiyoshi Hasegawa transcript, *Talking Hawai`i's Story*, 88-92.

<sup>110</sup> William Atherton DuPuy, *Hawaii and its Race Problem* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1932), 28.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-8.

<sup>112</sup> Rising tensions began with the Manchurian Incident in 1931 and led to Japan terminating its membership in the League of Nations by 1933. By 1937, Japan invaded the Chinese heartland and full-scale war broke out between the two Asian nations.

<sup>113</sup> Tamura,, 60.

military and intelligence officials continued to regard this population with suspicion. In 1941, General Walter Short, Commander of the Hawaiian Department of the Army, believed that in the event of an enemy landing, Island Japanese could form "perhaps an army of thousands ready to support them." Short's predecessor, Major Charles D. Herron, also felt confident that only five percent of Hawai`i Japanese were affirmatively "committed to the American cause."<sup>114</sup>

Plans to intern Hawai`i's Japanese deemed "irreconcilable" were completed by November 1941. Authorities in charge of said plans urged that all potentially hostile elements would need to be contained in the event that war came to Hawai`i. Despite the few who recommended mass internment, most realized the infeasibility of interning all residents of Japanese ancestry.<sup>115</sup> By 1940, the latter composed nearly forty percent of Hawai`i's population; not only were island facilities and available transportation unable to accommodate such a large portion of the population, the economy would simply cease to function without this group. Instead, efforts to "[win] as many doubtful Japanese as possible to the American side" were pursued, while intelligence agencies simultaneously compiled lists of those to keep under surveillance and those to arrest upon the outbreak of war.<sup>116</sup>

Rather than marginalize Hawai`i Japanese, some authorities including General Delos C. Emmons (who replaced General Short as military governor on 17 December 1941) recognized the benefits of fostering loyalty through various morale efforts. In

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<sup>114</sup> Allen, 83. To preserve the original context, Herron felt that 90% were on the fence or were apathetic, and that the remaining 5% were "irreconcilable, hostile to the Untied States."

<sup>115</sup> One of the latest examples of this thinking was in a pamphlet created and distributed by telephone company executive John Balch (*Shall the Japanese Be Allowed to Dominate Hawaii?* January 1943); his call for mass internment was the subject of much controversy in the Islands. One UH professor called Balch a "nitwit." RASRL, Student Journals, Reporter No. 55 "Pamphlet of Mr. J. Balch," 16 January 1943; Coffman, *The Island Edge of America*, 92. By 1943, Balch's line of thinking was considered antiquated.

<sup>116</sup> Allen, 82-3.

many ways, these efforts were a continuation of already existing policies; however, they were pursued more vigorously as the threat of war with Japan intensified. With paternalistic undertones, these efforts aimed to teach Hawai`i Japanese how to be patriotic Americans and urged them to adopt "American ways." The irony was, of course, that by the late 1930s and early 1940s many Hawai`i Japanese were Nisei (second generation), and thus were already American citizens. Not surprisingly, some of the most hostile opinions were those of newcomers who lacked a familiarity with Hawai`i's complex racial composition and could not meaningfully distinguish the difference between Japanese from insular Japan and Islanders of Japanese ancestry. This line of thinking included Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and Western Defense Commander General John DeWitt, both of whom were driven by the notion that race above all determined allegiance.<sup>117</sup>

Of course, not all parties engaged in morale efforts were strangers to the Islands. Many initiatives to preserve peace and interethnic harmony came from within communities; this included the formation of the Council for Interracial Unity, Hawaiian Japanese Civic Association, and the O`ahu Citizens Committee for Home Defense.<sup>118</sup> Numerous educational institutions on O`ahu such as the University of Hawai`i and Mid-Pacific Institute, as well as organizations including the "YMCA, the Pan-Pacific Union, the Pan-Pacific Women's association, and the Institute of Pacific Relations" also

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<sup>117</sup> Tamura, 75; Coffman, 72-75; Blum, 159. General John DeWitt was responsible for the evacuation and internment of mainland Japanese, which he ordered on March 3rd. Men like DeWitt falsely claimed that sabotage and espionage were key factors in Japan's success on December 7th, despite that Shivers and other intelligence officials had shared evidence to the contrary. Dewitt became famous for his "a Jap's a Jap... I don't want any of them," statement.

<sup>118</sup> The first Council for Interracial Unity was chaired by Hung Wai Ching, who moved into the Morale Division under the military government during the war; the latter two were organized by Hawai`i Japanese. Coffman, 67; Allen, 83.

participated.<sup>119</sup> Given that ethnic Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and Filipinos composed nearly sixty percent of Hawai`i's population by 1940, and that Japan was either at war with or occupying the latter three at some point before or during the Second World War, ensuring that these conflicts did not disrupt relations in the Islands was a priority to many. Indeed, non-state efforts to maintain peace in Hawai`i and the Pacific abounded in the pre-war years. It is arguable that more attention to these efforts may have permitted some authorities to reach different conclusions about the allegiances of Hawai`i Japanese.

Although it took a war for those most suspicious of Island Japanese to realize that this population was overwhelmingly loyal to the United States, pre-war misconceptions led to serious consequences.<sup>120</sup> By the time war descended on Hawai`i, military planners had diverted countless hours to the prevention of internal sabotage—time that may have been spent elsewhere. Samuel Lindley recalled that just a week before the Japanese attacked, machine guns mounted in Honolulu were "facing the street... instead of facing out to the ocean... where they figured Japanese in Hawai`i might attack the railroad station."<sup>121</sup> Similar miscalculations also led to "the tragic decision to keep fighter aircraft in tight lines on the tarmacs of the airfields" in case saboteurs infiltrated the airbase from nearby sugarcane fields.<sup>122</sup> While the planes were guarded from sabotage, they also

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<sup>119</sup> *Hawai`i at the Crossroads*, ed. Jon Davidann, (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i, 2008), 5.

<sup>120</sup> The only two Hawai`i residents ever convicted of spying were of German origin; one of the two, Bernard Julius Otto Keuhn was arrested 8 December and later sentenced to 50 years hard labor in prison for his work as a German and Japanese agent. Coffman, *The Island Edge of America*, 60; Hawai`i War Records Depository (HWRD), Scrapbooks (Blackout, Rumors and Propaganda, Camouflage. 1942 February-1945 July 23, Folder 1) Otto G. Janssen, "Kuehn Gave Data Dec. 3 To Jap Consul," *Honolulu Advertiser* 14 June 1943; Otto G. Janssen, "Nazi Spy Here Helped Japs In Attack On Pearl Harbor," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 14 June 1943.

<sup>121</sup> Samuel Lindley transcript, *An Era of Change*, Vol. I, 79. He also made note of machine guns set up at Kawaiaha`o Church: "there were machine guns facing along King Street, in case there was some kind of local insurrection..."

<sup>122</sup> Odo, 103.

formed an easy target from the air. Ammunition was equally protected, so much so that there was a costly delay retrieving it in the midst of the attack.<sup>123</sup>

In less than one hundred years, Kānaka Maoli ways of life were nearly obliterated by foreign diseases, Western capitalism, immigrant labor, and military expansion. By 1940, Hawai`i was considered a vital part of the American defense system, and was home to far-reaching Americanization efforts intended to diffuse potential disloyalty among non-whites and to protect economic and military investments. Despite this, Hawai`i was not the "American" place that Roosevelt described following the Japanese attack. Roughly twenty-five percent of Islanders still lived on plantations in the early 1940s, and Hawai`i was, in many ways, a colonial society.<sup>124</sup> Not only were an overwhelming majority of Islanders non-white (the paramount American quality according to many island and mainland elites), a significant number were also considered potential threats to the United States. The extensive preparations for war that took place throughout the Islands in the late 1930s and early 1940s further illuminate the differences between Hawai`i and the U.S. mainland. The Hawaiian Islands were, of course, located thousands of miles closer to the increasingly militaristic empire of Japan.

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<sup>123</sup> Allen, 86.

<sup>124</sup> Roughly one half of Hawai`i's total land area was controlled by 80 private owners in the pre-war period; most of the remainder (43%) was government owned. Cooper and Daws, *Land and Power in Hawaii*, 2-3.

## Chapter Two: Civilian Preparedness

Popular historical accounts of the Japanese offensive against U.S. military installations on O`ahu (and elsewhere in the Pacific) tend to focus on the nature of the attacks, designating them a "surprise" and perpetuating the notion that they were "unprovoked"—both of which President Roosevelt stated in his declaration of war speech. Conversely, very few accounts address the multitudinous war preparedness measures well underway in the Islands before 1941. In many ways, the various preparedness measures reflected the militarization of island society; several plans initiated by the military were further developed and carried out by civilians, and by 1941, nearly every aspect of island life was geared for war. Moreover, the pre-war years are exemplary of the ways in which Hawai`i's pre-war history differed from that of the U.S. mainland.

As J. Garner Anthony reflected in 1950, "it would have been odd if the people of Hawaii had witnessed the feverish activity that took place in the Islands for more than a year prior to Pearl Harbor without being aware of the imminence of war."<sup>125</sup> A speech issued in April 1941 by two of O`ahu's leading organizers also attests to the general degree of awareness of Hawai`i's civilians:

The international situation is so critical that the civilian population in Honolulu must realize that the time has come *now*—not tomorrow—for intelligent adequate, civilian defense preparedness... the Army and Navy are not here to protect the population of Honolulu; their duty is to defend Hawaii as one of the most vital parts of the American defense system....<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> J Garner Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 1.

<sup>126</sup> Joint statement by Dr. Robert B. Faus (Preparedness Committee) and Mr. Alfred L. Castle (vice-chairman of the American Red Cross in Hawai`i) quoted in *Ibid.*, 2.

While this statement suggests inconsistencies in the ways in which the U.S. military portrayed its presence in the Hawaiian Islands, it also affirms that the possibility of a war coming to Hawai`i was no surprise to Islanders.

In fact, some civilian committees were already organizing for wartime conditions in the 1930s. By June 1941, the City and County of Honolulu centralized planning efforts under the newly created Major Disaster Council (MDC). The MDC, which was composed of twenty sub-committees such as the transportation committee and the Provisional Police, relied on the support of several thousand civilian volunteers. By the time war descended on the Islands, MDC committees had already assessed a range of potential problems from food and medical supply to evacuations from danger zones, among others.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, the Islands were remarkably prepared to respond to the exigencies of war prior to December 7th.

Seeking to avoid the food supply problems that affected the Islands during the First World War, military and civilian groups devised several plans to improve Hawai`i's self-sufficiency. In fact, the increasing number of defense workers and military personnel on O`ahu by 1940 threatened to deplete normal food supplies even before war arrived. In mid-1940, a committee appointed by the mayor of Honolulu concluded that O`ahu "produced only 15 percent of its normal food needs and stocked only a 45-day supply of imported food;" and thus if shipping lines were threatened, Hawai`i would be seriously affected. By the fall, the Army removed its food supply plan from the "secret category" and presented it to the HSPA, which was composed of Hawai`i's most advanced food

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<sup>127</sup> Allen, 76.

producers who also controlled the majority of Hawai'i's land. By 1941, the HSPA had over a dozen subcommittees working toward diversification of the sugar economy.<sup>128</sup>

Other organizations involved with solving food supply problems included the Hawaiian Academy of Science, the Pineapple Producers' Cooperative Association, and the Department of Public Instruction. The latter, which had already created an emergency feeding committee to respond to disasters such as floods and volcanic eruptions, was quick to shift its focus to war planning as the potential for war increased.<sup>129</sup> Further, the university agriculture extension service sponsored a "Farming for Defense Week," during which Islanders received instruction on the benefits of cultivating individual gardens, and were urged to consider planting their own food.<sup>130</sup>

Medical planners also prepared thoroughly for war. When the preparedness committee of the Honolulu Medical Society met in April 1941, "...every member of the committee felt that war was imminent and that it was urgently necessary for preparations to be made..."<sup>131</sup> By summer 1941, detailed plans to move supplies and people from potential danger zones to specific locations including the Mid-Pacific Institute, Kamehameha Schools, Palolo School, Ali'iolani School, and the Salvation Army Girls' Home were underway. Moreover, twenty locations on O`ahu were designated first aid stations to which specific doctors, equipment, and other personnel including "litter

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<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 66-67, 77. The Army had approached the HSPA as early as 1935, at which time the Army Service Command addressed the Sugar Planters on "the security aspects of agricultural diversification."

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., 77. The emergency feeding committee was composed of persons belonging to the home economics division of the Department of Public Instruction (precursor to the Department of Education).

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 65-67, 74.

<sup>131</sup> Quoted in Ibid., 69.

bearers, aides, clerks, messengers, and drivers" were assigned. Plans were so detailed that organizers required an office with a small staff.<sup>132</sup>

The Red Cross also worked with medical committees to administer first aid training months before the war. Graduates from these classes included a significant number of Island women. By March 1941, for example, two classes of women graduated from a training program which taught "automobile maintenance, first aid, emergency delivery of babies, blackout driving, military drill, and defense against gas attacks."<sup>133</sup> Many women also dedicated their personal time to knitting, sewing, and rolling surgical dressings for troops and non-combatants in places such as England, China, and Japan—all of which were engaged in war prior to Hawai`i and the United States.<sup>134</sup> Because of Hawai`i's multi-ethnic population, Islanders sent assistance to both China and Japan, despite that the two were at war after 1937. Emma Kaawakauo, then an eighth grader on O`ahu, recalled knitting balaclava helmets for the Bundles for Britain aid organization because her teacher was of British decent.<sup>135</sup> Furthermore, the export of war related supplies from Hawai`i was halted in early 1941 in favor of keeping the Islands well stocked.<sup>136</sup>

Civilian defense preparations also took shape in several ways. Among them were the formation of the Reserve Police, Provisional Police, and air raid wardens. The Reserve Police, which was a defense unit composed of Honolulu's "professional men, business executives, and government officials," volunteered as part-time policemen

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<sup>132</sup> Ibid., 69, 77. Much of the program built upon an Army plan completed March 25, 1941 titled "A Plan for Protective Measures for the Civilian Population of Oahu in Case of Bombardment." After December 7th, the MDC was absorbed by the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD).

<sup>133</sup> Allen, 78, 341.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid., 82. This is also an indication that Hawai`i wanted neutrality.

<sup>135</sup> Emma Kaawakauo transcript, *Talking Hawai`i's Story*, 145.

<sup>136</sup> Allen, 68, 78. Due to limited storage space on O`ahu, many residents volunteered to store medical supplies in their homes.

without pay. By contrast, the Provisional Police was an organization composed of plantation and utility employees, as well as members of the American Legion, trained to defend their local areas.<sup>137</sup> The Army had asked the mayor of Honolulu, the police chief, and plantation and utility managers on O`ahu to administer defense training to locals in mid-1940, which led to the formation of the Provisional Police.

By 1941, plans for civilian defense were far reaching; although, not every organization was able to accumulate and train the number of volunteers deemed necessary. The air raid wardens exemplified this. While the organization determined that 5000 volunteers were required to "cover every block in [Honolulu]," the committee had only 500 members by December 7th. Nonetheless, due to the extensive pre-war planning, positions were easily filled when war broke out and the number of civilians willing to volunteer rose exponentially.<sup>138</sup>

While O`ahu was the center of both military and civilian defense plans, the outer islands also pursued various war preparedness measures. The Territorial Advisory Defense Council, inspired by the Honolulu MDC, was created to coordinate planning territory wide. In July 1941, for example, the Territorial Advisory Defense Council recommended that each county be responsible for creating its own civilian defense units. By December 7th, every county was equipped with a disaster council.<sup>139</sup> Insofar as civilian participants were contributing to the protection of their own lives as well as the defense of the United States, this heightened activity likely fostered American sentiment in Hawai`i.

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 68, 75-79.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 77-8. The air raid wardens were previously called the fire wardens and the disaster wardens.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 75-79.



[Figure 2: O`ahu's Rural Divisions, Civilian Defense Organization Map]<sup>140</sup>

Despite the coordination of planning efforts for various matters, myriad issues affected O`ahu more than any of the other islands. At just under 600 square miles, O`ahu was the economic center of the Islands and was home to the majority of Hawai`i's residents. Indeed, the influx of military and defense personnel created shortages even in the pre-war years. The housing sector was among the most affected, and planners quickly realized that a shortage would only worsen as the threat of war increased. To make matters worse, the Army estimated that up to 40,000 civilians would have to be relocated to rural districts on O`ahu or moved off the island in the event of an attack or prolonged conflict.<sup>141</sup> A May 1941 article in the widely read *Honolulu Advertiser* titled "Army Maps Areas to Be Evacuated in Event of Emergency" informed civilians that 86,000

<sup>140</sup> From HWRD, "Summary of Work & Plans for Evacuation in Hawaii, 1943" by Frank Midkiff, Director of Evacuation Division, Office of Civilian Defense. c. 1

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., The 1943 report stated that approximately 65,000 women and children in the dangerous areas (below the evacuation line) in Honolulu alone would have to be evacuated in the event that the Island was under siege.

persons living in Honolulu resided in danger zones, and that half would have to evacuate in the event of a war.<sup>142</sup>

The evacuation committee, part of the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD), designated hundreds of churches and schools in specific districts as evacuation centers. Realizing that available facilities were inadequate to accommodate such a large population of evacuees, however, planners also compiled data on the number of households in safe zones with space for an extra family. In September, for example, a household questionnaire on this matter was mailed with monthly electric bills.<sup>143</sup> Still, planners felt that designated centers and homes in safe zones were insufficient. To alleviate the stress on existing structures, the evacuation committee recommended that additional shelters be built in the valleys of Palolo, Kalihi, and Mānoa; however, it was not until after the Japanese attack that \$2,800,000 was appropriated to begin construction.<sup>144</sup> Even in April 1942, Palolo Camp was only ninety percent complete.<sup>145</sup> Evacuation planning continued throughout the war years, and will be further addressed in coming chapters.

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<sup>142</sup> Dick Haller, "86,000 In City Have Homes In 'Danger Zones,' *Honolulu Advertiser*, 23 May, 1941, H-6. It was equipped with a map so that Islanders could see whether or not they lived in evacuation zones. Located in HWRD, Box 34 uncatalogued, Scrapbooks (Evacuation to March 10, 1943, 1941 May 23-1943 March 10).

<sup>143</sup> Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 68, 73, 77. This technique was used as early as 1939 when the board of water supply attached the pamphlet titled "what happens to water service under bombardment."

<sup>144</sup> The highest estimated cost to build shelters in Kalihi valley was \$70,400. HWRD, Box 15, (Evacuation Shelters-Kalihi Camp) "Kalihi Valley Camps" memorandum from Frank E. Midkiff (Chairman, Evac. Div.) to Mr. Frank H. Locey (Territorial Dir., OCD) 14 August 1942.

<sup>145</sup> By this time the camp was composed of eighty-five two family homes. HWRD, Box 43 uncatalogued, Scrapbooks (Evacuation to March 10, 1943, 1941 May 23-1943 March 10) "Two Evacuation Camps Are Provided Here," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 10 April 1942.



[Figure 3: Evacuation Camp in Palolo Valley, O`ahu]<sup>146</sup>

Change accelerated in the final months before the war as the Army and Navy acquired hundreds of acres to build new installations. The civilian workforce at Pearl Harbor doubled in these months. Despite the massive importation of mainland workers, military related projects grew so numerous that Islanders began to receive training for skilled positions. Scores of Islanders abandoned cutting cane or packing pineapple for better paying defense jobs. This was the beginning of a transformation in island society; managers from the mainland were replacing haole plantation bosses, and many Islanders worked for the U.S. military rather than island elites. Eventually, the growth of defense work attracted laborers from neighboring islands such as Maui and Kauai, and caused an even greater shortage of plantation labor. After losing hundreds of workers between

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<sup>146</sup> Image from Brown, 63.

January and April 1941, the HSPA reported that total employment on sugar plantations sunk to the lowest level since the 1890s.<sup>147</sup>

Although the American military's expansion in Hawai`i began within days of annexation (the dredging of Pearl Harbor commenced in 1900, by 1905 the first warship entered the harbor, and development increased steadily into the 1930s), changes to the land and seascapes affected by the military spiked after 1940 when the United States Congress appropriated funds for military expansion in Hawai`i.<sup>148</sup> The Army and Navy's estimated expenditures for Hawai`i were \$60,000,000 in 1940, and by 1941 had more than tripled to \$204,000,000.<sup>149</sup> Plans to build underground oil storage facilities and new dry docks at Pearl Harbor were among the many projects to be completed. Moreover, in May 1940 the Pacific Fleet moved its headquarters from San Pedro, California to Pearl Harbor, Hawai`i, further solidifying the military's presence in the Hawaiian Islands.

The increased military presence on and off military lands undoubtedly left an impression on Islanders; the Army had requested the use of O`ahu's sugar lands 179 times between 1939 and the outbreak of war for "maneuvers, gun positions, camouflage tests, and installation of communication lines."<sup>150</sup> For any civilians unaware of the power or resources of the United States, the "showy reviews regularly put on for the public at Schofield Barracks" were ample reminders.<sup>151</sup> Some Islanders were likely dissuaded from questioning the heightened military presence and expansion in Hawai`i due to the assumed protection it offered, especially given that many were aware a war could arrive

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<sup>147</sup> Allen, 72, 85.

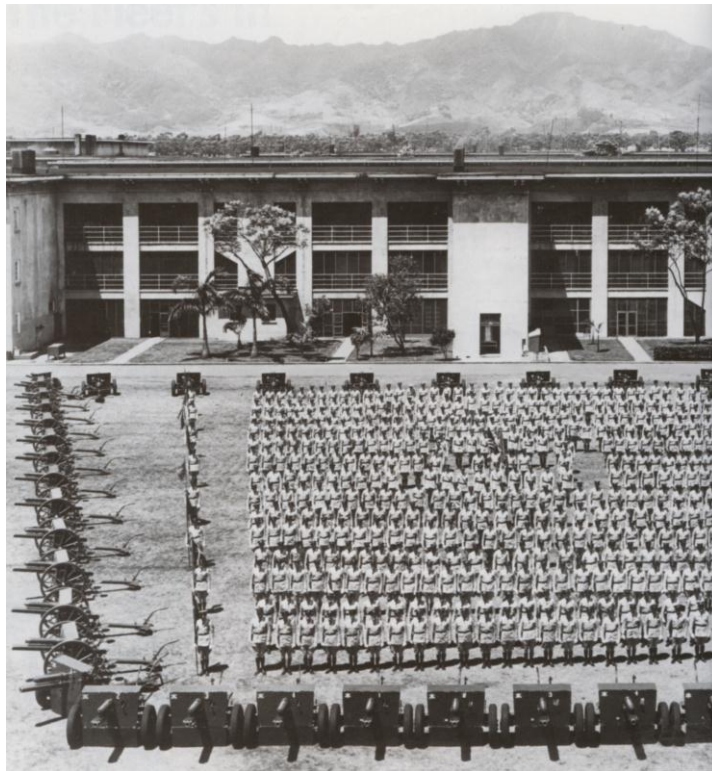
<sup>148</sup> Ferguson and Turnbull, 34.

<sup>149</sup> Figures for 1941 can be broken down as Navy \$150, 000, 000 and Army \$54, 000, 000.

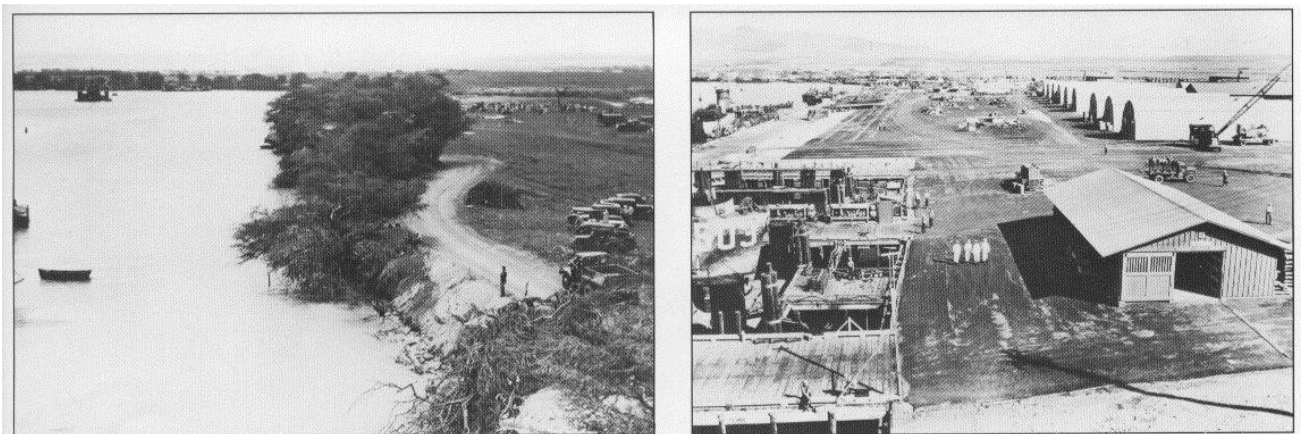
<sup>150</sup> Allen, 85.

<sup>151</sup> Brown, 13.

at any time. Nonetheless, even if Islanders were opposed to U.S. military policy in Hawai`i, there was little one could do to challenge the prerogative of the United States.



[Figure 4: 13th Field Artillery, Schofield Barracks, O`ahu, 1938]<sup>152</sup>



[Figure 5 & 5a: Waipio Amphibious Base, Pearl Harbor]<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Image from *ibid.*, 12.

Historical accounts of the lack of American preparedness for Japan's "surprise offensive" ignore the relative preparedness of civilian Hawai`i, as well as the military's increased presence and expansion throughout the archipelago, especially on O`ahu. This selective remembering perpetuates Hawai`i's narrow and static position vis-à-vis histories of the American experience in the Pacific theater—and in U.S. history more generally—in which the Islands are remembered as little more than a military base and chronological marker. Even Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Navy, underestimated the far-reaching preparedness measures initiated in pre-war Hawai`i when he criticized the "Hawaiian spirit of *mañana*" and urged Hawai`i to put an end to its "procrastination in regard to matters of national emergency."<sup>154</sup> Yet, nowhere else in the United States—territory, possession, base, or mainland state—were war response measures so thoroughly attended to. The countless hours Islanders spent to prepare Hawai`i for a possible war were precisely why civilians were "able to rally from the shock of Pearl Harbor and gear for the tensions of nearly four years of total war."<sup>155</sup> The following chapters provide a fuller discussion of Hawai`i's war years.

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<sup>153</sup> Two photos of the same location taken less than one year apart. On the right is the finished product, built partly on landfill. Image from *ibid.*, 123.

<sup>154</sup> Allen, 81. Kimmel's statements were made during a speech to the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce in 1940.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, 65.

### Chapter Three: "Good Citizens Will Cheerfully Obey"

At 11:30am on December 7th, just hours after the Japanese attacked O`ahu, Hawai`i's territorial Governor Joseph B. Pointdexter invoked his special powers outlined by the M-Day Act, or Hawaii Defense Act, which the territorial legislature had approved the previous October.<sup>156</sup> Despite Hawai`i's myriad pre-war preparedness measures, the legislature was much more hesitant to pass an M-Day bill. The fall session during which it passed was not the first instance that such a bill was proposed. In fact, it was tabled months earlier for various reasons including opposition to "Gestapo" and "totalitarian" methods; the governor even questioned the constitutionality of the bill. However, when a similar bill was proposed in Washington, the territorial legislature quickly met for a special session to ensure that "home rule" was preserved.<sup>157</sup>

While the M-Day Act closely resembled martial law, it "specifically withheld any power inconsistent with the Constitution or laws of the United States" and vowed to maintain the "safeguards of the Bill of Rights and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus." In fact, the passage of the M-Day Act was intended to reduce the necessity of a martial law by allowing the governor to focus on defense related matters, and was regarded as a form of civilian martial law.<sup>158</sup> According to the Act, Governor Pointdexter was granted "unusual emergency powers" with which he could declare a "defense period" to shift Hawai`i's focus from civilian matters to defense related activities such as training guards and wardens, registering and fingerprinting the populace, and purchasing emergency supplies. It also gave him the authority to control prices, regulate labor, and

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<sup>156</sup> Note that Hawai`i's territorial governors were appointed by the U.S. President.

<sup>157</sup> Allen, 79-81; Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 5.

<sup>158</sup> HWRD, Judge Frank McLaughlin "And How They Did It," a speech delivered to the Social Science Association, University of Hawai`i at Mānoa.

manage "highways, schools, parks and airports." Moreover, the governor was held responsible for determining the start and finish of a "defense period."<sup>159</sup>

By 3:30pm on December 7th, Governor Pointdexter placed the Islands under martial law and suspended the writ of habeas corpus; importantly, the latter went beyond his powers as outlined by both the M-Day Act as well as the Hawaiian Organic Act. This was the beginning of massive a power transfer from civilian to military authorities in Hawai`i, which is the subject of this chapter. Martial law, Pointdexter explained to the people, would remain in place "until the danger of invasion is removed."<sup>160</sup> While the threat of another attack or an enemy landing was indeed difficult to calculate at this time, the Governor's declaration of martial law and suspension of the writ bears closer examination. According to the following definitions of martial law, "the law applied in occupied territory by the military authority of an occupying power," or "the law administered by military forces that is invoked by a government in an emergency when the civilian law enforcement agencies are unable to maintain public order and safety," martial law in Hawai`i fits neither explanation seamlessly.<sup>161</sup>

As Chapter One addressed, Hawai`i was occupied after 1898, and was considered non-liberated by the United Nations (UN) Special Committee on Decolonization until it became a U.S. state in 1959.<sup>162</sup> Contesting the overthrow and illegal annexation have

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<sup>159</sup> Allen, 79-81.

<sup>160</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 5.

<sup>161</sup> Definitions by Merriam-Webster dictionary online. "Martial Law." Accessed September 15, 2011. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/martial%20law>. Hawai`i Japanese were a major reason for military plans for takeover; however, this was not the first time martial law was considered and other factors including the military's desire to expand must also be considered. See Okihiro and Ferguson and Turnbull for lengthier treatments of both arguments. In the pre-war years, military and civilian planners were (publicly) most concerned with maintaining morale and interracial cooperation. This will be further discussed.

<sup>162</sup> Hawai`i was removed from the list because it became a U.S. state. Many scholars in contemporary Hawai`i regard annexation as the beginning of an American occupation.

been pillars of sovereignty movements for decades, and were central to the *Larsen case* heard by the Permanent Court of Arbitration in 2001.<sup>163</sup> In 1993, U.S. Congress and President Bill Clinton issued the "Apology Resolution" to acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the violation of Hawaiian sovereignty and to apologize for U.S. diplomatic and military aid, without which "the insurrection... would have failed for lack of popular support and insufficient arms."<sup>164</sup>

Despite these affirmations throughout the last couple of decades, it is important to realize that the American military presence in wartime Hawai`i was not framed as an occupation. Especially when martial law was first imposed, the U.S. military presented itself as a protector from Japanese aggression, rather than as a colonizer.<sup>165</sup> While the imposition of martial law brings into question the U.S.-Hawai`i relationship at this time, this is not to suggest that the initial declaration of martial law was beyond the legal bounds of territorial law as outlined by the Hawaiian Organic Act, nor is it to suggest that there was a flood of opposition when the governor first announced it. Of course, his proclamation came just hours after the Imperial Japanese Navy had attacked the U.S. Pacific Fleet at O`ahu. Moreover, under Section 67 of the Hawaiian Organic Act, the governor could legally declare martial law "... in case of rebellion or invasion or imminent danger... until communication can be had with the president..."<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> For the *Larsen case* see David Keanu Sai, "American Occupation of the Hawaiian State: A Century Unchecked," *Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics* 1 (Summer, 2004): 46-81.

<sup>164</sup> Hawai`i, Independent & Sovereign. "United States Public Law 103-150, the "Apology Resolution"" Accessed November 11, 2011. <http://www.hawaii-nation.org/publawsum.html>

<sup>165</sup> There are obvious inconsistencies in the way that the military and other authorities presented the military's purpose in Hawai`i. Refer to page 37 of this thesis "...the Army and Navy are not here to protect the population of Honolulu..." Nor did military and civilian authorities present martial law or the military government as necessary to maintain law and order.

<sup>166</sup> Hawai`i, Independent & Sovereign. "Hawaiian Organic Act, 1900." Accessed November 11, 2011. <http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/us-organic-act-1900.shtml>.

Most importantly, in addition to the declaration of martial law, Governor Pointdexter also "authorize[d] and request[ed] the Commanding General, Hawaiian Department... to exercise all powers normally exercised" by the governor; thus turning over "the powers of his office and the powers of judicial officers of the Territory" to the U.S. military. Notably, military planners had secretly prepared for a power transfer from civilian to military authorities well in advance.<sup>167</sup> Assured by Commanding General Walter Short that it was "absolutely essential" and that it would only last about thirty days, the Governor signed the declaration—albeit reluctantly. After offering his signature, Pointdexter and Short issued dual proclamations to the people of Hawai`i announcing the beginning of martial law, and in General Short's proclamation, he announced his leadership of the archipelago as well as his newly created office, "Military Governor of Hawaii."<sup>168</sup>

Importantly, nowhere in the Hawaiian Organic Act were provisions for a power transfer of this nature; indeed, this may explain why neither Pointdexter nor Short's proclamations were ever submitted to President Roosevelt for approval.<sup>169</sup> While Roosevelt did approve the governor's declaration of martial law (insofar as it was consistent with Section 67 of the Organic Act) he was not informed that Hawai`i's civilian government was replaced by the Office of the Military Governor (OMG). Not coincidentally, just prior to Roosevelt's 1944 visit to O`ahu for a military conference,

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<sup>167</sup> McLaughlin "And How They Did It;" According to Allen preparation began in summer 1940, *Hawaii's War Years*, 80.

<sup>168</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 5-9.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

General Orders No. 61 and 63 abolished the title Office of Military Governor and changed it to Office of Internal Security.<sup>170</sup>

Indeed, the Hawaiian Organic Act of 1900 guaranteed that "the [U.S.] Constitution... [and] all the laws of the United States...shall have the same force and effect within the said Territory as elsewhere in the United States..." and that "the laws of Hawaii [shall] not [be] inconsistent with the Constitution or laws of the United States..."—had the President been made aware of a power transfer so complete, technically, he would have had no other choice but to act against the establishment of a military government.<sup>171</sup> Fortunately for the OMG, he was not aware of what had gone on in Hawai`i until 1943, by which time the many tentacles of military rule had already been tested and revised. By March 1943, General Orders of the military governor had already undergone a complete revision and the "restoration of civil authority" was purportedly achieved.

Importantly, while martial law and a military government are by definition distinct—the latter would have been illegal for Roosevelt to approve—the military used martial law to legitimate the creation of a military government, and the two became one in wartime Hawai`i.<sup>172</sup> The military government explained its purpose and the necessity of the title "military governor" as follows:

The term [military governor] was not intended to indicate in any way that Hawaii was to be treated as occupied enemy territory. A new type of martial law would be instituted here, far stronger than any which had

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<sup>170</sup> Ibid. x; Allen, 175. These changes were made the month prior to his visit. Roosevelt never recognized or used the term 'military governor'. Civilian agencies didn't even use the term on paper; however, it was in general use unofficially. There is no evidence to prove that the President was made aware before 1943. The Supreme Court remarked that Roosevelt was likely not informed of what had gone on in Hawai`i until 1943, see McLaughlin "And How They Did It."

<sup>171</sup> Hawai`i, Independent & Sovereign. "Hawaiian Organic Act, 1900." Accessed November 11, 2011. <http://www.hawaiiankingdom.org/us-organic-act-1900.shtml>

<sup>172</sup> McLaughlin "And How They Did It;" Allen, 177.

previously existed in the United States, and it was desired to give its administrator a title which would represent the strength and prestige of his position, and which would command the respect of the people.<sup>173</sup>

Following the dual proclamations by the Governor and the Commanding General, Walter Short began exercising his powers as Military Governor of Hawaii, creator and enforcer of territorial laws, almost immediately. With the territorial constitution suspended, Hawai`i was soon governed by a series of laws known as the General Orders of the Military Governor. In the first weeks of martial law, the Office of the Military Governor hurriedly conceived of laws governing the conduct of civilians with respect to "the showing of lights, circulation, meetings, censorship, possession of arms, ammunition, and explosives, and the sale of intoxicating liquors," among others—all of which were disseminated via the daily press. To enforce the General Orders, the military governor created a military commission and erected myriad provost courts run by Army officers.

This chapter addresses the massive power transfer from civilian to military authorities in wartime Hawai`i, as well as the various ways in which the military government used its relative autonomy to diverge from mainland policies as it saw fit. Moreover, it discusses the ways in which civilian Hawai`i was transformed into a staging ground for the U.S. offensive in the Pacific. While Hawai`i was America when it was necessarily so for strategic purposes or for a declaration of war, the OMG simultaneously infringed upon the civil liberties of Hawai`i residents by revoking the U.S. constitution as well as the Hawaiian Organic Act, and instead governed through its own General Orders.

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<sup>173</sup> U.S. Army quoted in *Ibid.*, 176.

In this way, the military government prevented Islanders from enjoying the very rights for which the Allied Forces waged war, for example, Roosevelt's Four Freedoms.<sup>174</sup>

As a staff member of the military government adequately described, "LIEUTENANT GENERAL DELOS C. EMMONS RULES ALL HAWAII UNDER MARTIAL LAW."<sup>175</sup> Between December 7th, 1941 and January 30th, 1943, the military government issued and revised a total of 181 General Orders, which became civilian law in Hawai`i. A new set numbering 1-86 was issued in March 1943 along with 151 "defense act rules" from the territorial governor, and over 100 "directives" from territorial director of civilian defense. After the Office of the Military Governor became the Office of Internal Security, another two-dozen "security orders" and "special orders" were also issued.<sup>176</sup> In his proclamation, General Short had explained (rather confidently), that "good citizens will cheerfully obey." Indeed, compliance was not altogether difficult to achieve as Islanders learned almost immediately that they would "be severely punished by military tribunals or... be held in custody" for offending a military order.<sup>177</sup> The territory's civil and criminal courts were closed December 7th, 1941, after which lawyers were unwelcome and juries non-existent. Instead, the accused were at the mercy of Army officers, "who meted out penalties without regard to the provisions or statutes of Hawaii or the United States."<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Roosevelt articulated the Four Freedoms in his inaugural address in early 1941. They included: freedom of speech and expression, of worship, from fear, and from want. He suggested that they be enjoyed by all of humanity. Insofar as Hawai`i Japanese were disproportionately targeted by a number of OMG policies and General Orders, this group is often discussed more extensively than others, especially with respect to measures such as forced relocations and internment.

<sup>175</sup> General Emmons replaced General Short on 17 December 1941. Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 11-12; for the organization of the military government, see Allen's chart, 168-9.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 167.

<sup>177</sup> General Short quoted in Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 6.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 38. Refer to Anthony for the various changes to the courts throughout the war years.

On December 7th, Islanders learned of the declaration of martial law by means of the police radio station. Later in the afternoon, they were informed that a territory-wide blackout as well as curfew would take affect that very night. Islanders were no strangers to the blackout period. Blackouts were perhaps the first Army-designed maneuver in which Honolulu's civilians were required to participate, even in the pre-war years. The first trial blackout took place on O`ahu in 1939, and in subsequent years came to include the entire territory. Despite these trials, however, few Islanders "anticipated what ingenuity and improvisation would be required to cook, eat, and feed the baby, shave, and live without permitting light to escape from Hawaii's predominantly open-air houses."<sup>179</sup> The military had taken over in Hawai`i an entire day before the U.S. President had even announced to mainland Americans that their country was at war.

As the general orders continued to increase in number, changes to island life accelerated. General Orders No. 2, for example, required all saloons to close: "All dealers in intoxicating liquors, wine, or beer will immediately stop sale or disposition thereof, either by drink or in any other quantity." On December 8th, General Orders No. 6 directed "all schools, public and private, on all the islands in the Territory" to close until further notice. By December 10th, the military governor reserved the right to punish those who printed unauthorized material via "newspapers, magazines, [and] periodicals" or disseminated information "by wireless, radio, or press association."<sup>180</sup>

To supplement these restrictions on the movement of information, GO No. 42 issued on December 24th made illegal "any speech...made, words uttered, gestures made, songs sung, music played, plays performed, pictures, banners, or placards exhibited

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<sup>179</sup> Allen, 10, 70.

<sup>180</sup> Anthony, Appendix B: General Orders of the Military Governor from December 7, 1941, to January 30, 1943, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 137-8.

expressing hostility or disrespect to the United States..." in any public place of amusement.<sup>181</sup> This order reflects that some authorities in Hawai`i anticipated organized opposition or even revolt following the American declaration of war on Japan, specifically from the large population of Hawai`i Japanese. Interestingly, GO 42 violated one of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms, namely freedom of speech and expression.

While many facets of Hawai`i's still developing legal system were riddled with confusion in the early days of martial law, areas most pertinent to military operations such as labor regulation and land condemnation were outlined almost immediately. On December 20th, General Orders No. 38 froze wages on O`ahu, and "all employees of the Federal Government and its contractors" were frozen to their employer as of December 7th. Those employed by the Federal Government or any of its contractors "separated from their employment since December 7th [were ordered] to return to their job held as of that date."<sup>182</sup> Scores of civilians were thereafter without the liberty to freely move occupations, and could only transfer if their employer decided it was necessary. Following the Japanese air strikes on American military installations, the U.S. Pacific Fleet needed to both replace losses and increase production. GO 38 was an attempt to ensure this; for even in the pre-war years, labor supply constantly fell short of demand.<sup>183</sup>

General Orders No. 29, which dealt with land condemnation, reveals a notable anomaly insofar as it permitted the United States District Court for the Territory of Hawaii to function. The latter, which was otherwise closed, was allowed to function for the purpose of receiving and filing "all petitions for condemnation of land in the Territory

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<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, ix, 6, 142.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix B: General Orders of the Military Governor from December 7, 1941, to January 30, 1943, 141.

<sup>183</sup> While plantation labor on O`ahu was not included here, there was a "worker-loan" agreement between plantations and U.S. Engineers to ensure that the latter did not rob the plantations of all their labor.

of Hawaii... needed by the Army or Navy of the United States," so long as none involved a jury trial or the subpoenaing of a witness. GO 29 deemed the District Court responsible for overseeing "all orders or judgments necessary to facilitate the immediate taking of land..." This was perhaps due to the realization that land condemnations filed by another entity, for example the OMG, would create serious future problems.<sup>184</sup> Moreover, rather than having to close a Federal Court, the Army privately asked Judge Delbert E. Metzger to discontinue operations for other matters normally handled by the District Court.<sup>185</sup>

Divisions of authority in the post-attack days were understandably blurred. The transformation of O`ahu into a war zone in combination with the erection of a military government and the constant bombardment of general orders generated a considerable degree of confusion. For example, the OMG considered the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) part of its structure, whereas the OCD initially "did not recognize the OMG as its superior," believing instead that its authority derived from powers granted by the M-Day Act.<sup>186</sup> Moreover, while the territorial courts were closed December 8th, within a month they were permitted to function in certain circumstances "as agents of the military governor." In most cases, this was for the purpose of dealing with cases pending before December 7th. Nonetheless, officials involved in the function of territorial courts were warned that this change was "experimental in nature... the Military Governor reserves the right further to limit the jurisdiction of the courts or to close them entirely." In other words, they were advised not to challenge the military's authority.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>184</sup> Allen, 38; Anthony, Appendix B: General Orders of the Military Governor from December 7, 1941, to January 30, 1943, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 140.

<sup>185</sup> McLaughlin "And How They Did It."

<sup>186</sup> Allen, 166-167, 171.

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 171. Despite this, the overwhelming majority of civilian cases still took place in provost courts.

Despite the often-unclear divisions of power in the early formation of the military government, civilian Hawai`i responded remarkably well. With organizational structures well in place by December 7th, the Hawaiian Islands abounded with volunteerism almost immediately: "volunteers worked at top speed, little caring whether they were attached to the Office of the Military Governor, Office of Civilian Defense or Major Disaster Council."<sup>188</sup> There was no doubt, however, that the erection of a military government and the flood of General Orders were changing island life at a rapid pace.



[Figure 6 & 6a: Fort St. and King St., Honolulu before and during the War]<sup>189</sup>

As Gwenfreed Allen adequately summarized, "The Sunday bombs did more than start a war; they changed a way of life. Islanders were particularly tense during the first week after the attack, beset with constant and shapeless fears."<sup>190</sup> As many anticipated a Japanese return (which widespread rumors did little to help), panic swept over the Islands and resulted in a rush to stock up on groceries and gas. By December 27th, the military government required all civilians to be fingerprinted and registered, providing yet another reason to line up and wait. Lines to obtain I.D. cards were equally as tedious as those for

<sup>188</sup> Ibid., 29, 33, 166. Allen described this surge as "an avalanche of the willing," because at times organizations were deluged with citizens wanting to help.

<sup>189</sup> Images from Brown, 16 (left) & 121 (right).

<sup>190</sup> Allen, 57. Rumors of sabotage and a Japanese return were among the most disruptive in the early weeks of war.

groceries, gas masks, immunizations, and liquor permits. On March 1, 1942, the first day that liquor permits became available, lines ranged from two to nine hours.<sup>191</sup> The onset of war and steady flow of military and defense personnel to the Islands ensured that long lines, crowding, and shortages were there to stay.

The ubiquity of barbed wire, gas masks, bomb shelters, trenches, and camouflage were among the most visible reminders that Hawai`i was at war. By early 1942, barbed wire lined Hawai`i's beaches to prevent a Japanese landing from coming ashore. On some well-visited beaches, such as Waikīkī, Islanders were pleased to see that "they left us a puka to go thru to swim."<sup>192</sup> On December 20, General Orders No. 54 mandated that gas masks were to be picked up from the nearest first aid station by all O`ahu residents: "Any person who willfully loses, destroys, or damages his or any other person's mask will be subject to trial and punishment."<sup>193</sup> Civilians were ordered to carry them at all times. O`ahu was eventually equipped with sirens and decontamination centers to deal with a possible gas attack.<sup>194</sup>

Military orders also required every household to construct an air raid shelter. Given the mixed terrain of the Hawaiian Islands—in some areas too rocky, in others too sandy—this was met with mixed success, at best. The outcome of digging trenches shared many of the same complications associated with building shelters. Nonetheless, by 1942, O`ahu was equipped with plenty of both, functional or not.<sup>195</sup> By the end of the war, however, the lumber supporting most shelters was so termite infested that they were

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<sup>191</sup> Brown, 87.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 55. Puka is the Hawaiian word for hole.

<sup>193</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 146.

<sup>194</sup> Allen, 117.

<sup>195</sup> Brown, 58.

drenched in oil and set ablaze.<sup>196</sup> Also hard to miss, a number of Honolulu's tallest buildings and other structures were painted camouflage style or draped with camouflage nets or in order to preclude said structures from aiding in enemy navigation. In wartime Hawai'i, lei makers were commissioned by the U.S. Army to weave camouflage nets.<sup>197</sup>



[Figure 7 & 7a: Waiting for the Bus, O`ahu & Long Lines for Gas Masks at Farrington High, O`ahu, 1942]<sup>198</sup>

Similar to the camouflage efforts, the OMG considered nightly curfews and blackouts to be preventative measures; both were intended to avert "subversive signaling and lessen possibility of sabotage, as well as reduce the danger of air raids." Indeed, in the eyes of some authorities, the loyalties of some Islanders were still very much in question. Those without special blackout passes were not permitted on the streets or highways, or in beaches or parks, between the hours of 6pm and 6am. Accordingly, Islanders would return home from an exhausting day at work with little to do besides cook dinner and remain in the dark. Blackout materials quickly became scarce as Islanders rushed to cover their windows with black paint or tarpaper. Among the myriad

<sup>196</sup> Allen, 116.

<sup>197</sup> Dorothea "Dee" Buckingham, *Women of World War II Hawaii*. "Women at Work." Accessed on November 11, 2011. <http://www.womenofworldwariihawaii.com>; Brown, 60.

<sup>198</sup> Images from *Ibid.*, page 120 (left) & page 87 (right).

recommendations from the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) were "unscrew the light in your refrigerator" to prevent the accidental showing of light, and "put away knickknacks that you might break in the dark." Automobiles were not exempt from blackout restrictions. In September 1942, the curfew on automobiles was extended to 8pm; however, headlights had to be painted black with the exception of a small blue circle. Street and traffic lights were not used in any capacity until over a year after the Japanese attack.<sup>199</sup>

In the semi-tropical climate of Hawai`i, "where homes are built to take advantage of year-round even temperature" one had to choose between complete darkness and adequate ventilation. A household would go back and forth between the two upward of ten times in a single evening.<sup>200</sup> Frustration with the blackout was particularly poignant among those who resided above Honolulu and could see "see the city below in total darkness except for the waterfront, which was ablaze," and Hickam Field and Pearl Harbor to the west, "both illuminated like Christmas trees."<sup>201</sup> Nonetheless, the consequences of offending a military order were by no means alluring; one newspaper described that "a crack of light showing between a windowsill and an almost closed window sends a man to jail for 10 days at hard labor."<sup>202</sup> Still, there were 1527 violations

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<sup>199</sup> Allen, 112-114. Curfew and blackout hours changed over the course of the war; however, restrictions remained in place until 1945 and 1944 respectively

<sup>200</sup> In order to use the lights a household would close all the doors and windows making sure no light escaped from the house or room being used, when it became unbearably stuffy, all the lights would be turned off so that windows and doors could be reopened. Islanders were not permitted to smoke outside during blackout hours until January 1943. In his article, "Blackout in Hawaii," (*Illuminating Engineering*, (April, 1946), located in HWRD), Dr. William John Holmes blamed inadequate ventilation for the huge increase in patients with respiratory problems; RASRL, Student Journals, Reporter No. 56 "General Order 175: Out-door smoking allowed in blackout," 23 January 1943.

<sup>201</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 59.

<sup>202</sup> Holmes, "Blackout in Hawaii," 320.

of the blackout in 1942 alone, and penalties were imposed irrespective of the often-accidental nature of the offense.

Eventually, the blackout order was reduced slightly to a 'dim out' in mid-1942, and was extended to 10pm by the fall of 1943. The curfew, however, remained until July 1945. The results from a poll put out by the *Star Bulletin* newspaper in summer 1945 are telling. The questionnaire, which asked if citizens were in favor of the curfew, wanted it relaxed to either 11pm or 12am, or wanted it repealed altogether, was met with varying responses. Isabelle W. Holmes believed that the curfew was a "sign of weakness." D.P. Lopes' response was similarly concise, "Emergency does not exist." Others were more vehement; one man urged, "Treat us as U.S. citizens and not as a conquered people," and another questioned, "This is part of the USA! OR IS IT?"<sup>203</sup>

The latter responses illuminate the unequal nature of the U.S.-Hawai`i relationship, and more specifically Hawai`i's lack of secure access to the same constitutional protections as those that existed on the mainland. Of course, not all mainland Americans were granted equal protections at this time either—institutionalized racism against blacks still raged in the Jim Crow South, and Asian Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics, and women faced regular discrimination nationwide. In this way, an interesting parallel can be drawn between Hawai`i's shaky access to the constitution—due to its non-white majority and territorial status—and the lack of equal rights for minority groups on the mainland. Moreover, the erection of a military government (and its ample infringements upon civil liberties) caused many Islanders to evaluate and reassert their status as American; and in this way, it contributed to the cultural and ideological Americanization of Hawai`i. These responses also indicate that Islanders

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<sup>203</sup> HWRD, Box 56, Subject 45, "Morale. Star Bulletin Curfew Questionnaires 1945 June-July" (6 folders).

were beginning to question military policies in Hawai`i. They are an invaluable resource insofar as they provided one of very few means through which Islanders could freely and publicly express opposition without fear of imprisonment.

While most surveys expressed opposition to the curfew, some feared that chaos would ensue if O`ahu's swollen population was suddenly permitted to roam the streets at night. Others feared that relaxing the curfew would disrupt their sleep and increase absenteeism in a workplace already starving for labor. One respondent believed that "Curfew promotes law and order and also gives the working people the needed rest." Another suggested that all minors be kept indoors after 8pm, except with parents. Similarly, M.A. Walker appreciated "knowing where the family is at 10 o'clock." Most enthusiastic was Margaret Anderson, who thought the curfew was "the best thing that ever happened to Honolulu." Regardless of the explanation, the responses reveal that the curfew was controversial feature of military rule.<sup>204</sup>

Evacuations were another feature of wartime Hawai`i that affected many Islanders, especially O`ahu residents. Some were asked to leave the Islands altogether, while others remained on O`ahu but were forcibly relocated. Initial waves of evacuees who left Hawai`i altogether were predominantly Army and Navy dependents not considered essential to the war effort. In the early post-attack days, the military governor requested that all "non-essential" persons on O`ahu, or those not engaged in work essential to the war effort, to make plans to evacuate.<sup>205</sup> Initial evacuees also included those seriously wounded in the Japanese air raid.

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid.; Allen, 114.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid., 107-8.

In addition, Islanders living in Pu`uloa and Iwilei were part of two local and permanent evacuations carried out within a week of the Japanese attack. Important to consider are the locations of these two areas: Pu`uloa is adjacent to West Loch, Pearl Harbor and Iwilei is directly across from Sand Island, where many internees were held. The Iwilei evacuation took place within a week of December 7th and included 1,500 residents. Hawai`i Japanese were disproportionately represented in these evacuations, which again reflected that some authorities were ill at ease with the presence of those potentially loyal to an enemy nation residing in certain areas. Others who lived close to military installations and shorelines (but were not immediately evacuated) were warned that they might have to leave at a moments notice.<sup>206</sup>

Scores of those initially evacuated remained displaced for the duration of the war; while others were not made aware that their evacuation was permanent until the termination of the war. Those with lands appropriated by the military were initially evacuated on the grounds that they resided within a danger zone; however, some areas deemed dangerous also happened to be areas upon which the military wished to expand. The evacuations from Pu`uloa and Iwilei were carried out to remove civilians from danger zones, although this was only part of the explanation. The military government was less explicit about the fact that most were removed from specific areas on the basis of race and to prevent sabotage or espionage.

Instead, the military issued public messages such as "[we] will weld our Japanese into the structure of American unity."<sup>207</sup> That the OMGs public messages did not match

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid., 110. Despite that the purpose of this thesis is not to prioritize one ethnic group over another, many military policies targeted or affected Hawai`i Japanese differently than other ethnic groups, and thus the unique position of this population will not be ignored.

<sup>207</sup> A representative of the commanding general quoted in Ibid., 83.

up with its actual policies reflects that the military was also committed to the preservation of civilian morale and the maintenance of interethnic harmony among Islanders of various backgrounds. Indeed, it was in the best interest of the OMG to foster inter-ethnic cooperation rather than create a divided society, and preventing the complete marginalization of Hawai'i Japanese was crucial to this effort. Moreover, the OMG understood the benefits of keeping most of this population engaged in the general war effort including in the labor force.

Ruth Yamaguchi's family story exemplifies the challenges faced by evacuee families. Yamaguchi's Nisei father, Wataru Ishibashi, purchased nine acres of farmland in Pu`uloa through the Farm Security Administration (FSA) in 1940.<sup>208</sup> After investing several months digging a well and clearing the abundant kiawe trees and rocks, the Ishibashis built a family home and moved in by August 1941. Formerly living on the Hind-Clark Dairy Homestead, the Ishibashis finally had their own land. By 1940, farmland on O`ahu was already scarce, especially farmland available for Hawai'i Japanese to purchase. The Ishibashis took out a loan for the Pu`uloa lots and bought where land was available.

Approximately two weeks after December 7th, two armed officers came to the Ishibashis door, leaving a truck full of soldiers outside. The Ishibashis were ordered to leave by sundown that same day, which allowed them roughly eight hours to gather some essential possessions. The Ishibashis understood that they were being evacuated from a danger zone—indeed, they lived very close to Pearl Harbor—but were under the impression that they could return at a later time. Yamaguchi packed as much as could fit

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<sup>208</sup> Yamaguchi is her married name; despite that she was an Ishibashi during the war years, she will hereafter be addressed as Yamaguchi to distinguish her from the rest of the Ishibashi family.

in one truckload, while her mother tended to her sick infant son. Yamaguchi's grandmother, the only Issei (first generation Japanese immigrant) in the household, was certain that only she should have to leave, for the rest of the family were American citizens. Nonetheless, they were all evacuated.

The whole family moved back to the Hind-Clark Dairy Homestead where family friends were kind enough to take them in. The Ishibashis family slept on the floor of the Kawano family home for most of the war years. Ruth Yamaguchi remembered that hers was not the only family sleeping at the Kawanos. Once settled into her place on the floor, Yamaguchi could not even get up at night for a drink of water or to use the bathroom because she would step on other bodies; anything she needed during the night had to wait until morning. When Yamaguchi's mother had to feed her child during the night, the Kawano mother would always get up with her because she knew her way around the blacked out house far better than any of her visitors.<sup>209</sup>

Further, within days of their evacuation, the Ishibashi residence became home to several soldiers. Ruth Yamaguchi's father realized this after he was granted a pass to return to their land during specific daylight hours in order to tend to his livestock, which was still on the property. In 1944, the family received a formal evacuation letter, at which time they realized that returning was not an option. The Ishibashis never saw the inside of their home again. Like many other new Pu`uloa residents, the Ishibashis were evicted from a strategic area on the basis of race.<sup>210</sup> They lost their land, home, appliances, and

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<sup>209</sup> Yamaguchi transcript, *An Era of Change*, Vol. V, 1695-97.

<sup>210</sup> The Civil Liberties Act of 1988, by which 136 former Pu`uloa residents received \$20,000 and a formal apology for being evicted from a strategic military, explicitly stated that these evacuations were carried out on the basis of race. Note that an application was necessary in order to be covered by the Act; this will be revisited. Yamaguchi's application was approved in 1994. Yamaguchi transcript, 1621, 1660-63, 1686-93, 1710-11. In the immediate post-war years, the War Damage Corporation had awarded various sums to

all other possessions inside the home, as well as the installments they had paid toward the FSA loan. They were, however, permitted to gather items from outside the house.

Yamaguchi recalled feeling thankful when she realized that three generations of kimonos were still outside in a box, yet to be unpacked from the move.

Other evacuees took refuge in designated locations such as schools and churches. Despite the creation of these evacuation centers, however, not every center met a family's need. Some, for example, lacked necessary overnight accommodations and kitchen facilities. The Ishibashis needed both; the mother required a kitchen to care for her sick infant, and the whole family needed somewhere to sleep. While General Orders No. 6 had freed up space in Hawai`i's schools after December 8th, many were converted into medical centers or used by the military for living quarters. Punahou School, for example, was occupied by the Army Corps of Engineers for the duration of the war.

Additional shelters for evacuees were built in the valleys of Palolo, Kalihi and Mānoa; however, they were "held in readiness for evacuees in connection with [another] attack."<sup>211</sup> Neither Kalihi Valley Camp nor Palolo Valley Camp ever accommodated Islanders displaced after the initial attack on December 7th. A memorandum written in February 1942 confirmed that both Palolo and Kalihi Camps remained unoccupied. Other memorandums from 1942 alluded to the large population of displaced Islanders, and discussed the possibility of using some rooms at Kalihi and Palolo for immobilized

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Islanders whose properties or incomes were adversely affected by the war; however, aliens were not reimbursed at this time; Allen, 368.

<sup>211</sup> HWRD, uncat. Box 15 (Evacuation Shelters-Kalihi Camp) 18 December 1942 Memorandum from Frank E. Midkiff (Dir., Evacuation Division) to Lieut. General Delos C. Emmons (Military Governor of Hawaii).

enemy aliens or those living in "seriously crowded conditions... which are below the standards of the Board of Health."<sup>212</sup>

Frank E. Midkiff, Director of the Evacuation Division (Office of Civilian Defense), recorded the following observation in December 1942:

Due to Army orders setting aside restricted areas, and excluding many families from these areas, and also due to the fact that very large numbers of war workers have moved into the City of Honolulu in order to work on essential Army construction work, there has become a very acute housing shortage...<sup>213</sup>

Evidently, authorities were aware of the housing shortage, but were slow to react. Midkiff was among those who insisted that Kalihi and Palolo become "available for the use of families which have been evicted from the restricted areas..." The larger task, however, was convincing the Office of the Military Governor. While it was initially conceived that Kalihi and Palolo would accommodate 300 and 550 persons respectively, the Army halted construction within the first year of the war in favor of using "materials and labor for more pressing projects."<sup>214</sup>

Eventually, various groups did use the completed rooms at the camps. In March 1942, some rooms at Kalihi Camp were converted into first aid stations, and over the next year, various factions of the military used Kalihi Camp for short-term stays.<sup>215</sup> The 104th Field Artillery Battalion expressed thanks to Frank E. Midkiff: "It was a real treat to the

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<sup>212</sup> Ibid; HWRD, uncat. Box 15 (Evacuation Shelters-Kalihi Camp) Memorandum "Evacuee Shelter Priorities" 28 February 1942.

<sup>213</sup> HWRD, uncat. Box 15 (Evacuation Shelters-Kalihi Camp) 18 December 1942 Memorandum from Frank E. Midkiff (Dir., Evacuation Division) to Lieut. General Delos C. Emmons (Military Governor of Hawaii).

<sup>214</sup> Ibid.

<sup>215</sup> HWRD, uncat. Box 15, (Evacuation Shelters-Kalihi Camp) Memo from Paul B. Sanborne (Manager of Kalihi Camp, Principal of Kalakaua Junior High) to Dr. Platt, 23 March 1942.

men to have showers, running water and other excellent facilities."<sup>216</sup> Kalihi Camp was later home to ninety members of the 1st Battalion of the 64th Coast Artillery Corps, who stayed until more appropriate accommodations became available.<sup>217</sup> Non-military organizations such as the Boy and Girl Scouts of Oahu also borrowed rooms at Kalihi. The Girl Scouts stayed for an entire month during the summer of 1943, on the condition that they were responsible for "all expenses... such as water, electric light, etc."<sup>218</sup> Indeed, a diverse array of groups stayed at Kalihi Camp over the course of the war—the notable exception was, of course, civilian evacuees for whom they were initially built.

Furthermore, although a majority of service-connected dependents had evacuated to the mainland by fall 1942, this did not free up living space for internally displaced civilians.<sup>219</sup> Due to the fact that many military dependents resided within or close to danger zones, their emptied houses were not made available civilians. If the emptied homes were made available, military personnel and defense workers took precedent. For Islanders of Japanese ancestry like the Ishibashis, who were evacuated from a danger zone on the basis of race, relocating them into another danger zone was highly unlikely.

Most locals remained in Hawai`i after the Japanese attacks. At home on O`ahu, most Islanders felt that the onset of war was not a reason to flee, but was instead a time to contribute. There was, in fact, a vocal criticism of those who "ran out on their responsibilities" by evacuating because of the war. General Orders No. 38 (20 December

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<sup>216</sup> HWRD uncat. Box 15, (Evacuation Shelters-Kalihi Camp) Correspondence, Redmond F. Kernan Jr., to Frank E. Midkiff (Dir. Evacuation Division, OCD), 19 February 1943.

<sup>217</sup> HWRD uncat. Box 15, (Evacuation Shelters-Kalihi Camp) Correspondence, Frank E. Midkiff (Dir. Evacuation Division, OCD) to Mr. E. E. Black (Territorial Dir., OCD) 5 November 1942.

<sup>218</sup> HWRD uncat. Box 15, (Evacuation Shelters-Kalihi Camp) Memo from Girl Scouts of Oahu, Inc. to Frank E. Midkiff, Chairman of the Evacuation Division, 10 April 1943; Memo from Piercy H. Nottage (Assit. Dir., Evacuation Div.) to Mr. Forbes (Boy Scouts of America) 1 December 1942.

<sup>219</sup> HWRD uncat. Box 15, (Summary of Work & Plans for Evacuation in Hawaii, 1943 by Frank P. Midkiff) Memo, "Evacuation of Civilians to the Mainland," 1 October 1942.

1941) also prevented upwards of 90,000 workers in "hospitals, utilities, stevedoring firms, dairies, and laundries, as well as the Army and Navy and their contractors and sources of supply" from leaving their jobs. Regardless of the labor control order, many valued their new jobs created by the defense boom and felt they were too profitable to give up.

Revisions in March 1942 supplemented GO 38 by mandating uniformity in wages and schedules, and warning that "quitting without a release subjected the worker to prosecution in provost court for absenteeism." Further, employees dismissed "with prejudice" were thereafter ineligible for positions posted by employers covered by the order. Absenteeism or an unauthorized change of job could mean a fine of \$200 or two months in jail. Many were incarcerated due to their lack of ability to afford a \$200 fine. These stringent labor controls remained in place until late 1944, and were eventually the subject of harsh criticism by local citizens and labor unions.<sup>220</sup>

Despite the long, repetitive workweeks enforced by the OMG, war brought new opportunities for many Islanders. By fall 1942, "the labor famine had grown acute."<sup>221</sup> Considering that one-quarter of Hawai`i's people still lived on (and many more worked on) plantations in the early 1940s, the war allowed many to move off of plantations and pursue different occupations. Agnes Eun Soon Rhu Chun, an Islander of Korean ancestry and an American citizen, was among these. In the prewar years, Chun worked at the cannery trimming and canning pineapple. In 1942 she applied for her first civil service job and was hired as a messenger, earning ninety dollars a month. Many Islanders working in wartime Honolulu earned as much per week as they had previously earned in

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<sup>220</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 42; Allen, 310-12.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 305.

an entire month. By 1942, over 1,400 women held traditionally male-held jobs in civil service. Agnes Chun kept her job in the post-war years, and eventually retired with thirty-eight years of government service. Throughout her career she assumed various supervisory positions, including comptroller in the Pacific Third Fleet.<sup>222</sup>

Conversely, the war years were a time of overwhelming loss for some. Newspaper reports on December 8th announced that all unidentified boats approaching O`ahu would be fired upon. It was, however, impossible to communicate this to fishermen who had been at sea for days and were altogether unaware of the Japanese attack. Some unlucky fishermen who returned to O`ahu after December 7th were killed or badly injured; the most fortunate fishermen lost only their boats. General Orders No. 45 also imposed restrictions on sampan fishing; for example, only one boat was permitted at a time between Kewalo Basin and Koko Head "in an area not to extend beyond three quarters of a mile off the shore line..." In addition, the crew of three men were thereafter required be American citizens, and were only permitted to be sea between the hours of 7am and 2pm. This affected Issei disproportionately, for they were overrepresented in Hawai`i's fishing fleet and were not American citizens.<sup>223</sup> While GO 45 essentially barred fishermen from their normal routes, some parts of the order were eventually rescinded "for the purpose of augmenting the emergency food supply of Hawaii."<sup>224</sup>

Indeed, restrictions imposed on enemy aliens (those tied to a nation at war with the United States vis-à-vis citizenship) were stringent, particularly for those of Japanese decent. Much to the dismay of ethnic Koreans in Hawai`i, they were initially included in

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<sup>222</sup> Agnes Eun Soon Rho Chun transcript, *Talking Hawai`i's Story*, 20-34; Brown, 44-45, 101; Allen, 305-6, 324.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*, 40-41.

<sup>224</sup> HWRD, General Orders No. 45 (27 December 1941) & No. 47 (1 January 1941).

the enemy alien category because Japan had annexed Korea in 1910.<sup>225</sup> General Orders No. 5 issued on 8 December 1941 targeted "all alien Japanese of the age of fourteen years and upwards," and listed specific articles thereafter illegal for alien Japanese to possess; among them, firearms, weapons or "component parts thereof," ammunition, bombs, and short-wave radio receiving sets. Other articles such as cameras, and "papers, documents or books in which there may be invisible writing; photograph, sketch, picture, drawing or map or graphical representation of any military or naval installation or equipment..." also made the list. Persons covered by the order were told to dispose of prohibited articles by 5pm that day or face severe punishment. While the order promised that compliant aliens would be "undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations and be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons..." the OMG diverged from this as it saw fit.<sup>226</sup>

While some Islanders lost their home or job, neither case represented the worst scenario. A number of Hawai`i residents (both citizens and non-citizens) suspected of sympathizing with an enemy nation were interned at various locations throughout the archipelago, most of which ended up at Sand Island or Honouliuli camps on O`ahu. Approximately 1,875 were also deported to mainland camps. Insofar as roughly 1,400-1,450 Island residents deported to the mainland were of Japanese ancestry, this group was overrepresented. In addition to the sizeable proportion of Hawai`i Japanese taken into custody, about 100 Germans, and "a handful of others of European decent" were also

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<sup>225</sup> Allen, 141. While the designation "enemy alien" technically applies to non-citizens, some policies and orders used this term for all ethnic Japanese regardless of whether or not they were American citizens (and regardless of whether or not they had revoked Japanese citizenship or had ever held dual citizenship to begin with). Ethnic Koreans were removed from this category by 1943 after much protest.

<sup>226</sup> HWRD, General Orders No. 5 (8 December 1941).

interned.<sup>227</sup> The latter included those of Italian, Bulgarian, and Croatian decent. Several hundred others were questioned but not taken into custody.<sup>228</sup>

After President Roosevelt declared the U.S. Pacific Coast a strategic "military area" in February 1942 via Executive Order 9066, roughly 110,000 mainland residents of Japanese decent were relocated to interment camps away from the coast. Although Executive Order 9066 was extended to Hawai`i, and despite that Roosevelt hoped all ethnic Japanese residents would be removed from O`ahu, home and job loss affected far more Islanders than did internments.<sup>229</sup> There are several reasons for this. While residents of Japanese ancestry were numerically similar in Hawai`i and on the U.S. Pacific Coast (both between 110,000-160,000), the percentages were drastically different. Hawai`i Japanese constituted about 37% of the population, whereas in California they composed only 1% of the population. Authorities in Hawai`i realized that finding available space to contain nearly forty percent of the population was altogether infeasible, as was transporting the same number across the Pacific Ocean to mainland facilities. Moreover, the OMG was well aware that the economy was already starving for labor, and would likely cease to function without such a large population of laborers.

Following his Executive Order 9066, Roosevelt wrote to Navy Secretary Frank Knox advocating for mass internment in Hawai`i; however, by this time, the military had already spent two months establishing a favorable government in Hawai`i without Washington's authorization. The relative autonomy of the OMG (although Roosevelt was

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<sup>227</sup> Hasegawa transcript in *Talking Hawai`i's Story*, 88. Allen., 134, 138, 141.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, 138-9. Interestingly, after mid-1942 when Hawai`i was no longer considered a combat zone, Hawai`i Nisei were turned away from mainland camps—despite that mainland Nisei were not afforded the same treatment. Families had the option of joining internees on the mainland; some wives could not support themselves or their families while the husband was interned.

<sup>229</sup> The President was not concerned with legal or constitutional issues, for he had Executive Order 9066 and martial law to back his decisions.

not fully aware of it) permitted authorities in Hawai`i to diverge from mainland policies considerably; indeed, when compared to the mainland, the number of Hawai`i Japanese interned was miniscule. Although Hawai`i's military government was much more favorable than Roosevelt's government vis-à-vis the number of residents interned, it is important to remember that the OMG used its powers violate civil liberties in different ways.<sup>230</sup>

In addition to economic and logistical explanations, the fact that many authority figures in Hawai`i were far better connected with Japanese communities than were their counterparts on the mainland also influenced internment policies considerably. Robert L. Shivers, who was J. Edgar Hoover's (FBI Director) appointee to the Honolulu office, exemplified this. Shivers was sent to Hawai`i in August 1939, but within two years he was well connected with many educated Nisei, and had become so fond of his live-in Japanese American student that he and his wife adopted the girl and introduced her as their daughter.<sup>231</sup> Shivers' familiarity with Hawai`i Japanese led him to oppose mass internment. Similarly, John A. Burns, head of the Police Espionage Unit during the war years, remembered his personal reaction upon finding a friend's name on the potential arrestees list: Burns would turn to Shivers and say, "I think he's a damned fine American through and through." Burns recalled that Shivers would "generally be in agreement with me."<sup>232</sup>

For those without connections to authorities such as Burns or Shivers, internment was the worst consequence. Hawai`i Japanese internees were both Nisei and Issei, and

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<sup>230</sup> Coffman, 75-76.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., 43-44, 60.

<sup>232</sup> Quoted in Ibid., 61, 67. John A. Burns (also called "Jack") was later Governor of Hawai`i from 1962-1974. Burns was also active in the interracial service club Lions International.

most were selected on the basis of "probable nationalistic sympathies." The majority held prominent positions within Japanese communities or organizations; for example, language school officials, Buddhist and Shinto priests, consular agents, and commercial fishermen."<sup>233</sup> An additional one-third of those detained were Nisei, nearly all of whom had lived some number of years in Japan for schooling. With many Issei detained, leadership in Japanese committees quickly passed to the younger generation, which upset business and social relations considerably: "The Confucian order, in which authority flowed downward through the generations, was stood on its head." This was especially true of rural plantation communities; the absence of a language teacher or priest was acutely felt. By contrast, some Island Japanese in Honolulu who were busy working and volunteering around the clock were unaware of the various arrests for months.<sup>234</sup>

Whether or not the question period led to detainment or release depended heavily on the sympathies of the investigator. In Honolulu, Burns and Shivers removed from the list of suspects many Hawai`i Japanese whom they knew personally. On the island of Lāna`i, which was owned entirely by the Hawaiian Pineapple Company in 1941, the plantation manager Dexter "Blue" Fraser determined the fate of ethnic Japanese. Robert Kiyoshi Hasegawa remembered receiving a call from the Red Cross regarding the interment of his father, James Shunzo Hasegawa; the Red Cross suggested his son return to Lāna`i (from Honolulu) to assist the family immediately. The interment records indicate that when asked by authorities, Fraser made "much ado" about the father's involvement in Japanese societies and role as a mediator in the community, and that he

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<sup>233</sup> Allen, 134. Coffman reminds us that consular agents were more accurately Islanders who volunteered at the Japanese consul, *The Island Edge of America*, 61.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 63, 73. Allen, 141, 352; Nonetheless, not a single Islander of Japanese ancestry was ever convicted of sabotage or espionage, and only 248 persons from Hawai`i chose wartime reparation to Japan.

had sent his children to Japanese language school. When asked if James Shunzo Hasegawa should be interned, Fraser replied, "absolutely."<sup>235</sup>

Internment often created considerable hardship for the entire family, leaving bills unpaid and children uncared for—especially in the case that both parents were detained. Many families were less fortunate than the Hasegawa's; some were not informed of the fate of a family member for weeks.<sup>236</sup> After returning to Lāna`i to support his family, Robert Hasegawa found work on the plantation; however, Blue Fraser dismissed him shortly thereafter on the grounds that he was not trustworthy: "If Uncle Sam can't trust your dad, we cannot trust you either." Fraser advised Hasegawa to pack up his family and leave the island. Hasegawa recalled that some friends expressed their concern, but he could "sense a change... they wanted to keep arm's length."<sup>237</sup>

Many family members of internees were shunned by their community and sometimes by their friends who feared that associating with the relatives of an internee could lead them to the same fate. In order to find a place to take his family, Hasegawa had to rely on the Red Cross rather than network with friends. When they resettled on Maui, news of his father's internment traveled fast. His mother came to resent most of the local merchants; this included the butcher who would not sell her a certain cut of meat but would subsequently sell it to someone else. Likewise, she was often bypassed in line by those who knew her husband was interned.<sup>238</sup>

Notably, some Hawai`i Nisei had been drafted into Hawai`i's National Guard in late 1940, and two units were activated on December 7th. While the majority of initial

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<sup>235</sup> Hasegawa transcript in *Talking Hawai`i's Story*, 96-7. He contrasted Fraser with one plantation manager on Kaua`i who "took affirmative action to prevent the internment of several... of his employees."

<sup>236</sup> Allen, 137.

<sup>237</sup> Hasegawa transcript in *Talking Hawai`i's Story*, 98-9.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

inductees were of Hawaiian, part Hawaiian, Chinese and Portuguese ancestry (because Japanese were initially discouraged), by 1941, about half of the two National Guard Units were composed of ethnic Japanese.<sup>239</sup> Other Nisei had earned commissions through the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) at the University of Hawai`i; on December 7th they too were activated as the Hawaii Territorial Guard. They guarded strategic facilities and shorelines for the first few weeks of war, but were dismissed from duty in mid-January, likely influenced by the rising tide of discrimination on the mainland. However, in February 1942—in fact just days after Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066—General Emmons (the military governor) authorized the discharged Nisei to form a labor battalion. They became the Varsity Victory Volunteers (VVV).<sup>240</sup> The creation of the VVV in the early months of war is indicative of the different paths pursued by authorities on the mainland and in Hawai`i vis-à-vis ethnic Japanese.

By the spring of 1942, intelligence officials in Hawai`i discussed the idea of Nisei fighting units. At this time, General Emmons recommended that the War Department organize Nisei into a battalion, but was met initially with rejection. A month later, the decision was reversed and 1,200 Hawai`i Nisei were sent to the mainland for training; they became the 100th Battalion. While the Hawai`i Nisei were in training camp, Washington directed Emmons to relocate an additional 15,000 Hawai`i Japanese. Instead, Emmons sent only those who wished to go to the mainland by choice, for example, to reunite with an interned family member.<sup>241</sup> Again, Emmons' response indicates that authorities on the mainland and in Hawai`i took different approaches to ethnic Japanese.

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<sup>239</sup> Eventually, nearly the entire Territorial Guard was of Japanese ancestry.

<sup>240</sup> Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 265; Coffman, *The Island Edge of America*, 77-78.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 78-85.

By late 1942, Hawai`i's approach began to influence mainland authorities, and the latter discussed releasing some interned Nisei in order to allow them to fight. Some in Washington began to point fingers at men like General John DeWitt—without whom the mass relocation may not have happened—and argued that the policy of internment was the direct result of a lack of familiarity with Japanese communities. Such accusations were prompted by the realization several hundred Hawai`i Nisei had lent invaluable assistance to intelligence agencies in Hawai`i, whereas those who may have assisted on the mainland were all interned. That Hawai`i's policy of inclusion had influenced mainland authorities was undeniable, for at a War Department meeting in early 1943, Roosevelt approved fighting units of Americans of Japanese Ancestry (AJA). Insofar as Japan was in the midst of waging war under the banner "Asia for Asians," the propaganda value of appearing to be a racially mixed yet harmonious society had also markedly increased by this time.<sup>242</sup>

By the end of January 1943, mainland Nisei (who were then still in camps) were given the opportunity to volunteer for the services. By March, only a few hundred had done so, which fell considerably short of the projected three thousand. By contrast, over nine thousand Hawai`i Japanese had signed up by March. Seeking a balance between mainland and Hawai`i Japanese, authorities initially turned away over seven thousand Hawai`i Nisei. Those who were accepted joined the 100th Battalion and 442nd Regimental Combat Team, and fought in Italy, France, and Germany. Perhaps most famous was their rescue of the "Lost Battalion" of Texas Guardsmen at Biffontaine. The

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 82-92. Americans of Japanese descent were commonly called AJA at this time.

paradox, of course, was that many Nisei risked and gave their lives for the same country that had, in many cases, interned them or a family member.<sup>243</sup>

The wartime experiences of Islanders, and in particular of Hawai`i Japanese, were of course varied—cut across region and generation, among other factors. For many Hawai`i Japanese the war years were a time of loss, whether job, home, or family member. For others, it was a time to prove their Americanness by obeying military orders, volunteering, or perhaps going to war thousands of miles from home. While some who survived battle, internment, or wartime discrimination were able to speak about their experiences, like James Shunzo Hasegawa who dedicated his post-war years to the Department of Education by teaching classes on citizenship—for most, the war years were too painful to discuss. Ruth Yamaguchi's father was among these. After expressing a desire to be included in the redress settlement under the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, he grew increasingly unwilling and unable discuss his experiences.

As Ruth Yamaguchi so eloquently reflected, "...it seemed as though we were part of American history that happened, and yet unknown or forgotten."<sup>244</sup> Yamaguchi was correct insofar as most histories of the war years do very little to validate the experiences of Islanders, especially those interned, evicted, or discriminated against in some other way. Indeed, the dominant "Remember Pearl Harbor" narrative, in which Hawai`i's history begins and ends on December 7th, offers only a limited space for World War Two Hawai`i. Hawai`i was America when it was necessarily so for strategic purposes or for a

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<sup>243</sup> Ibid., 98-99; Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 263-273. Due to the low volunteer turnout among mainland Nisei, authorities decided a draft would be more successful; Nisei were then reclassified from enemy alien to draft-eligible. Note that Islanders of varying ancestries served in all branches of the services and in every theater of action. More than 40,000 Island men joined the services and 806 lost their lives. Of the women's branches of the services, only the Women's Army Corps (WAC) sought Island enlistments.

<sup>244</sup> Yamaguchi transcript, *An Era of Change*, Vol. V, 1719.

declaration of war—however, Islanders were simultaneously excluded from the rights enjoyed by white mainlanders, and from the Four Freedoms for which the Allied forces waged war. Instead, civilian Hawai`i was ruled by a military government, and Island life was controlled in ways unknown and unthinkable on the U.S. mainland.

## Chapter Four: Morale, Propaganda, and Americanization

To supplement the prohibitive General Orders, Islanders were also inundated with various morale and propaganda campaigns intended to foster complicity and enthusiasm for the American offensive in the Pacific, and more generally, for life under military rule. Indeed, immediately after December 7th, efforts to "win the Japanese to American ideals" were more important than ever before.<sup>245</sup> By December 18th the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD) created a morale section, and within a month it was absorbed by the Office of the Military Governor.<sup>246</sup> Moreover, leadership of the morale section was shared by three co-chairpersons, one of Japanese, one of Chinese, and one of Caucasian decent. Throughout 1942, subcommittees sprung up across the Islands.

While authorities understood the need to foster morale in time of war, civilians groups and communities had begun similar efforts more than a decade prior. The Emergency Service Committee (ESC), which was chaired by Harvard Law School graduate Masaji Marumoto, was one example of this.<sup>247</sup> Roots of the ESC are traceable to the Hawaiian Japanese Civic Association in 1927, which helped dual citizens expatriate, sponsored discussions, and established a scholarship fund at the University of Hawai'i.<sup>248</sup> By 1944, a Territorial Emergency Service Committee was formed in order to unite the ESCs across the Islands.<sup>249</sup> Marumoto was also a member of the wartime Police Contact

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<sup>245</sup> Allen, 134.

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, 143-4.

<sup>247</sup> Masaji Marumoto grew up on the Kona coast where his father acquired a store after moving off the plantation. The store financed Marumoto's education. This was a common way for ethnic minorities to transition from plantation life; however, Marumoto's achievements were unparalleled by other Hawai'i Nisei in the 1930s. He was the only student of Asian ancestry at Harvard Law.

<sup>248</sup> Expatriating required filling out many forms and was costly. Eventually, the ESC asked U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull to negotiate with Japan in order to simplify the process. Coffman, 68.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-72; Allen, 144-5. The Police Contact Group took its name in January 1942; however, Shivers' work began long before his plans had an official name.

Group; organized by Robert Shivers (Special Agent in charge of the Honolulu FBI office), the Contact Group was an extensive network of Hawai`i Japanese with representatives in every community on O`ahu. This organization kept Island Japanese informed of matters that most concerned them, and also encouraged displays of loyalty to the United States. Notably, after the outbreak of war, Shivers was surprised to find that relationships between Islanders of Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and Filipino decent were largely unaffected by Japan's militarism in Asia.

In addition to the morale section, the military governor also maintained a public relations section composed of four civilians, who were responsible for churning out press releases "designed to place the military government in a favorable light and to suppress news reflecting dissatisfaction with the regime." In November 1941, Lorrin P. Thurston, missionary descendant and son of Lorrin A. Thurston (author of the Bayonet Constitution and leading member of the group that that overthrew Lili`uokalani) was appointed PR advisor to the Military Governor. Lorrin P. Thurston descended from one of Hawai`i's most skilled propagandists, and was already editor of the widely disseminated *Honolulu Advertiser*. Throughout the war years, newspaper articles and advertisements were often entirely war related.<sup>250</sup> As Hawai`i's Attorney General J. Garner Anthony lamented, "It was unfortunate that this newspaper thus foreclosed itself from being of any public service in criticizing the existing regime."<sup>251</sup>

As the war dragged on, the military government inaugurated various propaganda campaigns to supplement morale efforts. As DeSoto Brown put it, "That good old

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<sup>250</sup> Brown, 108.

<sup>251</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 38. Lorrin P. Thurston became publisher in 1931 when his father died; his family had published the paper since 1888.

American advertising know-how went to war just like everything else."<sup>252</sup> Indeed, as the fear brought by on by the initial attack in December was gradually replaced by "war weariness," the combined effects of fatigue from long hours of labor and limited leisure were increasingly evident.<sup>253</sup> This was especially true after June 1942 when the American forces defeated the Japanese at Midway, which markedly decreased the likelihood of another attack on Hawai`i. Despite that the military government had previously declared that martial law would only remain until the "until the danger of invasion is removed," regulations such as the blackout and curfew endured for years after Midway.

The OMG consistently made clear that it did not plan to relinquish its power. A newspaper article from June 22, 1943 exemplified this. The author recognized that there was "little doubt that the civilian population in general is prone to yield to complacency when the home front is quiet," but urged that "far-sighted persons deprecate this attitude and plan for every possible contingency." The article also reprinted a declaration from the Territorial Office of Civilian Defense, which stated that "there would be no abatement of protective measures as long as the war continues."<sup>254</sup> Accordingly, morale and propaganda campaigns intended to keep Islanders involved in and contributing to the American war effort were numerous, and were most often supplementary to a General Order already mandating a certain behavior. In many ways, these efforts contributed to the cultural and ideological Americanization of Islanders.

Censorship was addressed via defense order within the first week of war. On December 13th, the *Star Bulletin* informed the public that the "delay in completing

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<sup>252</sup> Brown, 108.

<sup>253</sup> Allen, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 64.

<sup>254</sup> HWRD, H.W. George, "Vigilance Not Relaxed, Cooperation Needed," *The Zone III News* 22 June 1943, p 3.

transpacific radio telephone calls, and possible interruptions in conversations, will be minimized if patrons take steps... to familiarize themselves with the United States and foreign radio telephone censorship..." Within the lengthy set of rules laid out by the defense order was section a entitled "Forbidden Subjects," which prohibited the discussion of "any experiments or preparation of war material" and "the arrival, departure, movement, location, employment... of any war vessel..." to name but a few. A number of prohibited subjects such as "the location of any internment camp, or the detention of any individual therein" made it very difficult to communicate the fate of an interned family member. Moreover, censors monitored all inter-island and trans-pacific communication including airwaves, post mail, and telephone conversations, among other things. Newspapers, radio broadcasts, and the printing of photographs were also regulated. In sum, no message or public broadcast was permitted to contain anything of military value. Even post-cards of well-known landmarks were removed from stores.<sup>255</sup>

A "Speak English" campaign worked in tandem with censorship efforts. Located directly above the "Forbidden Subjects" section of the December 13th *Star Bulletin* article was a "Language" section, which mandated that "only the English language will be spoken" for trans-pacific telephone calls. This created a flood of enrollment in English classes; some Islanders learned how to write their name in English as well as English conversational skills for the first time. Throughout the war years, the number of Islanders of Japanese and Filipino descent enrolled in the "Speak English" classes offered at over

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<sup>255</sup> Other restricted subjects included weather conditions and blackouts. HWRD, this Official Defense Order appeared in the *Star Bulletin* newspaper directly above General Orders No. 23, which was released on 13 December 1941.

100 centers on O`ahu, Maui, Hawai`i, and Kaua`i at times surpassed the number of undergraduates enrolled in university courses.<sup>256</sup>

In addition to defense orders, propaganda campaigns went beyond the push for English and urged Islanders to "Speak American." Islanders were inundated with leaflets, stickers, and posters suggesting that they adopt the so-called American language. Despite that use of the American language was presented as one way for Islanders to express their patriotism and Americanness, authorities were equally (if not more) concerned with the practical aspect of being able to understand what Hawai`i residents discussed amongst themselves and with monitoring the information leaving the Islands.<sup>257</sup> Insofar as Pidgin (Hawai`i Creole English) was, for the most part, understandable to those who did not speak it (as compared to Japanese or Korean), the Speak American campaign was aimed at Issei and other immigrants whose primary language was not English, or who did not speak English at all.<sup>258</sup> One poster depicted Hitler, Tōjō, and Mussolini exclaiming

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<sup>256</sup> Note that English was not required for all post-mail; staff at the censorship office could read over 50 languages. Allen, 145-7, 362.

<sup>257</sup> A note on Benedict Anderson's notion of the "nationally imagined community" (as facilitated by a unified language) is due here: his thesis is applicable insofar as some Islanders likely felt more American after being told to speak the so-called American language. Indeed, most who were unfamiliar with the English language hurried to learn it, even if only for practical reasons brought on by General Orders. Despite that authorities were deeply motivated by their perceived need to understand all civilian discussion in Hawai`i (as well as messages leaving the Islands), they too aspired to make Islanders feel more connected to the mainland and policies initiated by Washington vis-à-vis a common language (among other means). For the duration of the war (that is, before Hawaiian Renaissance and other ethnicity based assertions of self-identity that took place in the post-war years) the push for English as a tool of Americanization, for the most part, achieved its intended purposes. Note that English is widespread in contemporary Hawai`i; however, Pidgin (Hawai`i Creole English), Hawaiian, and other non-native and non-English languages also thrive. See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (Verso, 1991). On Pidgin see Kent Sakoda and Jeff Siegel, *Pidgin Grammar: An Introduction to the Creole Language of Hawai`i*, (Bess Press, 2003).

<sup>258</sup> Despite the well-entrenched restricted access to Standard English, defense orders mandated that non-English speakers (mostly non-white immigrants) become capable in the language that they and their children were for decades excluded from. Pidgin had long been the language of the local, and was for decades sufficient for plantation life. The public education system had reinforced the societal divide between those on plantations and the haole elite vis-à-vis English Standard Schools (the latter were introduced in the 1920s to induce haole children to attend public schools rather than private) through stringent entrance requirements, which ensured that only haole children could attend. Not surprisingly, the

variations of "we must destroy democracy" in German, Japanese, and Italian respectively.

The poster intended to dissuade Islanders from speaking enemy languages, and asserted that "The Four Freedoms Are Not In His Vocabulary... SPEAK AMERICAN."<sup>259</sup>

Another explained, "Pidgin is better than nothing... but nobody wants to hear foreign tongues—especially the enemy's... USE AND ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO SPEAK AMERICAN."<sup>260</sup>

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exclusive English Standard Schools prepared haole children for professional occupations in state or city government offices; by contrast, regular public schools prepared non-whites for service or entertainment jobs at best. However, by the 1930s a number of ethnic Japanese, Chinese, and part Hawaiians passed the entrance exams, and numbers of non-whites in Standard Schools continued to increase throughout the war years due to the exodus of haole children to the mainland. Moreover, while Hawaiian language was also discouraged at this time, this was not out of line with previous policies. A law enacted in 1896 (which remained for decades) forbade use the Hawaiian language anywhere on school grounds, for example. Various laws between the overthrow and the war years had amounted to a gradual decline of the Hawaiian language, and efforts to revive the Hawaiian language did not gain speed until the post-war years (the creation of Hawaiian language pre-schools in 1984 was one example of this). The relatively few Hawaiian language speakers at this time made it a far lesser threat than the language of an enemy nation. Some Hawaiians also attended Kamehameha Schools (exclusive to Hawaiians), which according to Benham and Heck did little more than teach manners and how to be productive Americans. In Behnam's senior year at Kamehameha School (1974) she was one of only two students in the entire school enrolled in the Advanced Hawaiian Language class. For a fuller discussion see Maenette K.P. Ah Nee-Behnam and Ronald H. Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i: The Silencing of Native Voices*, 133-5.

<sup>259</sup> HWRD Scrapbooks. (Blackout, Rumors and Propaganda, Camouflage 1942 February- 1945 July 23, Folder 1).

<sup>260</sup> Brown, 46; HWRD, Box 52 Uncatalogued, (Speak American Campaign, Handbills and Leaflets, undated). Most propaganda posters in Hawai'i were issued locally. The ESC played a large role in this campaign by offering language classes to Issei.



[Figure 8: "Speak American" Stickers]<sup>261</sup>

A similar campaign urged Islanders to "Serve in Silence." This campaign was designed to combat the rampant rumors after December 7th; indeed, talk of a Japanese return and rumors of homegrown conspiracy were in heavy circulation in the in the post-attack days. While this campaign was comparable to those on the mainland such as "loose lips sink ships"—insofar as both intended to avert careless talk—propaganda posters in Hawai`i were clearly tailored to Islanders. Numerous posters in Hawai`i specifically targeted locals by using well-known Pidgin or Hawaiian words such as *kōkua*.<sup>262</sup> Others alluded to conditions of martial law unknown to mainlanders, for example, "YOU HAVE BLACKED OUT YOUR ROOMS, NOW BLACK OUT YOUR RUMORS."<sup>263</sup>

As the military government prepared for a quiet July 4th (1943), "Serve in Silence" messages were disseminated via newspaper, radio, window displays, and even

<sup>261</sup> HWRD, uncatalogued Box 52 (Speak American Campaign).

<sup>262</sup> *Kōkua* is Hawaiian for helping, taking part, or pitching in; most Hawai`i residents were (and are) familiar with the word and concept.

<sup>263</sup> HWRD (Serve in Silence Campaign), postcard.

movie slides. One leaflet asked Islanders to "Save Your Noise for Victory. Celebrate this 4th in SILENCE. SERVE IN SILENCE." Another poster depicted the axis leaders along with the warning, "ENEMY EARS are listening."<sup>264</sup> Furthermore, in mid-1943, the Hawai`i branch of the victory display committee attempted to add vigor to the campaign by re-branding it as the "War on Rumors." Similar to "Serve in Silence," this campaign emphasized that spreading rumors was un-American and that said behavior delayed American victory.



[Figure 9: "Serve in Silence" Postcard]<sup>265</sup>

Giving blood was also characterized as a patriotic act. One colorful spread in the *Honolulu Advertiser* bore the title, "Blood Can Be Your Gift To America!" Another

<sup>264</sup> HWRD, Scrapbooks (Blackout, Rumors and Propaganda, Camouflage. 1942 February- 1945 July 23, Folder 1) "War on Rumor Drive Reopened" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* 25 June 1934.

<sup>265</sup> HWRD (Serve in Silence Campaign), postcard alluding to the blackout in Hawai`i.

urged Islanders to "Act the American way by donating your blood." Authorities appropriated funds for a blood bank in February 1941; however after opening in July, funds were exhausted within four months.<sup>266</sup> There was a rush to secure blood upon the outbreak of war, indeed supplies had only lasted six hours—the demand for the "miracle of medicine and the most amazing life saver in the world" was ceaseless for the duration.<sup>267</sup> Efforts to secure blood were many, and even included launching accusations of under-sharing at specific racial or ethnic groups. An article in the *Honolulu Advertiser* from June 1943 quoted "a Chinese" who, according to the author, had claimed that "not one out of ten among his racials has enough blood to become a donor." The author then explained that while "the idea of drawing blood out of the human body is repugnant to the Oriental mind... Americans do not stay home from war because...the idea of taking human life is repugnant to the Occidental mind."<sup>268</sup>

Moreover, on December 28th, the *Honolulu Advertiser* reported that 36 defendants had offered blood to lift or reduce their sentences. The defendants, most of whom were convicted of misdemeanors such as gambling or being out at night without a permit, opted to give blood rather than serve jail time or pay an unaffordable fine. Those tried in Lt. Col. Neal D. Franklin's provost court, for example, were given warnings such as "Don't come back here again or you will get a lot more than what will be good for you."<sup>269</sup> In June 1942, however, the blood fine became a sentence rather than an option.

The blood order was standardized; one pint of blood was equivalent to 15 days in jail or a

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<sup>266</sup> Allen, 40, 69. It was closed after 200 flasks of plasma were accumulated.

<sup>267</sup> HWRD, Scrapbooks (General Folder- Blood Bank, Leukemia, etc., 1929-1953, Folder 1), Ella Chun, "Blood Can Be Your Gift to America," *Honolulu Advertiser* 18 December 1941; Ella Chun, "Blood Can Be Your Gift To America," *Honolulu Advertiser* 29 June 1941.

<sup>268</sup> HWRD, Scrapbooks (General Folder- Blood Bank, Leukemia, etc., 1929-1953, Folder 1), "Blood Donors," *Honolulu Advertiser* 22 June 1943.

<sup>269</sup> HWRD, Scrapbooks (General Folder- Blood Bank, Leukemia, etc., 1929-1953, Folder 1), "36 Defendants Offer Blood To Lift Sentences," *Honolulu Advertiser* 28 December 1941.

\$30 fine. A blood credit was also made available to those already incarcerated by June 1942.<sup>270</sup>

Opposition to the blood sentence quickly arose and many argued that it was inhumane and was grave abuse of power. The local Sunday drunks, for example, were often "rounded up by the military police, held in jail overnight, and brought before the provost court the following Monday morning," and thereafter sent to donate blood. Despite that blood was very much needed, the civilians who had built the blood bank argued that the blood sentence de-legitimated the its original premise. Donating blood was supposed to be an act of patriotism and a show of ones Americanness, but had become a punishment. It was abolished by September 1942.<sup>271</sup>

Provost courts also sentenced offenders to purchase war bonds in lieu of jail time or a fine. However, like the blood sentence, the drive to secure bonds had different beginnings. At the onset of war, bonds appealed to Islanders insofar as they were a secure place to invest extra funds that many had thanks to the defense boom. They also reduced inflation, and most importantly, helped the government fund the war. Advertisements to buy bonds capitalized on this message and intended to make the purchaser feel as though they were directly contributing to the Allied victory. One poster depicted an American soldier and the plane he had successfully shot down, and read, "YOU can't afford to miss EITHER... BUY BONDS EVERY PAYDAY."<sup>272</sup>

Small businesses also took it upon themselves to help: "more than half of the 3,000 retail establishments in Honolulu observed "Uncle Sam's Quarter Hour" from 11:45am to noon on July 1 when they sold nothing but bonds." One Honolulu jeweler

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<sup>270</sup> Allen, 173; Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 55.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 57; HWRD, Propaganda, Folder 54.

advertised, "Buy bonds first and fine jewelry afterward." Another jeweler promised a "Remember Pearl Harbor" pin to all who purchased bonds on 7 December 1942, and a florist similarly rewarded purchasers with complementary gardenias or orchids.<sup>273</sup> The Vegetable Peddlers' Association also sold bonds with vegetables.<sup>274</sup> While special occasions such as American Independence Day, Kamehameha Day, Lei Day, and the anniversary of the Japanese attack all contributed to heightened sales, purchases were certainly not limited to these days; ninety-five percent of civilian employees in the 14th Naval District also purchased bonds on the payroll deduction plan.<sup>275</sup>

The results were astounding: "The territory's record in war bond sales was classed by the United States Treasury as the best in the country."<sup>276</sup> In fact, Hawai`i was the only state or territory to surpass every monthly or drive quota for Series E bonds (or bonds intended for small investors). This can be attributed to several factors; most notably, wartime Hawai`i was thoroughly geared toward the goal of winning the war, and as permanent residents, Islanders had a vested interest in returning Hawai`i to pre-martial law conditions—other than through war work or military service, buying bonds was perhaps the most direct way to support the Allies. In addition, the erection of a military government, which had questioned the loyalty and Americanness of non-whites (most specifically Hawai`i Japanese) at several points before and during the war, also contributed to Hawai`i's record bond sales—propaganda capitalized on this by characterizing the purchase of war bonds as an act of loyalty to the United States. If

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<sup>273</sup> RASRL, Student Journals, Reporter No. 52, "Million Dollar Sale," 7 December 1942.

<sup>274</sup> The Vegetable Peddlers did this until gasoline regulations impeded their normal routes. In Allen's words, sixty percent of peddlers were "alien Japanese."

<sup>275</sup> Allen, 274-6.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 274.

Americanism was indeed judged according to the messages disseminated via propaganda, Hawai`i was safely among the most patriotic.

The increased expenditures of servicemen and defense workers in conjunction with the limited supply due to shipping conditions necessitated price controls and rationing for various goods, especially on O`ahu.<sup>277</sup> Gas was rationed, but unlike on the mainland, food and shoes were not. The basic monthly gas ration for O`ahu residents was ten gallons; however, doctors and defense workers were allotted a larger share.<sup>278</sup> Still, there were no shortage of campaigns designed further reduce dependence. One poster captioned, "You Can Hoard On This!" encouraged Islanders to drive less and walk more.<sup>279</sup>



[Figure 10: Gas Rationing Advertisement, *Honolulu Advertiser*]<sup>280</sup>

Furthermore, several items typically imported to the Islands were no longer available or were only intermittently available in wartime Hawai`i—like fans, for example, which were scarcely available but were highly sought after due to the stuffy

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 302-4. Price controls were not removed until June 1946.

<sup>278</sup> *Ibid.*, 342-3. This is the figure for O`ahu. Kaua`i, for example, averaged 3 gallons per month. By 1944, a modification of the A-B-C tier system in place on the mainland was extended to Hawai`i.

<sup>279</sup> HWRD, Scrapbooks (Gasoline, Tires, Headlights to March 1943, 1941 December 16-1943 March 10, Folder 1) *Honolulu Advertiser* 5 March 1942.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

blackout conditions. Due to limited shipping space among other factors, the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation (FSCC) was designated sole importer of various "food items considered sufficient for a balanced diet."<sup>281</sup> The FSCC periodically released bulletins listing the products it was responsible for, after which private importers (for example, grocers or storeowners) could file a request with the Director of Food Control (OMG) to import items not on the FSCC list.<sup>282</sup> Bulletins also listed items "which may not be imported at present." On December 14, 1942, for example, this included milk (fresh or sterilized), sugar (granulated or cubed), and "fresh vegetables in chill space."<sup>283</sup> The OMG also set maximum prices for food commodities; however, neither merchants nor customers welcomed price controls.<sup>284</sup>

While there were numerous efforts in the pre-war and war years to monitor food stocks and increase food supply—by March, 1942, for example, approximately one thousand acres of O`ahu's plantation lands were replaced with carrots, potatoes, and other vegetables—most large scale efforts failed due to the HSPAs lack of familiarity with crops other than sugar and pineapple, as well as Hawai`i's unsuitable land and climate for certain types of agriculture.<sup>285</sup> Eventually, a Victory Garden campaign was inaugurated to induce civilians to plant gardens at home.<sup>286</sup> Like so many others, this campaign was presented as a way for Islanders to up their contributions and to help win the war. In

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<sup>281</sup> Allen, 152. The FSCC was in charge after Congress approved a revolving fund of \$35,00,000 for said purposes. The FSCC later became Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC).

<sup>282</sup> Bulletin No. 37 (14 December 1942) for example, listed the FSCC as the sole importer of table butter, onions, tomato, cabbage, rice, wheat flower, and several other items. Effective 1 February 1942, private importers sent requests to the Director of Food Control (OMG); HWRD, Scrapbooks (Bulletins and Food Bulletins, 1942 January 9- 1945 October 20).

<sup>283</sup> HWRD, Scrapbooks (Bulletins and Food Bulletins, 1942 January 9- 1945 October 20) Director of Food Control, OMG Bulletin No. 37, 14 December 1942. The different lists depended many variables; for example, existing stocks, available shipping space, or ability to replace an imported item with a similar item more available on Island.

<sup>284</sup> Allen, 151-161; GO 75 permitted the OMG to set maximum prices for food commodities.

<sup>285</sup> Ibid., 158, 163.

<sup>286</sup> The first board was appointed to oversee these efforts in January 1942; Ibid., 159.

Honolulu, the victory garden committee appealed to civilians by offering short courses, sponsoring garden shows, and distributing seed to residents at little or no cost. The board of agriculture also distributed 2,800,000 vegetable seedlings, and 120,000 young papaya and banana trees—this was just one agency that contributed. Individual and community victory gardens quickly sprung up across the archipelago.<sup>287</sup>

Among the many efforts associated with victory gardens was the Save the Guava campaign, which instructed Islanders (of course, those not yet aware) how to "gather and preserve wild guavas." High in Vitamin C, homegrown guavas became an important replacement for increasingly scarce citrus fruits.<sup>288</sup> The Save the Guava campaign was one of many efforts conceived of by Hawai'i's home economists. Insofar as many imported items were no longer available or were in very short supply, with war came a heightened interest in nutrition. Home economists on O`ahu formed a group called the Home Defense Committee and gave presentations and lectures, and also disseminated information via newspaper and radio. They also helped various groups of Islanders alter their diets, for example, those in rural areas where certain items were often depleted, or immigrant families who had previously relied on specific imported goods.<sup>289</sup>

Propaganda associated with the Victory Garden campaign was far-reaching; children were given buttons, and advertisements were everywhere from newspapers to storefronts. One poster urged that, "FOOD IS NO LESS A WEAPON THAN TANKS GUNS & PLANES," and another reminded Islanders that, "People can live well on vegetables—Millions eat nothing else...Get ready now; the best growing season is just

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<sup>287</sup> The committee also organized community plots for those without available land; *Ibid.*

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 341.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*

around the corner and a food shortage may be around the same corner!"<sup>290</sup> The *Victory Handbook*, which was a comprehensive manual "dedicated to the homemakers of Hawaii," also connected household preparedness with the overall American war effort by urging, "Every home must be a defense unit." Sections on victory gardens and victory diets were quite obviously tailored to the conditions of wartime Hawai'i; authors recommended raw fruits such as pineapple, papaya, mango, and guava, and starchy vegetables like sweet potato and poi (pounded taro). The victory diet section also recommended eating liver or kidney in place of meat or fish once a week to reduce dependence on the latter.<sup>291</sup>



[Figure 11: Front Cover of the *Victory Handbook*]<sup>292</sup>

<sup>290</sup> Brown, 44-5, 97. The latter was part of a message originally delivered by President Roosevelt.

<sup>291</sup> Fish and poi were and are Hawaiian staples, and later immigrant groups also depended on fish for nourishment. Perhaps liver and kidney were easy to import, whereas fish supplies had likely decreased due to the swollen population (especially on O'ahu) in conjunction with the General Orders restricting certain fishermen. The book was compiled by the Women's Division of the OCD and could be purchased for twenty-five cents. HWRD, (Office of Civilian Defense- Air Raid Warden Materials, 1943), *Victory Handbook* ed. Edith M. Dyer (The Advertiser Publishing Company: November, 1942), 3-5, 26-28.

<sup>292</sup> *Victory Handbook*, cover art by Madge Tennent. Despite that a Hawaiian woman is pictured on the front, nothing in the book's content suggests that it was aimed more at Hawaiians or other Islanders, than at haoles or malihini (newcomers); most of the book discussed various preparedness measures.

School children of all ages were affected by the war and contributed to the American war effort in various ways. As was mentioned, General Orders No. 6 closed all schools in the archipelago (public and private) after December 8th, 1941. None were reopened until February 1942, and some were not reopened until the termination of war—a number were converted into hospitals, and others into barracks. Leilehua High School never returned to normal function because it was absorbed by the Schofield military area (location of the Schofield Barracks and the Command Headquarters for the United States Army Hawai`i). Even after schools reopened, some were constantly on the move—the OMG required one school to move three times within the span of a few days, and schools were often given less than 24 hours to vacate. Moreover, the armed forces and war agencies occupied 878 public school units over the course of the war.<sup>293</sup>

The exodus of many teachers to the mainland or to better paying defense jobs put added pressure on the school system. After schools reopened, most were only in session 80-90 percent of their scheduled time, and war related lessons were on the upswing. Posters created by Hawai`i's youth reflected this; two painted by fourth graders reminded Islanders that "Knitting Helps Too" and to "CARRY YOUR MASK." Others with titles including, "BUY WAR STAMPS," "DO YOUR SHARE, COLLECT SALVAGE," and "EAT GOOD FOODS TO GROW STRONG" were more obviously influenced by propaganda campaigns. Most strongly worded was a poster by a fifth grader with the

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<sup>293</sup> Anthony, Appendix B, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 138; Brown, *Hawaii Goes to War*, 91; Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 358-60. Public school units include classrooms, cafeterias, laboratories, storerooms, garages, etc.

message, "KILL RATS, THEY SABOTAGE." Evidently, island youth were not immune to the larger propaganda campaigns characteristic of wartime Hawai`i.<sup>294</sup>



[Figure 12 & 12a: Children's Posters]<sup>295</sup>

Children's participation was not limited to the school grounds. A group of students on Kaua`i, for example, were excused from class for four months in favor of using the children to string barbed wire along shorelines. In addition, many youth took

<sup>294</sup> Ibid; Brown, 91; HWRD, Children's Posters (oversize materials, children's posters), created by Takeko Shimokawa (gr. 4, Big Island), Marlene Matsuda (gr. 4, Kaua`i), Glory Gampon (gr. 3, Kaua`i), Frances Shin (gr. 4, O`ahu), Pearl Lau (gr. 5, O`ahu), Abelino Laronel (gr. 5, O`ahu) respectively.

<sup>295</sup> HWRD, Children's Posters, Earl Hakikawa (gr. 5, O`ahu), and Abelino Laronel (gr. 5, O`ahu) respectively.

the opportunity to engage in paid work during, after, or instead of school. Shining shoes and selling newspapers were among the most popular street trades for island children; some as young as six took part. By 1944, however, the Honolulu Board of supervisors regulated street trades by imposing an age limit, area restrictions, and requiring permits.



[Figure 13: Honolulu's Newsboys]<sup>296</sup>

The severe shortage of agricultural labor by 1942 also led planters to consider employing Hawai`i's youth. Beginning in 1942, children twelve and over from schools across the Islands spent one day each week on the plantations, and thus only reported to the classroom four days per week. Some rural schools spent an entire week each month working on sugar or pineapple plantations. Notably, all workers were provided wages, and some received academic credit in addition. The OMG eventually issued a General

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<sup>296</sup>Image from Brown, 93.

Order to allow children as young as twelve to continue this work in their spare time; for example, during evenings, weekends, and vacation days. By the end of the war, students had contributed over 8,000,000 hours of plantation work.<sup>297</sup>

By 1942 many students opted to continue working rather than return to school. Some had to support their families, while others chose to make money while jobs were available. One island girl felt it was most patriotic quit school and find a defense job.<sup>298</sup> In fact, after schools were reopened, the military governor urged youth sixteen and older to remain in the workforce instead of returning to school.<sup>299</sup> A number of advertisements with messages such as, "STUDENT WORKERS CAN HELP WIN THE WAR—BY HELPING WITH THE CROPS...WON'T YOU KOKUA?" encouraged Hawai'i's students to seek plantation work.<sup>300</sup> Island youth were also employed in defense construction and customer service occupations.<sup>301</sup> The U.S. Engineers employed young boys to cut down Kiawe trees for \$4.00 per day, whereas \$1.00 per day was considered a good wage in the pre-war years.<sup>302</sup>

Efforts to induce island youth to work were part of a larger Work to Win campaign. Work to Win was one of the largest campaigns, and utilized various media including posters, short film, and print advertisements among others. The inauguration of the campaign in May 1943 featured a "Cavalcade to Victory" at Honolulu Stadium. Work to Win was an obvious supplement to the labor controls already imposed by the OMG.

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<sup>297</sup> Allen, 309.

<sup>298</sup> RASRL, Student Journals, Reporter No. 52, 8 January 1943.

<sup>299</sup> Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 308-9; Brown, *Hawaii Goes to War*, 92-3.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, 45; As was previously discussed, kōkua comes from the Hawaiian language, but its meaning is well known Island-wide. It is safe to say that this advertisement targeted all Islanders (especially non-whites), rather than just those of Hawaiian ancestry.

<sup>301</sup> Allen, 308.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 309, 361. Likely the result of their wages, Island youth placed second among all states and territories in per capita sales of war bonds and stamps.

As discussed in Chapter Three, essential workers were frozen to their employers and wages by December 1941 (via General Orders No. 38 and revisions the following March).<sup>303</sup> At its peak, Hawai`i's labor force reached 220,000 civilians, 160,000 of whom were on O`ahu, and roughly two-thirds were affected by the orders.<sup>304</sup> Nonetheless, labor shortages and absenteeism were continuous problems throughout the war years.<sup>305</sup>

The Work to Win campaign aimed to encourage those unemployed or only engaged in part-time work to seek additional employment, and to inspire those frozen to their jobs to show up for work.<sup>306</sup> As the months of labor control stretched into years, the enthusiasm for long hours of work and few hours of relaxation waned. While some workers had legitimate reasons for not showing up (for example, to obtain a liquor permit or visit the bank), absenteeism in a workplace already short of labor placed considerable strain on those who did show up. One committee associated with the Work to Win program studied absenteeism and sought to alleviate these problems.<sup>307</sup> The Victory Worker Plan was born from this, and by the close of war had awarded 80,000 stars to workers with perfect attendance.<sup>308</sup> Other efforts took shape as posters and leaflets with messages such as, "HE WHO RELAXES HELPS THE AXIS" and "DON'T TAKE DAYS OFF UNNECESSARILY, IT'S UNPATRIOTIC." Another instructional poster on

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 305-313; Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 42, 175.

<sup>304</sup> Allen, 311-13. Despite that the number of agencies and firms affected by the freeze was reduced from 171 to 41 with the new set of General Orders (10 March 1943), the number of workers had grown so large that just as many individuals were affected. The initial order delineated thirty-five categories of workers from defense related work to local services (ex. restaurants, laundries and hotels).

<sup>305</sup> Ibid., 306.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 305-312; Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 42.

<sup>307</sup> Brown, 44-45, 101, 106, 108; Allen, 305-310.

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., 310.

"HOW TO LOSE THE WAR" reminded Islanders work as quickly as possible, for their work habits directly affected "[our] boys who are doing the fighting."<sup>309</sup>

Following the exodus of a number of (mostly haole) women to the mainland with the onset of war, the demand for traditionally female-held positions as "laundry workers, waitresses, clerical workers, teachers, and nurses" was acute. The same was true of sugar and pineapple plantations. The Work to Win campaign sought to alleviate this by reminding Island women that "SUGAR WORK IS WAR WORK" and that "WOMEN CAN HELP WIN THE WAR." While the OMG appealed to women to apply for traditionally female-held jobs, some like Agnes Eun Soon Rho Chun (introduced in Chapter Three) surpassed expectations and worked for the federal civil service, others worked as mechanics or storekeepers.<sup>310</sup> Indeed, the exigencies of war allowed many Island women (and men) to obtain positions they may never have considered themselves eligible for prior to the war. Some Islanders also held one or more part-time jobs in addition to a full-time job.<sup>311</sup>

Following the registration of all women sixteen and over in November 1942, some unemployed women quickly applied for jobs in fear that they would be evacuated without one. A former-school teacher was "quite depressed" by the registration of women because she feared that the OMG would force her to go back to the classroom; she was one of many who hoped to graduate from university before returning to the workforce.<sup>312</sup> Some Island women who were unaccustomed to a forty-eight hour work week found it exhausting to "arise before daylight to take care of the needs of the husband, children,

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<sup>309</sup> HWRD, Box 52 uncatalogued, Work to Win posters and pamphlets.

<sup>310</sup> Brown, 44-45; Allen, 306.

<sup>311</sup> Allen, 306.

<sup>312</sup> RASRL, Student Journals, Reporter No. 55 "Registration of Women," 25 November 1942.

and household.... to shop under trying wartime conditions during a half-hour lunch period... [and] to hasten home to finish dinner and household chores before blackout." Another wondered, "how the government planners could expect women to do war work unless some steps were taken to help them with shopping."<sup>313</sup> Propaganda campaigns addressed this; one advertisement pictured a man falling down the stairs while dropping his mop and bucket with the words "BREAK BACKS AT HOME—TOO," which was likely intended to induce men to help out more with housework.<sup>314</sup>

Militarization was especially strong in the realm of labor; indeed, two-thirds of all civilian workers were regulated by military order. By 1944, a War Manpower Commission (WMC) replaced the OMG as primary authority of labor regulation; however, Army and Navy representation on the commission ensured that little changed. Likewise, labor disputes were not released from military jurisdiction until June 1944.<sup>315</sup> As late as 1945 the military's control of labor was actually growing; in early 1945, for example, all exemptions from the mandatory forty-eight hour workweek were cancelled, and the vast majority of Islanders continued to work eight-hour days, six days a week.

Notably, nowhere else in the United States—state or territory—were workers fined or sent to jail for absenteeism or unauthorized change of jobs. After GO 91 (March 1942) created the distinction between a dismissal with or without prejudice, those dismissed "with prejudice" in wartime Hawai`i were subsequently unemployable by any other company under the OMGs jurisdiction. For those unfairly dismissed by supervisors from the mainland who did not "understand the various races which make up Hawaii's population," military laws were debilitating. While divisions of the War Manpower

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<sup>313</sup> RASRL Student Journals, File No. UH5he-71-I, undated.

<sup>314</sup> Brown, 44-45; Allen, 307.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., 323-326.

Commission (WMC) active on the mainland were able to accomplish the same functions as the General Orders regulating labor in Hawai`i, the former did so without subjecting civilians to jail time for violations.<sup>316</sup>

Beyond the erection of a military government, perhaps the most crucial difference between wartime Hawai`i and the war years as experienced on the mainland was the accompanying military judiciary (composed of provost courts and a military commission), upon which military rule relied.<sup>317</sup> When Islanders violated a general order, a visit to the provost court along with a fine or jail time most often resulted. Insofar as the provost courts dealt with lesser offenses and utilized only one judge—typically an armed officer who either had no legal training, or who "seem[ed] to have forgotten all they ever knew about the subject"—they were used heavily throughout the war years. The military commission was utilized only when punishment was upwards of \$5000 and five years imprisonment (or for the most serious offenses) and convened a total of eight times during the war.<sup>318</sup>

In military courts, lawyers were "treated with contempt and suspicion" and juries were non-existent. Trials often took place on the day of the arrest, which precluded the defendant from seeking legal council or preparing in general, and most trials led to conviction.<sup>319</sup> In 1942 alone, one Honolulu provost court tried 22,480 persons and all but 359 were found guilty—eventually it became common knowledge that entering a plea of

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<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 311, 323; Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 42-3.

<sup>317</sup> As noted in Chapter 3, the military judiciary replaced the territory's civil and criminal courts after 7 December 1941.

<sup>318</sup> Allen, *Hawaii's War Years*, 174-6. The writ of habeas corpus was not restored until October 1944, after which civilian trials for violations of military orders were heard in the United States District Court. The military judiciary was also responsible for the trials of minors; however, this was modified in 1944.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., 172-3.

not guilty only led to harsher punishment.<sup>320</sup> Furthermore, the fines collected by military courts were substantial. In a single month, one Honolulu provost court collected over \$90,000 in fines; spread between 183 individuals, the cost averaged \$500 per person. Despite that many Islanders faced jail time because they simply could not afford to pay, the military government managed to collect a total of \$789,417.08 between December 7th, 1941 and August 31st, 1942.<sup>321</sup> In sum, the military was responsible for civilian cases ranging from the smallest misdemeanors to capital crimes—all of which were adjudicated with a complete disregard as to whether or not the crime was related to the prosecution of the war. Some Islanders were convicted for reasons as arbitrary as violating the "the spirit of martial law," or "the spirit" of the general orders in the event that legal provisions for the violation were yet to be created.<sup>322</sup>

Moreover, insofar as neither the Territorial prisons nor the OMG had available funds or unlimited space for those charged with offending a military order, there was no shortage of disputes vis-à-vis who was responsible for overseeing the incarceration of "Army prisoners."<sup>323</sup> Indeed, collecting fines was far easier than finding space for the guilty in territorial prisons and county jails. In the early months of war, those found guilty were delivered with details pertaining to the length of incarceration, but nothing else. The warden at O`ahu prison initially took to recording oral testimonies as prisoners arrived.

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<sup>320</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 39, 52.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 46-8, 52-3. The majority of profits reflect fees collected from provost courts; however, nearly \$227,000 was collected from fees associated with liquor permits. In addition, the OMG funded itself from a \$15,000,000 grant authorized by President Roosevelt 12 January 1942, "for the protection, care and relief of the civilian population in the Territory of Hawaii." Of course, by January 1942 the OMG had already replaced the civilian government.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.*, 39, 52-54; Allen, 173. The accused was not issued a copy of the charges but was (for the most part) authorized to examine the prosecutor's copy.

After a commitment form appropriate for military crimes was crafted, the warden had the incarcerated fill them out.

Considering that restrictive general orders governed nearly every aspect of life in wartime Hawai`i, as well as the sometimes-unexplainable nature of violations to said orders, it is not difficult to imagine why Islanders grew increasingly dissatisfied with life under military rule. Despite this, few risked questioning the policies of the military government or the armed officers administering their sentences. Most were dissuaded by the fear of punishment, as well as the age-old fear of being labeled as unpatriotic or un-American. However, as months of military rule became years, those who could afford to take the risk eventually spoke out against the prolonged existence of the OMG. Ingram M. Stainback, who succeeded Pointdexter as Governor in 1942, was among these.

Governor Stainback and his Attorney General J. Garner Anthony traveled to Washington, D.C. in December 1942 to appeal for the revocation of martial law.<sup>324</sup> Given the "virtual blackout" (or censorship) of information traveling from the Islands to the mainland, alerting Washington to the extent of the military's encroachments upon civil authority in Hawai`i was an important step.<sup>325</sup>

In addition, a number of petitions for the writ of habeas corpus between 1942 and 1944 gradually wore on the legitimacy of the military government.<sup>326</sup> The *Zimmerman v. Walker* case was the first among these. Hans Zimmerman, a citizen of the United States, was detained on the basis of accusations made by "persons unknown to the prisoner... was not permitted to examine the witnesses against him... and was denied access" to the

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<sup>324</sup> Ibid., 174.

<sup>325</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 198. Regarding the "virtual blackout," Anthony also noted that some information (although relatively little) trickled back to the mainland with visitors returning home.

<sup>326</sup> There were five significant cases that asked for the writ and questioned the validity of the military judiciary; however, discussing the details of all five is not within the scope of this paper.

statement submitted to the board. In an effort to prevent his deportation to the mainland, he asked for a writ. A petition to secure the writ of habeas corpus was then filed; however, Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger denied his request on the grounds that the court was "under duress...and not free to carry on the function of the court in a manner in which the court conceives to be its duty."<sup>327</sup> Zimmerman was deported to the mainland, but was promptly released thereafter to preclude an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.<sup>328</sup>

Nearly a year later, Walter Glockner and Edwin R. Seifert, both of whom were interned without charges, also asked for a writ. By March 1943 Judge Metzger felt it was more than appropriate to restore the writ for Glockner and Seifert. Indeed, "Restoration Day" was observed on March 10th, 1943, and various facets of civil authority were purportedly restored.<sup>329</sup> Despite this, General Richardson (then military governor) refused to comply, and responded by issuing General Orders No. 31, which specifically prohibited all courts in the territory from applying for a writ. Those who failed to comply were issued a \$5000 fine.<sup>330</sup> General Richardson's response is indicative of the power imbalance between civilians and the military; indeed, the latter could simply issue a new General Order for every challenge to his authority.<sup>331</sup>

The *Duncan v. Kahanamoku* case in March 1944 renewed the drive for the restoration of civil law. Lloyd C. Duncan, who was charged with assault and battery, petitioned for the writ on the grounds that martial law did not lawfully exist in Hawai'i.

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<sup>327</sup> Judge Metzger quoted in Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 63. General Orders No. 57 forbade the issuance of the writ at this time.

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*, 61-4; Allen, 177-8. Note that before the case threatened to reach the Supreme Court, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco also upheld Judge Metzger's decision.

<sup>329</sup> Note that on 10 March 1943 a new set of General Orders was issued. The Military Governor was reorganized, and continued to function until its name was changed 21 July 1944 to the Office of Internal Security.

<sup>330</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 64-77; Allen, 178-9. Like Zimmerman, Glockner and Seifert were sent to the mainland and released before the trial could make its way to the Supreme Court.

<sup>331</sup> Anthony, *Hawaii Under Army Rule*, 70, 74; Allen, 174.

Whereas the *Zimmerman*, *Glockner*, and *Seifert* cases dealt with internment and were arguably more relevant to the conduct of war, the *Duncan* case was purely civilian in nature.<sup>332</sup> After a writ was successfully filed, the U.S. Departments of War and Justice forced General Richardson and Admiral Nimitz to testify as to whether or not there remained a possibility of "imminent danger"—which they admitted was "now practically impossible." After Duncan's discharge, the court's decision determined that "martial law did not lawfully exist in Hawaii, that the Office of the Military Governor was without lawful creation, and that the provost court possessed no lawful authority to try the petitioner." In the *White* case, which ended similarly, Judge Frank McLaughlin ruled that the entire provost court system was "unconstitutional and void."<sup>333</sup>

These 1944 decisions in Hawai`i were reinforced when the *Duncan* and *White* cases reached the Supreme Court in December 1945; a decision of six-to-two supported that "martial law as exercised in Hawaii far surpassed the authority granted in the Hawaiian Organic Act." The Supreme Court held:

The phrase "martial law" as employed in the Act...intended to authorize the military to act vigorously for the maintenance of an orderly civil government and for the defense of the islands against actual or threatened rebellion or invasion, was not intended to authorize the supplanting of courts by military tribunals...<sup>334</sup>

Justice Murphy further asserted that military trials of civilian cases were antithetical to the first ten amendments to the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights, he urged, "...disappeared by military fiat rather than military necessity."<sup>335</sup> Hawai`i's Attorney

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<sup>332</sup> Also note that Duncan was a civilian ship fitter employed at Pearl Harbor.

<sup>333</sup> Allen, 180-1. Harry E. White was a civilian stockbroker charged with embezzlement; he filed a petition for the writ the day after the *Duncan* case was decided. His access to and understanding of the law must also be taken into account when considering his success in securing the writ. The same can be said of all petitions for the writ in wartime Hawai`i.

<sup>334</sup> Supreme Court decision delivered by Justice Black, quoted in *Ibid.*, 182.

<sup>335</sup> Justice Murphy quoted in *Ibid.*

General J. Garner Anthony reflected similarly on the period of military rule, and described the OMG as "the only true fascism which has ever existed on American soil."<sup>336</sup> Indeed, as the Allied forces fought for the Four Freedoms abroad, Islanders lived in fear of a military government that controlled their lives for nearly four years of total war.

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<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 183.

## Conclusion

Some of the most visible features of wartime Hawai`i, such as "barbed wire, gas alarms, and first aid signs," were scarcely seen after the Allies declared victory over Japan in August 1945. While others, including price controls and the M-Day Act, persisted into 1946 and 1947 respectively. By September, the first ship of mainland military personnel sailed away from Pearl Harbor. Less than ten thousand mainlanders remained in Hawai`i after the war, which contrasted sharply with the figure of over one million military personnel and defense workers who had come to the Islands between 1941 and 1945. The military also returned much of the land it had leased or borrowed over the course of the war; however, a several changes affected to Hawai`i's land and seascapes were permanent. Just as a number of wartime changes to Hawai`i's infrastructure were irreversible, so too was the impact of war on island society. The legacies of the war years—and accompanying Americanization and militarization—were many, and some would take decades to unravel.<sup>337</sup>

Hawai`i was a changed place after four years of military rule, and Islanders were among the most impacted. The rise of the military as an economic force had successfully challenged plantation hegemony, and sugar would never again enjoy complete economic dominance. This was only exacerbated by the rise of air travel and growth of the tourism industry in post-war Hawai`i. The exponential increase in jobs and wages thanks to war-related expansion had also permitted many Islanders to move off the plantations and into the middle class. The development of the latter influenced the post-war drive for

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<sup>337</sup> Ibid., 304, 364, 370, 375-376; John P. Rosa, "Race/Ethnicity," in *The Value of Hawai`i: Knowing the Past, Shaping the Future*, eds. Craig Howes and Jon Osorio, (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2010), 56.

statehood immensely, for many Islanders (especially non-whites) felt that becoming a U.S. state was the best way to protect their rights as American citizens.

While the descendants of those originally brought to Hawai`i by the plantation elite increasingly challenged the dominance of the latter, Native Hawaiians were further displaced by yet another group of settlers—this time, by Hawai`i-born Asian Americans who contested haole hegemony and advocated for statehood. Many Asian Americans in Hawai`i, for example Nisei and other second-generation immigrants, came of age in the post-war years used the vote to gain a voice in Hawai`i's politics.<sup>338</sup> Kānaka Maoli advocacy for an alternative future for Hawai`i—specifically, one that did not involve gaining political power within an American-like form of government—did not gain speed or widespread recognition for over a decade after statehood. Accordingly, conflicting claims to Hawai`i as home are still unresolved. While there have been various expressions of support for the Hawaiian rights movement by some locals (non-Hawaiians) more recently, imagining a Hawai`i independent from the United States remains inconceivable to many island residents today. Again, these are legacies of the making of Hawai`i into an American place—ideologically, economically, politically, and militarily.<sup>339</sup>

Moreover, the war years also solidified Hawai`i's role as a launching pad for U.S. military operations in the Pacific and Asia. While many areas occupied by the military during the war were deserted within a few months of the Allied victory, conflict on the

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<sup>338</sup> This was called the "Oriental vote."

<sup>339</sup> Nisei veterans and the Japanese Emergency Service Committee (previously discussed) both played a major role in the push for statehood. See Coffman "The ESC and the Modern Democratic Party," (Chapter 6), *The Island Edge of America*, 103-136; Trask, "Settlers of Color and "Immigrant" Hegemony."

Korean Peninsula in the early 1950s quickly renewed the military's desire to expand in Hawai`i and beyond.<sup>340</sup> Today, the U.S. Pacific Command's (PACOM)

...area of responsibility stretches over more than 50 percent of the earth's surface, and encompasses 43 countries, 20 territories and possessions and 10 U.S. territories, 60 percent of the world's population, the world's six largest armed forces, and five of the seven worldwide U.S. mutual defense treaties.

As Kyle Kajihiro insightfully put it, the Hawaiian Islands have become "both a casualty of and accomplice in the building of empire."<sup>341</sup>

The military presence is ubiquitous in contemporary Hawai`i; as Ferguson and Turnbull described, it is "hidden in plain sight"—it is everywhere you look, yet it is so thoroughly naturalized that few people actually notice it at all.<sup>342</sup> Military personnel and dependents account for roughly seventeen percent of Hawai`i's population today, and the U.S. military owns or leases between sixteen and twenty-five percent of the entire lands. On O`ahu alone, the military controls upwards of twenty-two percent of the island, and in addition controls vast stretches of the surrounding ocean. Due to the frequent presence of military planes and helicopters overhead, even those living in the most remote locations are constantly reminded of Hawai`i's strategic importance to the United States. Most surprisingly, even residents of Ni`ihau (the island that has long been closed off from foreigners to preserve the Hawaiian language and culture) still come into contact American military, albeit sporadically.<sup>343</sup>

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<sup>340</sup> Allen, 376.

<sup>341</sup> Kajihiro, 2.

<sup>342</sup> Ferguson and Turnbull, *xiii*.

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 1; Kajihiro, 2-3. The figures are calculated differently by various organizations, and thus I provide a range when possible. In 2000, the U.S. Census determined that Hawai`i had the largest percentage of its population in the military when compared to all other states. For an excellent discussion of contemporary Hawai`i (and especially its issues and distinctness) see *The Value of Hawai`i*.

Despite the vast military presence in contemporary Hawai`i, few scholars have examined how Hawai`i came to be the most militarized state in the union, and even fewer have understood the role of the military government in wartime Hawai`i. As Noenoe Silva reflected, "historiography is one of the most powerful discourses that justifies the continued occupation of Hawai`i by the United States today"—indeed, the reduction of Hawai`i to little more than a chronological marker in an American war story perpetuates the notion that Hawai`i is America.<sup>344</sup> Even academic historians of the American experience in World War Two are guilty of this parochial approach. John Morton Blum's *V Was for Victory* (1976) exemplifies this. Blum's history of America's war years excludes Hawai`i almost entirely, aside from his reference to Pearl Harbor as a military base. While he mentions martial law in Hawai`i once, he also assures the reader that "the government never took special measures against Japanese-Americans there... because they were manifestly loyal and harmless." Insofar as he does address specific mainland ethnic groups, such as Italian-Americans, it is clear that according to Blum Islanders were not "the American people," and Hawai`i was not the home front.<sup>345</sup>

Importantly, this is not to argue that Hawai`i should figure more prominently in American national narratives, but rather, it is to point out the consequences of its static and narrow position vis-à-vis American history and identity. By historicizing Hawai`i as the American place Roosevelt proclaimed it to be after December 7th, the decades of colonization and militarization carried out by missionaries and their sons, as well as the U.S. and its military, are effectively silenced. Likewise, by commemorating Hawai`i as simply as the place where World War Two began for the United States, the years that

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<sup>344</sup> Silva, 9.

<sup>345</sup> Blum, 157

civilian Hawai`i lived under a military government are forgotten, as are Hawai`i's massive contributions to the Allied victory.

This thesis has moved beyond the "Remember Pearl Harbor" framework by investigating the ways in which Hawai`i differed from the mainland prior to and throughout the period of military rule. Critically examining the processes of Americanization and militarization in the pre-war and war years is one way to illuminate that Hawai`i has a unique history separate from that of the United States.<sup>346</sup> Importantly, the making of Hawai`i into an American place should be regarded as a process, rather than a finished product—and one that will never be complete so long as non-white remains normative, local culture continues to dominate, and organized Hawaiians increasingly share their ideas about an independent Hawai`i. Should these distinguishing features cease to exist, Hawai`i, as Osorio simply put it, "...will no longer be Hawai`i."<sup>347</sup> While mainlanders who can afford to travel to the Islands (and venture beyond the invisible walls of Waikīkī) quickly realize Hawai`i's differences, for the rest, Pearl Harbor narratives in film, print, and history, continue to legitimate the notion that Hawai`i is America. Examining the period of military rule in Hawai`i, and simply remembering that it existed, is but one assertion that Hawai`i's history, culture, and identity are distinct from that of the United States.

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<sup>346</sup> For an excellent discussion of contemporary Hawai`i (and especially its distinctness and current issues) see *The Value of Hawai`i*, eds. Howes and Osorio.

<sup>347</sup> Jon Osorio, "Hawaiian Issues," in *The Value of Hawai`i*, 17.

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